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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

x New Submission ___ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Rural Resources of Leon County, Florida, 1821-1945

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

I. The Antebellum and Civil War Period, 1821-1865
II. Reconstruction and Diversification, 1866-1889
III. Hunting Plantations, Tenants and Yeoman Farmers, 1890-1945
IV. Architectural Context

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board & Barbara E. Mattick/His. Pres. Supervisor

organization Bureau of Historic Preservation date August 1995

street & number R.A. Gray Blg., 500 S. Bronough Street telephone (904) 487-2333

city or town Tallahassee state Florida zip code 32399-0250

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Suzanne P. Walker / Deputy SHPO — 9/8/95

Signature and title of certifying official — Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Patrick Andrus — 11/2/95

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action

Table of Contents for Written Narrative

Provide the following information on continuation sheets. Cite the letter and the title before each section of the narrative. Assign page numbers according to the instructions for continuation sheets in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Fill in page numbers for each section in the space below.

The historic resources of rural Leon County are significant under National Register Criteria A and C, and in some cases D, at the local and/or state level. Their significance rests in the areas of agriculture, architecture, archaeology, commerce, community planning and development, conservation, education, entertainment/recreation, ethnic heritage, exploration/settlement, industry, landscape architecture and religion. Buildings, structures, sites, objects and districts eligible for listing under this cover were constructed between 1821 and 1945.

The first period of development, "The Antebellum and Civil War Period, 1821-1865," coincides with the American settlement and development of Leon County, and its flowering as one of the major agricultural regions of the territory and state. It terminates after the Civil War when the system of slavery, on which Leon County's agricultural production was based, ended. The second period of development, "Reconstruction and Diversification, 1866-1889," coincides with efforts to rebuild Leon County's agricultural base. Two major trends, the development of the tenant system and attempts to diversify Leon County's agriculture, characterize the county during this period. "Hunting Plantations, Tenants and Yeoman Farmers, 1890-1945," the third period of development, reflects another major change in rural Leon County. By the 1890s, the development of large quail hunting plantations was becoming a dominant trend. In conjunction, the tenant system was continued on these plantations as the scattered farms provided forage for the game birds and modest income for the plantations. At the same time, yeoman farmers continued with attempts to diversify. By 1945, however, this period was ending as Leon County shifted from a primarily rural and agricultural community to a more urban environment with state government and two universities as its economic base.

BACKGROUND MATERIAL

Leon County, in the northernmost tier of counties in the Big Bend area of Florida, has an area of 685 square miles. The county is bordered by the State of Georgia on the north, the Ochlockonee River and Gadsden and Liberty Counties on the west, Lake Miccosukee and Jefferson County to the east, and Wakulla County to the south. Northern Leon County has stood out in terms

of its attractiveness for man since prehistoric times. Whether it be hunting and gathering Indians, Indian horticulturalists, antebellum cotton planters, millionaire northern sportsmen, or modern developers, the Tallahassee Red Hills have been held in high esteem while the flat, sandy southern portions of the county have always been viewed as less suitable for crop farming and settlement.

The Physical Setting

The Leon County region has a humid subtropical climate, characterized by long hot summers, mild winters, and abundant year-round rainfall -- a climate ideal for growing cotton and corn, the mainstays of Leon County agriculture for many years. The northern portion of the county, the Tallahassee Red Hills, consists of rolling hills, up to over 220 feet in elevation, created by erosion of horizontal limestone formations by running water. The area south of Tallahassee is a part of the Coastal Lowlands of Florida. Covered by the sea much more recently, and less than 100 feet in elevation, these lands are quite level, having undergone little erosion.

The soil types contrast as sharply as the relief. The plantation lands of northern Leon County are associated primarily with the several Orangeburg soil associations, and "... are rich in oxidized or dehydrated iron compounds and appear as strikingly red banks along the roads and gullies; hence, the term Tallahassee Red Hills" (Cooke, pp. 128-129). The soil types south of Tallahassee are almost all sandy, highly leached and strongly acidic. Farming does not appear to have been a major land use in the past, never occupying more than five percent of the land. Today, most of the land is held either by the federal government (Apalachicola National Forest) or by large forest products firms such as the St. Joe Pulp and Paper Company.

Originally, much of northern Leon County is believed to have been covered with longleaf pine and wiregrass. However, since most of the Tallahassee Red Hills region was farmed at one time by Indians and then planters, the existing vegetation is a product of secondary succession on land having been disturbed by man. In areas where fire has not been a feature, the vegetation ultimately reverts to the magnolia beach association. Where fire has occurred frequently, the area is dominated by grassland forest with pines, hickory and oaks along with an abundant

undergrowth of perennial grasses and forbs and low thickets of sprouting trees and shrubs (Kunz, p. 69).

The Native American Impact

The physical environment and resources of Leon County have attracted man since he first came to the region 10,000 years ago. It was during the Swift Creek Period, AD 1-500, that horticulture began to become important in local Native American cultures (Tesar, pp. 587-588). Later cultures turned more and more to the use of the good uplands soils for the growth of maize, squash, pumpkins, beans and other crops.

The expeditions of both Panfilo De Narvaez (1528) and Hernando De Soto (1539) found well-developed agricultural landscapes and prosperous Indian villages in the Tallahassee region. Rodrigo Ranjel, De Soto's secretary, described the territory as "very fertile and abundantly provided with corn, kidney beans, pumpkins, various fruits, much venison, many varieties of bird and excellent fishing" (Willey, p. 524). The agricultural fields were said to occur "on both sides of the road and have spread out as far as the eye could see across two leagues (six miles) of the plain" (Varner and Varner, p. 182).

Although the Indian impact on the land was small by comparison with modern man, it was nevertheless significant. The Indians knew good land for birds, animals and vegetation. Their system of trails connected by the easiest routes the best lands with other valuable resources, such as water, fish and game. The Spanish, English, and later Americans would pick the same lands and follow the same trails, many of which have become modern roads. In Leon County, the Red Hills and their lakes proved to be the choicest land in the whole region.

The Indian use of fire, along with natural lightning, helped keep much of the Red Hills landscape in a park-like grassland forest stage of succession, ideal for game and birds. Because Indian fields were small and worked by hand, rather than with animals and plows, soil erosion was less of a problem than it would become with European agricultural practices. In a letter written in 1827, settler Thomas Randall commented that much of the richest acreage in the area was "Indian or Spanish Old Fields," which because it had been tilled previously was easier to clear and put into crops. Jerrell Shofner noted that "other early settlers substantiated this and eagerly paid premium prices

for 'old fields'" (Shofner, p. 28). Settlers planted such Indian crops as maize, beans, squash, pumpkins and tobacco.

European Impacts

The contributions of the Spanish and other Europeans to the flora and fauna of Florida were enormous. In studying ecological change in Florida from 1512 to 1821, Hale Smith determined that at least 152 exotic trees, shrubs, herbaceous vegetation, vines, grasses and sedges were introduced into Florida, including most of those for which Florida is known today (Hale G. Smith).

A few examples of the more outstanding plants introduced into Florida before 1821 should suffice to emphasize their impact. Among the fruits introduced were all of the citrus fruits, peaches, pears, mango, guava, pomegranate and fig. Vegetables included lettuce, carrots, peas, celery, spinach, okra, eggplant and cauliflower. Grains included rice, wheat, oats, barley, rye and millet. In addition, important crops such as cotton, sugar cane, peanuts and sweet potatoes were introduced and became economically important. The Spanish also brought such domestic animals as asses, horses, cattle, goats, sheep, oxen, swine, various fowl, and cats into the Florida habitat (Hale G. Smith). However, European impacts on the Native American population were severe. European diseases, wars and attempts at assimilation decimated the native population, which at its peak had numbered 30,000 in the Leon County area.

CONTEXT I: THE ANTEBELLUM AND CIVIL WAR PERIOD, 1821-1865

After the United States acquired Florida from Spain in 1821, Andrew Jackson became its first reluctant territorial governor, only to resign after eight months to be succeeded by William P. Duval, Florida's first civil governor. Jackson had defeated the Seminoles and devastated their villages in the Leon County region in 1818. The Treaty of Moultrie Creek in 1824 signed the death knell for the remaining Native Americans in the Tallahassee Red Hills region, and the Seminoles moved southward.

Establishment and Settlement of Tallahassee and Leon County

In 1821, the white population of the new Territory of Florida was fewer than 5,000, with most living in and around either St. Augustine or Pensacola, nearly 400 miles of wilderness and difficult travel apart (Dodd and Cash, p. 36). The territorial legislature decided to establish a new capital between the Suwannee and Ochlockonee Rivers. In the fall of 1823, Dr. William H. Simmons of St. Augustine and John Lee Williams of Pensacola decided upon the present site of Tallahassee as the location for the new capital. Williams, in describing the area, said he had seen "abundant evidences of an ancient and dense population with great roads" (Williams, p. 32).

The growing market for cotton in New England and Europe, the exhausted lands in the older cotton and tobacco regions, and the possibility for sugar cane culture, all contributed to the rapid settlement and development of Middle Florida, as the area encompassing Leon, Gadsden, Jefferson, Madison, and Hamilton Counties was known. Planters and speculators had heard good accounts of the Tallahassee Red Hills region from the officers and men who had accompanied Andrew Jackson in 1818. Other travellers and visitors to the area, including William Bartram in 1773, had commented on the rich fertility of the area and its potential for agriculture (Van Doven, ed.).

Planters and yeoman farmers from Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia came looking for "red soils" and found them in the old fields of the Tallahassee Red Hills. Having found them, the newcomers enticed family and friends to come as well. Several of Jackson's officers, such as Richard Keith Call and Robert Butler, were among the first to buy plantations in Leon County. Call, who remained in Florida after Jackson departed, was appointed receiver of the Federal Land Office in 1825. In time, he purchased 8,754 acres of land for himself (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, p. 3).

In 1824 and 1825, the Federal Land Office surveyed more than 20 townships (36 square miles each) using the township and range system. It auctioned off land in short order, much of it in 80-acre parcels, for a minimum of $1.25 per acre. Some good sites sold for several times that figure. In 1828 alone, the Tallahassee Land Office sold 140,587 acres for a total of $189,182 -- averaging only $1.35 per acre (Herring, p. 27).

Within the next twenty years most of the land within Leon County was sold. In addition to planters and small yeoman farmers who bought land for their own use, there were speculators and investors who bought land for resale (Brubaker, pp. 18-19).

In contrast to the lottery system used in Georgia, which limited the amount of land individuals could acquire initially, planters in Florida could purchase as much as they could pay for in land auctions. Large landholdings, therefore, characterized the Tallahassee Red Hills region from the very beginning. Although many of the planters brought luxury goods, their first homes were likely to be quite rustic. One visitor to Tallahassee in the 1830s noted the splendid houses in Tallahassee, but was astonished by the housing on the plantations. "He was struck by the incongruity of ill-constructed log cabins that were furnished with pianos, sofas, tables, rich sideboards, Turkish rugs and cut glass" (Housewright, p. 189).

The population of the county grew rapidly in the early years, from 966 in 1825, to 6,494 in 1830, to 10,713 by 1840. The population then began to level off, reaching a total of only 12,343 by 1860. The white population remained nearly stationary, numbering 3,300 in 1830 and 3,194 in 1860. In the same period, the black population almost tripled, from 3,152 to 9,089 (US Census, 1830, 1840, 1850, 1860).

Development of Transportation Systems

The development of transportation systems was critical to draw settlers to the area and to provide access to markets for cotton and other crops. Migrants entered the Leon County area either by trails through Georgia, or by way of the port of St. Marks on the gulf coast near Tallahassee. The old Coffee Road was completed in 1824, connecting eastern Georgia with such west Georgia towns as Quitman, Thomasville and Bainbridge. Soon, Tallahassee was connected to the Coffee Road at Thomasville and elsewhere (Smith, "Slavery and Plantation Growth," p. 20). An east-west federal road connecting Pensacola and St. Augustine was completed in 1826 when John Bellamy, a Jefferson County planter, used slave labor to finish the stretch eastward from the Ochlockonee River across Leon and Jefferson counties (Smith, "Slavery and Plantation Growth," p. 21).

Throughout the antebellum period, the St. Marks River towns served as ports for the Red Hills region for exporting cotton and

importing items not produced locally. The Spanish had begun using the St. Marks River in the seventeenth century to reach the missions in Middle Florida. In 1827, Magnolia was founded, and wagon roads were developed to Tallahassee and Monticello (Vanderhill, p. 18). Magnolia began to die with the establishment in 1833 of the town of St. Marks, three miles further downstream. The port of St. Marks had a deeper channel, and also became the terminus of the Tallahassee-St. Marks Railroad, completed in 1837. This railroad, one of the first to be built in the United States, was the only rail outlet for Middle Florida until the late 1850s (Vanderhill, p. 18).

The railroad was extended in 1839 across the river to another new town, Port Leon, established in 1838 two miles downstream. The great hurricane of 1843 destroyed both, as well as the railroad bridge across the river. St. Marks was rebuilt, along with New Port (later Newport), three miles further upstream (Vanderhill, p. 19). Newport became the principal port in time, and handled much of the cotton from the eastern portion of Leon and Jefferson Counties in Florida, and Thomas County, Georgia.

The second rail system serving Leon County was constructed in the 1850s, to connect St. Marks Railroad with other proposed lines (Paisley, *The Red Hills of Florida*, p. 158). The Pensacola and Georgia (P&G) line was built eastward from Leon through Jefferson and Madison counties to present-day Lake City to hook up with the Atlantic and Gulf Central. In the same year, the P&G acquired and began modernizing the St. Marks line (Paisley, *The Red Hills*, p. 159). Building eastward, the P&G opened Station No. 1 at Chaires in eastern Leon County in November of 1859, and Station No. 2 near Bailey's Mill (Lloyd) in Jefferson County by New Year's Day, 1858 (Paisley, *The Red Hills*, p. 159). Late in 1860, the Atlantic and Gulf from Jacksonville and the P&G from Tallahassee were joined at Lake City. In the spring of 1861, the Atlantic and Gulf Railroad reached Thomasville, Georgia, from Savannah -- in the same month Fort Sumter was fired upon. These transportation systems served to link Leon County with essential markets for its rich agricultural bounty.

The Local Economy

The 1830s were a period of great speculation in the Red Hills. The new St. Marks railroad was built and cotton prices were high. The planters were certain great prosperity lay in the

future, particularly if they could buy more land and more slaves to grow even more cotton. To ease the credit problem, the first bank in Florida, the Union Bank (NR 1971), was founded in 1835. Most of the bank shares were held by planters who bought the bank mortgages on the land and slaves they owned. The bank in turn sold $3,000,000 in Territorial Bonds, mostly in Europe, to secure cash for the planter speculators. The speculating planter could borrow up to two-thirds of the value of his mortgage to buy additional land and slaves (Brubaker, pp. 26-27). It was assumed the increased cotton crop would bring income more than sufficient to pay off the debts incurred.

Good farm land values rose to $10-30 per acre at the same time land mortgaged by the bank was valued at $8.00 per acre on average (Brubaker, p. 28). The emphasis on cotton was so great that many planters grew cotton at the expense of other basic products such as corn and meat which then had to be purchased (Brubaker, p. 28). The panic of 1837 and lower prices for cotton in subsequent years brought an end to the cotton boom, and the failure of the Union Bank in 1842 when the Territorial Government repudiated the bank's bonds. Some planters lost their lands, but others were able to pick up additional land at much reduced prices. Those who had not speculated and were fairly self-sufficient survived.

During all of the antebellum period, agriculture was the mainstay of the economy, with nearly half the white male population calling themselves farmers, planters, overseers or farm laborers (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, p. 6). Approximately eight out of nine slaves (8,200 out of 9,089) worked and lived on the plantations and farms outside Tallahassee, while the remaining 889 blacks lived in the city. If one considers that most of the working population -- tradesmen, professional people, service people, etc. -- were really serving the planters, farmers, and slaves, the dominance of agriculture was overwhelming. Cotton was "King" indeed and the institution of slavery dominated all aspects of society.

Most of what was produced in Leon County in the antebellum period was consumed locally; the only major export was cotton. The sale of cotton provided the money necessary to import the kinds of goods the planters and yeoman farmers desired, along with the tools, hardware, dishes, notions (needles, pins), pots, pans, clothing, etc. sold by the local merchants in Tallahassee. Planters and small farmers had to run fairly self-sufficient

operations, as they grew or produced most of the foods and goods needed for daily existence.

Over 80 percent of the land in the Red Hills, even as late as 1860, was still forested and used as open range. Despite that, Leon County was the number one agricultural county in Florida by a wide margin, leading in the number of farms, cropland harvested, swine, mules, sheep and milk cows, and in the production of cotton, corn, and sweet potatoes.

The Plantation System and Slavery in Leon County

In Leon County as in the rest of the cotton kingdom, it was the planters, loosely defined as anyone who owned 20 or more slaves, who dominated the economy, local and state government, and all the supporting institutions. The church, the financial institutions and schools were dependent upon and controlled by the planter class. The number of planters holding over 1,000 acres increased from 13 in 1829 to 50 in 1839, and 70 in 1860 (Brubaker, p. 24). The average acreage for the large properties was 2,208 in 1839 and 2,432 in 1860, with the largest and most productive plantations located in Leon and Jefferson Counties (Smith, "The Plantation Belt," p. 45).

The plantation system was dependent on its slaves. The economic value of slaves varied depending upon the price of cotton and on the age, sex, health and skills of the slaves in question. In the late 1850s, several slaves in the Red Hills were sold for prices as much as $1,500 (Paisley, *The Red Hills*, p. 183). Their treatment and quality of life appears to have varied greatly depending upon the disposition of the planter or overseer and the wealth of their owners. Yeoman farmers with only a few slaves were likely to work in the fields along with their slaves while the larger planters were likely to leave their supervision to overseers hired for the purpose. On the larger plantations, the slaves were worked in gangs and lived in slave quarters near the big or main house. Slave housing varied from windowless one-room shacks with dirt floors to "... sizeable frame houses with raised floors and brick or chinked wood fireplaces and small porches" (Spangle, p. 5). The average slave cabin housed a family -- an average of six to seven to a cabin (Spangle, p. 10).

Secondary sources indicate that slaves supplemented their usual diet of corn meal, squash, bacon and sweet potatoes with

game and fish, using traps for game, while guns were usually forbidden to slaves (Ordonez, pp. 428-439). They were also likely to have been provided with medical care. Slave clothing varied from store-bought items furnished them to home-made clothing and shoes. Margaret T. Ordonez wrote at length about the production of yarn, cloth and apparel on the plantations of Leon County -- not only for slaves but planters' families as well. Shoes also were made on some plantations as well as purchased in Tallahassee stores. (Achille Murat, a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte, in his book *America and Americans* wrote that in North Florida, it was common to issue "the necessary" (new clothes and shoes) to slaves twice a year -- summer and winter (Ordonez, pp. 433, 437)). According to Ordonez, contracts for hired slave labor on file in the Leon County Courthouse "specified minimum of two suits of clothes, a hat and a pair of shoes" (Ordonez, pp. 437-438).

Religion was important in slave society and supported and encouraged by some planters -- in part, because it was believed that Christianity developed a greater willingness in slaves to accept and obey their owners. Slaves had no civil rights, could not own property or enter into contracts, could not congregate, could not testify against whites, and could not physically defend themselves against a white man's attack. They also "could not rent horses or carriages, buy liquor or hire themselves out" (Spangle, pp. 20-21).

Yeoman Farmers

If the definition of a planter is one that owns twenty or more slaves, there were 125 planters in Leon County in 1860. There were 194 yeoman farmers owning from zero to nineteen slaves each (1860 US Census). These white farmers, who formed a majority of the population, practiced subsistence agriculture, with some cotton as a cash crop. Some of the early small farms were quite poor, leading lives "which in material appointments were only slightly above the savage" (Brubaker, p. 26). An 1829 account from a Methodist circuit rider said common fare was hominy and youpon tea, with no bread or meat. Housing was primitive, consisting of "pole cabins" with dirt floors, unglazed windows, and chimneys of mud and clay (Bryant, p. 7). However, some yeoman farms were very productive. For example, James L. Felkel, owner of eleven slaves, produced 50 bales of cotton and

1400 bushels of corn on 300 improved acres (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, p. 15).

It is certain that these small farmers were likely to work in the fields along side their slaves. It is also likely that the yeoman farmers tried to be as self-sufficient as possible, with greater attention to food crops than their planter counterparts. The small farmer was also likely to own one or more work animals, several hogs, poultry, one or more milk cows and perhaps other cattle and sheep for milk products and meat. The cattle which roamed freely over the countryside grazing natural vegetation were likely to be small, scrawny and tough by comparison with today's cattle. Since milk had to be consumed locally and quickly, most farmers had milk cows early on. In 1860, the existing 319 farms reported a total of 3,134 milk cows -- an average of ten per farm.

Crossroad Communities

The trip into Tallahassee, along rutted, winding clay roads was long and arduous. Some of the wealthier planters had "town homes" where they and their families would live during the year, leaving an overseer to run the operations on the plantation. Most planters and yeoman farmers probably did not have that luxury. They, instead, depended on the self-sufficiency of their plantations and farms, as well as nearby rural communities to meet their social, commercial, educational and other needs.

The earliest maps of Leon County reveal small crossroad communities scattered in the rural areas. By 1846, communities including Centerville, Miccosukee, Mannington (later Iamonia), Bell Air and Fort Braden were noted (Map - The State of Florida, 1846). Early accounts refer to planters and farmers as being from "the community of Bradfordville" or some other rural crossroads, rather than from Tallahassee or Leon County, as thought of today. Another community dating to the antebellum period is Woodville. In the late 1830s, Woodville, known as Hodgson's Distillery, served as a stop on the St. Marks Railroad where mules which pulled the cars were exchanged for fresh ones at a point roughly half way between Tallahassee and St. Marks (Gerrell).

Some of these communities centered around schools and churches. Indian Springs Baptist Church, in the community of Miccosukee, was established in 1829, with the current building

dating from 1854 (Bryant, p. 60). The Florida Conference of Methodist Episcopal Churches established a circuit of churches in Leon County, including Pisgah United Methodist Church (NR 1974) in the community of Centerville. Pisgah was established by 1830, with its current building constructed in 1858. At various times, the Methodist churches of Miccosukee, Concord, Chaires, Lake Jackson, and other rural communities were on the same circuit (Booth, pp. 4, 14, 16-22). The Episcopal rector visited plantations that were too far from town for their owners to attend services (Cushman, pp. 29-37). In 1850, Leon County had 19 churches: 11 Methodist, 5 Baptist, 2 Presbyterian, and 1 Episcopal (Bryant, p. 24). Some churches had slave galleries so that the blacks might also attend services.

Schools also served as a social center for whites. Early on, Miccosukee had the Miccosukee Academy. Mannington boasted the Iamonia Female Academy for the daughters of planters. At the age of seven, Susan Bradford Eppes studied "History, Geography, Philosophy, Arithmetic, and the usual reading and writing, besides a column of Webster's Dictionary every afternoon" (Eppes, p. 43).

Civil War, and its Impact on Leon County

Early 1861 must have seemed promising in Leon County. Tallahassee now had rail links with Jacksonville, and an improved line to St. Marks. Cotton was moving through Tallahassee to St. Marks in large volume. Both towns were experiencing business booms.

Fort Sumter was fired upon on April 12, 1861. Within a week, President Lincoln proclaimed a Federal blockade of the coastline of the new Confederacy, and the boom came to a crashing halt. Florida had already voted to secede from the Union on January 10, 1861, the third state to do so after South Carolina and Mississippi. Soon Union ships were blockading both St. Marks and Apalachicola. The export of cotton, the mainstay of the economy, declined to a trickle. The very limited imports were likely to be luxury items brought in by blockade runners and sold at inflated prices. Because of poor rail connections with other Confederate states, Leon County was not even able to benefit from supplying large amounts of meat and grain to the Confederate armies. There was no market for cotton, and the plantations had to become even more self-sufficient than before in meeting their

needs. Inflation, caused in part by the scarcity of both income and goods, grew at a geometric rate during the war. In December 1862, it took $2.28 in Confederate money to equal the purchasing value of one Union greenback abroad. By May 1, 1865, the ratio was 1200 Confederate dollars to one Union dollar (Civil War Files, Thomas County History Museum).

Most of the adult white male population of Leon County served in the Confederate forces at some time during the war, and many did not return. However, the County was physically threatened on only one occasion -- the Battle of Natural Bridge. Union forces landed near the St. Marks lighthouse in early March, 1864. They tried to force their way across at Natural Bridge in several separate charges, but were turned back each time with heavy losses.

Although the towns and farms of the Red Hills region did not feel the impact of battle and marching armies, the economic costs of the Civil War were incalculable. After the war, Confederate currency and bonds became worthless. Millions of dollars in the value of slaves simply evaporated. Assuming that an average slave was worth $1,000 before the war, Leon County lost over $10,000,000 in wealth in slaves in 1865.

Much of the existing cotton was seized. If cotton was not available, federal Treasury agents sometimes seized horses and mules. The Federal government also taxed cotton at three cents to the pound, costing the state of Florida alone nearly $1 million before the tax was repealed in 1868 (Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, p. 20). Leon County, along with the rest of the South, lay insolvent. What was left in the way of wealth was the land, perhaps more eroded and less fertile, and people to work it.

CONTEXT II: RECONSTRUCTION AND DIVERSIFICATION (1866-1889)

The period after the Civil War saw tremendous change in Leon County, as typical of the South. The war and its aftermath resulted in a twenty percent decline of improved farm land (that used for crops) from 110,609 acres in 1860 to 87,656 acres in 1870. The system of agriculture shifted from one based on slavery to one based on tenancy. In the 1870s, many of Leon County's farmers faced bankruptcy. By 1880, however, agriculture had nearly recovered to its 1860 level, with 108,048 acres being

classed as improved land. During the same period, the population grew steadily, from 12,343 in 1860 to 15,263 in 1870 to 19,662 in 1880 (1860, 1870, 1880 US Census). Tallahassee's role began to expand. A boom of new construction downtown in the 1870s and 1880s signaled the city's growing importance as a business and retail center. With state government, as well as the establishment of the precursors of Florida State University and Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, the stage was set for the city's development in the next century. Leon County, however, remained predominantly agricultural and rural.

Tenant Farms

As early as the spring of 1865, General John Newton, the commander of the U.S. occupation forces in Florida, issued a far-reaching decree that called for a compensated labor system for the freed blacks. He encouraged the freedmen to remain on the plantations, and suggested that reasonable compensation for them would be one-fourth of the crop plus housing and rations (Shofner, *History of Jefferson County*, p. 270).

In the beginning, many of the freedmen preferred cash wages, but there were serious disadvantages for both landowners and workers with that system (Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet*, p. 25). Cash wages frequently involved gang labor, with the blacks going to work in and returning from the fields in gangs much as they had in slavery days. The blacks naturally resented the system and came in time to prefer the greater independence of tenancy arrangements. Wages also posed problems for the landowner who, because of crop failure, low cotton prices, and financial recession, often found himself without the cash to pay wages. And with the entire banking structure in shambles, credit was hard to secure. A few planters did sell their land, and some blacks did leave the plantations. But these so-called freedmen had no land of their own, and the government made no real provisions to help them secure land. Many blacks remained working on the land of others, often on the same plantation where they had been slaves (Shofner *Nor Is It Over Yet*, p. 25).

Although war brought freedom to more than 9,000 blacks in Leon County, blacks did not leave the region, and actually became an increasing percentage in Leon County. The black population made up 74.1 percent of the total population in 1860. By 1880 the black population increased by 85 percent, from 9,149 to

16,840, while the white population decreased by 11 percent, from 3,194 to 2,833.

Lien laws throughout the South made it possible for plantation and store owners to take liens against the coming year's crops raised by tenant farmers (Clark and Kirwan, p. 88). It became necessary to assign some value to (1) the amount of labor that went into raising a crop, (2) the return on the investment in land, and (3) all of the other input into farming such as work animals, plows, seed and fertilizer. It became generally accepted that each of these areas was worth one-third of the crop (Coulter, p. 76). Because of the lack of cash, tenant farmers often also pledged their crops to storeowners for needed supplies, including some food. The store owners or merchants became substitute bankers. In 1873, George Noble Jones, owner of Chemonie Plantation in Leon County, made at least ten different kinds of arrangements, running from strictly cash rentals at the rate of $2.75 per acre to sharecropping contracts calling for one-third of the crop to the tenant (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, p. 27).

Between 1860 and 1880, the number of farms in Leon County increased by over 460 percent, from 319 to 1,789 farms, but the number of large landholdings in Leon County did not decline accordingly. The explanation is a matter of bookkeeping procedures by the U.S. Census. In 1880 for the first time, each tenant-operated farm, whether cash or crop sharing, was listed separately, even though the tenant did not own the land. In 1880, 79 percent, or 1,411 farms out of a total of 1,798, were operated by tenant farmers (1860, 1870, 1880 US Census).

Most of the larger landholdings in Leon County remained intact. A plantation owner, who once had 100 slaves in gangs working his 1,000 acres of improved crop land on 2,500 total acres, now had perhaps 25 families each working on 40 acre plots. This change in method by which the land was worked, along with emancipation, also brought about important changes in the location of housing and field patterns. Instead of large numbers of slaves living in slave quarters (a number of cabins located in a single compound), the black families now lived in cabins dispersed over the plantation. However, the quality of the housing probably was not much of an improvement over the days of slavery. An 1885 account describes "a rudely built log cabin with its leaning chimney of sticks and mud" (Hamburger, p. 5). Although the pattern of tenant housing seems random, the cabins

were actually located near the plots of better soils. The pattern is still evident today on many of the quail plantations in northern Leon County, where the quail shooting courses wind in and around the individual fields and cabins of the former tenant farmers. The fields and courses are often named for former tenants long since dead.

Another change in the land settlement pattern related to churches. Prior to the war, many slaves attended their master's church, often sitting in the slave galleries specifically constructed for that purpose. After the War, many former slaves changed their affiliation to one of the many new African-American churches established during Reconstruction. Sometimes, land was donated for these churches by white landowners.

The Florida Conference of Methodist Episcopal Church, South, of which Pisgah and other Leon County churches were affiliated, had 8,100 black members in 1860. By 1866, black membership declined to 3,935 and by 1869 fewer than 500. In part this was due to the establishment of such independent churches as the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, which nationally went from 73,000 members in 1866 to 618,854 members in 1896. Other independent churches included the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Churches. In 1866, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, responded to these independent churches by authorizing the establishment of black churches, which by 1870 became organized as the Colored Methodist Episcopal (CME) Church of America (Hall, pp. 25-27, 60-63).

Several black Baptist denominations were also established during Reconstruction, including the Missionary Baptist Church and Colored Primitive Baptists in America. Unlike the Methodist churches which were run by national organizations, the Baptist churches were self-governed. According to some, this led to a much greater rise in the number of Baptist churches in the South (Hall, pp. 185-196).

Leon County's public education began as a result of the Freedman's Bureau and the Constitution of 1868. Separate black and white schools were established throughout the county. Hickory Hill, a rural school for black tenants on Tall Timbers Plantation, was established by 1880, and received $18 a month for operations. The white school at Iamonia received $30 a month. The country schools usually operated six months with classes being held from 9 to 12, and 1 to 4, to allow workers ample time

in the fields. By 1890, there were 34 black schools in Leon County, serving approximately 3,250 pupils (Hamburger, p. 7).

Yeoman Farms

As before the War, some white farmers continued to operate small, self-sufficient farms, with some raising cash crops for additional income. Unfortunately, there is little information on the yeoman farmer of this period. If a yeoman farm is considered an owner-operated farm between 50 and 999 acres in size, the following data sheds some light on the yeoman farms in Leon County. In 1880 there were 378 owner-operated and 1,411 tenant-operated farms in Leon County. By 1890, the numbers had grown to 465 owner-operated and 1,510 tenant-operated farms. Farms between 50 and 999 acres grew from 123 in 1870, to 711 in 1880, and then declined to 515 in 1890 (Brubaker, pp. 48-50).

Cotton and corn continued to be the leading crops by acreage in Leon County. However, several trends affected the cotton economy negatively during the period from 1860 to 1880. Because of changes in farming practices, increased erosion, and lack of cash for fertilizer, cotton yields were less than half of what they had been in the early antebellum period (US Department of Interior, "Report on Cotton Production," p. 221). In addition, cotton prices fell from a high of 86 cents per pound in 1865 to 13 cents by 1876 (Brubaker, p. 49). Both cotton acreage and production fell greatly, with production decreasing from 16,686 bales in 1860 to 6,440 bales in 1900. Corn production fluctuated over the years, but was roughly at the same level in 1900 as it had been in 1860 (Brubaker, p. 46). However, both cotton and corn remained the dominant crops.

Due to poor cotton production and prices, many Leon County farmers faced bankruptcy in the 1870s. If taxes were not paid on land for a year, tax certificates were issued on the land and auctioned off at public sales with the certificates going to the highest bidders. The land became the property of the bidder if the original owner did not redeem his land over a two-year period. In 1875, almost 36,000 of 84,000 acres of improved land in Leon County were under tax certificate (Brubaker, pp. 61-62).

Agricultural experts advocated use of better farming techniques and the diversification of crops, but with little lasting success on the whole. Time and time again in the post-Reconstruction era, local leaders (bankers, newspaper editors,

real estate brokers, groups of farmers, etc.) undertook to stimulate diversification in agriculture and to advertise the agricultural resources of Leon County, the "Garden Spot of Florida", to the public at large. They did this by establishing the annual Middle Florida Agricultural Fair (1879-1885), and by preparing displays and exhibits for fairs and expositions held elsewhere in the South and eastern United States, such as the Atlanta Exhibition in 1881 and Louisville's "Southern Exposition" in 1883 (Knetsch, pp. 80-98).

Local groups, such as the Leon County Farmers Club, the Leon Agricultural Society, the Tallahassee Grange, and the Leon County Agricultural and Horticultural Society, also supported such endeavors (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, p. 42). All clamored for better railroad connections, particularly to northern markets so as to stimulate agriculture in the area. On several occasions, the Board of Commissioners of Leon County produced illustrated pamphlets in order to try to attract farmers to the area. The pamphlets were always laudatory about the county, its people, climate, industries, resources and the possibilities for outsiders to move in and prosper.

A few small commercial orchards of pears, peaches, oranges and pecans were established and some tobacco was planted during the period, but they did not prosper and did not grow significantly in acreage (Brubaker, p. 46). Although farmers still stressed cotton and corn, there were those who diversified and proved to be quite successful for a time, notably George G. Gibbs, owner of Whitehall Stock Farm. In 1886, Gibbs is reported to have produced 60 bushels of corn per acre, considerable oats, millet and hay. He was also the owner of 80 head of cattle, a large number of sheep and hogs, as well as hundreds of pecan, black walnut, pear and peach trees (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, p. 56).

John A. Craig and John R. Bradford, who operated a nursery in the early 1870s, sold grapevines along with fruit plants, including strawberries. Craig had the leading fruit farm in the county, and the 1879-1880 Census shows him producing four kinds of grapes, a variety of fruits and nuts, including apples, on his 1,060 acre Andalusia Plantation on Lake Hall (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail,* p. 50). French immigrant winemaker, Emile Dubois, began growing grapes in the middle 1880s, producing 2,000 gallons of wine in 1886 and 4,000 gallons by 1889. Dubois experimented with over 60 varieties of grapes and became a major

producer of vines -- selling and shipping 60,000 vines in 1890 -- all from a small acreage on Lake Hall bought from Craig and other property purchased in the San Luis Mission site area. Leon County voted itself dry in 1904, however, and that brought an end to the promising wine industry (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, pp. 49-51).

Leon County had lost her premier position in Florida agriculture by the end of the century. In every category except that of butter production, Leon County's ranking had fallen -- averaging at best a third or fourth ranking in total.

CONTEXT III: HUNTING PLANTATIONS, TENANTS AND YEOMAN FARMERS (1890-1945)

The period from 1890 to 1945 saw several major trends in rural Leon County. One of the most obvious was the establishment of large hunting plantations. Wealthy northern families came to Leon and surrounding counties, purchasing large tracts of land in order to hunt quail. The second major trend was the continued steady decline in the role of agriculture, as croplands and amounts of crops produced declined dramatically in the sixty year period. During the same period, the role of Tallahassee became increasingly dominant. State government grew in size and importance, as did the educational institutions that would become FSU and FAMU.

Major changes in rural characteristics from 1900 to 1950 were a 40 percent drop in cropland, a 190 percent increase in woodland pasture, and a 55 percent decrease in acres operated by blacks; all on a total farm acreage that numbered only 8 percent fewer acres in 1950 than in 1900. The number of farms declined 50 percent, from 2,428 in 1900 to 1,219 in 1950. An 80 percent drop occurred in the number of tenant farms, from 1,775 to 360. While the total number of white farmers increased slightly, the number of black farmers decreased by 63 percent, from 1950 farmers in 1900 to only 719 in 1950.

Most farming units continued to remain small over the years. In 1900, 78 percent of the farms (2,008 out of 2,428) were under 100 acres. By 1950, 80 percent of the farms (981 out of 1,219) were that size. The number of large farms over 999 acres

increased from 25 to 31 between 1900 and 1950. As described earlier, however, such figures are skewed by the fact that tenant farms were reported separately in the census. Most of the tenant farms throughout the period were 40 acres in size with 25 acres usually in cotton and most of the rest in corn (Brubaker, p. 101).

Everything connected with the economy of Leon County, including farming, forestry, and manufacturing, remained stagnant during much of the period, reaching a low point in the depression years of the 1930s. Although there was some modest recovery in the late 1930s, it was not until the eruption of World War II that the economy prospered in any real way. This is particularly evident in population statistics for the period. The population of Leon County which had grown by only 163 people from 19,886 in 1900 to 20,049 in 1925, grew to a total of 26,662 between 1925 and 1935. While the rural population changed little over the entire period in total number, it declined sharply as a percentage of the total population, from 85 percent in 1900 to 30 percent in 1950 (US Census).

Hunting Plantations

In the late nineteenth century, Thomasville, Georgia, less than 35 miles north of Tallahassee, became a mecca during the winter months for many of America's monied aristocracy. Initially, the Northerners came down for the balsamic vapors from the pine trees coupled with atmospheric conditions that were reportedly beneficial to consumption patients (Triplett, pp. 30-31). The business leaders of Thomasville began to build large hotels to meet their needs, and the newcomers began to build or buy houses in Thomasville (Rogers, *Thomas County*, pp. 131-154). With the discovery in 1882 that tuberculosis was contagious, Thomasville stopped recruiting consumption patients. But the reputation of the city and region as a marvelous place to spend the winter had been made and the wealthy, particularly those with other health problems, continued to come to Thomasville and the Red Hills region for the winter.

The patchy agricultural pattern of tenant farming with its border cover and frequent burning made for an abundance of quail. The wealthy Northerners were invited to hunt at the local plantations. Once they became aware of the possibilities of those lands for hunting, they began to lease and then buy the

large existing plantations of the Red Hills region in Thomas County, Georgia, and neighboring Leon County, Florida, which because of depressed agricultural prices and depleted soils, were available at low prices.

Beginning seriously in the 1880s, Northerners began to purchase large tracts of land in Thomas and Leon Counties as their winter homes. In Leon County, approximately five properties encompassing 8,000 acres were purchased by Northerners by 1900, most of them from Cleveland, Ohio, or with Standard Oil Connections (see Brueckheimer). These families came to hunt quail, but retained the tenant farmers to work the land in their 40 acre plots.

Northern-owned hunting plantations in Leon County increased to seven by 1910, encompassing approximately 19,000 acres. Between 1910 and 1930 the number more than doubled to fifteen and the acreage more than quadrupled to 81,000 acres. Between 1930 and 1950, the number increased to 20, and the acreage to nearly 107,000, average ownership decreasing slightly from approximately 5,400 acres to 5,330 acres.

These hunting plantations were vast complexes, including residential structures for the landowners, worker and tenant housing, stables and kennels for the hunting animals, and farm buildings, all linked together by series of hunting courses and dirt trails. The hunting courses, often kept clear by controlled burnings, followed the field margins of tenant farms and forest borders, as these were a favored habitat for quail. The dirt hunting trails wound around the hunting courses, and were designed to be wide enough for mule drawn hunting wagons. The small tenant farm fields, scattered between forested areas, completed the cultural landscape of the typical hunting plantation (McGorty, Wolfe and Thurston).

Leasing of land was another method by which Northerners acquired exclusive rights to hunting lands. A group of Northerners formed a hunting club, Norias Club, and began purchasing lands east of Sunny Hill Plantation in 1920. Beginning in the World War I period, several individuals from New York City formed the Miccosukee Club and leased nearly 10,000 acres annually in the region of present-day Ring Oak and Chemonie Plantations in eastern Leon County (Leon County Index to Deeds, Grantees). One member, Dr. Percy R. Bolton of New York, helped organize the first Georgia-Florida Field Trial in 1916.

There were also large increases in the number of northern owned plantations and acreages owned in Jefferson County to the east and in adjacent Thomas, Grady and Brooks counties in Georgia to the north during the same years. In total, the number of northern owners in the five county region increased by 160 percent between 1910 and 1950, from 20 to 52, the total acreage by 500 percent from 48,710 to 290,200 and the average size of the ownerships by 129 percent from 2,436 acres to 5,580 acres (Brueckheimer, p. 206).

It was during the first half of the twentieth century that the controversy over the use of fire on the plantations became a major land management issue. During much of the period of Indian dominance in the Tallahassee Red Hills, fire was deliberately used to attract game to the lush grass and weeds that grew after the fire and to fertilize their agricultural fields with the resulting ash. Whites and blacks continued this practice throughout the 19th century and through the first two decades of the 20th century. In the early twenties, the U.S. Forest Service and State Forest Service convinced most farmers and plantation owners that fire was destructive, (Komarek, "An Historical and Cultural Account...") slowing down tree growth, reducing soil fertility and reducing populations of game and birds (Komarek, "Comments on the History of Controlled Burning...").

The result of the fire prevention program in the Tallahassee Red Hills was a brush choked pineland unsuitable for quail habitat. One can imagine the disappointment of the Northern plantation owners when they came down during the winter months to hunt quail only to find that each succeeding year brought smaller bags. Because of declining quail populations, several plantation owners met at the Links Club in New York City on April 25, 1923 to discuss the desirability of launching an investigation on the habits of the bobwhite quail in the Tallahassee-Thomasville region. Following negotiations with the U.S. Biological Survey, the Cooperative Quail Investigation was launched in 1924 with Herbert L. Stoddard as Director (Stoddard, pp. xxii-xxiv). The research continued for five years culminating in Stoddard's classic book, *The Bobwhite Quail, Its Habits, Preservation and Increase* -- published despite strong opposition on the part of the U.S. Forest Service to Stoddard's fire chapter. This chapter expounded the view that fire, when used correctly, could be a useful tool in the management of forests and game populations. Fire was an important natural element in determining the

vegetation types and wildlife in the region. The battle raged for many years between the Forest Service and the fire ecologists, but in the long run Stoddard's ideas prevailed. Controlled burning has become standard practice today in managing the nation's forest lands.

A new Cooperative Quail Study Association was organized in 1931 by the previous plantation owner/backers with Henry L. Beadel, owner of Tall Timbers Plantation in Leon County, being named Secretary and Treasurer and Herbert L. Stoddard, Director. Their research and work continued from 1931 until 1943 when the Association was disbanded because of World War II restrictions on travel. As a later outgrowth, Tall Timbers Research Station, Inc. (NR 1989), was organized and incorporated in 1958 on Beadel's Tall Timbers Plantation. Upon Beadel's death in 1963, the Station became the beneficiary of Beadel's 2,800 acres and estate. The research conducted at Tall Timbers has revolutionized the thinking of those involved in managing game, forest, soils and other resources all over the world.

Tenant Farms

Although the Northerners purchased their plantations to hunt quail, they retained the tenants to farm. However, the number of tenant farmers declined spectacularly, from 1,775 tenant farmers in 1900 to only 360 in 1950, with declines of 55 percent in the number of white and 81 percent in black tenant farmers. The largest declines in black tenant farmers took place during the decades of World War I (229) and World War II (383) when urban employment opportunities for blacks were greatest. In the 1940s there was a 56 percent drop in overall tenancy, from 812 in 1940 to 360 in 1950. The percent of farms worked by tenants dropped during the fifty year period, from nearly three out of every four farmers (73 percent) in 1900 to less than one out of three (30 percent) in 1950 (1900, 1940, 1950 US Census).

Brubaker commented:

> Since cotton remained as the only crop with any credit value, farm tenants were forced into cotton production regardless of market prices or other considerations ... corn provided the principal food and grain ... (and) with cotton ... accounted for upwards of 50 percent of all cropland until 1940. Sugar cane and sweet potatoes

> constituted the other chief subsistence crops; and these, with pork and greens, made up the diet of the tenant farmers (Brubaker, p. 103).

Farm methods were poor, with minimal use of such practices as crop rotation, contour farming, strip cropping, green manuring and the application of fertilizer on tenant farms, the end result being low yields and high levels of erosion.

Brubaker calculated that black tenant farmers made up more than 90 percent of all tenants during much of the period, and that between 85 and 90 percent of them lived and farmed on the hunting plantations. He stated that:

> The plantations were in no sense commercial establishments, and although they included about three-fourths of the best farming land in the county, their upkeep was not dependent upon self-produced profits. The tenants ... remain(ed) ... (and) paid their rents in cotton ... absentee landlords did not permit them to engage in any practices that interfered with the propagation of quail in so far as these practices were known (Brubaker, pp. 109-110).

The 1940 Leon County Agricultural Agent reported, "cotton farming, done primarily by Negro commodity renters on large plantations, presented a picture of starvation farming." He noted the vast number of tenants leaving the farms, and said the only solution would be to substitute other cash crops for cotton.

The findings of the Cooperative Quail Investigation in 1931, according to Brubaker, discouraged diversification and many modern farming practices on the quail plantations. Large, clean tilled farms, dairy cattle and livestock were believed to be unfavorable for, or destructive to, nesting sites and food supply. Poultry were believed to spread disease and parasites to the quail. The ideal environment for quail was the primitive small field, "patch-crop" type of cultivation worked by black tenants who also supplied cheap labor and servants to their owners. At the same time Brubaker acknowledged that the study did permit and encourage some modern practices such as terracing, burning, the planting of erosion-resisting lespedeza, the planting of crops in strips, and the good management of the woodland through thinning and harvesting, all of which helped

increase the quail population as well as improve the land in important ways (Brubaker, pp. 110-112).

The larger hunting plantations were likely to have had dozens of tenant farmers and, therefore, found it necessary or desirable to formulate rules for the guidance of their tenants. Horseshoe Plantation published a booklet in the fall of 1930. The program called for no cotton, and required the planting of corn and velvet beans as the main crops, in strips of two rows of corn and one or two rows of beans depending upon the quality of the soil. The tenants were required to plant at least two acres of early corn, at least five acres of beggarweed in five one-acre patches distributed as the Superintendent directed, at least one acre of sorghum or sugar cane, one-and-one-half to two acres of cowpeas, enough potatoes or yams to supply their family, one-half acre of cattail millet per mule, oats and vetch. They were also urged to plant a garden. One or two milk cows and a few hogs were permitted, but had to be kept in designated fenced pastures, and some poultry for personal consumption were permitted.

The booklet stated that there were three objectives of the program. "First, to increase the quail feed and better hunting conditions. Second, to rebuild the soil that is now badly depleted. Third, to insure an adequate food supply for the tenants." It is obvious from the crops and planting instructions that the priority was for crops planted in such a fashion as to increase the quail population. The tenants had to tie their dogs up by May 1 and were permitted only one house cat with the surplus cats being killed or otherwise disposed of. They were not to go on the "Big House" grounds at any time unless they had business, and then only by the rear or side gate. No hunting by the tenants was permitted except by permission of the Superintendent. The instructions did not encourage any diversification into fruit or nut crops or other cash crops, and did not permit larger livestock operations by the tenants.

Horseshoe was unique in its prohibition of cotton. Most of the other plantations permitted cotton and, in fact, most tenant farmer contracts called for a share of cotton or a cash rent payment that required the tenant to grow cotton to be able to get the cash.

Because of the above described living conditions and practices, there was considerable migration of blacks away from the farms over the period, especially of the young blacks when opportunities for jobs presents themselves in Tallahassee and

other urban centers. Job opportunities created by World War I and World War II started the black exodus away from tenant farms, and major construction projects at Florida State University around 1950 consolidated the trend. By 1950, nearly 28,000 acres of cropland were idle in Leon County, and the number of tenant farms decreased by 80% between 1900 and 1950 (Brubaker, p. 119).

Yeoman Farms

The number of full owners, or yeoman farmers, decreased steadily between 1900 and 1940, but then made a dramatic increase in the 1940s, in part due to New Deal policies and prosperous World War II years which helped some tenant farmers become owners. Full owners actually increased by 79 percent, from 374 in 1930 to 570 in 1950, with both white and black farmers benefitting.

During the period, most of the landowners were local people, although their total holdings were only a fraction of the holdings of the absentee quail plantation owners. Statistics are not available on the number of white versus black yeoman farmers in the early twentieth century, but it is believed that most yeoman (or "owner-operator") farmers were white, and that white yeoman farmers on the whole owned larger farms than did blacks. Most white yeoman farmers were believed to own between one hundred and four hundred acres at the turn of the century, with the average being two hundred acres. North of Bradfordville, about sixty-five percent of the farms were owner operated, between Bradfordville and Tallahassee about fifteen percent were, and south and east of Tallahassee, almost all farms were owner operated.

Between 1900 and 1950, the acreage of the principal field crops, such as cotton, corn, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, oats and hay, dropped drastically. The total acreage in the principal field crops dropped nearly 75 percent from 79,682 acres to 20,220. Cotton alone dropped from 26,739 acres to 1,349 acres, in part due to boll weevil infestation in the teens. Although the acreage of peanuts initially increased, the acreage fluctuated greatly.

Diversification

Agricultural diversification was difficult on smaller farms, and there was still a strong reliance on cotton, as that was the only crop most creditors were willing to back. Even with the arrival of the boll weevil in 1915, most farmers still relied on cotton. At the prompting of Florida's Commissioner of Agriculture, some yeoman farmers did attempt diversification. Fruit, nuts, Sumatra (shade) tobacco, sugar cane, beef and dairy cattle, hogs, hay, kudzu, and dairy products were of varying importance over the years (Brubaker, pp. 119-127). The growing of sugar cane for syrup, shade tobacco for cigar wrappers and the planting of pecan, peach and pear orchards and grape vineyards were all recommended and attempted with only temporary successes if that. Harry Brubaker believed large land holdings and high levels of tenancy were both important factors hindering diversification during the period (Brubaker, p. 101).

Tung - The 1950 Census of Agriculture showed great declines for every item except for tung orchards which became the major orchard crop during the period. Tung trees bear a nut-like seed that produce a quick drying paint oil. Dr. Tennent Ronalds developed the first bearing tung grove on his hunting preserve in the World War I period. However, it was not until the 1930s when Dwight F. Davis planted an orchard and the Leon Tung Orchards Company planted some 1,500 acres of tung trees east of Tallahassee along present day U.S. 27 that tung production really took hold. By 1949, according to Paisley, there were forty-two farmers producing tung nuts from 266,597 bearing trees (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, p. 120).

Tobacco - Another crop trumpeted several times as the great crop of the future was tobacco. By the late 1830s, Cuban tobacco was a significant crop in the Red Hills particularly around Quincy, seat of Gadsden County, the neighboring county to the west (Chestang, pp. 20-21). By the late 1850s, Gadsden County was producing approximately 600,000 pounds a year (Chestang, Table 2, p. 25). Leon County benefitted only in a minor way producing 18,250 pounds in 1860.

In the late 1880s, a second spurt in tobacco production took place with the appearance of Sumatra tobacco in Gadsden County and when outside tobacco firms began to invest in the Quincy area. Production rose spectacularly from 10,000 pounds in 1886

to 1,500,000 in 1890 (Chestang, p. 27). Again, Leon County benefitted in a minor way with the acreage in tobacco increasing from 50 acres in 1891 to 300 acres in 1892, yielding 150,000 pounds (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, pp. 52-54). Tobacco prices, however, collapsed from $.50 a pound to $.10 during the 1893 national economic recession (Chestang, p. 28), and by 1900, there were only 26 acres of tobacco in Leon County.

The modern shade tobacco era had its beginnings in the late 1890s with the successful and profitable experiments of D. Alexander in growing cigar wrapper leaf tobacco under shade in Gadsden County (Chestang, p. 29). By 1907, there were 275 acres of shade tobacco in Leon County. Paisley devoted several pages to listing tobacco planters and several new companies formed to produce and process shade tobacco during the short boom, only to see the collapse of prices and failure in the years 1908 and afterward (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, pp. 52-54). The 1911 publication *The Lands of Leon* lamented the state of affairs, relating how the Lake Jackson Tobacco Growing Company, Capitol Tobacco Company and others were planting other crops instead of tobacco, and in some cases offering their lands for sale (Reese). Tobacco acreage fluctuated down through the years in Leon County, largely on the low side, and has never been the major crop hoped for. In 1992, Leon County had 18 acres of tobacco (George Henry Interview).

Kudzu - The fast growing Kudzu vine was extolled in *The Lands of Leon* for producing hay, checking erosion and making soils more fertile. Also known as Oriental peavine, Kudzu was touted as yielding as much as four cuttings of hay a year worth $25.00 a ton -- or $250.00 per acre per year. Said to yield hay equal in nutritional value to cow peas and alfalfa and superior to timothy, the plant was introduced all over the South (Reese). Paisley reported W.H. Smith and E.B. Eppes, Leon County Superintendent of Education, as having several acres of Kudzu on their Magnolia Heights property. In 1912, Eppes cut Kudzu hay every thirty days between May and November (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, p. 45). Kudzu has checked erosion on millions of acres of land, but has never proved competitive to other hays or feed. The South today is cursed by millions of acres of idle land covered by Kudzu which not only blankets the land, but everything else in its path.

Pecans - The planting of pecan trees was also looked upon as one of the great crops of the future in the late 19th and early

20th centuries. According to Clifton Paisley, Patrick Houston (Lakeland Plantation), George C. Gibbs (Whitehall) and John A. Craig all had pecan groves in the 1880s. In 1890, H.V.R. Schroeder planted 1,000 trees on his farm (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, p. 66). Perhaps the most interesting development was the attempt by the Florida Pecan Endowment Company to sell 5,000 acres in five acre tracts of planted pecans (100 trees at 20 trees per acre) to people in other parts of the country as investments calculated to give them big returns on their money (Reese). Owned by New Yorkers, the Company began buying land in 1909, planting pecan trees and selling the tracts to investors all over the northern United States. The advantage to the out-of-state investor was said to be that the land would be managed by on-site-personnel and all the investor would have to do is wait for his yearly checks after the trees began bearing. The *Tallahassee True Democrat* gave estimates of profits as $2,000 per acre per year after twenty years (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, p. 67). Many of the investors never saw their lands, and when the promised profits did not materialize, they stopped paying their property taxes. Such lands became tax delinquent and were sold for back taxes for as little as $4.00 per acre or $20.00 per tract during the Depression, compared to their original purchase price of $1,260 twenty years earlier (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, p. 70).

Fruits and Vegetables - There was also much excitement over the possibilities for raising vegetables and fruits for the northern markets. Irish potatoes, cabbage, onions, LeConte pears, grapes and wine, apples and peaches were all touted. A few farmers did benefit for several years from the sales of such products, but all lost out over the long run to competitors who were better located for marketing.

Dairy - The keeping of cows for milk and milk products in Leon County dates back to the late 1820s when some of the first settlers brought work animals, cattle, milk cows and swine into the area along with their families, slaves and household goods. In antebellum times, farmers, both large and small, had milk cows with most of the milk being consumed on the premises or fed to livestock. Some butter was sold in Tallahassee. The lack of modern transportation and refrigeration facilities meant all milk had to be produced and consumed locally, eliminating any outside competition for decades.

A number of bulls of different breeds such as the Devon, Durham, Hereford, Ayreshire and Galloway were introduced into the area during antebellum times with the Jersey breed being introduced just before the Civil War by Richard H. Bradford on Water Oak Plantation (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, p. 58). In post Reconstruction times, several Leon County farmers had successful dairy operations in the 1880s including those of R.F. Bradford, William Cooper, and Jan Donk (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, pp. 58-59). In general, milk cows had no shelter, were fed on natural pasture grasses and milked in open lots. Besides Bermuda grass, farmers used crab grass, crow foot, white clover, velvet grass and "lake" or "meadow" grass around the margins of the county's lakes (Fry, pp. 5-6).

In 1893, Patrick Houston wrote a special report on dairying in the county for a committee created by the Tallahassee Board of Trade. Although only three farmers called themselves dairymen, Houston estimated that there were at least fifty farmers in the county producing milk products for market (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, pp. 59-60). Something on the order of 100,000 pounds of butter were being produced with 40 percent being marketed outside of the county to eastern and central Florida. In 1899, Leon County produced nearly 1,000,000 gallons of milk, tops in the state, along with 183,188 pounds of butter with 110,026 being sold to the public (Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, p. 61).

Leon County did not have a creamery until after World War I, but did ship raw milk to the Purity Ice Cream and Dairy Company in Jacksonville on the Seaboard Railroad starting in 1916 (Fry, pp. 7-8). Milking machines were first introduced into the county in 1918 (Fry, pp. 8-9). According to the December 23, 1919 issue of *The Daily Democrat*, the first regular milk delivery service in Tallahassee was started during the holiday season, with raw milk being carried in the back of wagons to the customers after each milking (Fry, pp. 9-10). The success of this venture led to the establishment of a milk processing plant by the Leon Milk Company (Fry, pp. 9-10).

The number of dairy farms increased dramatically in the early twentieth century. From three in 1893, the number of farms increased to 17 by 1930, 25 by 1940, and 34 in 1951. Leon County led the state in milk production well into 1930s. During the late 1940s and early 1950s, large producers such as Foremost, Bordens and Velda Farms entered the county. Velda Farms began operations in 1954. Increased production per cow through

breeding and better feeding allowed farmers to produce more milk with fewer cows. The number of cows dropped from 4,609 in 1920, the peak year, to 2,438 in 1950. By 1966, the number of dairies had fallen to thirteen, including three public dairies at FSU, FAMU and FCI, the Federal Correctional Institute. Only three farms were producers-distributors -- Velda, Willis and Davis Farms. By 1968, there was only one dairy farm left in the county, Freelands with about 400 milk cows (Fry, pp. 11-26).

Locally, dairy farms suffered from the high value of the lands they occupied, the lower yields of milk than northern cows because of prolonged summer heat, and the need to use greater amounts of supplemental feed because local grasses were lower in protein and other important nutrients. In 1992, there was only one dairy farm in the county, Roberts Dairy (formerly Freelands) which delivered its milk to the North Florida Dairy Co-Op (George Henry Interview).

Forestry - Beginning in the late 1880s, turpentining and the cutting of timber in southern Leon County began to pick up, reaching a peak in production after 1900. The practice was to cut the best timber trees, and use the remainder for naval stores. The companies that conducted these operations were involved in a variety of enterprises, including timbering, turpentining, real estate, and merchandising. They often created small villages, with shacks for housing and commissaries. Most workers were tenants from northern Leon County. Woodville, located on the St. Marks Railroad, was given its present name in 1888 (Gerrell). Other lumber towns followed such as Lutterloh in 1894 north of Woodville on the same railroad, as well as Springhill and Helen which were developed on the Georgia Pine Railroad (later the Carabelle, Tallahassee and Gulf Railroad) (Brubaker, pp. 54-55). The Woodville and Springhill areas witnessed substantial cutting, and in 1895, 25,000 acres in the two areas had been in tax default for at least three years (Brubaker, pp. 55-63). Other centers of cutting and milling were Ward, Bloxham, Holland, Norfleet, Wadesboro and Capitola. These towns prospered for a time until the timber was gone.

Not being able to sell their lands to farmers, the turpentining and timber companies abandoned their land by not paying the taxes. In 1911 alone, the lumber companies abandoned 20,000 acres to tax delinquency (Brubaker, p. 154). During World War I, high prices made lumbering profitable again, but by the 1920s, ownership became unattractive and huge acreages became tax

delinquent. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Depression years, the amount of forest land going the tax delinquency route became a flood (Brubaker, p. 156). By 1940, most of the forest land of southern Leon County was cut over and unproductive, and the large private forest holdings had dropped by 75 percent from their level in 1920 to less than 34,000 acres (Brubaker, p. 163).

The notable development of the period was the creation of the Apalachicola National Forest in 1936. Lands purchased by the U.S. Forest Service and by the Resettlement Administration totaled about 90,000 acres by 1940, increasing to approximately 100,000 acres by 1950 (Brubaker, p. 165). In addition to the federal purchases of the cut over lands, the St. Joe Pulp and Paper Company, a Dupont subsidiary, began to buy cut over lands in the county in 1941, accumulating about 50,000 acres by 1950 (Brubaker, p. 166). Together, the U.S. Forest Service, St. Joe Pulp and Paper Company and the northern plantation owners owned over 250,000 acres out of a total of 445,400 acres in Leon County in 1950.

Crossroad Communities

During most of its history, Leon County has been overwhelmingly rural, agricultural, and black. At the turn of the century, Leon County numbered 19,885 people -- 3,886 whites and 15,999 blacks, with only 2,981 persons living in Tallahassee. It was not until 1940 that Tallahassee numbered over half the population of the county -- 16,240 vs. 15,406 in rural areas. As Paisley pointed out, "The county seat and state capital shared with several crossroad communities -- Miccosukee, Chaires, Woodville, and smaller ones -- the trade of a large rural, and overwhelmingly black, population of farmers" (Paisley, "Van Brunt's Store," p. 353).

Throughout the late nineteenth century and well into the post World War II era, most of the store-bought needs of the tenant farmers were met by local crossroads stores. Such stores often served as post offices and social centers where important news and information was spread to others in the surrounding area. One of these communities was Iamonia, served by at least two stores at various times -- Stricklands and Van Brunts.

Clifton Paisley has written in length about the Van Brunt Store, covering a period of nine years from 1902 to 1911 using a ledger book, day books and a stockbook kept by the Van Brunts and

their clerk (Paisley, "Van Brunt's Store," p. 353). The description would be applicable to many such stores in the region. Although the local hunting plantation owners and their managers were important customers, it was the large black farm population which provided the largest share of customers. Going into Tallahassee was a thirty to forty mile round trip by horse, mule or wagon. Therefore, stores like Van Brunt's carried everything imaginable from one horse or mule bull "tongues" (plows), shovels and scooters for ground-breaking and sweeps for clearing out the weeds between cotton rows," (Paisley, "Van Brunt's Store," pp. 357-365) to foods such as corn, meat (particularly salt pork), sugar, lard, coffee, syrup, flour and rice; ready made clothing, shoes, hats and materials for making clothes; tobacco products; candy and soda water; guns and ammunition; chickens, eggs and turkey; leather goods; wagons; pitchforks, saws, and other tools; patent medicines; and other items too numerous to mention (Paisley, "Van Brunt's Store," p. 365). Most of the customers were carried on credit, paying off their debts with bales of cotton late in the year after the cotton harvest. Some customers paid their debts in part with bushels of corn, eggs, hay, handicrafts such as baskets, or labor (Paisley, "Van Brunt's Store," p. 367).

Van Brunt closed his store in 1911 and opened a new store in Miccosukee in 1912 to take advantage of the Florida Central Railroad which ran from Thomasville down through Miccosukee to Capitola where it connected with the Seaboard Airline Railroad (Paisley, "Van Brunt's Store," p. 367). The author of *The Lands of Leon* praised the possibilities of the above mentioned Miccosukee in 1911, citing Miccosukee's good connections with markets elsewhere (Reese). He wrote, "Miccosukee is going to be one of the liveliest towns in Florida within a few years" (Reese). The town boasted of a ginnery and was said to be shipping nearly 1,000 bales of cotton to market by rail every year. Lumber, hogs, and cattle were also shipped. In 1911, there were at least three general stores, owned by T.J. Hutto, A.J. Herring, and A.H. Averitt who also served as postmaster. The town boasted of the presence of a Methodist Church which served as a community center, and the Miccosukee (Hunting) Club, made up primarily of wealthy New Yorkers. Hunters stayed at Dr. W.F. Yarborough's home, Magnolia Lodge, while hunting quail on some 3,000 leased acres.

Capitola, originally named Mays, was another town praised in *The Lands of Leon*. The town had its origins in 1907, when Berry F. Boyd and J.C. Upchurch bought about fifty acres along the south side of the Seaboard Airline Railroad and on the West side of the Florida Central Railroad. It was platted into 21 blocks and lots by the Capitola Improvement Company, and sales of lots began shortly thereafter (*Leon County Deed Book*, MM, p. 437). In 1911, Capitola was described as "a lively bustling little community, ranking third in importance among the towns of Leon" (Hamburger and McGorty, p. 13). There were three stores -- owned by H.T. Cotten, B.F. Boyd, and J.P. Baum and Sons -- a sawmill, stave mill and grist mill, and within a short distance a turpentine mill. In addition, the town was proud of its union depot, telegraph office, and school. As was the case with most of the small rural communities in Leon County, most of the dreams and predictions for its future prosperity never came true.

Some schools were in the crossroad communities, while others were scattered throughout the rural areas, often on land donated by hunting plantation owners or yeoman farmers. Horseshoe Plantation had a school for blacks as early as 1906. Neighboring Iamonia Plantation (now Cherokee) had Dawkins Pond School for black tenants. In the early years, some of these schools only operated four months out of the year, to coincide with hunting season, when the children were not needed in the fields. When required school hours increased to six months, many tenants' children left before the end of the school year or dropped out completely because they had to work in the fields (Reese).

By 1910, Leon County had 76 schools for 6,000 students. These included three high schools for whites, one each in Tallahassee, Chaires, and Woodville, and one high school for blacks in Tallahassee (Hamburger and McGorty, p. 13). Some rural schools were established on a request basis. For example, in 1911 plantation superintendent R.G. Johnson requested that the Leon County Board of Public Instruction open a school for whites on Horseshoe Plantation. Patrons of the school provided the building, and the County provided the teacher. In 1917, Johnson requested and received a new school building. The 24x40 foot building was built for $798.44 by W.B. McCauley. Later that year, two toilets were installed for less than $25 ("Era Ends with Mrs. Holmes," *Tallahassee Democrat*, n.d.).

In 1938 there were 40 rural black schools, "shaky wooden buildings with names like Horseshoe School, Gunn Pond, and

Pleasant Grove." By 1950, there were twelve white and twenty-one black schools, with a total enrollment of 10,794. Black schools included Barrow Hill, Bonds, Centenary, Concord, Gunn Pond, Kirksey, Lake McBride, Macon, Mosley, Ochlockonee, Pleasant Grove, St. Paul, St. Stephens, Station One and Ward (Williams, pp. 19-20 and appendix).

Leon County in the 1920s

Sometime in the late 1920s, Dr. Raymond Bellamy, a sociologist at the Florida State College for Women, read an unpublished paper to the Tallahassee Historical Society (Bellamy, n.p.). Dr. Bellamy noted that, whereas the population of the county had been over 75 percent black during the nineteenth century, the black population had declined in the twentieth century to 67.4 percent as of the year 1920. He said this trend, which intensified in later years, was "explained very largely by the fact that the Negro population is leaving for the North, and also by the fact that a large share of the land is being acquired by northern capitalists who hold it for speculation or hunting preserves."

Bellamy emphasized this point by pointing out that one-third of the land in the county (150,000 acres), was held by eleven individuals or companies in seven hunting preserves and four wood products firms. The hunting preserves were in the agricultural northern part of the county, while the lumber companies were in the southern part of the county. In talking about industrial activity, Bellamy reported that there were 43 industrial establishments employing 700 wage earners and four lumber mills employing 380 men in the county. Many of the factories were in the wood products business, such as the Simmons and Trawick Crate Company (100), two stave factories (40-45 men plus another 80-90 men in the woods), the Tallahassee Variety Works (desks, tables, doors, etc.), and the J.W. Reece Company, making shuttles, quills, and bushings for the textile industry. In addition, there were nine turpentine operations in the county, employing 210 men.

The shade tobacco business of Gadsden County spilled over into Leon County in a minor way, with the Wahnish Leaf Tobacco Company in Tallahassee owning fifty acres of shade tobacco, and employing from 25 year-round employees up to 100 during peak periods of cutting, curing and processing the leaves.

Tallahassee's Leon Cigar Company employed ten men making six different brands of cigars. The Leon Milk Company produced 3,000 pounds of ice cream and 3,000 pounds of butter a month. In 1920, agriculture and wood products firms still provided work and sustenance for over two-thirds of the families of Leon County, with most of the rest in retailing (200 stores), state government, state colleges, and service occupations. The population of Tallahassee continued to be small -- 5,637 people in 1920 (Bellamy, n.p.). All of this was to change rapidly during and after World War II. In 1990, state government and education were the major employers, with agriculture and forest products being well down the list. There were only one sixth as many Leon County farmers as in 1920.

1945 to the Present

Leon County was transformed from the leading agricultural county in Florida in the 19th century to a minor player on the agricultural scene in the mid-20th century. Whereas the economy was at one time dominated by agriculture, by 1945 the county was now dominated by state government and institutions of higher education. Whereas the county was 75 to 80 percent black in Reconstruction days, it was now 75 percent white and primarily urban. And whereas most of the Red Hills were once owned by large cotton planters, the same lands were now in even larger holdings owned by northern families who were primarily interested in hunting, not agricultural pursuits. The lands were managed for game. Crops and forest products were secondary considerations.

There were substantial declines in every category of agriculture, from the number of farms and livestock, through the acreages of major crops, vegetables, and orchards. If one compares 1987 with 1900 statistics, the decline in agriculture becomes even more striking. The number of farms dropped from 2,428 to only 302, and the cropland harvested from 118,903 acres to 9,766. Tung groves, once so promising, peaked at around 300,000 trees in the 1950s, dropped out of production in the 1960s, and have since been pulled up by the roots and replaced by pines or pasture. Citrus trees, which numbered approximately 2,400 in 1959, were killed by frosts and never replaced. The

recent attempt to provide wine profitably in Leon County failed in 1991, and the vines were pulled up and taken to Central Florida. The number of milk cows declined from 7,885 in 1920 to only 400 in 1992.

The basic causes for the declines are numerous and complex, but one of the more important ones is the fact that the need for land for development around burgeoning Tallahassee has forced agricultural land prices up into the range of $1,500 to $2,500 an acre, more than the best corn lands in the Midwest, far too high to justify its purchase for agricultural purposes (Heitmeyer, n.p.). The fact that much of the land is hilly prevents large field, machine, chemical agriculture. A substantial share of the best agricultural lands is tied up in large hunting plantations, where only ten to fifteen percent of the land is in small fields, providing the patchwork kind of agriculture that characterized the tenant farming days, and was so conducive to quail production (George Henry Interview). Even some of the plantations, such as Welaunee and Ayavalla, have eliminated or cut back on cattle breeding and production in recent years (Brueckheimer, pp. 227). Finally, other plantations, which once had large numbers of tenant farmers, have disappeared into suburban development around Tallahassee.

CONTEXT IV: ARCHITECTURAL CONTEXT

From the stately "Big House" of the antebellum planter to the modest single pen cabin of the 1930s tenant farmer, most of the residences of rural Leon County fall into the category of "vernacular" architecture. Many of these buildings reflect adaptations to the South's hot steamy climate and available building materials. These residences, whether built in 1821 or 1945, and whether built for a wealthy planter or impoverished tenant farmer, had some general characteristics in common. Often, Leon County's vernacular residences were built raised on piers, to allow air circulation under the building and prevent moisture problems. Their frame construction reflected the natural abundance of pine trees.

Some residents took advantage of other design techniques to cope with the climate. High ceilings, elongated windows, and central hallways facilitated the movement of air throughout the building, cooling the residents during the hot summer months. Broad porches and shutters shaded the interior from sunlight. Exterior chimneys and detached kitchens kept man-made heat to a minimum. Even the cultural landscape reflected human efforts to control the climate. Magnolias, groves of live oaks, and other vegetation planted by the owners contributed shade protection from the heat and light of summer, while swept dirt lawns helped protect the buildings from the ravages of fire and the dangers of snakes.

Methods of construction changed over the years, reflecting national trends in construction technology. The massive mortise and tenon framing of the antebellum house gave way to the new "balloon frame" technology that made construction much faster and less expensive. Housing also ranged greatly depending on the status of the occupants. Architectural styles and floor plans of the houses, especially of the wealthier residents, changed in response to what was in vogue nationally. Although many of the residential buildings have traits in common, they also have distinguishing qualities that set them apart.

Residential Building Forms, Styles, and Functions

For the purposes of this cover, two broad design characteristics will be described, building form and building

style. Form refers to the floorplan or horizontal layout of the building, and the massing or vertical orientation. Style relates to the architectural vocabulary used to ornament the building (Marshall, p. 25). A third category, "function," relates to the period of construction of the building as well as the economic and social status of its occupants. A final section relates to domestic outbuildings, structures and features often associated with rural Leon County housing. In some instances, these features remain intact, while in others the information can only be deduced from written, oral, and archaeological records.

Following is a detailed breakdown of building "forms," and "styles." "Functions" are described under Property Type F.1. Individual Rural Residences. "Forms," "styles," and "functions" should be used in combination to develop a description of a particular building. For example, an antebellum plantation house (function) might have a Central Hall Georgian "form" and Greek Revival "style." Similarly, a tenant farm house (function) might have a saddlebag "form" and vernacular "style."

A. BUILDING FORM

As noted, the building form relates to the layout and massing of the building. Sometimes because of additions or alterations, the original form may not be readily visible.

1. **Single Pen** - The single pen house is a basic building block. Either square or rectangular, the single pen has one room and is generally one or one and a half stories tall, with a chimney at one end (Marshall, p. 39). This is one of the more primitive forms of shelter. Slave cabins and later tenant housing sometimes followed this tradition.

2. **Double Pen** - The double pen house can be thought of as two single pen houses built side by side. The floorplan consists of two rooms, and the main entrance is generally on the long side (not gable end) of the house. Subtypes include the hall-and-parlor and the saddlebag.

Hall-and-Parlor - This plan dates back to sixteenth and seventeenth century Britain. It is comprised of two rooms of unequal size, with one front door. Chimneys may either be in the middle of the house or at the gable ends.

Saddlebag - Two entrance doors and a central chimney are the hallmark of the two room saddlebag house.

3. **Central Hall** - Central hall houses are characterized by a central hallway between the main rooms. Subtypes range from simple "dogtrots" to elaborate "Georgians."

Dogtrot - These are usually one story, two room houses characterized by a broad, open breezeway between the two rooms. It was quite common for the breezeway to be enclosed at a later date (Marshall, pp. 39-56).

Georgian - In seventeenth century England, the Renaissance was reflected in the development of this new architectural style. Georgian is characterized by a strong emphasis on symmetry, and can be seen both in the form and the style of buildings. The Georgian form has a central hallway, symmetrical layout, and end chimneys. Usually, the plan is double-pile, or two rooms deep on either side of a central hall (Swaim, p. 38). A variation is the Side Hall Georgian which is typically two stories tall, with a side hall and two double pile rooms on each floor.

I House - The I House was one of the most common forms of folk housing found in the United States. One room deep, and two stories tall with end chimneys, the I House perhaps derives its name from its distinctive tall and narrow profile. In other regions of the country, hall-and-parlor I Houses exist. The sheds are one story extensions found to the rear, and sometimes to the front of the house. The sheds can be porches, enclosed rooms, or some combination thereof (Gamble, pp. 29-32).

4. **Irregular Plan** - Beginning in the mid nineteenth century, a "romantic" movement swept the country, and was reflected in its building forms. The emphasis on symmetry loosened, and irregular floorplans and massings were used. One of the most common asymmetrical subtypes is the L shaped house.

L Shaped - Sometimes known as the "gable front and wing", this type is characterized by its cross gables (McAlester, pp. 26-30).

B. BUILDING STYLE

Building styles reflect an academic approach to architecture, where architects and design schools actively mold and shape the design of buildings to reflect the latest designs

and fashions (Marshall, p. 20). The majority of Leon County's rural architecture was designed without the benefit of an architect or formally drawn plans. Some of the buildings may not have any "style" at all, while others, through gingerbread added here or dentils there, might reflect the influence of one or more styles.

In its early years, Leon County was pioneer territory where new styles and new ideas were slow to arrive. It was not unusual for a building to be constructed in a style that was long out of fashion in the northeast. It was also not unusual for an owner to take an older building and apply decorative elements of a newer style.

1. **Vernacular** - This was the basic "building block" for many of the rural residences of Leon County. A vernacular building is noted for its absence of a formal style. It may have a variety of roof configurations, including front gable, side gable, gable front and wing, or hipped. Typically, the vernacular building is raised on piers, of wood frame construction, and with a porch. It may have decorative elements from other styles applied to it.

2. **Federal** - Sometimes known as the "Adam" style, Federal buildings were in the height of fashion from 1780-1820, but were built through the 1840s and later. The massing is a symmetrical rectangular box, often with five 6/6 double hung sash windows on the front facade. Delicate decorative elements include a central entrance with fanlight and sidelights, and dentils or decorative molding at the cornice (McAlester, p. 153).

3. **Greek Revival** - Popular in America between the 1820s and 1860, this style is characterized by its emphasis on symmetry. Greek Revival buildings are often in the form of a rectangular block with a low pitched roof. Distinguishing characteristics include the use of porches with prominent columns, a central entrance with transom, narrow sidelights, and elaborate door surround, and wide bands of trim at the cornice line (McAlester, p. 179).

4. **Gothic Revivals** - In part in reaction to the formal symmetry of the classical styles, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a series of "Romantic" styles swept the nation. From the 1840s through the 1880s, the Gothic Revival style was

popular. Characteristics include steeply pitched roofs, often with cross gables, decorative bargeboards, one story porches, the use of pointed (Gothic) arches, and asymmetrical forms (McAlester, p. 197).

5. **Italianate** - Another romantic style, the Italianate, was popular from about 1840 until 1885. Usually two or three stories in height, this style often had low pitched roofs, broad overhanging eaves with decorative brackets, elongated windows, often with elaborate crowns, and a cupola or tower (McAlester, p. 211).

6. **Queen Anne** - The Queen Anne style was in vogue from 1880 until about 1910. Its form, facade, and roofline are all often highly asymmetrical. Decorative motifs such as patterned shingles, bay windows, and decorative trim on the porches are common (McAlester, p. 263).

7. **Colonial Revival** - From 1880-1955 the Colonial Revival style enjoyed great popularity. This style often features an accentuated entrance with pediment and pilasters or columns, and fanlights or sidelights. Usually, the facade is symmetrical, and sometimes includes paired windows with double hung sash (McAlester, p. 321).

8. **Neoclassical** - From 1895-1950 the Neoclassical style enjoyed popularity. The building is symmetrical, often with a central entrance. The facade usually has a full-height porch with classical columns (McAlester, p. 343).

9. **Period Revivals** - Traditional European architecture became the inspiration for many buildings constructed from 1890 through the 1940s. Period Revival styles included Tudor, with steeply pitched roof, decorative cross timbering, elongated windows, and massive chimneys (McAlester, p. 355). French Eclectic, with steeply pitched. hipped roof, and Mediterranean Revival styles with a low pitched roof often with ceramic tiles and use of arches, were other Period Revival styles.

10. **Craftsman** - One of the more widespread styles was the Craftsman, which enjoyed popularity from 1905 until the 1930s. Featuring a low pitched gable, or less commonly hipped roof, the

Craftsman style usually has wide eaves, exposed rafters, decorative beams, and porches supported by tapered, square columns. The bungalow falls under the category of Craftsman (McAlester, p. 453).

SECTION F - ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

F.1. **Name of Property Type:** Individual Rural Residences of Leon County, Florida

II. **Description**

The historic buildings and structures of Leon County could have a variety of functions: to provide shelter for humans, animals or equipment; to store or process agricultural products; or to shelter or facilitate industrial activities. This Associated Property Type relates to the shelter of humans and activities related to day-to-day needs. Included are residences, kitchens, dairies, smokehouses, privies and wells, and cemeteries which are often found in close conjunction with one another.

A. Rural Residences

1. **Antebellum Plantation Houses** - In antebellum times, wealthy planters lived in the "big house," the name commonly given to the plantation house. Some of the first homes of area planters and farmers were rudely built log pens which provided little shelter from the rains and cold winter air. Early log cabins were later replaced by more substantial homes. A few, such as the c. 1830s The Grove (NR 1972), were of the Greek Revival style and Georgian floorplan typically associated with antebellum plantations. Others, such as the Italianate-inspired c. 1840s Goodwood (NR 1972), reflected new national trends in architectural style. Many plantation houses, such as William Lester's c. 1840s "Oaklawn" and Catherine Murat's c. 1830s "Bellevue" (NR 1971) were vernacular buildings with some stylistic details attached. In many instances, the name "big house" connoted more than the reality. Many were modest vernacular buildings indistinguishable from the yeoman farmhouse. The plantation house is representative of only a small segment of Leon County's housing, as most of the county's antebellum population lived in slave cabins.

2. **Slave Quarters** - Slave quarters included a complex of slave cabins and possibly a slave foreman's house. Plantations might also have an overseer's house, and perhaps a nursery and infirmary. From written accounts, slave cabins were sometimes

located in a row. At El Destino, a large plantation that straddled the Leon-Jefferson County line, the cabins were "...one story hewn log houses, divided in the middle and apparently designed to house two families" (Phillips and Glunt, p. 47). On Charles Bannerman's Plantation, "a row of 'single-pen' slave cabins comprised the 'quarters.'" The cabin was later described as a "...crib built of notched logs, plastered, roofed with clapboards, and floored. It was built for the accommodation of one family only" (Glunt, pp. 9-10). An average of five or more slaves typically lived in the one room cabins (Smith, "The Plantation Belt," p. 90). No slave cabins are known to remain standing in Leon County, but archaeological remnants do exist.

3. **Antebellum Yeoman Farmhouses** - Yeoman farms often also had slave cabins, the number dependant on the wealth of the farmer. There is no firm definition of the distinction between a planter and a yeoman farmer, but some attempts have been made. One definition of a yeoman farmer was one with fewer than 20 slaves, with a planter having 20 or more, and a prominent planter more than 50 slaves. Other definitions relate to the amount of land owned or the amount of cotton produced. It is likely that some yeoman farmers worked themselves into planter status over the years. Just as there is no firm definition of the yeoman farmer, little information has been compiled on the yeoman farm of the antebellum period. Those few known to remain are modest vernacular wood frame structures which have undergone numerous alterations and expansions over the years.

4. **Tenant Farm Cabins** - After the Civil War, slave cabins became the homes of tenant farmers. As the slave cabins deteriorated, they were replaced by new housing. Some were single pen, while others were "saddlebag" - two room buildings with two entrance doors and a central chimney. Some featured "lean-to" kitchens and other additions. They often followed in the southern vernacular, being of wood frame construction, raised on piers, and with porches. Instead of being concentrated like the quarters, tenant houses were usually scattered across the landscape as "40 acres and a mule" replaced the gang labor system of antebellum days. Isolated and often deteriorating tenant houses still dot the landscape of Leon County today. Due to their obsolescence, many have been abandoned and are being reclaimed by nature.

5. **Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Yeoman Farmhouses** - Farmhouses constructed after the Civil War continued in the vernacular traditions of earlier years, perhaps with different stylistic details attached. There has been no comprehensive survey of yeoman farms in Leon County, although several remain, scattered across the landscape. Some, such as the 1885 Coles Farmhouse (NR 1992) on Oakland Avenue and the 1898 Johnson-Carter House on North Calhoun Street, were incorporated into Tallahassee decades ago, and have lost their rural context. Others, such as the turn of the century Will Bannerman Farm on North Meridian Road, remain in rural areas surrounded by contemporary subdivisions.

6. **Hunting Plantation Main Houses** - Hunting plantations developed beginning in the late 1800s in Leon County. Wealthy Northerners purchased land and established retreats, spending their winters hunting quail. In some instances, such as with El Destino, the northern newcomers stayed in the antebellum plantation house during their winter visits. Others built new residences, such as the c. 1895 Beadel House on Tall Timbers Plantation. Although simple and vernacular in design, this wood frame structure perhaps is finer than many, as its owner and designer was an architect by profession. Other wealthy hunting plantation owners used architectural styles familiar in their home states, or retained prominent architects to design their southern retreats. Styles, forms and domestic outbuildings and structures for the hunting plantations correlate to those identified in the section, "Architectural Context."

B. Domestic Outbuildings, Structures and Features

One thing that many of the rural residences had in common were their domestic outbuildings. Domestic outbuildings common in Leon County from antebellum times into the twentieth century included detached kitchens, dairies, and smokehouses. These could probably be found on the most modest yeoman farm to the most elaborate plantation. Larger nineteenth century complexes may have had a laundry, often connected to the kitchen, and an office in which to transact business (Wilson, p. 111). They might also have a superintendent's house, and possibly servants quarters. Some properties may have had even more specialized

buildings, such as a greenhouse or aviary, as located on Goodwood Plantation. Verdura and Goodwood Plantations, with their masonry outbuildings, were the exception rather than the rule in Leon County. It was more prevalent for outbuildings to be of wood frame construction. As with tenant houses, many of the few remaining outbuildings are falling into decay, as their obsolescence precludes the necessity of maintenance.

1. **Kitchens** - Detached kitchens kept the heat of cooking away from the main house, and helped prevent the spread of fire. Most were one room structures with a large fireplace, located to the rear of the main house. Sometimes they were connected by way of a covered walkway, which was often later enclosed to provide additional living space. Detached kitchens may later have been replaced with a "kitchen wing" attached to the rear of the house.

2. **Dairies** - Dairies provided cool storage for dairy products produced on the farm, while those lucky enough to have a spring on their property could construct a springhouse to keep dairy and other goods fresh.

3. **Smokehouses** - Smokehouses allowed for the preservation of meat. They were typically rather simple airtight structures with a dirt floor. Meats were hung on hooks from the ceiling, as far away from the smoldering fire as possible, and often protected by a fire screen (Sloan, p. 82).

4. **Privies and Wells** - Before the advent of modern plumbing, properties had privies and wells. Some properties had cisterns, windmills, watertowers, or later, machine pumphouses to provide running water, not only for the residences, but also for the farm itself. A kerosene or gas powered generator might supply power for lighting in the days prior to rural electrification.

5. **Cemeteries** - In some cases, a family or slave burial plot may be associated with the property. Slave burial plots often were decorated with items used by the deceased, and broken ceramics and glass. They may also have had wooden markers, most of which would have long since disintegrated (Waldorf, "The 'Old Place,'" p. 7). Early planter and yeoman farmer family cemeteries may have had simple wooden markers, shaped to represent "head and shoulders," and possibly shells or "grave

goods" of the deceased. Other markers common to both African-American and white cemeteries included cast cement markers, inscribed when wet with a nail, and commercially-made granite markers. Marble and limestone markers and funerary art apparently were more common in white burying grounds (Stokes, pp. 1-9). Family plots may also be delineated by cast or wrought iron fencing.

III. Significance:

The historic rural residential structures and properties of Leon County are significant under National Register Criterion A for their association with the agricultural growth and prosperity of Leon County from 1821 through 1945. They have further significance under Criterion C as fine examples of vernacular architecture reflecting local, regional and national trends of craftsmanship, form and style. They may derive additional significance under Criterion D for their ability to yield information on history through archaeological investigation.

Leon County was the state leader in agricultural production through much of the nineteenth century, and the vast majority of its residents were directly or indirectly involved in agriculture. Rural residences, ranging from antebellum plantation houses to vernacular tenant houses, provide an important opportunity to better understand and interpret the life style and living conditions of these inhabitants.

IV. Registration Requirements

To be eligible for listing under this property type a building, structure, group of buildings and structures, or archaeological site must be located in Leon County and meet the following criteria:

1) have been designed to serve a residential or domestic outbuilding purpose.

2) have been constructed between 1821 and 1945.

3) have significant historical associations with the development of rural Leon County during its period of significance.

4) retain much of its original architectural integrity, or possess a high degree of archaeological potential.

5) Groups of buildings and structures or archaeological sites must collectively contribute to the historic fabric of rural Leon County during the period between 1821 and 1945. Buildings, structures and sites representing other property types outlined in this cover may be included in a predominantly residential district.

F.2 **Name of Property Type:** Agricultural and Industrial Buildings of Leon County, Florida.

II. **Description:**

Descriptions of some Leon County antebellum plantations and farms reveal self-sufficient communities that met many of the needs of their inhabitants. Farms, plantations, and even rural village residences often had a vast complex of structures related to domestic, agricultural and industrial use. Little study has been done on the layout of Leon County plantations and farms, or the design of their outbuildings. However, some generalizations can be made about some of the outbuildings from this century that remain standing, or were pictured in period publications. Usually of wood frame construction, they often had weatherboard or board-and-batten siding. They frequently featured gabled roofs clad in shingles, corrugated metal, or more recently even old license plates. Most farm structures were very utilitarian in design, not attempting any ventures into architectural styles. Their rural vernacular simplicity, borne of economy, local materials, and function, added greatly to the character of the countryside.

However, the face of agricultural Leon County has undergone significant modification in the last couple of decades. Between 1938 and 1953, building costs more than doubled nationally. Repairs on buildings were often delayed due to wartime shortages. Tractors and increased mechanization of farming replaced the need for horse and mule barns, while storage buildings for machinery became increasingly important. New methods of construction, new building materials, prefabricated structures, and scientific advances in sanitation and disease control radically changed many farms (Carter, p. 3).

Because farms are economic entities, "buildings can be justified economically only if they contribute to effective, profitable production" (Carter, p. 1). Agricultural buildings often served a variety of purposes over the years, as changes occurred in the crops produced and methods of storage and processing. Old farm structures were frequently modified to meet changing needs, or were demolished to make way for new. Pre-1945 agricultural and industrial structures are a vanishing breed in Leon County, and it is unlikely that many pre-1900 farm

structures remain standing. Quite often, only oral histories and the archaeological record are the only sources of information that remain.

A. Agricultural Outbuildings and Structures

Most farms and plantations included a variety of agricultural outbuildings to shelter animals, store farm equipment, store produce, and process agricultural products. Some buildings were multipurpose. Other outbuildings were more directly related to the type of agriculture associated with the property. Because of the milder climate, Southern farms did not need as many agricultural buildings as their northern counterparts.

Barns were often multipurpose shelters for animals, feed, and farm equipment. Geographers have identified three of the most common types as single-crib, double-crib, and transverse-crib barns. The single-crib has one enclosed space, the double-crib has two separated by a passageway, and the transverse crib has three or more cribs on either side of a central passageway. In the South in particular, all of these variations may have shed roof extensions on one to all sides to provide additional storage and shelter (Wilson, pp. 65-66). These shed extensions were sometimes divided into stalls for milking or farrowing, or to shelter calves and sheep (Brunton, p. 78). While some barns were multipurpose, other barns and farm structures served more specialized functions, such as livestock and equipment shelter, crop storage, and agricultural processing.

1. **Shelters for Livestock and Equipment** - One type of structure was shelters for livestock and equipment. Leon County's mild winters were advantageous for raising livestock, as farmers did not have to make much investment in shelters. Most early area farms would have barns or sheds for limited shelter during severe weather, but most of the time they would be used to store hay and equipment (Fry, p. 34).

Animal Shelters - One report indicated that in 1893 several dairy farms had no shelter for their cows. Milking and feeding took place in open lots. However, the Leon County Farmer's Club recommended farmers have a simple shed for shelter, as the cows would produce more. It recommended that the shed be located on the northwest side of the pasture (Fry, pp. 5-6). Other types of shelters for livestock included "hog parlors", often crude wooden

sheds for pigs, as well as shelters for mules, goats and sheep. Some farms had stables for their horses. Poultry was an important industry, and many farms had a variety of poultry houses, including egg storage buildings, brooder houses, colony houses, and chicken yards (Royce Interview).

Equipment Structures - Structures were also constructed to house vehicles and farm equipment. Gear and harness sheds stored the accoutrements necessary for use of horses and mules for both work and pleasure. With the advent of the automobile, nineteenth century carriage houses gave way to garages, although sometimes these were little more than a shed roof to protect the vehicle from the rain. Farmers constructed "machine" sheds to store tractors and other farm equipment, and machine shops to do repairs and carpentry work.

2. **Crop Storage Structures** - A second basic type of specialized farm building is storage structures for crops.

Granaries - Granaries stored field crops. They often had a single open space, with flush boards inside, and often large bins to allow bulk storage (Wilson, pp. 65-66). Corncribs stored ears of corn used to feed livestock. Several factors affected the design of corncribs. The moist ears of corn need to be thoroughly dried before being fed to the animals, and the corncribs need to be protected from rodents. Corncribs were often fairly small, often six to eight feet wide and ten to twenty feet long, and were raised to permit adequate ventilation. They often had sheet metal or inverted tin plates on their piers to make it difficult for rodents to climb (Klamkin, p. 59). Widely spaced slats helped increase air circulation (Wilson, p. 66).

Silos - Silos apparently were not that common in Leon County, at least in 1911. One farmer was reported to have two silos, "...being among the few dairymen in the county who have found the value of ensilage for winter feed" (Reese, "The R.L. Bradford Place," n.p.). The same publication showed a photograph of a wooden silo on another farm (Reese, "The Sunnyside Plantation," n.p.). Wood-stave silos were one of the oldest forms, and lasted from ten to twenty years. They were made of high grade wood, often cypress or white pine, and each stave was from two to six inches, beveled to curve, and tongued and grooved for a snug fit. They were braced with hoops, much in the manner of a barrel (Foster, p. 194). In more recent years, wood frame

granaries, corncribs and silos may have been replaced by prefabricated circular steel cribs, often of corrugated steel with power-fans for air circulation (Carter, p. 193, 202-203).

3. **Agricultural Processing Structures** - A third type of farm building is used for processing agricultural products.

Cotton Gins and Screws - Cotton production, for example, necessitated specialized equipment. Cotton gins separated the seed from the cotton by means of a cylinder with wire teeth which pulled the cotton through a wire grate. Cotton screws or presses were used to create the bales of cotton so the product could be more readily taken to market. The most typical cotton screw involved placing the cotton lint in a box that had removable doors. Horses or mules would be attached to the giant wooden or metal screw, and circle it, causing a plate to lower onto the cotton, thus compressing it. The bale was then bound with hemp rope or iron hoops.

Early cotton gins and screws were often located in simple sheds. By the late 1830s, ginhouses were becoming more common. These wooden structures were often two stories tall and measured approximately 40 by 60 feet. On the second floor was the ginstand, supported by heavy timbers, which often included several gins. Energy to operate the gin was provided either by horses, mules, or perhaps a steam powered engine on the first floor below the gins. The ginned cotton was stored in a lint room, and then pressed into bales. Early cotton screws and presses were located in separate structures, but eventually they were included in the ginhouse (Mattick, pp. 6-17).

After the Civil War, "public ginneries" became more prevalent. Initially, these gins used the same equipment and same building design as pre-war days. Gradually, most gins became steam operated, and were owned by the wealthier farmers in the area. Smaller farmers would bring their cotton to be ginned. Some of the newer ginhouses were one-and-a-half stories so that the vibrating equipment was on a platform rather than overhead. Most rural ginhouses were usually constructed of wood or corrugated steel. The size varied depending on the number of gins. Technological advancements included developing mechanized "ginning systems" so that less human labor was involved in transferring cotton from the wagon to the gin to the baler (Aiken, pp. 201-210). In 1911 there were still "officially" 10

ginneries valued at $231,650 in the county (Reese, "Specified Industries of Leon County," n.p.).

Grist Mills - Grist mills ground corn into meal. Early grist mills were operated by horse or mule power and in some instances water power, but by the mid-nineteenth century steam engines were becoming more prevalent. After the war, some of the more prosperous farmers continued to have their own grist mills. As steam engines became more common, grist mills became more alike in design. By the end of the nineteenth century, most mills were of cast iron, about five feet tall, and rested on four stout legs. These grist mills had two grooved stones or metallic disks, one of which remained stationary and the other of which rotated rapidly, powered by a belt and pulley from a steam engine. Corn was fed into a large iron hopper on top of the mill. The grain fell through a regulator, and chaff and straw were separated out by a blower. A worm thread on a spindle caught the grain and pulled it between the two grinding stones. The grooves were deeper towards the center of the stones to accommodate the incoming grain, which worked itself to the shallower outer grooves. The farmer could adjust a screw to regulate the distance between the stones, thus controlling the coarseness of the meal (Partridge, pp. 171-172). Near Centerville, TJ Roberts had a grist mill in 1869. The grist mill building was a one story frame building, rectangular in plan, with a gable roof and dirt floor. On the south elevation there was a wide sliding door which operated on wrought iron rails. The north elevation also had a door, and the east and west elevations each had a window near the north end, providing light for the mill itself (Waldorf, "The Roberts Farm," pp. 9-14). In 1911, according to *The Lands of Leon*, there were 4 "official" gristmills valued at $1,050 (Reese, "Specified Industries of Leon County," n.p.). This number seems low, and probably only includes the larger grist mills in the County.

Cane Presses and Syrup Furnaces - On many farms in Leon County was a complex of buildings and equipment associated with the production of cane syrup. Sugar cane was one of the larger crops throughout much of the county's history. Cane presses were used to extract the juices from the sugar cane stalks. The 1915 "Chattanooga" model at Bradley's Country Store (NR 1984) is a two roller press which is attached to a twenty-eight foot pole. A mule harnessed to the pole walks in circles around the press, providing the power. The cane juice is then taken to the syrup

furnace, sheltered under a tin gable roof supported by poles (Maddox and McGorty, n.p.). A 1920s photograph of El Destino plantation's syrup furnace, possibly dating from antebellum days, shows much the same design (Phillips and Glunt, p. 583). The juice is placed in an 80 gallon kettle fitted in a brick fireplace, and heated by soft wood. When the juice boils, excess stalk pieces rise and are skimmed off the top with a four foot ladle. The syrup is then poured into jars, sealed, and then stored in the syrup house. At Bradley's, this 1920 building is one story, with a wood pile foundation, weatherboard siding, tin roof, central vertical plank door, and side door. The building measures 10 by 15 feet (Maddox and McGorty, n.p.).

Dairies - Some farms had dairies, larger than the domestic dairy described earlier, to separate milk. In the early twentieth century, Roberts Farm had a dry well to keep the cream cool after separation, and a two room dairy building to make butter. The 1915 dairy at Bradley's Country Store complex is a one-story structure measuring 11 by 18 feet, with a brick foundation, weatherboard siding, gabled tin roof, and hinged vertical plank door (Maddox and McGorty, n.p.). Due to state health requirements, later commercial dairy farms became more elaborate with sanitized milking sheds and other specialized facilities.

Tobacco Barns and Packing Houses - Tobacco also necessitated specialized facilities. When harvested, tobacco contains as much as 90% water, and needs to be dried. Shade tobacco, used for cigar wrappers, was prevalent in north Florida, especially in Gadsden and Madison Counties to the west and east of Leon County. The tobacco was grown under a "shade," originally constructed of wooden slats, and later replaced with cheesecloth, then ribbed cloth, and finally a yellow cloth (Womack, p. 101). In 1911 it cost $25,000 to construct "shade" for 110 acres of land (Reese, "The Lake Jackson Tobacco Growing Company," n.p.). The harvested tobacco was air cured in specially designed barns to prepare it for shipping.

Once picked, tobacco leaves were strung on sticks which were then hung on "tier poles" in the tobacco barn. In this region, these horizontal tier poles were usually two to two-and-a-half feet apart. The poles were supported by "transverse lines of poles and crossbeams" with the space between the transverse lines called "bents." It was generally held that one bent would hang half an acre of tobacco. Typical shade tobacco barns from this

region were 42 feet wide, 120 feet long, and 32 feet to the gables. The exterior siding was typically rough, unfinished vertical planks, with 3 1/2 by 12 foot wooden "windows." The planks were hinged at the top so they could be swung out to provide ventilation as well as light. In Gadsden County, and presumably Leon County, tobacco barns also served as feeding barns for beef cattle. Their manure was used to maintain the soil's fertility for raising tobacco (Hart and Mather, pp. 274-275, 287-288). The Lake Jackson Tobacco Growing Company had 16 tobacco barns in 1911, built at a cost of $800 apiece (Reese, "The Lake Jackson Tobacco Growing Company," n.p.).

Much less prevalent in this area was flue-cured tobacco, which was more common after 1910 in the area to the east of Leon County. Flue-cured tobacco barns were typically square, 16 to 20 feet on a side, and 16 to 20 feet to the eaves, with metal roofs and a shelter on one side. Those barns without shelters were typically located near a wooded area, where the stringing of the tobacco would take place in the shade of the trees. The flue-cured tobacco barns had smokestacks and furnaces, with fuel provided initially by wood, and later by fuel oil or gas. These barns had small access doors on either side. Often, they were part of the farmstead. Most were not painted, and some were constructed of logs (Hart and Mather, p. 293).

Little documentation is available on Leon County's tobacco packing houses, used to prepare tobacco for shipment. One historic photograph shows a two story wood frame structure, with one story extension with a bank of two-over-two double hung sash windows, obviously to provide maximum light for the packers (Reese, "The Famous Leon Pecan," n.p.).

Tung Nut Houses - A crop which arrived relatively late in Leon County's history was the tung oil tree. Tung oil was used as a quick drying agent for paint and printing ink, among other uses. Leon County's first tung orchard was planted in 1912, and by the 1930s the culture was well-established, with Leon County being the second largest producer in Florida. Buildings associated with tung oil production on the Leon Tung Orchard (now Turkey Roost Plantation) included a c. 1938 nut house. This 156 foot open air nut bin stored the nuts before processing. Resting on a concrete block foundation, the tall structure features creosote posts which support a shallow-pitched sheet metal gable roof. Horizontal boards side the bottom third of the building, while vertical wood lathe covers the top two thirds to maximize

ventilation. A conveyor belt carried nuts to the adjacent one story rectangular huller building, where an auger broke the outside husks of the nuts and released the tung nut meat. This was conveyed to another room where a wire meshed shaker separated the husks and meat. The husks were blown out of the building onto an adjacent field, while the meats were transferred to the one story rectangular metal dryer building to reduce their moisture content. An adjacent one-story concrete block building held the steam boiler which provided the heat to the dryer building. The dried nuts were carried by conveyor belt to the extractor press building, which squeezed the oil, strained it, and then pumped it into storage tanks for shipment. The c. 1938 extractor press building burned, and was replaced in 1970 by a one-story rectangular metal building (Wolfe, n.p.).

B. Industrial Facilities

Many of Leon County's farms had corncribs, cane sugar complexes, and other agricultural facilities. Less widespread were industrial facilities for the manufacture of bricks, ironworks, and lumber. Some of the larger antebellum plantations had some such facilities. Susan Bradford Eppes describes her family's plantation, Pine Hill, as having a host of "industries," including a sawmill, shingle mill, brickyard, gristmill, wheelwright's shop, and smithy. She also reports that during the Civil War, due to the blockade of ports, her father had spinning wheels and looms made to start the manufacture of cloth, and established a tan-yard for the production of shoes (Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years*, pp. 162-163).

1. **Blacksmith Shops** - Some Leon County plantations, including the Charles Bannerman and El Destino plantations, had blacksmith shops, presumably to manufacture everything from nails to horseshoes. Little information was discovered about these or subsequent shops. Early machinery appears to have been imported. An 1841 auction at the nearby port of Magnolia had "...10 or 15 Steel Saw Cotton Gins, assorted sizes, from 35 to 50 saws. They are of the manufacturing of N.G. Blount, of N.C..." (*Floridian*, June 19, 1841). Some needs were served by Tallahassee foundries. By 1857, the firm of Cardy, Baya and Co. was formed in Tallahassee "for the purpose of following the trade of Founders and Machinists." They made steam engines, sugar mills and

castings, and were the sole agents for "Hoard & Sons Steam Engines for Ginning Cotton, Grinding and Sawing, and Harrison's Grist Mills for steam or horse power" (*Floridian and Journal*, November 14, 1857). In 1911 there were seven blacksmith and general repair works reported in Leon County, valued at $2,050 (Reese, "Specified Industries of Leon County," n.p.).

2. **Brickyards** - Other plantations are known to have manufactured their own bricks. The journal of Charles Bannerman's plantation outlines the brick making, from preparing to make bricks, to burning bricks, to setting the brick kiln on fire, but unfortunately does not go into detail about the process or equipment used (Glunt, n.p.). Oaklawn, the antebellum plantation of William Lester, made its own bricks on site. The clay "borrow pit" for the foundation and chimney bricks is still visible on the site.

3. **Saw and Planing Mills** - The rural areas also had other industrial facilities, primarily related to the prolific pines of the region. Some of the larger antebellum plantations, such as El Destino, had their own saw mills. After the Civil War, farmers might own and operate a saw mill for the community. Saw mills and planing mills were fairly numerous by the early twentieth century, with 16 in 1911, valued at $49,900 (Reese, "Specified Industries of Leon County," n.p.).

4. **Naval Stores** - Naval stores was another important industry in Leon County after the 1880s. Extracting turpentine from pine trees and distilling it into spirits was especially prevalent in southern Leon County. One owner on Jackson Bluff Road had 20 "crops" of turpentine, a crop being 10,000 boxes, and a turpentine distillery with a 25 barrel capacity. From historic photographs, the still was often covered by a T-shaped open shed structure. The top of the "T", sheltering the still, was almost two stories in height, with a simple gable roof supported by piers. The base of the "T" was a one story gable roofed shed, presumably used as a working area (Reese, "Another Tale of Jonah," n.p.). In a related industry, the Tallahassee Iron Works and Florida Hickory Wagon Works specialized in turpentine wagons and log carts (Reese, "L.C. Yeager," n.p.). The official figures for 1911 revealed 10 turpentine stills in Leon County, valued at $231,650 (Reese, "Specified Industries of Leon County," n.p.).

III. Significance

The agricultural and industrial structures of Leon County are significant under National Register Criterion A for their association with the rural development of Leon County between 1821 and 1945, including agriculture, exploration/settlement, and industry. They have further significance under Criterion C for possessing examples of vernacular architecture reflecting local, regional, and national trends of craftsmanship, form and style. They may possess significance under Criterion D for their ability to yield information important in history.

For many years, Leon County was the agricultural leader in the state of Florida, and until the 1950s agriculture and small scale industries were a predominant economic base of the county. These buildings, structures and sites are tangible remnants of this important agricultural role. Due to their age, functional obsolescence, and materials of construction, these are rapidly disappearing.

IV. Registration Requirements

To be eligible for listing under this property type a building, structure, group of buildings and structures, or archaeological site must be located in Leon County and meet the following criteria:

1) have been designed to serve an agricultural or industrial purpose.

2) have been constructed between 1821 and 1945.

3) have significant historical associations with the development of rural Leon County during its period of significance.

4) retain much of its original architectural integrity, or possess a high degree of archaeological potential to yield further information.

5) groups of buildings and structures or archaeological sites must collectively contribute to the historic fabric of rural Leon County during the period between 1821 and 1945. Buildings, structures and sites representing other property types in this cover may be included.

F.3. **Name of Property Type:** Rural Religious, Educational and Commercial Buildings of Leon County, Florida.

II. **Description:**

Winding, often steep, poorly maintained dirt roads made the trip to Tallahassee long for the wealthy and poor alike in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With only horse and buggy, or oxen and cart, residents of rural Leon County appear to have made the trip to town and back infrequently. Even in the early days of the automobile, the journey was arduous.

Residents often relied on rural churches, schools and stores to meet their needs. These facilities could be isolated, or be located in small crossroad communities which served a cross section of the population, or be on the land of a major property owner and primarily serve the tenants. Not only did they serve their obvious religious, educational, or commercial function, but they also often served as social centers for the rural population.

As with rural residences, most of these buildings are vernacular, sometimes with references to architectural style outlined in Property Type: Rural Residences of Leon County, Florida. Commonly, the buildings are rectangular in form with a front gable, although occasionally they may have other forms, including side gable, gable and wing, or hipped or pyramidal roof massing. Again, usually of wood frame construction with weatherboard siding, the buildings are often raised on piers and may have elongated windows to promote ventilation. Due to economy, in some cases alternative materials are used. Instead of brick piers, some buildings have log or concrete block piers. Other buildings are constructed of concrete block, brick, or finished with galvanized sheet metal siding.

A. <u>Churches and Cemeteries</u>

1. **Churches** - Common church types include gable front with center steeple, side steeple, or twin towers, steepled ell with the steeple in the ell, and temple front which does not feature a steeple (Jennings and Gottfried, pp. 329-394). The exterior may reflect references to architectural styles, particularly Greek Revival and Gothic Revival. Often, church interiors are quite plain, with a nave with wooden pews, and a simple, unadorned

pulpit. There are six common church floorplans. The Basilica Plan, used in simple rectangular buildings with center entrances, has two rows of pews with a center and two side aisles. Another variation features three rows of pews with two aisles. The Basilica Plan - Cross has three principal rows of pews, four aisles, and a row of "secondary" pews in each of the two cross extensions. The Cross Plan has two rows of pews with a center aisle, and the "secondary" pews in each of the two cross extensions are perpendicular to the main pews. Plans common for churches with side entries include segmented seating with four aisles, and the "Akron Plan" in which the pulpit is in the corner of the room, the seating is segmented with a central aisle, and a moveable partition opens to reveal Sunday School rooms (Jennings and Gottfried, pp. 395-397).

One study of rural North Carolina churches found that denomination plays a stronger role in the design of a church than regional variations in architecture. For example, Primitive Baptist congregations tend to have very simple, unadorned church buildings in keeping with their avoidance of Sunday Schools, missionary work, and other trappings of more formal faiths. Missionary Baptists, on the other hand, emphasize the emotional and inspirational religious experience, and their buildings tend to have more elaborate steeples, pointed windows, additions for Sunday Schools, stained glass, and organs. Common features that cut across denomination included rectangular sanctuaries with double rows of pews and a pulpit platform in front. Older churches were wood frame, while newer tended to be of brick or other masonry materials (Davidson, pp. 184-195).

2. **Cemeteries** - Typically, a burying ground was associated with the church. It could feature distinctive markers, fences, and landscape elements. A challenge in Leon County has been damage to these historic cemeteries through inappropriate cleaning and repairs to historic markers, removal of historic fencing and landscaping, and replacement of old markers with new.

B. Schoolhouses

Rural schoolhouses are a vanishing breed in Leon County. Depending on the number of pupils, rural schoolhouses ranged from simple one room school buildings to larger, multi-room facilities. Quite often, the schoolhouses are vernacular wood

frame structures raised on piers. Smaller schools tend to be front gable, and may have an enclosed vestibule or shed roof porch on the front. Larger schools may have gable, hip or other form roof. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the last major trend in rural school buildings of Leon County came, as masonry schools for white students were constructed with the assistance of WPA funds in some rural communities.

C. Commissaries and General Stores

Commissaries and general stores tend to be even more utilitarian in design, and reflect few formal architectural influences, although some attribute their gable front style to a Greek Revival derivation. Most Southern commissaries and general stores follow a typical pattern - constructed of wood, longer from front to back than from side to side, the ridge of its gable runs the length of the structure, gables usually face the front and rear, with shed additions being common (Pulliam and Newton, pp. 1-5). Many have a shed roof porch across the front, and are raised on piers. Interiors are generally an open pen, with shelving and hooks on the walls for display and storage purposes. They had goods for sale, and also often served as a community's post office.

III. Significance

The commercial, religious, and educational buildings of rural Leon County are significant under National Register Criterion A for their association with the commerce, education and religion in rural Leon County from 1821-1945. They have further significance under Criterion C as examples of vernacular architecture, reflecting local, regional, and national trends of craftsmanship, form, and style. They may have significance under Criterion D for their potential through archaeological investigation to yield information on the construction techniques and history of rural Leon County.

In many instances, these buildings are the only remnants of what was once the norm in rural Leon County. Access to Tallahassee and Thomasville, Georgia, was difficult and time-consuming. Rural stores, schools, and churches provided Leon County residents easier access to some of the amenities of town, and also served as important social centers.

IV. Registration Requirements

To be eligible for listing under this property type, a building, structure, group of buildings and structures, or archaeological site must be located in Leon County and meet the following criteria:

1) have been designed to serve a commercial, religious, or educational purpose.

2) have been constructed between 1821 and 1945.

3) have significant historical associations with the development of rural Leon County during its period of significance.

4) retain much of its original architectural and/or archaeological integrity, or possess a high degree of archaeological potential.

5) groups of buildings and structures or archaeological sites must collectively contribute to the historic

fabric of rural Leon County during the period between 1821 and 1945. Buildings, structures and sites representing other property types outlined in this cover may be included.

F.4 Cultural Landscapes of Leon County, Florida

II. Description

Complexes of residential, agricultural, industrial buildings and features add character and charm to the rural landscape, and reveal important and often overlooked facets of our history. Buildings and structures, including farmhouses, barns, smokehouses, dairies, corncribs, and family cemeteries, reflect the economic and social development of an area. As important as the structures are the landscape patterns that provide the linkages. Evidence of how farmers laid out their fields, and worked the land, through plowing, terracing, and developing drainage systems, also reveal much about the development and history of an area. Fencing, and patterns of roads and tree plantings are significant components of the cultural landscape as well (Stokes and Watson, p. 38). Three types of cultural landscapes have been identified for this cover: antebellum plantations and farms, 1821-1865; yeoman farms, 1866-1945; and hunting plantations, 1895-1945.

A. Antebellum Plantations and Farms, 1821-1865

Leon County's early economic existence was based on agriculture. Planters, loosely defined as those individuals with twenty or more slaves, controlled much of the land of Leon County, raising such crops as cotton, corn, and sweet potatoes. Yeoman farmers, those with less than twenty slaves, also were an important economic force in the County, although much less research has been conducted on them. One thing that plantations and farms had in common, in addition to their role in agricultural production, was their relative self-sufficiency. Antebellum plantations and farms had a complex of buildings related to human habitation, agricultural production, and sometimes industrial production. Occasionally, they had churches, schoolhouses and commissaries. Finally, their buildings are linked by the land, through cultural landscape features. Outlined here are features relating to antebellum plantations and farms.

1. **Cultural Landscape Features** - Leon County's cultural landscape patterns evolved from numerous sources. Native

American settlement and agricultural practices, early Territorial land surveying and taxing systems, and man's efforts to mold the land to meet his needs all have had a lasting impact on the landscape. All of these were shaped by the inherent physiographic features of the land - the rolling "red hills" of northern Leon County, and the sandy flatlands to the south.

Several sources reference how Leon County's first Territorial settlers eagerly sought the "old fields," farmed by their Native American predecessors, that gave Tallahassee its name. The exact impact of these "old fields," shaped for generations, is unknown. It is likely that they have made a major and lasting influence on the landscape. Planters and farmers often accumulated their large landholdings over time, and this had an impact on how fields were developed and used.

Other features reflect man's effort to control and manipulate the land to meet his needs. Surviving plantation journals and a 1920s description of the remains of El Destino provide valuable insight into a major antebellum plantation. On El Destino, slaves and workers constructed a canal system from the water powered mills to the St. Mark's River. As much as twenty-five feet wide in places, this canal extended a mile and a half (Phillips and Glunt, pp. 50-51). Other plantations reportedly established similar engineering systems to drain and control their lands. El Destino also had a fencing system that, at least until the 1920s, still made a visible impact on the land: "...a system of ditches with a rail fence three feet high, laid on top of the earth thrown out of the trench" (Phillips and Glunt, p. 51). Fences appear to have been of importance to early planters and farmers - newspaper advertisements for properties sometimes included information on "fences in good repair."

Complexes of roads and paths, linking fields, houses, and outbuildings, are another important component of the cultural landscape. Sometimes these systems are only visible through aerial photographs, or by carefully exploring the ground to catch glimpses of wagon wheel ruts. Other systems are still in use today.

Vegetation, planted by man, also contributes to the cultural landscape. Still remaining on El Destino is the impressive oak lined road, almost a mile long, that led to the "big house." Plantation accounts attribute their planting to a slave, "Uncle Billy" Nuttall (Phillips and Glunt, p. 45). Oaklawn, on

Thomasville Road across from Pine Hill Plantation, derived its name from the live oaks lining the entrance to the plantation.

Other vegetation was less aesthetic and more utilitarian in nature. Accounts from antebellum times through the twentieth century reflect the abundance of fruit trees - from pears to peaches to oranges - that once proliferated. References to gardens were also common. Equally significant could be the absence of vegetation. Although no written records were found, according to family traditions, the Charles Bannerman Plantation, Will Bannerman Farm, Roberts Farm and Isaiah Johnson Farm all had "swept dirt" yards around the main house, to help protect the house and its inhabitants from the dangers of fire and snakes. It is likely this was a common practice in Leon County.

While individual dwellings, commissaries, and agricultural structures might possess significance, it is quite often as a complex linked by the land that they are most significant. Most were not built as isolated entities, but rather as a group of buildings and structures designed to serve multiple functions of shelter and economic return.

2. **Main House and Domestic Outbuilding Complex** - As described in Property Type F.1. Individual Rural Residences of Leon County, the main house on antebellum plantations and farms could take a variety of forms and styles, depending on the date of construction and the wealth of the owner. Early accounts refer to planters and farmers alike living in log cabins; as they acquired more wealth they might build more impressive dwellings. Forms known to remain in Leon County include hall and parlor, side hall Georgian, and center hall Georgian. Architectural styles range from vernacular to Greek Revival to Italianate. Some remaining antebellum plantations have standing associated outbuildings, but these date from the late 19th to 20th century. Some archaeological features do date to antebellum times.

3. **Slave Quarters** - No slave quarters are known to remain standing in Leon County; however, archaeological remains have been identified on several properties, and it is highly likely that numerous sites remain throughout the county. These sites have the potential to yield important information on the living conditions, diets and material culture of slaves. They are described in Property Type F.1.: Individual Rural Residences of Leon County.

4. **Agricultural and Industrial Structures** - Again, no standing antebellum agricultural or industrial structures have been documented to date, but archaeological features are known to remain. These, described in Property Type F.2.: Agricultural and Industrial Buildings of Leon County, have the potential to yield important information on agricultural and industrial practices in antebellum Leon County.

5. **Churches, Schools and Commissaries** - Due to the self-sufficient nature of antebellum plantations, some contained their own churches, schools, and particularly commissaries. The archaeological remains of these structures (none are known to remain standing) have the potential to yield information on the design of these facilities, and their religious, educational and economic functions. They are discussed in Property Type F.3.: Rural Religious, Educational and Commercial Buildings of Leon County.

B. <u>Yeoman Farms, 1866-1945</u>

With the end of slavery after the Civil War, Leon County's economy underwent a major restructuring.

1. **Cultural Landscape** - Over time, some of the plantation lands were sold off in parcels to create smaller farms. Often, the lands remained under one ownership, but were farmed in small parcels by tenants who had previously been slaves. These tenant farms often consisted of about 40 acres, enough for one family to work. This system changed the landscape of Leon County, as the farms were scattered to take advantage of the more productive land. Frequently, surrounding lands eventually evolved into second growth forest. This gave the Leon County landscape a patchwork quality, with patches of open land surrounded by natural areas.

2. **Main House and Domestic Outbuilding Complex** - As in antebellum days, the wood frame vernacular house, backed by a domestic complex of kitchen, privy, smokehouse, dairy and other assorted structures, probably predominated. These are described in Property Type F.1.: Individual Rural Residences of Leon County.

3. **Tenant Structures** - Small wood frame tenant structures dotted the landscape, as described in Property Type: Property Type F.1.: Individual Rural Residences of Leon County.

4. **Agricultural and Industrial Structures** - Depending on the size and complexity of the yeoman farm, it might feature a variety of agricultural and industrial structures, ranging from simple sheds and corn cribs, to a complex of agricultural and industrial structures as described in Property Type F.2.: Agricultural and Industrial Buildings of Leon County.

5. **Churches, Schools and Commissaries** - Depending on their size and complexity, yeoman farms may have included religious, educational and commercial facilities. It is likely that commissaries were most prevalent, especially on yeoman farms that had a number of tenants. These facilities are described in Property Type F.3.: Rural Religious, Educational and Commercial Buildings of Leon County.

C. Hunting Plantations, 1890-1945

While agriculture and related light industry were dominant forces in Leon County's economy throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, after the Civil War, the end of slavery and the aftermath of the war threw Leon County's agricultural economy into a state of chaos. Agricultural production declined dramatically, and the value of land plummeted. The low cost of land and attractive hunting conditions of this region drew the attention of wealthy Northern financiers, many from Ohio and other parts of the Midwest, associated with such industrial giants as Standard Oil. In the 1880s they began accumulating vast tracts of land in southern Georgia around Thomasville, and by the 1890s began amassing estates in Leon County. Soon the northern part of the county was dominated by large, several thousand acre hunting plantations. The Northerners visited in the winter to hunt quail and other game, and retained tenants to farm the land in dispersed, forty acre tracts.

Hunting plantations are characterized by several features: 1) cultural landscape; 2) main house and domestic outbuilding complex; 3) farm and hunting complex; 4) tenant structures; 5)

agricultural and industrial structures; and, sometimes, 6) churches, schools and commissaries.

1. **Cultural Landscape** - The cultural landscape reflects the symbiotic relationship between patch-crop farming and the game population. After the Civil War, a system of more fragmented cultivation began, where tenant farmers worked those patches of land with the best soil and drainage. They planted row crops on small, 40 acre tracts of land. This form of agriculture provided an excellent habitat for small game. When later developed, the hunting courses followed the margins of the tenant farms and forest borders, as these areas contained both food and cover for the game. They were often named for the tenant families who worked the fields. A network of dirt hunting trails, cut wide enough for mule-drawn shooting wagons to pass, wound around the hunting courses. The courses were maintained through controlled burning, and these trails also served as fire breaks during the controlled burnings (McGorty, Wolfe and Thurston, n.p.).

2. **Main House and Domestic Outbuilding Complex** - As described in Property Type F.1.: Individual Rural Residences of Leon County, hunting plantations had a main house and domestic outbuilding complex. Main houses ranged from existing farm or plantation houses, to newer vernacular structures to architect-designed lodges or homes.

3. **Farm and Hunting Complex** - Hunting plantation owners often provided separate housing for their dog trainers, stable masters and others specialized in animal husbandry and game hunting. Hunting plantations also often had a series of tenant houses for the families that farmed the land. Most of these secondary residences appear to have been built in the local vernacular tradition, and were modest wood frame structures raised on brick piers and with porches. Single pen and two room saddlebag houses with central chimneys appear to have been common (McGorty, Wolfe and Thurston, n.p.). Styles, forms and domestic outbuildings and structures correlate to those under Property Type: F.1. Rural Residences of Leon County, Florida.

These plantations had specialized structures related to hunting. As an example, Horseshoe Plantation has kennels and dog runs, a pigeon house to keep birds for training the dogs to hunt, a hunting wagon shelter, and horse stables related to hunting.

Foshalee has a dog hospital and game cooler with walk-in freezer. These estates also have numerous farm structures related to agricultural pursuits. Again, Horseshoe has a machine shop, two stall barn, pig sty, corn granary, hay storage structure, and carpenter shop/lumber shed. Foshalee has a machine shop, storage shed for heavy equipment, mule barn, two corn barns, a cow barn, a hay barn, hay feeders and a covered concrete feeding trough (Horseshoe Plantation File, Foshalee File).

In some instances, these structures were not of vernacular design, as was typical in most of the county. Instead, some were designed in Colonial Revival and other styles, reflecting the affluence and taste of their owners. Whether vernacular or high style, these agricultural buildings and structures served functions outlined under Property Type: Farms and Antebellum Plantations of Leon County, Florida.

The 1988 *Leon County Hunting Plantation Survey* (see Brueckheimer) identified 125 historic farm buildings. Today, eight large, active hunting plantations encompassing close to 56,000 acres of land remain in Leon County. Typically, the main houses and stables, kennels and other facilities associated with hunting have been well maintained. Some tenant houses, however, have been allowed to fall into ruin.

4. **Tenant Structures** - As the hunting plantations relied on tenant farms both to encourage game populations and provide revenue for the estates, the plantation often included numerous tenant structures, as described in Property Type F.1.: Individual Rural Residences of Leon County.

5. **Agricultural and Industrial Structures** - Hunting plantations could include a variety of agricultural and industrial structures as described in Property Type F.2.: Agricultural and Industrial Buildings of Leon County.

6. **Churches, Schools and Commissaries** - Again, hunting plantations could include churches, schools and commissaries. Probably, commissaries to sell goods to the tenants were most prevalent, but there are also records of schools and churches, particularly for the tenants on the property. These facilities are described in Property Type F.3.: Rural Religious, Educational and Commercial Buildings of Leon County.

III. Significance

The Cultural Landscapes of Leon County are significant under National Register Criterion A for their association with Agriculture. Depending on the types of resources located on the properties, they might also derive significance in the areas of Commerce, Education, Ethnic Heritage/Black and Industry. As Hunting Plantations, they may also derive significance for the Conservation of natural features and habitats through controlled burnings and other means, and Entertainment/Recreation for their use by wealthy Northerners as their winter hunting retreats. They derive further significance under Criterion C because of their complexes of high style and vernacular buildings and structures linked by the cultural landscape. They may derive further significance under Criterion D for their ability to yield important information about construction techniques and architecture.

IV. Registration Requirements

To be eligible for listing under this property type a group of buildings and structures and/or archaeological sites must be located in Leon County and meet the following criteria:

1) have a collection of buildings, structures and/or sites linked by a common cultural landscape.

2) have been developed between 1821 and 1945.

3) have significant historical associations with the development of Leon County agriculture or hunting during its period of significance.

4) retain much of its original architectural and cultural landscape integrity, and/or possess a high degree of archaeological potential to yield information.

5) buildings, structures and sites representing other property types in this cover may be included.

G. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

The properties that are eligible for listing under this cover are located in Leon County, Florida. The boundary of the area encompasses approximately 685 square miles. The county is bordered by the State of Georgia on the north; the Ochlockonee River and Gadsden and Liberty Counties on the west; Lake Miccosukee and Jefferson County to the east; and Wakulla County to the south.

H. SUMMARY OF IDENTIFICATION AND EVALUATION METHODS

This multiple property nomination is a result of an architectural, archaeological and historical investigation of select rural Leon County antebellum and late nineteenth-early twentieth century properties. It was combined with research on other National Register listed and eligible properties surveyed previously in Leon County. The goal was to identify property types (both standing and archaeological) that are representative of the agricultural development of rural Leon County from 1821 through 1945.

Close to eight months were spent extensively studying four rural Leon County properties, which included main houses and agricultural and other outbuildings. These properties were studied to prepare Individual District nominations to the National Register. Both the 1851 Charles Bannerman Plantation and c. 1830s Roberts Farm were the subject of exhaustive historical research, as well as preliminary archaeological investigation. Extensive historical research was also conducted on the c. 1840s Lester-Lauder property and late 19th century Will Bannerman Farm. In all cases, oral interviews were conducted with elder family members, many of whom were in their nineties.

In addition, thorough research was undertaken in existing historical literature on both Leon County and the South to identify periods of development in the agriculture of the area, as well as associated buildings and structures. Finally, previously surveyed rural resources were reviewed, and pertinent information was incorporated into the analysis. It was intended that the scope of the nomination can be as limited as one building or archaeological feature, or as expansive as an entire farm or crossroad community.

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