

THE FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

AT HOME AMONG THE RED HILLS: THE AFRICAN AMERICAN  
TENANT FARM COMMUNITY ON TALL TIMBERS PLANTATION

By

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## **ABSTRACT**

Southern quail hunting plantations emerged in the late 1800s as wealthy northerners began to buy the old cotton plantations to enjoy the temperate southern Georgia and northern Florida winters and also to indulge in the genteel sport of quail hunting. Many of these quail plantations are known for their attractive main houses and beautiful landscapes, but running the plantations depended upon a large community of African Americans who worked as domestic help, wage laborers, and tenant farmers. The tenant farmers who resided on the plantations were an important part of the community, not only for their assistance in the operation of the large plantations, but also because of the self-sufficient communities of tenant farms they created on the vast tracts of land. Unfortunately a lack of written records left behind by the African American residents have caused the history and lifestyle of these inhabitants to remain relatively unexplored. However, by examining business ledgers kept by the owner of Tall Timbers, oral histories taken of former inhabitants, and interpreting material culture recovered during an archaeological excavation that took place on an abandoned tenant farm the story of the families who once lived on the plantation can be uncovered. This thesis endeavors to tell the history of the tenant farm families who once farmed Tall Timbers Plantation in the red hills of Florida during the early 1900s, thus exposing an integral part of African American History in the South.

## INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of the 1900s the Civil War era cotton plantations that had once encompassed most of the land in north Florida had disappeared. In some cases the plantations were sold in small parcels, but in the red hills of north Florida some plantations had been preserved. Wealthy northerners bought the old plantations in order to enjoy the temperate southern Georgia and northern Florida winters and also to indulge in the genteel sport of quail hunting.<sup>1</sup> Many of these hunting plantations, including the one that would become known as Tall Timbers, were known for their attractive main houses and beautiful landscapes, but the running of the plantations depended upon a large community of African Americans who worked as domestic help, wage laborers, and tenant farmers. The tenant farmers who resided on the plantations were an important part of the community, not only for their assistance in the operation of the large plantations, but also because of the self-sufficient communities of tenant farms they created on the vast tracts of land.

Tenant farming was part of the agricultural system that succeeded slavery after the Civil War. This type of farming, along with sharecropping, became the most popular agricultural practice in the south during the early 1900s. Both types of farm rental have become an acknowledged aspect of southern history but the history and lifestyle of the African American families who worked under this system remains relatively unexplored. One of the reasons why this part of southern history remains clouded is the lack of written records many African American tenant farm families left behind. Regrettably this remains true in the case of the tenant farm families of Tall Timbers, where few records from the families have survived. What has endured are the business ledgers kept by Henry Beadel, who owned the land from 1919 to his death in 1963. The ledgers span the time period in which tenant farming dominated the plantation economy, 1920 to 1949, and are able not only able to give the rental amounts charged to the farmers, but also the names of the tenant farmers, the length of time they spent of the farm, and in some cases the amount of land they were able to rent.

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<sup>1</sup> Clifton Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail: An Agricultural Chronicle of Leon County, Florida 1860-1967* (1968; reprint, Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida, 1981), 72.



Two other important sources presented themselves while an examination of the tenant farming community was underway. One was oral histories of former residents conducted by the staff at Tall Timbers Research Station. The subjects of the oral histories were the children of many of the tenant farmers listed in Beadel's ledger. Their stories and recollections of place names and dates help to fill in the gaps of information that the lack of historical records has created. Lastly the material culture recovered during an archaeological investigation conducted on a tenant house site at Tall Timbers gives us another source on which to base this study. Material culture, which can be anything from the structures the family lived in to the items they used in their everyday life, is a direct link to the lifestyle these families once led. The interpretation of such materials can greatly help in a study where primary historical documents, like diaries or letters, are absent. By examining the historical documents, oral histories, and material culture of the families who once farmed Tall Timbers Plantation in the red hills of Florida during the early 1900s an integral part of African American History in the South can be exposed.

## **Historiography**

Literature concerning African American history in the South has become increasingly common in recent years. Slavery remains the most thoroughly covered topic, with books and articles being written on the subject constantly. The era of Reconstruction, which underwent a theory shift in the 1960s, has also slowly been gaining ground in historical research in the past few years. Yet even with this increased interest in African American history, the early 1900s and the agricultural lifestyle that many southern African Americans led has been largely ignored. A few studies have been published exploring this time period, but their dates of publication appear to be infrequent.

One of the first studies undertaken was Charles Johnson's *Shadow of a Plantation*, first published in 1934. Written by a sociology professor, *Shadow of a Plantation* exposed the grimness and exploitative properties of the agricultural systems dominant in the south, namely sharecropping and tenant farming. Johnson's book studied African American residents of Macon, Alabama, covering such subjects as education, religion, and the inherent unfairness of the tenant system they all found themselves members of.

From 1935 to 1943 the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.) conducted its own study of African Americans in Florida as part of the Federal Writers Project. The study mainly focused on documenting the stories of former slaves and folklore, but still managed to record some information on the current living conditions of African American in the still predominantly rural state. Unfortunately the study was not published until a compilation of the project was released in 1993. This compilation attempted to cover many aspects of the original study but, because the original manuscript was never published and most of the original documents are contained in various archives in Florida and the Library of Congress, the compilation is a less significant result than the original study could have produced.<sup>2</sup>

In the mid to late 1900s, the focus on agricultural systems in the south centered on the structure of the agricultural system as compared to the people who lived under it. Various authors, including Lee J. Alston, Kyle D. Kauffman,<sup>3</sup> and Robert Higgs<sup>4</sup>, all published articles in historical journals discussing the composition of the social structure that dictated the life of rural southern African Americans. These studies were instrumental in the definition of sharecropping and tenant farming and other forms of farm rental in the south, but the stories of the people who lived under these systems were often lost in the academic literature.

Recently Charles S. Aiken's *The Cotton Plantation South Since the Civil War*, has reintroduced the definitions of the agricultural ladder most rural African American southerners found themselves on. Although mainly focused on Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, Aiken's research attempted to explain how this ladder was formed in the cotton culture south and how it was ultimately destroyed by the mechanization of cotton farming. Included in this study is a generalized description of the life most agricultural workers lived, with emphasis placed on a spatial analysis of the agricultural settlements.

While many studies have focused on traditional historical research methodology, a few historic archaeologists have focused on the material culture of tenant farms, thus adding their

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<sup>2</sup> Gary W. McDonogh, ed., introduction to *The Florida Negro: A Federal Writers' Project Legacy* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), xi.

<sup>3</sup> Lee J. Alston and Kyle D. Kauffman, "Agricultural Chutes and Ladders: New Estimates of Sharecroppers and 'True Tenants' in the South, 1900-1920," *The Journal of Economic History* 57, no. 2 (1997):464-475.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Higgs, "Patterns of Farm Rental in the Georgia Cotton Belt, 1880-1900." *The Journal of Economic History* 34, no. 2 (June 1974): 468-482.

own information to southern history. Charles E. Orser's investigation into Millwood Plantation in *The Material Basis of the Postbellum Tenant Plantation* is one of the seminal works in the field. Published in 1988, Orser's examination of the transformation of Millwood Plantation, from slavery to tenant farms, utilized both historical research and artifacts recovered from the landowner and tenant houses. The author does succeed in combining his interpretation of a large collection of artifacts and research, thus making this book one of the most useful resources when studying this type of plantation. Another book based in historic archaeology, *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana 1840-1950* by Lauria A. Wilkie, continued the type of study Orser began with the inclusion of oral histories as a research component.

Florida, a state once ruled by agriculture, has produced no major study of African American rural workers in the early 1900s. All of the studies referenced above, with the exception of the work done by the W.P.A., discussed all other areas in the south except for Florida. Clay Outzs<sup>5</sup> and Susan Hamburger<sup>6</sup> published articles about sharecropping and tenant farming just after the Civil War in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, but works on the later period have yet to be discovered. While this thesis attempts to reveal some of the history of Florida by studying the tenant farm families of Tall Timbers, much more work will need to be done if the complete story of this large segment of the population is to be told.

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<sup>5</sup> Clay Outzs, "Sharecropping and the Cotton Culture in Leon County, Florida, 1865-1885," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (1996):1-23.

<sup>6</sup> Susan Hamburger, "On the Land for Life: Black Tenant Farmers on Tall Timbers Plantation," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (1987):152-159.

# CHAPTER ONE

## HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Europeans have occupied Florida since the 1500s but Leon County itself was not formally established until the beginning of the 1800s. With Spanish secession of Florida to the expanding United States in 1821, the territorial government decided to establish a centrally located capital. Territorial Governor William Pope Duval appointed two commissioners to establish a capital city located between the Ochlockonee and Suwannee Rivers. Duval selected Dr. William H. Simmons of St. Augustine and John Lee Williams of Pensacola. Simmons and Williams set out from their respective cities and encountered each other in October 1823 at the Spanish outpost known as San Marcos de Apalachee (currently known as St. Marks). By November, Simmons and Williams had made their way northeast to the area presently known as Tallahassee. Impressed with the elevated landscape, Simmons and Williams recommended this site to Governor Duval for the new capital.<sup>1</sup> In November 1824, the Legislative Council convened at the new site and named it Tallahassee. The Legislative Council not only formed a state capital but also a new county. In December 1824, the Territory of Florida created, by legislative council, a county "...by the name of Leon County, comprehended within a line corresponding on the west with the eastern boundary line of Gadsden County, which is the west bank of the river Ochlocknee, on the north by the boundary line of the state of Georgia, on the east by the river Suwanee, and on the south by the Gulf of Mexico."<sup>2</sup> With the later formation of Jefferson and Wakulla Counties, Leon County was reduced to 685 square miles and retains that size to the present day.

Although the county was formed on paper, settlers quickly claimed the countryside from the land office in Tallahassee. The land that Tall Timbers Plantation eventually resided on first entered into the records in 1826 when Lot 4 of Section 22, Township 3 North, Range 1 East was

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<sup>1</sup> Mary Louise Ellis and William Warren Rogers, *Tallahassee and Leon County: A History and Bibliography* (Tallahassee: Department of State, 1986), 6.

<sup>2</sup> Leon County Commission, *Laws of Leon County: Local and Special Legislation 1820-1956, Published as a report to the Leon County Commission* (Tallahassee, 1956), 109.

purchased by John Phinizy of Georgia.<sup>3</sup> One year later Samuel Bryan of Florida purchased Lot 1 and Island No. 3 in the same section.<sup>4</sup> No other land activity occurred until 1834 when Griffin Holland purchased Lots 2 and 3 of Section 22, Township 3 North, Range 1 East.<sup>5</sup> By the mid 1800s Holland was a major landholder in the Lake Iamonia area and had come to own most of the lots. Holland, a doctor from Virginia, was first recorded in Florida in the 1830 United States (U.S.) Federal Census.<sup>6</sup> By the early 1860s, Holland's holdings in the Lake Iamonia area came to include 2,503 acres, of which 1,200 were improved, or ready for crops, worked on by 105 slaves and produced 225 bales of cotton and 7000 bushels of corn.<sup>7</sup>

The amount of agricultural activity on Woodlawn, the name of Holland's landholdings, is a reflection of how Leon County quickly became established as an agricultural leader. Agricultural practices in pre-Civil War Leon County centered on large plantation style farms, worked by slave labor. Typically, these types of farms consisted of five hundred or more acres of improved land and accounted for most of the improved land in Leon County by 1860.<sup>8</sup> The population of Leon County had grown to 12,343, of which 9,089 were enslaved African Americans, most of whom worked on the large tracts of land.<sup>9</sup> This period in Leon County history would be thought of as a "golden age" to the white inhabitants of the county because of increased farm production. However, civil unrest over the issues of slavery and its regulation soon replaced the peace of the 1850s and early 1860s.

Leon County's participation in the Civil War began with the secession of Florida from the Union on January 10, 1861. The third state in the south to do so, Florida became a member of the Confederate States of America just one month later.<sup>10</sup> Leon County residents hurried to enlist in what they believed to be a quick confrontation with Union forces. At first the

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<sup>3</sup> General Land Office, *Certificate of the Register of the Land Office at Tallahassee*, 1826, no. 538.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1827, no. 813 & 1385.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1834, no. 3542 & 3702.

<sup>6</sup> Bureau of the Census, *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830*, prepared by the U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C., 1830), 134.

<sup>7</sup> Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 127.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>9</sup> Bureau of the Census, *Eight Census of the United States, 1860*, prepared by the U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C., 1830), 42.

<sup>10</sup> Ellis and Rogers, *Tallahassee and Leon County*, 12.

community held up well under the strains of war. As the battles commenced, however, life in Tallahassee and the surrounding county became increasingly difficult. Many stores located in the downtown area were forced to close because of a lack of supplies and women in the country began to use whatever vegetation they could find to keep their families alive.<sup>11</sup>

Because of its role as state capital of Florida, residents of Tallahassee were in constant fear of attack and capture by Union forces. Union soldiers threatened Tallahassee on March 6, 1865, as they attempted to take the seaport of St. Marks and cut Tallahassee off from the railroad. Troops from Tallahassee and cadets from the West Florida Seminary successfully held off the Union troops, in southern Leon County, at a battle that would eventually become known as the Battle of Natural Bridge. Soon after the battle, on April 9, 1865, General Robert E. Lee surrendered to General Ulysses S. Grant, effectively ending the Civil War. In Tallahassee, Union troops raised the stars and stripes over the capital on May 20, 1865.<sup>12</sup> The residents of the community looked to starting their lives over, once again citizens of the United States of America.

The post-Civil War era in Leon County was a difficult time for farmers. Cotton, which had taken over the fields as the main cash crop, earned less profit. Many of the large, cotton based farms attempted to revive the old plantation style of farming. Reliance on cotton as the predominant cash crop of southern agriculture proved fatal to southern farmers as cotton prices consistently fell during the war and never recovered its former earning potential. In August 1868, the first postwar bale of cotton was brought into Tallahassee and, even though it was of poor quality, the farmer received twenty-six and one-half cents a pound. Ten years later in the 1879-1880 season, cotton earned only twenty-two cents a pound.<sup>13</sup> Cotton's falling prices caused farmers to look at other crops to help support their families and corn eclipsed cotton as the major cash crop for Leon County during the 1880s. Of the 104,857 acres of tilled farmland in the county, cotton was farmed on 42,988 acres while corn was farmed on 43,745 acres in

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<sup>11</sup> Julianne Hare, *Tallahassee: A Capital City History* (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2002), 59.

<sup>12</sup> Ellis and Rogers, *Tallahassee and Leon County*, 14-16.

<sup>13</sup> Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 23, 31, 34.

1880.<sup>14</sup> Other crops produced in the county included: oats, peanuts, velvet beans, and assorted vegetables.<sup>15</sup>

As farmers explored new crops in Leon County, a new agricultural system was also sweeping the south. Under the old plantation system, slave gang labor was the main source of agricultural production in the south. With emancipation, the planters and former slaves, now known as freedmen, were forced to create a new system of agricultural production that would benefit both groups. White planters were looking for a reliable stable workforce, while the freedmen were in search for some level of autonomy from their former masters. The agricultural system that evolved became a combination of wage laborers, sharecropping and tenant farming, which varied widely across the south.<sup>16</sup> Large plantations in Leon County typically utilized sharecropping and tenant farming, the most popular agricultural practices. In a sharecropping agreement, the freedmen would work for ownership of one-third of the crop, while in the other types of contracts the landowner would rent the land for a specified amount of money that would create a tenant farming agreement.<sup>17</sup>

It is unknown what kind of agreement Holland had with his former slaves on Woodlawn but, like many other large landholding families of the period, the Hollands had fallen on rough economic times. In 1860 Holland, residing in Leon County, owned real estate valued at \$30,000 and a personal estate valued at \$25,000.<sup>18</sup> Ten years later Holland and some of his family, moved back to Virginia, the state of his birth, with real estate valued at \$16,000 and a personal estate valued at \$15,000.<sup>19</sup> While the Holland family was not completely destitute, Dr. Holland had lost nearly half of his wealth in a decade. This made the subsequent sale of Woodlawn in 1871 an unsurprising event.

Dr. Holland sold his estate on the north side of Lake Iamonia to Alexander Moseley of Leon County, Florida, in 1871. Before his purchase of Woodlawn, 30-year-old Alexander

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 34.

<sup>15</sup> Ellis and Rogers, *Tallahassee and Leon County*, 21.

<sup>16</sup> Alston and Kauffman, "Agricultural Chutes and Ladders," 465-466.

<sup>17</sup> Ouzts, "Sharecropping and the Cotton Culture," 9-10.

<sup>18</sup> Bureau of the Census. *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860*, 42.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*, prepared by the U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C., 1870), 43.

Moseley was recorded in the 1870 U.S. Federal Census along with his wife Mary L. Moseley and young son, William.<sup>20</sup> The young farmer, and veteran of the Civil War,<sup>21</sup> was the head of a small family possessing real estate valued at \$2000 and a personal estate valued at \$70, but in one year they would become large landholders. Woodlawn, consisting of 1,373 acres, was sold to Moseley for \$6,760.47.<sup>22</sup> How Moseley was able to afford Woodlawn is not known, but the family owned the plantation for only nine years, during which the family grew to include two more children, a sister-in-law, and three servants. Alexander Moseley had also taken on a new occupation, that of Sheriff of Leon County.<sup>23</sup> This new occupation, and continued residence in town, led to the sale of Woodlawn once again.

In 1880, Moseley sold all 1,373 acres of Woodlawn to a Thomasville, Georgia, storekeeper by the name of Eugene H. Smith for \$4000.<sup>24</sup> Renamed Hickory Hill by the large Smith family, the Georgians owned the estate for the next fifteen years.<sup>25</sup> In 1895 Hickory Hill, then in the possession of Eugene Smith's widow Elizabeth and their children, was sold to a New Yorker, Edward Beadel, for the sum of \$8000.<sup>26</sup> With this new owner, the entire purpose of the estate underwent a major change.

## **Evolution of the Hunting Plantations**

Agriculture in Leon County evolved throughout the late 1880s and early 1900s. Smaller farms began to turn away from the traditional crops, such as corn and cotton.<sup>27</sup> Family owned farms tried to plant new cash crops such as pecans, tung nuts, pears, and shade tobacco.

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> National Park Service, "Civil War Soldiers and Sailor System," 2004, <http://www.itd.nps.gov/cwss/soldiers.htm> (April 22, 2005).

<sup>22</sup> Leon County, *Leon County Deed Records*, Book P (Tallahassee, 1871), 612-613.

<sup>23</sup> Bureau of the Census. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*, prepared by the U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C., 1880), 11.

<sup>24</sup> Leon County, *Leon County Deed Records*, Book W (Tallahassee, 1880), 143-144.

<sup>25</sup> William R. Brueckheimer, *Leon County Hunting Plantations, vol 1: A Historical & Cultural Survey* (Final Report: Geographical-Historical Overview, Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board, 1988), 130.

<sup>26</sup> Leon County, *Leon County Deed Records*, Book FF (Tallahassee, 1895), 142-143.

<sup>27</sup> Harry P. Brubaker, *Land Classification, Ownership, and Use in Leon County, Florida* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1956), 122.



However, pecans, pears, and shade tobacco, never succeeded in Leon County and many small farms remained dependent on the stable crops of cotton and corn.<sup>28</sup> The few large plantations that had managed to survive in Leon County did not divide their land, but rather sold the large plantations to northerners who then turned the land into winter homes and used the acreage to hunt quail and other game.<sup>29</sup> Under the ownership of Edward Beadel, Hickory Hill plantation underwent a similar transformation.

Edward Beadel, a New York businessman, visited the Thomasville, Georgia, area for several years before purchasing Hickory Hill.<sup>30</sup> Thomasville was known throughout the late 1870s as a good place to send consumption patients and, even though the contagious nature of tuberculosis was discovered in 1882, many wealthy northerners continued to travel to the small Georgia town in order to enjoy the temperate winter weather. Another reason many northerners came to the area was the excellent hunting in the piney woods of northern Leon County. The agricultural practices in the area, which continued to operate on a sharecropping or tenant farming basis, was conducive to an abundance of quail and other game. At first, many of the visitors leased land from the owners of the old plantations, but soon the wealthy northerners began to purchase the large estates.<sup>31</sup> Beadel, an enthusiastic hunter, had spent many winters in the Thomasville area and had hunted on the property of Charles Davis in the Lake Iamonia area. Following the trends begun just a few years earlier, Beadel purchased Hickory Hills to transform it into a hunting plantation.<sup>32</sup>

In 1895 Edward Beadel built the main house that still stands on the property.<sup>33</sup> Twenty-four years later the house and estate were sold to his nephew Henry L. Beadel.<sup>34</sup> Henry Beadel, an architect from Long Island, New York, changed the name of the plantation to its presently

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<sup>28</sup> Ellis and Rogers, *Tallahassee and Leon County*, 22.

<sup>29</sup> Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 74.

<sup>30</sup> Brueckheimer, *Leon County Hunting Plantations*, 130.

<sup>31</sup> William R. Brueckheimer, Sara Hay Lamb, and Gwendolyn B. Waldorf, *Rural Resources of Leon County, Florida 1821-1950, vol 1* (Historic Contexts and Case Studies, Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board, 1992), 24.

<sup>32</sup> Brueckheimer, *Leon County Hunting Plantations*, 130.

<sup>33</sup> National Park Service, *National Register of Historic Places: Nomination Form, Tall Timbers Plantation*. (Washington D.C., 1989).

<sup>34</sup> Leon County, *Leon County Deed Records*, Book 1 (Tallahassee, 1919), 225-228.

held title of Tall Timbers.<sup>35</sup> The new owner of Tall Timbers continued to use the estate as a hunting plantation, modernizing and adding to the main house and outbuildings, but as the years passed, the owners of these large plantations began to observe an unsettling trend.

During the 1920s the U.S. Forest Service and Florida State Forest Service began a program of fire prevention in the Red Hills region. The use of fire, which had been used in previous decades to cultivate the fields and clear out overgrown patches of land, was quickly stopped. Soon large portions of the hunting plantations were covered in growth and many of the quail the northerners enjoyed hunting disappeared from their natural habitat.<sup>36</sup> The owners of the hunting plantations, including Beadel, decided to fund a study headed by Herbert L. Stoddard to investigate the quail habitat in the region. The report and Stoddard's subsequent book, *The Bobwhite Quail, Its Habits, Preservation and Increase*, published in 1929 helped to prove the beneficial aspects of fire and how the cleared land that controlled burning produced was exactly the type of habitat in which quails, preferred to live. In 1931 the Cooperative Quail Study Association was established and Henry Beadel was named Secretary and Treasurer. Although the organization disbanded in 1943, Beadel's interest in the work of conservation and game management continued. Beadel led the establishment of Tall Timbers Research Station on his plantation in 1958 to study habitat management using prescribed fire as a management tool. With his death in 1963 the entire estate was donated to the station to continue research in ecological conservation, a mission that continues to the present day.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Brueckheimer, *Leon County Hunting Plantations*, 130.

<sup>36</sup> Brueckheimer, Lamb, and Waldorf, *Rural Resources of Leon County*, 25-27.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-28.

## CHAPTER TWO

### AFRICAN AMERICAN RECORD

African Americans first appeared on the land that would become Tall Timbers in the 1840s. Griffin Holland, who bought the plantation in the mid 1830s, owned fifty-three slaves by 1840.<sup>1</sup> By 1860 Holland's slave population had grown to 105 individuals ranging from less than a year to one hundred years old.<sup>2</sup> This population worked the 2503 acres of land Holland owned, known as Woodlawn, at the onset of the Civil War.<sup>3</sup> Because Leon County was mainly an agricultural community at this time, slaves predominantly worked as field laborers. Little evidence exists of a division of labor based on gender; both men and women worked in the field from dawn to dusk with a short midday break.<sup>4</sup> The slaves occupied the twenty slave houses Holland is recorded as owning, yet the housing and lifestyle Holland afforded his slaves is unknown.<sup>5</sup> Most likely the slaves were provided small one to two room shacks located in a cluster, traditionally identified as the slave quarters. Holland would have provided clothing, food, and any other major necessities for subsistence, however, the quality of these goods varied greatly from plantation to plantation.<sup>6</sup> Slavery persisted on Woodlawn for the next thirty years until political actions taken during the Civil War affected the inhabitants of the Leon County plantation.

On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, which freed all slaves held in states rebelling against the Union. As one of the rebelling states, Florida was affected by the proclamation, yet the slaves held within its borders were not actually freed

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<sup>1</sup> Bureau of the Census. *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840*, prepared by the U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C., 1840), 9.

<sup>2</sup> Bureau of the Census, *1860 Slave Schedule*, prepared by the U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C., 1860), 49-50.

<sup>3</sup> Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 127.

<sup>4</sup> Larry Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 20.

<sup>5</sup> Bureau of the Census, *1860 Slave Schedule*, 49-50.

<sup>6</sup> McDonogh, *The Florida Negro*, 21.

until the end of the war. It was not until May 20, 1865, when Union General Edward M. McCook issued orders to his field commander that slaves across Florida were notified of their freedom.<sup>7</sup>

Newly freed African Americans reacted to the news in different ways. Some of the freedmen left the homes they had known their entire lives, eager to enjoy the freedom they had never known. Others continued to work for their former masters, now with the added complication of a contract that defined the compensation freedmen would receive for their work.<sup>8</sup> The type of contract the former slaves made with the landowners varied from plantation to plantation. In some cases a wage was paid to the worker, but on most farms contracts stipulated that the former slaves would be given a share of the crops they produced.<sup>9</sup>

Because the presence of two tenant farm families can be traced to the 1870s, the fact that Tall Timbers was used for farming is undeniable. Gilbert Nix and John Wyche were recorded as members of the same household in 1870.<sup>10</sup> Of these two men, Nix was born in Florida in 1847, and Wyche in Georgia in 1849. By 1880 Nix and Wyche were married and had begun households of their own. Each of the farmer's wives were born in their husband's respective home states: Gilbert Nix's wife, Eliza, was born in Florida and Wyche's wife, Lila, in Georgia.<sup>11</sup> Soon other families joined the Nix and Wyche clans and a network of family names covered the plantation, some of which could still be found into the early 1900s.

Of this first grouping of tenant farm families, most of the spouses seem to be either first generation Floridians or recently migrated to the state in the late 1870s. Susan Hamburger traced five of these early families, the Nix, Wyche, Fisher, Stratton, and Vickers families, and found of the twelve spouses only four were born in Florida and only one was a second generation Floridian. The majority of the spouses were originally from Virginia, Georgia or the Carolinas.<sup>12</sup> This trend is partially explained by the general movement of freedmen across the south at the end of the war, but the major reason for this variance is the passing of the Homestead Act of 1866.

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<sup>7</sup> Joe Richardson, "Negro in the Reconstruction of Florida, 1865-1877." (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1965), 9.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 11-13.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>10</sup> Bureau of the Census. *Ninth Census of the United States: 1870*, 196.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., *Tenth Census of the United States: 1880*, 6-7.

<sup>12</sup> Hamburger, "On the Land for Life," 154.

The act allowed the opening of government lands in Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Florida for homesteading and with help from the Freedmen's Bureau, freedmen could secure land.<sup>13</sup> Thus they flocked to Florida, mainly from Georgia and the Carolinas, to take advantage of the offer of land. Many former slaves acquired homesteads, but the long-term ownership many desired could not be sustained because of the poor quality of land and lack of initial capital.<sup>14</sup> While large scale African American farm ownership did not develop, the large influx of freedmen helped to greatly increase the number of rented farms in Leon County during the 1880s.<sup>15</sup>

By the late 1880s cotton production, the main crop of tenant farming, had reached its peak in Leon County. As the 1890s were succeeded by the 1900s, many African Americans began to leave their traditional rural lifestyles in order to find better work in urban centers. Some families moved to the closest large town, either Tallahassee or Thomasville, but others made the trek to large northern cities that promised a better life for their families. This movement, later known as the Great Migration, continued through the first half of the 1900s.<sup>16</sup> Because of this movement, Tall Timbers lost more than half of its tenant farm families between 1920 and 1940, and its population fell from eighty five to forty three.<sup>17</sup>

In the 1940s the African American community at Tall Timbers consisted of nine families. Two of these families can be traced to the first generation of tenant farmers that had worked the land, but the other family names were new. Although some of the family names were new to the African American community on Tall Timbers, most of the families had lived in the Lake Iamonia area for decades. An example of this can be found with the Alonzo Jones family. One of the last tenant farm families on the plantation, Alonzo and Mamie Jones first appeared on Tall Timbers in October 1942.<sup>18</sup> Few records were found on the family history of Alonzo Jones, head of the household. The 1945 Florida State Census listed the 36-year-old man as a farmer and

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<sup>13</sup> Richardson, "Negro in Reconstruction Florida," 73.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 75-76.

<sup>15</sup> Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 34.

<sup>16</sup> Louis Kyriakoudes, "Southern Black Rural-Urban Migration in the Era of the Great Migration: Nashville and Middle Tennessee, 1890-1930," *Agricultural History* 72, no. 2 (Spring 1998): 341.

<sup>17</sup> Henry Beadel, Business Ledger 1920-1952, Tall Timbers Research Station, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

having attained a third grade education.<sup>19</sup> His 33-year-old wife, Mamie Lawyer Jones, is listed in the same census as having acquired a sixth grade education. Her family, the Lawyers, had deep roots in the Leon County area. Israel and Viney Lawyer, Mamie's grandparents, resided in the Lake Iamonia area in the 1880s. Israel, who had originally come from Georgia, worked as a farm laborer as did Viney and their eldest daughter Martha.<sup>20</sup> Mamie's father, Thomas, born in 1883, was found in the 1900 census as a 17-year-old farm laborer still residing in the Lake Iamonia precinct.<sup>21</sup> By 1920 Thomas Lawyer was married to a young woman named Lizzie, worked in a lumber camp, and became the father of seven children.<sup>22</sup> One of these children, Mamie, would eventually marry Alonzo Jones in 1927 and become the matriarch of the Jones family who later resided on Tall Timbers.<sup>23</sup>

Mamie Lawyer Jones' family history illustrates a prevalent trend in tenant farm families of the early 1900s. While she was the first member of her family to farm on Tall Timbers, her family had been residents of the area since 1880s. Many studies of the period illustrate the trend that tenant farmers frequently moved, but rarely left the county of their birth. Instead they moved from farm to farm in the local vicinity.<sup>24</sup> This meant that most of the tenant farmers of the early 1900s were natives of their state as compared to farmers of the late 1880s. Of the forty-three people who made up the nine families on Tall Timbers in the 1940s, thirty-eight were native Floridians, one born in Georgia, and four residents remain unidentified.<sup>25</sup> Tall Timbers' African American community in the 1940s not only illustrates the trend of farmers moving away as part of the Great Migration, but also the lack of families from new states moving into the area in order to take up the agricultural way of life.

The origin of the African American tenant farm families of Tall Timbers Plantation are an excellent example of the history of most southern African Americans. Originally the African

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<sup>19</sup> State of Florida, *Florida State Population Census, 1945*, prepared by the State of Florida (Tallahassee, FL, 1945).

<sup>20</sup> Bureau of the Census. *Tenth Census of the United States: 1880*, 25.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*, prepared by the U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C., 1900), 42A.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*, prepared by the U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C., 1920), 8A.

<sup>23</sup> Leon County Clerk of Courts. *Index to Marriages Leon County, FL*, Volume CN. (Tallahassee, 1927), 140.

<sup>24</sup> Charles S. Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934), 25.

<sup>25</sup> State of Florida, *Florida Population Census, 1945*.

American inhabitants of the community were a mixture of former slaves of Leon County plantations and freedmen who flocked to Florida during Reconstruction because of the promise of land in the Homestead Act of 1866. As the years passed, the families who farmed the land found themselves members of a shrinking community of native Floridians with considerable movement within the local county, but with no appearance of new families to farm the increasingly tired land. These conditions hinted of an end to the tenant farming lifestyle.

## African American Roles on Hunting Plantations

The tenant farm communities of the southern hunting plantations consisted of many African Americans who had worked the land for years. While tenant farming employed the largest percentage of African Americans living on the large plantations, many other members of the community found work on the plantation as support staff for the running of the main house and its hunting expeditions. Farmers and house staff comprised two distinct classes that occupied the same tracts of land, however interaction between the two groups was dependent upon both the size of the plantation and the size of the African American community.

Just north of Tall Timbers Plantation, in Thomas County and Grady County, Georgia, is Pebble Hill Plantation. Also part of the hunting plantation boom of the late 1800s, Pebble Hill Plantation was purchased by Howard Melville Hanna in 1896.<sup>26</sup> He, and later his daughter Kate Hanna Ireland, turned Pebble Hill into one of the most well known hunting plantations in the southern United States.<sup>27</sup> Because of its stature as a showcase plantation, Pebble Hill had very rigid rules for both its tenant farmers and house staff. This in turn created a distinction between different classes on the plantation. According to one former laborer on Pebble Hill:

The first class kind of like the farm crew...Second class was the guys that worked in the dog kennels or horse stables. The ladies that worked in the laundry and the ladies that cooked...and the truck drivers, they all kinda in that class. The next class of people probably be those that worked in the main house or the big house sort of speak. These

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<sup>26</sup> William Warren Rogers, *Pebble Hill: A Story of a Plantation*, (Tallahassee: Sentry Press, 1979), 111.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid*, 124-125.

were the chauffeurs, the butlers, and the maids that actually worked in the big house...So it was different class among even the working class people on the plantation...<sup>28</sup>

Other residents of Pebble Hill recalled how the house staff's children received more privileges than the farmers' children. The house staff's children were given special jobs in order to earn extra money and had access to the fresh milk from the main house's dairy.<sup>29</sup> House staff at Pebble Hill were held separate from the farm families even with their education. Pebble Hill possessed two schools in order to service their large African American communities: one near the main house and another farther away that taught the farming community.<sup>30</sup> This is unlike Tall Timbers, which had just one school, Moseley, to service their entire African American community. Pebble Hill's size and the separation of social groups fostered a sense of two different communities that smaller plantations, such as Tall Timbers, did not possess.

Tall Timbers did have a staff of African Americans who ran both house and hunting expeditions. Mainly, Tall Timbers and Pebble Hill differed in the source of their employees. Tall Timbers' African American community often had members of the same family either working as house staff or renting tenant farms from Beadel whereas Pebble Hill tended to have two distinct classes of personnel. Examples of this can be found in the 1940s in at least two families, the Vickers and the Jones. In the Vickers' family, Henry Vickers rented a farm throughout the 1920s and 1930s, but by the 1940s he was earning a monthly wage of \$25.00 from Beadel. Although Henry appeared to give up tenant farming his son, Richard, attempted that lifestyle for at least two seasons in the early 1940s.<sup>31</sup> Another family, the Jones, also worked for the Beadel's during this period but in their case it was the parents, Alonzo and Mamie, who rented a farm while their son Richard earned wages working sometimes as a day laborer for Beadel.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Charles Copeland, interview by Jack Hadley, in *African American Life on the Southern Hunting Plantation*, compiled by Titus Brown and James "Jack" Hadley, (Charleston: Arcadia Press, 2000), 30.

<sup>29</sup> Princetta Hadley Green, interview by Jack Hadley, in *African American Life*, 11.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 80.

<sup>31</sup> Beadel Ledger.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*



While different members of families worked on either the farm or for the house, for a smaller plantation like Tall Timbers the lines blurred between house staff and tenant farmers more than that of large showcase plantations like Pebble Hill. This illustrated a phenomenon often seen during slavery when, on smaller plantations, one could see slaves working in both the house and the field while on large plantations there was a major division between field hands and house slaves.<sup>33</sup> Another partial remnant of slavery was the elevated social position given to house staff. At times the house staff were considered of a better class than the tenant farmers and in some cases, as seen on Pebble Hill, certain privileges were given to those who worked in the main house. But for many tenant farmers, the sense of independence they received while farming the land was something they would never have traded for the few comforts a house position could give. For many African American farmers whose lack of capital made farm ownership unattainable, the ability to rent a piece of land for a set amount of cash or a share of their crops was the best agricultural vocation they could aspire to during the early 1900s.

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<sup>33</sup> John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2000), 144.

## CHAPTER THREE

### TENANT FARMING LIFESTYLE

In the early 1900s, agricultural opportunities available to most rural African Americans had not changed greatly from the choices available at the end of the Civil War. The wage earner, the lowest level of agricultural worker, was paid a set wage to work on another man's farm and had no control over any aspects of his agricultural career. The wages paid to the worker was mainly dependent upon sex, with men earning more than women.<sup>1</sup> Independent landowners represented the highest level in the agricultural economy. After the boom period created by the Homestead Act of 1866, the number of African Americans who owned land in Leon County steadily declined until the 1880s, however by 1900 the number of landowners had risen slightly.<sup>2</sup> These two classes, present since the end of the Civil War, show the limits of a social structure most African Americans found themselves a part of during the 1900s.

Gradients between wage earner and landowner often fall under the larger term "sharecropper". Even the United States census did not differentiate between the levels of farm rental until the 1920s.<sup>3</sup> All of the intermediate classes involved some sort of payment owed to the landowner in exchange for the rental of a farm. What differentiated the classes was the type of payment given to the landowner and the amount of control the landowner had over his renter.

A true sharecropper, the level immediately above wage earner, is defined as a farm rental in which the owner of the land provided the farmer with a house to live in and, in most cases, all of the supplies he would need in order to run a farm. In return for the use of the land, the sharecropper would give back to the landowner anywhere from one-half to one-third of his crops, dependent upon the amount of supplies initially provided.<sup>4</sup> In legal terms, this made the

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<sup>1</sup> Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 112.

<sup>2</sup> Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 100-103.

<sup>3</sup> Lee J. Alston and Kyle D. Kauffman, "Up, Down and Off the Agricultural Ladder: new Evidence and Implications of Agricultural Mobility for Blacks in the Postbellum South," *Agricultural History* 72, no. 2 (Spring 1998):263.

<sup>4</sup> Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 112.

sharecropper a wage earner who received a share of the crop in payment for his work on the landowner's farm.<sup>5</sup> This arrangement gave the landowner almost all control over types of crops grown on the farm, but provided the sharecropper a small amount of independence by allowing him a chance to live away from the main house and work the crops he was given.

Tenant farming, the next highest level of the agricultural hierarchy, was divided into two classes; share tenant and cash tenant. In a share tenant agreement, landowners received a portion of the crops grown as payment for use of the farm, as in a sharecropper agreement.

Sharecropping and share tenant farming arrangements differed in the amount of crops given and the ownership of supplies used in working the land. A share tenant typically gave the landowner a smaller portion of the crop; around one-fourth to one-third of crops grown and supplied almost all required farming implements. This could include anything from seed, to tools, to livestock that lived on the tenant farm.<sup>6</sup> Cash tenants also supplied the required agricultural implements but, instead of paying land rental in the form of crops, these tenants paid a prearranged cash payment. Because tenant farmers owned their supplies, they were given the most freedom from the landowner in picking their crops and found it easier to secure credit from local merchants than their sharecropping counterparts who had no collateral to secure credit on. These advantages, and the bonus of having a legal status of tenant rather than laborer, made both classes of tenant farming the most sought after type of farm rental for African Americans during this period.<sup>7</sup>

Tall Timbers utilized tenant farming as the main agricultural system after the end of the Civil War. There is no record of the contract terms former owners of Tall Timbers, Holland, Moseley, Smith and Edward Beadel, had with their tenant farm families, but there is no evidence that the agreements were unusual.<sup>8</sup> The first evidence of contracts found under Henry Beadel's ownership is in the 1920s, one year after buying Tall Timber from his uncle, Edward Beadel.<sup>9</sup> Henry Beadel appeared to use a combination of share tenant and cash tenant contracts during the

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<sup>5</sup> Charles S. Aiken, *The Cotton Plantation South: Since the Civil War* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 32.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>8</sup> Hamburger, "On the Land for Life," 153-154.

<sup>9</sup> Leon County, *Leon County Deed Records*, Book 1 (Tallahassee, 1919), 225-228.

thirty years he utilized the tenant farming system on Tall Timbers. All of the transactions in his business ledger record the tenant contracts in terms of cash transactions, but notations in the record also show cotton used in lieu of cash in years when the tenant farmers could not reach gins or markets.<sup>10</sup> Beadel also provided houses for his tenants, but the tenant families themselves provided almost all of their own farm tools and, most importantly, brought their own livestock to the plantation.<sup>11</sup>

The yearly rental amounts charged to the tenant families depended upon size of the farm and the agricultural market. In 1920 Henry Beadel recorded nine tenant farm contracts on Tall Timbers: three were for two-mule farms, (fifty-five to sixty acres of land), five were for a one-mule farm, (thirty to forty acres of land), and one was for half of a farm, (twenty acres of land).<sup>12</sup> The two-mule farms were rented for \$200.00 and were farmed by three large families, the Fishers, Gays, and Jones, each of which had six to eleven members.<sup>13</sup> The five one-mule farms were farmed by smaller families or couples for \$100.00 and the one-half farm contract, rented for \$50.00, was farmed by a single man, Cooper Robinson.<sup>14</sup>

These amounts remained consistent until 1926 when the average price per pound of cotton fell from twenty-one cents to twelve-cents and the price of corn dropped from ninety-three cents to eighty-four cents a bushel.<sup>15</sup> Cotton, corn, sugarcane, peanuts, and sweet potatoes, were the main cash crops for all of the tenant farm families during this period.<sup>16</sup> This change in crop yield meant that if a one mule farm on Tall Timbers planted cotton the tenant farmer would see his earnings fall by fifty percent, for corn almost ten percent.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Beadel Ledger.

<sup>11</sup> Annie Bell Sloan, interview by Juanita Whiddon, tape recording, Tallahassee, FL, 11 May 2005, Tall Timbers Research Station, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>12</sup> Beadel did not habitually record the size of the farms rented, just the price, but the size of the farms can be speculated from oral interviews and notes found in his personal ledger. Beadel Ledger; Annie Bell Sloan, interview.

<sup>13</sup> Bureau of the Census. *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920*, 3B, 4A.

<sup>14</sup> Beadel Ledger.

<sup>15</sup> Florida Crop and Livestock Reporting Service, *Field Crop Data 1919-1967*, by Joe E. Mullins, (Orlando, n.d.), 3,7.

<sup>16</sup> Alex and Hattie Sloan, interview by Juanita Whiddon, tape recording, Tallahassee, FL, 27 July 2005, Tall Timbers Research Station, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>17</sup> Florida Crop Service, *Field Crop Data*, 3,7.

Drastically dropping cotton prices during these years are partially explained by the 1916 arrival of the boll weevil in Leon County.<sup>18</sup> This small insect, which came to the United States through Mexico in 1892, devastated the main cash crop across the southern United States. The Department of Agriculture issued warnings and some farmers attempted to diversify, planting such crops as corn, hay, peanuts, oats, soybeans, and wheat.<sup>19</sup> Cotton ceased to be the main crop in Florida, but its importance was still seen in the 120,000 acres planted three years after the insect crossed the Florida line.<sup>20</sup>

Ultimately boll weevil infestation, along with erosion and dwindling soil fertility, caused a depression that swept both Florida and Georgia throughout the 1920s.<sup>21</sup> Overall, tenant farming declined in Leon County during the early 1900s. In 1900, 1775 farmers were recorded as tenant farmers in the county of which 1664 were African American. By 1920 the number of African American tenant farmers dropped to 1045.<sup>22</sup> On Tall Timbers, the number of tenant contracts fell slightly from nine in 1920 to seven in 1929.<sup>23</sup> One of the reasons why the number of tenant farm families had not fallen drastically on the hunting plantation is a change in the rent structure Beadel undertook in 1926, when the cotton prices had changed so drastically. A yearly contract for a one mule farm now rented for \$75.00, while a two mule farm contract was now \$112.50.<sup>24</sup> This payment structure continued throughout the 1930s.

Tenant farming as an occupation continued to decline in Leon County, with only 901 African American tenant farmers still residing in the county by 1930.<sup>25</sup> In general, farmers who had traditionally found their livelihood on tenant farms began to leave farming for jobs in town, but Tall Timbers and other hunting plantations encouraged tenant farming. One of the reasons why tenant farmers continued to reside on hunting plantations can be traced to the findings of the Cooperative Quail Study Association in 1931. The association encouraged the continuation of the patch style of farming most tenant farmers used, this in turn encouraged quail habitat, thus

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<sup>18</sup> Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 38.

<sup>19</sup> Florida Crop Service, *Field Crop Data*, 1.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>21</sup> Aiken, *The Cotton Plantation South*, 79.

<sup>22</sup> Brubaker, *Land Classification*, 102.

<sup>23</sup> Beadel Ledger.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Brubaker, *Land Classification*, 102.

helping the landowners with their hunting.<sup>26</sup> Owners of hunting plantations encouraged tenant farming not only because its farming style was beneficial to the quail they all sought, but the African American tenant farm families also provided a cheap labor source for the landowner as large-scale hunts were organized for themselves and their wealthy guests.<sup>27</sup> Hunting plantations soon became the best place for a tenant farmer to go if they wished to continue their agricultural lifestyle, which became increasingly unprofitable as the price of crops continued to decline.

Tenant farms continued to operate on Tall Timbers, with six contracts being entered into Beadel's ledger in 1930 and eight contracts recorded during 1941.<sup>28</sup> Although the number of contracts continued to rise, the population of the tenant farm community began to fall. In the 1920s, the Tall Timber tenant farm community possessed eighty-five members, consisting of fourteen families.<sup>29</sup> The 1930s brought a decrease in the population with forty-nine members now making up seven families.<sup>30</sup> The next decade again brought a decrease in population, with forty-three members making up eight family units.<sup>31</sup> This decrease in population reflects the general declining numbers of tenant farmers in the county, with Leon County having only 693 African American tenant farmers recorded.<sup>32</sup> Even with the shrinking population, Tall Timbers continued to have an active tenant farm community with the number of families remaining stable during most of this period.

While the population of Tall Timbers tenant farm community continued to fall during this period, the number of family members per unit remained large. In the 1920s and 1930s the family units had an average of six members, while in the 1940s there was a drop to an average of five members per family unit.<sup>33</sup> In Charles S. Johnson's study of Macon County, Alabama, another area where tenant farms and sharecroppers continued to exist into the 1930s, the average

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 115.

<sup>27</sup> Brueckheimer, *Leon County Hunting Plantations*, 186.

<sup>28</sup> In 1940 no tenant farm contracts were recorded; Beadel Ledger.

<sup>29</sup> Bureau of the Census. *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920*, 3B, 4A, 5A, 6B.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, prepared by the U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of the Census (Washington, D.C., 1930), 3A-3B, 4A.

<sup>31</sup> State of Florida, *Florida State Population Census, 1945*.

<sup>32</sup> Brubaker, *Land Classification*, 102.

<sup>33</sup> Bureau of the Census. *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920*, 3B, 4A, 5A, 6B; Bureau of the Census. *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*, 3A-3B, 4A; State of Florida, *Population Census 1945*.

number of children per family in 1930 was three, making the farm families on Tall Timbers slightly larger than in the average tenant farming community.<sup>34</sup>

Tenant farm families of Tall Timbers mainly consisted of a two parent households, while single men took up a few contracts, some of the contracts were held by women. Of the thirty-six contracts recorded from 1920 to 1949, twenty-seven were held in the name of men, six were held in the name of women, and three contracts were held jointly under the name of a man and a woman. Two of the joint contracts were husband and wife, while one was a woman and her son.<sup>35</sup> Angeline Green was notable not only because she was an example of a female tenant farmer, but also because of another role she performed in the community.

Angeline Green first appeared in Beadel's Ledger in 1922, when a one mule farm was rented to her for \$100.00 per year.<sup>36</sup> The Green family resided in the area for years and are found in the 1920 census with Angeline being listed as head of a seven member household.<sup>37</sup> She rented a farm by herself for two more seasons then, in 1925, her son Henry was recorded as a joint tenant. Mother and son continued to be listed as joint tenants until Angeline Green's death in 1927, when her son seems to have continued farming under her contract.<sup>38</sup> Angeline Green's granddaughter, Annie Bell Sloan, spoke of her grandmother farming land on Tall Timbers, but also spoke of her other important role in the community, that of midwife.<sup>39</sup>

The midwife was one of the most important positions in a tenant farm community. Not only did the midwife help with the delivery of the many children born to tenant farm families, but in many cases these women were also the closest to a physician that the community had.<sup>40</sup> For Angeline Green, this meant she often took in other residents who were ill and doctored them with native plants believed to have curative properties.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 32.

<sup>35</sup> Beadel Ledger.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Bureau of the Census. *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920*, 3B.

<sup>38</sup> Beadel Ledger.

<sup>39</sup> Annie Bell Sloan, interview.

<sup>40</sup> See also Debra Anne Susie, "In the Way of Our Grandmothers: A Socio-Cultural Look at Modern American Midwifery" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1984).

<sup>41</sup> Annie Bell Sloan, interview.

Other women besides Angeline Green held tenant farm contracts under their own names. One of them, Maggie Jones, took over for her husband's contract upon his death. The Bill Jones family, like the Greens, had been residents of the Lake Iamonia area for years. Bill Jones was a long-term tenant, beginning contracts with Beadel in 1920, and his death in 1929 is the only death marked in Beadel's ledger. Maggie Jones only held contracts under her own name for two seasons after her husband's death, once in 1930 and again in 1935.<sup>42</sup> Widowed at the age of fifty-one, the head of an eleven member household, Maggie Jones undoubtedly found herself in the position of many women whose tenant farmer husbands died. Ultimately, women like Maggie Jones would find themselves forced to choose if they wished to continue farming or leave the plantation. Some continued moving from plantation to plantation in order to try tenant farming with the remaining members of their family.<sup>43</sup> Others kept their families together and moved to town to pursue government jobs recently made available to black women. Still others made the hard decision to break up their families, giving their children to other relatives to raise and then try to find a job to stay alive.<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, Maggie Jones disappears from the record after 1935 leaving her fate, and that of her family, unknown.

The Green and Jones families, along with many other families, were long-term renters of Tall Timbers land. Hunting plantations, in general, were very conducive to longer periods of tenancy within their farming communities. In Charles Johnson's *Shadow of a Plantation*, the sociologist found that most families in Macon County, Alabama, moved quite often. In his examination of 612 families, over half moved in the past five years, with many moving multiple times during that period.<sup>45</sup> The Tall Timbers community, while smaller, had an average tenancy length of almost five years.<sup>46</sup> Other studies indicated that tenant farmers on hunting plantations in Leon County moved much less because the rental costs were not unreasonable, there was

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<sup>42</sup> Beadel Ledger.

<sup>43</sup> Alex and Hattie Sloan, interview.

<sup>44</sup> Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 60.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>46</sup> Beadel Ledger.



game available to hunt, and the output of their farms was slightly more than other tenant farming communities.<sup>47</sup>

Table 1. Tenancy Length.

Tenant Name	Years in Beadel Ledger	Farming Seasons
Alonzo Bivens	1925-1932	8
Adam Bryant	1920-1923	4
Jim Bob Fisher	1920-1925	6
Johnnie Fisher	1921	0
Julee Fisher	1923	1
Rebecca Fisher	1921-1924	4
Dora Franklin	1944-1948	5
Emmitt Gay	1941-1942	1
Dan Gay	1931-1934	4
William Gay	1920-1949	30
Angeline Green	1922-1924, 1930-1934	3
Angeline/Henry Green	1925-1929	5
Charley Green/Rebecca Fisher	1920-1921	1
William Green	1920-1921	2
Josh Harvin	1941-1948	8
Tom Harvin	1943-1944	2
Walter Harvin	1922-1943	22
Kate & Tom Harris	1921-1923	2
John Hayes	1925-1934	10
Bill Jones	1920-1929	10
Maggie Jones	1930, 1935	2
Lige Jones	1941-1949	9
Lonza Jones	1942-1948	7
Mose Jones	1941-1944	4
Richard Jones	1941	1
Sam Jones	1920-1923	4
Cooper Robinson	1920	1
Mamie Green Smith	1933-1936, 1943-1944, 1946	4

<sup>47</sup> Lonnie A. Marshall, "The Present Function of Vocational Agriculture, Schools and Other Agencies in the Rural Improvement of Negroes in Leon County, Florida," (Master's Thesis, Iowa State College, 1930): 105, 108, 120, quoted in Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 104.

Table 1-continued.

Tenant Name	Years in Beadel Ledger	Farming Seasons
Robert Scott	1931-1933	0
Hattie Strattin	1948	1
Henry Vickers	1924-1925, 1927-1936	12
Richard Vickers	1941-1942	2
John Williams	1937	1
Tom Wilson	1923-1924	1
Ike Witherspoon	1920	1
Mary Wyche	1920	1

World War II brought many changes to the tenant farm community on Tall Timbers. For the first four years of the 1940s, Beadel continued to record seven to eight tenant farm contracts per year. This number of contracts is impressive considering the number of African American tenant farmers in Leon County had fallen fifty-six percent during the 1940s.<sup>48</sup> However by 1945, the number of contracts had begun to fall and by the end of the decade only two contracts and two tenant farm families were recorded in the ledger. Beadel did try to keep tenant farmers on his land. In 1941 his rental prices decreased dramatically with most yearly rentals being charged anywhere from \$25.00 for a half of a farm to the maximum of \$80.00 for a two mule farm, but the tenant farmers continued to leave Tall Timbers.<sup>49</sup> Yet even with these low rental fees, and the other perks of living on a hunting plantation such as a chance to own pedigreed livestock sold by the landowners, the growing number of state government and university jobs, mainly maintenance and janitorial positions, caused many farmers to relocate to town. At the end of the decade, Beadel decided to raze many of the small tenant houses and the small patch style agriculture was converted to a wage labor system.<sup>50</sup> Soon the tenant farm communities disappeared and the only African Americans found on the hunting plantations were those who facilitated the day to day running of the large plantations and worked with the owners to put on the large hunting expeditions that are held on some of the plantations to the present day.

<sup>48</sup> Brubaker, *Land Classification*, 102.

<sup>49</sup> Beadel Ledger.

<sup>50</sup> National Park Service, *National Register Nomination*.

## Life Outside the Farm

The land was the main focal point of African American members of a tenant farming community, regardless of age and sex, but a few outside elements also helped to shape the rural life these people led. Education among the tenant farm community at Tall Timbers Plantation was a reflection of African American rural education throughout many southern states. The citizens of Leon County provided education to the white residents of the county beginning in the 1820s, but the African American inhabitants found their first chance at education in the late 1860s with the end of the Civil War and the advent of the Freedmen's Bureau.<sup>51</sup> The school the Freedmen's Bureau helped build, later named Lincoln Academy, would eventually become the only African American public high school in Leon County until desegregation in the 1950s. Tallahassee State Normal College for Colored Students, the predecessor of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, was created in 1887 and provided another level of higher education for African American students.<sup>52</sup> These two institutions, located within the city limits of Tallahassee, provided adequate education for the African American urban residents of Leon County, but when compared to the education available to the rural inhabitants of the county deficiencies quickly appeared.

Along with the establishment of city schools after the Civil War, rural schools quickly sprang up across the county when the state constitution of 1868 and the School Law of 1869 were passed. These endeavors represented the first time the state of Florida attempted to organize a statewide system of education.<sup>53</sup> The constitution sought to establish a state superintendent of public instruction, a state board of education and levy a tax to help support state schools.<sup>54</sup> A year later the school law required the governor and state board of education to appoint a superintendent for each county, examine teachers for certification, and included a provision that required state funded schools to be open at least three months a year in order to

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<sup>51</sup> Francis A. Rhodes, "A History of Education in Leon County Florida" (Master's Thesis, University of Florida, 1946), 26.

<sup>52</sup> Leedell W. Neyland, *Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University: A Centennial History (1887-1987)* (Tallahassee: Florida A&M University Foundation, Inc., 1987), 14.

<sup>53</sup> Rhodes, "History of Education," 30.

<sup>54</sup> Florida Constitution (1869), art 8, sec. 3, 8, & 9.

receive funding.<sup>55</sup> Schools soon spread throughout the countryside and by the time the new state constitution of 1885 was put into effect in 1887 Leon County possessed fifty-one schools, of which twenty-two schools were for white students.<sup>56</sup> The other twenty-nine schools found in the county were for African American students. At first glance the number of schools available to both races appeared to be equal, however, with an overall enrollment of 2747 students, of which only 481 were white, the trend of inequality between white and African American schools was quickly established.<sup>57</sup>

The first recorded school for the Tall Timbers' African American community can be traced to the 1880s. Little is known of this school, called Hickory Hill, but an allotment of \$18 was given to the school in 1880 for operational costs. The local white school, named Iamonia, was awarded \$30.<sup>58</sup> For the next twenty years no information can be found on either the white or African American schools in the Tall Timbers community. Education in Leon County during this period underwent few changes. During the early 1900s there was some discussion of the transportation of white students and consolidation of their schools, but this proposal was met with widespread disapproval by the parents of the children, mainly because of the distance of travel many children would have to undergo. For the black pupils of Leon County, the idea of consolidation was never contemplated.<sup>59</sup>

Population during this period continued to expand in Leon County and by 1906, 4780 students were enrolled in Leon County schools. While the number of both races of students had risen, the number of school continued to be disproportionate. Leon County had thirty schools servicing 1051 white students, while the African American community had forty-one schools for 3729 students.<sup>60</sup> In 1906, documentation for a school that serviced the tenant farm community was found once again. The school, located on County Road 12, was identified as the Moseley

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<sup>55</sup> Laws of Florida, 1869, Chap. 1686.

<sup>56</sup> Rhodes, "History of Education," 49.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Leon County Board of Public Education, Minutes, July 3, 1879, Leon County Board of Education Office, Tallahassee, Florida, quoted in Hamburger, "On the Land for Life," 158.

<sup>59</sup> Rhodes, "History of Education," 55-56.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 53.

School by one of the former inhabitants.<sup>61</sup> It may have been named after the former Sheriff of Leon County and owner of Tall Timbers in the 1870s, Alexander Moseley. Moseley School was allotted \$50.00 by the state government in that year while the local white school, now called Stricklands, was awarded \$70.00.<sup>62</sup>

During the early 1900s African American education found some funding and support from groups outside of the state government. One of these programs, the Anne T. Jeanes Foundation, was first provided for the county in 1909.<sup>63</sup> The Jeanes Fund, or called locally the Jeanes Supervisors, were appointed by the county superintendents. The teachers traveled the county instructing rural African American schools in elementary industrial education and promoting school and neighborhood clubs. Jeanes Supervisors were also active in fundraising for new schoolhouses and better equipment in the rural schools.<sup>64</sup> These supervisors continued to be active forces in Leon County rural education for many years and undoubtedly visited the Moseley School and other schools like it.<sup>65</sup>

By the 1930s the Moseley school represented a typical rural African American school. While white schools in the county underwent a second attempt at consolidation and funded transportation in the 1920s, which was successful, the African American schools were not provided any type of transportation so small one to five room schools within walking distance of their homes still prevailed.<sup>66</sup> In 1933 the Moseley School had an enrollment of one hundred and one students, with a daily attendance of sixty-one pupils. Two teachers instructed the large number of students. First through third grade were taught by Hoskis Smith, while fourth through

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<sup>61</sup> Minnie Jones Leonard, interview by Juanita Whiddon, tape recording, Tallahassee, FL, 8 September 2004, Tall Timbers Research Station, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>62</sup> William M. Holloway, superintendent of public instruction, *Bi-ennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1908* (Tallahassee, 1908), 374.

<sup>63</sup> Rhodes, "History of Education," 62.

<sup>64</sup> James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 153.

<sup>65</sup> See also E. Murell Dawson, "Reference Group Theory and its Implications for a Study of Jeanes Supervisors in Leon County, Florida (1908-1968)" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 2001).

<sup>66</sup> Rhodes, "History of Education," 75.

sixth grade were taught by Dorothy Tooks.<sup>67</sup> Former pupil Minnie Jones Leonard recalled the school as being a one room building, divided in half, with one side of the room for younger children and the other side being for older pupils.<sup>68</sup> The curriculum at that time consisted of basic subjects, with the addition of what was called “home making” and other agricultural subjects taught by the traveling Jeanes Supervisors.<sup>69</sup>

The length of time each school was open depended on where the school was located and if it was in a rural or urban area. In 1930 urban schools were open for eight to nine months out of the year, while rural school were open for an average of four months.<sup>70</sup> These term lengths were common across the south and illustrate the lack of importance many other southern state governments placed upon rural African American education. Many leaders in state governments believed that rural African Americans were better served by working in the fields for most of the year, rather than losing a good portion of their workforce to the schoolroom for months at a time.<sup>71</sup>

The salaries of African American teachers also confirm the lack of importance placed upon African American schools. In 1934 the Moseley School teachers were paid a combined annual salary of \$625.00, Dorothy Tooks was paid \$325 for instructing the upper grades while Hoskis Smith was paid \$300 for the lower grades. At the nearby Strickland School, the local white school named after a local landowner, one teacher was paid \$600 a year for instructing eighteen students in 1934.<sup>72</sup> This discrepancy in payment held true when examining a white school that has the same number of students as Moseley School. Woodville School was a white elementary school that taught grades first through sixth. This rural white school had an enrollment of 124 students, with an average daily attendance of eighty-nine. This school, which had roughly the same class size and grades taught as the Moseley school, was provided six

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<sup>67</sup> Florida Department of Public Instruction, *Data for Computation of Instruction Units and Apportionments of State School Funds 1933-1934* (Tallahassee, 1934).

<sup>68</sup> Minnie Jones Leonard, interview by Juanita Whiddon, tape recording, Tallahassee, FL, 8 September 2004, Tall Timbers Research Station, Tallahassee, FL..

<sup>69</sup> W.S. Cawthon, state superintendent of public instruction, *Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida for the Two Years Ending June 30, 1930* (Tallahassee, 1930), 170.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>71</sup> Anderson, *Education of Blacks*, 150.

<sup>72</sup> Department of Public Instruction, *State School Funds 1933-1934*.

teachers with an average yearly salary of \$680.00.<sup>73</sup> All of these variations between the rural white and African American schools demonstrate the inherent inequity rampant in southern educational systems throughout this time period.

The Moseley School continued to be the only local source of education for Tall Timbers African Americans through the 1940s. In the 1920s another school, Lake McBride, was built in the nearby community of Bradfordville. The Rosenwald Fund, a foundation established by Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck, and Company, aided construction of Lake McBride. The fund's mission was to work with state governments to provide modern schoolhouses for African American communities throughout the rural south. Building costs for the new schools was provided partly by the Rosenwald Fund, however local black taxpayers and private contributions provided most of the operating costs for these new schools.<sup>74</sup> Rosenwald Schools were built to meet certain specifications laid out by the Rosenwald Fund including: type of construction, providing schools with the proper materials needed for education, at least two acres of land secured for schoolhouses, and the guarantee that local school authorities would carry an appropriate amount of insurance on the schoolhouse and equipment.<sup>75</sup>

Eventually the Rosenwald Schools became some of the best built and equipped African American schools in the south and many parents moved in so that their children could have a chance at an improved education. This is true of one Tall Timber family, the Alonzo Jones', whose older children's education stopped at the sixth grade at the Moseley school. By the time the younger children had reached school age the family was able to move closer to Bradfordville and the younger children were able to attend the higher level of education provided by Lake McBride.<sup>76</sup> Lake McBride became one of the largest rural schools in the county and was able to provide a junior high level of education. By 1960 it received accreditation from the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and continued to operate in the area until it was closed in 1969, another victim of the era of consolidation following desegregation.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 154.

<sup>75</sup> Cawthon, *Biennial Report*, 152.

<sup>76</sup> Annie Mae Arnold and Ollie Mae Woodruff, interview by Juanita Whiddon and Delbra McGriff, tape recording, Bartow, FL., 17 July 2004, Tall Timbers Research Station, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>77</sup> Shawn Comminey, "A Brief Historical Sketch of Lake McBride School," 1994, <<http://www.leon.k12.fl.us/Public/History/LakeMcBride.html>> (5 July 2005).

Moseley School, the only source of education in the area, was one of the main gathering places for the African American tenant farm community outside of Tall Timbers Plantation. Hickory Hill Primitive Baptist Church (P.B.C.), the local place of worship for the tenant farm families, provided the other.<sup>78</sup> The first place of worship for the African Americans who lived in and around Tall Timbers Plantation is unknown. An elderly former resident of Tall Timbers recalled going to a brush arbor located just across the road from the plantation when Edward Beadel owned the land.<sup>79</sup> Then, a few years before Edward Beadel sold Tall Timbers to his nephew in 1919, a wooden church was built, across from Tall Timbers, on the north side of County Road 12.<sup>80</sup> The congregation met at this church, known as Hickory Hill P.B.C., for almost fifteen years when, in 1933, a new brick church was built. This church, known as New Hickory Hill P.B.C., was located less than a mile eastward from the old church. Smith and Driver, a lumber company located out of Thomasville, Georgia, sold the land to the church for one dollar.<sup>81</sup>

Both Hickory Hill churches, and most likely the original brush arbor, belonged to the network of primitive Baptist churches that continue to dot the rural southern landscape. This religion, with its roots in the eighteenth century Baptist religion, first entered Florida in 1821 with the founding of Pigeon Creek Church in Nassau County.<sup>82</sup> In the early 1800s, many religions allowed enslaved parishioners to attend their services, but most had to accompany their white masters and the African American worshipers were made to sit in separate slave galleries. The Baptist religion did have a history of allowing some independent African American churches to be created, with some having African American preachers, but these churches were still connected to white run associations which in turn made the services very like their white counterparts.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Leonard, interview.

<sup>79</sup> Annie Bell Sloan, interview.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Leon County, *Leon County Deed Records*, Book 42 (Tallahassee, FL, 1933), 46-47.

<sup>82</sup> John Gordon Crowley, "The Primitive Baptists of South Georgia and Florida" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1996), 6, 71.

<sup>83</sup> William E. Montgomery, *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African American Church in the South 1865-1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1993), 27-28.



Many African American religions continued to be associated with their white counterparts until after the Civil War. Once former slaves learned of their freedom many African American parishioners formed their own church associations. The African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church, one of the early independent church associations, was formed in Florida in 1867. Soon after its organization the A.M.E. church became the most powerful religious organization in Florida, but by the end of the 1800s this organization had begun to lose its popularity in rural areas of the state.<sup>84</sup>

In the early 1900s the many forms of the Baptist religion had become extremely popular in rural African American communities. The African American members of the type known as Primitive Baptists had split with the white version of their church in 1865 when the Colored Primitive Baptists in America had been formed.<sup>85</sup> This form of the Baptist religion was believed to be popular among rural communities because of its independence and lack of regulation by the Baptist organization.<sup>86</sup> A circuit of preachers worked the churches with most having preaching one Sunday out of the month. All other Sundays they had Sunday school for the children while a deacon, usually a local man of some significance, conducted the service.<sup>87</sup>

The Primitive Baptist religion was also popular in rural areas because of its use of revivals and baptisms. Revivals were traditionally held every July and were considered the religious and social event of the season, with people coming from miles around to experience the event.<sup>88</sup> For some, the revival was a time of revelry, but for many others the yearly revival was an intense religious experience that helped to reaffirm their faith.<sup>89</sup> Baptisms were held a few months later in September when, many initiates at the New Hickory Hill P.B.C., were at first baptized in a small pond located across County Road 12. When the land was eventually sold and the church members were afraid of being prosecuted for trespassing, the baptismal ceremony was moved to Lake Iamonia. At both sites a former resident recalled "...hundreds of people there just walking to church. There'd be a line of singing and praying and going on to baptize."<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Richardson, "Negro in Reconstruction Florida," 85.

<sup>85</sup> Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*, 257-285.

<sup>86</sup> Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 153.

<sup>87</sup> Alex and Hattie Sloan, interview.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 151.

<sup>90</sup> Alex and Hattie Sloan, interview.

While the number of people living in the Tall Timber Plantation area has dwindled in recent year, the New Hickory Hill P.B.C. still stands on County Road 12, an active place of worship for the people who continue to live near the former plantation.

Beyond the social life created by the school and church, Beadel also sponsored large events that brought together the rural African American Community. One of the occasions was the annual March rabbit hunt for the owners, managers and tenant farmers of the plantation. That day was remembered fondly by many former residents not only because of the game they were allowed to hunt and bring home, but also because of the free tobacco Beadel gave to the participants of the hunt.<sup>91</sup> Beadel also sponsored an annual May 20<sup>th</sup> celebration to commemorate Emancipation Day. On that day, Beadel allowed all of his workers the day off to celebrate the event and the entire plantation and other black families in the area celebrated the day with a party down near one of the large ponds.<sup>92</sup>

The tenant farm families had some everyday contact with Mr. and Mrs. Beadel, especially if Beadel was in need of extra help with house work or if a large hunting party was coming through the property, but in general the families kept to their farms, their families, and their nearby neighbors. This close knit sense of community the African American tenant families possessed was significant. A communal lifestyle was evident with families helping other families if someone had a problem with producing enough cash crops in order to pay rent.<sup>93</sup> This also carried over to certain services some tenant farm families provided for the community. With the death of Angeline Green in 1927, Mrs. Anna Gay took over the role of community midwife. Many former tenant farm residents remember her as coming to their houses accompanied by her large black bag, the same bag in which the babies were supposedly produced from.<sup>94</sup>

Besides midwifery, certain members of the community also provided other services in specialized areas. Some members of the community were known for the talents in shoe repair,

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<sup>91</sup> Emmitt and Celia Gay, interview by Juanita Whiddon, tape recording, Tallahassee, FL., 12 February 2004, Tall Timbers Research Station, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>92</sup> Rosalie Jones Brim, interview by Juanita Whiddon, tape recording. Tallahassee, FL., 26 June 2004, Tall Timbers Research Station, Tallahassee, FL.

<sup>93</sup> Gay, interview.

<sup>94</sup> Alex and Hattie Sloan, interview.

while others as seamstresses.<sup>95</sup> Still another member of the community, Gus Harvin, was the acknowledged barber for all the men.<sup>96</sup> This specialization extended to the farms as well, with two of the larger tenant farms possessing syrup processing facilities that the smaller tenant farms could use in order to process their cane crops.<sup>97</sup>

While the tenant farm community on Tall Timbers came very close to being self sufficient, trips outside of the plantation often occurred whenever certain supplies were needed or if crops had to be processed to be sold at market. When mules and wagons were the common modes of transportation, Metcalf, Georgia, located sixteen miles northeast from Tall Timbers, was the town where most residents went to gin their cotton. Later on, when automobiles became more popular, Cairo, Georgia, northwest of the plantation became the favored ginning location.<sup>98</sup> Tenant families also went to Tallahassee and Thomasville to sell goods at market and enjoy the movie theaters that had been built in the towns that catered to African Americans. These trips to town, especially for pleasure, became more frequent when rural bus routes were established in the Lake Lanier area in the 1930s. Yet even with the public transportation, trips to town were infrequent enough to become poignant memories for the former residents of the community.<sup>99</sup>

Life on an African American tenant farm community could be a difficult one. While it does seem that Beadel tried to help his renters by changing the rental amounts to match current market conditions, it cannot be denied that the tenant system could still be an abusive one. Tenant farmers, such as those on Tall Timbers, still had to answer to the landowner if their crop or livestock harmed the hunting population and the amount of control the landowners could wield over his tenants was enormous. Beyond the confines of the plantation, education for the tenant farm families was seriously lacking when compared to their white counterparts. There would be little to change this until the groundbreaking decision of *Brown v. the Board of Education* helped to alter the face of southern rural education in the 1950s. Religion was one area in which the tenant farm families could truly feel free from the oppressive spirits of the agricultural systems and the education system that they had no control over. The use of revivals

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<sup>95</sup> Brim, interview.

<sup>96</sup> Alex and Hattie Sloan, interview.

<sup>97</sup> Brim, interview; Gay, interview.

<sup>98</sup> Alex and Hattie Sloan, interview.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

and baptisms help to illustrate this phenomenon. Lastly, the sense of community the tenant families possessed, and the support system they created through their communal lifestyle, demonstrated an important point. The tenant farm families of Tall Timbers were able to create a vibrant self-sufficient community, even with the oppressive forces they faced day in and day out.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### MATERIAL CULTURE

A large portion of the knowledge about the Tall Timbers' African American tenant farm community is discovered in ledgers kept by Beadel, official records of the state and federal governments, and oral histories taken from former residents of the plantation, yet there is another resource that can assist in recounting the world these tenant farmers once inhabited, the material culture the tenant farm families left behind. Material culture is defined as being "the entire natural and man-made environment with which researchers can interpret the past."<sup>1</sup> In the case of the tenant farmers of Tall Timbers this can include large artifacts, such as the remains of the houses and outbuildings the tenant farmers once used, or the smaller personal possessions that were once part of the families' everyday lives. An examination of these materials can help complete the story of the African American tenant farmers lifestyle during the early 1900s.

#### Structures

Although many of the tenant farm houses were razed by Beadel in the late 1940s, a few of the houses and complexes managed to survive both the weather and the passage of time, not to mention sporadic use by scientists of Tall Timbers Research Station. By the end of the 1900s only two houses and two corncribs of the possible twenty farm sites remained on Tall Timbers.<sup>2</sup> One house and one corncrib were isolated structures, but the other house and corncrib were part of a complex that became known as the Jones Tenant House, archaeological site 8Le3536. Named after its last known occupants, Alonzo and Mamie Jones along with their children, the Jones Tenant House was chosen by Tall Timbers Research Station to be restored and used as an interpretative center. Located west of the Beadel House, the house and corresponding archaeological site are located in the SE  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the SW  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the NW  $\frac{1}{4}$  of Section 22 Township 3 North, Range 1 East of the Beachton, Georgia-Florida Quadrangle, (Figure 1).

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Schlereth, quoted in Charles E. Orser Jr. and Brian M. Fagan, *Historical Archaeology* (New York: Harper Collins College Publishers, 1995), 72.

<sup>2</sup> National Park Service, *National Register Nomination*.

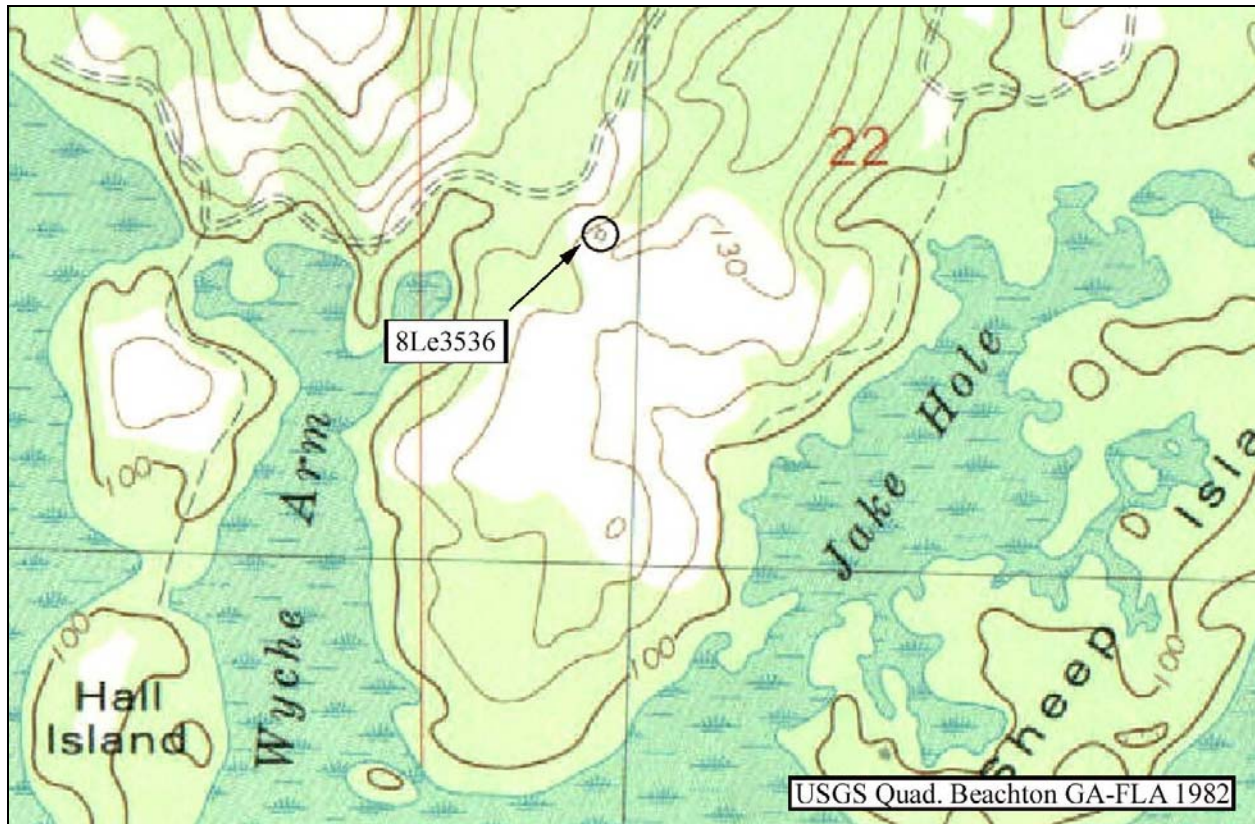


Fig. 1. Site Location. Courtesy Morrell and Associates.

Originally the Jones' house was a small single pen structure with an exterior chimney located on the western end, (Figure 2). When the original structure was built is not known, but by 1919 the house had been expanded to a two room structure with an addition built on the eastern side of the original house. The inhabitant of the house at that time, Josh Forest, lived there until his death.<sup>3</sup> After Forest's death, a large family moved into the two room structure. This family, known as the Bill Jones family, was recorded in the Beadel Ledger for ten years until Bill Jones' death in 1929.<sup>4</sup> In 1920 the family consisted of Bill Jones,

<sup>3</sup> Annie Bell Sloan, interview.

<sup>4</sup> Beadel Ledger.

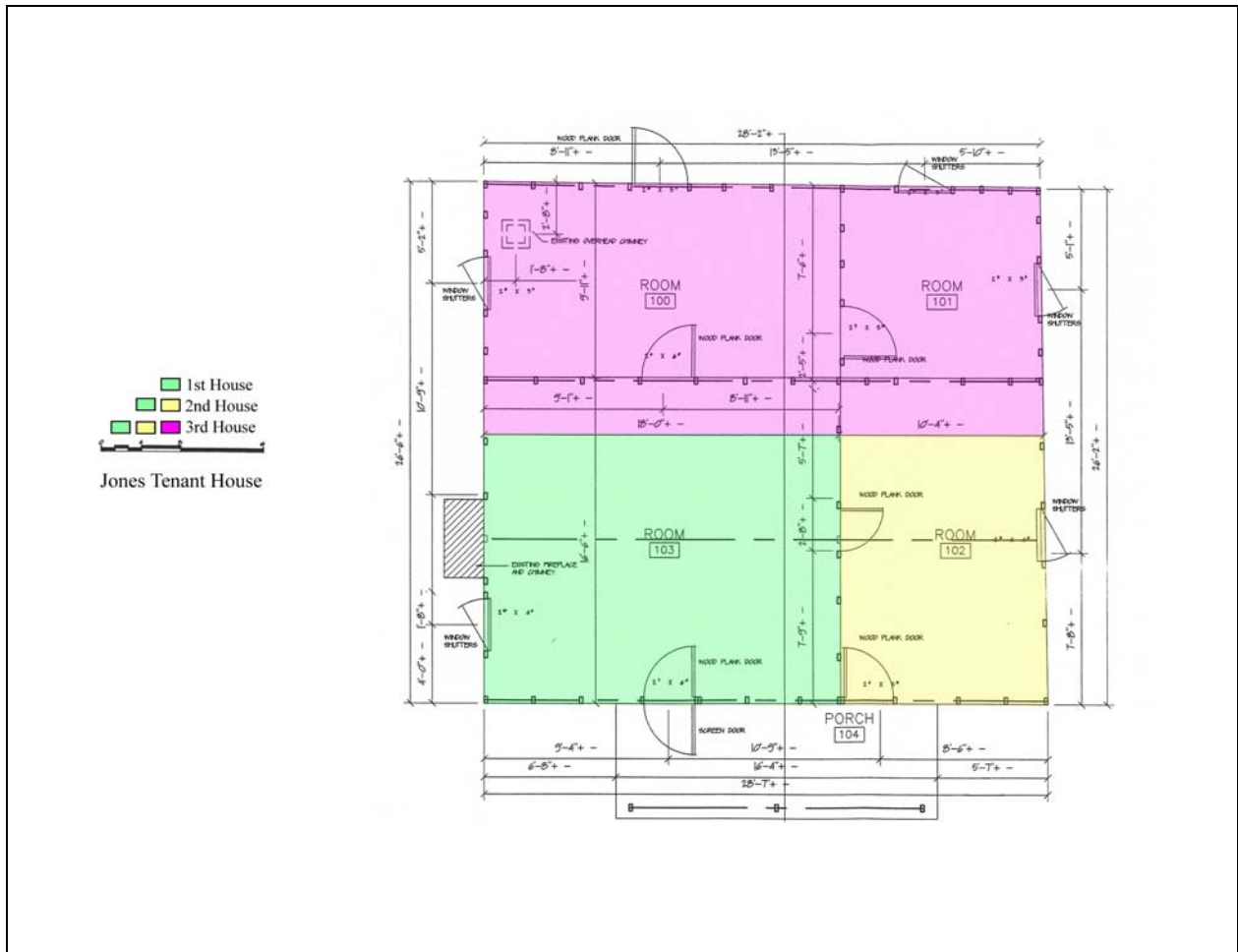


Fig. 2. Jones Tenant House Plan. Courtesy Morrell and Associates.

his wife Maggie, and their nine children.<sup>5</sup> According to oral histories the complex consisted solely of the house during the Bill Jones family occupation of the 1920s. The Bill Jones family kept all of their livestock and crops in a crib on another nearby tenant farm.<sup>6</sup>

After Bill Jones' death in 1929 his wife continued farming on the plantation for another year and it is believed that the remaining members of the family continued to live in the house until 1931. For the next eleven years the occupants of the house remain unknown, but by 1942 another large family called the Jones', unrelated to the Bill Jones family, became the residents of the small house. From 1942 to 1948 Alonzo and Mamie Lawyer Jones, along with their large

<sup>5</sup> Bureau of the Census. *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920*, 4A.

<sup>6</sup> Annie Bell Sloan, interview.

family, lived in the house.<sup>7</sup> The children of Alonzo and Mamie Lawyer Jones are listed in the 1945 Florida Census as 16-year-old Richard, 14-year-old Alonzo Jr., 13-year-old Annie Mae, 11-year-old Leroy, 10-year-old Rosalie, 8-year-old Ollie Mae, 6-year-old Minnie Lee, 5-year-old Tommie, 3-year-old Taylor, and 2-year-old Eulie Mae.<sup>8</sup> These children either worked for their parents on the tenant farm or in the case of the eldest son Richard, worked as a day laborer for Henry Beadel.<sup>9</sup>

Although the size of the Bill Jones family rivaled that of the Alonzo Jones family, it is only with the second occupation of a large family that the house was expanded in order to meet the needs of the large family. Two rooms were added to the back of the house, now bringing the total number of rooms to four, with one being specifically built as an indoor kitchen.<sup>10</sup> The other new room was used for the boys' bedroom, while the original addition placed on the house was used as the girls' bedroom. This left the remaining room, or the original single pen structure, to be used as a combination living room and parent's bedroom.<sup>11</sup>

With the addition of two rooms a new roof was pitched over the original shingled roof, which allowed the inhabitants of the house to use the old shingles for starting fuel in the stove whenever dry fuel could not be found.<sup>12</sup> The inner portion of the house was relatively bare with an open ceiling, thus allowing access to the shingles of the old roof, and bare walls that the family papered with newspapers or any extra paper they were able to acquire. Papering of the walls was common in tenant houses of this time and was not only done for decoration, but also to block drafts from coming in the house.<sup>13</sup> Remnants of this papering can still be seen on the inner portions of the house today.

An important exterior part of the house is the front porch that spans the two room structure of the 1920s. Porches were important in all southern rural housing not only because of the extra space they allowed for the occupants of the house, but also because of the social

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<sup>7</sup> Beadel Ledger.

<sup>8</sup> State of Florida, *Population Census 1945*.

<sup>9</sup> Beadel Ledger.

<sup>10</sup> Leonard, interview.

<sup>11</sup> Brim, interview.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 92.



significance it held.<sup>14</sup> Almost all of the former occupants of the tenant community speak of time spent socializing on the porch, especially in the summer months when the heat caused the close confines of the houses to become unbearable.<sup>15</sup> Another important social event, weddings, also often took place on the porches of the tenant farmhouses.<sup>16</sup> The porch became another room of the house and in many cases the center of the tenant farmer's social life.

Compared to other tenant houses of the time, the Jones Tenant House would seem to be an average structure. Most rural southern tenant farmhouses of this time did not have the modern convenience of their in-town counterparts. Running water was extremely rare and an indoor bathroom was something barely conceived of.<sup>17</sup> One area in which the Tall Timbers tenant houses excelled was the chimney construction. Most tenant houses of the time possessed a stick and mud chimney, which was the simplest and most inexpensive to build.<sup>18</sup> The Jones House possesses two brick chimneys: one is a small kitchen chimney and the other is a large chimney connected to an interior fireplace. Beadel was concerned with the chimneys in particular because of the threat of fire and subsequent damage to the surrounding environment.<sup>19</sup>

Along with the chimneys, Beadel was concerned with the general upkeep of the houses and the surrounding outbuildings. His ledger for the 1920s included requests from the tenant farmers for general upkeep of the houses and itemized lists of the amount of lumber given to the farms.<sup>20</sup> Records concerning the building of additional structures in the 1930s and 1940s have yet to be located, but when the Alonzo Jones family moved onto their Tall Timbers' tenant farm, certain changes occurred to the outbuildings that can be seen to the present day.

Many of the tenant houses located on Tall Timbers had various outbuildings surrounding their modest dwellings. The number, types, and quality of the outbuildings seemed to have depended upon the size of the farm the family worked on and if their farm could support certain buildings. Most of the farms appeared to have had a corncrib of some type. The corncrib was

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<sup>14</sup> Aiken, *The Cotton Plantation South*, 135-137.

<sup>15</sup> Leonard, interview.

<sup>16</sup> Annie Bell Sloan, interview.

<sup>17</sup> Johnson, *Shadow of the Plantation*, 92.

<sup>18</sup> Charles E. Orser Jr., *The Material Basis of the Postbellum Tenant Plantation*, (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1988), 94.

<sup>19</sup> Juanita Whiddon, conversation with author, Tallahassee, FL., 24 September 2004.

<sup>20</sup> Beadel Ledger.

used for the storing of various farm implements, not to mention a portion of the crop that would be kept on the farm in order to support livestock the tenant farmer might own. The Jones Tenant House did have a corncrib, but the original date of the structure is unknown. Some of the former residents recall the corncrib already being present when the second Jones family moved onto the farm, while others say the corncrib was built after the Jones family moved there.<sup>21</sup> The structure itself is a typical southern outbuilding with an enclosed single pen structure, gabled roof, and open shed extensions on each side.<sup>22</sup> Along with the house it was the only structure that remained standing on the site.

Although the house and corncrib were the only standing structures that remained on the farm, oral histories and an archaeological survey have helped to identify other outbuildings that are no longer standing. The Jones' farm once possessed a smokehouse, sweet potato cellar, and syrup processing area.<sup>23</sup> During the time the Jones family lived on Tall Timbers at least five other families worked as tenant farmers on the plantation.<sup>24</sup> There is a strong chance that many of the other farms had some of the smaller outbuildings, like the smokehouse and the sweet potato cellar, but only one other farm is reported to have been able to process syrup. The Gay family, one of the most prominent tenant families in the area, rented this other farm.<sup>25</sup>

Compared to other tenant farms of the period, the tenant farmers of Tall Timbers Plantation during the 1920s to 1940s appeared to have rented adequate farms for the period. While other farms of the period were reported to have been barely livable, Mr. Beadel appeared to have made sure that his tenant farms would at least pass minimal standards. But while the tenant farms of Tall Timbers could be passed as habitable, the underlying fact that in 1945 a large family was living in a small four room house with no electricity, running water, or any of the conveniences of a World War II era house cannot be ignored. In the Midwest, tenant farm houses during this period had some creature comforts, such as indoor bathrooms, but even something as simple as a glass window was rarely found in a rural African American tenant

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<sup>21</sup> Annie Bell Sloan, interview.

<sup>22</sup> National Park Service, *National Register Nomination*.

<sup>23</sup> Annie Bell Sloan, interview.

<sup>24</sup> Beadel Ledger.

<sup>25</sup> Emmitt and Cevia Gay, interview.

house.<sup>26</sup> Even on a plantation like Tall Timbers, where the owner did seem to care about the conditions his tenant farmers lived in, houses and outbuildings were built with the cheapest materials found with the basic idea that the structures, like their inhabitants, would ultimately be temporary.

## Artifacts

The structures that remained on the Jones Tenant Farm illustrated many important aspects of a tenant farm family of the period, but the artifacts found in an archaeological investigation that took place on the site express an even more intimate picture of an average African American tenant farm family. From 2000 to the beginning of 2004, a limited archaeological investigation was begun with the help of volunteer labor and funds secured from Tall Timbers and the Archibald Fund. A Historic Preservation Grant from the Florida Department of State was awarded in 2004 that supported intensive excavation from August 2004 to April 2005. In addition to conducting a general surface survey, the archaeological investigation was able to discover the location of the sweet potato cellar, syrup processing area, and a possible refuse pit. In total 4829 artifacts were recovered, washed and classified during the archaeological investigation. As part of the classification process the various artifacts recovered were counted, grouped by their material of manufacture, and then placed into typology based upon their usage by the farm family.

## Artifact Concentration

Table 2. Artifact Concentration Totals

Location	Number of Artifacts
Feature 1-Refuse Pit	3880
Feature 2-Syrup Processing Area	12
Feature 5	2
Feature 8-Sweet Potato House	369
Feature 9	1
NE Corncrib Stall	139

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<sup>26</sup> Orser, *Material Basis*, 100.

Table 2-continued.

Location	Number of Artifacts
SW Corncrib Stall	142
Under Crib Floor	172
General Surface Collection	36
Surface Collection-Below the House	49
Above Back Door in House	4
Smokehouse Test	22
68N47E	1

The first step in classification, the counting of the artifacts, took note of just where the largest concentrations of artifacts were recovered. The refuse pit, designated Feature 1, (Figure 3) was excavated in 20 centimeter levels, to determine any observable stratification or vertical artifact distribution, and produced 3880 artifacts. Feature 8, (Figure 3) also known as the sweet potato cellar, was excavated in 25 centimeter levels, also to determine any observable stratification, and produced the next highest artifact count, 369. It is not surprising that the largest number of artifacts recovered were found in the refuse pit. Refuse pits, also known as trash pits, and their cousins, the privy, have long been identified as being rich in artifacts. While such pits have an ample supply of material goods, it has also been acknowledged that these types of features can be misleading because they hold items that the residents no longer wanted. Yet even with this possible deception such features are able to produce a wealth of artifacts.<sup>27</sup> The concentration of artifacts found around the potato cellar is also unsurprising. Once the tenants were moved off of the plantation in the 1940s, the farms and houses were cleaned of many of their possessions and the use of a convenient pit to discard the left behind goods is obvious.

As the center of agricultural labor and storage, the three portions of the corncrib produced a large concentration of the material. The northeast crib stall produced 139 artifacts, while 142 artifacts were recovered from the southwest crib stall. Lastly the floor under the center enclosed structure of the corncrib produced 172 artifacts. The rest of the areas investigated on the site, including the syrup processing area, designated as Feature Number 2, surface collection around

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<sup>27</sup> Orser and Fagan, *Historical Archaeology*, 61.

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Fig. 3. Jones Tenant House Site Map. Courtesy Morrell and Associates

and below the house, which was raised on brick piers, produced artifact counts below one hundred, (Figure 3). The lack of artifacts around and below the house can be explained by the practice of “sweeping the yard.” Many of the former residents of Tall Timbers recalled the practice of using corn shuck brooms to clean the yard around the house.<sup>28</sup> This practice in turn moved many artifacts from the original location. Although provenience, or the original location, of an artifact is one of the main tenets of archaeological research, studies have shown that this practice has not destroyed the site, merely changed them.<sup>29</sup>

### **Artifact Material**

After the areas of artifact concentration were studied, the material of manufacture was examined in order to discover just what type of goods the tenant families were using. The artifacts collected were grouped into the following material groups; glass, metal, ceramics, leather and rubber, plastic, chert, faunal, and other.

Table 3. Artifact Materials

Material	Number of Artifacts
Glass	3579
Metal	850
Ceramics	325
Leather & Rubber Combination	51
Plastic	9
Chert	8
Other	5
Faunal	2

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<sup>28</sup> Annie Bell Sloan, interview.

<sup>29</sup> Orser, *Material Basis*, 100.

**Glass.** Of the 4829 artifacts recovered from the site, 3579 were glass artifacts. This number of specimens can be considered disproportionately high because of the very nature of glass. While much care was taken in the excavation of the material, old glass can become very brittle and many pieces fragmented while being excavated, washed and processed. Yet even with this problem a number of glass artifacts, of various colors including clear, blue, green, white, pink, and purple, were recovered.

The glass material recovered came from many different sources. Many of the glass artifacts were partial and complete containers that once held medicine or foodstuff. Of the containers recovered from the site the majority were fragmented, and complete, fruit jars. These included such names as Mason, Atlas, and Kerr brands that can be found to the present day.<sup>30</sup> Along with the fruit jars a number of different glass lids for the fruit jars were recovered from the site. Lids for Atlas brand jars included wire bail or “wire side” glass lids, while the Kerr brand possessed “Wide Mouth” and Self Sealing. The most frequent lid recovered from the Jones Tenant House was the zinc screw lid with white glass “Boyd’s Pat.” liner,<sup>31</sup> (Figure 4). Various extract bottles were also identified along with the fruit jars. Soda bottles, bearing names such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Orange Crush, and Nu-Grape were also recovered. The Orange Crush bottle had an embossed patent date of 1920, (Figure 5).

One of the most frequent medicinal glass containers, Moroline bottles, were found across the site, (Figure 6). Moroline, and comparable brand Lander, were fat-based ointments that were marketed as hair tonics, but many African Americans used them in place of Vaseline as a first aid ointment and skin moisturizers.<sup>32</sup> Other medicinal bottles, embossed with names like Sloane’s Liniment, Rawliegh’s, and Fletcher Castoria were also recovered, (Figure 6). All of these names were common patent medicines that rural communities used during the late 1800s and early 1900s.

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<sup>30</sup> Dave Hinson, “A Primer on Fruit Jars,” 1996, <[http://www.fohbc.com/FOHBC\\_References3.html](http://www.fohbc.com/FOHBC_References3.html)> (15 August 2005).

<sup>31</sup> L. Ross Morrell and Robin T. Bauer, *Jones Tenant Farm 8Le3536: Archaeological and Historical Investigations* (Conducted for Tall Timbers Research Station Inc. Grant Number S0513, Bureau of Historic Preservation, Florida Division of Historical Resources, Florida Department of State, 2005), 23.

<sup>32</sup> Laurie A. Wilkie, *Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana 1840-1950* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 174-175.

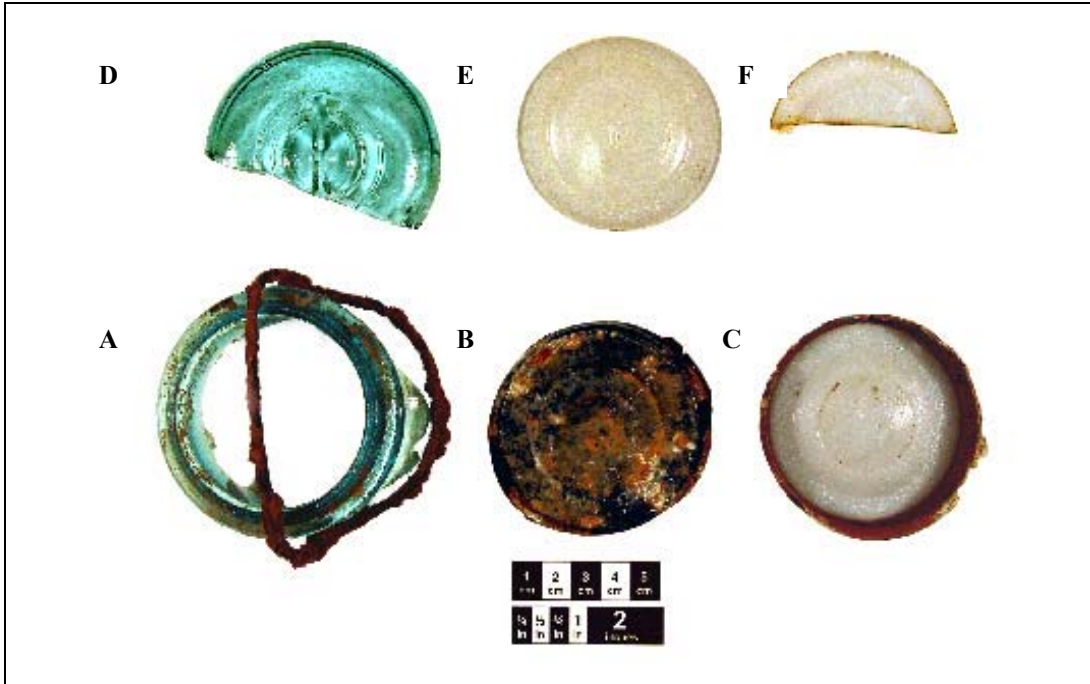


Fig. 4. Fruit Jar Lids and Liners. *A* and *D*, Wire bail style top and glass lid; *B*, Zinc cap; *C*, Zinc cap with unidentified glass liner; *E*, “Genuine Boyd’s” cap liner; *F*, Boyd’s variant “Genuine Porcelain” cap liner. Courtesy Morrell and Associates.

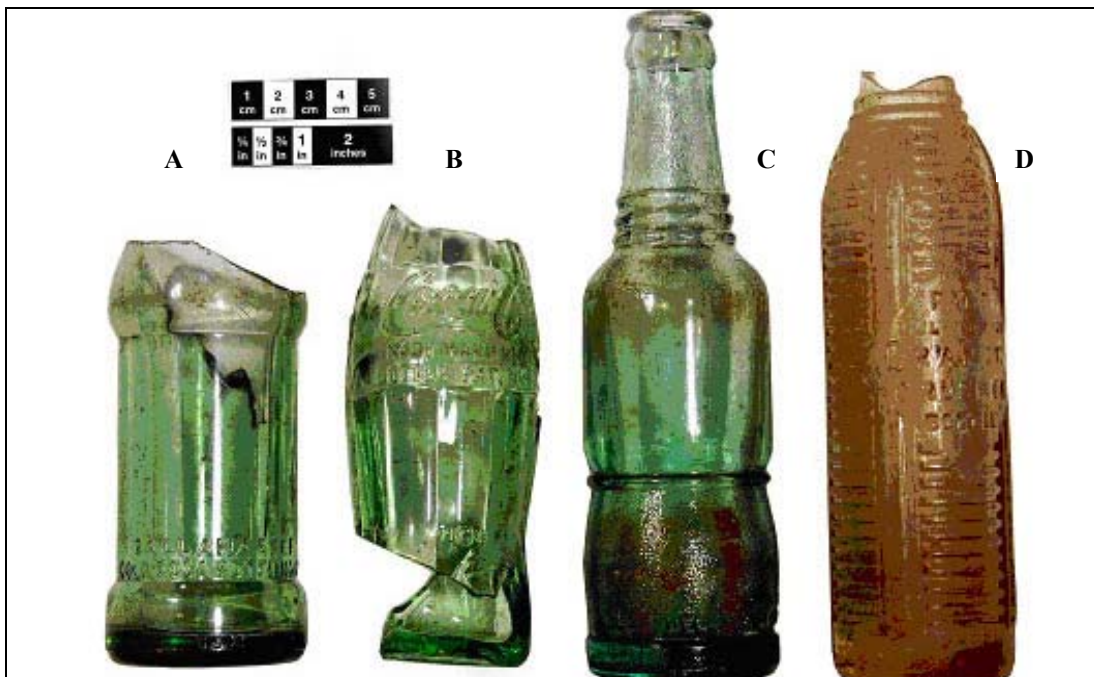


Fig. 5. Soda bottles. *A* and *B*, Coca-Cola Bottles; *C*, NuGrape Bottle; *D*, Orange Crush Bottle. Courtesy Morrell and Associates.



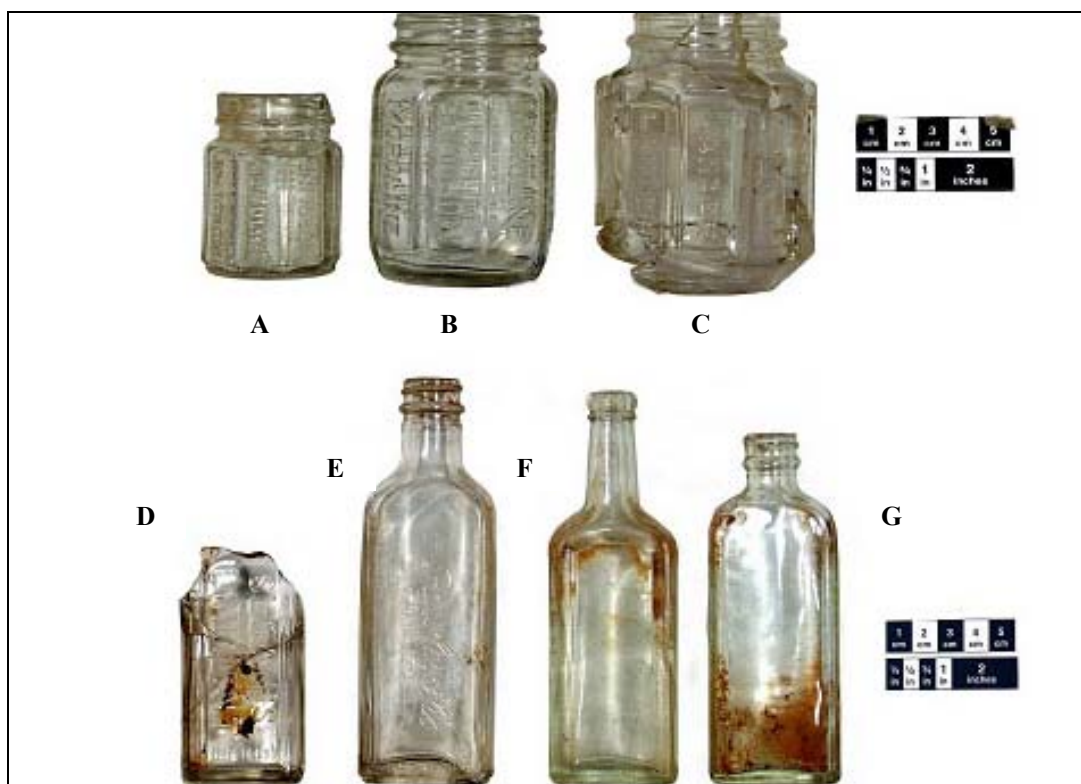


Fig. 6. Glass containers. *A* and *B*, Moroline; *C*, Lander; *D*, Sloan's Liniment; *E*, Rawliegh; *F* and *G*, Fletcher Castoria. Courtesy Morrell and Associates.

A small amount of pink depression glass was also recovered from the site. Several pieces, including a plate, goblet, drinking glass, and platter, of a pattern known as Sharon Cabbage Rose, were identified, (Figure 7). It was not uncommon for tenant families to own a set of special dinnerware that was only used if relatives or if the preacher came visiting. Manufactured by the Federal Glass Company from 1935-1939,<sup>33</sup> Sharon Cabbage Rose is considered to be one of the most durable forms of inexpensive depression glass and was sold in stores across the country.<sup>34</sup> There is strong evidence that this glassware was purchased and kept by the Jones family, rather than passed down from the Beadel family. Members of the Jones family recalled their mother owned this glassware from the time they were small children and the date of manufacture

<sup>33</sup> Ralph and Terry Kovel, *Kovels' Depression Glass and Dinnerware Price List*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001), 103.

<sup>34</sup> Gene Florence, *The Collector's Encyclopedia of Depression Glass*, 7<sup>th</sup> ed. (Paducah, Kentucky: Collector Books, 1986), 184.

predates the Jones family move to Tall Timbers. Lastly, two glass marbles were also recovered, the only indicator of the presence of the Jones children on the entire site.

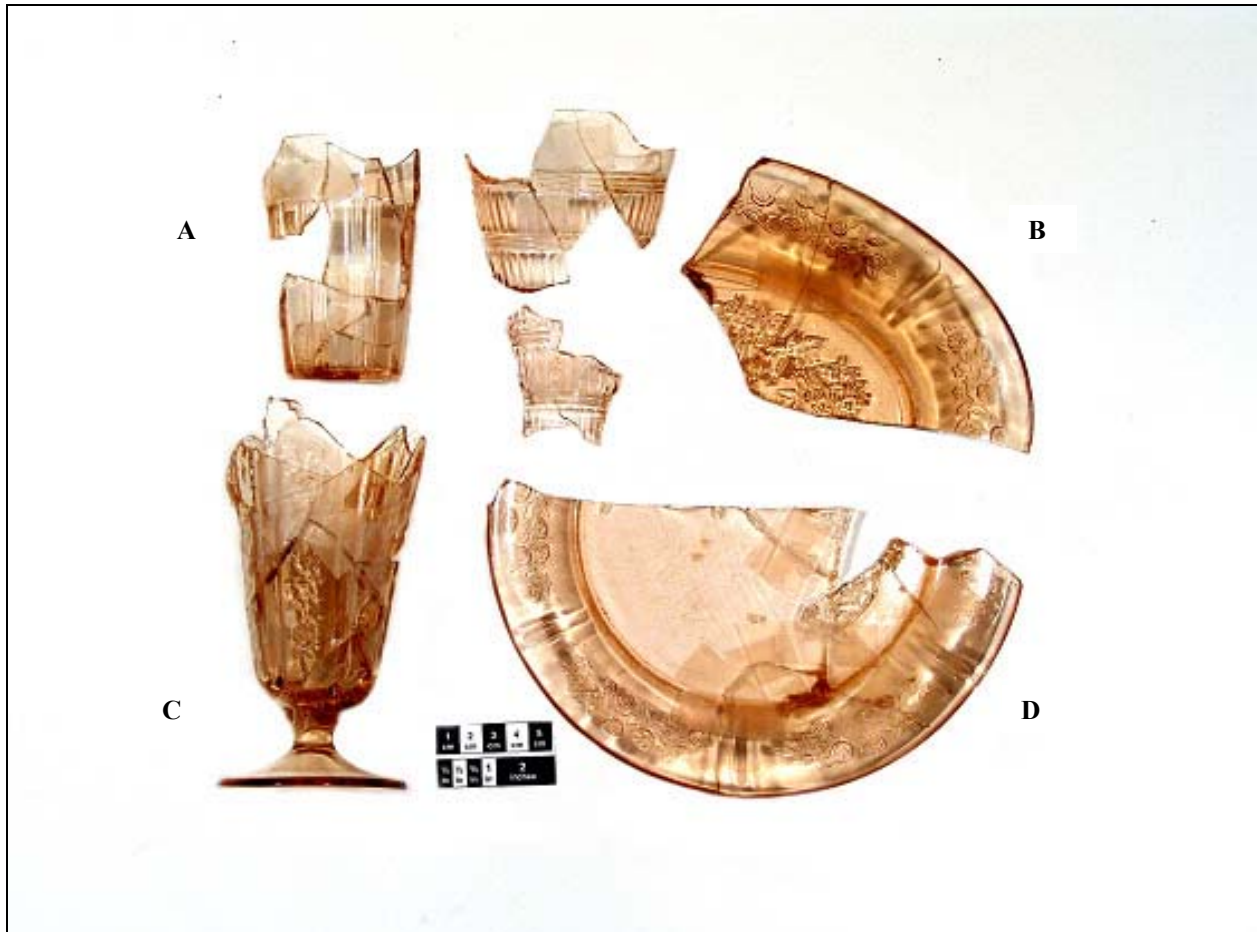


Fig. 7. Depression glass. *A*, Tumblers; *B*, Sharon Cabbage Rose platter; *C*, Sharon Cabbage Rose goblet; *D*, Sharon Cabbage Rose plate. Courtesy Morrell and Associates.

**Metal.** The majority of metal artifacts recovered from the site were agricultural tools. This varied from shallow plow pieces to pieces of mule harnesses to barbed wire fragments. Also recovered were 167 wire drawn nails, the majority of which were found in Feature 1 and the corncrib. A 1940s era Florida truck license plate (Figure 8) was recovered out of Feature 1, as well as an electric automobile horn part. None of the surviving Jones family members recalled owning an automobile of any kind, but other members of the tenant farm community

were known to have owned automobiles that the entire community used to move their crops to local markets.<sup>35</sup>

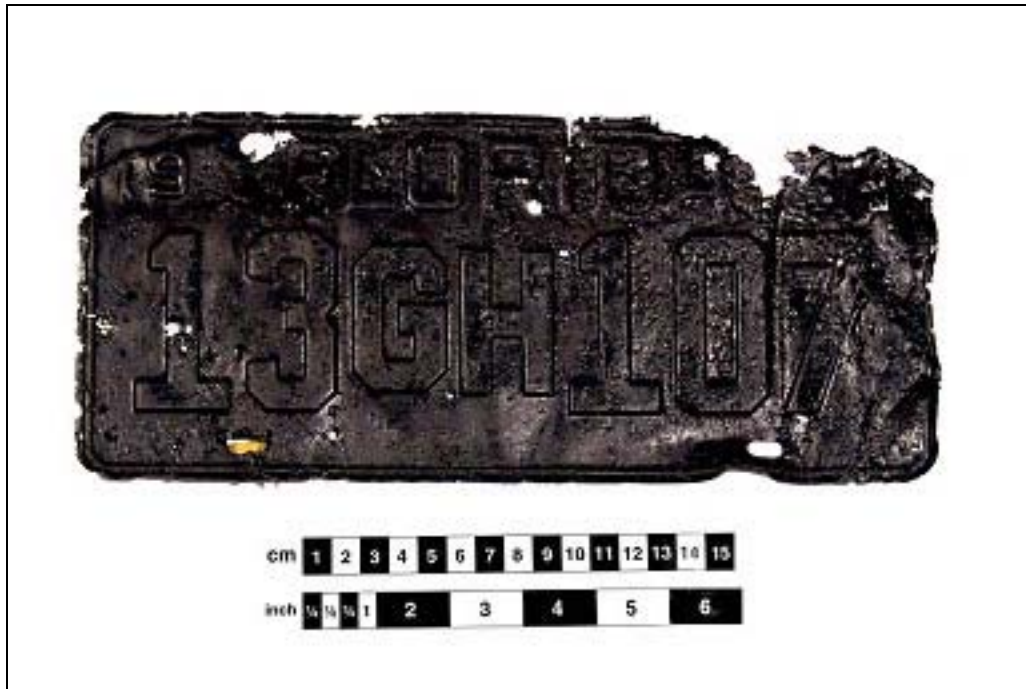


Fig. 8. 1940s Florida truck license plate. Courtesy Morrell and Associates.

An excellently preserved collection of four tools was discovered in the house during restoration. The tools included: an open ended wrench, a hand wrought chisel made from an iron spike, a Planet Jr. wrench, and an eight inch file with a corn cob handle still attached, (Figure 9).

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<sup>35</sup> Alex and Hattie Sloan, interview.



Fig. 9. Tools recovered from house. A, “Planet Jr.” open end and box end wrench; B, Open end wrench; C, Wrought chisel; D, File with corncob handle. Courtesy Morrell and Associates.

Besides farm equipment and building supplies, metal artifacts belonging to the house were discovered in Feature 1. Pieces of an iron cook stove were recovered, including the front grate of the wood box, (Figure 10). Also in Feature 1 were six pieces of flatware of which two were identified as Oneida Madison Silver Plate pattern Berkshire, produced in 1932,<sup>36</sup> (Figure 11). Other interesting household metal household items excavated from Feature 1 was the side bracket off of a pedal sewing machine, cast iron pot fragments, and a lard can handle.

<sup>36</sup> Tere Hagan, *Silverplated Flatware*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Paducah, KY: Collector Books, 1990), 209.

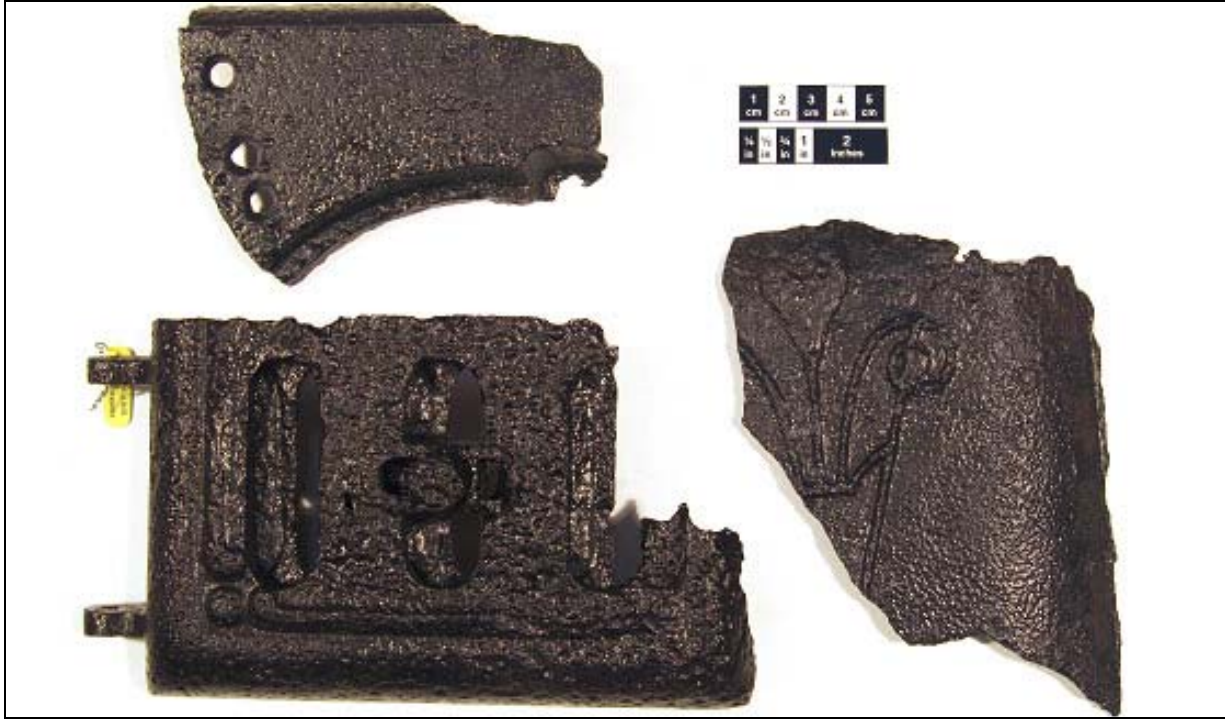


Fig. 10. Iron stove fragments. Courtesy Morrell and Associates.



Fig. 11. Various flatware. *A*, Spoon with Oneida Madison Silver Plate Berkshire pattern .  
 Courtesy Morrell and Associates.



**Ceramics.** Ceramic artifacts recovered from the site were identified as stoneware, earthenware, porcelain, or whiteware, all of which are classified as historic ceramics. Most of the ceramic artifacts were classified as whiteware, some with varied colored transfer design, but many were plain. Whiteware was a common and cheap ceramic of this time period.<sup>37</sup>

Only two makers marks were identified on the ceramic artifacts. One whiteware base was labeled in blue transfer with a partial “Crooksville China Co. Crooksville OH.” mark, which was dated to 1940.<sup>38</sup> The other base possessed a green transfer makers mark of “Shenango New Castle, PA China” traced to the 1920s.<sup>39</sup> Both companies were mass producers of this type of basic tableware, (Figure 12).



Fig. 12. Transfer makers marks on whiteware. *A*, Crooksville China Company; *B*, Shenango New Castle, PA. China. Courtesy Morrell and Associates.

<sup>37</sup> Nautical Archaeology at Texas A&M, “Period VI: 1820s-1900.” *Evolution of English Household Tableware*, n.d., <<http://nautarch.tamu.edu/class/313/ceramics/period-6.htm>> (15 August 2005).

<sup>38</sup> Ralph and Terry Kovel, *Kovel’s New Dictionary of Marks: Pottery & Porcelain 1850 to Present* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1986), 169.

<sup>39</sup> “Restaurant Ware China & Collectibles.” n.d., <<http://home.comcast.net/~dinerware/backstamp3.html>> (15 August 2005).

**Leather and Rubber.** A large number of complete and partial shoe parts were collected from the site. The shoe pieces range from adult sizes to child sizes. These shoe pieces, which include the leather uppers and rubber soles, were primarily found under the house and seemed to have endured exposure to the elements and local wildlife. It is believed that a large number of shoes survived because of the protection of the house and also the durability of the materials, (Figure 13).



Fig. 13. Various shoes fragments. Courtesy Morrell and Associates.

**Plastic.** Eight artifacts made of plastic were found across the site. Of those eight artifacts, six were various buttons found in Feature 8, the corncrib, and during surface collection.

A modern plastic screw cap was also collected. Lastly, a plastic ladies hair comb made of celluloid, a semi-synthetic plastic used since the late 1860s,<sup>40</sup> was found in an investigation of the surface area below the house, (Figure 14).



Fig. 14. Celluloid hair comb. Courtesy Morrell and Associates.

**Chert.** Prehistoric artifacts were also found on the site. Of those eight artifacts identified as chert, a utilized blade and flake with a notch were found in Feature 1 and five utilized flakes were identified in Feature 8. One other prehistoric artifact, found in the Smokehouse test, was unidentified.

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<sup>40</sup> Brenda Keneghan, "Caring for Twentieth Century Materials," *Twentieth Century Materials*, Norfolk Museum & Archaeology Service, 1997, <<http://museums.norfolk.gov.uk/default.asp?Document=300.80.04>>(5 November 2005).



**Other.** The five artifacts listed in the other category were made of a modern material, possibly asphalt.

**Faunal.** No faunal sample or analysis took place during the excavation, but two pig molars were found in Feature 8, also known as the sweet potato house. The livestock the Jones family kept, which included mules, cows and pigs, explains the presence of molars. Further faunal analysis is recommended at a future date.

## Artifact Summary

Interpreting the artifacts collected from the Jones Tenant House complex can be done in a few different ways. The artifact distribution and types of materials collected have already been discussed, but there is another way of looking at the material culture found during the excavation. In Charles Orser's study of the Millwood Plantation the author adapted a typology, based on function rather than material or concentration, originally found in Stanley South's *Method and Theory in Historical Archeology*,<sup>41</sup> (Figure 15).

Functional Typology, with Examples of Artifacts in Each Subcategory	
1.	FOODWAYS
a.	Procurement—ammunition, fishhooks, fishing weights
b.	Preparation—baking pans, cooking vessels, large knives
c.	Service—fine earthenware, flatware, tableware
d.	Storage—coarse earthenware, stoneware, glass bottles, canning jars, bottle stoppers
e.	Remains—floral, faunal
2.	CLOTHING
a.	Fasteners—buttons, eyelets, snaps, hook and eyes
b.	Manufacture—needles, pins, scissors, thimbles
c.	Other—shoe leather, metal shoe shanks, clothes hangers
3.	HOUSEHOLD/STRUCTURAL
a.	Architectural/Construction—nails, flat glass, spikes, mortar, bricks, slate
b.	Hardware—hinges, tacks, nuts, bolts, staples, hooks, brackets
c.	Furnishings/Accessories—stove parts, furniture pieces, lamp parts, decorative fasteners
4.	PERSONAL
a.	Medicinal—medicine bottles, droppers
b.	Cosmetic—hairbrushes, hair combs, jars
c.	Recreational—smoking pipes, toys, musical instruments, souvenirs
d.	Monetary—coins
e.	Decorative—jewelry, hairpins, hatpins, spectacles
f.	Other—pocketknives, fountain pens, pencils, inkwells
5.	LABOR
a.	Agricultural—barbed wire, horse and mule shoes, harness buckles, hoes, plow blades, scythe blades
b.	Industrial—tools

Fig. 15. Reprinted from Orser, *Material Basis*, 233.

<sup>41</sup> David H. Chance, review of *Method and Theory in Historical Archeology*, by Stanley South, *Historical Archaeology* 11 (1977):126-128.

This typology is based upon the idea that materials found on sites such as the tenant house are going to be used in ways we can recognize today. Orser uses the example of a small, round, flat object, with two holes in it, also called a button, was used as a fastener for clothing for the tenant farmers. In present times we use the button in the same way. This typology is not perfect, a button could be used in a variety of different ways, such as a game marker for example, but there is a strong chance that since this site is relatively recent the function of an artifact will remain the same.<sup>42</sup>

Table 4. Jones Tenant House Typology Totals

Typology	Number of Artifacts
Foodways	2191
Unknown	1635
Labor	578
Household	194
Personal	170
Clothing	61

By examining the artifacts based on function, one can find that the two most popular typologies are foodways and unknown. Both of these classifications are influenced by two major factors. First, many of the artifacts in this category consisted of fragmented glass artifacts. Second, many of the glass artifacts recovered from the site were unmarked, clear, glass fragments, which made their original containers, for example either a patent medicine bottle or a fruit jar, difficult to identify. Yet even with the fragmentation of glass and the difficulty of original container identification taken into consideration, artifacts used in the procurement, preparation, service and storage of food remains the highest artifact function.

The dominance of the foodways category prompted a closer examination of the types of artifacts contained in this category. While some metal artifacts, such as the iron stove fragments

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<sup>42</sup> Orser, *Material Basis*, 234.

and cutlery, were included in this classification the most frequent item found and counted in this category were fruit jar fragments. Fruit jars, while sometimes used as drinking glasses and storage containers for non-food related materials, were mostly used on a tenant farm for the long-term storage of foodstuff. Many of the former residents of the tenant farms, predominately female, recalled helping their mothers with the preserving and canning of different fruits and vegetables grown on their farms.<sup>43</sup>

The prevalence of artifacts used in the storage of foodstuffs found on the Jones Tenant House site is in direct contrast to other tenant farm studies, which found many artifacts used in the preparation of food rather than the storage of foodstuff.<sup>44</sup> The difference between the Jones Tenant House and these other studies is the interaction between the landowner and the tenant families. A study of an African American servant's house on the Oakley Plantation in Louisiana found hardly any food storage containers around the house. Instead those houses that contained members who came in frequent contact with the landowners often acquired food directly from the main kitchen, so long term food storage was not needed.<sup>45</sup> For most of the tenant farm families on Tall Timbers this kind of everyday interaction was uncommon, instead they endeavored to be self-sufficient living off of the crops and livestock they raised. This along with the next highest function after unknown, labor, reaffirms the main purpose of tenant farm families, which is to not only to make money in cash crops, but to grow and store enough food to feed their families.

The material culture recovered from the Jones Tenant House supports the idea that the lives of the tenant farm families consisted of two major focal points: food and labor. While a few luxury items, such as toys and the celluloid comb were found on the site, most of the artifacts dealt directly with working on the farm and keeping the family members supplied with the food they needed to survive. Ultimately these findings make the Jones Tenant House an excellent example of an average African American tenant farm family during the mid to late 1940s.

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<sup>43</sup> Minnie Jones Leonard, interview.

<sup>44</sup> Wilkie, *Creating Freedom*, 124.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

## CONCLUSION

The reasons why Tall Timbers' African American tenant farm families eventually left the plantation are varied. Beadel was ending the tenant farm contracts as the 1940s progressed and switched to a more mechanized, cash labor system in order to continue the patch-style farming practice that was conducive to quail hunting.<sup>1</sup> Jobs offered by the growing state government and universities in Tallahassee also encouraged many tenant farm families to leave the rural areas where they had lived for generations to seek employment in the city.<sup>2</sup>

It is unknown exactly why the Alonzo Jones family left their farm on Tall Timbers in 1948, but the type of education available to the children might have been a motivation. Rosalie Jones Brim spoke of the feeling of isolation some of the children felt living on the tenant farm, away from the main road, and of the far distance to the local schoolhouse. Their father also would not allow the older children to live in town with relatives, so the only chance for a higher education was when their mother moved to town to let the younger children attend school.<sup>3</sup> Ultimately the Jones family did leave Tall Timbers and by 1949, the number of families paying rent had fallen to just two,<sup>4</sup> marking the end of the tenant farming period on the hunting plantation.

During the years Tall Timbers rented land to African American tenant farmers, Beadel appeared to be a fair property-owner compared to other landowners of the time. He did adjust rents whenever the market dictated it and also responded to his renters whenever they wanted small modifications to their houses. Yet even though Beadel showed concern for his tenant farmers, the inequity of the agricultural system utterly overshadowed any type of benevolent action Beadel may have undertaken. Tenants farming and sharecropping were part of a vicious cycle in which no matter how many crops the farmers planted, they would continuously find

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<sup>1</sup> National Park Service, *National Register Nomination*.

<sup>2</sup> Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 104

<sup>3</sup> Brim, interview.

<sup>4</sup> Beadel Ledger.

themselves making a minimum, if any, profit. These types of agricultural systems, no matter what the intentions of the landowner, almost always exploited the tenants or sharecroppers.

The life of a tenant farmer during this time revolved around agriculture, but the social life outside of the farm was important in the lives of these families. Children did attend school whenever their time could be spared. Unfortunately, like the agricultural system itself, education during this time period was permeated with discrimination towards rural African Americans. Religion was one area that allowed tenant farmers to express themselves without fear of discrimination. The small churches that these people attended, and controlled, allowed the tenant farmers a small degree of power in their own lives. Tall Timbers' African American tenant farm community also possessed a strong internal support system, which allowed members of the community to help each other if the situation demanded it. All of these influences, from agriculture to social life, develop our understandings of the lifeways of African Americans during the early 1900s.

Material culture also shows us just what an average tenant farmers had to work with in their everyday lives. Archaeological investigations on the Jones Tenant House show us that the lives of these tenant farmers did truly revolve around two areas, food and labor. There were some examples of personal items, such as the celluloid comb and the glass marbles recovered from the site, but the lives of these farmers mainly consisted of day to day survival. Luxury items, such as store bought toys and glass windows, were not thought of or expected in most cases. In looking back on their childhood on Tall Timbers former residents were able to reflect on just how poor their families were, yet at the time, they had little to no notion of their poverty.<sup>5</sup> It was only as they got older and became more exposed to the outside world that the young people realized how unequal the system and their lives had been. Although their lives were lacking in material goods, the former residents of Tall Timbers look back with affection upon the support their families, and the community on a whole, were able to impart upon their childhood. This sense of community has carried on to the present day. Every February, Tall Timbers Research Station hosts a reunion of former tenant farm families and their descendants. It is at that time former members of the close-knit community come together once again to tell stories of their parents and grandparents who once lived on the former plantation.

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<sup>5</sup> Alex and Hattie Sloan, interview.

The story of Tall Timbers' African American tenant farm families illustrates a unique time period in Southern United States history, a period of time minimally developed in this document. Tenant farm houses and communities were once common sights on the southern rural landscape, but only a few of these houses remain and the human remnants of the communities can only be found in the stories told at the family reunions held by descendants of the tenant farm families. Tall Timbers' history and the history of the tenant farmers who once worked its land contributed to the larger picture of what life was like for African Americans who once farmed and resided in the red hills of north Florida.

## APPENDIX A

### TRANSCRIPTION OF BEADEL LEDGER

Table 5. Tenant Names and Rent 1920-1929.

Tenant Name	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929
Alonzo (Lonza) Bivens						\$50.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00
Adam Bryant	\$100.00	\$100.00	\$105.00	\$100.00						
Jim Bob Fisher	\$200.00	\$100.00	\$108.95	\$100.00	\$200.00	\$100.00				
Johnnie Fisher		\$25.00								
Julee Fisher				\$100.00						
Rebecca Fisher			\$105.00	\$100.00	\$100.00	\$15.00				
William Gay	\$200.00	\$200.00	\$210.00	\$200.00	\$200.00	\$200.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$112.50
Angeline Green			\$100.00	\$100.00	\$100.00					
Henry Green/Angeline Green						\$100.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00
Charely Green/Rebecca Fisher		\$100.00								
Charley Green	\$24.00									
William Green	\$112.00	\$100.00								
Kate & Tom Harris		\$25.00	\$100.00	\$100.00						
Walter Harvin			\$100.00	\$100.00	\$100.00	\$100.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00
John Hayes						\$50.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00
Bill Jones *d. 1929	\$200.00	\$200.00	\$217.50	\$200.00	\$200.00	\$200.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$112.50	\$112.50
Sam Jones	\$100.00	\$100.00	\$100.00	\$100.00						
Cooper Robinson	\$50.00									
Henry Vickers					\$50.00	\$50.00		\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00
Tom Wilson		\$25.00	\$25.00	\$50.00/20ac						
Ike Witherspoon	\$100.00									
Mary Wyche	\$100.00									

Table 6. Tenant Names and Rent 1930-1939.

Tenant Name	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Alonzo (Lonza) Bivens	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00							
Dan Gay		\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00					
William Gay	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$112.50	\$112.50	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$35.00	\$44.71	
Angeline Green	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00					
Walter Harvin	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$31.25	\$33.60	
John Hayes	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00					
Maggie Jones (took over for Bill Jones)	\$75.00					\$75.00				
Robert Scott		\$25.00	\$25.00	\$25.00						
Mamie Green Smith				\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$75.00			
Henry Vickers	\$75.00	\$75.00	\$112.50	\$112.50	\$112.50	\$75.00	\$50.00			
John Williams								\$35.00		

Table 7. Tenant Names and Rent 1940-1949.

Tenant Name	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949
Dora Franklin					\$40.00	\$50.00	\$50.00	\$60.00	\$60.00	
Emmitt Gay		\$40.00	\$18.00							
William Gay		\$40.00	\$40.00	\$40.00	\$25.00	\$25.00	\$25.00	\$25.00	\$25.00	\$25.00
Mamie Green				\$15.00	\$15.00		\$15.00			
Josh Harvin		\$25.00	\$40.00	\$40.00	\$40.00	\$40.00	\$40.00	\$40.00	\$40.00	
Walter Harvin		\$40.00	\$25.00	\$40.00						
Tom Harvin				\$40.00	\$40.00					
Lige Jones		\$25.00	\$40.00	\$40.00	\$40.00	\$40.00	\$40.00	\$40.00	\$40.00	\$25.00
Lonza Jones			\$40.00	\$50.00	\$60.00	\$60.00	\$60.00	\$50.00	\$80.00	
Mose Jones		\$25.00	\$40.00	\$50.00	\$40.00					
Richard Jones		\$25.00								
Hattie Strattin									\$15.00	
Richard Vickers		\$25.00	\$40.00							



## APPENDIX B

### CENSUS DATA

Table 8. Transcribed from Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States: 1920*.

Tenant Name	Relation	Race	Age	Place of Birth	Father Place of Birth	Mother Place of Birth	Attend School	Read	Write	Occupation
Alonzo (Lonza) Bivens	Head	B	28	FL	FL	FL		No	No	Farmer
Caroline Bivens	Wife	B	23	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	Laborer
Dora Anne Bivens	Daughter	B	3	FL	FL	FL				
Edgar Bivens	Son	B	2	FL	FL	FL				
Adam Bryant	Head	B	66	GA	NC	NC		No	No	Farmer
Louisa Bryant	Wife	B	45	GA	MISS	GA		No	No	Laborer
Ella Witherspoon	Cousin	B	14	FL	GA	FL	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Jim Bob Fisher	Head	B	57	GA	FL	GA		Yes	Yes	Farmer
Alice Fisher	Wife	B	55	FL	FL	FL		No	No	
John Fisher	Son	B	20	FL	GA	FL		Yes	No	Laborer
Mary Fisher	Daughter	B	17	FL	GA	FL	Yes	Yes	Yes	
James Fisher	Son	B	15	FL	GA	FL	Yes	No	No	
Donnie Fisher	Daughter	B	11	FL	GA	FL	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Johnnie Fisher	Not Found									
Julee Fisher	Not Found									
William Gay	Head	B	46	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	Farmer
Anna Gay	Wife	B	42	GA	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	
Dora Gay	Daughter	B	17	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Joe Gay	Son	B	16	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Em (?)Gay	Son	B	15	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Joeanna Gay	Daughter	B	14	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Daniel Gay	Son	B	12	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	No	
Ella Gay	Daughter	B	11	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	No	
Joseph Gay	Son	B	8	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	No	
Essie Gay	Daughter	B	6	FL	FL	FL				
Mya Gay	Daughter	B	2	FL	FL	FL				
Angeline Green	Head	B	60	FL	FL	FL		No	No	Farmer
William Green	Son	B	25	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	Laborer
Oscar Green	Son	B	19	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	Laborer
Ethel Green	Daughter	B	18	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	No	
Henry Green	Son	B	10	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	No	

Table 8-continued.

Tenant Name	Relation	Race	Age	Place of Birth	Father Place of Birth	Mother Place of Birth	Attend School	Read	Write	Occupation
Annie Bell Green	Daughter	B	8	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	No	
Charley Green	Head	B	23	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	Laborer/ Lumber Comp
Caroline Green	Wife	B	22	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	
Kate & Tom Harris	Not Found									
Walter Harvin	Not Found									
Lonvinia Harvin	Not Found									
John Hayes Jr.	Head	B	48	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	Farmer
Mamie Hayes	Wife	B	45	FL	FL	FL		No	No	
John Hayes III	Son	B	23	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	Laborer
Oscar Hayes	Son	B	18	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	Laborer
Ethel Hayes	Daughter	B	16	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Henrietta Hayes	Daughter	B	14	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Mariah Hayes	Daughter	B	12	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Sam Hayes	Son	B	10	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	No	
Roosevelt Hayes	Son	B	8	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	No	
Charley Hayes	Son	B	6	FL	FL	FL	No	No	No	
Leila Hayes	Daughter	B	3	FL	FL	FL				
Bill Jones	Head	B	68	Wash DC	Wash DC	Wash DC		No	No	Farmer
Maggie Jones	Wife	B	42	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	
Sarah Jones	Daughter	B	20	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	Laborer
Bertha Jones	Daughter	B	18	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Willie Jones	Son	B	15	FL	Wash DC	FL	Yes	Yes	Yes	Laborer
George Jones	Son	B	13	FL	Wash DC	FL	Yes	Yes	No	
Jennie Jones	Daughter	B	11	FL	Wash DC	FL	Yes	Yes	Yes	
Christina Jones	Daughter	B	8	FL	Wash DC	FL	Yes	No	No	
Edward Jones	Son	B	6	FL	Wash DC	FL	Yes	No	No	
Ollie Jones	Daughter	B	5	FL	Wash DC	FL				
JC Jones	Son	B	3	FL	Wash DC	FL				
Sam Jones	Head	B	28	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	Farmer
Annie Lee Jones	Wife	B	29	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	
Ella Jones	Adopted D	B	8	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	No	
Beala Lee Jones	Daughter	B	11	FL	FL	FL				
Maggie Jones	Daughter	B	2	FL	FL	FL				

Table 8-continued.

Tenant Name	Relation	Race	Age	Place of Birth	Father Place of Birth	Mother Place of Birth	Attend School	Read	Write	Occupation
Clem Jones	Son	B	11/12	FL	FL	FL				
Cooper Robinson	Not Found									
Henry Vickers	Head	B	28	FL	FL	FL		No	No	Farmer
Annie Vickers	Wife	B	26	FL	FL	FL		No	No	Laborer
Elizabeth Vickers	Daughter	B	9	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	No	
Elijah Vickers	Son	B	7	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	No	
Angeline Vickers	Daughter	B	4	FL	FL	FL				
Marie Vickers	Daughter	B	3	FL	FL	FL				
Annie Vickers Jr.	Daughter	B	1	FL	FL	FL				
Tom Wilson	Head	B	43	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	Farmer
Mary Ella Wilson	Wife	B	30	FL	FL	FL		No	No	Laborer
Mattie Lee Wilson	Daughter	B	8	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	No	
Willie Hardy Wilson	Son	B	7	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	No	
Jessie James Wilson	Son	B	5	FL	FL	FL				
Thomas Joseph Wilson	Son	B	4	FL	FL	FL				
Beatrice Lee Wilson	Daughter	B	2	FL	FL	FL				
Ike Witherspoon	Head	B	26	FL	FL	FL		No	No	Farmer
Sarah Witherspoon	Wife	B	22	FL	FL	FL		Yes	Yes	Laborer
Becky (Rebecca) Fisher	Mother (Wd)	B	43	FL	FL	FL		No	No	Laborer
Josh Forest	Head (Wd)	B	67	FL	FL	FL		No	No	Laborer
Mary Wyche	Head (Wd)	B	54	GA	GA	FL		No	No	Farmer
Annie Wyche	Grand D	B	8	FL	GA	FL	Yes	No	No	

Table 9. Transcribed from Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930*.

Tenant Name	Relation	Race	Age	Place of Birth	Father Place of Birth	Mother Place of Birth	Attend School	Read/Write	Occup.	Rent/\$	Veteran
Alonzo (Lonza) Bivens	Head	Neg	39	FL	FL	FL	No	No	Farmer	R/4	No
Mamie Green Smith	Relative	Neg	34	FL	FL	FL	No	No	None		
Viola Smith	Relative D	Neg	15	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	Laborer		
Siebert Smith	Relative D	Neg	13	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	Laborer		
William Gay	Head	Neg	56	FL	FL	FL	No	Yes	Farmer	R/4	No
Anna Gay	Wife-H	Neg	55	FL	FL	FL	No	Yes	None		
Dan Gay	Son	Neg	21	FL	FL	FL	No	Yes	Laborer		
Ella Gay	Daughter	Neg	19	FL	FL	FL	No	Yes	Laborer		
Joseph Gay	Son	Neg	18	FL	FL	FL	No	Yes	Laborer		

Table 9-continued.

Tenant Name	Relation	Race	Age	Place of Birth	Father Place of Birth	Mother Place of Birth	Attend School	Read/Write	Occup.	Rent/\$	Veteran
Lorie Gay	Daughter	Neg	9	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Laborer		
Ella Jones	Grand D	Neg	13	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Laborer		
William Jones	Grand S	Neg	14	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Laborer		
Dosa Jones	Grand D	Neg	11	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Laborer		
Pansy Jones	Grand D	Neg	9	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	Laborer		
Lucila Nash	Grand D	Neg	1.5	FL	FL	FL	No	No	None		
Angeline Green	Not Found										
Walter Harvin	Head	Neg	65	FL	FL	FL	No	No	Farmer	R/4	
Lonvinia Harvin	Wife-H	Neg	50	FL	FL	FL	No	No	None		
Gus Harvin	Son	Neg	38	FL	FL	FL	No	Yes	Laborer		Y/WWI
John Hayes	Head	Neg	55	FL	NC	FL	No	No	Farmer	R/4	No
Mamie Hayes	Wife-H	Neg	45	FL	FL	FL	No	No			
Charles Hayes	Son	Neg	16	FL	FL	FL	No	Yes	Laborer		
Leila Hayes	Daughter	Neg	13	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Laborer		
Maggie Jones	Head	Neg	52	FL	US	US	No	Yes	Farmer	R/4	
William Jones	Son	Neg	25	FL	FL	FL	No	Yes	Laborer		No
Jennie Jones	Daughter	Neg	21	FL	FL	FL	No	Yes	None		
Ollie Jones	Daughter	Neg	15	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Laborer		
JC Jones	Son	Neg	13	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Laborer		
Mamie Jones	Daughter	Neg	9	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No	Laborer		
Willie L. Jones	Grand D	Neg	4 1/4	FL	FL	FL	No	No			
Maggie L. Jones	Grand D	Neg	3	FL	FL	FL	No	No			
Ronal Jones	Grand D	Neg	3/12	FL	FL	FL	No	No			
Clara Jones	D in Law	Neg	25	FL	FL	FL	No	Yes	Laborer		
Edna M. Jones	Grand D	Neg	2	FL	FL	FL	No	No			
Robert Scott	Not Found										
Henry Vickers	Head	Neg	39	FL	VA	FL	No	Yes	Farmer	R/4	No
Annie Vickers	Wife-H	Neg	36	FL	US	FL	No	No			
Lizabeth Vickers	Daughter	Neg	20	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Laborer		
Eliga Vickers	Son	Neg	18	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Laborer		
Angeline Vickers	Daughter	Neg	17	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Laborer		
Marie Vickers	Daughter	Neg	16	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes	Laborer		
Annie M. Vickers	Daughter	Neg	12	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes			
Richard Vickers	Son	Neg	10	FL	FL	FL	Yes	Yes			
Lizzy Vickers	Mother	Neg	70	FL	FL	FL	No	No			
Henry Jr. Vickers	Nephew	Neg	8	FL	FL	FL	Yes	No			
John Williams	Head	Neg	43	FL	NC	FL	No	No	Farmer	R/4	No
Mandy Williams	Wife-H	Neg	45	GA	FL	GA	No	Yes	None		
Worley Williams	Daughter	Neg	3.5	FL	FL	GA	No	No	None		
Casey Williams	Mother	Neg	80	GA	US	GA	No	No	None		

Table 10. Transcribed from State of Florida, *Florida Population Census, 1945*.

Tenant Name	Age	Race	Sex	Place of Birth	Degree of Education	Occupation
Dora Franklin	40	Black	M	FL	3rd Grade	Farmer
Ollie Franklin	36	Black	F	FL	4th Grade	Housewife
Mary Franklin	9	Black	F	FL	2nd Grade	School
Otter Lee Franklin	11	Black	M	FL	3rd Grade	School
William James Franklin	8	Black	M	FL	1st Grade	School
Betty Lee Franklin	6	Black	F	FL	None	
Charlie Mel Franklin	5	Black	F	FL	None	
Johnny Lee Franklin	2	Black	M	FL	None	
Lillie Ruth Franklin	1	Black	F	FL	None	
Emmett Gay	42	Black	M	FL	2nd Grade	Farmer
Emma Gay	31	Black	F	FL	4th Grade	Housewife
Emmett Gay Jr.	15	Black	M	FL	5th Grade	School
Celie Gay	12	Black	F	FL	6th Grade	School
Emma Lee Gay	9	Black	F	FL	None	School
William Gay	68	Black	M	FL	4th Grade	Farmer
Anne Gay	67	Black	F	FL	4th Grade	Housewife
Essie Lena Gay	10	Black	F	FL	7th Grade	School
Francis Gay	7	Black	M	FL	1st Grade	School
Jeanie Gay	16	Black	F	FL	6th Grade	School
Mamie Green (Smith)	41	Black	F	FL	None	Labor
Josh (Gus)Harvin	58	Black	M	FL	5th Grade	Farmer
Samuel Harvin	18	Black	M	FL	5th Grade	Army
Suphnia Harvin	76	Black	F	FL	2nd Grade	Housewife
Walter Harvin	Moved/Died 1943					
Lige Jones	60	Black	M	GA	None	Farmer
Sally Jones	55	Black	F	FL	4th Grade	Housewife
Celia Jones	15	Black	F	FL	9th Grade	School
Lonza Jones	36	Black	M	FL	3rd Grade	Farmer
Mamie Jones	35	Black	F	FL	6th Grade	Housewife
Richard Jones	16	Black	M	FL	8th Grade	Farmer
Lonza Jr. Jones	14	Black	M	FL	7th Grade	School
Annie Mae Jones	13	Black	F	FL	6th Grade	School
Rose Lee Jones	10	Black	F	FL	3rd Grade	School
Leroy Jones	11	Black	M	FL	3rd Grade	School
Ollie Mae Jones	8	Black	F	FL	1st Grade	School
Minnie Lee Jones	6	Black	F	FL	1st Grade	School
Tommie Jones	5	Black	M	FL	None	None
Taylor Jones	3	Black	M	FL	None	None
Eulie Mae Jones	2	Black	F	FL	None	None
Mose Jones	Moved 1944					
Hattie Stratton	71	Black	F	FL	7th Grade	Housewife
Richard Vickers	Moved 1942					

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## **BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH**

Robin Theresa Bauer was born on September 15, 1978 in Reno, Nevada. Her family moved to Sacramento, California in 1980, and then to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1984. In 1994 her family relocated to Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, where Robin graduated with honors from St. Thomas Aquinas High School in 1996. She was accepted to Florida State University and was awarded a Bachelor of Arts degree in Anthropology, with a minor in computer science, in 2000. After graduating Robin worked for a cultural resource management firm based out of Wildwood, Georgia, performing archaeological survey work throughout Tennessee and Alabama and contributing to technical reports, until 2001. In 2002 she relocated to Jacksonville, Florida, and was employed by Merrill Lynch until her acceptance to the Historic Administration and Public History graduate program offered by the Department of History at Florida State University in 2003. Upon graduation Robin plans on pursuing a career in historic preservation.