

THE SMOKEY HOLLOW COMMUNITY

Informal boundaries by street name: North to South: E. Jefferson Street to E. Van Buren Street. West to East: S. Gadsden Street to Marvin Street.

Tallahassee
Leon County
Florida

HALS FL-9

HALS FL-9

PHOTOGRAPHS

WRITTEN HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE DATA

REDUCED COPIES OF MEASURED DRAWINGS

FIELD RECORDS

HISTORIC AMERICAN LANDSCAPES SURVEY

National Park Service
U.S. Department of the Interior
1849 C Street NW
Washington, DC 20240-0001

HISTORIC AMERICAN LANDSCAPES SURVEY

SMOKEY HOLLOW (Smoky Hollow)

- Location:** Site of displaced Smokey Hollow community, Tallahassee, Leon County, Florida
Informal boundaries by street name: North to South: E. Jefferson Street to E. Van Buren Street. West to East: S. Gadsden Street to Marvin Street.
Latitude 30.434478° and Longitude -84.277108° (The Tallahassee Meridian survey monument)
- Present Owner:** City of Tallahassee and state of Florida
- Present Occupant:** Non-residential
- Present Use:** City of Tallahassee public space, state of Florida offices
- Significance:** The story of Smokey Hollow forces us to rethink historical narratives of government's exercise of eminent domain in the mid-twentieth century on established African American neighborhoods. Throughout the nation, government intervention displaced vibrant communities of working class people, immigrants, and minorities. While the specific contours of that story in Tallahassee were unique, the outcome was not. Through the power of eminent domain, the state of Florida eliminated most of the housing and business structures that had existed in Smokey Hollow since the turn of the twentieth century. Yet, that dissolution did not eradicate the community's sense of itself. This is the story of the development of this African American community, its dissolution, and its persistence in memory after dislocation.
- Although a system of segregation limited opportunities, African Americans refused to let those restrictions define them. Starting in the 1890s, members of Smokey Hollow began building a community identified by families, social organizations, cultural institutions, and African American businesses. Over the course of the next sixty years, the neighborhood became tight knit. At the same time, the late arrival of residential zoning ordinances, the absence of legal minimum standards of housing, and a hilly topography shaped the contours of the built environment. Vernacular structures, most often made of wood, most often one-story, and most often owned by white non-residents, dominated the landscape. In contrast to improvements in infrastructure in predominately-white communities in Tallahassee, in

the late 1950s, most of the roads in Smokey Hollow were still unpaved and many residents lived without basic urban amenities. In addition, an unprotected water ditch and railroad ran through the area. Yet, until the call to redevelop the area around the state capitol into a complex center to house an expanded government courtesy of the state's post World War II growth, few politicians took notice of the area.

In an era when most African Americans were disenfranchised, Smokey Hollow fell vulnerable to the call for urban renewal. The move to acquire the land for state offices in the early 1960s forced residents to disperse into other African American neighborhoods. The majority of Smokey Hollow's residents lost their homes and their businesses. Yet, in their diaspora, former residents persevered in maintaining the memory of Smokey Hollow in the remnants of that community's physical manifestations, reunions and other commemorative events. This HALS captures the archival history and private memories of Smokey Hollow and consecrates them as a public memory. It makes the community's former presence on the landscape perceptible to those in the present.

Historian(s) Jennifer Koslow Ph.D. and Anthony Dixon Ph.D.¹

PART I. HISTORICAL INFORMATION

A. Physical History:

1. Date(s) of establishment: 1890s
2. Landscape architect, designer, shaper, creator: Folk/Vernacular
3. Builder, contractor, laborer, suppliers: Folk/Vernacular
4. Original and subsequent owners, occupants: Individuals, families, multigenerational families, extended kinship and friendship groups, and some transient population.
5. Periods of Development: 1890s-1960s
 - a. Original plans and construction: Folk/Vernacular
 - b. Changes and additions: Folk/Vernacular

¹ Research Assistance provided by: Beverly Simmons Gavin and Florida State University History graduate students: Rebecca Woofler, Richard Soash, Robyn Bertram, Kyle Bracken, Brandi Burns, Eric Case, Rachel Christian, Jessica Coker, Monica Davenport, Philip Davis, Kathryn Palmer, Julia Skinner, Corie Smith, Kimberly Stansell, and Mary Taylor and Florida State University undergraduate student Colin Behrens.

B. Historical Context:

Smokey Hollow was an African American neighborhood in Tallahassee that existed between the 1890s and 1960s. Members of the community defined its boundaries by families, social organizations, cultural institutions, and African American businesses. As a result, its boundaries were elastic, stretching from E. Jefferson Street on the north to E. Van Buren Street on the south and from S. Gadsden Street on the west to Marvin Street on the east depending on residential movements through time. In the 1950s, however, the state of Florida and city of Tallahassee increasingly attempted to constrict malleable boundaries into fixed ones in order to pursue urban renewal. Through the power of eminent domain, officials eliminated most of the housing and business structures. This dissolution forced residents to disperse into other African American neighborhoods. Smokey Hollow residents lost their homes and their businesses. Sometimes they were able to relocate their churches, but taken out of their historic context, these institutions served to build new communities rather than sustain the old.

Yet in their diaspora former residents persevered in maintaining the memory of Smokey Hollow in the remnants of that community's physical manifestations, such as securing a place on the National Register of Historic Places and Tallahassee's Riley House Museum. The community has also preserved and maintained the memory of Smokey Hollow through reunions and other commemorative events. As Ronald Spencer, a former resident said, "Smokey Hollow will always be in my heart."² This narrative provides the historical context of the development and dismantling of Smokey Hollow; it also serves to construct a permanent commemoration.

Why does Smokey Hollow have two spellings? Archival evidence suggests that citizens of Tallahassee and residents of the state of Florida originally referred to Smoky Hollow in print by spelling the name without an "e." This followed the general rules of nineteenth century orthography. As a result, print media and government records originally referred to the neighborhood as Smoky Hollow. In the mid-twentieth century, an alternative spelling of "smoky" with an "e" began to appear in print media, and soon the two became used interchangeably. In this historical narrative, we use "smoky," the original spelling, to provide consistency in describing the area. However, we use "Smokey" as the official title of this HALS because former residents and their descendants have chosen this spelling to identify their community in acts of commemoration.³

Native Peoples and European Contact and Conquest pre-1822

Native Peoples were the first residents of the area that Tallahasseeans eventually termed Smoky Hollow. Archaeological evidence, such as ceremonial mounds near Lake Jackson, provides tangible evidence of habitation going back centuries. By the sixteenth century, two

² Statement said at "Discovering Tallahassee History Event," 28 March 2014, Riley House Museum, Tallahassee, Florida. Notes in Possession of Jennifer Koslow

³ Regarding the choice of spelling, see the Meeting Minutes for January, 18, 2012 for the Smokey Hollow Working Group, Blueprint 2000, Intergovernmental Agency, Tallahassee, Florida

groups in particular, the Apalachee and Timucua, had formed complex agricultural communities within the region.⁴ One settlement in particular, the Apalachee village of Anhaica and its hinterlands, encompassed what became Smoky Hollow.

In the early sixteenth century, the Spanish launched a series of official expeditions to the land they named La Florida. Spanish conquistadors found Native Peoples decidedly hostile to royal attempts of conquest.⁵ Hernando de Soto, for instance, began a venture through Florida starting in the spring of 1539. In trolling for riches, de Soto encountered Native Peoples, who often determined that the safest response to his presence was to offer misdirection. In de Soto's quest for conquest, however, he frequently chose to initiate armed conflict, which Native Peoples responded to in kind.⁶ News of his travels reached the Apalachees at Anhaica prior to his arrival, and they burned parts of the village, presumably to discourage his journey.⁷ Nonetheless, according to Garcilaso de la Vega's second-hand but compelling tale of events, the Apalachee left "250 large and good houses," which de Soto then decided to use to house his army between October of 1539 and February of 1540.⁸ Until the 1980s, however, scholars did not know the exact whereabouts of this event. In 1987, archaeologists discovered evidence of Spanish and Apalachee domestic presence around the site of former governor John Martin's house, which was built in the 1930s just east of what was then known as Smoky Hollow. This led archaeologists to the conclusion that they had found both the site of Anhaica and de Soto's winter encampment.⁹

While Native Peoples resisted Spanish attempts at conquest, smallpox, measles, and other contagious diseases brought by soldiers, missionaries, and traders began to spread with devastating impact among their communities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰ As interactions continued through trade, combat, and cohabitation, Native Peoples found themselves constructing uneasy alliances with the Spanish as a means to survive.¹¹ The result, according to historian Amy Bushnell, was the formation of "two republics[:] The Republic of Spaniards and the separate Republic of Indians [who] were to be united in allegiance to the Crown and obedience to the 'law of God'; otherwise they were intended to stay strictly apart."¹² For instance, Native Peoples found their movements along trade routes restricted. Conversely, Spanish law limited the number of days Spaniards could spend in Native People's

⁴ Amy Turner Bushnell, "Ruling 'the Republic of Indians' in Seventeenth-Century Florida," in Wood, Waselkov, and Hatley, eds., *Powhatan's Mantle*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 135-6.

⁵ Bushnell, "Ruling 'the Republic of Indians,'" 135-6.

⁶ Jerald T. Milanich and Charles M. Hudson, *Hernando De Soto and the Indians of Florida* (The Ripley P. Bullen Series, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993) 53, 87, 88, and 101.

⁷ Milanich, *Hernando De Soto*, 212.

⁸ *Ibid*, 218 and 212.

⁹ *Ibid*, 216.

¹⁰ Jerald T. Milanich, "Laboring in the Fields of the Lord," *Archaeology*, Vol. 49, No. 1 (January/February 1996) 65.

¹¹ Bushnell, "Ruling 'the Republic of Indians,'" 136-7.

¹² Bushnell, "Ruling 'the Republic of Indians,'" 137.

communities and where they could repose at night.¹³ As part of the colonial project, Franciscan friars developed a series of just over twenty missions, one of which the Spanish located in what is now present-day Tallahassee.¹⁴

The Franciscans established San Luis de Jinayca in the 1630s (renamed in the 1670s as San Luis de Talimali) within the Apalachee sphere of influence to serve as a seat of government for the Spanish deputy-governor and as a spiritual home for the Apalachee Indians.¹⁵ This first site is undocumented. However, in the 1650s, “at the request of Spanish military authorities,” the Franciscans moved the mission to a very high hill west and north of what became Smoky Hollow.¹⁶ None of the mission’s “wood-and-thatch buildings” survived the ravages of time.¹⁷ However, in the 1980s, the state of Florida began a program of archaeological and historical research when it acquired the property. As two of the scholars who worked on this project argued, documenting the historic landscape was important both for academic scholarship and to serve “as an instrument of public education.”¹⁸ Towards that end, the state of Florida reconstructed several architectural structures close to their original locations but without disturbing the archaeological integrity of the site. The museum builders hoped that this reenactment of the historical landscape provided visitors with a chance to understand the “considerable compromise and accommodation” that occurred between the Spanish and Apalachee.¹⁹

The British establishment of Carolina in the late seventeenth century eventually transformed the region. It exacerbated tensions between Native Peoples and the Spanish.²⁰ The alliances between these groups were already collapsing from the unintended consequences of decimation by disease and the slave trade. Carolinians’ desire for Indian slaves played a particularly important role in the ultimate elimination of local Native Peoples from the area we now know as Smoky Hollow.²¹

The geopolitics involved with this territory led the Spanish to cede the land to Great Britain in 1763. After the Spanish departure from La Florida, as Amy Bushnell described, “little was left in the provinces to remind one of a time of the two republics or of the rulers who had

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Milanich, “Laboring in the Fields of the Lord,” 62.

¹⁵ Bonnie G. McEwan, “San Luis de Talimali: The Archaeology of Spanish-Indian Relations at a Florida Mission,” *Historical Archaeology* Volume 25, No. 3 (1991): 37; Bonnie G. McEwan and John H. Hann, “Reconstructing a Spanish Mission: San Luis de Talimali,” *OAH Magazine of History* (Summer 2000): 16.

¹⁶ McEwan and Hann, “Reconstructing a Spanish Mission: San Luis de Talimali,” 16.

¹⁷ Milanich, “Laboring in the Fields of the Lord,” 60.

¹⁸ McEwan and Hann, “Reconstructing a Spanish Mission: San Luis de Talimali,” 16.

¹⁹ Ibid, 19.

²⁰ Bushnell, “Ruling ‘the Republic of Indians,’” 144-5.

²¹ Allan Galloway, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002): 48-50

shared sovereignty with the Spaniards.”²² In Tallahassee, the Spanish and Apalachee abandoned the mission. The Spanish left for Cuba and other Spanish territories. Some Apalachee joined them, while others migrated to Louisiana.²³

These developments opened up strategic opportunities for some Native Peoples. For instance, Tunape, a leader among the Creek who was well versed in the ways of the Spanish, established a community in what became Tallahassee in 1763.²⁴ Tunape did not do this to escape international relationships but instead to better his position within them. According to scholar of Native Peoples, J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Tunape “maintained commercial contact with Cuba through the nearby port at Saint Marks, and flew the Spanish flag at his square ground.”²⁵ While geopolitics led to Spanish rule of north Florida again in 1783, the Spanish did not reestablish the mission in Tallahassee or seek to turn it into any type of administrative center. In 1819, geopolitics intervened once again in the region’s fate, this time laying the groundwork for transforming it into a territory of the United States.

These twists and turns in international interactions affected the Muskogee peoples (who eventually developed identities as Creek and Seminole) living in the Southeast. They developed relations with the British, participated in the slave trade, and then displaced the Apalachees after years of raiding them on behalf of the British. As a result, although the population around the region that became Smoky Hollow was sparse at the turn-of-the nineteenth century, it was not empty land. Neamathla, a Seminole chief, for instance, located a community in 1819 in the area that was to become Tallahassee, partly because it was “at least twenty-five miles from an American or Spanish post.”²⁶ However, during the 1820s and 1830s American intrusion forced him to relocate several times.²⁷ As a result, he became a main opponent of the federal government’s plan to relocate Southeastern Native Peoples to Oklahoma.²⁸

Although Andrew Jackson’s incursion into Florida during the First Seminole War (1817) occurred north of present day Tallahassee, those maneuvers provided Americans with information about the potential of the region’s natural resources. The ratification in 1821 of the Adams-Onís treaty between the United States and Spain ceded Florida to the United States. It became quickly apparent that alternating legislative sessions between St. Augustine and Pensacola was inconvenient and dangerous. In 1824, the state territorial legislature chose Tallahassee, the only incorporated city in Leon County, to be the new state capital.

²² Bushnell, “Ruling ‘the Republic of Indians,’” 145.

²³ Patrick Lee Johnson, “Apalachee Identity on the Gulf Coast Frontier,” Native South, volume 6 (2013): 123-4

²⁴ J. Leitch Wright Jr., Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986): 111.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 111.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 220-221.

²⁷ *Ibid*.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 221.

A U.S. Territory to Post-Reconstruction, 1821-1890

While describing the area immediately around where the new capitol would be located, a number of authors provided textual documentation of the region that Tallahasseeans came to term Smoky Hollow. The narratives remarked on the dispersed presence of Native Peoples, a hilly topography, and a picturesque waterway east of the capitol. While imprecise in providing coordinates to the exact location of these elements, the documents delivered a sense of place.

John Lee Williams, whom Florida's Governor William Duval commissioned to recommend a site for the state's capital, published one of the first English-language accounts. In recollecting on his travels, Lee noted that he had "passed many scattering villages of Indians."²⁹ Desiring to find the remnants of "an old Spanish fort which had been mentioned to us as being in the neighborhood," he paid a Native person to act as a guide to the location. The "Indian hunter" took him to a spot "on a commanding eminence at the north point of a high narrow neck of highlands nearly surrounded by a deep ravine and swamp."³⁰ In addition, Williams noted the presence of a small cascade: "A pleasant mill stream, the collected waters of several fine springs, winds along the eastern border of the city, until it falls, fifteen or sixteen feet, into a gulf, scooped out by its own current, and finally sinks into a cleft of the rock, at the base of an opposite hill."³¹ French naturalist Francis de Castelnau, who traveled through the region in the late 1830s also described a "little waterfall in the woods of a very pretty effect."³² The combination of an elevation that offered advantageous visibility and access to water led to the site's selection as the location for Florida's seat of government.

In the late-twentieth century, some historians attempted to pinpoint the exact spot of the cascade. In 1971, Florida's Bureau of Historic Sites and Properties prepared a report detailing the many different written descriptions of the cascade. L. Ross Morell, the State Archaeologist and Chief of the Bureau and Mary K. Evans, one of the state's Historic Sites Specialists, contended that it was impossible to determine the exact site with any historical accuracy because there were multiple descriptions of what could be the cascade.³³ Moreover, they acknowledged that the various documents they investigated served as mechanisms for mapping the land for political, economic, and social reasons, which forced historians of the present to contemplate the veracity of the sources.³⁴ Ultimately the state's historians concluded that the descriptions documented "two separate phenomena . . . an area of turbulent water that was labeled 'cascade' by [I.G] Searcy and [F.]Lucas" and "a vertical drop of

²⁹ "The Selection of Tallahassee as the Capitol: The Journal of John Lee Williams," Publications of the Florida Historical Society, Volume 1, No. 2 (July, 1908): 22.

³⁰ "The Selection of Tallahassee as the Capitol: The Journal of John Lee Williams," 22.

³¹ John Lee Williams, The Territory of Florida (New York: A.T. Goodrich, 1837): 121.

³² Arthur R. Seymour and Francis de Castelnau, "Comte de Castelnau in Middle Florida, 1837-1838: Notes Concerning Two Itineraries from Charleston to Tallahassee," The Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 26, No. 4 (April, 1948): 307.

³³ Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Department of State. Tallahassee Cascade: A Historical Report Prepared by the Bureau of Historic Sites and Properties (1971):5.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 2.

city Creek as it descended into the sinkhole, or gulf, as described by [John Lee] Williams.”³⁵ They created an analytical map of their findings. (See Appendix A, Fig. 1). Based on their scouring of archival sources, Morell and Evans determined that the cascade was no longer visible by 1876.³⁶ Developments in the area in the mid-1800s, especially the construction of a railroad, had changed this aspect of the landscape’s physical character.

Shortly after statehood, which occurred in 1845, the state of Florida and the federal government passed legislation to facilitate internal improvements.³⁷ Sensing opportunity, the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad Company secured the rights to build a railroad connecting Tallahassee to Jacksonville. The company began laying track in the mid-1850s. E.C. Cabell, president of the company, explained to stockholders how the “first sixty-one sections, of about one mile each, were put under contract” in February 1856.³⁸ He acknowledged that the company did this after “considerable delay” because “none” of the local “citizens” employed had “any experience in rail-road building.”³⁹ He argued, however, that “the progress made has been generally satisfactory, and w[ould] compare favorably with that of any other Southern road.”⁴⁰ Before laying track, areas had to be excavated and cleared. One of the owners of that land to be cleared was Edward Houstoun. He was also on the board of directors for the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad.⁴¹ His family, the Houstouns, made the original purchase from the federal government of the land that became known as Smoky Hollow.

The Houstoun family emigrated from England to the colony of Georgia in the early eighteenth century.⁴² There they became planters and amassed wealth. The family joined the Patriot cause during the American Revolution, securing themselves a prominent place in post-Revolutionary politics. When the federal government made land available for purchase in Florida, Patrick and George H. Houstoun [listed as Houston on the patent] purchased approximately 320 acres on March 15, 1826 in trust for their older sister, Eliza.⁴³ Hence, Eliza M. Houstoun became the first U.S. citizen to own the land that became Smoky Hollow.

³⁵ Ibid, 15.

³⁶ Ibid, 10.

³⁷ The Florida State Legislature authorized the railroad company to issue bonds. The Federal Government authorized land grants that facilitated the development of railroads in Florida in 1855. The “Minutes of Proceedings of the Stockholders of the Pensacola & Geo. R.R. Company,” 16-17, University of Florida Digital Collections <http://ufdc.ufl.edu.proxy.lib.fsu.edu/UF00086648/00001/4x?vo=2>, Accessed January 9, 2014.

³⁸ “Minutes of Proceedings of the Stockholders of the Pensacola & Geo. R.R. Company.”

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Joseph Gaston Ballie Bulloch, *A History and Genealogy of the Families of Bayard, Houstoun of Georgia, and the Descent of the Bolton Family from Assheton, Byron and Hulton of Hulton Park* (Washington D.C., James H. DOny, Printer, 1901): 29
http://books.google.com/books?id=RUtPAAAAMAAJ&dq=Joseph+Gaston+Baillie+Bulloch&source=gbs_navlinks_s
Accessed January 29, 2014.

⁴³ The patents state “in trust of Eliza Morrison.” After much archival scouring, however, there does not appear to be any Eliza Morrison related to the Houston family. Given that Patrick and George had an older sister Eliza

Her purchase was the first in a series of family land acquisitions in Florida. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Houston family continued to buy land in Leon, Marion, Pinellas, and Wakulla counties.⁴⁴ It appears that the family intended to use the initial purchase as an investment, because Patrick, George, and Eliza remained living in Georgia. In the 1830s, however, one of their younger brothers, Edward, moved to Florida. Eliza also appears to have moved to Florida by 1860, because the federal census for that decennial recorded her as residing in Monticello.⁴⁵ Nonetheless, upon her death, which was also in 1860, she was buried in Bonaventure Cemetery in Savannah, Georgia. The family later interred her brothers Patrick, George, Edward, and Edward's wife Claudia in the same plot.⁴⁶

By 1836, Edward had moved to Leon County, where he advertised his skill as an attorney at law in the local paper.⁴⁷ He did not come just to practice law, however. In 1840, the federal census for Leon County lists Edward's household as containing forty-six people, of which forty were enslaved. Ten years later, the federal census documented Edward's occupation as "planter" and a growing household that included himself, a spouse, their eight children, and forty-six enslaved people. The census recorded his real estate wealth at an estimated \$15,000. He was able to take some of that wealth and, on June 16, 1856, purchase in cash 319.72 acres in Leon County.⁴⁸ The 1860 U.S. census indicated that the value of Edward's real estate had increased to \$25,000 and estimated his personal assets at \$70,000. He had augmented the number of enslaved people he owned to eighty-five. While the value of his real estate

McQueen Houston, it seems more likely that they were purchasing the land for her rather than an unknown figure. In addition, the patent office spelled Houston as Houston, which suggests variances in recording names. <http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/results/default.aspx?searchCriteria=type=patent|st=FL|cty=073|ln=houston|sp=true|sw=true|sadv=false#resultsTabIndex=0>. Accessed January 31, 2014. Eliza was the first child born to Patrick Houston and Eliza Fuller. They had a total of nine children: Eliza McQueen Houston (born approximately 1801, died 1860); Georgia Ann Moodie Houston, George Houston (born 1804, died 1881); Patrick Houston (born 1808, died 1862); Edward Houston (born 1806; died 1875); James Johnston Houston; Robert James Houston; Jane Harriet Houston, and Moodie Houston. Bulloch, *A History and Genealogy of the Families of Bayard, Houston of Georgia*, 29. Bulloch's book lists Edward as the fifth child but the gravestone in Bonaventure cemetery lists Edward's birth date as 1806. See Listing for Edward Houston, find a Grave Database accessed through ancestry.com 1/31/2014.

⁴⁴ Search was done using both "Houston" and "Houston" in the U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records online database. <http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/>

⁴⁵ Eliza Houston, Year: 1860; Census Place: Jefferson, Florida; Roll: M653_107; Page: 882; Image:324; Family History Library Film: 803107 accessed through ancestry.com 1/28/2014. This was also the year that she died. She divided her estate, which does not mention any property, among her family. Among her possessions that she distributed were several gold watches, gold spectacles, a gold pencil, and a silver fish knife. Her probate record was filed on Feb 18, 1860 <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1961-31409-1735-26?cc=2046765&wc=M9QB-6VW:n188654635> Accessed 1/28/2014.

⁴⁶ Listing for Edward Houston, Find a Grave Database accessed through ancestry.com 1/31/2014.

⁴⁷ Advertisement, *Floridian and Advocate* (Tallahassee, FL), March 19, 1836.

⁴⁸ U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, Patent for Edward Houston http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/details/patent/default_pf.aspx?accession=FL0240___.131&docClass=STA Accessed 1/21/2014.

decreased after the Civil War, down to \$10,000, his personal assets went up to \$75,000.⁴⁹ Upon his death in 1875, he willed his estate to his children.⁵⁰

Maps from the late nineteenth century continue to plot the Houston family's influence on the area. A plat map from 1883, for instance, lists P. Houston as the owner, presumably Patrick Houston, Edward's oldest son.⁵¹ (See Appendix A, Fig. 2). From 1874, Patrick Houston raised "Durhams, Jerseys, and Guernsies (sic), two hundred and fifty in the herds" on the land, which he named the Lakeland Stock Farm.⁵² The 1883 map also shows the railroad's twisting route through the landscape. Similarly, a diagram from 1892 shows the railroad, the St. Augustine Branch (the watercourse that ran through the area), and notes "Houston's Pond."⁵³ (See Appendix A, Fig. 3).

Some of the earliest residents of Smoky Hollow might have been tenants farming Houston's land. Looking at the 1900 U.S. Census Manuscript provides some suggestive evidence to that effect. The census taker, William S. Ward, noted on the same sheet where he recorded "Patrick Houston" and his family and "Edward A. Houston" (Patrick's son) and his family, the presence of several African American tenant farmer families: the households of Hardy Nicolas, Betty Hill, James Hawkins, Thomas Law, and Simon Bingman. Ward listed every adult (twenty-three) of the thirty-seven African American residents, whether male or female, as participating in "farm labor." He noted that a few children attended school, while a few others were infants or toddlers.⁵⁴ This particular document is limited in its usefulness for recovering

⁴⁹ Edward Houston, Year: 1840; Census Place: *Leon, Florida Territory*; Roll: 36; Page: 71; Image:150; Family History Library Film: 0006712, Year: 1850; Census Place: Division 8, Leon, Florida; Roll: M432_59; Page: 73B; Image: 151, Accessed through ancestry.com 1/31/2014; Year: 1860 *U.S. Federal Census - Slave Schedules* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2010 accessed through ancestry.com 1/31/2014; Year: 1870; Census Place: *Tallahassee, Leon, Florida*; Roll: M593_131; Page:685A; Image: 771; Family History Library Film: 545630 accessed through ancestry.com 1/31/2014.

⁵⁰ "Florida, Probate Records, 1784-1990," images, FamilySearch (<https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.3.1/TH-1961-31451-2642-17?cc=2046765&wc=M9QB-6P7:n1362216587>) Accessed January 21,2014 .

⁵¹ Ball, LeRoy D., Geographic Area Leon County 0005, Map of Leon County, Florida, 19--, repr. of 1883, Florida State Archives.

⁵² Helen Harcourt, *Home Life in Florida* (Louisville, KY: John P. Morton & Company, 1889): 260.

⁵³ Diagram April 19, 1892, Tallahassee, FL, U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, General Land Office Records, http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/details/survey/default.aspx?dm_id=8466&sid=igdnjt2k.pdf#surveyDetailsTabIndex=1 Accessed January 31, 2014.

⁵⁴ Entry for "Patrick Houston" Year: 1900; Census Place: *Precinct 14, Leon, Florida*; Roll: 172; Page: 18B; Enumeration District: 0088; FHL microfilm: 1240172 Accessed via ancestry.com February 4, 2014. The 1900 census is divided up by precinct and enumeration district. Those who lived in Leon County were enumerated in Precinct 14 and e.d. 88. What this doesn't tell us, is where people lived in relation to each other within the e.d. Nonetheless, census takers tended to go to residences near each other. Consequently, since Ward listed these dwellings in sequential order, it appears that he visited with one household and then another in gathering his information. Hence, I feel fairly confident that sheet 18 represents African Americans living on Houston's property (either Edward or Patrick).

the history of Smoky Hollow, however, because it does not demarcate the boundaries of these tenant farms.

The development of Smoky Hollow from the late-nineteenth-to-the-mid-twentieth century.

The earliest description of the specific topography and social geography of Smoky Hollow comes from Bradford Torrey, an American ornithologist whose writings were meant to inspire early environmental tourism.⁵⁵ He traveled to Florida in the early 1890s and published his studies in *A Florida Sketch-Book*. Torrey, while searching for woods in order to observe nature, traveled east along St. Augustine Road away from the capitol. He descended into a small valley, noting the presence of an African American community and horticulture both purposefully planted and seemingly organically present. According to Torrey:

The road goes abruptly downhill to the railway track, first between deep red gulches and then between rows of negro cabins, each with its garden of rosebushes, now (early April) in full bloom. The deep sides of the gulches were draped with pendent lantana branches full of purple flowers, or, more beautiful still, with a profusion of white honeysuckle. On the road-side, between the wheel-track and the gulch, grew brilliant Mexican poppies, with Venus's looking-glass, yellow oxalis, and beds of blackberry vines. The wood of which my informant had spoken lay a little beyond the railway, on the right hand of the road, just as it began another ascent.⁵⁶

Besides noting people and flora, Torrey remarked on the hilly topography, which became an important descriptor of the region. Torrey's textual narrative correlated to at least one visual representation of the geography from this period. A "View of the City of Tallahassee" published by Norris, Wellge & Co. of Milwaukee Wisconsin in 1885, rendered the undulating aspect of the area. It also included a drawing of the St. Augustine Branch before the city transformed the waterway into a ditch to control flooding.⁵⁷ (See Appendix A, Fig. 4).

Tallahassee's locally published news source began reporting on Smoky Hollow as a distinct entity in the early decades of the twentieth century. These articles began a pattern of public characterizations of the neighborhood as dangerous. On May 13, 1910, the *Weekly True Democrat* reported that a fire had "destroyed a small negro cabin in Smoky Hollow."⁵⁸ Research

⁵⁵ Kevin E. O'Donnell, "Bradford Torrey," in *Early American Nature Writers* ed. Daniel Patterson, et. al (Westport Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1008): <http://faculty.etsu.edu/odonnell/torrey.htm>.

⁵⁶ Bradford Torrey, *A Florida Sketch-Book* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1895): 150.

⁵⁷ "View of the city of Tallahassee. State capital of Florida, county seat of Leon county 1885" (H. Wellge, del. Beck & Pauli, litho. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C.. <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3934t.pm001180>). Accessed May 13, 2014.

⁵⁸ *Weekly True Democrat* (Tallahassee, FL), May 25, 1910, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov; The Smoky Hollow in Tallahassee was not the only Smoky Hollow in Florida. A newspaper snippet from the *Ocala Evening Star* in 1905, described a geographic region dubbed "Smoky Hollow," southwest of Evinston, a small community between Ocala and Gainesville. In this case, however, the area was not a residential one but a "dense and almost impenetrable hammock," which was being used as a hideout from justice. "The latest about Hester, the Evinston shooter of the

indicates that as far as published archival sources are concerned this is the first time the name “Smoky Hollow” appeared in print.) A second newspaper reference occurred in 1912, which discussed the apprehension of a man accused of stealing “several articles for a questionable house in ‘Smoky Hollow.’”⁵⁹ While limited, this evidence suggests that while the local paper rarely reported on the neighborhood, it highlighted troublesome news when it did. Despite the inference, nothing about the area’s development suggested an inherent proclivity for crime.

Smoky Hollow’s formation as a distinct neighborhood within Tallahassee reflected the gradual growth of the municipality in both the number of residents and expansion of its official borders. In the first decades of Florida’s history as a state in the nineteenth century, its northern regions attracted the majority of American migrants. Leon County’s rich soil proved conducive to cotton production, which led to it being the most populous county in the state until 1890.⁶⁰ Tallahassee served as the commercial hub for the region. After the Civil War, Tallahassee remained the center of government for the state and of business for the region, which remained primarily agricultural in nature.

Tallahassee slowly began to experience urban growth in the early decades of the twentieth century. Tallahassee’s population remained relatively stable between 1890 and 1900 (2,934 to 2,981.)⁶¹ In 1910, the population grew to 5,018, which, in relative terms, was a significant increase.⁶² The boom did not immediately continue. In 1920, the town’s residents only numbered 5,637.⁶³ In contrast, Jacksonville, Miami, Pensacola, Tampa, Key West, and St. Petersburg underwent much greater development. The 1920 census enumerated these as Florida’s largest cities, all with populations over 10,000. Tallahassee, by comparison, continued to look more like a big town than a potential new metropolis.

One way in which Tallahassee began to grow at the turn of the twentieth century was by expanding its borders. In 1904, the city directory described the municipality’s edges as: Gay Street as the western boundary, Gadsden Street as the eastern boundary, Georgia Street as the northern boundary, and Gaines Street as the southern boundary.⁶⁴ The area that became

Barrons, is that he is hiding in ‘Smoky Hollow,’ a dense and almost impenetrable hammock southwest of Evinston.” *Ocala Evening Star* (Ocala, FL), July 24, 1905.

⁵⁹ *Weekly True Democrat* (Tallahassee, FL), February 26, 1912, chroniclingamerica.loc.gov.

⁶⁰ For more on the dynamics of power and cotton see Edward Baptist, “The Migration of Planters to Antebellum Florida: Kinship and Power,” *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol. 62, no. 3 (1996): 527-554 and Michael Gannon, *A New History of Florida*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996): 213-214.

⁶¹ 1900 Census of Population and Housing, Volume 1: Population: Table 8, Population of Incorporated Cities, Towns, Villages, and Boroughs in 1900 with population for 1890, page 441 <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> Accessed February 13, 2014.

⁶² “Table IV. Composition and Characteristics of the Population for Places of 2,500 to 10,000,” Population: Reports by States-Florida, page 332. <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> Accessed March 3, 2014.

⁶³ See Census of Population and Housing, Population, 1920, pages 192 and 196. Leon County had a population of 18,659 in 1920, of which 67.4% of the population was African American. <http://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> Accessed February 13, 2014.

⁶⁴ Tallahassee, Florida, *City Directory*, 1904. Accessed via Ancestry.com February 13, 2014.

known as Smoky Hollow sat just outside the city's southeast border. Sometime in the next twelve years, the city extended its official boundaries and Smoky Hollow became enclosed within city limits.⁶⁵ The immediate meaning of that change, however, is unclear because the city lacked a comprehensive zoning ordinance.

New York City adopted the nation's first comprehensive zoning ordinance in 1916 and many cities throughout the United States followed suit in the 1920s.⁶⁶ Tallahassee's city officials did not regulate structural developments until the 1930s, which put the municipality a decade behind in this urban planning trend. However, this did correlate with the city's experience with urban growth. In 1930, the U.S. Census calculated Tallahassee's population at 10,700; the city had almost doubled in ten years. In addition, that growth was not exclusive to one particular population group. The population of native-born whites slightly more than doubled (from 2,847 to 6,187) and the African American population grew approximately 65 percent (from 2,719 to 4,401).⁶⁷

In response to Tallahassee's urbanization, the state legislature passed a special act in 1931 authorizing the municipality "to regulate the location of all buildings and structures and the use of land and to provide for minimum lot sizes and building line."⁶⁸ The city commission approved the creation of a zoning ordinance, which it passed with unanimous support on November 17, 1931.⁶⁹ Although there was an advisory board related to planning at that time, the commission did not codify its existence until 1939, when it passed an ordinance to create a board for parks and recreation.⁷⁰ The city did not appoint a "full-time planning director" until 1957.⁷¹

Between the 1930s and the late-1950s Tallahassee adopted a series of different rules and regulations related to land use that spoke to the city's evolving urbanization, especially in relation to keeping livestock. It was not unique in developing guidelines. Purging an area of cows and pigs was a marker of urbanity. From the turn of the twentieth century, cities throughout the United States had worked to move livestock outside residential areas for both

⁶⁵ Sanborn Fire Insurance Map Company, 1916, Sheet 001, <http://www.historicmapworks.com/Map/US/1624760/Sheet+001/Tallahassee+1916/Florida/> Accessed February 13, 2014. The insurance company did not detail any structures, presumably because the company did not believe any to be insurable.

⁶⁶ See Philip Pregill and Nancy Volkman, Landscapes in History: Design and Planning in the Eastern and Western Traditions, (John Wiley & Sons: 1999):614

⁶⁷ Census of Population and Housing, 1930, Population, Reports by States [Florida], Table 15, Composition of the Population for Cities of 10,000 or more p. 421 <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> Accessed March 3, 2014.

⁶⁸ William S. Luhman, Planning and Zoning in Tallahassee and Leon County: A Case Study (1957), Strozier Library, Florida State University, 14.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

aesthetic and practical reasons. It was always a slow process and Tallahassee's progress was no exception.⁷²

Tallahassee's first comprehensive plan, adopted in 1931, allowed those living in residential areas to keep various livestock. The city permitted residents to keep "cow or horse stables not over twenty feet high provided that not more cows or horses are kept therein than is now or hereafter allowed by the ordinances of said City."⁷³ The one city caveat was that residents ensure that the "drainage therefrom will not flow onto the property of another."⁷⁴ Excrement turned neighbors into enemies.⁷⁵

Tallahassee's zoning ordinances between the 1930s and late 1940s demonstrate city officials' rethinking of space. In 1936, the city prohibited city inhabitants, whether individuals or "corporate," from keeping "milch cows," "cattle," and "calf or calves, yearling or yearlings, or bull or bulls, steer or steers, goat or goats, or sheep."⁷⁶ City commissioners made one exception. They allowed "a person or family" living in "the corporate area of the City of Tallahassee lying North of Brevard Street and West of Adams Street" to "keep not more than one cow and one calf or in lieu of one calf to keep one additional cow."⁷⁷ In 1937, the city prohibited "the keeping of hogs."⁷⁸ Ten years later, the city forbade the keeping of "milch cows and cattle."⁷⁹ Yet even when the city adopted an enhanced comprehensive plan for land use in 1948, it allowed residents to keep poultry "in the rear yard space" of their homes "provided not more than twenty-five (25) domestic fowls [were] kept at any one time and they [were] confined in a complete enclosure necessary and sufficient at all times to confine such fowls within said enclosure."⁸⁰ Whether or not the city strictly enforced these rules was another question. Zella Johnson Gaines, a former resident, however remembered bovines and swine in

⁷² Scholars have remarked on the removal of livestock, particularly cows, as a marker of urbanization. See Jennifer Lisa Koslow, Cultivating Health: Los Angeles Women and Public Health Reform (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2009): 79.

⁷³ Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, An Ordinance Adopting a Comprehensive Plan for the Zoning of the City of Tallahassee, November 17, 1931, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ In September 1931, before the comprehensive ordinance passed, eighteen neighbors of Minne Spear and Janie Clark, who lived on Calhoun Street, complained to the city council about Spear's and Clark's cow lots. (Clark was Spear's sister-in-law, and in addition to keeping cows they both worked at the Clark Jewelry and Book Store). Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, September 22, 1931, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall. See also 1930 Tallahassee City Directory and Year: 1930; Census Place: *Tallahassee, Leon, Florida*; Roll: 323; Page: 14A; Enumeration District: 0011; Image: 148.0; FHL microfilm: 2340058 Accessed ancestry.com March 3, 2014.

⁷⁶ Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, May 26, 1936, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, September 14, 1943, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall; 1937 Annual Report, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall

⁷⁹ Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, April 24, 1948, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall

⁸⁰ Ibid.

Smokey Hollow in the 1950s and 1960s, which suggests that the city did not actively enforce this law throughout the city.⁸¹

In the first half of the twentieth century, Smoky Hollow experienced change. Although city commissioners classified Smoky Hollow as an “unrestricted district” in 1931, which allowed property owners more flexibility in land use, the space could only be employed “for any lawful purpose not a nuisance and not in conflict with any other ordinance now or hereafter enacted by the governing authority of said city.”⁸² As more residents moved to Smoky Hollow they established organizations and businesses to tend to the needs of the community. These developments resembled those that occurred throughout the city. However, some urban improvements did not come to Smoky Hollow when they came to the rest of Tallahassee, such as paved streets and sewer systems.⁸³ The absence of urban infrastructural facilities played a role in its vulnerability during the movement for urban renewal in the 1950s and 1960s.

The story of Smoky Hollow’s community development is evident from city directories and the U.S. Census from this period. The city directories tell the story of individual working adults. The U.S. census manuscripts tell the story of households. In some cases, the information overlaps. In some cases, the data is unique. While the 1900 census provides the names and addresses of residents in Tallahassee, the streets are unmarked by East or West, making it a poor mechanism for studying Smoky Hollow in the early twentieth century. The 1914 city directory is a better instrument for analyzing this early history. The 1920, 1930, and 1940 U.S. Censuses asked residents a variety of demographic questions about domestic life.⁸⁴ Compiling and studying the answers transcribed by the census takers provides information about age, sex, marital status, employment, and education. In the Census of 1930, the U.S. government was interested in whether residents had radios. In the case of 1940, we also learn about African American participation in government work programs. In addition to these archival documents, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) conducted a survey of religious organizations in the 1930s. Analyzed in combination, these texts tell the story of Smoky Hollow until the 1940s.

The 1914 city directory delineated white and black residents separately, noting their address, occupation, and religion. The directory provided information for approximately 1,200 African American adults, of whom approximately 144 lived in the region of Smoky Hollow.⁸⁵ In statistical terms, this meant that the directory listed less than 10 percent of Tallahassee’s

⁸¹ See oral history of Zella Johnson Gaines, Smokey Hollow Collection, Riley Archives, Tallahassee Community College, Tallahassee, Florida

⁸² Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, September 28, 1948, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall

⁸³ A map of “Paved Streets System” from 1963 indicates that most of the streets in Smoky Hollow went unpaved until the mid-1950s. Tallahassee Planning Board, A Comprehensive Plan for Future Development, Tallahassee, Florida (City Planning Board, Tallahassee, Florida, 1963): 29

⁸⁴ The 1940 U.S. Census manuscript is the last to become available for review. The 1950 census manuscript won’t open to the public until 2025.

⁸⁵ The streets that were included for this analysis were: S. Gadsden, E. Lafayette, E. Pensacola, S.E. Boundary, E. Jefferson, E. Gaines, E. Seaboard, E. Madison, E. St. Augustine,

African American adult residents as living within this area. The directory noted the occupations for 84 percent of those it listed in Smoky Hollow. The most common job for men was “laborer” (31 percent.) Women were almost evenly divided between “cook” and “laundress/washing and ironing” (22 percent versus 17 percent). Studying the directory as a whole, these categories reflected typical employments of African Americans living within the city.

Besides delineating jobs, the 1914 city directory noted religious affiliations. The city directory listed five African American churches: Bethel Baptist (on North Boulevard Street); St. Mary’s Primitive Baptist (W. Call Street); A.M.E. Church (corner of Virginia and Duval streets); C.M.E. Church (corner of Macarty and Bronough streets); and St. Michael and All Angels Episcopal Church (unlisted location.) Ninety percent of the residents in Smoky Hollow listed membership in one of these established institutions: A.M.E. (43 percent), Missionary Baptist (35 percent), and Primitive Baptist (12 percent).⁸⁶ These affiliations indicate the integrated nature of community between Smoky Hollow and other African American residential areas located within the city.

As Smoky Hollow’s population became more numerous, residents established local religious organizations within the neighborhood. A Works Progress Administration survey from the mid-1930s documented these various associations, providing insight into their importance for maintaining African American resilience in the era of Jim Crow. The ministers of these institutions often lived within Smoky Hollow next door to their spiritual charges. Locals often kept the records of these institutions in their homes. In addition to religious services, the churches functioned as spaces for education and community activities.

St. John African Methodist Episcopal Church was the first church Smoky Hollow residents established. Members of the Moriah Methodist Church, which was located “three miles northeast of Tallahassee [on] Missosukee [*sic*] Road,” created St. John in 1917.⁸⁷ The newly formed congregation erected an “unpainted, rectangular, wooden building, with a steeple and bell,” at 629 East Street to hold services. (East Street was later renamed Suwanee

⁸⁶ The reasons these numbers are approximate is that for the purpose of this study, which was to gather an overall sense of the community, only the first name in the entry was used to gather statistical data. In a few cases, the directory listed additional names after the initial person’s entry. However, for consistency, it made more sense to use only the first name to gather approximate statistical information.

⁸⁷ “Mt. Moriah Church,” WPA Church Records, <http://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/249334> Accessed December 23, 2013. For the purposes of this study, we will use the name “St. John African Methodist Episcopal Church” because it is the name used by the current congregation. However, archival records demonstrate some variation in spelling. The first archival record of a written name comes from the Works Progress Administration’s survey of church records in 1936. It lists St. John African Methodist Episcopal Church as “St. Johns Methodist Church.” See “St. Johns Methodist Church,” WPA Church Records, <http://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/249346> Accessed August 26, 2013. The Tallahassee City Directory used the same spelling in its 1940 volume. See the Tallahassee City Directory, 1940. In addition, deed records from the 1970s and 1980s at the Leon County Clerk of Circuit Court list the church as both “St. Johns AME” and “St. John AME.” See http://cvimage.clerk.leon.fl.us/official_records/index.asp Accessed May 23, 2014. Information about the current congregation can be found at <http://www.newstjohnname.com/> Accessed May 23, 2014.

Street.) The first pastor, Reverend G.W. McGee, began working at St. John in 1920. In 1937, when the survey was conducted, Albert Hunter served as the pastor and he lived next door to the church at 630 East Street. In addition to services and Sunday school, the Christian Endeavor League, formed in 1936, met there as well.⁸⁸

Residents of Smoky Hollow founded a second religious institution in 1920. Congregants of the Church of God of Christ constructed Sanctified Church (also known as the Church of God) in 1920 at 402. E. Saint Augustine Street. The structure was “white, rectangular, [and] wooden.” The first minister was Reverend Mishell. The minister in 1937, Reverend W. L. Hester, lived next door to the church, at 404. E. St. Augustine Street. The Unity Christian Prayer Band for Young People used the space to practice and play.

African Americans formed a third religious institution in Smoky Hollow in 1932, the Pilgrim Rest Primitive Baptist Church. Although established in 1932, for the first two years, congregants met in private homes. In 1934, they built a “plain, rectangular, wooden building, unpainted” at the corner of St. Augustine and East streets (officially 416 East Street). In conducting their inventory of Florida’s church archives, WPA workers found that the congregants had relocated this church approximately “fifty feet” to “S.E. of [the] Seaboard Railway crossing at Lafayette Street” in 1940. This second structure was also a “rectangular, frame building.” The first “settled clergyman” was Reverend J.B. Bryant. In 1934, Reverend George Wilson took over the position of leadership. Cornelia Pollocks, who lived in the “first house south of the Church” in 1939, kept the minutes and financial records.⁸⁹

The development of these institutions speaks to the general growth of the population in Smoky Hollow in the early decades of the twentieth century. Between 1920 and 1930, Tallahassee’s population grew from 5,637 to 10,700. The town’s total white population (native, foreign-born, and of mixed parentage (native and foreign-born) more than doubled from 2,918 to 6,187. Tallahassee’s African American population grew approximately one and one-half times, from 2,719 to 4,401.⁹⁰ While the stretching of borders accounted for some of this increase, job opportunities within the city of Tallahassee also attracted migrants. Although 51 percent of African Americans in Leon County participated in agricultural work, 49 percent participated in other industries such as woodworking, manufacturing, construction, wholesale/retail trade, and domestic service.⁹¹

⁸⁸ “St. Johns Methodist Church,” WPA Church Records, <http://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/249346> Accessed August 26, 2013.

⁸⁹ “Pilgrim Rest Primitive Baptist Church,” WPA Church Records, <http://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/249297> Accessed February 14, 2014 ; “Pilgrim Rest Baptist Church,” WPA Church Records, <http://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/249296>, Accessed August 26, 2013.

⁹⁰ 1920 census table 11, Composition and Characteristics of the population for places for 2,5000 to 10,000 p. 156 and 1930 Census, Table 15, Composition of the Population for Cities of 10,000 or more p. 421

⁹¹ 1930 census table 20 persons 10 years old and over engaged in gainful occupation by sex, color, and industry groups for counties and cities of 25,000 or more p. 431

In 1920, Mrs. Sallie A. Lewis, enumerated E. Lafayette, E. Madison, E. Pensacola, E. Jefferson, E. St. Augustine, E. Gaines, and S. Gadsden streets for the 1920 U. S. Census.⁹² While any census has gaps related to its methodology (for instance, a census taker could miss a house or no one might be home), it provides a snapshot of a community. It is also worth noting that although the census taker put people into house numbers because of the nature of the documents she was creating; maps, pictures, and the memories of former residents of Smoky Hollow from the 1950s and 1960s described a more muddled configuration of space, one of dirt alleyways and dead ends. Still, while imperfect, the U.S. Census manuscript offers an important glimpse of Smoky Hollow.

Lewis's records for approximately 270 African Americans provide demographic data, which in turn reveal information about the community. First, the average age was thirty-one. (The national average life expectancy for African Americans was 45.3.⁹³) Approximately 63 percent of the residents were between the ages of sixteen and sixty, 28 percent were younger than sixteen, and approximately 9 percent were sixty or older. The vast majority had been born in Florida, as had their parents. The second most common location of birth was Georgia. Therefore it was a southern community. Lastly, most adults (those eighteen or older) were married (40 percent) or were widowed (12 percent). Hence, most residents organized themselves into residences by family.

Lewis recorded information for labor for almost every adult. Her enumeration indicates that the most common female occupation was as a cook for a private family (36 percent) although washer-woman (22 percent) was another frequently listed position. Lewis denoted more diversity in male professions. (She recorded carpenters, chauffeurs, clerks, a few teachers, gardeners, a few farmers, a fisherman, and two janitors, one working at the Supreme Court and the other at the Capitol). Still, the most common occupation that she recorded for men was "laborer" (21 percent). Her transcription indicates that 24 percent of male laborers from this community worked in the turpentine industry, 14 percent for the Seaboard railroad, 11 percent for Tallahassee's cigar factory, and 5 percent for the sawmills. Lewis described only six as self-employed and everyone else as a wage worker. Although washerwomen worked for themselves (autonomy was an appeal of this labor-intensive occupation), Lewis categorized them as wage laborers, which indicates how gender and class influenced her understanding of entrepreneurship.⁹⁴

⁹² Sallie A. Lewis was fifty-seven years old and married to James Stuart Lewis. Year: 1920; Census Place: *Tallahassee, Leon, Florida*; Roll: T625_224; Page:10A; Enumeration District: 108; Image: 846. (James Stuart Lewis's name is misspelled in the 1920 Census. The correct spelling can be found on the 1910 Census and a 1919 City Directory. According to the 1910 U.S. Census, James Stuart Lewis worked as a clerk in the capitol. Year: 1910; Census Place: *Tallahassee, Leon, Florida*; Roll: T624_164; Page: 8A; Enumeration District: 0079; FHL microfilm: 1374177. See also *Tallahassee, Florida, City Directory, 1919* Accessed via ancestry.com February 27, 2014.

⁹³ Philip J. Hilts, "Life Expectancy for Blacks in U.S. Show Sharp Drop," *New York Times* 29 November 1990.

⁹⁴ Regarding the autonomous aspects of laundry work see Tera W. Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998): 57-58.

Smoky Hollow was a working people's community and as such, some invested in purchasing residences within the neighborhood. Lewis's records indicated that a number of residents owned their own homes (twenty-one) and the vast majority of them did so free of mortgage. Statistically, approximately 27 percent of the area's residents lived within this category of domicile. Consequently, although most residents were renters, the presence of African American homeowners provided tangible proof that property holding was a realistic possibility.

The 1930 U.S. Census, enumerated by Lucy B. Seegers, for E. Jefferson, E. Lafayette, E. St. Augustine, E. Madison, E. Gaines, S. Gadsden, S. Meridian, and East streets indicated both change and continuity in the community. The biggest difference was the number of people residing along these streets. Seegers counted 528 African Americans residents, which meant that the population had almost doubled.⁹⁵

Aside from this increase, however, the demographic contours were similar. Almost every one of the residents (approximately 73 percent) had been born in Florida. Another almost 20 percent hailed from Georgia. The community had a high rate of marriage (close to 43 percent) and very few divorces. The average age of residents entering their first marriage, (a new census question) was twenty. The average age of all residents was twenty-six. Statistically, the national average life expectancy for African Americans had risen to 48.1.⁹⁶ Almost 66 percent of residents were able to read and write and 21 percent attended school. Although renting still dominated people's experience, Smoky Hollow continued to include a number of individuals who owned their own homes. The average value of those homes was approximately \$1300. (Today, this is approximately \$18,000.)⁹⁷

In Seegers' enumeration the type of employment most frequently cited for men was still common laborer (18 percent of all occupations listed.) Laundry became the most reported female occupation; it was 48 percent of all jobs listed. This was a significant statistical increase from the previous census. While the smoke from the fires women lit to maintain their trade had always played an important role in the community's identity, this increase must have made it even more so. Seegers' records indicate the appearance of more professional and administrative support positions for women: bookkeeper, secretary, stenographer, and teacher. Lastly, another sign of prosperity, Seegers found that a few of the residents had acquired radio sets (eight) and of those who acquired them, most owned their own homes.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Beverly Gavin, whose family hailed from Smokey Hollow, kindly transcribed the 1930 census manuscript. This analysis was made possible by her transcription.

⁹⁶ Philip J. Hiltz, "Life Expectancy for Blacks in U.S. Show Sharp Drop," New York Times 29 November 1990.

⁹⁷ See www.measuringworth.com for determining relative value. Relative Value was determined in 2014.

⁹⁸ Radios were a luxury item in the 1920s. See <http://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/summer/1930-census-perspective.html> accessed April 2, 2014

The 1930 city directory provides information about the community's development that does not readily appear in the census, in particular, knowledge about African American-owned businesses. There were two major business categories: restaurants and groceries. For example, Paul Hunt had a restaurant on East Street. As there were no street numbers yet, the directory listed the address as "es" just past the intersection of East and Madison streets. Hunt was John Nelson's son-in-law. Judging by the 1910 census, Nelson was the original proprietor of the restaurant.⁹⁹ Quite often restaurants offered women a chance to earn independent income. Lena Cruel (listed as Lena Cook in the 1930 census) ran a restaurant at 541 E. Lafayette. At this time, Cruel was twenty-five and a widow.¹⁰⁰ Virgie Baldwin ran a restaurant on E. Seaboard Ave where it intersected E. Lafayette. Baldwin was thirty-one, married (although she appears to have been separated from her husband in 1930 and residing instead with her father, Steven McCray.)¹⁰¹ The directory indicates that there was one other African American-owned eatery in Smoky Hollow in 1930. Although the 1930 census listed Ruby Randolph, age twenty-one and single, as working as a cook for a private family, the 1930 city directory listed her as maintaining a soft drinks establishment at 354 S. Meridian.

The 1930 city directory recorded a number of different groceries. It listed Joe James as a grocer at 507 E. Jefferson Street where it intersected S. Meridian. Although the directory listed Oscar Bryant as a "clothes cleaner" living at 405 E. Lafayette Street, the 1930 census manuscript listed him as owning a grocery store along with his wife Mattie Belle. Since Lafayette Street was a major conduit for traffic, there were a few other grocers along the street: John R. Taylor (521 E. Lafayette) and Robert Nims (543 E. Lafayette.) In addition to Taylor's and Nims's stores, John L. Costa, who was white, owned a grocery at 527 E. Lafayette. In contrast to some of the other white business or property owners with interests in Smoky Hollow (which will be discussed further, particularly in relation to issues of urban renewal in the 1950s and 1960s) Costa was also a resident of the neighborhood. He was married to Minnie Costa, who was African American. Upon John's death, which occurred sometime before 1940, Minnie took over the business. These various business establishments provided the community with goods and services. The number of shops was indicative of a vibrant community.

⁹⁹ See entry for John Nelson Year: 1910; Census Place: Tallahassee, Leon, Florida; Roll: T624_164; Page: 12B; Enumeration District: 0079; FHL microfilm: 1374177; See entry for Paul Hunt Year: 1920; Census Place: Tallahassee, Leon, Florida; Roll: T625_224; Page: 37B; Enumeration District: 108; Image: 881. By way of example of these documents limits, the 1914 city directory listed Nelson only as a "fish and oyster dealer."

¹⁰⁰ Lena Cruel Cook or Lena Cook Cruel was related to the Cook family. In 1940, the U.S. Census listed much of the Cook family as living on the "hill" on E. College Avenue. See Florida Cook, Source Citation Year: 1940; Census Place: Tallahassee, Leon, Florida; Roll: T627_597; Page: 14A; Enumeration District: 37-6. Accessed with ancestry.com April 2, 2014. In 1963, the Cook family sold their land to the Florida Bar. See Deed: http://cvweb.clerk.leon.fl.us/cvimage/official_records/download_document.asp?book=0112&page=00031&type=OR&jwuser=&subnet= Accessed April 2, 2014.

¹⁰¹ Source Citation Year: 1930; Census Place: Tallahassee, Leon, Florida; Roll: 323; Page: 12A; Enumeration District: 0012; Image: 184.0; FHL microfilm: 2340058

The 1940 U.S. Census manuscript and city directory demonstrate the further development of Smoky Hollow in terms of people and businesses. Mrs. G.A. Guthrie, the 1940 U.S. Census taker, surveyed East Street, East Street Alley, S. Gadsden, E. Gaines, E. Jefferson, E. Lafayette, E. Madison, Marvin, S. Meridian, E. Pensacola, and E. St. Augustine streets. Taking these streets in combination, 656 African Americans resided in Smoky Hollow. E. St. Augustine and E. Lafayette streets were the two most populous. While the number of residents had grown since the early twentieth century, much of the data Guthrie collected indicated demographic continuity with the past. The average age of residents was thirty. (The national average life expectancy for African Americans was then 53.1¹⁰²) Fifty-six percent of the population was female. The majority of adults were married. Only 11 percent of adults over the age of eighteen were single. Ten percent of the population was widowed. Approximately 4 percent were divorced. The majority of residents were born in Florida (68 percent.) Those who were not born in Florida, however, still hailed from the South. Twenty-seven percent were born in Georgia. A small number were born in Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and North Carolina.

Black property owners continued to exist throughout the community with exception of East Street Alley. Thirty-five residents owned their homes, and the average value of their homes was six hundred and eighty dollars. (The relative value of that to today is approximately \$1100.¹⁰³) One hundred and thirty-five residents, or 21 percent of area residents, lived in these domiciles. In contrast, 521 residents, or 79 percent, lived in rental units. The average rent was \$5, which was roughly equivalent to \$82 in 2012.

The community valued education, as evidenced by the numbers of African Americans who had acquired some formal education. While the 1920 and 1930 census asked about education, the 1940 census requested more detail. The 1940 census taker queried residents about their highest grade of school completed. Only 3 percent of the adult population in Smoky Hollow did not possess any formal schooling. Those residents who had attended school reported an average of five years. Five percent of the population had acquired some high school education and another 1.5 percent had acquired some post-secondary education.

In 1940, 351 residents were employed, which suggests an employment rate of almost 90 percent among all adults. Two hundred and seventeen adults worked for a private employer (62 percent). The government employed fifty-two more workers (almost 15 percent). Eleven of those workers found employment with the WPA as common laborers, ditch diggers, or cutting shrubs; one woman was employed as a typist. Eighty-two adults were self-employed (23 percent). The average annual wage was \$330 (in relative labor value to today that would amount would be almost \$1100.¹⁰⁴) Judging by the United States Census's own analysis of

¹⁰² Philip J. Hiltz, "Life Expectancy for Blacks in U.S. Show Sharp Drop," New York Times 29 November 1990.

¹⁰³ Calculation of relative value done with calculator at <http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/relativevalue.php>

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

medium incomes in 1940, this was well below the national average for either men (\$956) or women (\$592.)¹⁰⁵ Those who had employment in 1939, were employed for an average of forty-four weeks and worked on average forty-two hours per week. In the midst of the Great Depression, the residents of Smoky Hollow managed to find work, although it was often for low wages.

Combining the city directory for 1940 with the U.S. Census manuscript yields additional information about businesses in the neighborhood, the majority of which were African American-owned and existed along St. Augustine and Lafayette streets. The two most common establishments were still restaurants and grocery stores. Matthew Bryant owned a restaurant at 615 E. St. Augustine, just east of East Street. Bessie Nixon owned a restaurant at 521 E. Lafayette, near the intersection of S. Meridian Street. Along the same block, at 527 E. Lafayette, Minnie Costa continued to run a grocery. (The 1940 U.S. Census listed Costa as a fifty-nine year old widow, who owned her own home valued at \$1,500. She also had two lodgers at her home, both of whom were also widowed, one of which worked in the grocery store.) Costa's neighbor, Lena Cruel, who was now a forty-eight year old widow, continued to run a restaurant next door at 541 E. Lafayette.¹⁰⁶ Similar to Costa, Cruel supplemented her income by renting rooms to boarders. Cruel, however, did not own her own home.

Crossing East Street on Lafayette there were still more black-owned enterprises. Robert Nims continued to own a grocery store at 601 E. Lafayette. (In the census, Nims is listed as owning his own home, which was valued at \$2,000.) A few doors down, Paul Hunt also continued to own and run restaurant at 602 E. Lafayette. He had become the sole support for his extended family. (According to the 1940 Census, Hunt lived with his mother-in-law, Mary Nelson, at 617 E. Madison Street, along with his wife, Beatrice, his children, and his mother-in-law's ninety-six year old aunt, Katie Rause). In addition to these establishments, the directory noted two additional eateries on S. Meridian. The directory listed Katie D. Thompson as running a restaurant at 505 S. Meridian. Lastly, the directory listed Joshua A. Barfield, who was white, as owning a grocery store at 620 S. Meridian, just before its intersection with E. Madison. (The 1940 Census indicates that Barfield was one of three white families who lived along this block of Meridian.) Lastly, the directory noted that Docton Minton owned a "novelties" store at 511 S. Gadsden.

Throughout the area a number of residents practiced their professions from their residences. As in the 1920 census, a significant number of women often worked from home as laundresses (19 percent of all workers listed in the 1940 census). In addition, on E. Madison, just east of Meridian, Sweet A. Shular listed her profession as a dressmaker. (In the census she

¹⁰⁵ https://www.census.gov/1940census/pdf/infographic1_text_version.pdf

¹⁰⁶ Lena Cruel was also known as Lena Cook Cruel and Lena Cook Crowell. She was a surviving heir of Lula Cook and Lot Crowell, along with Oscar Cook, Junius Cook, Appie Cook, and Freddie Cook. Lula Cook and Lot Crowell owned property that the Florida Bar became interested in and purchased in 1963 for \$44,000. See "Warranty Deed" November 1, 1963. http://cvimage.clerk.leon.fl.us/official_records/index.asp Accessed March 10, 2014.

is listed as Sweet Schull, age twenty-eight. While her marital status was given as married, her husband was not listed in the same residence.) Florida Cook, who lived on E. Jefferson St., (the census taker wrote “hill” as the residence number) listed her profession as “practical nurse.”

By 1940, Smoky Hollow had grown into a sizable and stable community in terms of people, businesses, and community organizations. Although men’s employment often took them out of the neighborhood, women’s work and domestic life overlapped to a greater degree. While there was black property ownership, it was not the case for the majority. In the 1950s and 1960s this made the community vulnerable to the plans of the state of Florida and city of Tallahassee for civic development.

A History of Using Land Contiguous to Smoky Hollow for Civic Needs

While African Americans established a neighborhood in one area southeast of the capitol, the county also used the contiguous area just south and southeast of the capitol for civic necessities. By 1890, the city had placed its waterworks and gas works in the region.¹⁰⁷ By 1903, the city added its electrical plant to the area.¹⁰⁸ In addition, the city’s curb market, was located on Gaines Street near the intersection of Bloxham.¹⁰⁹ (The market functioned as a site of fresh produce exchange for residents throughout the city and county into the 1960s.¹¹⁰) According to the 1940 city directory for Tallahassee, the federal government located offices for Works Progress Administration projects (“Sewing,” and “Bedding,”) along S. Gadsden St. where it intersected E. Gaines, as well as the offices for the U.S. National Youth Administration and the U.S. Works Progress Administration Commodity Department. Lastly, the city and county used the space for incarceration.

In 1888, officials moved the Leon County jail from its location between Monroe and Adams streets between Park and Call to the south side of Gaines Street between Meridian and Gadsden.¹¹¹ In the late 1930s, the county built a new jail a block away from the old, at the intersection of Gadsden and Gaines. By these actions, county authorities sat the jail adjacent to Smoky Hollow. Although the everyday impact on the neighboring residents might have been

¹⁰⁷ 1890 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map <http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00074231/00004?search=tallahassee> Accessed April 1, 2014.

¹⁰⁸ 1903 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map

<http://ufdc.ufl.edu/UF00074231/00005/5x?search=tallahassee&vo=12&vp=0,3789> Accessed April 1, 2014.

¹⁰⁹ The location of the market has been determined by the archivists at the State Archives of Florida. See <http://207.156.20.146/items/show/34699>. The city’s curb market was originally at the at the corner of Jefferson St. and South Adams. See listing in business section of [Tallahassee City Directory](#), 1914. Accessed via ancestry.com April 1, 2014. The market was the later moved to S. Boulevard, where it stayed until development of the area in the 1930s. See [Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State](#) (Federal Works Agency: Works Projects Administration, 1939) : 275 Accessed via Google Books June 2, 2014.

¹¹⁰ The state archives of Florida has placed several images of the “city curb market” online from the 1940s to the 1960s www.floridamemory.com. Accessed May 6, 2014.

¹¹¹ Stereoview of the first Leon County Jail, <http://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/129182>; Construction of the Second Leon County Jail, <http://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/129183>; Leon County Jail Building-Tallahassee Florida, <http://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/34685>

minimal, former residents of Smoky Hollow still associate the jail with the specter of lynching.¹¹² While lynching was not an everyday occurrence in Tallahassee, the number of lynchings in Florida was among the highest in the nation at the turn of the twentieth century.¹¹³ As a result, the threat of lynching remained a constant factor in early twentieth century race relations.

Tallahassee's law enforcement's behavior demonstrated that they expected lynching. For instance, in March of 1910, Tallahassee's Sheriff James Proctor Houstoun moved Howard Harris from the jail in Tallahassee to Live Oak to prevent a lynching.¹¹⁴ Sometimes this did not work. In May of 1911, six African American men stood accused of killing a prominent owner of a sawmill in Leon County.¹¹⁵ Law enforcement moved them first to Live Oak and then to Lake City, Florida, because "the crime for which the negroes were held created strong feeling in Leon County, as the men shot were prominent and a general race war was intimated at the preliminary hearing given the prisoner."¹¹⁶ These actions did not prevent a group of men from driving from Tallahassee to Lake City. There they presented false documents to the young man left at the jail overnight to guard stating that they had permission to move the prisoners. They took the accused one mile from the jail, lined them in a row, and shot them to death.¹¹⁷ Florida's government officials recognized that African Americans might take action in response to this egregious incident. Governor Fred P. Cone ordered that the burial be moved to an earlier time to prevent African Americans from organizing a "'big' funeral," which he learned had been discussed "by negroes in Tallahassee at one of the local churches" on the night of May 25.¹¹⁸ Fearing violence at the city cemetery, the news reported, "the undertaker was armed and he was attended by a number of armed deputies."¹¹⁹ Despite this maneuver, "about two hundred" African Americans gave witness at the graveside service.¹²⁰ Thus, they conducted a silent symbolic protest against injustice.

Archival records document at least three instances where vigilantes removed African Americans from the jail in Tallahassee with the intent to murder their victims in a ritualistic

¹¹² See Oral history of Zella Johnson Gaines, Smokey Hollow Collection, Riley Archives, Tallahassee Community College, Tallahassee, Florida

¹¹³ Walter T. Howard, "Vigilante Justice and National Reaction: The 1937 Tallahassee Double Lynching," The Florida Historical Quarterly, vol. 67, no. 1 (July 1988): 32. Jacqueline Jones Royster, Southern Horrors and other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900, (New York: Bedford /St. Martin's, 1997): 87. "Lynchings were Fewer in 1909: Dropped to 78 from 100 in 1908 Texas Leads Mob Law," The Montgomery Advertiser, January 9, 1910.

¹¹⁴ "Howard Has Been Caught," The Macon Daily Telegraph, March 30, 1910.

¹¹⁵ "Six Negroes are Lynched," The Daily Oklahoman, May 22, 1911.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ "Governor Lacked Discretion in the Negro Lynching Case," The Miami Herald, May 28, 1911.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

fashion that served to evoke a milieu of terror in the African American community.¹²¹ Two of these lynchings occurred on the grounds of the jail: Pierce Taylor in 1895¹²² and Maik Morris in 1909.¹²³ The third instance occurred in 1937, when a group of unidentified men took Richard Hawkins and Earnst Ponder from the jail and murdered them approximately three miles away.¹²⁴ The place they left the bodies, while not in Smoky Hollow, was not far from the city's eastern border.

¹²¹ Anti-lynching campaigns existed from the late-nineteenth century into the twentieth to confront this terrorism. See C. Van Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (Oxford University Press, 1955, ed. 2002): 43 and 143. African Americans in Florida, as evidenced by Ida B. Wells work, lived with this specter. See Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900, ed. Jacqueline Jones Royster (Boston and New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1997).

¹²² In January of 1895, Pierce Taylor stood accused of an attempted rape of Emma Apthrop. Newspapers described Apthrop as "one of Tallahassee's leading young ladies," whose late father was a well-known politician and civic official. Arrested, Taylor had not stood trial. Although reports of the specifics of the event varied, the essential elements remained the same. An unidentified group of men showed up at the jail in the early morning hours on January 24th armed with revolvers. The sheriff was not standing guard and the "mob" secured the keys from the cook. The group took Taylor to the yard of the jail, hung him from a tree, and shot his body with bullets. It is likely that the residents of Smoky Hollow would have heard the gunshots and undoubtedly learned about the lynching. On the lynching of Pierce Taylor see: "Lynched and Riddled with Bullets," New York Herald Tribune (New York, NY), January 25, 1897; "Southern States Items of Interest," The Daily Picayune (New Orleans, LA), January 25, 1897. "Another Lynching," Boston Evening Journal (Boston, MA), January 25, 1897; "A Florida Lynching," Emporia Daily Gazette (Emporia, KS), January 25, 1897; "Young Taylor Lynched," The Philadelphia Inquirer (Philadelphia, PA), January 25, 1897; "He Saw the Victim, J.D. McMillan Tells of a Recent Florida Lynching," The Minneapolis Journal (Minneapolis, MN), February 5, 1897.

¹²³ Maik Morris, sometimes listed as Mike Morris, had been convicted of killing the sheriff of Leon County and was set to hang for his crime. A few days before, however, some believed that Morris might be able to secure leniency. A small group of armed masked men appeared at the jail's gate during the early morning hour, threatened the jailer, secured Morris, hung him in the courtyard and fired a volley into his body. The mob left the body. After he was hung in the courtyard of the jail from a tree, the group left the body. The Tallahassee Democrat reported that "hundreds visited the jail yard soon after the dispersion of the mob." A photograph of the lynching was taken and can be viewed upon request at the State Archives of Florida. On the lynching of Maik Morris see "A Determined Mob Takes Life of Mick Morris," The Weekly True Democrat (Tallahassee, FL) June 11, 1909; "Florida Lynching," Tucson Citizen (Tucson, AZ) June 7, 1909; "Florida Mob Lynches Negro," The Columbus Enquirer-Sun (Columbus, GA) June 8, 1909; "Floridians Lynch Negro," Rock Hill Herald (Rock Hill, SC) June 9, 1909; "General News," Cleveland Gazette (Cleveland, OH) June 12, 1909 (This was an African American newspaper.) "Lynched in Sight of State Capitol," Easton Free Press (Easton, PA) June 7, 1909;

¹²⁴ Richard Hawkins and Earnst Ponder stood accused of assaulting a local policeman with a weapon. In the early hours of July 20, a group of men wearing "flour sacks over their heads" and "brandishing pistols" took the two, Hawkins and Ponder from the jail, drove approximately three miles away, and shot them to death. In addition to shooting the accused, the mob had left placards that stated "Negros, remember you may be next," and "Warning, this is what will happen to all Negroes that harm white people." According to the press, the mob left the bodies "about 100 feet off the main Jacksonville-Tallahassee highway." For a historical analysis see: Walter T. Howard, "Vigilante Justice and National Reaction: The 1937 Tallahassee Double Lynching," The Florida Historical Quarterly, vol. 67, no. 1 (July 1988). For contemporary coverage see "In re: Unlawful Killing of Earnest Ponder and Richard Hawkins, July 20th, 1937, by person or persons unknown," By State Attorney Second Judicial Circuit of Florida Parker Jr., RGN: 000102, Collection # .S368, Box 56, Folder 15, State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, FL (hereinafter SAF); "Florida Mob Kills Two in Stabbing," The Day (New London, Connecticut), July 20, 1937. "Negroes Lynched by Florida Mob for Stabbing Cop," Meriden Record (Meriden, Connecticut), July 21, 1937

The lynching of Hawkins and Ponder had national impact. In response to a statement by Florida's governor, Fred P. Cone, that this was "plain murder," the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) urged that the state define it as a lynching.¹²⁵ The NAACP argued that it was a lynching because "a mob had removed the boys from jail and executed them without a trial."¹²⁶ This incident also stimulated discussions of national anti-lynching legislation.¹²⁷ For instance, "a large group of citizens in the Harlem section [of New York] h[e]ld a spontaneous open-air meeting" to converse and formulate action.¹²⁸ These New Yorkers sent a telegram to their Senator, Robert Wagner, to urge him to support "immediate passage of [a] federal anti-lynching bill."¹²⁹ In addition to contributing to a national dialogue about lynching, the event also prompted a minor Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) ballistics inquiry. However, after the FBI's report "exonerated city and county officers," state and local law enforcement declared that they were unable to determine the identities of the participants.¹³⁰ The active investigation came to a close after a "corner's jury," asked to review the evidence, "deliberated" for "three minutes" and came to the conclusion that Ponders and Hawkins "died of gunshot wounds inflicted by 'persons unknown.'"¹³¹

Archival evidence does not tell us what residents of Smoky Hollow thought about the death of Hawkins and Ponder. While it garnered national attention, local legal proceedings did not foster a climate conducive to active protest. What is clear from all three cases is that the county jail was not necessarily a secure place for African Americans to serve their sentences. While not a part of the neighborhood, the jail, much like the incinerator and electrical plant, subtly shaped the contours of daily life in Smoky Hollow.

Urban Renewal in Florida

The state of Florida used its powers of eminent domain to clear residents out of (what had by then become known as) "Smoky Hollow." In this way, the story of urban renewal in Florida's capital resembled the history of urban renewal that scholars have told about cities elsewhere. However appearances can be deceiving. In 1952, Florida became one of two states in the nation to reject federal funds for urban renewal. (Georgia was the other.) Consequently, studying the specific dynamics of "slum clearance" in Tallahassee reveals a decidedly more nuanced story of the process, practice, and politics of urban renewal in a Southern context.

Federal Policy on Housing

Although activists in the late nineteenth century had raised alarm over the existence of substandard housing, it took the financial crisis of the 1930s to prompt federal officials to

¹²⁵ "Probe Police Part in Double Florida Lynching," The Negro Star (Wichita, Kansas), July 30, 1937; Fla. Governor Urged to Punish Lynchers," The Capital Plaindealer (Topeka, Kansas), July 30, 1937

¹²⁶ "Fla. Governor Urged to Punish Lynchers," The Capital Plaindealer (Topeka, Kansas), July 30, 1937.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ "Harlem Stirred up over Double Lynching Orgy," The Capital Plaindealer (Topeka, Kansas), July 30, 1937.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ "Negro Lynching Probe is Ended," Middlesboro Daily News (Middlesboro, Kentucky) August 5, 1937.

¹³¹ Ibid.

classify housing as a national legislative issue. Unemployment and underemployment during the Great Depression increased the inability of working-class and middle-class families to pay their mortgages and rent. Destitution raised the visibility of the problems associated with low-income housing: inadequate and, in some cases hazardous, plumbing, electrical, ventilation, and heating systems. In some places, these systems were not defective but entirely absent. Smoky Hollow ultimately fell into this latter category.

In response, Congress passed the Housing Act of 1937. The federal government provided financial assistance to states to develop public housing because at the time Congress determined that “private enterprise [could not] construct safe and sanitary housing at low enough cost to enable it to rent or sell such housing to the families of low income who would be served by the housing financed under this bill.”¹³² In passing legislation, Congress hoped to solve the problem of “slum and bad housing conditions” and “that the present and recurring unemployment will be relieved.”¹³³ Construction jobs, Congress argued, benefited the general welfare of the nation.

The role of government in the question of housing continued to be a national issue in the decade that followed. The geopolitics of the post-war period, however, changed the rationale for federal support. National security became the preeminent justification. Congress articulated this reason in the Housing Act of 1949: “The policy declaration in H.R. 4009 state[d] that the general welfare and security of the Nation require[d] the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.”¹³⁴ The United States came to measure the success of Cold War battles through the quality and quantities of amenities available in the domestic sphere. Sound living quarters supported Democracy.

The Housing Act of 1949 did more than redefine the importance of housing in relation to nationalism. It also expanded the definition of housing to include the community within which a residence sat. Post-war economic prosperity allegedly diminished the need for government-directed projects for public housing. Hence, the Housing Act of 1949 redirected federal efforts to focus on fostering opportunities for urban redevelopment that did not necessarily contain public works projects or products. Instead, “the local public agency would then clear the land and make it available, by sale or lease, for private or public redevelopment or development.”¹³⁵ This critical element distinguished this legislation from its predecessor. Moreover, Congress maintained that these endeavors needed to rely on “private enterprise” for their execution.¹³⁶ Congress nonetheless continued to maintain an important role. Federal money helped

¹³² Housing Act of 1937, page 1

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Housing Act of 1949, page 12

¹³⁵ Summary of Provisions for Housing Act of 1949, 11310 S.doc. 99 July 14, 1949, page 1.

¹³⁶ Housing Act of 1949, page 12

subsidize local urban redevelopment efforts, especially in two areas: mortgages and slum clearance.

The Housing Act of 1949 provided federal funds for the removal of structures deemed unsafe for the health and welfare of a community. The legislation codified “slums” as areas that “foster[ed] delinquency, disease, and crime.”¹³⁷ Officials argued that these sites “create[d] demands for welfare, fire, police, and other financial outlays greatly in excess of the revenues which cities receive from them.”¹³⁸ Places of poverty became by that very definition sites for amelioration whether or not this correlated with the perceptions of residents living within their boundaries.

While providing federal loans and grants, Congress ceded control of redevelopment projects to localities. Under the law, municipalities drafted a plan and then held public hearings on its contents.¹³⁹ While localities determined the specific scope and shape of these projects, the federal government drew general guidelines. For instance, the 1949 Housing Act stipulated that municipalities receiving federal funds for urban redevelopment had to address the needs of families “displaced from the project area” and allow them priority in relocating to sites of public housing.¹⁴⁰ The Act prohibited municipalities from moving forward “if the local governing body determine[d] that it would create undue housing hardship in the locality.”¹⁴¹ Deciding whether to construct public housing and determining what constituted an undue hardship, however, remained locally defined.

The Rejection of Federal Urban Renewal in Florida

During the 1940s, Florida’s municipalities took advantage of federal law and financial support to build public housing projects. The Florida Supreme Court consistently upheld the constitutionality of these actions.¹⁴² The Housing Act of 1949, however, significantly changed the dynamics of urban renewal. In the midst of new debates about integration and fears about communism, some Floridians proved unreceptive to this change. In 1952, the Florida Supreme Court rendered a decision in the case of *T.A. Adams v. Housing Authority of the City of Daytona Beach, et al*, which restricted the ability of government entities in Florida to engage in urban renewal activities.

The case originated from Daytona Beach’s attempt to capitalize on the federal government’s reframing of urban renewal. It defined an area in need of amelioration and opened it to private enterprise for redevelopment. Although the race of the residents did not feature prominently in the legal arguments either for or against urban renewal in this specific

¹³⁷ Housing Act of 1949, page 12

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Summary of Provisions for Housing Act of 1949, 11310 S.doc. 99 July 14, 1949, page 1.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, page 3.

¹⁴¹ Ibid, page 2.

¹⁴² Justice John E. Mathews, writing for the majority, noted that the Florida Supreme Court ruled on previous issues in favor of municipalities to acquire private real estate in order to transform it into public housing. *T.A. Adams v. Housing Authority of the City of Daytona Beach, et al.*, State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, FL

case, the Florida Supreme Court Justices remarked that all of the sixty families residing in the affected neighborhood were African American.¹⁴³ The socio-economic politics of Jim Crow were implicit in this notation. Municipalities did not always invest in basic infrastructure in African American communities but allowed them to languish instead. In contrast, as an additional enticement to private interests in redeveloping this area, Daytona Beach offered to pay for infrastructure amenities: new sidewalks, sewers, and streets.¹⁴⁴

The municipality's plan met with resistance and a lawsuit. A determining factor was Chapter 23077, Laws of Florida, Acts of 1945, which guided state law regarding urban redevelopment. Its focus was on "the elimination of blighted areas or slums and the redevelopment of such areas."¹⁴⁵ Although the act allowed municipalities to secure property through eminent domain or purchase, it did so when Housing Authorities created domiciles for people with low incomes. T.A. Adams, who brought the case because he owned land in the area under consideration for redevelopment, objected to giving the city the authority to allow the land in question to be "leased or sold for private use by corporations, associations, institutions or individuals."¹⁴⁶ Writing for the majority, Supreme Court Justice John E. Mathews argued that while "on its face it is a 'redevelopment' plan," a closer "inspection of the plan show[ed] it to be a real estate promotion." He did not find it to be "simply a case of slum clearance in order to promote the public health, safety, morals and general welfare of the inhabitants of Daytona Beach."¹⁴⁷

The Florida Supreme Court rendered a decision on August 23, 1952 in favor of the plaintiff. Mathews wrote the majority opinion. Mathews feared that if this became precedent, any municipality could "take over the entire field of private enterprise without limit so long as they can find a blighted area containing sufficient real estate." He agreed that municipalities had a legal right to take private land for public purpose. However, he drew a legal distinction between these types of situations and those in which cities determined to sell private land "for private gain and profit." This, he argued, violated the state constitution.¹⁴⁸

Justice William Glenn Terrell dissented. He agreed with the majority that government needed to protect the rights of private property: "I yield to no one in my devotion to private enterprise and the sanctity of property rights, as protected by the constitution." However, the impoverished conditions of the area in question led him to disagree with his colleagues. Terrell wrote that "from the photographs one might think it was a dilapidated turpentine still or saw mill 'quarters,' abandoned by the owner and preempted by bats, bed bugs and Billy goats."

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Brief of Appellees: *T.A. Adams v. Housing Authority of the City of Daytona Beach*, et al., State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, FL

¹⁴⁶ *T.A. Adams v. Housing Authority of the City of Daytona Beach*, et al., State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, FL

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

Hence, in this case he did not see “where the sanctity of property rights [was] being violated by the act or the plan of development.”¹⁴⁹ In this case, Terrell argued, redevelopment served to promote the general welfare of the community.

Despite Terrell’s dissent, the majority ruling in *T.A. Adams v. Housing Authority of the City of Daytona Beach, et al*, led Floridians to reject federal aid for urban redevelopment projects. This did not stop interested parties from inquiring, however. In June of 1955, John D. Harris of Harris, Barrett, McGlothlin, and Dew of St. Petersburg sent a query to E. Bruce Wedge, federal regional director of Urban Renewal, as to “the possibility of urban renewal projects in Florida.”¹⁵⁰ E. Bruce Wedge explained the impediments to securing federal assistance for urban renewal projects in Florida because of the *Adams* decision. He noted that the ruling “ma[de] virtually all activity [of this nature] impossible.”¹⁵¹ T.W. Witherington, secretary of the Florida Development Commission, offered Ira C. Haycock, an attorney from Miami who called to discuss the status of urban renewal in Florida, a similarly pessimistic view.¹⁵² In both pieces of correspondence, officials noted the importance of finding a legislative resolution to the issue. Wedge supported “enactment of an amendment to the Florida Constitution.”¹⁵³ Witherington hoped that the state legislature would take up an “enabling act.”¹⁵⁴ Federal officials looked to state officials to form an alliance.

The movement in Florida to change the law and allow urban renewal

Despite the Florida Supreme Court’s ruling, the then governor of Florida, LeRoy Collins, pushed forward with plans to pursue urban renewal. The people of Florida elected LeRoy Collins as governor in 1955, and he served until 1961. In this post-World War II period, Florida experienced tremendous growth in both population and economic prosperity. Collins sensed the possible profitable benefits of urban renewal, in particular access to significant federal funds to fuel local markets. As a result, Collins became a leading proponent of finding a solution to the constitutionality problem of urban renewal in Florida.

Initially, Collins looked towards state legislators to resolve the issue. In 1957, Collins urged state legislators to rewrite the state’s constitution to allow for urban renewal as part of a special session being held by the legislature that fall. Neither the House nor Senate, however, took up his request.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Letter from E. Bruce Wedge to John D. Harris dated June 6, 1955, RGN: 000102, Collection .S 776, Development Commission, Florida, March-Dec 1955, Box 8 FF5, State Archives of Florida

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Letter from TW Witherington to Ira C Haycock dated August 2, 1955, RGN: 000102, Collection .S 776, Development Commission, Florida, March-Dec 1955, Box 8 FF5, State Archives of Florida

¹⁵³ Letter from E. Bruce Wedge to John D. Harris dated June 6, 1955, RGN: 000102, Collection .S 776, Development Commission, Florida, March-Dec 1955, Box 8 FF5, State Archives of Florida

¹⁵⁴ Letter from TW Witherington to Ira C Haycock dated August 2, 1955, RGN: 000102, Collection .S 776, Development Commission, Florida, March-Dec 1955, Box 8 FF5, State Archives of Florida

¹⁵⁵ “Legislature Gets Down to Business,” St. Petersburg Times October 1, 1957

In response, Collins worked to amass support from various lobbying groups. In 1958, for instance, he sponsored a conference in Orlando for those interested in urban renewal, ideally business interests, to discuss the ways in which urban renewal worked in other states.¹⁵⁶ That same year, Collins favored the decision of Brown L. Whatley, president of Stockton, Whatley, Davin & Company of Jacksonville Florida—a mortgage banking, real estate and insurance firm—to become a member of the Board of Directors of the American Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods (ACTION).¹⁵⁷ (ACTION supported urban renewal programs throughout the nation.) Throughout 1958, Collins also tried to convince local politicians that urban renewal was in their interest. He wrote to David Atkinson, mayor of Tallahassee, in March of 1958 to inform him that he had created a State Interagency Action Committee on Sub-standard Housing.¹⁵⁸ Collins argued that urban renewal offered an opportunity for collaboration. Atkinson brought the governor’s plan to establish an urban renewal program to the Tallahassee City Commission, which decided to contact the city of Nashville for more information about its program.¹⁵⁹

As part of Collins’s efforts to formulate a campaign for public persuasion, he attempted to marshal Florida’s intellectual capital in favor of urban renewal. Collins reached out to Florida State University’s School of Public Administration to study issues of urbanization in Florida.¹⁶⁰ Collins’ political appointees also tried to enlist the help of the University of Florida’s School of Architecture.¹⁶¹ J.E. Baril, the manager of the Florida Development Commission’s planning and community services department, hoped the school of architecture could create a “three-dimensional scale model.”¹⁶² Baril believed that a tangible representation of “actual blighted areas” would “provide visual evidence of what could be done to upgrade such areas and might stir the imaginations of individuals and the community to the point where they might organize for some practical achievement.”¹⁶³ Baril noted that “here in Tallahassee we have at least one blighted area (and I am sure there are others, as well) that seems to offer some very good possibilities” for this type of project.¹⁶⁴ Although Baril did not name Smoky Hollow, given the other documents of the period it is reasonable to conclude that this area was the one he had in

¹⁵⁶ “City’s ‘Workable Program’ Slated to Come Up Soon,” Tallahassee Democrat June 2, 1958; “Report on the Florida Development Commission’s Activities Under LeRoy Collins,” RGN 000792 .S135, Florida Development Commission: 1954-1962, folder Administrative Papers, 1960

¹⁵⁷ Letter from LeRoy Collins to Brown L. Whatley, dated June 18, 1958, RGN 000102, Collection .S 776, Urban Planning 1958 S 776 Box 140 FF 16, State Archives of Florida

¹⁵⁸ Letter from LeRoy Collins to Davis Atkinson dated March 20, 1958, RGN 000102, Collection .S 776, Urban Planning, 1958, Box 140, FF 16, State Archives of Florida

¹⁵⁹ Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, March 11, 1958, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall

¹⁶⁰ Letter from LeRoy Collins to Wilson K. Doyle dated February 8, 1957, RGN: 000102, Collection .S 776, Urban renewal, 1957, Box 140, FF 16, State Archives of Florida

¹⁶¹ Letter from J.E. Baril to William T. Arnett dated March 6, 1958, RGN 000102, Collection .S 776, Urban Planning, 1958, Box 140, FF 16, State Archives of Florida

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

mind. Baril did not have funds to pay faculty to create this model. Instead, he offered the university “full recogni[tion]” for its participation.¹⁶⁵

While no archival evidence exists to demonstrate a direct link between Collins and the press, local journalists in Tallahassee vigorously supported urban renewal. Malcolm Johnson, the chief editor of the *Tallahassee Democrat* during this period, wrote numerous editorials to convince the public of the benefits of urban renewal. For example, he pointed out that Floridians “had been contributing substantially to a federal tax fund which the other states are using for urban renewal--and we’re getting back not a single penny.”¹⁶⁶ Johnson promoted the notion that Tallahassee could serve as a model by “provid[ing] the pilot project.” Lastly, he contended that despite the limitations set forth by the Florida Supreme Court, Tallahassee could use its powers of public health to “clean up slums.” He cited the city’s ability to order all filling stations outside of the downtown area as precedent.¹⁶⁷

Adopting a “Workable Plan”

Florida’s cities needed “workable programs” to be eligible for federal aid. The goal of a workable program was to enact urban planning that would “insure decent, safe, and sanitary housing and a well planned city.”¹⁶⁸ The federal government only approved plans that detailed “ordinances, zoning, subdivisions regulations, a minimum standards housing code and building, plumbing and electrical codes” to be implemented in an area designated for urban renewal.¹⁶⁹ Workable plans “required” municipalities “to pay for property at appraised valuation of the cleared property at its highest and best use.” In addition, cities “bore one-third the project cost in cash, land donations or public improvements or a combination.”¹⁷⁰ In return, cities and their residents gained access to millions of dollars of federal funds.

All of this lobbying seemed to work. In June of 1958 Tallahassee began to discuss creating a program. The city commission worked with the regional federal housing administrator, who was also a former resident of Tallahassee, Walter E. Keyes to devise a plan.¹⁷¹ He met with the commission in person on June 5 at a special session and answered questions at length before a room with twenty-five spectators.¹⁷² As municipal and federal officials met, the *Tallahassee Democrat* attempted to allay community fears.

Judging from newspaper coverage, a major concern among Tallahasseeans appeared to be that urban renewal would limit private enterprise. State legislators as well as locals viewed anything that restrained capitalistic pursuits as potentially communistic, a philosophy that

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Malcolm Johnson, “Can and Can’t of Urban Renewal,” *Tallahassee Democrat* June 1, 1958.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ “City’s ‘Workable Program’ Slated to Come Up Soon,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 2, 1958.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ “City’s ‘Workable Program’ Slated to Come Up Soon,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 2, 1958.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, June 5, 1958, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall

federal and state officials labeled as antithetic to American values in the 1950s.¹⁷³ Building public housing, for instance, fell out of favor. In covering Walter Keyes visit in June of 1958, the *Democrat's* reporter Hallie Boyles explained to readers that there was “no present plan for public housing.”¹⁷⁴ Nor, as Keyes pointed out, was the creation of public housing a condition of urban renewal. Instead, Boyles reported, urban renewal limited the active role of government. The goal, she noted, was to “rely heavily on citizen participation and private enterprise in developing the plan.”¹⁷⁵ She argued that involving the federal government would allow local businesses to capitalize on “the advice of the expert planners on urban renewal.”¹⁷⁶

Besides receiving advice, the major advantage to participating in the federal program was financial. The *Tallahassee Democrat* noted that the federal government provided two thirds of the funds for a city to execute a workable program. The newspaper also explained how local builders would benefit from urban renewal plans. Theoretically, all persons “displaced by governmental action” were eligible for Federal Housing Administration (FHA) “mortgages up to \$9,000, with no down payment.”¹⁷⁷ This benefit extended to renters, even “a single person occupying a room.”¹⁷⁸ The FHA offered very attractive loan terms: “100 per cent government insured and [the mortgage payment] spread over 40 years.”¹⁷⁹ Eligible persons could take their “certificate of necessity to a builder,” who then had incentive to construct new housing because he was guaranteed a return on his investment.¹⁸⁰ The construction industry agreed. John J. Koelemij, president of the Tallahassee Builders Association, discussed the benefits of adopting a workable plan with the City Commission in March of 1958.¹⁸¹

As it turned out, however, the FHA deemed very few residents of Smoky Hollow eligible for these loans. The FHA required a minimum annual income of \$2,400 for eligibility for the program.¹⁸² The newspaper reporter for the *Tallahassee Democrat*, Hallie Boyles, mentioned that only approximately half of Smoky Hollow's residents met that standard.¹⁸³ Boyles wrote “they would have to find homes on their own unless the city undertook a federal public housing

¹⁷³ In Florida, state senator Charley Eugene Johns formed a commission in 1956 to ferret out communist activities. His commission focused on civil rights activists and gay and lesbians, especially at the universities. On its creation and influence see Stacy Braukman, Communists and Perverts Under the Palms: The Johns Committee in Florida, 1956-1985 (Gainesville: University of Florida, 2013).

¹⁷⁴ “Urban Renewal Target Dates Set,” Tallahassee Democrat, June 6, 1958.

¹⁷⁵ “It's Workable, let's Work it,” Tallahassee Democrat, July 30, 1958.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ “Urban Renewal Target Dates Set,” Tallahassee Democrat, June 6, 1958.

¹⁷⁸ “City to Take Part in Housing Program for Those Displaced,” Tallahassee Democrat, December 24, 1958.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁸¹ Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, March 25, 1958, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall

¹⁸² “Under Legislature Acts, Smoky Hollow to Stay On,” Tallahassee Democrat, April 12, 1959.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*

program.”¹⁸⁴ Boyles noted the unlikelihood of that occurring: “City Commissioners have made it plain they want to avoid public housing if possible.”¹⁸⁵

Within the same breath of discussing the adoption of a workable plan, the *Tallahassee Democrat* identified Smoky Hollow as a place of interest. The newspaper noted that “if the city’s workable program’ is approved by FHA, one of the first projects is expected to be a slum clearance undertaking which would convert Smoky Hollow into a park.”¹⁸⁶ According to the *Tallahassee Democrat*, Smoky Hollow was bounded “on the north by Apalachee Parkway, on the west by Meridian Street, on the south by Gaines Street and on the east by Myers Park Drive.”¹⁸⁷ The paper and civic officials, described Smoky Hollow’s boundaries as fixed rather than as malleable borders defined by residents’ sense of community.

Smoky Hollow became the focus of plans for urban renewal in Tallahassee for several reasons. The first was the promotion of the Taylor plan in 1947 to expand the capitol center complex, which envisioned creating a space devoted to state government buildings. The reimagining of civic space resembled architectural plans adopted by other Southern cities experiencing urban growth in the post-war period. Albert Davis Taylor’s renderings turned part of Smoky Hollow, the section that sat between Lafayette and St. Augustine streets, into green space.¹⁸⁸ (See Appendix A, Figs. 5 and 6).

Second, Smoky Hollow’s vulnerability to plans for urban renewal were exacerbated by the completion of Apalachee Parkway in 1958. In September of 1958, the Florida State Road Department informed the Leon Board of County Commissioners that Apalachee parkway was the “most traveled main highway approaching Tallahassee.”¹⁸⁹ The area had come under scrutiny as a possible, and even advisable, location to construct the newly proposed interstate in 1957.¹⁹⁰ If a southern route for Interstate 10 had been adopted it would have cut right through Smoky Hollow. (See Appendix A, Fig. 7). Although that aspect of highway construction did not come to pass, the parkway splintered the community. In addition, the elevated nature of the parkway increased the visibility of Smoky Hollow. Proponents of urban renewal continually described that vista in negative ways: “The slum area has long been regarded as an eye-sore and particularly since construction of the parkway which permits visitors a full view of

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

¹⁸⁶ “‘Workable Plan’ of City Adopted,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 11, 1958.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ The A.D. Taylor plan did not include much of the area that was Smokey Hollow. See full document at <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015070348142;view=1up;seq=9> Accessed April 2, 2014.

¹⁸⁹ Traffic Engineering Report for The Tallahassee, Florida, Metropolitan Area, compiled by the Division of Traffic and Planning, State Road Department of Florida (Tallahassee, FL: State Road Department, 1958).

¹⁹⁰ “Parkway Large Project in Leon,” *Tallahassee Democrat* January 4, 1959; Wilbur Smith and Associates, Location and Economic Study for Interstate Route Tallahassee (prepared for Florida State Road Department) (November 1957): 73. Wilbur Smith and Associates envisioned it as part of a South Central Line, which if it had been adopted would have had I-10 cut right through Smoky Hollow.

the dilapidated shacks that extend through a valley and up to the edge of the Capital Center.”¹⁹¹ That remark compressed the issue of urban renewal into a question of aesthetics.

Requiring changes to Smoky Hollow was not the first time African Americans were asked to relocate for a purported civic benefit in Tallahassee. In 1931, amidst a discussion of cows as public nuisances, “Mr. Elliot and Mrs. Gunter” told the city commission that “a few years before they owned negro tentant [sic] houses on East Georgia Street, East of Gadsden; and that some objection had been raised to these negro tenant houses and they had promptly removed the colored people.”¹⁹² But while Elliot and Gunter defined their actions as being made for the public good, they were still private actions. Removal for urban renewal constituted a public action.

The first formal discussion of Smoky Hollow as an area from which the city might force residents to relocate for civic benefit began in the mid-1950s, when the municipality looked for a space to develop a Civic Center, in particular an auditorium. These deliberations began in late 1954 and continued through 1955. The mayor of Tallahassee created subcommittees, one of which focused on location. This committee narrowed down their choices of consideration to “the Smokey Hollow area and the Lively Technical School area.” In the end, they unanimously recommended the Lively Technical School area—“The area was an ‘L’ shape stretching two blocks west of the northwest corner of Duval and Park streets and two blocks north of the Duval and Park streets’ corner”—for the site of a future civic center.¹⁹³ Smoky Hollow was saved.

In developing an area to propose for Tallahassee’s workable plan, other communities came under consideration. The Frenchtown area (also a historical in-town African American community) was mentioned as a possibility. However, at a community meeting to answer questions about urban renewal, Walter Keyes, the federal official, “advised against” targeting this area. He told Tallahasseeans that the “FHA d[id] not permit a slum to be split.” One of the “15 persons in the audience,” William Murphy, noted that if Frenchtown “couldn’t be ‘split,’ [it] would be a colossal project for the community.”¹⁹⁴ The absence of definable boundaries protected Frenchtown from urban renewal at the same time that those landscape features (a highway and railroad) contributed to Smokey Hollow’s vulnerability.

On June 10, 1958, Tallahassee’s city commissioners voted to approve a workable plan with unanimous support.¹⁹⁵ On July 22, 1958, the city commission passed a resolution to

¹⁹¹ “City May Get Site Refund,” Tallahassee Democrat December 18, 1959.

¹⁹² Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, September 22, 1931, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall

¹⁹³ William S. Luhman, Planning and Zoning in Tallahassee and Leon County: A Case Study (1957), Strozier Library, Florida State University.

¹⁹⁴ “Urban Renewal Target Dates Set,” Tallahassee Democrat, June 6, 1958.

¹⁹⁵ Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, June 10, 1958, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall.

eliminate “slums in Smoky Hollow east of the Capitol and north of the Apalachee Parkway.”¹⁹⁶ A week later, the federal government approved Tallahassee’s workable program.¹⁹⁷

Before proceeding with a workable program, however, the federal government required a public health survey of the area. Tallahassee moved forward with this evaluation by creating a partnership with Leon County, the state of Florida, and Florida State University.¹⁹⁸ Beyond documenting conditions in Smoky Hollow, officials viewed it as a potential model for further state action: “Dr. J.M. Bistowish, Leon county health director, said he expects to get under way by Aug. 25 with State Health Department sanitarians participating in order to receive training for similar projects in other areas.”¹⁹⁹ The goal was to identify a “slum area” in need of amelioration. Unlike workable plans in other states, the Florida Supreme Court’s decision meant that the city was limited in the types of redevelopment it could pursue as an outcome to the “development of a park, playground or some other public use.”²⁰⁰ In covering these events, the *Tallahassee Democrat* told readers that the city “expected” to use urban renewal to “conver[t] Smoky Hollow into a park.”²⁰¹ Creating a green space as part of a public “beautification” project was constitutional. Also, it would have realized one element of the Taylor plan, which proposed creating green spaces in approaches to the capitol.²⁰²

Between June and October of 1958, public health workers from the state were assigned to work as “trainees in anticipation of similar surveys in other areas [of the state to] qualify for urban renewal.”²⁰³ They used standards of assessment developed by the American Public Health Association (APHA) to determine whether housing was substandard and, if so, how many structures in a community were of this nature. The APHA also provided guidelines as to land usage, availability of utilities, access to sites of civic infrastructure such as schools and playgrounds, which contributed to residents’ quality of life.²⁰⁴

The state and county’s public health survey confirmed officials’ suspicions about the living conditions in Smoky Hollow. The study counted “112 residential structures” and deemed 66 percent of them “substandard.”²⁰⁵ Officials also classified four of the thirteen commercial buildings (31 percent) as substandard.²⁰⁶ Health officials reached this conclusion by asserting that there was overcrowding. Health officials reported that “approximately 400 people live[d]

¹⁹⁶ “State Office Building May be Started Soon,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 23, 1958.

¹⁹⁷ “City’s Urban Renewal Program is Approved,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, July 29, 1958.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ “Urban Renewal Target Dates Set,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 6, 1958.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ “Unless Legislature Acts, Smoky Hollow to Stay On,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, April 12, 1959.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

in the 157 dwelling units in the 112 residential structures.”²⁰⁷ They found “entire families living in a single room.”²⁰⁸ Health officials also defined the structures as substandard in their lack of amenities and vulnerability to the elements. Officials described their encounters with dwellings that had “dirt floors and [were] on hillsides where water runs over the floors during heavy rain.”²⁰⁹ Officials recorded scenarios where “there [was] no inside plumbing to speak of” and “some of the homes [had] no utilities.”²¹⁰ Although the survey found a few tin structures, the majority of homes were built out of wood.²¹¹ As for responsibility for these conditions, health officials noted that “while some of the shacks are owned by the Negro inhabitants, the area is largely white owned.”²¹² Property owners controlled more than their plot of land. It was up to property owners to petition the city to pave streets. However, they had to share in the cost of that improvement.²¹³

As part of the workable program, the city adopted new regulations for land use and construction in the proposed area of the plan. City Planner Gordon Butcher drew up the designs. The new rules forbade dead-end streets longer than 500 feet and stipulated that roads needed a “turnaround of not less than 100 feet in diameter.”²¹⁴ The new ordinance enforced geometrical symmetry by requiring streets to “intersect at right angles as nearly as possible with no more than two streets intersecting except by Planning Board approval.”²¹⁵ The city allowed alleys in “commercial and industrial districts” but eliminated them in residential areas: “dead end, crooked and T alleys would not be allowed.”²¹⁶ Butcher also demanded that developers provide documentation related to the provision and disposal of sewerage, access to water, access to public utilities, provisions for drainage, especially storm water runoff, and street grades.²¹⁷

Eight months after the adoption of a workable plan, Tallahassee’s city manager, Arvah Hopkins, told the local newspaper that issues of infrastructure still plagued the city. He noted, for instance, that although the city had “carried out a continuous street surfacing program since 1948,” older streets suffered during “heavy rain” because there “simply” was “not enough surface” on them.²¹⁸ In addition, the growth of sewer installation for “new homes inside the

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ The Planning Department of the City of Tallahassee, A Comprehensive Plan for Future Development (Part Two) (Tallahassee, Florida: The City Planning Board, 1963): 28.

²¹⁴ “City Gets Subdivision Ordinance for Study,” Tallahassee Democrat, July 24, 1958.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ “New Paving Needed,” Tallahassee Democrat, March 19, 1959.

old city limits and in the newly annexed areas” added burden to the city’s sewage treatment plant that necessitated upgrading the system.²¹⁹

Five years after the city adopted its workable plan, the Tallahassee Planning Board conducted a study of the city’s population, economy, and urban structures to construct a proposal for a comprehensive plan for future development. Essentially the study told a story of two Tallahassees. One provided abundant housing and “excellent income level[s] for white families in the city and county” and another that did not provide “enough job opportunities” for “the unskilled [African American] worker.”²²⁰ Despite the “influence of Florida A&M University,” the study found that 56 percent of nonwhite families in Tallahassee earned less than \$3000, which was a higher poverty level than the state average. In comparison, only 16 percent of white families in Tallahassee experienced the same type of poverty.²²¹

The report described in detail racial discrepancies in the “sound condition” of housing structures. While the planning board did not define soundness, it alluded to the presence of plumbing as an element it considered in its determination. Although the study demonstrated that “existing housing conditions in Tallahassee compare[d] quite favorably with Florida cities of similar housing composition and with the urbanized areas of the state,” it did so only when looking at “white units” of housing.²²² It surmised from its findings that “Tallahassee ha[d] an adequate supply of sound dwelling units for white occupancy and the rate of construction indicates a good future in this category.”²²³ In contrast, city planners found that only 36.3 percent of the non-white units it investigated were sound, which was less than the state average of 42.5 percent.²²⁴ While it concluded that “owner occupied non-white housing [was] in good supply and that the structures [were] in sound condition,” the same could not be said for rental units.²²⁵ The study characterized non-white occupied rental units as “a menace to the well-being of the community” and advocated that they “should become a target of concerted public action.”²²⁶ The report named Smoky Hollow as one of the sites for amelioration.

Once the city commission approved the workable plan, the city found itself still needing to build support. (This was not atypical. Throughout the nation, cities created promotional materials to bolster support for their workable plans.²²⁷) Proponents of development

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ The Planning Department of the City of Tallahassee, A Comprehensive Plan for Future Development (Tallahassee, Florida: The City Planning Board, 1963): 32.

²²¹ Ibid, 32.

²²² Ibid, 28-29.

²²³ Ibid, 30.

²²⁴ Ibid, 28-29.

²²⁵ Ibid, 30.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Claude Pepper collected a number of materials from other cities. See S301, FN 5, Box 60A: Urban Renewal; S 301 FN 17, Box 228: Urban Renewal- Miami, S 209R, FN 7, Box 84: Urban Renewal, Mildred and Claude Pepper Library, Florida State University Libraries, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL

continually used Smoky Hollow as a visual to motivate the white community in Tallahassee to support urban renewal. For instance, Robert F. Foeller, the technical director for the American Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods, spoke to the 300 members of the Tallahassee Chamber of Commerce and their wives at a dinner to explain urban renewal. He came to the Chamber's annual meeting at the behest of three different Tallahassee Banks and Payne H. Midyette Sr.²²⁸ In addition to discussing taxes, arguing that slums cost cities more revenue than they took in, he showed pictures, graphs, and charts of urban renewal projects across the nation.²²⁹ In doing so, he "slipped in photographs of an outside toilet with no doors within site of the State Capitol building, and maps showing some of the spread of commercial building through Tallahassee's residential sections."²³⁰ In recounting this story to its readers, the *Tallahassee Democrat* argued that Tallahasseeans could no longer deny the presence of substandard housing in the city: "we know about those things, too--or we would if we'd just take the time to drive around town and cast our eyes upon them."²³¹ Those promoting urban renewal in Tallahassee used "Smoky Hollow" as a synonym for "slum."

The continuing push to make urban renewal in its broadest sense constitutional in Florida

At the same time that Tallahassee passed a workable program in 1958, LeRoy Collins was still working at the state level to change the rules related to urban renewal. Initially, Collins argued for a constitutional amendment.²³² The state legislature rejected this idea in 1957 but in 1959 the House Constitutional Amendments Committee gave its "unanimous approval" to this proposal.²³³ Supporters of the idea appealed to local businessmen in Tallahassee. Representative Doyle Connor, for instance, spoke about the need for a constitutional amendment to the Tallahassee Kiwanis Club.²³⁴ He likened "urban blight" to "cancer" that might spread beyond repair. Conner attempted to allay fears that this would invite federal intrusion in local affairs, which was a concern to residents debating the application of desegregation.²³⁵ Nonetheless, the bill went down to defeat before the full House.

The state legislature rejected a constitutional amendment related to urban renewal because of the implications they believed it would have had for civil rights. The U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 had fundamentally altered the role of government when it declared that de facto segregation in education was unconstitutional. However, many of Florida's officials were unwilling to concede that the state no longer had the right to determine laws governing local socio-economic interactions. They rejected anything that might suggest that they accepted federal law in place of their own. The *Ocala-Banner* reported, "rallying behind the banner of state's rights, the House rejected the proposed

²²⁸ "Chamber is Shown Pictures of 'Inexcusable' Conditions," *Tallahassee Democrat*, December 5, 1958.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ "We Have the Plans, Now for Action," *Tallahassee Democrat*, December 5, 1958.

²³² "No Local Bill Set on Urban Renewal," *Tallahassee Democrat*, April 15, 1959.

²³³ "Asked by Collins Slum Measure Ok'd by House Committee," *Sarasota Journal*, April 17, 1959.

²³⁴ "Urban Renewal Urged by Conner," *Tallahassee Democrat*, April 22, 1959.

²³⁵ Ibid.

constitutional amendment Wednesday after the stormiest battle of the session.”²³⁶ Representative William Chappell of Marion County persuaded his colleagues of the insidious nature of federal funds for urban renewal. He stated, “what the federal government puts its money into, it controls.”²³⁷ While at face value these statements might seem divorced from civil rights, other legislators’ comments made the connection clear. George Stallings of Duval County argued against the bill because he believed that the “measure could lead to integration in housing created under the program.”²³⁸ Robert Mann of Hillsborough County, a leading proponent of the bill, contended that the state could use urban renewal to maintain segregation: “It would allow pockets of Negro slums in white neighborhoods to be cleared out, thus further segregating the races.”²³⁹ In either case, issues of race and federalism were central to debates in Florida about urban renewal.

Although the bill was dead, the discussion was renewed two weeks later in May of 1959. This time there was a new strategy by those who favored urban renewal. The goal was to write a constitutional amendment to “authorize municipalities to clear slum and blighted areas and provide for acquisition and preparation of the areas, their disposition to other public agencies or private individuals, and for execution of plans to develop slum or blighted areas.”²⁴⁰ It differed from the previous amendment proposal by “plac[ing] authorization specifically within municipalities.”²⁴¹ The new proposal also incorporated “safeguards demanded by urban renewal opponents.”²⁴² In particular, the new bill “prohibit[ed] ...converting the blighted areas into public housing developments.”²⁴³ Proponents of the bill came from Miami, Tallahassee, Orlando, and Pensacola to lobby for the bill.²⁴⁴ In Tallahassee, the editor of the *Democrat*, Malcolm Johnson, tried to dissuade readers of the notion that this would support racial integration.²⁴⁵ Despite these lobbying efforts, like the proposal before it, this legislation stalled and was eventually killed.²⁴⁶ The state did not adopt comprehensive legislation to allow for an expansive urban renewal program as allowed by the federal government.

However, right before the legislature ended for 1959, Tallahassee introduced a bill that authorized it to “undertake a broad program of slum clearance and redevelopment of cleared lands.”²⁴⁷ The bill was modeled after a similar act the state legislature had passed for Tampa two years previously. The Florida Supreme Court was in the midst of determining the law’s

²³⁶ “Fireworks Fail to Pop on Banning Commie Books,” *Ocala Star-Banner*, April 30, 1959.

²³⁷ “Urban Renewal Urged by Conner,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, April 22, 1959.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

²³⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁰ “Urban Renewal Hearing Set by Committee,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, May 18, 1959.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² “Legislature Revives Urban Renewal Plan,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, May 19, 1959.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁵ Malcolm Johnson, “Under the Dome,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, May 20, 1959.

²⁴⁶ “Slum Clearance Bill is Dead,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 2, 1959.

²⁴⁷ “City’s Urban renewal Bill Passage Assured,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, May 30, 1959.

constitutionality at the same time that the legislature was meeting in 1959.²⁴⁸ If the bill passed, Tallahasseeans would need to take a vote on the legislation.²⁴⁹ The state legislature approved the bill at the very end of the session.²⁵⁰

Although it passed in May, city officials in Tallahassee had no intention of immediately calling for an election. There were two reasons. First, they wanted to wait until the Florida Supreme Court rendered a decision on similar legislation passed to allow Tampa to adopt an expansive urban renewal program. Second, special elections were costly and city officials wanted to wait until a regular election.²⁵¹

Despite reservations, as the city awaited word on how expansive an urban renewal program it could adopt, it still moved forward with plans to redevelop the area of Smoky Hollow for public purposes. On June 5, 1959, the *Tallahassee Democrat* reported that despite reservations, the city had begun to think about where to relocate civic structures adjacent to Smoky Hollow: “The City is retaining a 100-acre site at the municipal airport for relocation of various shops, warehouses and other facilities that are located next to Smoky Hollow.”²⁵² Five days later, Mike Beaudoin of the *Tallahassee Democrat* informed residents that the “Smoky Hollow Project Gets ‘Go Ahead’ Sign.”²⁵³ The city commissioners had approved a program to “clear the Smoky Hollow slum area.”²⁵⁴ City Attorney James Messer explained to readers, “we don’t really need the new urban renewal legislation, to clear Smoky Hollow.”²⁵⁵ However, the commission did not provide funding for this program.²⁵⁶ Part of the city’s hope was that if the federal government adopted a southern route for the new interstate, it would pay for the removal project: “One cost-saving feature the City is hopeful of getting is final approval of the interstate highway through the Smoky Hollow area. This 200-foot wide strip would clear about 25-per cent of the 35-acre tract with the federal government paying most of the cost.”²⁵⁷ Paying for urban renewal from the public purse was a costly endeavor.

As city officials awaited the Florida’s Supreme Court decision about the 1957 Tampa Law, a new wrinkle in pursuing urban renewal appeared, the question of appraising properties in Smoky Hollow. The appraisal of the properties belonging to the Lewis Lively estate, the John G. Riley estate, Church of God, and Hyman Myers that were to be acquired for the development of the Capitol Center was contested. The owners of the properties argued that the appraisals

²⁴⁸ “Hopes for Removal of Blight,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, May 28, 1959.

²⁴⁹ “City’s Urban renewal Bill Passage Assured,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, May 30, 1959; The referendum aspect was different than Tampa’s law. Tampa only awaited a decision by the Florida Supreme Court as to its constitutionality.

²⁵⁰ Hallie Boyles, “City Looks Ahead as Urban Renewal Proposal Passes,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 5, 1959.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ Mike Beaudoin, “Smoky Hollow Project Gets ‘Go Ahead’ Sign,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 10, 1959.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

had been made based on residential policies but that they should have been affixed at rates for commercial properties. The jury hearing the case agreed and awarded much higher values than the original appraisements. The circuit court judge upheld their decision, as did the Florida Supreme Court.²⁵⁸ The jury revalued the Lively estate at \$30,000 instead of \$19,500, the John G. Riley estate at \$60,000 instead of \$44,384, the Church of God property at \$18,000 instead of \$12,584, and the Hyman Myers property at \$70,000 instead of \$29,250. State officials responded by lamenting this decision. LeRoy Collins, for instance, said, “the dream of developing a beautiful Capitol Center in Tallahassee had been ‘dashed on the rocks.’”²⁵⁹ Similarly, the mayor of Tallahassee, Hugh Williams, expressed concern that plans to “eliminate slums adjacent to the Capitol could be killed by ballooning prices.”²⁶⁰ The despondence over the possibility of moving forward with urban renewal on November 15 was replaced by optimism two days later when the Florida Supreme Court ruled that the Tampa law of 1957 (and by extension the Tallahassee Law of 1959) was constitutional.²⁶¹

On November 17, 1959, the Florida Supreme Court ruled 4 to 3 in *Grubstein v. Urban Renewal Agency of City of Tampa* (115 So. 2d 745) that Tampa could use its “eminent domain powers to condemn slums and then sell the land to private interest for development as business and residential areas.”²⁶² Writing for the majority, Justice B.K. Roberts drew a distinction between blight and an “actual slum condition.”²⁶³ Roberts argued that the defining aspect was that this was a slum area, not blight. Slums, by definition in the decision, caused “evils” against “the health, safety, morals, and general welfare of the citizens” of an area. Roberts argued that blight was a more ambiguous phrase and could merely refer to land use that the “condemning authority was of the opinion that the area was not being used in the most efficient or economical manner, or was improperly or inartistically laid out, and sold to another so that it could be developed more efficiently.” In other words, blight was an aesthetic judgment. In contrast, a slum was a space in need of remediation critical for preserving the general welfare of society. Justice Stephen C. O’Connell, with Elwyn Thomas and E. Yarris Drew concurring, dissented. He intimated that he believed that his colleagues had engaged in tortured semantics. O’Connell contended that blight and slum were synonymous terms.²⁶⁴

The result of the decision meant that Tallahassee’s officials felt they could move forward with urban renewal. Although the vote on the 1959 legislation was not scheduled until February, the city’s planner Gordon Butcher stated that the ruling “gets our foot in the door” for pursuing urban renewal.²⁶⁵ Butcher also noted that although the city had a planning board,

²⁵⁸ Hallie Boyles, “Will Higher Value Decision Stop Capitol Center Plan,” Tallahassee Democrat, November 15, 1959.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ “Ballooning Prices May Kill Slum Clearance,” Tallahassee Democrat, November 16, 1959.

²⁶¹ “Defeatism on the Capitol Center,” Tallahassee Democrat, November 17, 1959; “Ruling Opens Door to Slum Clearance,” St. Petersburg Times, November 18, 1959.

²⁶² “Slum Clearance Gets Ok,” Daytona Beach Morning Journal, November 19, 1959.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁴ *Grubstein v. Urban Renewal Agency of City of Tampa*, 115 So. 2d 745 (1959).

²⁶⁵ “City May take Part in Slum Clearing Aid Plan; Hurdles Remain,” Tallahassee Democrat, November 19, 1959.

its authority was “merely advisory.”²⁶⁶ He believed this decision promoted the board’s powers more generally. In response to the ruling, the *Tallahassee Democrat* argued that “slum clearance is good business, as well as good citizenship.”²⁶⁷ In addition to a continued discussion of placing a park in the area of Smokey Hollow, there were new proposals to build a new post office in the region.²⁶⁸

The issue of housing the displaced, which had been raised first when the city was contemplating adopting a workable plan in the summer of 1958, resurfaced. In the *Democrat* Hallie Boyles noted that as part of the Capitol Center expansion, which included more properties than those in Smoky Hollow, “fifty units ha[d] been approved for Tallahassee on the basis of a survey several months ago showing that 50 white and 23 Negro families have been or will be displaced by Capitol Center expansion.”²⁶⁹ Those who lost their homes to the expansion needed to “obtain a certificate of displacement from the City Manager” to be eligible for the FHA program. Still, Milton Blanton, the regional federal housing economist who provided advice to city officials, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Tallahassee Builders Association, suggested that there were limits to the aid that could be provided based upon the financial circumstances of the family. He stated, “the breadwinner must have a steady income sufficient to meet mortgage payments.” He acknowledged that this program “will not help the lowest income level of families and welfare recipients because they cannot qualify as good credit risks.” In relation to Smoky Hollow, Blanton stated “we needn’t kid ourselves, there is no way we can ever expect to put all the people from slum areas into private housing.” In response, the mayor of Tallahassee, Williams, “made it plain that the City Commission was in no way interested in public housing.”²⁷⁰ This did not make Tallahassee exceptional. Many cities cut back on public housing projects in the 1950s.²⁷¹ In Tallahassee, these records make clear that the city knew that in pursuing urban renewal it was going to leave a significant portion of Smoky Hollow residents homeless. However, Walter Keyes, the regional FHA administrator, did not anticipate any opposition from residents. Instead, he suggested that if there were any resistance, it would come from “some realtors and some slum property owners.”²⁷² Despite Keyes optimism about widespread support for urban renewal, a referendum debate indicated otherwise.

Tallahassee’s Referendum on Urban Renewal

On February 23, 1960, city officials asked enfranchised citizens of Tallahassee to participate in a referendum on the question of urban renewal. The exact question on the ballot

²⁶⁶ Ibid.

²⁶⁷ “No Excuse for Not Cleaning Slums,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, November 22, 1959.

²⁶⁸ “New Post Office a Step Nearer Sikes Reports,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, March 13, 1959.

²⁶⁹ Hallie Boyles, “50 Houses Okayed to be Built Here for the Displaced,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, December 13, 1959.

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ In Los Angeles, for example, the city abandoned plans for a public housing project in favor of a new baseball stadium. See Thomas S. Hines, “Housing, Baseball, and Creeping Socialism,” *Journal of Urban History* vol. 8, no. 2 (February 1982): 123-144.

²⁷² “Urban Renewal Plans May Go On City Ballot,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, December 17, 1959.

was: “shall provisions of Chapter 59-1908, Laws of Florida, Acts of 1959, the same being an act to provide for the rehabilitation, clearance and redevelopment of slums and blighted areas in the City of Tallahassee in accordance with urban renewal plans approved by the City Commission of said City and designated and cited as the ‘Urban renewal Law’ be ratified.”²⁷³ If the law passed, one of the results would be the creation of an official city planning commission, which was a federal requirement to receive federal funding for urban renewal.²⁷⁴ The local newspaper covered the debate over whether to pass this piece of legislation in great depth. Many of the arguments resembled those that had been raised previously in the state legislature.

Since Malcolm Johnson had long supported urban renewal, the *Tallahassee Democrat* was biased in its reporting. Johnson’s fervor to defeat urban renewal opponents was evident in editorials. In attempting to allay fears about public housing and the power of government, Malcolm Johnson stated that the law “[would] not confer any more authority for undertaking public housing projects than already exists in Tallahassee.”²⁷⁵ Instead, he suggested, it would “stave off any public housing project” because the law encouraged the development of private housing through the loan programs.²⁷⁶ Johnson failed to mention that the majority of displaced residents of Smoky Hollow would not be eligible for these loans. Johnson also claimed that “ratification of this law will NOT amount to a City application of any federal money to build anything for which Washington may dictate rules of tenancy or use.”²⁷⁷ He pointed out that universities had been engaged in securing loans from the federal government “for nearly all the new dormitories they’ve built recently and found nothing odious in the terms.”²⁷⁸ Johnson, in essence, attempted to reassure voters that the bill was not socialistic.

Johnson did more than just write. As part of the persuasion effort, the *Tallahassee Democrat* published two pictures as evidence of substandard conditions in Smoky Hollow. The newspaper captioned one image as “marked for extinction,” which showed a series of “shacks almost in the shadow of the Florida Capitol building.” The second picture foregrounded a dilapidated-looking structure (presumably an outhouse) in relation to nearby government buildings.²⁷⁹ (See Appendix A, Figs. 8 and 9).

The federal and state government lent support to the city’s effort to secure a positive result on the referendum. Water Keyes sent a speaker to discuss urban renewal with civic organizations, including the Capital City Kiwanis Club, Noon Kiwanis Club, the Rotary Club, and

²⁷³ “Urban Renewal Goes to Vote on Feb. 23” *Tallahassee Democrat*, January 13, 1960.

²⁷⁴ “U.S. Adds Few Slum Clearing Program Rules,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, February 8, 1960.

²⁷⁵ “Reply for ‘Them’ on Urban Renewal,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, January 17, 1960.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ “Slums Near Shadow of Florida Capitol,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, January 24, 1960 and “Why Vote for Urban Renewal in Tallahassee?” *Tallahassee Democrat*, February 22, 1960.

the Lions' Club.²⁸⁰ (Local organizations such as the Civic Improvement Committee and the Tallahassee Junior Chamber of Commerce had already voted in support of the program.²⁸¹) The Tallahassee League of Women Voters, which argued that it was nonpartisan on the issue, also secured Keyes to come himself and speak at a town hall meeting.²⁸² The state sent a representative from the Florida Development Commission to speak to the Tallahassee Board of Realtors and other members of the public on January 27, 1960, to field questions.²⁸³

The mayor of Tallahassee, Hugh Williams, spoke in favor of the law. In doing so, he touted the financial benefits to taxpayers: "We are going along with the urban renewal plan because we know we must clear out Smoky Hollow anyway and this will get us two-thirds of our money back."²⁸⁴ He made his appeal about pragmatics.

Behind the scenes, R. Spencer Burress, the president of the Tallahassee Chamber of Commerce, wrote to Collins to secure his support for the city's urban renewal program. Burress asked Collins to provide "whatever encouragement and support [Collins] may properly and prudently see fit to give to this vital matter."²⁸⁵ Unfortunately, there is no archival answer to Burress' pleas; however, it seems probable that Collins lent support given his history on the issue of urban renewal.

Two days before the election, the *Tallahassee Democrat* printed a list of frequently asked questions and supplied answers that they had verified with Mayor Williams.²⁸⁶ Questions were about taxes and federal control. For instance, would this increase people's federal taxes? The answer, according to the paper, was no. The newspaper explained that the citizens of Florida were the only state electorate to reject any of the monies they already paid in taxes for urban renewal. The paper also assured residents that the federal government would not have any control over the city's urban renewal program. The paper promoted the financial benefits of the law. It would allow the city to open up the areas of urban renewal to new development, which would mean that property taxes would be saved instead of lost if the city put the land solely to public use. The *Democrat* declared that no one who would be displaced would be without a place to go (this was not true). The paper promised voters that the city had no plans to build public housing.²⁸⁷ The *Democrat* described fears as being contradictory. The paper contended that some people opposed the law because they believed it would "be a step

²⁸⁰ "Agency Sending Man on Urban Renewal," *Tallahassee Democrat*, January 20, 1960; "City Reaffirms, Lauds Urban Renewal Plans," *Tallahassee Democrat*, February 10, 1960.

²⁸¹ "Agency Sending Man on Urban Renewal," *Tallahassee Democrat*, January 20, 1960.

²⁸² "Urban Renewal Public Meet Slated Feb. 17," *Tallahassee Democrat*, January 31, 1960.

²⁸³ "Urban Renewal Public Form Thursday Night," *Tallahassee Democrat*, January 27, 1960.

²⁸⁴ "City Reaffirms, Lauds Urban Renewal Plans," *Tallahassee Democrat*, February 10, 1960.

²⁸⁵ Letter from R. Spencer Burress to LeRoy Collins, RGN 000102, Collection .S 776, Urban Planning, 1958 Box 140, FF16, State Archives of Florida.

²⁸⁶ "Here are Answers to Questions Most Frequently Asked About Urban Renewal," *Tallahassee Democrat*, February 21, 1960.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

toward socialism through public seizure of property and federal dictation of local policies.”²⁸⁸ Another group, the paper argued believed the law would “permit big private interests to make a profit at the expense of little private interests.”²⁸⁹ The *Democrat* argued the law would do neither.

The Tallahassee Democrat described the question of urban renewal “as one of the most important” questions “to come before our voters in many years.”²⁹⁰ Potentially 14,194 voters could have taken to the polls on February 23, 1960.²⁹¹ In addition to the vote on urban renewal, citizens needed to choose a new commissioner. The two men running for city commissioner, Davis Atkinson and Jerry W. Carter, both supported urban renewal.²⁹² However, it does not appear that either question was that compelling. Only 3,466 citizens cast their ballots (24 percent of eligible voters.) Fifty-nine percent of those that did vote chose “yes” (2,047 in favor, 1,164 against.)²⁹³ Tallahassee could pursue a program of urban renewal that allowed the city to purchase land to be sold for private redevelopment.

In response to the results, Collins made a statement that went out over the AP press. He declared that the “vote ha[d] great significance” not only for Tallahassee but the state of Florida. Collins contented that supporting urban renewal was a modernizing force. He stated that “the people of Florida are progressive in their thinking and desires and that they are willing collectively through their government to take forward steps to improve their own general welfare.”²⁹⁴ It looked as though urban renewal would advance in Florida and would tap federal funds. However, three years later, Tallahassee abandoned urban renewal.

Between 1960 and 1962, the city of Tallahassee moved forward with plans to pursue urban renewal. After receiving four bids, the Tallahassee City Commission hired Hill and Adley Associates, an architectural firm from Atlanta, Georgia, to draw up plans in September of 1960. Their total bid was for \$15,800, which made them neither the least nor the most expensive proposal. The city intended to pay for the architects with an advance from the federal government.²⁹⁵

²⁸⁸ “Tomorrow’s Election,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, February 22, 1960.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁹¹ “Urban Renewal, City Race May Spur Vote,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, February 21, 1960. The city’s entire population was 48,174, so this was only a fraction. However, this was also before the 1965 Voting Rights Act that broke down barriers of race. For the population, see Table 8, Population of All Incorporated Places and of Unincorporated Places of 1,000 or More: 1940 to 1960, Florida, Vol. 1 Characteristics of the Population, 1960 Census of Population. <https://www.census.gov/prod/www/decennial.html> Accessed March 12, 2014.

²⁹² “How Candidates Stand- A Q & A,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, February 21, 1960.

²⁹³ “City’s Voters Reelect Atkinson and Okay Slum Clearing Plans,” *Tallahassee Democrat*, February 24, 1960.

²⁹⁴ Statement by Governor LeRoy Collins for AP on Tallahassee-Urban Renewal Vote, RGN 000102, Collection .S776, Urban Planning, 1959, Box 140, FF 17, State Archives of Florida.

²⁹⁵ Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, September 13, 1960, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall.

Perhaps the first sign that something was amiss came from a letter from LeRoy Collins in February of 1961. Upon leaving Tallahassee for a position in Washington, D.C. (his term as governor was up), he sent a letter to city commissioners reaffirming his “hope that the Urban Renewal Program would continue as originally planned.”²⁹⁶ His choice of the word “hope,” suggests uncertainty about the fate of the program.

City commissioners approved filing an official application to the federal government on May 23, 1961. They estimated the cost for the initial surveys and preparation at \$57,161. At their meeting, the commissioners admitted that the plan could not be carried out without federal financial assistance.²⁹⁷

On September 26, 1961, the Tallahassee City Commissioners resolved that City of Tallahassee needed to act upon the right granted to it by the State Legislature to eliminate “slum and blighted areas.” It described five areas in Tallahassee wherein the commission believed the city should take action. The first area identified was Smoky Hollow. The resolution described it as a “small area of deteriorated and substandard residences separated from neighborhood and community facilities by construction of Apalachee Parkway. In addition to this focus on Smokey Hollow, as substandard housing, commissioners identified four other areas as substandard: the Annie Carrol Quarters, South City, the Bond District, Gaines Street District, and Frenchtown. While the resolution acknowledged that there were areas within each of these regions (other than Smoky Hollow) where the housing was sound, it still advocated moving forward with redevelopment. The commissioners passed the resolution unanimously.²⁹⁸

No members of Smoky Hollow or any of Tallahassee’s other African American neighborhoods were present at the meeting. However, this was not surprising. At a meeting on May 10, 1960, Reverend G.W. Washington came before the city commission as part of three-person delegation with a written petition asking this civic body to take greater action in “establishing better race relations in the community.” Earlier that year the city had jailed numerous individuals for participating in lunch counter sit-ins.²⁹⁹ Washington asked the commission to do more to “assure better accommodation of facilities downtown for Negroes, including lunch counters, rest rooms, drinking fountains, libraries, and police protection.” Washington did not get to read the statement himself. Instead the city auditor read it aloud. In response, “Mayor Taff pointed out that the relationship between the races in Tallahassee for generations had been most satisfactory until the past few years and that the City had provided new separate facilities for Negroes in many instances, including a swimming pool, golf course, and two recreation buildings.” He “thanked them for their appearance” but then moved the

²⁹⁶ Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, February 27, 1961, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall.

²⁹⁷ Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, May 23, 1961, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall.

²⁹⁸ Tallahassee City Commission Minutes, September 26, 1961, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall.

²⁹⁹ Glenda Alice Rabby, The Pain and the Promise: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Tallahassee, Florida (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999): chapter five.

commissioner's attention to other work.³⁰⁰ In the early 1960s, the city commission did not support civil rights activism.³⁰¹

Nonetheless, the federal government took notice. At the meeting following the one at which the city determined to pursue a formal application for urban renewal with the Federal Housing and Home administrator, the federal government asked the city commission to alter its supervisory sub-committee. The mayor informed his colleagues on November 28, 1961, that "the Urban Renewal officials ha[ve] now requested that this sub-committee have a representative of the minority group in the community." In response, the commission unanimously added A.R. Crump, John J. Swilley, and John Twine.³⁰² The city commission minutes do not indicate the presence of these men at this meeting but at least two, Albert R. Crump and John J. Swilley were African American.³⁰³

The inclusion of African Americans on the committee was reflective of a move within the federal government to give credence to viewing quality of life issues in a racial context. Although the Florida Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights did not publish a report until August 1963, it began its investigation in June of 1962.³⁰⁴ The committee looked at the questions of education, employment, and access to health facilities. In studying Tallahassee, the committee noted that the activities of the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee (also known as the Johns Committee) to ferret out communism in the state of Florida negatively impacted race relations because the committee focused its attention for several years on the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). The United States Commission on Civil Rights also noted that Tallahassee's law enforcement "which cooperates closely with the Johns Committee and its investigations, has dealt harshly with sit-in demonstrations at bus stations, the airport, and lunch counters throughout the

³⁰⁰ Tallahassee City Commission Minutes May 10, 1960, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall.

³⁰¹ Rabby, The Pain and the Promise, see especially chapter 2 regarding the bus boycott and chapter 10 regarding the battle over desegregating the city's public pools.

³⁰² Tallahassee City Commission Minutes November 28, 1961, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall.

³⁰³ Albert R. Crump worked as a plasterer at a "college workshop." See Albert R. Crump Year: 1940; Census Place: Tallahassee, Leon, Florida; Roll: T627_597; Page: 7B; Enumeration District: 37-9. He was also a veteran of World War I. See U.S. World War I, Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918. Accessed via ancestry.com April 3, 2014. John Swilley was a mechanical arts professor at Florida Agricultural & Mechanical College. He was noted in Tallahassee as a master-craftsman who worked with brick. See <http://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/155114>. See also 1940 census, which puts his address at 651 W. St. Augustine St. Source Citation. See Dreck Spurlock Wilson, African American Architects: A Biographical Dictionary, 1865-1945 (Routledge, 2004): 207. See also Rabby, The Pain and the Promise, 28

Year: 1940; Census Place: Tallahassee, Leon, Florida; Roll: T627_597; Page: 13B; Enumeration District: 37-8 Accessed through ancestry.com April 3, 2014.

³⁰⁴ Florida Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, "Constitutional Principle vs. Community Practice: A Survey of the Gap in Florida" (August, 1963); <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.35112104103421> Accessed April 29, 2013.

city.”³⁰⁵ Besides these injustices, the United States Commission on Civil Rights noted the racism embedded in the city’s urban renewal program. Based on its studies, the report stated:

Negroes in Tallahassee are constantly beset by segregation problems which do not ‘make the big courts.’ For example, the city’s urban renewal program, designed to clean out the worst Negro slums in an area of the city called Smokey Hollow and replace them with decent homes, was scrapped in favor of an extension of the Capitol buildings by the State.³⁰⁶

Although the report was wrong, as the city never intended to rebuild housing in Smoky Hollow, it was not wrong to point out the racial dynamics and local nature of these issues. The report also noted how African Americans paid taxes for services that the city did not allow them to use. Tallahassee Memorial Hospital, “a municipally operated institution” did not allow African Americans to use the facilities despite the fact that “Negro residents of the city are forced to pay a ten percent tax on electricity bills for the support of the hospital.”³⁰⁷ (At this time, the city sent African Americans to the hospital at Florida A&M University (FAMU), a historically black university.)

In response to the report, a newspaper in Ocala argued that the committee’s findings were untrue. For instance, it contended that the 10 percent tax on electricity paid for more than just Tallahassee Memorial Hospital (TMH). The paper argued that of the \$500,000 generated by the fund, only \$208,626 went to TMH for either construction bonds or the operating budget and that the approximately \$300,000 remaining funds went to the general budget to pay for police, fire and recreation “for people of all races.”³⁰⁸ Ironically, the newspaper’s calculations only confirmed discrimination due to the fact that FAMU received 4 percent of this revenue whereas TMH received 41 percent.

A number of African Americans viewed urban renewal as a civil rights issue. Many believed it served as a means to procure modern amenities. At the annual state convention for the Florida NAACP that was held in Tallahassee in November of 1964, urban renewal was described in a positive light.³⁰⁹ A.D. Gaither of the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency “urged Negroes to take city fathers on automobile tours of Negro slum areas.”³¹⁰ He argued “take them to your community and let them see outdoor facilities, unpaved streets and no street lights . . . then go over to where they live and let them compare.”³¹¹ Theoretically, the federal program could have served as a mechanism to secure sound living conditions.

³⁰⁵ Ibid, 38.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid, 43.

³⁰⁸ “Untruth in ‘Tallahassee Story’” Ocala Star Banner, September 20, 1963.

³⁰⁹ “Local Negro Unity Stressed,” The News and Courier, (Charleston, SC), November 14, 1964.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ibid.

Like this new attention to housing in the context of civil rights, a redefinition of the rights and responsibilities of property owners might have made the city commission pause in their pursuit of urban renewal. In 1962, the city commission considered a proposal to adopt an “ordinance establishing minimum standards governing the condition and maintenance of dwellings.” The ordinance covered issues of utilities and facilities “and other physical things and conditions to make dwellings safe, sanitary and fit for human habitation.” It included rental properties, would have established the responsibility of property owners for certain of these provisions, and would have established penalties for violations. Negligence would no longer be a legal option.³¹²

On February 13, 1962, thirty-five people showed up at the commission’s meeting to speak both for and against the proposed regulation. The ordinance drew support of the Tallahassee Chamber of Commerce, whose head argued that its adoption “would serve to prevent a repetition of some of the factors which have resulted in the necessity of an Urban Redevelopment program.” Although the minutes do not detail the arguments against it, they must have been impassioned, because the discussion lasted an hour and a half. At its conclusion, the commission decided to table the resolution for further study.³¹³

Two months later, the city commissioners took up the question of minimum standards for dwellings again. This time, the ordinance passed. However, it did not do so without some dissonance. Beatrice Olson appeared on behalf of the League of Women Voters. The League believed that “the language in some sections of the ordinance . . . appeared to be permissive rather than mandatory.” The city commission answered that in instituting regulations, it wanted to ensure that “private property rights” would “not be unreasonably infringed upon.” The ordinance passed unanimously.

While there is no archival smoking gun that tells the story of state and local conversations about the state of Tallahassee’s urban renewal program, the two governments must have been in conversation based on events after the fact. In late December 1962, Governor Farris Bryant announced that Florida planned to acquire land from the city of Tallahassee to expand the capitol center. This included the region defined as Smoky Hollow. Bryant stated: “The deal calls for the state to acquire the lands from the City of Tallahassee, Leon County and a six-block slum area from private owners. The slum area, called Smoky Hollow, has long been an eyesore nestled against the capital center.” Bryant estimated the property value of the area between \$2 and \$2.5 million. The price of the transaction, however,

³¹² Tallahassee City Commission Minutes February 13, 1962, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall.

³¹³ Ibid.

was closer to \$1,004,000.³¹⁴ The justification for this expansion was the growth of state government in general.³¹⁵

On January 8, 1963, the city officially suspended its pursuit of urban renewal. In taking this action, the city commissioners argued that “the needs of the State of Florida for expansion area for the Capitol Center are most urgent and the State has selected to utilize the more expeditious method of direct acquisition of the property in the Smoky Hollow Urban Renewal Project Area.” The state of Florida’s “assump[tion] of “full and complete responsibility for the acquisition of said property” had “eliminate[ed] the need for the City of Tallahassee to continue with the Smoky Hollow Urban Renewal Project.”³¹⁶ The city had not spent much of its advance. It returned \$516 back to the federal government and \$70 to Hill and Adley Associates.³¹⁷ It also no longer had to negotiate mediating conflicting opinions on the benefits and drawbacks of the federal urban renewal program.

Two weeks later, Carroll Lance, Director of Information at the Tallahassee State Road Department, released information to the press about its new building. The state hired architects from Jacksonville—Kemp, Bunch, & Jackson—and an engineering firm from Lakeland—Wellman-Lord—to “handle design and engineering for the new building.” Its location, she wrote, would be “in what is now a slum area (Smokey Hollow) just east of the Capitol Center.” Lance noted that this would “be the first building to rise in the area now under acquisition by the state to meet future governmental needs in the Capital City.”³¹⁸ The state of Florida began constructing a number of facilities for state workers in the area, which remain present in 2014.

Although the city did not choose to pursue an urban renewal program through the federal government, the protracted discussion on its merits legitimized the removal of Smoky Hollow from the downtown urban landscape. At no time during the debates about the property did civic officials at any level question their assumption that Smoky Hollow was composed of substandard housing to be demolished rather than ameliorated. Debates over the constitutionality of federally supported urban renewal stymied action. At the same time, however, those debates served to fix in municipal minds that they needed to put an end to Smoky Hollow.

³¹⁴ “Farris Bryant Says Capital Center Size to be Doubled,” *St. Petersburg Times*, December 27, 1962.

³¹⁵ Florida Development Commission Minutes dated April 29, 1963, RGN 000792, Collection .S104, Box 1, folder 26, State Archives of Florida.

³¹⁶ Tallahassee City Commission Minutes January 8, 1963, Treasurer-Clerk Records, Tallahassee City Hall.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

³¹⁸ Press Release dated January 23, 1963, .S937, Box 3, File 4: Department of Transportation, State Road Board Minutes and Exhibits.

Smoky Hollow in the 1950s and early 1960s

While the city, state, and federal officials engaged in conversation about redevelopment, Smoky Hollow's residents continued to live their lives. Recounting growing up in Smoky Hollow in the 1950s, and early 1960s, former residents told stories of perseverance.³¹⁹ Memories indicate the importance of family life and of black-owned businesses in fostering community pride and empowering individuals with a sense of self-worth. Their accounts reveal the power of intangibles.

Ruminations on life in Smoky Hollow focused on family and foodways. As Lester Oliver expressed it, "We were tight." Frances Logan and Zella Johnson Gaines recollected their grandmothers' homes as gathering spaces for socializing. The memory of eating their grandmothers' tea cakes cooked on old wood stoves still looms large in forming a consistent sense of time and place. Gaines recalled that this familial feeling extended beyond kinship ties (although many people who lived in Smoky Hollow were related): "everybody looked after everyone else." Customarily, Larkins recalled, people did not "walk or drive past neighbors on their porches or in their yards without a wave of the hand, nod of the head, toot of car horn or a verbal acknowledgement of 'how you or y'all doing today' or 'good morning/good evening Mr. or Mrs. So and So.'" Similarly, Oliver knew that people helped each other out with money and food. The result was a sense of safety. Gaines, for instance, never remembered her family locking the doors to their home. As a whole, Lillian Floyd characterized it as a "beauti[ful], wonderful, happy neighborhood." In oral histories, the absence of significant strife was a consistent theme.

Part of the beauty former residents recalled was related to the edible landscape. Residents planted fruit trees (pecans, pears, plums, apple, and pomegranate), scuppernong grape vines, and blackberry bushes. Larkins' backyard, for instance, had two pear trees and some plum trees. Some residents remembered community gardens. Gaines recalled that her neighbor "Ms. Emma" tended Virgie McCray's garden.³²⁰ At the harvest, she noted, Ms. Emma shared the vegetables throughout the neighborhood. Gaines recalled raising chickens, and her grandmother on her father's side raised hogs and chickens. The family smoked the meat, which

³¹⁹ As part of the HALS project, graduate students from the History Department at Florida State University conducted a number of oral histories with former residents. Those oral histories are housed in the Smokey Hollow Collection, Riley House Collections, Tallahassee Community College, Tallahassee, Florida. See oral histories for Lillian Floyd, Zella Johnson Gaines, Frances Logan, and Lester Oliver. In addition, Velma Larkins shared her memories of growing up in Smokey Hollow during the 1950s and 1960s with Jennifer Koslow and Autumn Calder. See email from Velma Larkins to Autumn Calder dated May, 22, 2014, Smokey Hollow Working Group, Blueprint 2000, Intergovernmental Agency, Tallahassee, Florida. The entirety of her written recollection is attached as a document in Appendix B.

³²⁰ Virgie McCray was listed as Virgie Baldwin in the 1930 U.S. Census. Her father was Stephen McCray and they lived at 601 St. Augustine Street. In 1930, she was thirty-one. Stephen McCray was listed as a porter for a Hardware Store. Virgie Baldwin was listed as operating a restaurant. See Year: 1930; Census Place: Tallahassee, Leon, Florida; Roll: 323; Page: 12A; Enumeration District: 0012; Image: 184.0; FHL microfilm: 2340058 Accessed via ancestry.com April 7, 2014.

was important because they did not have electricity. They also bought milk and butter from a woman down the street from them who had some cows. Larkins remembered “Miss Patsy’s cows graz[ing] in a field across from [her] house near the Perry Highway.” She also recalled “looking forward to the thrashing of the pecan trees” each Fall. They would sell some of the pecans to have “spending money for rides and food at the North Florida Fair each year.”

While most interviewees were too young at the time to visit the “juke joints” in Smoky Hollow, they remembered pursuing a number of different leisure activities both within Smoky Hollow and in other African American neighborhoods in Tallahassee. Both Logan and Gaines told stories of playing in Myers Park. Gaines noted that they played games of imagination both in the woods and around their homes. Larkins remembered gathering with neighborhood friends to play “Old Maid, Dumb School, Checkers, Jackstones, etc.” Once Larkins and her friends became old enough, they used to go window-shopping together along Monroe street “checking out Linden’s, Diana Shops, Turner’s, P.W. Wilson, Gilberg’s Fabrics, Nic’s Toggery and others.” Larkins also remembered the excitement of Christmas, when many children received “a special bag with some fruit (apple/orange), walnuts, and peppermint candy.” This was also a time, she reminisced, when children took their new skates and bicycles to the curb market to ride and show off new tricks “on the paved aisles between the stalls.” Oliver and Larkins recalled that on special occasions, children celebrated with firecrackers.

Gaines also remembered procuring comic books before city workers put them into the incinerator. But the incinerator was also a site of danger. Gaines’s visits stopped after “one little girl fell in and died.” This was not the only danger children faced. When venturing out of the neighborhood, for instance traveling to the black-owned Leon Theater on Tennessee Street, the children of Smoky Hollow often walked with friends for safety. The buddy system provided a sense of security.

Although there is no denying the adverse effects of the city’s system of segregation, at certain moments it inadvertently created spaces of safety. For example, the City of Tallahassee built the Robinson-Trueblood swimming pool at the Dade Street Recreation Center in response to black activism in the 1950s. The city created this separate facility for African Americans rather than allow integration at its other civic spaces. The pool, which was located about 2.5 miles north of Smoky Hollow off Old Bainbridge Road, served as a place for swim lessons, swim team, and some church baptisms.³²¹ Larkins fondly remembered the pool as a space for teens and young adults to “fraternize, play games, listen to music, dance, or just hang out with friends in safety.”

Leisure was not the only reason residents of Smoky Hollow journeyed beyond their immediate neighborhood. School and work also prompted daily travels. Some residents attended school for the first few years at St. John African Methodist Episcopal church within the

³²¹ See images of the “Robinson Trueblood swimming pool” at www.floridamemory.com Accessed 5/29/2014

community. Others, however, attended Lincoln Academy (later renamed Lincoln High School) on West Brevard Street, which served all grades until the mid-1950s. Smoky Hollow's children also matriculated at Bond School, where they stayed until ninth grade. A few others also attended Griffin Junior High School, which the city established in 1955. Whichever primary school they attended, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Smoky Hollow's adolescents walked, rain or shine, over 1.5 miles to Lincoln. Larkins remembered walking to Lincoln "in groups of classmates and friends all the way up that long hill to the capitol, crossing through downtown, and passing the graveyard and sometimes shortcutting through small apartment housing areas." Sometimes they got lucky, she recalled, and Freddie Harris, a young man who had served in the army, gave them a ride in his '57 Chevrolet.

School offered the youth of Smoky Hollow another safe space for socialization. Larkins remembered students playing in the band, participating as majorettes and cheerleaders, and singing in the Glee Club. Logan remembered playing in the band not only for the football games but in parades at the winter holidays. She recalled that sometimes it was so cold that the keys on the horned instruments froze. Lincoln's football team, the Tigers, played other African American schools at Centennial Field. Larkins can still recall the chant: "Tigers on the gridiron, the gridiron is hot! The Tigers can't lose with the stuff they've got." The team and the school served as a focal point of pride for African American residents throughout Tallahassee. This sense of dignity extended beyond athletics. Despite the city's discriminatory practices in distributing classroom materials, former residents remember their teachers and parents always challenging them to excel academically. Many graduates went on to pursue higher education, join the United States Armed Forces, or secure employment in local businesses or as state workers.

Most of the adult residents found employment outside of Smoky Hollow. Oliver's father, for example, drove a delivery truck for Seabrook Hardware, which was located on Adams Street. In discussing his father's position, Oliver noted that driving also entailed making the deliveries, which made it a physically demanding job. (Oliver's home did not have a driveway but a neighbor helped the family (and the community) by allowing Oliver's father to park the truck in his drive next door.) Oliver's mother also left the community to work for a private family as a domestic, which she did for fifty years. Similarly, Larkins' remembered her mother using the family car to drive to the private families for whom she worked.

Oral histories attest to the fact that some residents worked within the community. Gaines's mother, for instance, did laundry. Without electricity, this was tremendously tasking work. As Gaines's noted, her mother first had to wash the clothes in a large black pot of boiling water. Once her mother had washed and dried the clothes, the ironing could begin. She placed three to four irons in a line by the fireplace to heat. This way when one cooled, she could continue with the next. Gaines's mother ironed for "white people [who] lived close by or knew that she did ironing." Sometimes clients came to her, other times the family had to go to pick up the garments. In addition to the demanding aspects of the job, Gaines's mother also had to

be mindful of the city's incinerator. According to Logan, when it was in operation the ashes blew onto Smoky Hollow. She distinctly remembered that they had to be careful with their laundry because of the soot.

Although most opportunities for procuring wage labor existed outside Smoky Hollow, it was still home to a number of thriving black-owned business. The 1960 city directory for Tallahassee listed four eateries: (Mitchell) Louise's Place restaurant at 615 E. St. Augustine, the House of Blue Lights restaurant at 527 E. Madison (between Meridian and Suwannee streets), Hunt's restaurant at 605 E. Madison (at the corner where Madison intersected Suwannee Street), and Lafayette Café at 601 E. Lafayette (where Suwannee began).³²² In addition, McLeod's grocery was located at 543 E. Lafayette. The Liberty Barber Shop was located at 621 E. St. Augustine. Also, Anatole E. Martin, a tailor, lived at 112 E. Jefferson.³²³ Residents remembered these institutions and a few others that had been cleared out of the area by 1960. Gaines, for instance, fondly remembered Frank Nims, who owned a grocery store in Smoky Hollow for a long time, because he gave the children 10 cents for the pecans that they picked in the neighborhood. Larkins warmly recalled stopping at Lena Cruel's place for soft drinks and procuring ice cream cones from Ms. Louise's Place. She remembered learning the lyrics to "Shake Rattle and Roll" by listening to the tunes wafting outside from another establishment's juke box.

Churches also served as important sources of stability. Logan remembered everyone attending Sunday School as children. Gaines and Floyd recalled that the churches alternated services: "one church would have service on first and third and the other church would have service on second and fourth Sundays." In her written memoir, Larkins explained that the three congregations, St. John AME, the Church of God, and Pilgrim Rest, all played a major role in the spiritual health of the community.

Yet, in addition to fond memories of leisure, work, and community, former residents also attested to the existence of impoverished conditions. Gaines remembered that her duplex home, located on Lafayette and Marvin streets, was uninsulated. In addition, she had to exit the house to access a bathroom; it had been added to the back porch of their home. There was only cold water. To take a bath, which was limited to once a week, the family had to heat water on their wood-burning stove and put it into a tin tub. Oliver likewise recalled the presence of faucets on back porches instead of running water within the main bodies of homes. He also detailed the existence of outdoor toilets and holes in the floors. In addition, the St. Augustine Branch, by then confined and called "the ditch" ran through the community, and Oliver remembered that residents had placed little boards across the ditches to provide continuity of access. "Today you wonder how people lived like that," Oliver stated, "but we survived." But he also articulated the frustration residents felt when hard work did not translate into increased economic opportunity for themselves and their families. Oliver reminded his audience, that we

³²² 1960 City Directory, State Library of Florida.

³²³ Regarding Anatole E. Martin see 1936 City Directory for Tallahassee. Accessed via ancestry.com April 7, 2014.

have to “live with our past.” For Smoky Hollow that past included substandard conditions that many residents were forced to make the best of because systemic racism limited their ability to fundamentally alter the deficiencies in its infrastructure.

However, some residents, particularly those who owned their own homes, were able to make improvements. For example, Larkins’ parents renovated their eleven-room house to put in a “hot water tank, addition of a half bath, and gas space heaters, and a gas stove” in 1954. They also secured an electric refrigerator, a tv, and had a phone. When the state forced the family to give up their land in 1964, they moved the house and its valuable contents to Country Club Drive. While not as large, Logan remembered her family building a home of solid masonry construction, which included two screened in porches. Despite the lack of widespread access to electricity, residents were not without other mechanisms for maintaining decent living conditions. Prior to electric refrigerators, for instance, ice boxes kept food safe. Larkins remembers Mr. Payne delivering fifty pounds of ice every week. In the summer he let the children enjoy the chips and the shavings. The “iceman” made a similar impressive and joyful impression on Gaines. Larkins also remembered many families using kerosene lamps, which provided adequate lighting. Thus, despite the city’s lack of investment in the area’s infrastructure, oral histories with former residents attest to a sense of stability and needs attended. Residents went to work, school, church, and found time for leisure. As Gaines said, “we had plenty to eat, “we had clothes to wear,” and “we had fun.” Although former residents do not deny that by national standards Smoky Hollow was a space of poverty, that poverty did not define the soul of Smoky Hollow.

Displacing Smoky Hollow’s residents

On March 31, 1966, Marjorie G. Rhodes composed a letter to her U.S. Representative, Claude Pepper to protest a plan for urban renewal in Tampa. Rhodes wrote:

We all have to call on our friends in time of need. My husband and I worked diligently with Mr. Charles Hadley assisting with that glorious campaign for you. We carried people to the poles [sic] to vote, also places to register. We assisted with fish fries raising money to assist with the campaign. We had a young lady station(ed) at my husband’s barber shop with registered voters names, addresses, and phone numbers, calling and sending cars for them to vote . We would like for you to give us some assistance if it is possible. We are living in the Urban Renewal Project #1 area. Our home and business are not substandard. We live in a C.B.S. home. They want to take our place. Would you please inform us of our rights as a Private Property Owner.³²⁴

Rhodes reminded Pepper of his obligations. At the same time, however, her statement, “they want to take our place,” conveyed a sense of helplessness. Although Smokey Hollow sat

³²⁴ Letter from Marjorie G. Rhodes to Congressman Claude Pepper dated March 31, 1966, S 301 FN 16 Box 228, Mildred and Claude Pepper Library, Florida State University Libraries, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL.

270 miles away, the sentiment of powerlessness in the face of the state's interests transcended the distance.

The land underneath Smoky Hollow's residents' feet and homes was about to shift. Its location, the fact that it had been a subject of urban renewal discussions for a decade, and its preponderance of rental properties made it vulnerable to redevelopment. The majority of property owners in Smoky Hollow were white, did not live in the neighborhood, and had been hoping for a long time to develop their properties. The region adjacent to the community was already home to a number of other civic structures: the power plant, incinerator, water works, and jail. The state's agricultural extension service was located on Bloxham Street as was the city garage. The area south of Gaines Street was home to the county's baseball grounds and site of the county fair. Lastly, the Leon County health department located an office on East Gaines.³²⁵

Given the limited archival material available to document the perspective of property owners, in this report, R.W. Edholm's experience will have to suffice. In September of 1962, R.W. Edholm, a Tallahassee builder who was white, wrote on behalf of his family to Governor C. Farris Bryant to determine what the state's plans were for urban renewal for Smoky Hollow. He explained that his family owned "approximately 3 ½ acres of this land on the east side of Meridian Street extending from Gaines Street to St. Augustine Street" and had "waited approximately 8 long years for the State to make up its mind" about what it wanted to do with the area.³²⁶

The family originally tried to develop the land in 1955. According to Edholm, they met with city's comptroller, Ray Green, who told them not to do anything with the land as "anything [Edholm] might build upon this property would be removed when the State acquired it." At the time, Edholm noted, there were "approximately 20 Negro Houses and the present Store Building on this property." Knowing that the city was moving forward with urban renewal had motivated a number of residents to move. After they left the Edholm family "tore down" the houses "so that we have only 2 left, one of which is now occupied." In addition, "the Store Building was vacated several months ago." Edholm noted that the family had been approached by "3 oil companies wishing to acquire sites on the Commercial part of our property for filling stations" as well as a "nationally known organization who wishes to build a large Apartment House on a section zoned for multiple housing."³²⁷

³²⁵ Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps Tallahassee April 1930-December 1949, Sheets 7, 27, State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee, Florida.

³²⁶ Letter from R.W. Edholm to C. Farris Bryant dated September 27, 1962, Farris Bryant Collection, Series 756, Box 86, Folder 9, State Archives of Florida.

³²⁷ Ibid.

Bryant responded that the state had no plans to purchase the property.³²⁸ Ray Green, the state comptroller, provided more information. He stated that while the “state [was] very much concerned about Smoky Hollow and ha[d] a number of conferences with the City Commission in regard to doing something with it,” that the specifics and the funding were up to the city of Tallahassee.³²⁹ Green lent a sympathetic ear, stating “I also recognize the hardship that it imposes on any property owner in this area because of the fact they would hesitate to make any major improvements.”³³⁰ Still he felt “confidant that in the very near future that this matter will be disposed of to the satisfaction of all.”³³¹ Two months later the state announced its plans to purchase land for state offices in Smoky Hollow and in January of 1963, the city terminated plans for its urban renewal program. Later that year, R.B. Council, Edholm’s relative, received \$84,209.50 for his property from the city (\$631,000 in today’s real price value.)³³²

An oral history with Richard Boutin reveals the process of appraisals. Working for the state in 1965, Boutin went door to door to assess the value of the properties based on best practices. He found some older homes in good condition. However, he more generally found evidence of neglect because the majority of the owners were “absentee.” Most often, he found frame constructions that used either concrete block or brick tiers. He found single floors instead of double. He noted the absence of insulation. Beaverboard, which was lightweight, relatively inexpensive, and easy to paint, was used in abundance. He found wooden double-hung windows. He observed an absence of plumbing in the original structures. Where there was some expansion of water and sewer by the city, those hookups came up “from the ground in the backyard on one end of the back porch.” He also noticed the absence of electricity. Where it was present, typically he only found one outlet with a drop light in the center. Still, a few families had managed to acquire small black and white televisions. He found some kerosene space heaters, but more usual was the presence of a fireplace for burning wood or coal. There was no gas piping.³³³

As the appraiser, Boutin was “usually the first human being that (residents) saw” as part of the process of executing eminent domain. He tried to do surveys during the week to be respectful of community life. He noted that during the week, life in Smoky Hollow was quiet because “residents were off trying to make a living.” When he did have to do an appraisal on a weekend, he remembered people sitting on their porches and socializing.

³²⁸ Letter from C. Farris Bryant to R.W. Edholm dated September 28, 1962, Farris Bryant Collection, Series 756, Box 86, Folder 9, State Archives of Florida

³²⁹ Letter from Ray E. Green to R.W. Edholm dated October 9, 1962, Farris Bryant Collection, Series 756, Box 86, Folder 9, State Archives of Florida

³³⁰ Ibid.

³³¹ Ibid.

³³² The Tallahassee-Leon County Planning Department, The Florida Capitol Center/A Preliminary Analysis (March, 1971): 37.

³³³ Oral History of Richard Boutin, Smokey Hollow Collection, Riley House Collections, Tallahassee Community College, Tallahassee, FL.

Residents told him their stories and the problems of relocating. His memories of residents telling him for instance, “I’ve lived here for forty years,” attest to the sense of place present in the community. Though they were unhappy about the situation, the vast majority of residents let him enter their homes to conduct the survey. While empathetic, Boutin knew that he also had a job to carry out. Unlike some other types of state activities, residents could contest his appraisal in court. However, oral histories of former residents did not indicate that any of their families took that step or knew this option was available.

The state of Florida paid a total of \$1,146,359 to purchase Smokey Hollow and convert it into sites for the Bryant Building, Burns Building, Calibrating Building, Coleman Building and their accompanying parking lots. The state had begun the process of developing a capitol center complex in the 1940s, a project focused on areas west, north, and south of the capitol. Smoky Hollow, sitting on the east, was the last area into which the state expanded its offices. In total, between 1943 and 1970 the state acquired 173 properties 124 of which it purchased and 39 of which it secured through condemnation proceedings, using the power of eminent domain over more territory than Smoky Hollow alone.³³⁴

According to the calculations of the Tallahassee-Leon County Planning Department, the state bought Smoky Hollow in incremental pieces. It purchased land in 1957 for the Calibrating Building and in 1958 for the Bryant Building and adjoining parking lot. It secured the rest of the 72 properties it desired between 1963 and 1965. (See Appendix A, Fig. 10). The state purchased 48 properties and acquired the other 14 through condemnation proceedings. A correlation of the records of condemnation and purchase in the 1960s with the race of the individual owners suggests systemic inequity.³³⁵

In 1963, the state acquired fourteen properties through condemnation. All of those properties, with the exception of the North Florida Loan Association, were owned by African Americans (some owned more than one). Half of those properties belonged to women (Susie Baker, Emma Brown, Lena Cruel, Stella Hall, Geneva Kelly, Thelma Nims, and Jessie White), the other half to men (Charlie Ash, Appie Cook, Richard Hartsfield, William Kilpatrick, and Clain Triplett). In total, the state gave them \$131,760 for their properties.³³⁶ The average the state paid for properties it condemned was \$9,411. In comparison, the state paid on average \$18,475 to African Americans and \$39,736 to whites from whom it purchased property during the same period.

³³⁴ The Tallahassee-Leon County Planning Department, The Florida Capitol Center/A Preliminary Analysis.

³³⁵ Using the clerk of the court Official Records for Leon County (<http://www.clerk.leon.fl.us/>), city directories at the State Library of Florida, and ancestry.com, racial classifications of black and white could be made for thirty-seven of the forty names listed. A few properties were purchased from religious organizations, estates, or business: Church of God, St. John AME church, Board of Public Instruction, and the North Florida Loan Association. The Riley Estate and the Church of God received their compensation under contested terms and received more than the initial value. See earlier part of this study.

³³⁶ The Tallahassee-Leon County Planning Department, The Florida Capitol Center/A Preliminary Analysis, 36-38.

Records of the properties that the state purchased also indicate systemic racism. Between 1963 and 1965, the state purchased land from five African Americans and their families (Leroy and Sophia Ash, Porter Brinson, Matthew Bryant, Beatrice Hunt, and Lillian Kilpatrick.) The total amount they were paid was \$92,375. The highest amount was just over \$35,000, the lowest, \$6500. In comparison, thirteen white individuals received a combined total of \$516,579 for their properties during that same span of time. The largest amount (\$137,500) went to J.D. Stetson and Dorothy Coleman, the owners of Fannie May Candies.³³⁷ Thomas S. Green, a local real estate and investment executive, realized \$92,070 for three properties. R.B. Council received \$84,209. (Council was related to Edholm who had inquired earlier about redevelopment in the area and Clyde Atkinson.) Clyde Atkinson, who had been the county's prosecuting attorney in the 1930s, received \$62,040. Harry B. Dover from Havana received \$43,560. Marvin H. Collins, the governor's father, received \$27,250 for his properties that he co-owned with Alice C. Wadsworth. Howell Wadsworth, Alice's husband, a life insurance agent, and real estate entrepreneur, owned another piece of property in the area for which he received \$6,650 from the state. Alice Cantey Williams, whose family owned a farm in Madison County, received \$21,000. Others received more modest sums. Yet the state paid Lillie Demetree, whose family were Syrian immigrants, who lived in Smoky Hollow and owned Tallahassee Fruit & Grocery, \$13,250 for their property on E. St. Augustine Street. James and Frankie Dawsey received \$3,800 for their property; Dawsey owned a grocery on W. Jefferson and his wife worked as a secretary for the state. Not everyone got rich from selling to the state.

In the end, the state only wanted to push so far down the hill to develop the capitol complex. In crafting a complex, the state desired an aesthetic that would "project the image of a well-governed and progressive State" while at the same time "facilitate the interaction of state agencies within its boundaries."³³⁸ After acquiring the part of Smoky Hollow that abutted the railroad tracks, the state looked west to Boulevard Street for new development.³³⁹ Smoky Hollow east of the railroad tracks remained, as did aspects of the community now north of Apalachee Parkway.

Post Urban Renewal, 1970s to the present

Smokey Hollow residents displaced by the state's development moved across Tallahassee to other African American neighborhoods, such as the Bond subdivision and Frenchtown. The small section of Smokey Hollow west of Marvin Street and east of the railroad tracks remained as did the former residence of John G. Riley on East Jefferson. In the diaspora, these became sites of remembrance. In the mid-1990s, the Riley House museum approached the State Historic Preservation Office about nominating the remaining properties west of Marvin Street as a historic district to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Robert

³³⁷ http://www.colemanfoundation.org/who_we_are/mission.html

³³⁸ The Tallahassee-Leon County Planning Department, The Florida Capitol Center/A Preliminary Analysis, introduction.

³³⁹ *Ibid*, 3.

Jones, a staff member at the Bureau of Historic Preservation who works with the National Register Properties in North Florida, noted that this was the typical path for nomination. He also remembered putting the nomination together. Questions about boundaries, the name, and its significance came up, but with research, he was able to document the local significance of the community.³⁴⁰ On October 27, 2000, the Keeper of the National Register added the Smoky Hollow Historic District to the nation's official list of historic places.³⁴¹

In the mid-1970s, the state renewed what had been a dormant discussion about creating a park in the area that was Smoky Hollow.³⁴² The state did not want to build any more government buildings next to the railroad tracks because it was a floodplain. Adding additional workers to the region, the state believed, would have little economic benefit for the downtown area because state workers would have to go under the railroad bridge and up the hill to access the existing Capitol Center and business district.³⁴³ Instead, the state began to contemplate the creation of a linear park with "pedestrian and bicycle paths, benches, lookout points, and various types of recreational facilities to encourage use by all age groups."³⁴⁴ Forty-years later, the city and county of Tallahassee have created Cascades Park, which accomplishes that task. Besides reminding visitors of the picturesque waterway that helped justify locating the state's capitol high on the hill above it, Cascades Park includes commemorative structures—"spirit houses" evocative of the architecture of the lost "Smokey Hollow" vernacular houses—and this HALS to preserve the memory of the African American neighborhood that called the area home.

The story of Smoky Hollow is the story of our nation. Mid-twentieth century government intervention displaced vibrant communities of working class people, immigrants, and minorities. While the specific contours of that story in Tallahassee were unique, the outcome was not. At the same time, however, this account forces us to rethink historical narratives of the uprooted. Ideally, it will ask us to contemplate how other communities persisted in memory after dislocation. This HALS documentation captures the archival history and private memories of Smoky Hollow and consecrates them as a public memory.

³⁴⁰ Oral History of Robert Jones, Smokey Hollow Collection, Riley House Collections, Tallahassee Community College, Tallahassee, FL.

³⁴¹ See Master File at the State Historic Preservation Office for Smokey Hollow. The National Register of Historic Places is our nation's effort to help communities identify and preserve historic resources.

³⁴² Department of General Services, Division of Building Construction and Property Management, State of Florida, Comprehensive and Long Range Plan for Capitol Center: Conceptual Design Report, Strozier Library, Florida State University

³⁴³ Ibid.

³⁴⁴ Ibid, 16.

PART II. PHYSICAL INFORMATION

Landscape Character

The landscape of Smokey Hollow in the 1940s, based on aerial photographs, appeared as a hamlet or small rural village on the eastern edge of Tallahassee. There were farms to the north and east; an industrial area of manufacturing, small trades businesses, warehousing, and the city electric generating plant and waste incinerator to the south, and Myers Park on the tree covered Houston's Hill to the southeast. The Seaboard Coastal Railroad tracks ran north-south along the eastern edge of Smokey Hollow. This rail line separated a small neighborhood on the east side of the tracks from the greater Smokey Hollow community on the west.³⁴⁵ The dirt paths that link them across the railroad tracks are visible in aerial photographs (Fig. 11).

A baseball field and later stadium also lay to south of Smokey Hollow. The grounds were christened Centennial Field in 1924 to commemorate Tallahassee's 100th year. This sports arena served as Tallahassee's outdoor civic center; it held school sports events and graduations, political rallies, festivals and May Day celebrations. The Civilian Conservation Corp rebuilt the bleachers during the Great Depression of the 1930s (Fig. 12). Sections of the stone walls that once encircled the field are incorporated in the new Cascades Park. The field was demolished in 1974.³⁴⁶

The eastward expansion of Tallahassee is observed in the series of aerial photographs from the decades of the 1940s through 1960s. Through that time, the farms, fruit and nut tree orchards, woodlots, pastures, fields and gardens on and around Pecan Hill were replaced with residential housing. Government office buildings and surface parking lots expanded outward from the capitol on the west, and industrial uses expanded toward Smokey Hollow from the south diminished open space surrounding Smokey Hollow and increased noise and pollution within.

Character of Defining Features

Smokey Hollow is a natural valley between prominent hills. Elevations range from a low of 75 feet above sea level at the valley bottom to a high of 215 feet on the surrounding hilltops. Former residents described the climb up the steep side slopes of the hill into the city.

The St. Augustine Branch was a natural stream that flowed from north to south through the Smokey Hollow valley. The stream was incrementally channelized over time into a deep and wide ditch to control flooding in the valley. Colloquially called, "The Ditch," by Smokey Hollow Residents, St. Augustine Branch divided the community. Bridges crossed the ditch to link the community (Fig. 13).

³⁴⁵ This area was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 2000 as the Smoky Hollow Historic District. http://localwiki.net/tallahassee/Historic_Districts.

³⁴⁶ Blueprint 2000. Frequently Asked Questions Capital Cascade Park.

http://www.blueprint2000.org/Project_CCT2/CCT2_pdf/CCT_Seg2_FrequentlyAskedQuestions_092009.pdf.

The natural springs from the hillsides that once contributed water to the St. Augustine Branch as tributaries were piped underground over time. One tributary backed up as a swamp on the east side of the railroad tracks and provided a swimming hole for the black youth of Smokey Hollow. From there they could watch white youth swim in the segregated Wade Wehunt swimming pool.

Smokey Hollow was vegetated with scattered oak, pine and pecan trees intermixed with smaller growing fruit and nut trees such as figs and mulberry. Former residents, remembering back to their childhood, said, "You never went hungry in Smokey Hollow."³⁴⁷ Scuppernong grapes, a large variety of *Vitis rotundifolia*, grew along the roads and vined up into trees. Blackberries were everywhere throughout the community and recalled as especially abundant along the railroad tracks.

Vegetable gardens were plentiful and each home had one, and if one didn't, neighbors shared in their abundance. Those who lived in Smokey Hollow described the inventive ways gardens were watered, such as planting small beds of vegetables (and flowers, too) below the edge of the roof where there would receive condensed dew and rainwater.³⁴⁸

The spatial organization of Smokey Hollow was established by extension of the Tallahassee street pattern, except that west to east streets when reaching Meridian Street angle to the southeast direction, which probably conformed to the radial pattern of the railroad tracts that passes to the east of the community. No streets were paved in Smokey Hollow, except for Lafayette Street which was the main highway into the city. The paved streets of Tallahassee ended at the edge of Smokey Hollow.

Unpaved dirt roads formed city blocks in Smokey Hollow. Small dirt lanes within the blocks were initially utilitarian tracts giving access into and through the center of the blocks. As the use of automobiles increased, these tracts widened and became more conspicuous as alley ways. There were no public sidewalks through the community; circulation by pedestrians and by automobiles used both streets and alleys. These were muddy and slippery during periods of rain and dusty during dry periods.

The grid of blocks created a rural village-like land pattern. Residential and commercial uses intermixed with vegetable gardens and other functional uses. Clothes lines were everywhere throughout the community. Chickens roamed the neighborhood feeding during the daylight hours.

³⁴⁷ Discussion with David Driapsa January 12, 2014, Smokey Hollow Working Group, Blueprint 2000, Intergovernmental Agency, Tallahassee, Florida

³⁴⁸ Discussion with David Driapsa January 12, 2014, Smokey Hollow Working Group, Blueprint 2000, Intergovernmental Agency, Tallahassee, Florida

The street geometry provided long, tree-framed vistas of the Florida state capitol, as well of views into the surrounding hills. Construction of the elevated Apalachee Parkway in 1957 blocked outward views from many vantage points. Residents to the east of the railroad tracks were situated high on a hillside overlooking Smokey Hollow, and enjoyed great views of the capitol. Construction of the Haydon Burns office building in 1966 at 605 Suwannee Street blocked these views of the capitol from their neighborhood.

The buildings and structures of Smokey Hollow were mostly vernacular single and multiple-family residential with vernacular commercial buildings sprinkled through the community. The shotgun type house with two to three rooms was the predominate type. There were larger homes, but no architect designed buildings in the neighborhood.

Small scale elements included objects of functional use such as clothes lines, laundry tubs, chicken coops, storage sheds, privies, wire and post and wood plank fencing, wood yards, agricultural apparatus, automotive apparatus, and burn barrels.

The possibility exists for the discovery of archeological sites of Aboriginal American, Spanish-Colonial, Territorial American, and early modern periods, particularly in the remnant part of Smokey east of the railroad tracks.

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PART IV. PROJECT INFORMATION

This project was undertaken by Blueprint 2000 to commemorate the Smokey Hollow Community. Blueprint 2000 is an intergovernmental agency funded by a one-cent sales tax and governed by both the city of Tallahassee and Leon County to preserve, protect and enhance the quality of life. Althemese Barnes led the way to having Smokey Hollow remembered, recruiting former residents to tell their stories and publishing their oral histories. Jeff Caster, Florida Chapter, the American Society Of Landscape Architects HALS committee, urged initiation of the HALS project so that this once vibrant African American community might have a wider place in its people's and their nation's history. Other supporting organizations and individuals include Blueprint 2000's Autumn Calder, Stephanie DeLorenzo, and other staff; the John G. Riley Center / Museum Of African American History & Culture, Inc. and staff, and its founding director Althemese Barnes; the "Tell The Story" planning advisory committee and consultants, including John Lawrence (committee chair), Rosetta Brundage Griffin (chair), Essie Shears Mcgee, Velma White Larkins, Jimmie Lee Simmons, Zella Johnson Gaines, Lester Oliver, Althemese Barnes, and Beverly Simmons Gavin; and the National Park Service HALS program Chief Paul D. Dolinsky and landscape architect Christopher Stevens. HALS large format photography was produced by William "Bill" Lutrick. The HALS historical report was prepared by Dr. Anthony Dixon, director, Florida African American Heritage Preservation Network, and Dr. Jennifer Koslow, associate professor of history at Florida State University with research assistance provided by: Beverly Simmons Gavin and Florida State University history graduate students: Robyn Bertram, Kyle Bracken, Brandi Burns, Eric Case, Rachel Christian, Jessica Coker, Monica Davenport, Philip Davis, Kathryn Palmer, Julia Skinner, Corie Smith, Richard Soash, Kimberly Stansell, Mary Taylor, and Rebecca Woofter and Florida State University undergraduate student Colin Behrens. Measured and interpretive drawings were produced December 2013 through February 2014 by David Driapsa, ASLA, historical landscape architect. Drawing text was edited by Velma White Larkins, Daniel Donovan, and Mia Shargel.

APPENDIX A: ILLUSTRATIONS

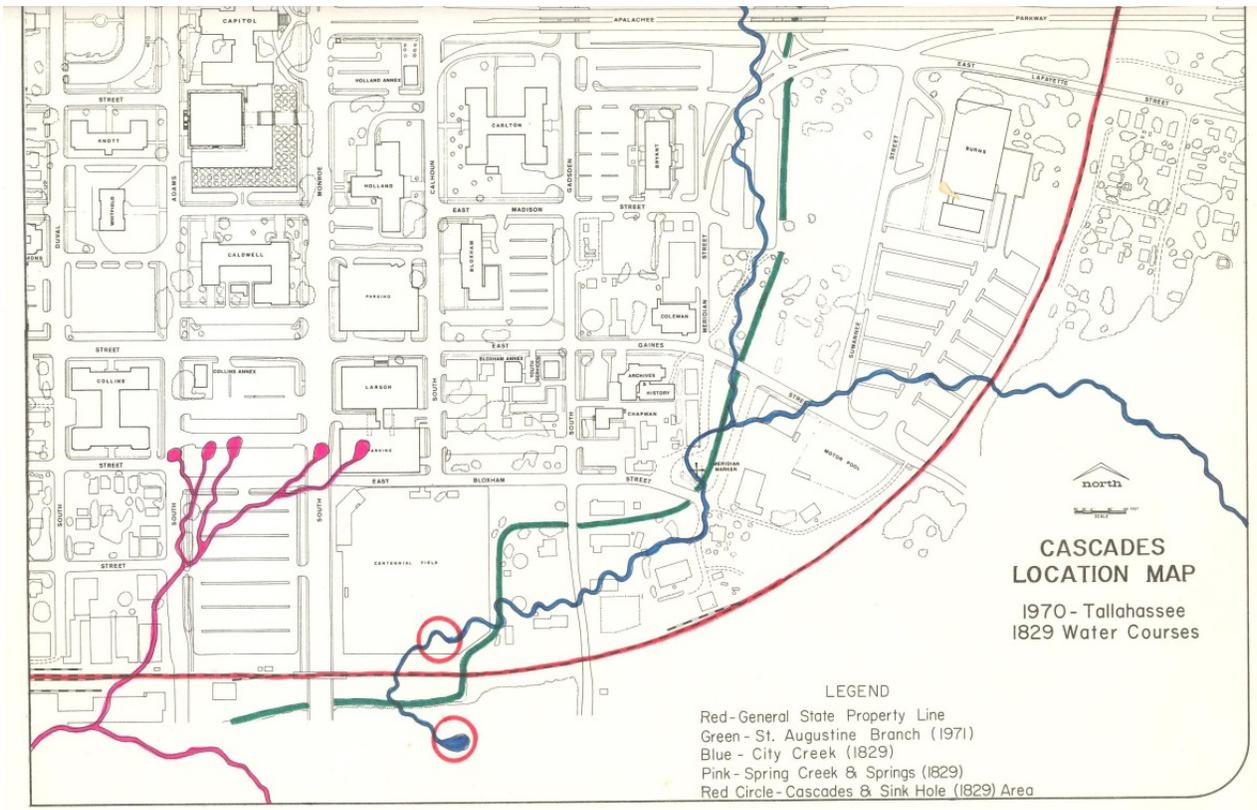


Fig. 1. 1971 map showing the likely historic locations of water courses and cascades in Tallahassee (Florida, Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, *Tallahassee Cascade: An Historical Report*, 1971).

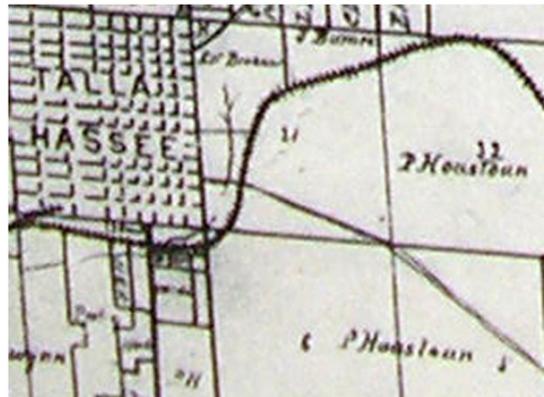


Fig. 2. 1883 plat map of the geographic area of Leon County (Ball, 1883, Florida State Archives).
Right: full map; left: close up showing Smoky Hollow area.

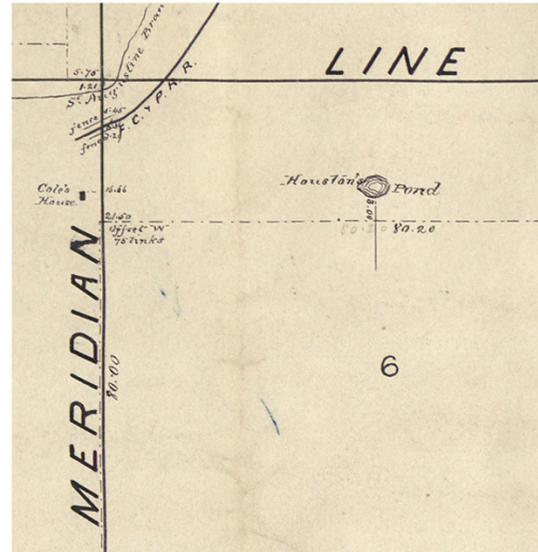
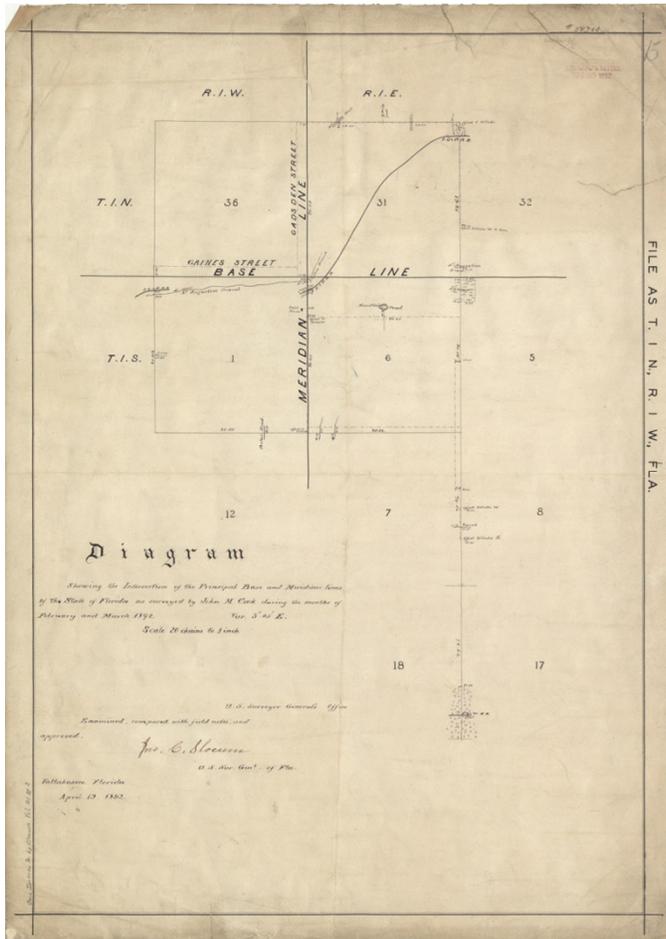


Fig. 3. Diagram showing the Principal Base and Meridian Lines of the state of Florida in 1892 (Bureau of Land Management Diagram, 1892). Right: full diagram; left: close up of Smoky Hollow area.

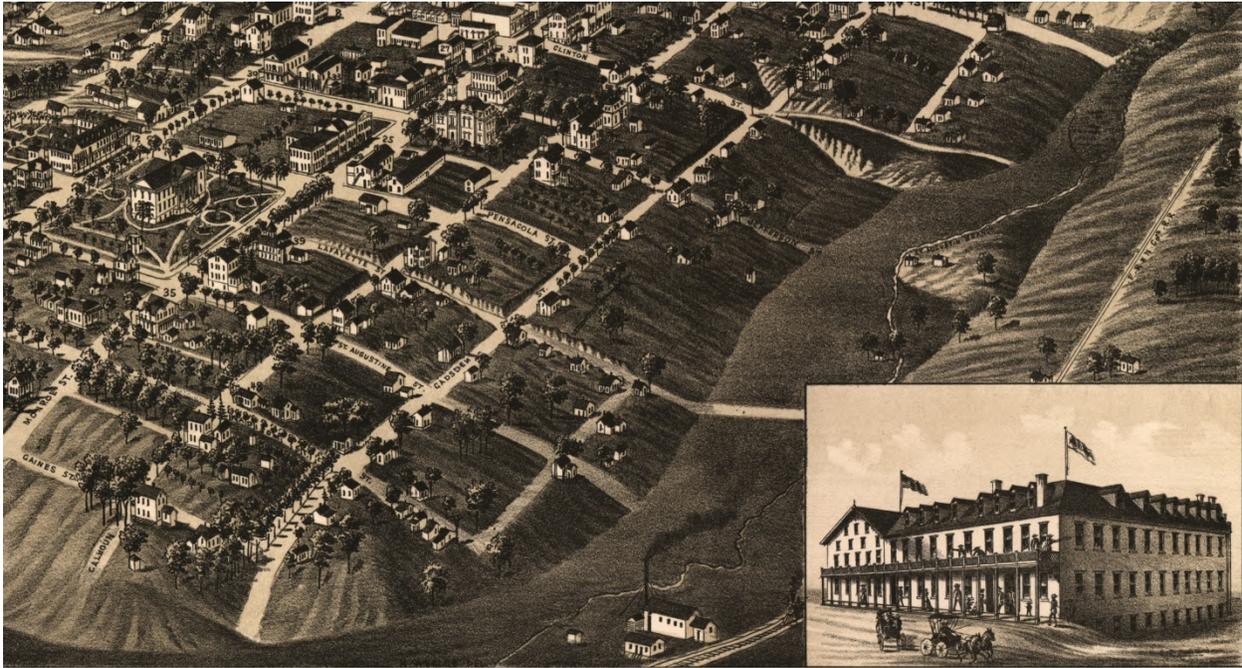


Fig. 4. Cropped right hand corner of “View of the city of Tallahassee. State capital of Florida, county seat of Leon county 1885,” showing the Smoky Hollow area (Wellge, 1885, Library of Congress).

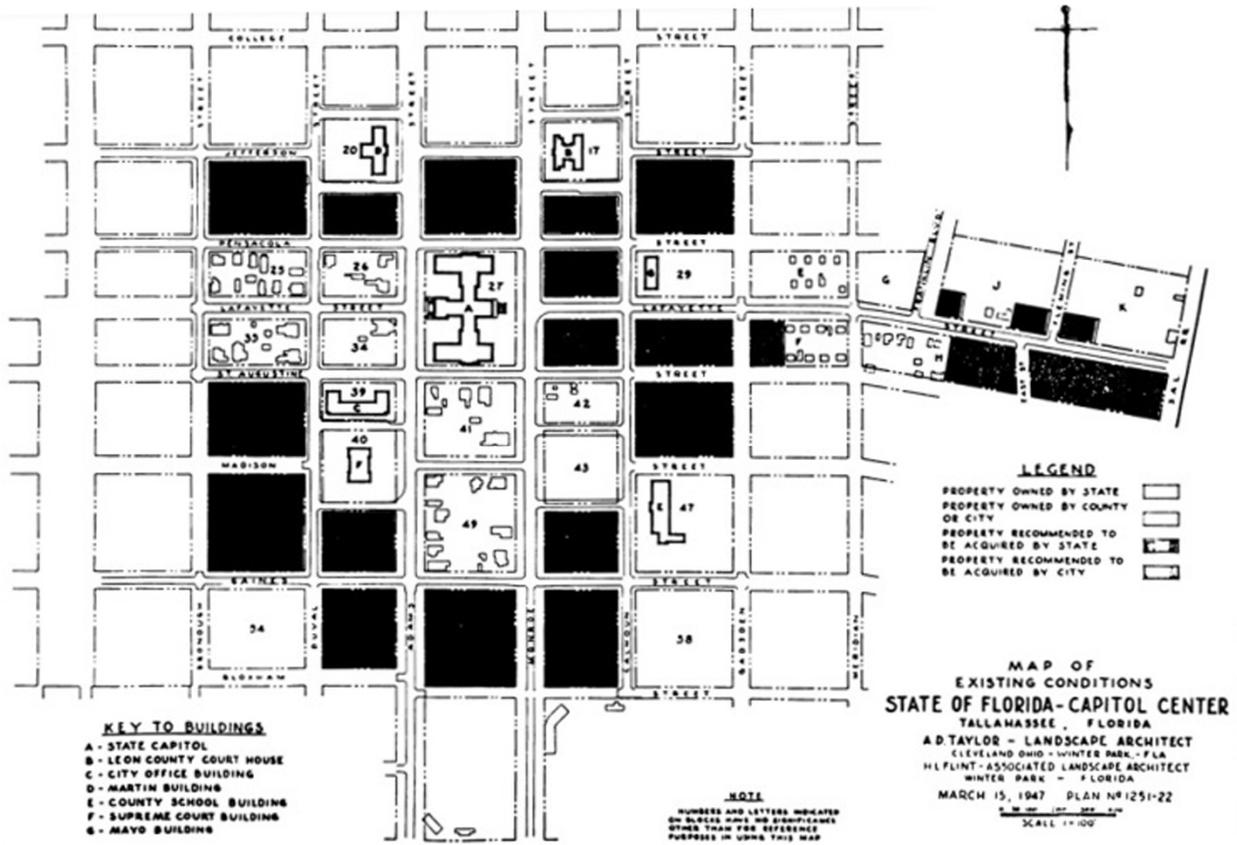


Fig. 5. 1947 plan of recommended spaces to purchase for the Florida Capitol Center (Taylor and Flint, 1947, State of Florida).

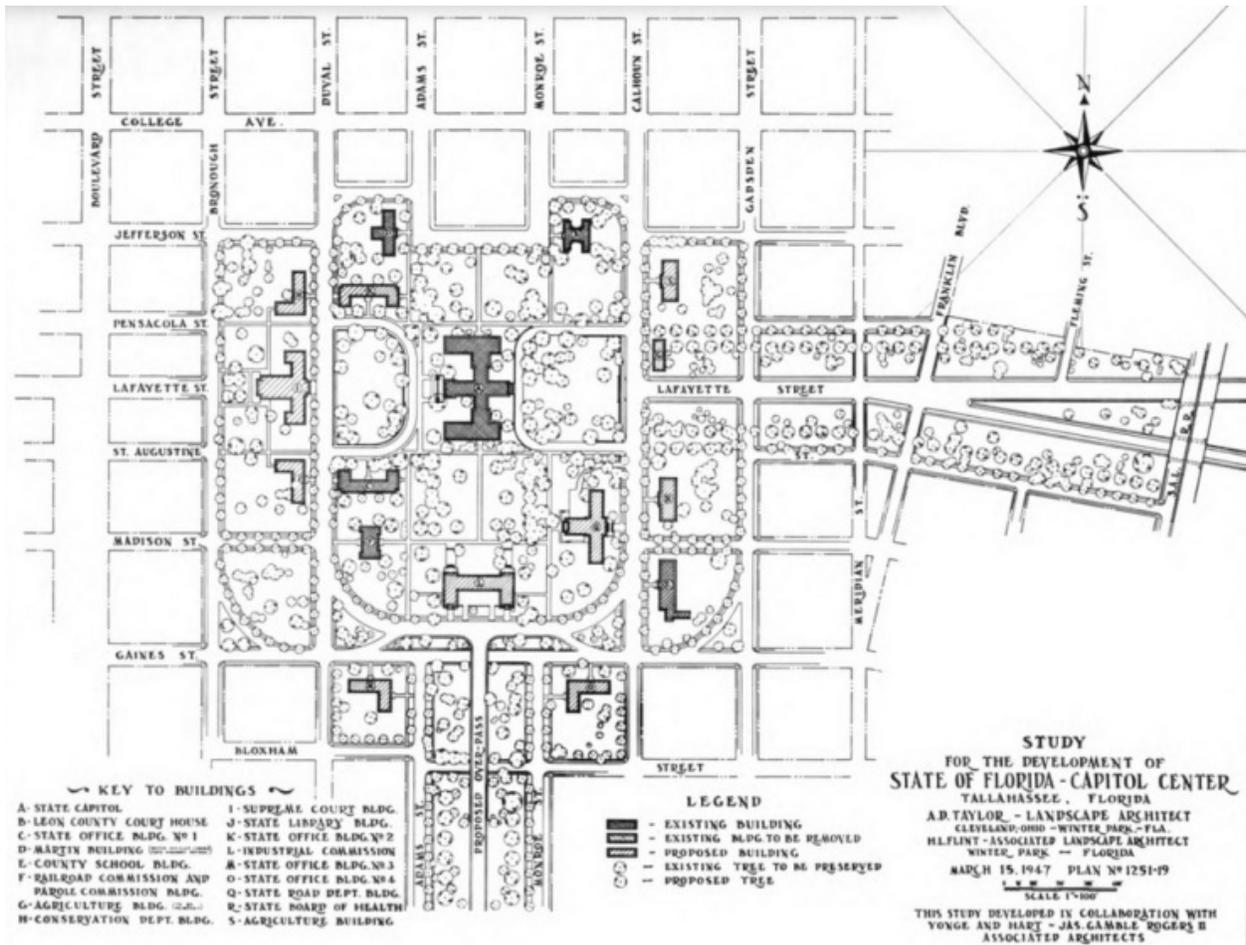


Fig. 6. 1947 plan of existing and proposed buildings for the Florida Capitol Center (Taylor and Flint, 1947, State of Florida).

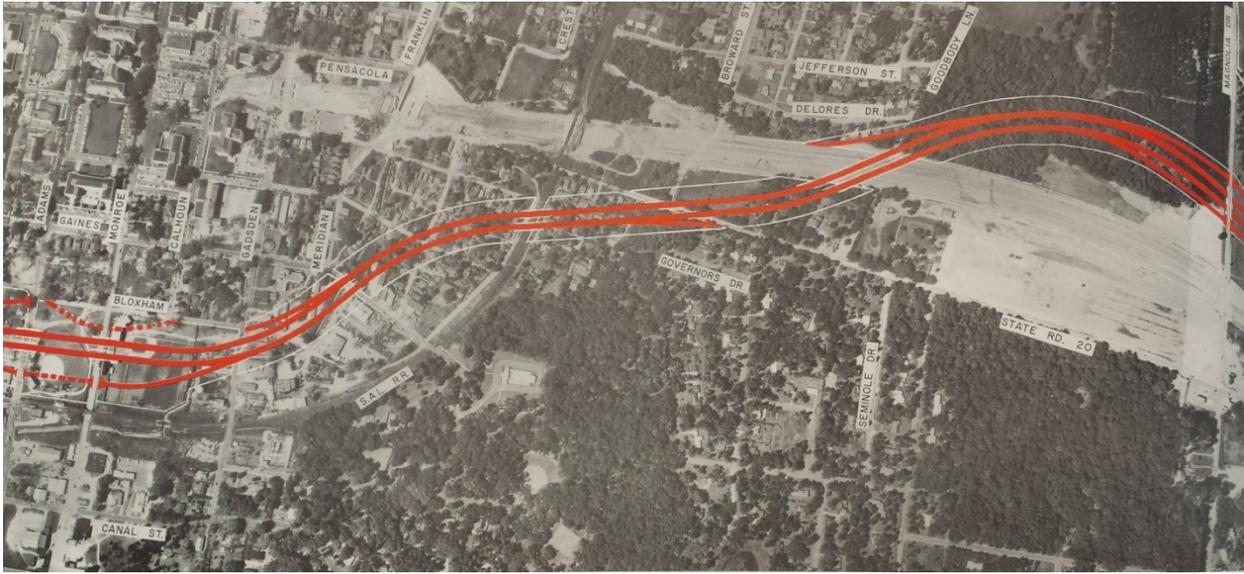


Fig. 7. Proposed southern route for I-10 in 1957 (Florida State Road Department, 1957).



Figs. 8 and 9. The *Tallahassee Democrat* printed images designed to sway voters to approve an urban renewal law (State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory www.floridamemory.com/items/show/262859 and www.floridamemory.com/items/show/266667).



Fig. 11. , Detail, Smokey Hollow Aerial, c. 1957, showing dirt footpaths crossing railroad tracks (Courtesy of Florida State Department of Transportation, Surveying and Mapping Office).

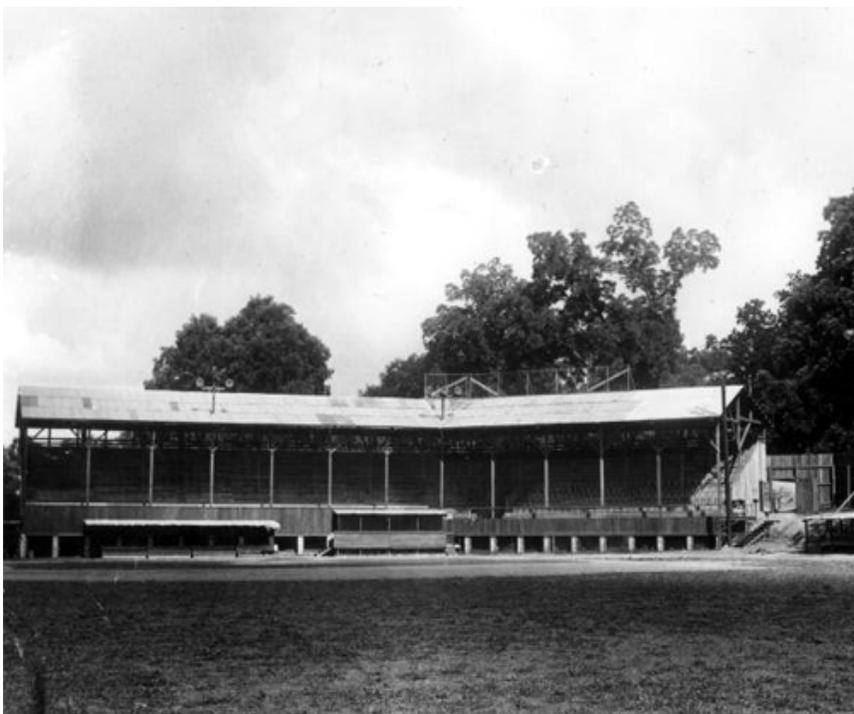


Fig. 12. Centennial Field Grandstand, c. 1935 (State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory, <http://floridamemory.com/items/show/32486>).



Fig. 13. Channelized St. Augustine Branch, "The Ditch," c. 2014
(Photograph by David Driapsa).

APPENDIX B: VELMA WHITE LARKINS' RECOLLECTIONS OF SMOKEY HOLLOW

Velma White Larkins' Recollections of Smokey Hollow sent to Autumn Calder of Blueprint 2000 via email May 22, 2014 and edited with Jennifer Koslow on May 30, 2014

Well, as this document explains, Smokey Hollow is no longer a visible nor viable community; having been replaced by expansion of the Capital Center with buildings, parking lots, and improved infrastructure. This was inevitable for the growth and expressed need for re-development of the central place of government for the state of Florida.

Although Smokey Hollow is extinction by location; may have been perceived as an unsightly slum with persons beset by abject poverty; (sometimes referred to as "scum of the slum" where the people smoke all day and 'holla' all night); the essence of it is etched in the hearts and memories of its former residents. It was home to many as shared in comments and reflections by some listed residents. While the projection is that the people lived in substandard housing with minimal comfort or conveniences; this is not the entire perspective.

Life was seen as normal as persons typically went about life in pursuit of work, education, social endeavors, with spiritual nurturing playing a major role as a large number of the residents valued religion by attending and participating in the Smoky Hollow Churches of St. John AME, the Church of God in the 400 block of St. Augustine St., and Pilgrim Rest across the railroad tracks. Others attended church across town at St. Mary Primitive Baptist on Call St. or Fountain Chapel AME on Eugenia St. in the Bond area.

Velma White Larkins was born in her parents' home (619 E. St. Augustine St.) and lived there for 18 years until the city/state declared their rights of eminent domain and the house and its contents were moved to Country Club Drive in early 1964. Her account of living in Smoky Hollow for nearly two decades is herein shared. "I didn't realize we were poor (according to national standards) until I went to college and discussions of income and poverty levels were introduced in sociology and political science classes." Our home was an 11 room house equipped with a kitchen kerosene stove, an indoor bathroom with a bathtub on feet until the house was renovated in 1954 and an updated bathtub was installed with hot water tank, addition of a half bath, and gas space heaters, and a gas stove. (I learned to cook on that Tappan range.) Prior to that heat was provided by two kerosene heaters and a fireplace in the living room. Before getting an electric refrigerator, we had an icebox in the kitchen. Mr. Payne, the *ice man*, would come weekly to deliver a 50# block of ice to keep the food from spoiling. He delivered ice to many of the homes and businesses during the 50s. In the summertime, the children would converge upon his truck as he went into a house with the ice and reach in for chips and shavings of ice to quench our thirst or just for the fun of it. Our private line telephone number was 28563. We had a garden in the backyard with two pear trees and some plum trees. I am still teased today by family and friends who remind us that "daddy would *shoo* them away when they tried to jump the fence to get some fruit." I remember us having only

three cars –the first was a forty something Chevrolet replaced by a 1950 black rocket eighty-eight Oldsmobile that mama kept until 1964 when she purchased a Pontiac after the house was moved from Smokey Hollow. Daddy passed away in 1956. His body lay in state in the living room so that the neighbors could come by to view and pay their respects. The people really respected Rev. Boston William White Sr., known affectionately as uncle to close and distant relatives and Doc White to others. Mama purchased our first TV, a floor model black and white, in 1958. All before, the two radios were our outside reach into the world besides the newspaper.

Electricity was in several of the homes; though I do recall visiting friends in Smokey Hollow and other neighborhoods whose lighting was by kerosene lamps. During the Christmas season it was delightful to see those homes with electricity display their lights on trees or in windows. Speaking of Christmas, it appeared that was a most happy time when every child received a special bag with some fruit (apple/orange), walnuts and peppermint candy. It was fun and excitement as the kids and teenagers gathered in the street or in a neighbor's yard for show and play with a new dump truck or a board game. The older ones who were fortunate to receive a bike or a set of skates rode the street and went to the curb market to ride and ride doing "show tricks" and the skaters would skate on the paved aisles between the stalls. Between Christmas and New Year's Eve many treks were made up the Perry Highway (Lafayette St.) to Winchester's to purchase firecrackers in preparation to blast off as the New Year rolled in. Yes, some of the people shot their guns into the air to signal the entrance of the New Year. The Watch Night service in church was first though. The bike that came into our home (1954) was a blue and white girl's bicycle for my sister Vera who was twelve; I learned to ride that bike a few years later; and eventually our brother, Boston William, Jr. (Buddy, 7 years younger than Vera), acquired the same bike. It remained in the family until one day he rode it to the store and when he came out to return home, the bike was gone – never to be seen again.

Attending school and getting an education were a high priority in our home as well as the other residents. I entered first grade at the old Lincoln High School on West Brevard St. Lincoln served grades 1-12 until the fall of 1955. Vera (8th), Buddy (2nd) and I (6th) transferred to the newly created Griffin Jr. High School in the Springfield area of Tallahassee. (Daddy wanted us there because the principal {Professor Perkins} and several of our teachers were also members of our church.) The Tallahassee Democrat, Pittsburg Courier, Time Magazine, Readers' Digest were regular periodicals in our home. In elementary years, the teachers were strict enforcers of outside classroom reading. At some point each student was required to read and report to the class. I still have my first personal dictionary required in 4th grade to be used for spelling and to teach us not to use the same words repeatedly when we were required to write. At Griffin, the little girl Velma White from Smokey Hollow was the 8th grader who reported school news in the Saturday edition of the Tallahassee Democrat. It was titled ***Gist and Grist from Griffin*** by Velma White and 7th grader Joyce Walker (a member of our church too).

After the 8th grade we returned to Lincoln to complete high school. We walked to Lincoln in groups of classmates and friends all the way up that long hill to the capitol, crossing through downtown, and passing the graveyard and sometimes shortcutting through small apartment housing areas. We had a car, but mama used it for transportation to and from work {private home(s)}. Sometimes Freddie Harris, a not much older resident who had served in the army, would give us a ride in his '57 Chevrolet. Though we were given the used, hand-me-down textbooks; limited equipment in the science/chemistry lab as was customary in the segregated South; we were challenged by parents and teachers to excel and be well rounded and present ourselves as intelligent, industrious, confident, and decent in all regards for the impending future of desegregated schools.

After graduation from either Lincoln or FAMU High Schools many Smokey Hollow residents chose to matriculate at Florida A & M University (FAMU), attend Business College, join the United States Armed Forces, advance into the workforce locally in varied services in the state buildings, or other businesses offering secure employment. Others moved to out of town locations that seemingly offered more economic advantages and lucrative opportunities.

Oh, yes the juke joints were the places in the community for 'wind-down time'. Though forbidden and off limits in some instances, we could go to Mrs. Lena Cruel's place for a soft drink because she was mama's friend and a member of our church. Occasionally, we could walk to Mrs. Louise's Place and get an ice cream cone. The place that was two doors away from our house on the other side of the Barber Shop had a loud juke box and that's how a lot of us learned the lyrics to 'Shake Rattle and Roll'. It was fun to gather at a neighbor's house to play Old Maid, Dumb School, Checkers, Jackstones, etc. As girls became older, in the summertime groups would get together and walk uptown and window shop on Monroe Street checking out Linden's, Diana Shops, Turner's, P. W. Wilson, Gilberg's Fabrics, Nic's Toggery and others. If it were not getting too late; sometimes they would venture into the Springfield/Frenchtown area to connect with some other friends, as long as they were back in Smoky Hollow before the night fell.

Other leisure activities extended the Smokey Hollow boundary. Residents visited relatives, friends, classmates and church members in other Tallahassee neighborhoods. The Dade Street Recreation Center at the Robinson-Trueblood Swimming Pool was a connecting place for the teens and younger adults to fraternize, play games, listen to music, dance or just hang out with friends in safety. Dade Street Center was one of the segregated city establishments for the African American citizens. Of course participation in extra-curricular activities at Lincoln permitted an outlet for socialization. Students from Smoky Hollow played in the marching band, were majorettes and cheerleaders, and sang in the Glee Club. A few guys played on the Tiger football squad. Plenty of excitement and revelry permeated the Tallahassee community when the Lincoln High School Tigers faced off at Centennial Field {the window with grill where tickets were sold is in the Cascades Park} with an opponent from Jacksonville, Quincy or some other not so far away location. The chant was "*Tigers on the gridiron, the gridiron is hot! The*

Tigers can't lose with the stuff they've got!" The 1949 graduating class of LHS claimed a Smoky Hollow resident—Oreatha Mae Hightower Morgan—the valedictorian who earned a full scholarship to Talladega College in Alabama. "Rea" lived with her aunt and uncle at 619 E. St. Augustine St. The 1958-59 Miss Lincoln High, (Homecoming Queen of the School), Yvonne Barrington-Ash was born in Smoky Hollow. Yvonne, a cousin on daddy's side, moved into the Springfield area in the early 50s.

Life in Smokey Hollow was pleasant as neighbors respected and looked out for each other. One did not walk or drive past neighbors on their porches or in their yards without a wave of the hand, nod of the head, toot of car horn or a verbal acknowledgement of "*how you or y'all doing today?*" or "*good morning/ good evening Mr. or Mrs. So and So.*" In late September and October we looked forward to the thrashing of the pecan trees in the pasture where Miss Patsy's cows grazed in a field across from our house near the Perry Highway. We picked up pecans to sell so that we'd have spending money for rides and food at the North Florida Fair each year. Healthy meals were enjoyed at home and the annual Lodge Turnouts held at the churches. Mama made the best grape punch with sliced lemons made from syrup purchased from Daffin Mercantile on Railroad Avenue. Along with the punch came some fried chicken, pound cake, potato salad and many other goodies that the other women brought to the grounds.

When company (family, friends or church folk) came to visit at home we shared a special meal with two meats, lots of vegetables, cornbread or biscuits, rice pilau (called perlo) some kind of salad, cake, sweet potato or lemon meringue pie (depending on the season) and sometimes jello with fruit and ice cream on the side. Vera and I enjoyed the gatherings but we dreaded the house cleaning and preparation. Mama ignored our complaints saying, "You can't be lazy; this is good training for you." On some occasion our neighbor, Mrs. Hartsfield, brought a Sour Cream Pound Cake to the house. (I think someone must have died.) Well the cake was so delicious and Mrs. Hartsfield gave mama the recipe. You guessed it, she passed it on to me; it turned out well. From then on I was the designated one to bake the cake for whatever the occasion. To this day, I'm still baking; though my repertoire is more than Sour Cream Cake.

Today several original Smokey Hollow inhabitants reside in practically every Tallahassee neighborhood or subdivision. Others are living in several Florida cities; many can be counted as living in 50% of the states beyond Florida; while some claim residence abroad over the seas. Those persons whom some deemed as "less than", have made (and continue to make) favorable and successful contributions to their communities, the United States and the world. The old Smokey Hollow can lay claim to business owners, teachers, principals / public school administrators, real estate brokers, insurance company executives, public safety/law enforcement persons, health care, career Armed Forces officers, ministers, and many other professional pursuits.

APPENDIX C: HALS DRAWING SOURCES

Sheet 2 Sources

Barnes, Althemese and Juliette Fisher. *Times Remembered, Legacy Of The Smokey Hollow Community*. The Smokey Hollow 'Tell The Story' Blueprint 2000 Project. (Tallahassee: John G. Riley Center/Museum), 2014.

Blueprint 2000

Hand Drawn Map, n.d.

East of Rail Road, Zella Map, n.d.

Smokey Hollow Plat Map, with family names, n.d.

City of Tallahassee. "Re-Survey of Charles Addition," November 1926.

City of Tallahassee Plat Map, 1931.

Florida Division of Historical Resources, "Boundary Map, Smokey Hollow Historic District, Tallahassee, Leon County, Florida," Florida Master Site File.

Florida State Department of Transportation, Surveying and Mapping Office, "Aerial Photographs," Tallahassee, Florida.

1938 (AKV-32A-43), 1941 (AKV-3B-74), 1949 (AKV-4F-133 and 134), 1954 (AKV-2N-188), 1957 (TLH-6-09), 1960 (AKV-9AA-67), 1962 (TLH-7054-4-08)

Florida State Department of Transportation, "Right-of-Way Surveys," 1-29-74, Section Number 5508-204; 3-29-65, Lafayette Street Drainage; 4-11-74, Right-of-Way Map; 7-23-03-A, Maintenance Map.

Genesis Group. "Existing Conditions Survey," Project Number BP20-006A. Digital CADD File, December 13, 2013.

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John G. Riley Museum, Tallahassee, Florida, January 10 and March 26, 2014.

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<http://ufdc.ufl.edu/aerials/results/?coord=30.336660731786594,-84.276123046875>.

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Sheet 3 Sources

Barnes, Althemese and Juliette Fisher. Times Remembered, Legacy Of The Smokey Hollow Community. The Smokey Hollow 'Tell The Story' Blueprint 2000 Project. (Tallahassee: John G. Riley Center/Museum), 2014.

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Florida State Department of Transportation, "Right-of-Way Surveys," 1-29-74, Section Number 5508-204; 3-29-65, Lafayette Street Drainage; 4-11-74, Right-of-Way Map; 7-23-03-A, Maintenance Map.

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