

and worked among one another in the very heart of the town. A recent archaeological project has revealed that, within two blocks of the Dallas County courthouse, African-Americans and Anglos resided and conducted business near one another in the late 1860s. Harrison County census data also confirms that in Marshall, a major railroad town in East Texas, blacks in 1880 were living scattered among white families throughout the city. Cities in Georgia also experienced the same phenomenon: in Savannah and Augusta, "many freedmen continued for awhile after 1865 to occupy the housing in which they had lived as slaves...(and) blacks resided in most areas of the city." (Merritt, 18)

It is likely, however, that this mixed housing phenomenon was primarily a continuation of an *antebellum* pattern. These apparently "integrated" areas were, perhaps, indicative less of blacks and whites living as neighbors than as living in a continued employer/employee relationship. Census records for Nacogdoches and Marshall, (and indeed for major Southern cities such as Richmond, Nashville and Mobile) show a preponderance of blacks who were living in white areas actually residing on side streets or alleys. African-Americans did not live on Mound Street in Nacogdoches, for example, but on "Mound Back Street," or alleys behind east Hospital or Fredonia Streets.

Significant population growth in Nacogdoches following the arrival in 1883 of the Houston, East & West Texas Railroad (HE&WT) helped bring population growth to the African-American community as well during the 1880s and '90s. The rapid opening and expansion of the sawmills and other lumber-related commerce created jobs for black laborers, and many families moved to the Nacogdoches area from smaller county communities such as Sand Hill, Black Jack and Chirena. After emancipation, most freed people of color in the rural agricultural regions of East Texas, like their urban counterparts, had remained linked with white families, often their former owners, thanks to an otherwise uncertain economic status and limited transportation and communication opportunities. Once employment prospects improved with the coming of the railroad and industrial development, however, migration to urban areas soon followed. It is likely that this large in-migration of blacks to the cities seeking work contributed to their increasing isolation in self-contained communities, usually in outlying areas of the cities. Whites fearing loss of economic dominance thus played a part in the growth and development of exclusionary attitudes.

Studies of major Southern cities in the late 19th century period indicate that some of the racially segregated housing pattern was voluntary: blacks evidently sought not only proximity to the industrial or semi-agricultural jobs that were most available to them, but also "a welcome freedom from white surveillance...." (Rabinowitz, 98) It is likely that such a set of circumstances may have encouraged the settlement of the Zion Hill community

on Frank Walton's land at the edge of Nacogdoches. There is no known evidence that, as in some major cities in the South, active white efforts to move blacks to "camps" on the outskirts ever occurred.

Census data in 1880 and 1900 indicate that a majority of African-Americans living mostly on the edges of the urban communities of Marshall, Dallas and Nacogdoches were at least first generation and predominantly second (or older) generation Texans. Although the post-Civil War shortage of agricultural workers in Texas resulted in immigration to the state of more than 100,000 freedmen between 1865 and 1900, nearly all remained in rural areas for at least a generation, taking farming-related jobs (Rice, 162). Fewer than 15 per cent of African-Americans listed in the 1910 census for Nacogdoches and Marshall had parents who were born in states other than Texas. The implication that blacks often did not migrate very far from their roots at the end of the 19th century is also borne out by results of oral history interviews which revealed that families who settled in Nacogdoches had come from rural communities in the same or neighboring counties.

During the 1880s and 1890s, while the Zion Hill community was developing at the northeast edge of Nacogdoches and houses such as the Queen Ann-style home of Rev. Lawson Reed at 512 N. Lanana (Site No. 863) and the double pen vernacular houses at 717 Bois d'Arc and 406 No. Lanana were erected, other African-American neighborhoods around the city grew under similar circumstances.

Rev. Horney C. Cleaver's 25 acre parcel on Orton Hill, southeast of the town center, developed as a black community after the arrival of the railroad. By 1900, the area was generally known as "Negrotown" or "Shawnee," after a major road that passed through the area. Cleaver, born of his white owner/father Charlie Hobbs and a black mother in Nacogdoches County in 1848, had received the 25 acre tract from Hobbs sometime after the Civil War and soon acquired other significant farm properties throughout the county. As had Frank Walton, Cleaver sold, gave or rented portions of his Orton Hill land to other blacks who were settled there by 1904, when Cleaver offered a portion of the property to E.B. Hayward for development of what would become the huge Frost-Johnson lumbermill. Rev. Cleaver's congregation had also grown: the Union Church he had founded in 1869 was renamed the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and a new sanctuary was constructed on Shawnee Street by 1890.

Similar phenomena occurred in other east and northeast Texas areas where substantial *antebellum* African-American populations had existed and where population growth brought significantly larger numbers of blacks to the edges of cities. In Dallas County after 1865, white farmers had developed large parcels (200 acres or more) of mostly cotton crops on land southeast of the City of Dallas, from the Trinity River

floodplain to the fairgrounds (Queen City Heights Historic District, NR 1992). By the 1880s, however, these larger parcels had been subdivided into five to ten acre plots and cultivated as truck farms or gardens. Evidence indicates that numerous blacks, some of whom may have been tenants or hired hands on the larger cotton farms, rented or owned many of these smaller plots of land. African-Americans established churches in this "suburban" community as early as 1874, and by about 1904 concerted efforts began to re-subdivide much of the land for exclusively black residential use. Across Dallas, on its northern outskirts, the black community of North Dallas grew up in the area of Freedman's Town, a rural, post-Civil War settlement of former slaves who congregated around the black-owned Freedman's Cemetery for mutual protection. There, too, churches and later businesses sprang up to serve the already settled residents of this "suburban" community.

Meanwhile, in Harrison County, the Marshall railroad yards employed many black laborers and semi-skilled workers by the turn of the century, and there, too, communities of African-Americans grew on the edges of the city. Railroad workers, laborers and their families had settled near one another in areas adjacent to the Texas & Pacific Railway tracks on the northern and northwestern fringes of the city, according to the 1900 census. The buildings of the two private colleges founded by African-Americans in Marshall, Wiley College (1873) and Bishop College (1885), were located near one another in this same black community northwest of the courthouse and near the T & P tracks.

Early non-farmer residents of these communities beyond the cities' limits were generally plumbers, porters and laborers, sawmill workers in Nacogdoches or railroad laborers in Marshall, all reflecting the dearth of professional and skilled jobs available to people of color. Only certain professions were regarded as open to educated African-Americans: doctors, clergymen and teachers appeared among blacks in the Nacogdoches and Marshall census records of the late 19th century, but no black lawyers appeared. (As a matter of fact, there were only two black lawyers in Atlanta in 1890, six in Richmond and nine in Nashville. [Rabinowitz, 90])

Despite the limited opportunities for educated youngsters to enter many professions, learning was nevertheless a critical part of life in the African-American communities of Nacogdoches. Results of efforts across Texas after the Civil War to provide education for the children of freedmen had been at best uneven, and white citizens were rarely supportive. However, in many cities, leading African-Americans, often shepherded by the black churches, attempted to create educational institutions themselves. By 1877, the Colored Baptist Board of Education was soliciting funds for completion of the "Centennial" school in Marshall. In Nacogdoches, meanwhile, a tradition of black education in the city was begun by Horney Cleaver. Educated at Prairie View Normal

School (now Prairie View A&M, a state university east of Houston), Cleaver had helped to establish a school for African-American children sometime after the Civil War, teaching at the school along with white educators furnished by the federal Freedman's Bureau. The opening of a new "Colored School" in the Shawnee community in 1903 institutionalized education for black youngsters, and census records and community recollections tell of a significant number of families in the African-American neighborhoods, particularly Zion Hill, boarding students sent by relatives and friends from the small, rural communities such as Sand Hill, Nat, Black Jack and Harmony where no educational opportunities yet existed. Later, by the 1920s, small country schools for African-Americans began to be opened. Retired Nacogdoches educator Ella Mae Sheffield, for example, began her teaching career in 1922 as an 18 year old in Nat, Texas, east of Nacogdoches. The tradition of student boarders taken in by the urban communities continued for many years afterward, however.

Once the schools, churches, meeting halls and other institutions that served the African-American communities were established following initial settlement of these segregated quarters, still more black residents were attracted to the areas by those very institutions, thereby reinforcing the developing pattern of segregated neighborhoods. Social, religious and fraternal institutions, some scholars maintain, grew during the latter part of the 19th century in African-American communities in Texas in part because blacks were being increasingly and systematically excluded from participation in politics and business (Rice, 268).

The continued growth of the African-American population in Nacogdoches in the 1890s required that the Zion Hill Baptist Church, which had met in the one room frame building on Frank Walton's donated land near the cemetery, needed a larger building. The congregation erected a new sanctuary near the site of their original, outdoor meeting place on present-day Logansport Street somewhat north of the Zion Hill District, still at the edge of the developing city.

By 1910, the communities of Zion Hill and Shawnee were well established, their residents generally engaged in occupations related to their respective neighborhoods. The Zion Hill area was home to primarily service workers: shop porters, and in some cases owners of small businesses, and servants, maids, cooks and groundskeepers for affluent white families who lived nearby. (Open land between Frank Walton's tract and Washington Square, adjacent to the already established black community east of Lanana Street, had been sold by Peyton Edwards in 1899 to a number of prominent white citizens who erected imposing residences on North Mound Street. Many Zion Hill residents

worked for the Perkins, Hardeman, Blount, Strong and Stripling families on Mound Street during the early decades of this century.)

Meanwhile, Shawnee inhabitants more often were employed by the lumber mills, cotton gins or the railroad, and long time residents of both communities recall a social and economic rivalry between the two areas. Some remember an early-century desire among sawmill workers' families in Shawnee to "move up" to Zion Hill.

Expansion of the well-to-do white neighborhood surrounding Washington Square and along Mound Street reached farther north during the 1910s. The congregation of Zion Hill Church thus was pressured to abandon their second home on Logansport Street. The church trustees purchased land from prominent Nacogdoches department store owner John Schmidt on Lanana Street, between the predominantly Anglo Oak Grove Cemetery and the former Walton farmland. Schmidt assisted the church members by refusing a down payment and financing construction of the new building. He also secured the services of local architect Dietrich A.W. Rulfs to design and build the church. Rulfs, having an exceptional reputation for both residential and commercial architecture in the city, designed a white frame church in an outstanding blend of Victorian-era massing and Gothic Revival detailing. Considered one of the finest church edifices among African-American congregations in East Texas, the Zion Hill Baptist Church was completed in 1914 at a cost of \$7,223 and quickly established itself as the social and religious center for members of the Zion Hill community and many other local black families.

The nearby Park Street Cemetery also continued to serve as the resting place for many members of the community. It is not known when the earliest burials occurred there (the oldest remaining legible marker is dated 1897), but numerous late 19th century residents of Zion Hill are interred in Park Street, including Annie McNeil, the Rolligan and Donegan families, and Rev. Lawson Reed himself.

Little is known about the history of individual structures or their owners in the Zion Hill Historic District or other African-American communities in the city. Lot registers and tax abstract records for Nacogdoches during the early years of the century are lost or destroyed, and except for 1935, city directories were not published until after World War II. However, community oral histories reveal that, as the Zion Hill and Shawnee communities grew in the early 20th century, both black and white property owners developed housing for the residents. Family records indicate that Rev. Horney Cleaver owned numerous properties in Shawnee, renting them to both residents and commercial shopkeepers. Meanwhile, the Rolligan descendants, sisters Ellen and Lela, owned a number of rental houses on and near Lanana Street in Zion Hill, and for a time operated a small general store on Lanana Street at 504 (Site No. 860) themselves.

The vernacular, frame double pen, bungalow and shotgun houses constructed in Zion Hill and Shawnee reflect similar housing types and standards to those existing in African-American communities throughout the South. A description by the British Board of Trade of housing in Atlanta in 1910 could have as easily described conditions in Zion Hill:

The typical dwellings of the coloured people contain two or three rooms...the whole building consists...of one story, built of wood on brick piles. As a rule in the case of two room dwellings there is no entrance lobby, the front room being entered direct from the street....In many instances the houses look as though built upon a piece of wasteland, with all its inequalities unlevelled, and the yards of the houses are often not to be distinguished from the surrounding plots. The practice of building these little "shacks" on brick piles dispenses with the need for a specially prepared foundation. (quoted in Rabinowitz, 118)

(Many current and former Zion Hill residents recall the community as having mostly "swept yards" of packed earth, rather than lawns and landscaping.)

White landlords bought and built numerous residential properties in the community. Current inhabitants report that most of the houses along both sides of Richardson Street were built before 1922 by a white owner whose name is now forgotten. Prominent pharmacist Charles Perkins, whose own house at 516 No. Mound Street was designed by Dietrich Rulfs in 1900, constructed two rental houses on Lanana Street directly behind his new home at about the same time; one still remains, in altered form (505 No. Lanana, Site No.861). Several Mound Street neighbors of Perkins also owned rental houses in Zion Hill: Judge Beeman Strong, Kline Branch and Tolbert Hardemann each built vernacular tenant houses in the district.

Black entrepreneurs established rental housing in the community as well. Between 1922 and 1929, Ernest and Ola Smith who for many years had been employed as domestics by the Eugene Blounts, a prominent white family living on nearby Mound Street, built numerous small frame, vernacular rental houses on three paralleling streets that extended eastward toward Lanana Creek from Richardson Street. Casz Donegan's dry cleaning establishment on Bois d'Arc Street adjoined several rental houses he owned on Mast Alley behind it.

A few black-owned businesses flourished in the Zion Hill community for a time. By the 1920s, former lumbermill "sawman" Casz Donegan opened and operated a dry cleaning establishment in the shotgun building at 715 Bois d'Arc Street (Site No.356)

behind his own house at 402 Lanana (demolished). Neighborhood residents remember a dance hall in the building at 416 Richardson (demolished), which is also remembered as an early site of a small school operated before the opening of the larger public Colored School in Shawnee. A cafe also existed for a time at 322 Richardson (Site 1245).

Residents recall that the Zion Hill community never had the proliferation of local businesses and services available in the Shawnee community; Zion Hill inhabitants continued to patronize the few black-owned businesses downtown, as well as the establishments in Shawnee. In Nacogdoches, as in much of the South, blacks had dominated some skilled trades or occupations and served a largely white clientele in the early part of the post-Civil War period. The building trades, livery businesses, services (barbering, for example, which for some reason was particularly disdained as an occupation by whites), and grocery and general merchandise concerns were identified by W.E.B. duBois in an 1899 survey as the predominant range of black-owned businesses in the South (Rabinowitz, 78). Census records indicate that the same jobs were common among Nacogdoches' African-American citizens as well, particularly among Zion Hill residents. However, as in other areas of the South, the early 20th century saw the advent of institutionalized segregation laws, and increasing white displacement of blacks occurred in entrepreneurial trades such as the grocery, general merchandising and even barbering concerns. Whites abandoned black businesses as patrons, further restricting the ability of black businessmen to succeed and confirming the relegation of most African-Americans to the lowest rungs of the socio-economic ladder. Zion Hill-area oral history interviews reveal memories of many early black businesses on Church Street just off the Principal Square, which had co-existed with white-owned establishments for years, being forced out by neighboring business owners at the turn of the century.

Until well after World War II, Zion Hill remained as the preeminent African-American community in Nacogdoches. Several generations of families long-settled in the neighborhood continued to reside there, among them cousins Aaron Reed, Clarence ("Bo") McMichael, and Willie T. Whitaker, Jr., descendants of Rev. Lawson Reed; and sisters Ellen and Lela Rolligan. Children from the community still walked the two miles or so down Lanana Creek to attend the Colored School, renamed E.J. Campbell School in 1929 in honor of a long-time principal. The Zion Hill Baptist Church also continued to flourish. As the black community became more economically diverse, educated and socially organized, interest grew in self-improvement, culture and membership in a variety of benevolent and fraternal associations. Zion Hill residents were active members of Eastern Star, the Masonic orders, Knights of Pythias, American Woodmen and other benevolent societies. As in Dallas, Marshall and other cities with established black communities,

church and fraternal membership were critical measures of one's place in the social hierarchy: "Of what church and order are you?" was a familiar query to many in these African-American communities.

Still legally or economically excluded from or relegated to separate facilities at many forms of amusements accessible to whites, blacks living in Zion Hill and Shawnee enjoyed other types of entertainment during the first decades of the 20th century. Rail and later auto excursions were a popular way to relax, and many long time residents fondly remember trips to the country, or even across town to visit friends and relatives. Picnics, and of course church events, were also favorite leisure pastimes.

While new generations of residents grew up in Zion Hill, little physical change occurred in the community after the century's second decade. Few new houses were constructed in the district following the boom of residential construction in the 1920s. The first street paving occurred in the 1930s when a WPA project laid concrete along the length of Lanana Street; it would be some time before Richardson or Bois d'Arc Streets would be similarly treated, and Gene, Ola, Ernest and Mast Alleys remain dirt roads today. The most significant physical changes to houses in the district since the 1920s have been the application of synthetic materials over original wood siding on many of the properties, and occasional alterations of front porches. The Shawnee community, unfortunately, experienced a more palpable decline: houses deteriorated and many were abandoned; and the huge lumberyard and sawmill facility closed, its buildings demolished to make way for nearby suburban development as the city grew southeastward.

More recently, however, physical deterioration of the Zion Hill community has also accelerated. Many of the simply, and sometimes poorly, constructed vernacular frame houses began to disintegrate, particularly those owned by absentee landlords who now are primarily not members or descendants of the community. Between 1990 and 1992 an alarming number of houses, particularly in the area east of Richardson Street in and near the floodplain of Lanana Creek, have been abandoned and destroyed either by neglect or by demolition. However, fully 89 per cent of the structures remaining in Zion Hill are listed as contributing to the character of the historic district, their essential architectural and environmental elements remaining relatively intact.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
CONTINUATION SHEET

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BOUNDARY JUSTIFICATION - ZION HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT

The Zion Hill Historic District borders the Washington Square Historic District to the southwest and northwest. The land to the north includes a new subdivision of 1980s houses and townhouses. The east boundary extends to the Lanana Creek. Much of the land in the flood plain is undeveloped, although a few homes on Ola, Ernest and Gene Alleys extend to the creek. The northeast section of the district is vacant and unimproved with the notable exception of the Park Street Cemetery near the intersection of Lanana Creek and Park Street. The land east of the creek is undeveloped.

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION - ZION HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT

Beginning at the northwest corner of lot 1, Block 5, Original Town, thence east along Park Street and continuing until reaching Lanana Creek. Thence south following Lanana Creek until reaching the southeast corner of lot 18, Block 5, Original Town. Thence west along said lot and continuing until reaching the southwest corner of lot 12-A, Block 5, Original Town. Continue west across N. Lanana Street to the east property line of lot 5-A, Block 4, Original Town. Thence south along said lot to its southwest corner. Thence west along the south property line of lot 5-A, Block 4, Original Town, to its southwest corner. Thence north along the back property line of 5-A, Block 4, Original Town, to its northwest corner. Thence east to the southwest corner of lot 4-B, Block 4, Original Town. Thence north along the back property line of said lot and continuing until reaching the northwest corner of lot 4-A, Block 4, Original Town. Thence east to the southwest corner of lot 3-A, Block 4, Original Town. Thence north along the back property line of said lot and continuing until reaching the northwest corner of lot 3-B, Block 4, Original Town. Thence west to the southwest corner of lot 2-F South, Block 4, Original Town. Thence north along the back property line of said lot and continuing until reaching the northwest corner of lot 2-J, Block 4, Original Town. Thence east to the southwest corner of lot 2-G, Block 4, Original Town. Thence north along the back property line of said lot to its northwest corner. Thence west to the southwest corner of lot 2-I, Block 4, Original Town. Thence north along the back property line of said lot to its northwest corner. Thence east along the north property line of said lot and continuing across N. Lanana Street until reaching the west property line of lot 1, Block 5, Original Town. Thence north to the point of beginning.

Architectural Resources

ARCHITECTURAL RESOURCES OF THE ZION HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT

Zion Hill Historic District is a cohesive collection of vernacular dwellings which date from the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century through the second quarter of the twentieth century and is representative of vernacular housetypes which are associated with both Lowland South and African origins, and found to be especially prevalent in Louisiana. They include the late nineteenth century double pen and saddlebag as well as early twentieth century variations of the shotgun and double shotgun bungalow. Other plan types such as the pyramidal and the triple-pile bungalow are the result of the early twentieth century popularization and dissemination of specific dwelling forms. Also included in the district are massed plan types, such as a late nineteenth century Queen Anne house and other miscellaneous plan types associated with the second quarter of the twentieth century.

As is typical of the architectural history for many small African-American communities throughout Texas and the south, the erection dates for specific buildings are undocumented, and oral traditions remain the primary source for tracing building histories. The oral history of Zion Hill indicates that up to fifty percent of the houses were built by the residents of the Community, and the remaining percentages by absentee Anglo and African-American landlords, as rental properties. Although indefinite as to *who* actually built the houses in Zion Hill, this may be indicative of the employment of African-American builders or tradesmen by landlords of both races in Nacogdoches, for the construction of houses for occupation by African-American renters, based upon at least an association on the part of landlords, with specific housetypes and that population in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Also represented is the means by which African-American carpenters were responsible for the initial diffusion of building forms throughout the south that were the direct result of African origins and development.

Much of the architecture present in the Zion Hill Historic District falls into this category, such as the shotgun and its related subtypes. The spread of the shotgun as a rural and urban house type is important in that it was first constructed by free blacks from Haiti in the first decade of the nineteenth century in New Orleans as a dwelling of preference. It became synonymous with low-income African-American housing throughout the south, and later with worker housing throughout the continental United States, being built in various forms until its final appearance in the fourth decade of the twentieth century as an inexpensive rental cottage.

Ascertaining the significance of this and other issues related to the study of vernacular architecture in traditional African-American communities is of great importance for the residents of the Zion Hill Community as well as other communities throughout Texas. Little if any of the information that has resulted from some thirty years of vernacular architectural research has ever reached the people who currently reside in these small communities. This section of the document is an attempt to briefly summarize the history and significance of the housetypes which are associated with Zion Hill and advocate their importance to the cultural history of the Community as well as provide guidelines for their retention and rehabilitation.

Typology: The Significance of Housetypes and Subtypes

Cultural geographers, Kniffen and Glassie (1966), recognized that building form (type) was closely linked to the pattern of migration and the cultural diffusion involved in the early settlement of the United States. They identified, through the study of housetypes, three major distinct culture complexes or hearth areas which were associated with initial settlement by Europeans on the eastern seaboard and defined them as the New England, the Middle Atlantic or Upper South, and the Lower South. The New England culture region remained primarily English. The Middle Atlantic was a fusion of English, Welsh, and Swedish colonists who were later joined by large numbers of Scotch-Irish and Germans. The third culture region which remained primarily English, yet distinctly separate from its northern equivalent, was the Lower South.

The New England culture complex, which emerged in southeastern Massachusetts, spread southward as far as coastal Maryland and westward across the northern portions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The Middle Atlantic culture complex began in southeastern Pennsylvania, spread southward into parts of Virginia and along the piedmonts of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, and westward through Kentucky, Tennessee, and into North Central Texas. Beginning in the Chesapeake region of Virginia, the Lower South culture complex moved southward and westward with the migration of English settlers, along the lower coastal plains of the southern states, and into Louisiana and Texas.

Settlement by French colonists initiated the establishment of a smaller culture complex in Louisiana which would remain somewhat localized within the bayous and along the lower Mississippi River Valley. The nineteenth century introduction of large populations from Haiti into New Orleans similarly initiated into this French culture complex, certain vestiges of African material culture which had survived and developed in the Caribbean. Not unlike the diffusion of attributes associated with European material culture, this vestige of African material culture would spread eastward across the southern coastal plains, and northward along the Mississippi River Valley, among African-American communities.

The process by which cultural geographers such as Kniffen and Glassie, et al. established the patterns of migration throughout the eastern United States was through the analysis of building types and the establishment of a criteria for defining similar and identifiable traits by which buildings could be grouped together. This analysis and seriation of building traits was based on a structuralist model developed by Levi Straus, along with a methodology introduced by James Ford in the early twentieth century, and is defined as the *typology* (Kniffen 1990:36). Vernacular architectural studies by cultural geographers and students of material culture have utilized the typology as the primary research tool for a description of the housetype and its related subtypes.

The *housetype* is the prototypical plan and house form which carries with it a series of formal traits which remain relatively fixed through time. For early vernacular or folk buildings, it is inextricably linked to the concept of Initial Settlement, when an immigrant population introduces the type through permanent settlement, usually prior to 1850 in the