

# Agricultural and Architectural Reform in the Antebellum South: Fruitland at Augusta, Georgia

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IN THE SPRING OF 1857, TRAVELERS ALONG THE WASHINGTON ROAD heading west through the outskirts of Augusta, Georgia, would have seen a large and unusual dwelling in the course of completion: Fruitland, the country residence of horticulturalist Dennis Redmond. Redmond, the junior editor of an Augusta-based agricultural periodical, the *Southern Cultivator*, designed Fruitland not only as the home place of his expansive orchard but also as a model “southern country house” for his planter patrons. The Fruitland plan appeared in the *Southern Cultivator* in August 1857. Redmond provided detailed instructions for the concrete, or “gravel wall,” mode of construction he used to build the two-story, rectangular dwelling, with a cupola rising high above the nearby fruit trees. To accompany the text, Redmond commissioned simple engravings of the upper and lower floor plans, but it was an elaborate woodcut elevation of the house and its immediate surroundings that more fully depicted the idealized agricultural landscape that Redmond sought to create. The artist presented Fruitland as a solidly constructed residence, dominating the rows of young trees radiating out from it—a setting of order and improvement in contrast to the untamed foliage beyond.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of the house and its plan lay not in their consequences. The novel concrete residence did not transform southern architecture, as Redmond intended, and few slaveholders developed large commercial orchards such as Fruitland possessed. Rather, the

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<sup>1</sup> “Southern Country Houses: ‘Fruitland’—The Residence of D. Redmond, near Augusta, Ga.” (hereinafter “Southern Country Houses”), *Southern Cultivator*, August 1857, pp. 242–45; O[rson] S. Fowler, *A Home for All; or, The Gravel Wall and Octagon Mode of Building . . .* (New York, 1853). The author wishes to thank Edward Ayers, Grace Hale, Maurie McInnis, Louis Nelson, Peter Onuf, Richard Guy Wilson, Laura Kolar, Kathryn Shively Meier, Erick Montgomery, Joseph M. Lee III, and Carla Mellott for their assistance in this project.

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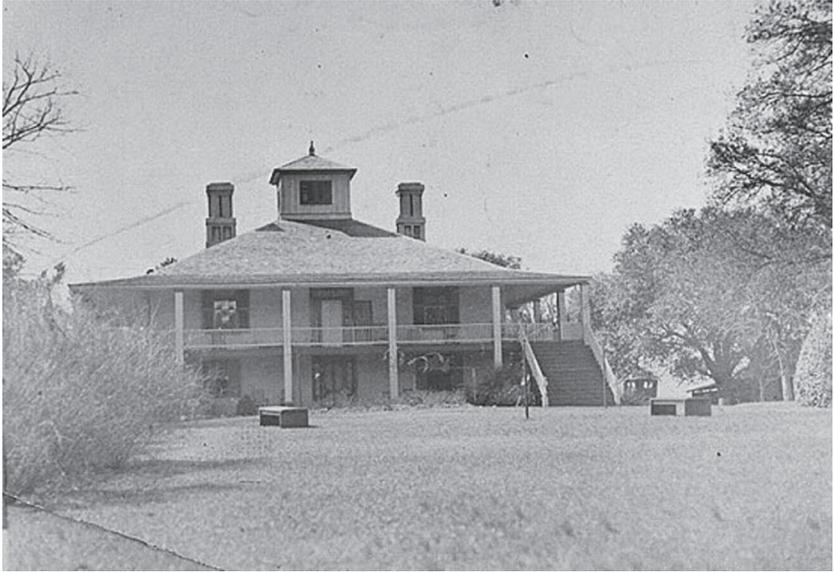
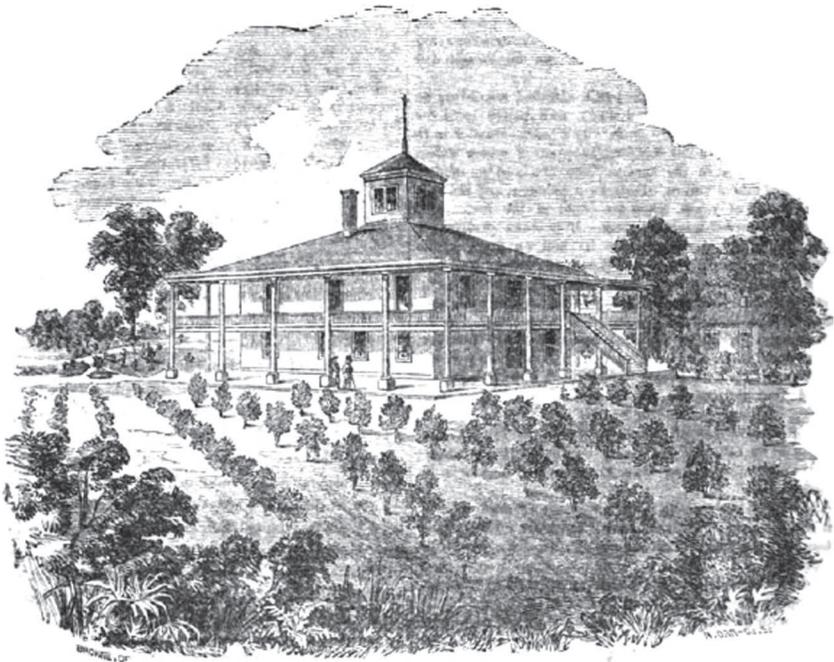


Figure 1. Fruitland, near Augusta, Georgia, ca. 1930. *Courtesy Georgia Archives, Vanishing Georgia Collection, ric035.*



**SOUTHERN COUNTRY HOUSES.**

**"FRUITLAND"--THE RESIDENCE OF D. REDMOND, NEAR AUGUSTA, GA.**

Figure 2. Elevation of Fruitland. *From Southern Cultivator, August 1857.*

design deserves attention because its approach to the improvement of southern agriculture is strikingly ambiguous about the roles of slavery and the plantation in a progressive South. At a time when the South was engaged in a process of regional self-definition that reinforced slavery's cultural and economic centrality, Fruitland suggested an alternative southern agricultural landscape: a big house without slaves, without cotton, and perhaps without a plantation. Fruitland was not a veiled antislavery argument; instead, it was Redmond's attempt to avoid the limitations of a South defined exclusively by cotton and slaves. Far more than an innocuous architectural experiment or a simple house plan, Fruitland was part of an increasingly volatile debate over what southern agriculture was and what it could be. The plan for Fruitland reflected the ever-narrowing space in which late antebellum southern reformers could critique southern institutions.

Although the Fruitland property has received much attention in its twentieth-century reincarnation as the Augusta National Golf Club, its significance as the brainchild of a mid-nineteenth-century trendsetter has been overlooked, its origins reduced to the preamble of its subsequent history as a world-famous golf course developed by Bobby Jones in the 1930s. Given that the concrete house and surviving orchard plantings now evoke romantic notions of a bygone South, it is ironic that Redmond implemented these same architectural and landscape features to challenge traditional southern cultural and agricultural practices. Like dozens of publishers of plans for improved houses and gardens in the 1840s and 1850s, Redmond used Fruitland to advance a specific package of values to readers. He did so within a contentious national and transatlantic debate over slavery, which by the mid-1850s had become focused on the relationship between labor and land use.<sup>2</sup> In his plan for a southern country house, Redmond bypassed the labor question altogether, building instead a critique of planters and plantation land-use practices. The fact that Redmond carried out his design in built form as his own home and as a published plan—creating both a physical and a conceptual Fruitland—offers a unique opportunity to explore why one of the South's leading antebellum agricultural writers promoted concrete and fruit trees instead of cotton and slaves.

The story of Fruitland begins with a common paradox of southern cultural production—that many of the people most heavily involved in

<sup>2</sup>For the history of antebellum American land-use debates, see Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party before the Civil War* (New York, 1970); and Sarah T. Phillips, "Antebellum Agricultural Reform, Republican Ideology, and Sectional Tension," *Agricultural History*, 74 (Autumn 2000), 799–822.

defining the South through architecture, material culture, and literature were not born in the region. In 1850 Dennis Redmond, a native of Ireland, left his home in Utica, Oneida County, New York, to become a traveling correspondent with the *Southern Cultivator*, a monthly journal established in 1843 by James and William Jones, owners of the pro-Whig *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*. The *Southern Cultivator* was not the first agricultural periodical published in the South, but its growing readership under its well-known editor, Daniel Lee, made it among the most successful, with approximately ten thousand subscribers by 1853. Little is certain of Redmond's life in New York, but he worked as a printer in Utica and was active in the Oneida County Agricultural Society in the 1840s, winning a prize for his African geese at the New York Agricultural Society Fair in 1848. While the reasons for Redmond's removal to the South are unknown, he became a permanent resident, remaining in Georgia throughout the Civil War and dying in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1906.<sup>3</sup>

Redmond may have become acquainted with Daniel Lee during Lee's editorship of the Rochester (N.Y.) *Genesee Farmer*.<sup>4</sup> Lee, too, was a transplant from New York, hired by the Jones brothers in 1847 after the abrupt death of the Georgia-born editor of the *Southern Cultivator*. The Jones brothers considered Lee "one of the most eminent scientific and practical Agriculturists in the country," and Lee's expertise helped the *Southern Cultivator* become the most widely circulated agricultural journal in the lower South and among the most prominent nationally.<sup>5</sup> Through his twelve-year tenure, from 1847 to 1859, Lee established the editorial framework of the publication, and Lee's ideas on architecture and agriculture heavily influenced the Fruitland plan.

Redmond, Lee, and the *Southern Cultivator* were part of the American agricultural reform movement, a product of eighteenth-century Enlightenment ideals and nineteenth-century anxieties about

<sup>3</sup> James C. Bonner, *A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860* (Athens, Ga., 1964), 119-20; "Renew Your Subscriptions," *Southern Cultivator*, November 1853, p. 337; Manuscript Census Returns, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Oneida County, New York, National Archives Microfilm Series (hereinafter NAMS) M-432, reel 563, p. 453A, image 339; Albany (N.Y.) *Cultivator*, October 1848, p. 317. Redmond is buried in St. Nicholas Cemetery, Jacksonville, Florida; his grave marker indicates he lived from 1824 to 1906. Cemetery information provided by Carla Mellott, Librarian, Southern Genealogists Exchange Society, Inc., Jacksonville, Florida.

<sup>4</sup> E. Merton Coulter, *Daniel Lee, Agriculturist: His Life North and South* (Athens, Ga., 1972), 8. Redmond and Lee may have also shared social connections; in 1843 Redmond married Mary Ann Porter in Herkimer County, New York, the location of Fairfield Medical College, Lee's alma mater. *Ibid.*, 2-3.

<sup>5</sup> "A Word to Our Friends," *Southern Cultivator*, July 1847, p. 104 (quotation); "Death of Mr. Camak," *Southern Cultivator*, July 1847, p. 104; "Our Editor," *Southern Cultivator*, August 1847, p. 120.

the negative consequences of rapid change, such as population displacement, vulnerability to international markets, and the depletion of natural resources. By 1837, when planters in Hancock County, Georgia, established the first successful local agricultural club in the state, agricultural reform had already become a well-developed movement in places like New England and the Chesapeake, where acute environmental, economic, and demographic changes in the wake of the Panic of 1819 threatened to shift the mantle of American prosperity to the West. In a predominantly agricultural nation, where the vast majority of Americans lived on farms and plantations, many observers linked perceived declines on the farm with societal decay. Agricultural writers shared fears held by a diverse set of reformers, including benevolent societies, women's rights activists, and temperance groups, about the impact of rapid change on individuals, families, and communities. In response to such concerns, agricultural journals, beginning with the *American Farmer*, established in Baltimore in 1819, lauded the tenets of so-called scientific agriculture. These publications promised that innovation, experimentation, and new technology in agriculture—lamboned by critics as book farming—would help American farmers and planters gain control over strained ecologies and respond better to fickle markets.<sup>6</sup>

As did many other Americans, Georgia planters turned to agricultural improvement for solutions to a complex network of problems. Popular interest in agricultural improvement was high in Georgia when Redmond arrived. By the 1830s, environmental degradation due to deforestation and subsequent erosion had become a significant problem in the Carolinas and Georgia, made all the less tolerable by several years of low cotton prices.<sup>7</sup> It is no coincidence that the

<sup>6</sup> List of Members, 1837, Planters Club Papers #2480 (Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill); James C. Bonner, "Genesis of Agricultural Reform in the Cotton Belt," *Journal of Southern History*, 9 (November 1943), 475–500, esp. 478–80. For the history of agricultural reform in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century, see Steven Stoll, *Larding the Lean Earth: Soil and Society in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 2002); Benjamin R. Cohen, *Notes from the Ground: Science, Soil, and Society in the American Countryside* (New Haven, 2009); William M. Mathew, *Edmund Ruffin and the Crisis of Slavery in the Old South: The Failure of Agricultural Reform* (Athens, Ga., 1988); and Lynn A. Nelson, *Pharsalia: An Environmental Biography of a Southern Plantation, 1780–1880* (Athens, Ga., 2007).

<sup>7</sup> The geological composition of the Atlantic piedmont makes it peculiarly susceptible to erosion; even so, the best soils of the piedmont could not compete with the superior agricultural lands of the Alabama black belt and the Mississippi Delta. For piedmont erosion, see Albert E. Cowdrey, *This Land, This South: An Environmental History* (rev. ed.; Lexington, Ky., 1996), 76. Cowdrey also provides an excellent account of erosion's substantial impact on the piedmont following the Civil War (p. 129). Also see Jack Temple Kirby, *Mockingbird Song: Ecological Landscapes of the South* (Chapel Hill, 2006), 75–112, for an investigation of reformers' claims about soil exhaustion.

Jones brothers began the *Southern Cultivator* in 1843, when cotton had dropped to the dismal average price of six cents per pound.<sup>8</sup> By that time, Middle Georgia, roughly the area of the lower piedmont situated between the Savannah and Ocmulgee Rivers, had lost its agricultural preeminence to the superior soils of the Southwest and was fast becoming a peripheral part of the cotton kingdom. Out-migration caused the population of Middle Georgia to plummet, with some counties losing up to a third of their white population in a single decade.<sup>9</sup> In a letter to the *Southern Cultivator* in 1843, a Greene County, Georgia, planter expressed common anxieties about Middle Georgia when he declared that “the time has arrived that, in the old counties of Georgia, we must fall upon the plan of manuring and resuscitating our old (and I may say, much abused) lands, or meet a poor return for our still poorer mode of cultivating them.”<sup>10</sup> In early 1844 Hancock County planter Eli H. Baxter conveyed a sense of desolation when he criticized “a most destructive system of culture” for producing “[a]t every point . . . worn out and exhausted plantations.”<sup>11</sup> Baxter, a member of the prominent Planters Club of Hancock County, was among a number of Middle Georgia planters who wanted to employ scientific agriculture to rehabilitate their lands and find alternatives or supplements to cotton.<sup>12</sup>

From its beginning the *Southern Cultivator* promoted fruit production along with silk, wine, wheat, and improved livestock as potential additions to the cotton economy. As was true of all agricultural publications at the time, the *Southern Cultivator* borrowed liberally from other sources to provide varied material to its readers. Its first issue alone included articles from the Winthrop *Maine Farmer*, the *American Agriculturist* of New York, the Canandaigua (N.Y.) *Ontario Freeman*, the Albany (N.Y.) *Cultivator*, and the *Farmers’ Cabinet* of Philadelphia.<sup>13</sup> Agricultural reform was heavily dependent on networks—interconnected webs of agriculturalists, scientists, farmers, and publishers—that exchanged information about new crops and methods of production. The *Southern Cultivator* became the locus of an agricultural reform network in Georgia,

<sup>8</sup> Harvie Jordan, “Cotton in Southern Agricultural Economy,” *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 35 (January 1910), 1–7, esp. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Jones County, for example, saw its white population decline from 9,620 persons in 1820 to 6,471 in 1830 and 4,417 in 1840, a decline of approximately one-third per decade. Historical Census Browser, University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center, <http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/>.

<sup>10</sup> Letter from “Woodville,” Greene County, Ga., *Southern Cultivator*, April 26, 1843, p. 63.

<sup>11</sup> “Address Delivered before the Hancock Planters’ Club, by Eli H. Baxter, Esq., Nov. 3, 1843,” *Southern Cultivator*, January 24, 1844, pp. 10–12 (quotations on 10).

<sup>12</sup> Bonner, *History of Georgia Agriculture*, 61–72, 110–26.

<sup>13</sup> *Southern Cultivator*, March 1, 1843.

one that sought to connect all the promise of the modern world to a program of plantation improvement.

Yet, as the design of Fruitland ultimately reflected, forces both within and outside the South made links between the plantation and the broader network of agricultural improvement problematic. Agricultural reform embraced an Enlightenment philosophy that beautiful, productive, progressive agricultural landscapes were the products of healthy societies. By 1830 the idea that the environmental destruction apparent in the Virginia Tidewater and southern piedmont was a manifestation of the evils of slavery had become prevalent in national discourse. At the same time, through the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, many persons and publications within the agricultural reform movement espoused a belief in a national agricultural project that included an improving slave South. Jesse Buel, editor of the *Albany Cultivator*, promoted shared national progress in his 1843 editorial "Progress of Southern Agriculture." He declared, "One of the most gratifying signs of the times, and one which as clearly, perhaps, as any one thing, marks the advance of sound opinions on the subject of farming in the country generally, is the evident improvement which has taken place within a few years in the method of southern farming. . . . [T]he adoption of a better system [in the South] . . . must be considered as one of the most favorable indications in the horizon of American agriculture."<sup>14</sup>

This national agricultural project, however, faced an increasingly formidable adversary in the cause of abolitionism, as abolitionists rejected the idea of the plantation as an agricultural landscape susceptible to the tenets of improvement. In its first annual report in 1833, the New-England Anti-Slavery Society referenced the "visible curse . . . upon the slave-tilled soil" of the South, arguing that only abolition could "reclaim her barren soil."<sup>15</sup> Richard Hildreth's 1836 novel *The Slave: or, Memoirs of Archy Moore*, generally considered by scholars to be the first American antislavery novel, contained such descriptions of debased slave-labor landscapes:

Lower Virginia had already begun to feel the effects of that curse, which has since lighted so heavily upon her, and which, in truth, she has so well deserved. Already her fields were beginning to be deserted; already impenetrable thickets had commenced to cover plantations, which, had the soil been cultivated by freemen, might still have produced a rich and abundant harvest. There was a deserted plantation about ten miles from Spring-Meadow. . . . [T]he morning

<sup>14</sup>"Progress of Southern Agriculture," *Albany Cultivator*, December 1843, p. 190.

<sup>15</sup>New-England Anti-Slavery Society, *First Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, Presented Jan. 9, 1833* (Boston, 1833), 10 (first quotation), 19 (second quotation).

had dawned before we reached the plantation buildings. They were still standing; but in a most dilapidated condition. The great House had been a structure of large size, and considerable pretensions. But the windows were gone, the doors had dropped from their hinges, and the roof was partly fallen in. The court yard was completely grown up with young trees. Wild vines were creeping over the house;—and all was silent, desolate and deserted. The stables, and what had been the servants' quarter, were mere heaps of ruins, overgrown with weeds and grass.<sup>16</sup>

Thus, even before the *Southern Cultivator* began its pursuit of plantation improvement, some Americans had already dismissed the notion that the South could embrace both agricultural reform and slavery.

Notwithstanding its engagement in the national dialogue on agricultural improvement, the *Southern Cultivator* announced in its first issue a determination to “be exclusively devoted to Southern Agriculture,” and this stance signaled a dilemma that characterized southern agricultural reform throughout the antebellum period.<sup>17</sup> The success of the *Southern Cultivator* relied on claims of shared regional identity through agricultural distinctiveness, but running the line of demarcation between northern and southern agriculture was tricky, especially in a Georgia agricultural network that continually looked northward for inspiration. James Camak, who preceded Daniel Lee as editor of the *Southern Cultivator*, wrote of “Yankee Farming”: “We have often, in the pages of the CULTIVATOR, referred to the neatness, economy, industry and enterprise prevailing on farms in New England:—so often indeed, and in such terms, as perhaps to make some Southern Planters despair of ever attaining to any thing like the same perfection, in the practice of their profession.”<sup>18</sup> As Redmond and Lee discovered through their work on the *Southern Cultivator*, defining, critiquing, and expanding southern agriculture all at once, within the confines of ongoing debates over slavery, was a delicate and difficult business. Success required the skillful adaptation of outside influences to southern agriculture while deflecting attacks on the slave system.

The promotion of southern fruit production epitomized such adaptation and deflection. Although the South had a variety of native fruits, it lacked commercial nurseries, and enterprising fruit growers sought out specimens from producers in the Northeast. Improved fruit production promised a variety of benefits for the South. Larger, healthier, and more varied orchards could enhance plantations' diversification

<sup>16</sup> Richard Hildreth, *The Slave: or, Memoirs of Archy Moore* (2 vols.; Boston, 1836), I, 57–58.

<sup>17</sup> “Give Us Your Aid,” *Southern Cultivator*, March 1, 1843, p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> “Yankee Farming,” *Southern Cultivator*, September 1846, p. 138.

and self-sufficiency through food production, and commercial groves, particularly those on plantations adjacent to railroads or cities, could supplement the incomes of cash-strapped cotton planters. Just as important to nineteenth-century agricultural reformers, fruit production symbolized enlightened farming due to its combination of usefulness and pastoral beauty. A plantation South of blossoming fruit trees suggested a southern agricultural society that was simultaneously healthy and slaveholding.<sup>19</sup>

When Dennis Redmond became a traveling correspondent for the *Southern Cultivator* in 1850, his first assignments included visits to sites of nascent commercial fruit production in Georgia and Tennessee. His accounts reveal his familiarity with the philosophy of enlightened fruit cultivation. Redmond called at the Atlanta residence of Richard Peters, a native of Pennsylvania who was investing in fruit production and improved cattle breeds both in Atlanta and at his Gordon County, Georgia, plantation. After his visit in 1850, Redmond, struck by the beauty of the Peters establishment, wrote that Peters had not “neglected the *ornamental* in his devotion to the *practical* and useful” at his farm.<sup>20</sup> Redmond’s connection between ornament and utility in fruit cultivation reflected his interest in the writings of Andrew Jackson Downing, a New York horticulturalist who published information on fruit production as well as widely circulated books on architectural and landscape planning. Downing promoted new styles of rural and suburban architecture, often based on Gothic and Italian prototypes, situating country residences within carefully executed landscapes. He believed that improved houses and grounds—in other words, specific types of domestic space—could uplift the restless American masses. Fruit trees formed part of his idealized domestic ensemble. Downing’s interest in fruit cultivation was appropriate considering that he began his career as the owner of a successful orchard in Newburgh, New York. His four enormously popular works—*A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* (1841), *Cottage Residences* (1842), *The Fruits and Fruit Trees of America* (1845), and *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850)—both catered to and developed an American interest in domestic architecture, securing an immense national following. William H. Thurmond, an Atlanta-area horticulturalist whose “new and improved varieties of fruit”

<sup>19</sup> For a concise history of fruit production in antebellum Georgia, see Bonner, *History of Georgia Agriculture*, 149–67.

<sup>20</sup> “Letters from Our Travelling Correspondent—No. I,” *Southern Cultivator*, June 1850, pp. 88–89 (quotation on 88); Royce Shingleton, *Richard Peters: Champion of the New South* (Macon, Ga., 1985), 34–35, 38–39, 55–71.

made the pages of the *Southern Cultivator*, admirably named his nursery "Downing Hill."<sup>21</sup> In New York, in Georgia, and across the United States, reformers like Redmond reported Americans building houses, laying out gardens, and planting fruit trees according to Downing's specifications.

In June 1852 Lee and Redmond visited the orchard at Bedford, an eight-hundred-acre plantation owned by James Lindsay Coleman and located just west of Augusta. The two journalists shared their observations of Coleman's orchard with readers of the *Southern Cultivator* in August. Interested in fruit production as a means of crop diversification in the South, the editors found much to admire at Bedford: fifty varieties of apples and forty or more types of peaches, plus plums, pears, apricots, and nectarines. Redmond and Lee reported that the sight of a hundred acres of fruit trees "pleasantly and forcibly reminded [them] of the truthful sentiment expressed by Mr. DOWNING, that '*fine fruit is the most perfect union of the useful and the beautiful that the earth knows.*'"<sup>22</sup> The editors remembered the quotation from the preface of *Fruits and Fruit Trees of America*, where in a few pages Downing made many of the symbolic connections between rural activity and American progress that carried over into his discussions of architecture. "America is a *young orchard*," he believed, capturing a sense of ripening possibility coupled with immaturity and fragility. Always concerned with utility, and believing Americans to be increasingly profit-driven, Downing assured readers that "in this practical age" the benefit of fruit cultivation "requires no explanation to show its downright and direct usefulness."<sup>23</sup> Acres of fruit trees could generate an income, but they also symbolized putting down roots, required careful tending, and yielded a harvest of exceptional beauty. In 1854 Dennis Redmond acquired such a landscape after the financial reversals of James Coleman resulted in the sale and subdivision of the Bedford plantation. That June, Redmond purchased from Benjamin H.

<sup>21</sup> "Letters from Our Travelling Correspondent—No. I," *Southern Cultivator*, June 1850, p. 89. Redmond does not provide the name "Downing Hill," but it is found in Bonner, *History of Georgia Agriculture*, 158. Excellent accounts of the life and influence of Downing include David Schuyler, *Apostle of Taste: Andrew Jackson Downing, 1815–1852* (Baltimore, 1996); Kenneth Hafertepe, "Downing's Readings—and Readings of Downing," in Hafertepe and James F. O'Gorman, eds., *American Architects and Their Books, 1840–1915* (Amherst, Mass., 2007), 1–30; and George B. Tatum and Elisabeth Blair MacDougall, eds., *Prophet with Honor: The Career of Andrew Jackson Downing, 1815–1852* (Washington, D.C., 1989).

<sup>22</sup> "Rough Notes on Southern Fruit Growing—Bedford Orchard and Nursery," *Southern Cultivator*, August 1852, pp. 235–36 (quotation on 235).

<sup>23</sup> A. J. Downing, *The Fruits and Fruit Trees of America; or, The Culture, Propagation, and Management, in the Garden and Orchard, of Fruit Trees Generally . . .* (New York, 1845), v–vi.

Warren the 315 acres that included the Bedford orchard. He named his new holding Fruitland.<sup>24</sup>

As Redmond embarked on salvaging and improving the Bedford orchard, he may not have considered that the dismantling of Bedford and the emergence of Fruitland suggested a symbolic break between the plantation and the orchard. Mired in financial troubles, Coleman failed in his attempts at plantation improvement, and the Bedford orchard survived detached from its original plantation context. The *Southern Cultivator* included orchards in its program of plantation improvement, but although it gave useful information about the planting and pruning of fruit trees and waxed eloquent about the virtues associated with their cultivation, the journal failed to engage with the practical or philosophical limitations to the successful development of experimental or commercial orchards on slave-labor plantations. Certainly the simultaneous harvests of cotton and apples, peaches, or pears in the fall made for a scheduling predicament, but Lee and Redmond deliberately left even more pressing questions unanswered—how well the slave-labor system could adapt to fruit production and what characteristics the virtuous cultivation of fruit imparted to enslaved workers.

Considering the *Southern Cultivator*'s resolution to "be exclusively devoted to Southern Agriculture" and its abundant references to planters and plantations, the journal remained remarkably silent about slavery in its first ten years. The editors had abundant reasons to ignore the subject. First, because agricultural journals relied on the exchange of information across multiple national and transatlantic networks, a preoccupation with slavery threatened to alienate critical partnerships. For this reason, agricultural publications both above and below the Mason-Dixon Line tempered their treatment of slavery. Like the *Southern Cultivator*, the *Albany Cultivator*, a northern journal with a large southern readership in the 1830s and 1840s, discussed plantations without often mentioning slaves.<sup>25</sup> In both journals, "planters" and "plantations" served as euphemisms for slave owners and slave-labor landscapes.

<sup>24</sup> Records of Richmond County, Georgia, Book JJ, pp. 419–20 (Clerk of Superior, State, and Juvenile Court, Augusta Judicial Center, Augusta, Ga.). References to Redmond's occupancy of the Bedford orchard in 1853 suggest that he rented the property prior to purchase. See "Answers to Inquiries," *Southern Cultivator*, August 1853, pp. 241–42.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, three articles in the *Albany Cultivator*: "The North and the South," June 1838, pp. 70–71; "Progress of Southern Agriculture," December 1843, p. 190; and "Mississippi—Her Agriculture, &c.," March 1844, pp. 83–84. Labor was not a focus of improvers in the North or the South prior to 1850. See Stoll, *Larding the Lean Earth*, 190.

Further, agricultural writers made a living by finding and addressing problems, and the editors of southern agricultural journals, even if so inclined, could not afford to suggest that slavery was a problem. Rather, the *Southern Cultivator* and similar publications mimicked mainstream agricultural philosophy by espousing the idea that the appearance and productivity of agrarian landscapes were an extension of the character and behavior of the landed proprietor. The *Southern Cultivator* thus bypassed questions of the utility and economy of slavery by focusing its critique on planters and their mismanagement of plantations. In 1849, in a rare direct engagement with national slavery debates, Daniel Lee declared to readers that “[t]he evils of a defective system of husbandry—one that makes the soil poorer instead of richer—are mistakenly charged to the account of slave labor, when they ought to be ascribed to the *misdirection* of such labor.”<sup>26</sup> The *Southern Cultivator* thus was a clearinghouse for the various ways planters could use agriculture, architecture, and horticulture to redirect slaves’ labor into more culturally and economically productive channels. The journal was not a platform for critiquing or reforming the labor system itself.

Usually the *Southern Cultivator* went a step further in its evasion of slavery by linking planters directly to agricultural labor, erasing the enslaved workforce altogether. In 1846 editor James Camak began publishing a monthly calendar in the *Southern Cultivator* that left slaves out of its outline of agricultural chores; Lee and Redmond maintained the calendar as a regular feature. The first calendar, published in January and “[a]ltered from the *American Agriculturist’s Almanac* for 1844, and arranged to suit the Southern States,” divided agricultural work into four spheres—the kitchen garden, the fruit garden and orchard, the flower garden and pleasure grounds, and the plantation—discussing tasks in each area as if planters carried out the work themselves.<sup>27</sup>

Camak’s adaptation of the *American Agriculturist’s* almanac calendar was representative of how the *Southern Cultivator* worked vigorously to fold the antebellum plantation back into mainstream American agriculture, even as the Georgia journal defined southern agriculture as something distinctive. By omitting or blurring the role of slaves in southern agricultural production, Camak, followed by Lee, could more effectively tie the plantation to the larger web of agrarian aesthetics and principles. These efforts often had the

<sup>26</sup> “Plantation Economy—No. 1,” *Southern Cultivator*, March 1849, pp. 33–34 (quotation on 34).

<sup>27</sup> “Monthly Calendar,” *Southern Cultivator*, January 1846, pp. 15–16 (quotation on 15).

ironic effect of taking anything specifically southern out of plantation improvement. In 1856 Lee penned and published a crystallized vision of what could be called “the plantation beautiful” in his editorial “The Beautiful in Agriculture,” working “plantation” into an otherwise ambiguous idealized landscape. “A beautiful plantation,” Lee argued, “has equal advantages over one quite destitute of pleasing and attractive features. As society advances, and the popular appreciation of lovely and captivating expressions becomes more acute and refined, it is obvious that Beauty must appreciate in cash value.” Again, planter behavior, not the unalterable flaws of a corrupt system, was at fault. Fruitfulness, “an essential element of rural beauty,” diminished as planters transformed “a landscape that once inspired universal hope, confidence, pleasure and industry, into a barren waste.” Any planter, Lee proposed, “has the constant assistance of those wonderful powers known as vegetable and animal vitality, to multiply his agricultural wealth and beautify his plantation. Groves of forest trees, orchards of fruit trees, as well as all the benefit of the garden, are at his command. Parks, lawns and pleasure grounds he and his children may indulge in, if their tastes appreciate and enjoy such improvements.” Profit and virtue could exist, indeed did exist, on such a plantation—one that Lee conceived as being both working farm and rural fantasy.<sup>28</sup>

Fruit production was a promising way to insert the plantation into broader currents of agricultural improvement dialogue. In 1841 the *American Farmer* suggested planting a few “*Peaches, Cherries, Pears, Quinces, Plums, Damsons, Apricots, &c*” “in the lanes, around the house, and in the garden”; the domestic happiness the trees produced “should be among the most cherished aspirations of every man’s heart.”<sup>29</sup> Daniel Lee simply adapted such language to the plantation. In 1848 he told *Southern Cultivator* readers to “[t]each your sons how to graft and bud” because “[t]he culture of flowers, fruits, garden vegetables, shrubbery and forest trees will insensibly lead to the culture of the intellect and the heart. Human society needs improvement not less than gardens, which are thickly seeded with weeds, and plantations which have exhausted fields, dilapidated fences, mean buildings, and desolation stamped upon the whole.”<sup>30</sup> The plantation could indeed be improved, if only southern planters would embrace the rejuvenating power of the orchard and the garden.

<sup>28</sup> “The Beautiful in Agriculture,” *Southern Cultivator*, December 1856, pp. 362–64.

<sup>29</sup> “The Orchard—Fruit,” *American Farmer*, October 6, 1841, p. 156.

<sup>30</sup> “Hints for February—Gardening,” *Southern Cultivator*, February 1848, p. 29.

Redmond's orchard, a product of his genuine interest in pomology, was caught in the brambles of the tangled ideology of the *Southern Cultivator*. In March 1854, as Redmond set out to convert the commercially unsuccessful Bedford groves into his own successful orchard, he did so with his own hands and a modest workforce of uncertain race and number. He intended to establish a commercial nursery in order to export fruits and flowers to southern growers. Redmond had little experience, admitting that "[w]e are beginners merely, in our favorite pursuit—fruit culture," but he soon commenced an expansion of the work initiated by James Coleman. Redmond finalized his purchase of the property in June. In July 1854 he gave a complete account of his "fruit farm" in the *Southern Cultivator*, declaring his intention to devote the open portion of the tract "almost entirely to the raising of the finest varieties of fruit" and to grow only such other crops as the household required. The tract bore signs of previous misuse, with "a few washed gullies to be found here and there, as on all other old plantations," but its hundred-acre orchard, "the most attractive feature of the place," was a paradise of horticultural experimentation and improvement.<sup>31</sup> Soon "Fruitland Nursery" began marketing trees and produce through its published nursery catalog.<sup>32</sup> Redmond's engagement in fruit production was on the one hand straightforward—he bought a young orchard, began to enlarge it with a broad array of specimens, and sought to make a living by selling, literally, the fruits of his labor. The ambiguity of Fruitland arises, on the other hand, when it is considered in the context of Lee's construction of plantation improvement. With its invisible labor force, Fruitland, too, was an ambiguous landscape. Was Fruitland a fruit-growing plantation, or was it an improved landscape lying outside the plantation but nevertheless within the realm of southern agriculture?

The Fruitland house and its published plan provide the opportunity to examine more fully the specific messages and deliberate ambiguities embedded in Redmond's orchard. As the work of improving the depleted plantation acres continued, with saplings joining rows of older trees, Redmond decided to replace the existing residence on the property, giving him the chance to consider what style of building best suited his improved southern landscape. By 1856 he had begun to make plans for the construction of a new dwelling for himself, his wife, and their daughters at Fruitland—his model southern country

<sup>31</sup> "Garden and Farm Gossip—No. 1," *Southern Cultivator*, July 1854, pp. 218–19.

<sup>32</sup> "Fruits and Flowers for the South! 'Fruitland Nursery,' Augusta, Ga.," *Southern Cultivator*, October 1857, p. 324.

house. Constructed between approximately October 1856 and May 1857, the Fruitland house stood on a slight rise between the Savannah River to the north and Rae's Creek, the southern boundary of the 315-acre Fruitland property. Nearly square, the structure measured fifty feet wide by fifty-five feet long, rising two stories from a platform of concrete that formed the base of the structure. The concrete walls, twenty feet high, eighteen inches thick on the first level, and twelve inches thick on the second level, would keep the house cool in the summer and warm in the winter. Verandas surrounded the house on both levels, stretching ten feet on all sides and supported by twenty solid pine piers. At least one set of exterior stairs gave access to the second level. A double-pitch pyramidal roof topped the structure, capped with an eleven-foot-square cupola that looked out over at least two adjacent buildings—a kitchen and an intriguing “negro quarter” that was fifty-two feet by fourteen feet. The cupola, which functioned primarily as a giant flue to release hot air, overlooked acres of apple, peach, pear, and other fruit trees. In August 1857 Redmond published the elevation and floor plans of his new residence in the *Southern Cultivator*, providing readers the rare opportunity of seeing an agricultural reformer's lofty aspirations come to life on the printed page.<sup>33</sup>

The house and grounds created an agricultural ensemble in two forms—the tangible landscape of Fruitland and the published plan of August 1857. Recognizing the physical and conceptual as distinct, if overlapping, spheres allows a more thorough inquiry into Redmond's views on slavery and the institution's place at Fruitland. The Fruitland house plan, published under the title “Southern Country Houses” with the subtitle “‘Fruitland’—The Residence of D. Redmond, Near Augusta, Ga.,” included ample text along with its elevation and two floor plans, altogether filling three and a half pages in the *Southern Cultivator*. The plan made no implicit or explicit references to slavery, despite a number of ways the design might have appealed to slaveholders. For the planter wanting to manage more carefully his own plantation and enslaved labor force, the house's cupola and peripteral galleries offered 360-degree surveillance. Further, Redmond emphasized that concrete construction did not require special training and could often be accomplished with on-site materials: “the large rock was quarried and hauled from Rae's Creek, a mile off; the water for making mortar, hauled in a cask, over

<sup>33</sup>“Southern Country Houses,” *Southern Cultivator*, August 1857, pp. 242–45; “Concrete and Mud Houses,” *Southern Cultivator*, June 1857, pp. 184–85 (quotation on 184).

a quarter of a mile; the process of putting up such walls was entirely new to our workm[e]n and ourselves."<sup>34</sup>

Slavery was, however, present at Fruitland, both on the physical property and in the pages of the *Southern Cultivator*, although its traces are faint. Court papers from 1857 refer to three recently constructed buildings at Fruitland: the main residence, the kitchen, and a "servants house."<sup>35</sup> The last of these is known in more detail from a short article by Redmond published in June 1857. In "Concrete and Mud Houses," Redmond cited the editor of a Georgia newspaper, who, in praising the *Southern Cultivator*, penned that "[the May] number contains complete directions by friend Redmond, one of the editors, for building Concrete or literally *mud* Houses." Redmond was quick to point out that concrete and mud construction were not the same, and to make this point he cited his ongoing experiment in constructing "a small negro quarter [52 x 14] entirely of well tempered clay-mortar, to which is added a small portion of chopped straw. . . . Ample and full ventilation is provided for; and we are sanguine of producing a very comfortable *adobe* house at a cost not exceeding that of a wooden one of the same dimensions."<sup>36</sup> Who inhabited this sizable quarter in 1857 is unclear. Redmond owned no slaves in 1856 or 1857; only by 1858 did he own two enslaved workers.<sup>37</sup> Redmond may have hired slaves, but there is no specific record of who labored in the early Fruitland orchard, black or white. Court documents attest that white tradesmen Solomon White, John Quinn, and Harlan Rigby built the Fruitland house, kitchen, and "servants house"; who assisted these men, if anyone, is unknown.<sup>38</sup>

Even though the role of slavery at Fruitland remains vague, aspects of Redmond's relationship with the institution can be inferred. Since Redmond became a slave owner himself around 1858, it seems he was not opposed to the ownership of slaves or to their use in southern agriculture, although his precise feelings on the merits of chattel labor are unclear. Further, Redmond did not hide the presence of slavery, or at least African Americans, at Fruitland, making reference

<sup>34</sup> "Southern Country Houses," *Southern Cultivator*, August 1857, pp. 242–45 (quotation on 245).

<sup>35</sup> Records of Richmond County, Book MM, p. 295.

<sup>36</sup> "Concrete and Mud Houses," *Southern Cultivator*, June 1857, pp. 184–85.

<sup>37</sup> Richmond County, Georgia, Tax Digests, 1856–1858, Microfilm Drawer 49, Box 4 (Georgia Archives, Morrow, Ga.).

<sup>38</sup> Records of Richmond County, Book MM, p. 295. All three men are listed in the 1860 U.S. Census for Richmond County: Solomon C. White, 53, master painter, b. Vermont; John C. Quinn, 37, master carpenter, b. Pennsylvania; and Harlan Rigby (listed as Harland Rigsbey), 50, master mechanic, b. Connecticut. See Manuscript Census Returns, Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Richmond County, Georgia, NAMS M-653, reel 135, pp. 829, 861, 863.

to his “negro quarter” two months before his publication of the Fruitland house plan. Nevertheless, Redmond chose not to mention slavery in the Fruitland plan. Instead, he illustrated orchards empty of workers, and he failed to demonstrate how well the building itself addressed the labor concerns of his primarily slaveholding readership.

Fruitland, then, resembled Daniel Lee’s idea of “The Beautiful in Agriculture”—a southern landscape with an invisible labor force, its beauty and order resulting from the careful attention of an enlightened proprietor. It is tempting, therefore, to see Fruitland as simply a continuation of the *Southern Cultivator*’s efforts to put slavery in the background of southern agriculture. However, in the mid-1850s a competing force emerged alongside “The Beautiful in Agriculture” to further complicate the journal’s message about enslaved labor. In 1854 the *Southern Cultivator* launched an explicit defense of the slave-labor system. That April, Lee published the front-page editorial “Hireling Labor and Slave Labor” in response to a series of forty-eight letters entitled “The South: Letters on the Productions, Industry and Resources of the Slave [sometimes “Southern”] States” printed in the *New York Times* between February 16, 1853, and February 13, 1854. Written by Frederick Law Olmsted, a Connecticut-born journalist and landscape gardener, and published under the pen name “Yeoman,” the letters detailed Olmsted’s extensive travels in the southern states. Olmsted did not altogether dismiss signs of southern improvement and industry, but in his final letter, summarizing his observations on the moral and economic deficiencies of slave labor, he concluded, “All the ordinary machinery of progress is unfavorable to the customs of Slavery.”<sup>39</sup> Lee began his rebuttal by declaring, “No other element of agricultural production is so important as Labor; and there is growing up in the country an earnest discussion of the relative advantages and disadvantages attending the labor of hirelings and that of slaves.” He decried the “equal measure of folly and wickedness in that sham philanthropy . . . [of] denouncing the horrors of slavery,” arguing that while both systems had their faults, slave-based agriculture was as receptive to improvement as a free labor system.<sup>40</sup> The northern agricultural press quickly condemned Lee, with one writer vilifying him as “a Northern man with Southern principles.”<sup>41</sup> The tidal gate open,

<sup>39</sup>“The South: Letters on the Productions, Industry and Resources of the Southern States,” *New York Times*, February 13, 1854, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup>“Hireling Labor and Slave Labor,” *Southern Cultivator*, April 1854, pp. 105–7 (quotations on 105).

<sup>41</sup>“Agricultural Apprentices and Laborers,” *Southern Cultivator*, June 1854, pp. 169–70 (quotation on 170).

Lee penned a succession of proslavery editorials over the next few years, eventually going so far as to point out the advantages of reopening the Atlantic slave trade.<sup>42</sup> In 1857 Lee suggested that persons who “are miscalled *slaves*” could more accurately be called “apprentices for life.” Believing that slaves were “happier than any other equal number of farm operatives in any country,” Lee argued that enslaved people could participate in agricultural improvement and, through such activity, gradually become more civilized. Lee reimagined the plantation as a place where both land and labor could be cultivated.<sup>43</sup>

Thus when the Fruitland plan appeared in the *Southern Cultivator* in August 1857, it appeared in the context of a decisively proslavery platform, but one in tension with the implicit or absent slavery of “The Beautiful in Agriculture,” which remained a feature of the journal. This push-pull between implicit and explicit slavery reflects a major hazard in the *Southern Cultivator*’s entry into the slavery debates: as the journal became increasingly preoccupied with slavery, it was less capable of challenging the status quo of southern agriculture, transforming the publication’s mission from that of critic to booster. Changes in the global economic climate facilitated this growing conservatism. The 1850s upswing in cotton prices made the fleecy staple a more lucrative investment than it had been when the *Southern Cultivator* began in 1843; greater wealth from cotton and suspicion of any idea that could support antislavery views made cotton planters less receptive to unflattering comparisons with the North. A South defined by its belief in the perpetual good fortunes of cotton and slavery, however, was a South behind walls, and these barriers could smother as well as protect. Although any seeming critique of slavery and its centrality had no place in the *Southern Cultivator*, the journal did publish the concerns of some

<sup>42</sup> Lee avoided an explicit endorsement of reopening the Atlantic trade. He raised the issue in the *Southern Cultivator* in “The Future of Cotton Culture in the Southern States,” March 1858, pp. 90–92, and became bolder in “Laborers for the South,” August 1858, pp. 233–36. Thomas P. Miller of New Prospect, Mississippi, wrote a letter to Lee, published in the December 1858 issue, p. 363, beginning, “If I understand Dr. Lee aright, he is in favor of the re-opening [of] the African Slave Trade.” Miller then offered his opposition to this plan. Lee, anxious to avoid controversy, responded four months later that “we are *not* in favor of re-opening the slave trade as it has ever existed between Africa and America; and at the same time we are free to say that we do not know of any source better able to supply a part of the labor required at the South than Africa.” See “Re-Opening the Slave Trade,” March 1859, pp. 83–84 (quotation on 83).

<sup>43</sup> “A Lecture on Labor,” *Southern Cultivator*, February 1857, pp. 42–45 (quotations on 43). Reconceiving of slaves as apprentices for life was not new. Section 2 of New Jersey’s “An Act to Abolish Slavery” in 1846 made “apprentice[s]” of the state’s remaining slaves. New Jersey Digital Legal Library, [njdigital.lib.rutgers.edu/slavery/acts/A98.html](http://njdigital.lib.rutgers.edu/slavery/acts/A98.html).

observers about the increasingly unchallenged dominance of cotton. John Carmichael, writing from Greene County, Georgia, asked, “The Cotton blossom is beautiful; but does it merit all of our attention? and should we be so much charmed with it as to abandon all others for its sake, simply because our fathers did so before us[?] This is the age of progress and improvement. Where is there a more beautiful country for the culture of the Grape, small grain and the raising of Stock of all kinds?”<sup>44</sup> Daniel Lee wanted it both ways, and the inconsistent messages of the *Southern Cultivator*—running between the poles of a South defined by cotton and slaves and a nebulous and malleable South of improvement and transformation—are a manifestation of Lee’s dual roles as both challenger and defender of southern agriculture.

Fruitland was a practical solution to the conundrum of southern agricultural reform in the 1850s. As debates over slavery became ever more contentious, the space within which to discuss southern agricultural reform was growing ever smaller. The Fruitland plan used the noncontroversial subjects of architecture and climate to package reform in ways acceptable to the readers of the *Southern Cultivator*. Redmond eschewed the slavery debates, suggesting his recognition that Lee’s preoccupation with slavery had little to offer reform rhetoric. White southerners were too sensitive about the institution to allow for any real interrogation of its adaptability to new ventures, such as commercial orchards, lest conclusions be drawn that slavery was incompatible with progressive agriculture. Further, dwelling on slavery threatened national reform networks, still clinging to life in the late 1850s through such organizations as the United States Agricultural Society.<sup>45</sup> Redmond thus began his written account of the Fruitland plan with a benign climate-based analysis of the needs of the southern builder:

The most obvious requirements of a Southern country house, are: *ample space; convenient arrangement of rooms; shade, and ventilation.* To these should be added, if possible, a reasonable share of architectural style—an outward appearance in keeping and harmony with the interior and surrounding scenery. Mainly agreeing with [Francis] BACON, however, that “houses are built to *live in*, not to *look at*,” we are inclined to prefer the comfortable and convenient, in all cases, to the merely showy or ornamental. It was, therefore, after a very

<sup>44</sup> “Horticulture and Agriculture,” *Southern Cultivator*, February 1859, pp. 35–36 (quotation on 36).

<sup>45</sup> Marshall P. Wilder of Massachusetts took the lead in organizing the United States Agricultural Society in 1852. Its purpose was to promote national agricultural exchange and the notion of a common American agricultural heritage. The organization survived into the 1860s. See Lyman Carrier, “The United States Agricultural Society, 1852–1860: Its Relation to the Origin of the United States Department of Agriculture and the Land Grant Colleges,” *Agricultural History*, 11 (October 1937), 278–88.

careful study of the requirements of our climate, and a familiarity with the various popular works on architecture, that the writer adopted the plan here given, which he trusts will be found to possess some commendable features, and to admit of such modifications as will adapt it to the tastes and necessities of others.<sup>46</sup>

By singling out climate as the variable that regionally defined his dwelling, Redmond could present Fruitland as a house and landscape with the invisible workforce of “The Beautiful in Agriculture.” Yet the plan had none of the dreamlike quality of Lee’s idyll, a fantasy with little grounding in practical considerations. In contrast, the Fruitland plan focused on the pragmatic concerns of someone who earned a living from the land: cost, time, access to materials, and tangible benefits.

Fruitland’s emphasis on the practical needs of southern landowners meant a return to the original mission of the *Southern Cultivator*, improving planters’ relationship with their land. Redmond was no doubt aware that higher cotton prices only exacerbated long-standing environmental problems and left planters unprepared to weather poor harvests, glutted markets, and lower prices. Miming longtime agricultural reform principles, Redmond used Fruitland to promote greater self-sufficiency and investment in place through the intensive development of a permanent family homestead.

Redmond’s choice of an architectural solution to perceived agricultural problems reflected the consensus of a range of American reformers who agreed with Downing that architecture was a potential means of reforming society. The Fruitland plan is but one example of mid-nineteenth-century agricultural writers’ attempts to use architecture to improve rural life. Hundreds of books, pamphlets, and newspapers in the 1840s and 1850s offered guidance on constructing rural dwellings and grounds. Reformers argued that these “improved” sites reflected the superior character of their inhabitants.<sup>47</sup> Redmond, who, on one of his southern tours, had once waxed romantic over the “combination of the *ideal* and the *actual*,” agreed with his contemporaries that idealized spaces could be actualized if individuals devoted themselves to specific habits and styles of living.<sup>48</sup>

By pushing out from a cotton-and-slaves focus, Redmond affirmed that southerners retained access to a world of possibilities. Agricultural reform was, after all, a movement that relied on taking ideas

<sup>46</sup> “Southern Country Houses,” *Southern Cultivator*, August 1857, p. 242.

<sup>47</sup> For connections between architecture and the virtue of the American public in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, see Clifford Edward Clark Jr., *The American Family Home, 1800–1960* (Chapel Hill, 1986), 3–36; and Stoll, *Larding the Lean Earth*, 194–202.

<sup>48</sup> “Letters from Our Traveling Correspondent—No. II,” *Southern Cultivator*, July 1850, pp. 109–10 (quotation on 110).

from everywhere and adapting them to the circumstances of a given place. Fruitland exemplified adaptation. For ideas about his model southern country house, Redmond may have turned to his extensive personal library of 550 bound volumes or to the *Southern Cultivator*'s own "book table," a showcase of the newest agricultural, horticultural, and architectural works of the United States and Europe.<sup>49</sup> Prominent among the authors recommended by the *Southern Cultivator* was Downing, whose death in 1852 the editors considered "a national calamity."<sup>50</sup> Downing's prescriptions had shaped Fruitland's orchards, and now Redmond used Downing to construct the dualities of Fruitland—its integration of house and landscape, and its existence as a physical place and published plan. Builders had previously used the straightforward published guides of Asher Benjamin, Minard Lafever, and others for technical details, but Downing presented houses as multidimensional domestic spaces. Detailed elevations situated houses in surrounding landscapes, and complete floor plans defined the function of individual rooms. The publication of Alexander Jackson Davis's *Rural Residences* in 1838, with colored illustrations of dwellings in romantic settings, initiated this new style of house plan, but in 1842 Downing's *Cottage Residences* "combined designs for entire houses with an elaborate rationale and theory of taste."<sup>51</sup> Redmond's creation of Fruitland as both a two- and a three-dimensional model of improved southern living attests to his ability to employ such trends in architectural theory and practices for his own purposes.

Redmond consulted Downing's works to help unite the beautiful and the useful in his southern country house. In *Cottage Residences*, Downing described "Fitness," the integration of convenience and comfort into a design, as providing for "*beauty of utility*," while "Expression of purpose," the suitability of a building to its use, offered "*beauty of propriety*." The third principle, "Expression of Style"—"to infuse a spirit and a grace in forms otherwise only admirable for their usefulness"—Downing considered the loftiest of the three and the attainment of "*beauty of form and sentiment*."<sup>52</sup> Downing believed that buildings should reflect the climate, available materials, and

<sup>49</sup> For reference to Redmond's personal library, see Records of Richmond County, Book KK, pp. 537–38. For an example of the "Our Book Table" column in the *Southern Cultivator*, see January 1852, pp. 19–20.

<sup>50</sup> "Death of A. J. Downing, Esq.," *Southern Cultivator*, September 1852, p. 273.

<sup>51</sup> Clark, *American Family Home*, 16.

<sup>52</sup> A. J. Downing, *Cottage Residences; or, A Series of Designs for Rural Cottages and Cottage-Villas, and Their Gardens and Grounds, Adapted to North America* (New York, 1842), 10 (first through fifth and seventh quotations), 25 (sixth quotation).

social conventions of their location. His designs, however, catered strongly to the northeastern United States, his own home and home to most of his clients, leaving builders elsewhere with little guidance on how to adapt his principles to their own regions.

In "Southern Country Houses," Redmond presented readers with a fully realized house plan, purposefully designed to fill a perceived void in southern architectural improvement. "[W]e should gladly hail the advent of a Southern DOWNING or [LEWIS FALLEY] ALLEN," Redmond told readers in 1852, but in the absence of one he would have to fashion his own model.<sup>53</sup> Beginning in 1847, the *Southern Cultivator* had offered its readers a number of house plans and elevations, all but one reprinted from other newspapers and produced by northern architects for northern clients, typically suburban residents of northeastern cities. Characteristic of these designs was "A Small Bracketed Cottage," a plan that originally appeared in Downing's *Architecture of Country Houses* (1850), which Lee reprinted in both the *Southern Cultivator* and the *Genesee Farmer*.<sup>54</sup> Like most plans, the bracketed cottage, with its porchless facade, steep roof, and interior kitchen, did not favor the southern climate.

In the early 1850s some architects began to design and publish plans for southern dwellings, emphasizing climate as the most distinctive consideration for a home in the region. A few architects went further to consider the specific needs of the slave owner. In his 1852 *Rural Architecture*, Lewis Falley Allen of New York included a "Southern or Plantation House" among his designs, going beyond considerations of climate when he noted that "[t]he proprietor of a plantation in the South, or South-west, requires altogether a different kind of residence from the farmer of the Northern, or Middle States. He resides in the midst of his own principality, surrounded by a retinue of dependents and laborers, who dwell distant and apart from

<sup>53</sup> "Rural Architecture: A Southern, or Plantation House," *Southern Cultivator*, September 1852, pp. 276–79 (quotation on 276).

<sup>54</sup> "Cottage Architecture: A Small Bracketed Cottage," *Southern Cultivator*, February 1851, p. 19. Prior to the Fruitland plan, the *Southern Cultivator* printed just one original house plan, "A Georgia Cottage," November 1847, pp. 171–72, a floor plan with no elevation submitted by a reader. Plans from other sources reprinted in the *Southern Cultivator* included "Rural Architecture," June 1847, pp. 81–82, from the *New York Farmer and Mechanic*; "Design for a Farm House," April 1848, p. 49, from *Transactions of the New York Agricultural Society*; "Plan of a Small Farm House," February 1849, p. 21, from the *Albany Cultivator*; "Plan of a Cheap Cottage," March 1849, p. 42, from the Rochester (N.Y.) *Genesee Farmer*; "A Design for a Small Cottage," January 1851, pp. 4–5, from the Rochester *Genesee Farmer*; "A Symmetrical Cottage," June 1851, p. 91, from the Rochester *Genesee Farmer*; "Design for a Small Villa," March 1852, p. 92, from the Albany (N.Y.) *Horticulturist*; and "Plan of an Octagon Cottage," May 1852, pp. 154–56, from the *New York Farmer and Mechanic*.

his own immediate family, although composing a community requiring his daily care and superintendence for a great share of his time."<sup>55</sup>

Redmond and Lee reprinted the plan in the *Southern Cultivator* in September 1852. Although the Allen design was "by no means a *perfect model* of a Southern house," they conceded that it offered "many valuable suggestions" and came "much nearer [to] our ideas of a comfortable plantation mansion than many that we have seen of far greater cost and pretension." The wide eaves and three-sided veranda of the Allen design offered ample shade, and the spacious rooms and wide halls provided ventilation. Service wings allowed close supervision of "attaches"—enslaved labor—while being mindful that these workers were "so disconnected in their domestic relations, as to require a separate accommodation." Ultimately the Fruitland house resembled the Allen design in its boxy shape, interior chimney placement, floor plan, and roof design; however, these features were far from unique, and other southern builders carried out the details of the Allen design far more faithfully than did Redmond. And Redmond, as discussed, decided to bypass any references to how "attaches" fit into the Fruitland plan.<sup>56</sup> Even though Allen provided a model for how to talk about slave spaces, Redmond chose not to use it.

Although Redmond avoided slavery in the Fruitland plan, he did not skip the subject of labor altogether. Fruitland asserted the planter as laborer, emphasizing his active role in his agricultural pursuits. Redmond's house was no pleasure villa but a self-consciously utilitarian structure, radically devoid of ornamentation by the standards of the 1850s. Having accepted and acted on Downing's principles of construction, Redmond broke with Downing in style, incorporating none of the gables, towers, or arches so prevalent in Downing's designs for large houses. Redmond did not believe he could achieve "fitness" and "propriety" simply by selecting a modern building style. In striking contrast to Fruitland was the fashionable residence of Gazaway Bugg Lamar, a native Augustan and wealthy New York banker. It was located just over four miles from Fruitland and constructed at about the same time, circa 1856–1857. No observer

<sup>55</sup> Lewis F. Allen, *Rural Architecture: Being a Complete Description of Farm Houses, Cottages, and Out Buildings . . .* (New York, 1852), 154.

<sup>56</sup> "Rural Architecture: A Southern, or Plantation House," *Southern Cultivator*, September 1852, p. 276. Two Georgia houses that appear to have been inspired by the Allen plantation house design are the Fleming Jordan and William F. Jordan residences near Monticello, Jasper County. See John Linley, *Architecture of Middle Georgia: The Oconee Area* (Athens, Ga., 1972), 99–101.



Figure 3. Ingleside, Gazaway Bugg Lamar House. Harrisonville, Georgia, near Augusta. *Courtesy Joseph M. Lee III.*

could doubt the permanence or up-to-date design of Lamar's house, described as "[a] SPLENDID modern constructed Brick HOUSE, of three stories." The mansion contained eighteen rooms and boasted its own gasworks in the backyard.<sup>57</sup> Situated on fifteen acres, the Lamar house, later known as Ingleside, stood removed from the commercial enterprises that supported it. An Italianate villa similar to the designs of prominent Philadelphia-based architect Samuel Sloan, Ingleside represented consumption with its conspicuous style, elaborate interiors,

<sup>57</sup> Sale notice for Lamar residence under "New Advertisements," Augusta (Ga.) *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, September 23, 1859, p. 3.

and purely decorative grounds.<sup>58</sup> Redmond meant for Fruitland to evoke production. The planter who built such a house would not be apart from his investments but would live amid them.

Eager to avoid the “merely showy or ornamental” and also mindful of the “*beauty of propriety*,” or honest design, promoted by Downing, Redmond rejected the classical building vocabulary of the Greek Revival, nationally popular between 1820 and 1850 and still a favorite with planters inclined to build costly residences.<sup>59</sup> Daniel Lee, eager to connect ornate planter architecture with corrupt values, wrote that elites squandered fortunes on the “mis-shapen palaces and villas” that they often ornamented with “what would appear to be massive columns, but which are generally made of wood, in the ridiculous ambition of appearing to live in something like a Grecian temple.” Lee considered there to be “nothing . . . more like an eagle’s feather stuck into the matted hair of a savage, than the frail plank pillars or columns painted white, so ostentatiously stuck out in front or at the sides of a dwelling house. A worse taste can hardly be imagined.”<sup>60</sup> Redmond seems to have agreed with Lee, surrounding the house at Fruitland with twenty functional, one-foot-square, solid pine piers that supported a broad pyramidal roof that sheltered the double piazzas in deep shade.

Redmond’s attention to the southern climate also encouraged him to reject popular architectural styles. “[A] Swiss or Gothic cottage,” he believed, “would be out of place in a low, level, and warm country.”<sup>61</sup> Redmond likely sought out a prototype among indigenous southern buildings and found his inspiration in the Creole dwellings of Louisiana. Redmond may have discovered these structures while on one of his southern tours; they could be found along the Mississippi River, into the bayou areas, and in the vicinity of New Orleans. Three principal features characterized the type: low hipped roofs designed to withstand severe weather; wide peripteral verandas, frequently at both levels, for shade and outdoor living space; and raised living quarters to avoid dampness and more effectively catch breezes.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Samuel Sloan, *The Model Architect: A Series of Original Designs for Cottages, Villas, Suburban Residences* . . . (Philadelphia, 1852).

<sup>59</sup> “Southern Country Houses,” *Southern Cultivator*, August 1857, p. 242 (first quotation); Downing, *Cottage Residences*, 10 (second quotation).

<sup>60</sup> “The Beautiful in Agriculture,” *Southern Cultivator*, December 1856, pp. 362–63.

<sup>61</sup> This quotation from Redmond is from a shortened and revised text that accompanied the Fruitland plan in Daniel Harrison Jacques, *The House: A Pocket Manual of Rural Architecture; or, How to Build Country Houses and Out-Buildings* . . . (New York, 1859), 80.

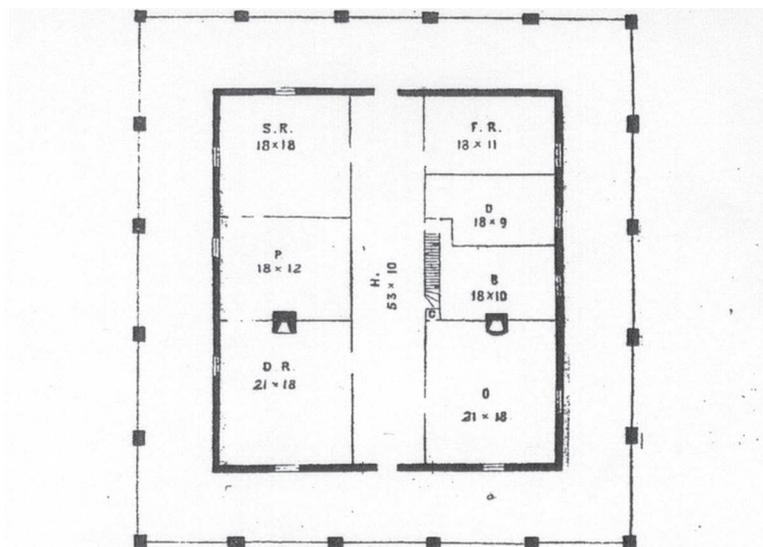
<sup>62</sup> For examples of Louisiana Creole architecture, see Fred Daspit, *Louisiana Architecture, 1714–1820* (2nd ed.; Lafayette, La., 2004), esp. “Parlange,” 30–32, and “Keller-Homeplace,” 154–56.

The interior layout of the Fruitland house emphasized efficiency, health, personal improvement, and the active role of the landowner in agricultural operations. The ground floor, referred to by Redmond as the basement, contained “the dining room, pantry, store-room, office, bathing-room, fruit room, and ice-house—in short, all the *working rooms*, or apartments for every day practical use.” The inclusion of a fruit room and dairy suggests Redmond’s desire to incorporate agricultural labor into the house itself. Rather than the usual relegation of agricultural production to buildings huddled behind the plantation big house, Redmond chose this alternative to reinforce the idea of the proprietor as cultivator. The kitchen, however, with its smells and fire hazard, remained in the yard. The second story of Fruitland included the library, parlor, and bedrooms, positioned to avoid dampness and provide elevated space for personal cultivation. Ten-foot-wide halls bisected both levels, “securing perfect ventilation, especially to the second-story, where transom-lights, over each door and opposite the outer windows, admit the freest possible circulation of pure air.”<sup>63</sup> The interior treatments are unknown due to twentieth-century remodeling, but the rooms likely displayed no additional ornament besides simple wooden cornices and baseboards. For this simple, rural, humid situation devoted to agricultural improvement, comfort and convenience should prevail; the setting informed the style.<sup>64</sup>

The most surprising feature of the Fruitland house was certainly its concrete construction—a deliberate choice by Redmond to use the most modern and innovative construction methods possible. Redmond wrote that the “walls are of concrete, or artificial rock—a material which possesses many and striking advantages over the *perishable* and *combustible* wood generally used for outside walls, and, if properly put up, is superior to brick in many respects.” Redmond first suggested to *Southern Cultivator* readers his plans to use concrete in the October 1856 issue, when he published a letter from Charles Wallace Howard of Cass County, Georgia. Howard cited Redmond’s intention to use concrete, or “gravel wall,” construction, a building method that Howard himself had used in several projects in north Georgia. Concrete as a residential building material had recently been popularized by Orson S. Fowler of New York, who in 1853 published the book *A Home for All; or, The Gravel Wall and Octagon Mode*

<sup>63</sup> “Southern Country Houses,” *Southern Cultivator*, August 1857, p. 242.

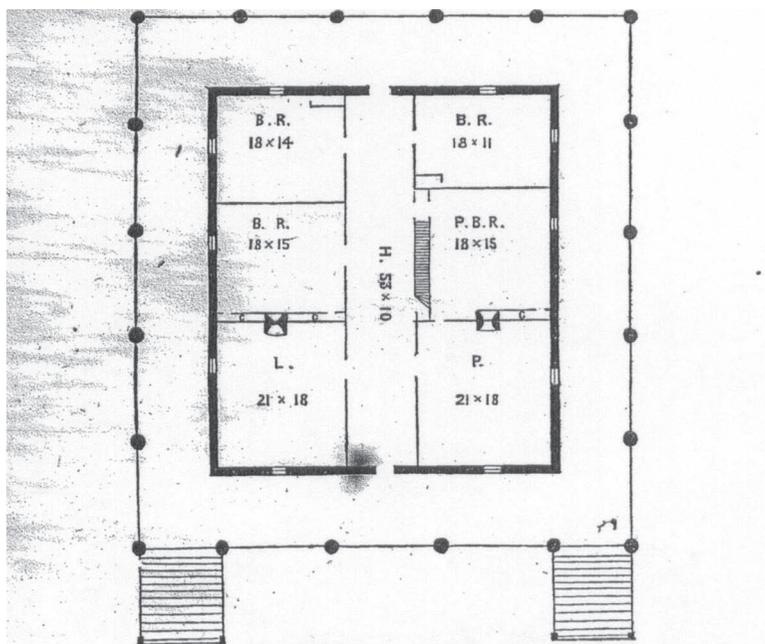
<sup>64</sup> National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form, “Fruitlands/Augusta National Golf Club,” United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1979, p. 2 (provided to the author by the National Park Service).



[BASEMENT, OR LOWER STORY.]

DESCRIPTION.—H., Hall, 53x10 feet. D. R., Dining Room, 21x18. P., Pantry, 18x12, adjoining the Dining Room. S. R., Store Room, 18x18, next to Pantry. O., Office. B., Bath Room. D., Dairy, 18x9, for milk, ice, &c. F. R., Fruit Room, 18x11, for the ripening of Pears, keeping of winter fruits, &c. When not used for the intended purpose, the latter room may serve as a general lumber room, or a servant's bed-room ]

Figure 4. Lower floor plan of Fruitland. *From Southern Cultivator, August 1857.*



[MAIN FLOOR—SECOND STORY.]

DESCRIPTION.—H., Hall, 53x10 feet. L., Library, 21x18. B. R., B. R., B. R., three Bed-Rooms, respectively 18x15, 18x14, and 18x11. P., Parlor, 21x18. P. B. R., Parlor Bed-Room, 18x15. c, c, c, Closets ]

Figure 5. Upper floor plan of Fruitland. *From Southern Cultivator, August 1857.*

of *Building*.<sup>65</sup> Howard, a native of Savannah and graduate of the Princeton Theological Seminary, recognized the industrial promise of concrete and opened a limestone quarry near his Spring Bank plantation, where he produced cement, an ingredient in concrete. Acquainted with Howard's activities in Cass County, Redmond solicited advice on concrete construction. "Your favor," Howard responded, "making inquiries as to the lime and cement of this quarry, and also stating your intention of building a concrete house, has been received." Howard praised the economy of concrete, believing it was less expensive to use than wood, by far the favored material for American rural dwellings. He also thought the concrete wall could be ornamental. The advantages of concrete convinced Howard that its introduction would bring about a "[new] era in building in Georgia."<sup>66</sup>

Although Redmond turned to Howard for advice, he relied primarily on Fowler's work for guidance on do-it-yourself concrete construction. Fowler provided both practical advice and a reiteration of the idea that buildings communicated the character of their inhabitants. Fowler argued that "little refined" individuals "will build some outlandish tenement, as unsightly in looks as inconvenient in arrangement," but "those of well-balanced minds and sound practical sense, will plan and execute a comfortable, good-looking, well-arranged residence, which they will finish off in a style corresponding with their own order of taste."<sup>67</sup> In the Fruitland plan, Redmond referred readers to "an excellent little volume entitled '*A Home for All*,'" an acknowledgment of Fowler's role in Fruitland's design.<sup>68</sup> Given his familiarity with *A Home for All*, Redmond must have seen the plan for Fowler's own dwelling in Fishkill, New York, featured in the book. Redmond may have been inspired to make use of its cupola and peripteral galleries at Fruitland, but in all other regards Redmond

<sup>65</sup> "Southern Country Houses," *Southern Cultivator*, August 1857, p. 242 (quotation); "Concrete or Gravel Wall Houses—Hydraulic Cement, and the Various Novel Uses to Which It May Be Applied—Lime for Agricultural Purposes, &c." (hereinafter "Concrete or Gravel Wall Houses"), *Southern Cultivator*, October 1856, pp. 300–303; Fowler, *Home for All* (1853). Fowler's 1853 work was a retitled, edited edition of *A Home for All: or, A New, Cheap, Convenient, and Superior Mode of Building* (New York, 1848). The 1853 version included material on concrete buildings. See Rebecca Lawin McCarley, "Orson S. Fowler and *A Home for All*: The Octagon House in the Midwest," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, 12 (2005), 49–63, esp. 49–50.

<sup>66</sup> "Concrete or Gravel Wall Houses," *Southern Cultivator*, October 1856, p. 300. For a brief early history of concrete architecture in the United States, see United States Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, Technical Preservation Services Division, *The Preservation of Historic Architecture: The U.S. Government's Official Guidelines for Preserving Historic Homes* (Guilford, Conn., 2004), 145–46.

<sup>67</sup> Fowler, *Home for All* (1853), 11–12.

<sup>68</sup> "Concrete or Gravel Wall Houses," *Southern Cultivator*, October 1856, p. 301; "Southern Country Houses," *Southern Cultivator*, August 1857, p. 242 (quotation).

could not have considered the Fowler house a practical or “well-arranged” dwelling. The octagonal flat-roofed structure, soaring four floors of solid “gravel wall” into the air, consisted of innumerable parlors, bedrooms, and closets—at least sixty interior spaces in all. If practicality was his purpose, Redmond hardly wanted to build an architectural folly.<sup>69</sup>

Redmond valued economy—he claimed to have completed the walls of the Fruitland house at one-third the expense of brick—but another virtue of concrete, its permanence, was more important to the Fruitland plan’s implicit critique of planter transience.<sup>70</sup> In his promotion of concrete, Fowler had joined in the ubiquitous mid-nineteenth-century reform anxiety over Americans’ detachment from place. He argued that “every MARRIED pair” should have a “PERMANENT residence for themselves and children.” “This ‘moving,’” he believed, “is ruinously costly, alike destructive of property and pleasure, cripples husbandry, [and] prevents planting trees and vines.” Fowler tied concrete to permanence and thence to horticulture, dreaming that occupants of concrete dwellings would “feast upon the products of their own gardens and orchards.”<sup>71</sup> For Redmond, who lived in an orchard and hoped to alleviate the transience, wastefulness, and absenteeism of southern planters, concrete offered a way to rehabilitate the plantation as a domestic space. Concrete buildings could anchor planters to place, just as fruit trees rooted cultivators to the soil.

In his letter to Redmond outlining the virtues of concrete, Charles Howard had recognized the potential for concrete dwellings to rout endemic southern migration. “Thirty years ago,” he wrote, “Georgians were as migratory as the Arabs. One contemplates leaving a crazy log cabin with indifference—it is a different affair to think of abandoning a comfortable homestead.”<sup>72</sup> In his description of Fruitland in the *Southern Cultivator* in August 1857, Redmond described his house as having “an *enduring* and *permanent* character”—a contrast to the hastily built dwellings and outbuildings that still prevailed on many plantations, especially in the newer regions of the cotton South.<sup>73</sup> The physical Fruitland was not the first concrete house in the South or even in Georgia—at least two rural residences in north Georgia preceded it—but as a concept, Fruitland, with its elevation, floor plans, and specific instructions for building in “gravel wall,”

<sup>69</sup> Fowler, *Home for All* (1853), 116–38.

<sup>70</sup> “Southern Country Houses,” *Southern Cultivator*, August 1857, p. 245.

<sup>71</sup> Fowler, *Home for All* (1853), 8.

<sup>72</sup> “Concrete or Gravel Wall Houses,” *Southern Cultivator*, October 1856, p. 300.

<sup>73</sup> “Southern Country Houses,” *Southern Cultivator*, August 1857, p. 245.

introduced concrete design to the *Southern Cultivator's* ten to twenty thousand subscribers.<sup>74</sup>

For all the solidness of its concrete walls, Fruitland nevertheless remained amorphous, particularly in its relationship with plantation improvement. Redmond's prescriptions for planter behavior were straightforward—stay in place, engage in labor, invest in the newest trends and materials—but his ideas about plantations and their susceptibility to advancement were less certain. Was Fruitland a plantation? Was it a helpmate to the plantation as a supplier of fruits and flowers? Or was it a usurper of the plantation—an endorsement of smaller-scale agriculture and less dependence on slave labor? Redmond left these questions unanswered; Fruitland was purposefully ill-defined. Slaveholders could recognize in Fruitland an architectural or landscape scheme they could superimpose on their own plantations. Redmond's orchard and concrete house no doubt seemed compatible with a program of plantation improvement, even as Redmond invested in forms of southern agriculture that suggested an alternative to the plantation system. Ultimately, Fruitland's ambiguity allowed it to achieve two ends: to function as a nonthreatening critique of southern agriculture and to push the limits of southern agriculture in ways that suggested something other than cotton, slaves, and plantations.

Unlike the designs of Downing and his collaborator, Alexander Jackson Davis, which inspired the construction of innumerable dwellings throughout the United States, Fruitland produced few progeny in the form of concrete houses, even though the plan appeared in 1859 in the national design work *The House: A Pocket Manual of Rural Architecture*.<sup>75</sup> Redmond had little else to say about concrete buildings, although he expressed enthusiasm about the material's use at the Annandale Farm in 1860. There, at the estate of George Waring in the Appalachian foothills, Redmond found that the proprietor "was just commencing an elegant and commodious rural-gothic cottage, modified from a design of DOWNING, and embracing many improvements

<sup>74</sup> To the author's knowledge, no comprehensive survey of antebellum poured concrete structures in the South exists. Though Fruitland is often credited as the oldest concrete dwelling (excluding tabby, a concrete-like mixture using oyster shells) in the lower South, at least two examples in Georgia predated it: the Rogers house in Bartow (formerly Cass) County, constructed circa 1856, and the Robert C. Saxon house, Gordon County, also circa 1856. See "Concrete Buildings—Mr. Saxton's [*sic*] Octagon House, Its Cost, &c.," *Southern Cultivator*, January 1857, pp. 18–19. For a history and description of the Saxon house, destroyed in May 1864 during the Atlanta campaign, see Lulie Pitts, "Unique and Historic 'Gravel' House in Gordon County," *Atlanta Journal*, May 17, 1936, p. 6A. The Zelotes Holmes house, circa 1859, in Laurens, South Carolina, is an extant example of a substantial poured concrete residence in the antebellum South. See Historic American Buildings Survey, "Zelotes Holmes House," <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/pnp/habshaer/sc/sc0700/sc0726/data/sc0726data.pdf>.

<sup>75</sup> Jacques, *House*, 79–82, 165–67.

which adapt it to the owner's wants and to the climate. It is to be of solid *concrete*, and we hope the happiness of its future inmates may be as permanent and enduring as its walls!"<sup>76</sup> Redmond's fruit cultivation enjoyed more appreciable results and garnered praise. The editor of the Walterboro (S.C.) *Colleton and Beaufort Sun* proclaimed, "Mr. Redmond deserves great praise for the untiring energy which he has brought to bear upon this subject [of horticulture]. As the founder of 'Fruitland Nursery,' he opened a ball, to the music of which the people of many States have been dancing—dancing with joy through many acres of fruits and flowers. Building up and adorning 'Fruitland' (this once homely hill side) he left it, a beautiful monument of his knowledge, taste and skill."<sup>77</sup>

In 1858 Redmond sold the property to the Berckmans family, Belgian horticulturalists who had recently moved from New Jersey to Augusta and set up an adjacent nursery at "Pearmont." The Berckmans family combined Fruitland and Pearmont, expanding the Fruitland Nursery and operating it into the twentieth century, ultimately fulfilling Redmond's ambition of providing fruits and flowers for the South. In selling Fruitland, Redmond revealed a bit of hypocrisy, eschewing the permanence he advocated for others. Like so many Americans, Redmond could not resist the benefits of relocation. He moved east of Fruitland to a 112-acre property he named "Vineland," where he developed vineyards for several years. After running the *Southern Cultivator* with Charles Howard throughout the Civil War, Redmond left Georgia altogether, becoming the editor of the agricultural journal the *South Land* in New Orleans.<sup>78</sup> The Fruitland plan, then, despite its concrete monument to permanence, did not restrain Redmond's personal ambitions.

<sup>76</sup>"'Up Country' Notes—No. 1," *Southern Cultivator*, August 1860, pp. 243–45 (quotation on 245).

<sup>77</sup>Redmond quoted the Walterboro (S.C.) *Colleton and Beaufort Sun* in "'Fruitland' and 'Vineland,'" *Southern Cultivator*, June 1860, p. 190. It appears this issue of the *Sun* is lost; only a few issues of this newspaper survive at the University of South Carolina and the American Antiquarian Society.

<sup>78</sup>For the Berckmans family at Pearmont and Fruitland, see "Louis E. Berckmans, Esq.,—Pear Culture in the South," *Southern Cultivator*, April 1857, p. 120; an advertisement for fruits, flowers, and shrubs at Fruitland, "Fruits, Flowers and Shrubs for the South!" *Southern Cultivator*, November 1858, p. 355; and Michael Reynolds, "A History of Fruitland Nurseries, Augusta, Georgia and the Berckmans Family in America," *Magnolia: Bulletin of the Southern Garden History Society*, 18 (Winter 2002–2003), 1, 3–11. The contiguous Fruitland, Pearmont, and Vineland tracts bordered the south side of Washington Road west of Augusta. Pearmont, the center tract, consisted of 144.57 acres and was purchased on April 29, 1857, by Louis Mathieu Edouard Berckmans from Benjamin H. Warren. This parcel retained its distinct name into the twentieth century but nevertheless formed a portion of the Berckmans family's "Fruitlands Nursery," and the acreage is now part of the Augusta National Golf Club. On February 1, 1858, Redmond purchased the 112-acre Vineland, the tract closest to the city, from Warren; its site is marked today by the Vineland neighborhood. The same day,

Fruitland is most remarkable not as an architectural oddity but as an illustration of the severely restricted space available for public discussion of agricultural transformation in the South in the 1850s. Redmond used architecture and landscape as a means of challenging dominant trends in southern agriculture because those were the terms through which such a critique was most palatable to southerners who were uncomfortable with arguments that plantations lay outside the realm of progress and improvement. Recognizing that an emphasis on slavery would only impede the reforms he sought, Redmond avoided the subject in his design. The Fruitland plan did nothing directly to advance plantation improvement, but it provided a delicately crafted link between the plantation and the outside world. It was a purposefully ambiguous landscape that reaffirmed the South's engagement with and access to agricultural advancement. But its amorphous nature limited Fruitland's usefulness as a call for change. The Fruitland plan may have reassured the *Southern Cultivator's* readers of their connection to the promise of the modern world, even as they, like Redmond, failed to abide by the plan's tenets.

Southern planters in 1857 had little reason to significantly reorient their investments and patterns of living. Only a month after the publication of the Fruitland plan, the onset of the Panic of 1857 caused the northern and western economies to founder; the South fared better due to the strength of the cotton market in the late 1850s. Cotton and slave prices were high, and even the worn, anxiety-inducing lands of the piedmont had risen in value. The slave South spread from the Delaware River to the Rio Grande, and there was no reason to expect that the South would not expand further into the Caribbean and Latin America. Fruitland provided fruits and flowers that planters used to embellish their gardens; the larger questions the plan implicitly raised—particularly about the ability of the plantation and slavery to adapt and progress—could be ignored.

Though extensively remodeled and expanded, the Fruitland house survives today as the clubhouse of the Augusta National Golf Club, home of the Masters Golf Tournament, and thus this former orchard has become one of the most famous southern landscapes in the world. Still surviving in this beautiful landscape, however, are fruits and flowers once used to suggest ideas of an alternative South.

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Redmond sold Fruitland (reduced in size to 250 acres) to Louis Berckmans. In 1861 Redmond purchased twelve acres in Summerville, an Augusta suburb, where he built the wooden, two-story Gothic Revival residence still standing at 956 Hickman Road. See Records of Richmond County, Book MM, pp. 139, 458, 497, Book OO, pp. 665, 691. For Redmond's involvement in the *South Land* of New Orleans, see "The South Land," Boston *New England Farmer*, June 1870, p. 278.