



Georgia's Full Story

A Statewide African American Historic Context Statement

Report prepared by
Ethos Preservation for the Georgia Department of Community Affairs
November 2024

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Cover Photo: Row of Single-Pen houses in Macon, Georgia. *Ethos Preservation*.



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This document is a historic context statement designed to assist with nominating resources connected to African American heritage in Georgia to the National Register of Historic Places, the United States's premier list of resources considered worthy of preservation. Black history is not a subset of Georgia history, but rather integral to understanding the state's past. The goal of Georgia's Full Story is to help achieve equitable listing in the National Register of Historic Places and contribute to the preservation of African American resources.

This context statement covers the introduction of African people in Georgia through 1985, updating the previous documents *African American Historic Places and Culture: A Preservation Resource Guide for Georgia* and *Historic Black Resources: A Handbook for the Identification, Documentation, and Evaluation of Historic African American Properties in Georgia*, published in 1993 and 1984 respectively. This historic context is a working document. Section I contains lists of relevant terms and descriptions to assist someone new to the National Register of Historic Places with understanding common terminology and processes. Section II is an abridged history of the African and African American experience in Georgia, covering the broad themes one may use to nominate a resource to the National Register of Historic Places. Section III discusses types of resources, specifically buildings that have particular association with the Black experience in Georgia relevant to the identified themes as well as broad categories of resources that may be listed for

their connection to the African American story. Section III also includes registration requirements to give a nominator a good idea of what to review when considering nominating a resource. Section IV includes recommendations for future research, a discussion of methodology for the creation of this document, and the bibliography.

Nominating resources in the National Register of Historic Places is important to recognize their historical significance to our nation's history, but it also allows access to important tangible benefits. Listed resources may utilize historic tax credits for rehabilitation and have access to specific grant funds to assist with their preservation.

This context statement was authored by Ethos Preservation, a woman-owned and staffed historic preservation consulting firm. All members of the firm identify as white women, and we wish to acknowledge and thank the Georgia's Full Story Advisory Committee for their assistance on the project as editors, advisors, and contributors. The Advisory Committee graciously shared not only their expertise in African American history, but more importantly, many shared their lived experiences as Black women in Georgia. The Advisory Committee reviewed multiple drafts of this document and offered truly invaluable advice and assistance on everything from terminology to what individual stories to include.

Those using this context study should recognize that this is a living document. As with any new endeavor, there will certainly be new data and new perspectives brought to bear on African American

history in Georgia. As knowledge of this history continues to grow and evolve, the guidelines contained in this report will continue to evolve and refine, as will the National Register program itself. What is offered in this document is current guidance that will assist the professional and lay person alike in identifying, appreciating, evaluating, recognizing, and preserving historic resources associated with African American heritage in Georgia.

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Top left: Professor George Washinton (formerly Calhoun, the last name of his family's enslaver) in front of his market store in Newnan, Georgia. Circa 1920. *Christopher Frazier.*



Top right: Loretta Stephens Adderson riding a horse on the Adderson Farm in Keysville, GA. *Samantha Dickey.*

Bottom right: "Here, one of our granddaughters is helping me plant. She is learning the patience and dedicated calculations that are required to produce a good yield..." Adderson Farm in Keysville, GA. *Samantha Dickey.*

Bottom left: Gertrude L. Greene Drive, a street named after a deceased community member in Savannah, Georgia. *Ericka Davis.*



SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the historic preservation field has begun to reckon with the national movement to address systemic inequities in America. Within the public history and historic preservation fields, this self-analysis has led to a movement to “Tell the Full Story.” Specifically, the movement seeks to highlight the lack of diverse and inclusive representation of people of color at historic sites or publicly recognized historic resources. This statewide African American historic context statement represents Georgia’s continuing effort to join in this national movement to intentionally examine its Black heritage in service of a more just tomorrow.

Historic context statements are documents used by the historic preservation field, local governments, historical organizations, and the general public to better understand the historic significance of resources – in this case the state of Georgia – and provide a framework for evaluating those historic resources for significance and integrity. Context statements are not comprehensive histories, but rather abridged narratives to place the built environment of the area within its relevant architectural, social, geographical, and historical frame of reference. The primary purpose is to aid historic preservation professionals and grassroots advocates in listing more resources in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) by placing individual resources within a statewide context. The NRHP is a federal planning tool and the nation’s official list of

“places worthy of preservation.” This document aims to facilitate National Register nomination, and thereby, access to associated benefits, for places significant to Georgia’s African American heritage. This context statement may also be useful in evaluating historic resources for National Register of Historic Places eligibility as it relates to Section 106 review. Placing resources associated with African American heritage into their appropriate context will help ensure any impacts from federal undertakings are reviewed.

In 1984, the Georgia Historic Preservation Division published *Historic Black Resources: A Handbook for the Identification, Documentation, and Evaluation of Historic African American Properties in Georgia*, and the division updated this context statement in 1993 with the publication of *African American Historic Places and Culture: A Preservation Resource Guide for Georgia*. In 1989, the legislature enabled the formation of the Georgia African American Historic Preservation Network (GAAHPN). Supported by the Georgia Historic Preservation Division, GAAHPN is a network of volunteers dedicated to preserving historic sites related to Georgia’s African American heritage.¹ In 2000, the Georgia Legislature created a new full-time position at the Historic Preservation Division for an African American Programs Coordinator, dedicated to increasing preservation and awareness of Black resources throughout the state. That same year, the division began publication of *Reflections*, a quarterly newsletter dedicated to preserving African American places. These efforts to increase recognition of places associated with African American heritage in the NRHP have been

1 Jeanne Cyriaque, “Georgia African American Historic Preservation Network,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2018, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/georgia-african-american-historic-preservation-network/>.

successful as Georgia is third nationwide for the most NRHP listings for Ethnic Heritage: Black area of significance, behind only Virginia (233) and North Carolina (197).

Because the NRHP is tied integrally to place – recognizing buildings, structures, objects, sites, and districts – nominations have historically prioritized physical characteristics over more associative ones. The prioritizing of architectural characteristics over other areas of significance has meant that fewer Black heritage sites have been included, as they are frequently more modest in architectural design due to unequal access to investment. Furthermore, Black and other underrepresented communities have frequently seen their historic sites negatively impacted through Urban Renewal and other discriminatory policies. The NRHP designation is difficult to achieve for places where the physical integrity of the resource is diminished and traditional research methods make it difficult to document. Nearly every city in Georgia had a Black business district in the early 1900s, although most have been lost.² Many resources associated with Black people have not benefited from the same level of study historically as have resources associated with white people. All of these factors create a sense of urgency in the field of historic preservation to protect those sites connected to the Black experience that remain. Saving physical places is important because without the tangible experience of being in the building where the event happened or walking the same landscape, the story is harder to understand.

Although the preservation field still has a great deal of equity work to do, professionals agree that preservation is a powerful

² Downtown Athens Historic District (Additional Documentation, Boundary Increase, Boundary Decrease), 2006, 15.

force for advancing equity and validating the Black experience. This context statement helps further the established goal of the Georgia Historic Preservation Division identified in the Statewide Preservation Plan (2022-2026) to continue to build a preservation ethic and expand diversity (strategy 2.A.2) through growing the narrative, extending public recognition, and increasing opportunities to preserve Black places statewide, while encouraging and supporting the people of Georgia in doing the same. This historic context is thematically arranged around the African American experience within the state of Georgia and covers the years 1526 – when the first Africans arrived in the geographic area that is now the state of Georgia – through 1985.

The context statement will answer the following questions:

- » What is the African American experience in Georgia?
- » What historic resource types are associated with that experience?
- » How do more Black resources get listed to the National Register, specifically for their Black significance?

The context statement is organized into four sections. Section I includes introductory materials, Section II includes a concise history with themes and subthemes, and Section III includes associated property types, registration requirements, and case studies illustrating how the previous two sections can be applied for National Register nominations. The fourth section is made up of the appendices to include the research methodology, recommendations for future research, and the bibliography.

How to Use this Document

The sections mentioned above are designed to help nominate a resource associated with African American heritage to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). You can start by familiarizing yourself with the terms in the Definitions section.

Next, begin reading the historical theme that is most relevant to your resource. For example, if you have a Prince Hall Masonic Lodge that is associated with Black history, you should review the “Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services” theme in Section II. How is the specific history of your Masonic lodge similar to and different from the broader history of African American places of fellowship in Georgia? Comparing the history of your specific resource to the history in this document will help you build your case for NRHP significance.

After you have compared the history of your resources to the historical context section of this document, you should review the associated property types in Section III. In the Masonic lodge example, you should look up what sort of physical and associative features are necessary for a Lodge or Social Hall to retain integrity for listing in the NRHP and what questions you should consider when establishing a case for significance. The end of this section contains examples in the Case Studies to guide how to look at the registration requirements for each type to assist with NRHP nomination. This document should be used along with *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (National Register Bulletin 15), *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A), *How to*

Complete the National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form (National Register Bulletin 16B), and other relevant National Register of Historic Places bulletins.

Definitions

Words matter. Throughout the text, the authors chose specific terms intentionally and thoughtfully, from a place of respect and understanding. The language choices follow the latest National Park Service guidance from 2023, as well as the current edition of the Chicago Manual of Style (17th).

- » Throughout the document, the term **African American** and **Black** are generally used interchangeably.³
- » The term **African American resources** is used interchangeably with the term Black resources in this document. See Black resources below for additional information.
- » Before the establishment of the United States, Africans or People of African descent are used specifically.
- » Throughout the document **Black** is capitalized to refer to the culture and identity of people who are part of the African diaspora, and white is not capitalized as white people do not have the same experience of discrimination based on their skin color ⁴ This intentional word choice is an act of

3 This document follows the National Park Service (NPS) Harpers Ferry Center (HFC) Editorial Style Guide, which includes recommended usages and style decisions developed for consistency in NPS-related work. When determining preferred usage, NPS observes the hierarchy of HFC Editorial Style Guide, The Chicago Manual of Style, Associated Press Stylebook, and the GPO Style Manual. National Park Service, HFC Editorial Style Guide, 2023, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/hfc/hfc-editorial-style-guide.htm#CP_JUMP_6824830.

4 While there is not universal consensus in the United States about whether to capitalize white, current National Park Service guidance and the current edition of the Chicago Manual of Style (17th edition) both allow authors to choose whether or not to capitalize white, stating that Black should always be

recognition of the long-standing struggle for equality for Black people.

- » The phrase **Black resources**, or African American resources, is used throughout this document as shorthand to refer to any resource associated with the heritage of people of African descent. Resources built, owned, or used by African Americans may fall in this category, but the phrase may also refer to resources that later gained an association with African American heritage, even if originally built by someone of a different race.
- » The term “**caste**” is used in this context to describe race relations between Black and white people, where position in society was determined by birth and changing one’s position in the rigid, stratified social system was nearly impossible.⁵ Historically, some secondary sources began using the term as early as the 1930s, and since 2020, the term is commonly employed by journalists in the United States to describe race relations in this country.⁶ The most common use of the term is to describe the caste system of Hindu people in India, which is defined by six defining characteristics: “1. A society segmented into a system of groups that are predetermined

capitalized. The authors have chosen to not capitalize white. John Daniszewski, “Why we will lowercase white,” AP Style Blog, 2020, https://www.apstylebook.com/blog_posts/16; American Heart Association, Structural Racism and Health Equity Language Guide, 2023, https://professional.heart.org/-/media/PHD-Files-2/Science-News/s/structural_racism_and_health_equity_language_guide.pdf.

5 Raymond T. Diamond and Robert J. Cottrol, “Codifying Caste: Louisiana’s Racial Classification Scheme and the Fourteenth Amendment,” *Loyola Law Review* 29, no. 2 (1983): 255-256.

6 John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, 2d ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1957).

at birth; 2. The system is hierarchical, although the hierarchy is often disputed; 3. The system restricts social interaction between upper and lower caste, such as eating together; 4. Different castes are segregated, with lower castes living on the periphery of town with restricted access to resources such as wells; 5. Occupations are generally inherited; and 6. Endogamy (marriage within one's own caste) prevails.”⁷

- » **Desegregate** in the context of this document means removing the laws and/or cultural practices that keep members of different races separate.⁸
- » The adjective **enslaved** is used in conjunction with people to acknowledge the dignity of human beings, where the past term slave references property or a non-person.
- » Similarly, **enslaver** is used to refer to someone who exerted power over those they kept in bondage. The past terms of slaveholder, slave master, or slave owner limit the public's understanding and detract from the fact that enslavers held other human beings who were entitled to the same natural rights as themselves.⁹
- » **Freedom seekers** is used to describe enslaved people who sought to self-emancipate, rather than older terms such as runaways or fugitives.

7 Vina M. Gohari and Marvis Kusi, “An Introduction to the basic elements of the caste system of India,” *Front Psychol*, Vol. 14 (2023), <https://www.frontiersin.org/journals/psychology/articles/10.3389/fpsyg.2023.1210577/full>.

8 Merriam-Webster, “Desegregate,” *Dictionary*, 2024, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/desegregate>

9 National Park Service, “Language of Slavery,” 2022. <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/undergroundrailroad/language-of-slavery.htm>.

- » **Freed people** refers to people freed from enslavement in acknowledgement of gender rather than freedmen.
- » **Integrate** in the context of this document means ending racial segregation, allowing different races to have equal membership in society.¹⁰
- » **Kidnapped** is used in this document to refer to the act of seizing an individual by force and moving them against their will. For example, Africans were kidnapped from the continent of Africa for the purpose of enslaving them in the Western Hemisphere.
- » Recent scholarship has shifted to recognizing plantations as forced labor operations, therefore **plantation labor site** and **plantation labor system** are used throughout the report.
- » The terms **slave dwelling** and **slave cemetery** are still commonly used in academic literature and are also used within this text.¹¹

10 Merriam-Webster, “Integrate,” *Dictionary*, 2024, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/integrate>.

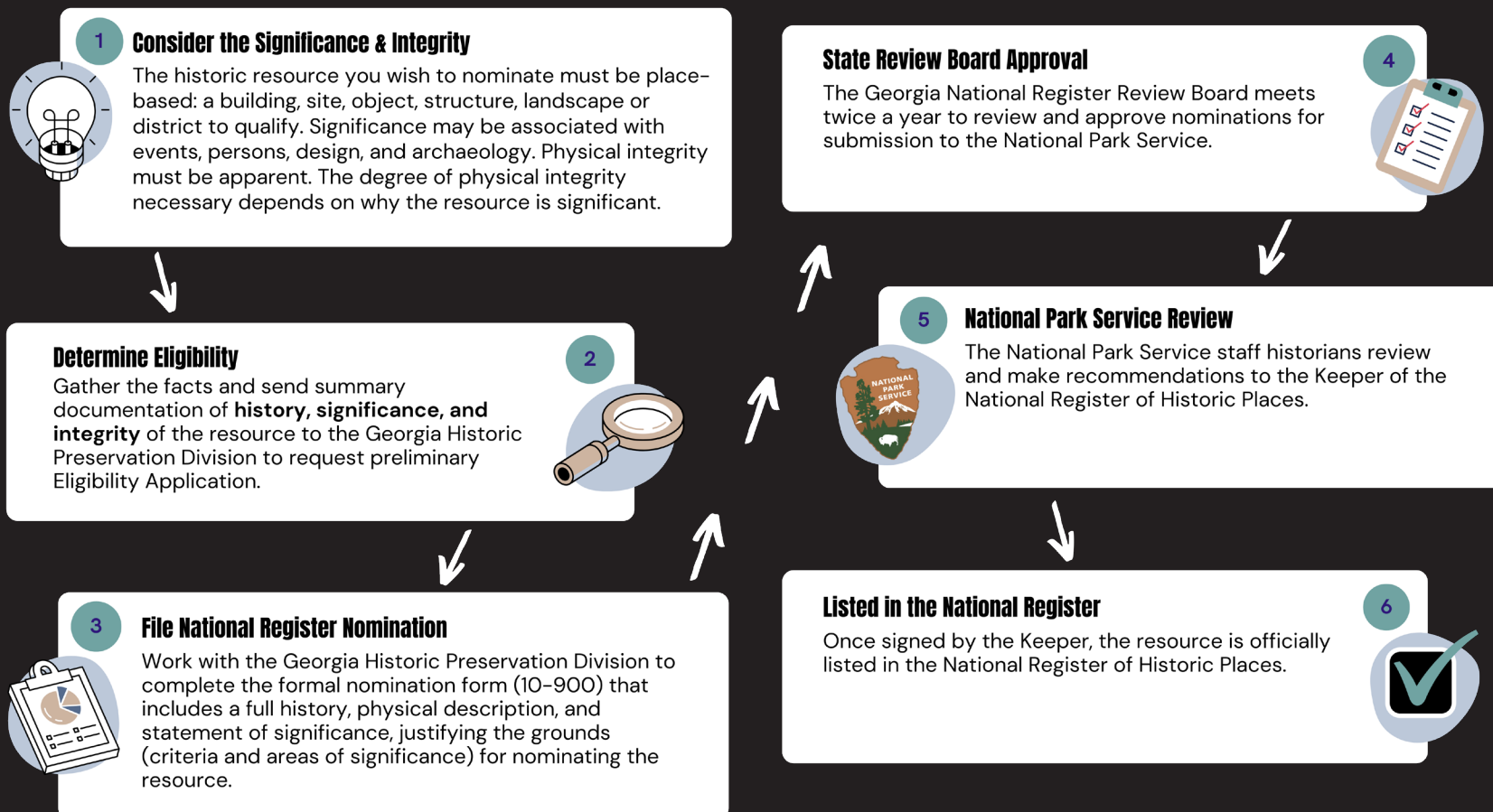
11 Joseph McGill, Jr. and Herb Frazier, *Sleeping with the Ancestors: How I Followed the Footprints of Slavery*, (New York City: Hachette Books, 2023).

How Do You Nominate a Resource?

For a resource to be considered for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, the building, structure, object, site, or district must meet one of the four registration criteria, retain historic integrity, and generally be at least fifty years old. A general overview of the nomination process at the time of publication is described below. All potential nominators should contact the Georgia Historic Preservation Division for the most updated information on the nomination process when they are ready to begin.

How to Nominate a Historic Resource TO THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

in 6 steps



Is this Context Relevant to Your Resource?

A starter list for applying this context as part of the National Register nomination process:

1. Identify which theme is relevant and review the history for that theme in Section II. Consider if any other historic contexts are applicable (page 134).
2. Go to the relevant theme in Section III and review the typology associated with your resource.
3. Use the information in Sections II and III to begin to determine the resource's significance and integrity.
 - a. Does the resource fit within the historical and thematic narrative from Section II?
 - b. Does the resource conform to a specific typology and registration requirements mentioned in Section III?
4. Cite this document, and any other applicable historic contexts, when completing the Georgia Historic Preservation Division [Preliminary Assessment of Eligibility Application](#) to begin the National Register process.

National Register Analysis

When Congress passed the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, it outlined the values, tools, and benefits of historic preservation in federal legislation. Historian Barbara J. Little stated in 1997:

US national programs for historic preservation have a great influence on public memory and commemoration. Decisions about what may be listed in the NRHP or designated an NHL [National Historic Landmark] may commemorate or silence parts of the past. Historians invoke the concept of integrity as a gatekeeper to control access to these lists.¹²

For preservation to flourish in the future, preservation programs must ensure that nominators have more opportunities to put forth significant places, and reviewers have the opportunity to assist with increasing access. Historian David McCoullough phrased this as “history is no longer a spotlight. We are turning up the stagelights [sic] to show the entire cast.”

To be considered eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), a building, structure, object, site, or district must generally be at least fifty years of age, meet one of four criteria for evaluation, and retain historic integrity. Significant properties that are less than fifty years of age should reference Criteria

¹² National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers, “A Report of the National Historic Designation Advisory Committee: *Recommendations for Improving the Recognition of Historic Properties of Important to All Americans*,” 2022, 31.

Consideration G described on page 17. Thus, nomination to the NRHP hinges on the evaluation of a resource’s significance and its ability to convey that significance, also known as integrity. As defined by the National Park Service, there are “aspects” and “criteria” that must be considered when evaluating the quality of a historic resource’s integrity and significance, respectively. The *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* serves as the primary guide for this purpose. The Bulletin provides standardized guidance and examples. Its interpretation and application has at times disadvantaged Black resources for consideration and inclusion. Greater equity and proper consideration can be gained by examining and clarifying how integrity and significance are interpreted and evaluated for Black resources.

Significance

A necessary part of any National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) nomination is identifying a resource’s historic significance. For NRHP purposes, the historic significance of a resource “is the importance of a property to the history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, or culture of a community, State, or the nation.”¹³ Significance may be associated with events, activities, patterns, important people, distinctive physical characteristics of a resource connected to design, construction, or form, or for their potential to provide new information through methods such as archaeology. These broad categories of significance are further divided into subcategories, such as Ethnic Heritage: Black or Religion, to better compare resources to one another. At the end of each theme

¹³ National Park Service, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, 1997, 3.

in this context statement is a summary of the subcategories of significance that are most likely to be relevant for resources associated with that theme. The list of Areas of Significance is not exhaustive, but offers a good place to start when thinking about nominating an African American resource to the NRHP.¹⁴ It should be noted that case-by-case analysis is at the heart of any NRHP nomination, and while an Area of Significance may be generally applicable to a type of Black resource, that does not automatically mean that it applies to every specific Black resource of that type.

As part of the National Register process, resources are nominated for local, state, and/or national significance. On the National Register nomination form, only one of these three levels is required for nomination; however, multiple may be selected, as applicable. Importantly, the breadth and type of research needed to justify the significance of a resource grows respective to the level of significance; i.e. a resource that is significant at a statewide level will require greater analysis and cross comparisons with other, similar resources throughout the state, as opposed to a resource that is locally significant. The majority of resources listed within this context will have local significance. A clear understanding of a resource's significance and the reasoning behind its nomination will inform the level of significance selected. For example, if a resource is an example of a type found throughout the state but its importance relates only to a particular county, the property would be considered locally significant.¹⁵

¹⁴ National Park Service, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, 3.

¹⁵ NR Bulletin 15, 9.

In order for a resource to be evaluated within its historic context and ultimately considered eligible to the National Register of Historic Places, a resource must be shown to be significant for one or more of four Criteria for Evaluation (A, B, C, or D):

Criterion A: Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history. Can be a specific event or part of a pattern or trend that contributed significantly to the development of a community, state, or nation.

To establish significance under Criterion A:

- » Does the resource demonstrate a connection to broad patterns of history? For example, a segregated movie theater may be significant under Criterion A: Social History for its connection to the social practices of Jim Crow segregation.
- » Is the resource connected to a specific historic event? For example, the site of a significant labor strike may also be significant under Criterion A: Social History for a specific labor strike.

Criterion B: Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

To establish significance under Criterion B:

- » Is a resource associated with a significant individual? For example, is the resource connected to a Reconstruction-era Black politician?

- » If the resource is associated with a significant individual, what area of significance that individual contributed to? In the above example, the Reconstruction-era Black politician may be significant under Criterion B: Politics/Government.
- » After these questions, research to see if the resource in question is the place most associated with the significant individual's work. For example, the Reconstruction-era Black politician's birthplace is likely not significant under Criterion B: Politics/Government, if the politician is significant for his work in the Georgia Legislature during Reconstruction; however, an office or place of business where this politician conducted many political meetings and/or campaigns may be significant under Criterion B: Politics/Government.

Criterion C: Embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

To establish significance under Criterion C:

- » Is the resource a significant example of a particular architectural type or style due to its retention of many architectural features? For example, a Brutalist style building that retains its characteristic concrete finish and general lack of ornamentation may be eligible under Criterion C: Architecture.

- » Is the resource a significant example of a particular method of construction? For example, the dike systems in rice fields may be significant under Criterion C: Engineering.
- » Is the resource the work of a master? For example, a building designed by Louis Hudson Persley, the first Black registered architect in Georgia, may be significant under Criterion C: Architecture for this connection to a master.

Criterion D: Have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history (largely related to archaeological sites).

To establish significance under Criterion D:

- » Has the site already provided information important to history or prehistory? For example, a plantation labor site where significant archaeological work has been performed and led to the uncovering of important information about the lives of enslaved people may be significant under Criterion D: Social History because it has already provided important information.
- » Is there a strong likelihood that the site may provide important information? For example, if historic research confirmed the location of a Reconstruction-era Freed people's town with no remaining above-ground resources, the site may also be eligible under Criterion D: Social History

for the potential to provide new and important information about the lives of African Americans during the Reconstruction period.

Importantly, the events or the lives of persons of the past associated with a resource must be significant or contribute substantially to a resource's significance, in order for National Register eligibility to be established. Documentation cited from historical or archaeological research (including oral histories) must show that the resource existed at the time of the significant event or pattern of events and have been associated with the events. Associations must not be speculative.¹⁶ Further, association alone is not enough to establish eligibility. For example, a civil rights leader's home is not automatically significant because it is the place the civil rights leader lived; the resource itself, the home in this instance, must be directly significant to the Civil Rights movement to be nominated for its association with civil rights. If the home of this civil rights leader was a key location of organizing meetings during the movement then the building may be eligible for nomination for connections to the Civil Rights movement.

When applying Criterion B, persons associated with a historic resource must be individually significant within a historic context. A resource is not eligible merely for its association with a person of a specific profession, class, social, or ethnic group. The person must have gained importance within his or her profession or group. Associations should be documented in historical or archaeological research. A resource is not eligible under Criterion B if no historical record or perspective is available to confirm

16 NR Bulletin 15, 12.

the activities or contributions of that person were historically important.¹⁷

Resources associated with individual persons should be compared to other resources associated with that same person, if they exist, to ensure that the resource being nominated is the best resource to represent the person's historic contributions. Most often, resources elevated for nomination are those associated with a significant person's productive life. If no other resource associated with the person of significance exists, however, a case for nomination may be made. For resources associated with several community leaders or with a prominent family, it is necessary to identify specific individuals and to explain their accomplishments. Resources associated with living individuals are usually not eligible for nomination as sufficient time has not elapsed to assess the person's contributions.¹⁸

When applying Criterion C, a resource should be significant for its architectural style or construction practice. Resources with distinctive characteristics, or "physical features or traits that commonly recur in individual types, periods, or methods of construction," may be eligible provided that enough of these characteristics have been retained to be considered a good representation of a particular type, period, or method of construction. Additionally, resources may be significant not only for the way they were originally constructed but also for the ways they were adapted at a later period or for the way these adaptations illustrate changes in tastes, attitudes, or

17 NR Bulletin 15, 15.

18 NR Bulletin 15, 15.

use.¹⁹ While Criterion C listing emphasizes the physical retention of characteristics specific to form, appearance, and materials that remain from a resource’s period of significance, historic buildings associated with the African American experience are traditionally less likely to conform to an academic style or follow widely cited typologies.²⁰ In these instances, African American resources significant for design or construction may be significant if the resource is a rare example of a once prevalent vernacular type or style or be eligible under other nomination criteria. The Reconstruction Era, for example, has significant associations with events and individuals, rather than with architecture. As such, African American-built resources may more often be listed under Criterion A or B alone.²¹

None of the four Criteria for Evaluation are attributed a greater weight or consideration over another, and a resource only needs to meet one criterion to be listed although multiple may be applied. Because resources associated with Black heritage have been historically underrepresented in National Register nominations, it is important to adequately research the history of Black resources to evaluate whether or not there is significance under Criterion A or B, particularly when there is not enough physical integrity to convey significance under Criterion C.

In the early 1980s, the National Park Service adopted seven criteria considerations further structuring the eligibility of resources with regards to specific kinds of properties. These

considerations may impact the eligibility of African American resources in Georgia. A closer look at the intersection of each consideration with Black history is useful.

Criteria Considerations:

- A. Religious Properties
- B. Moved Properties
- C. Birthplaces and Graves
- D. Cemeteries
- E. Reconstructed Resources
- F. Commemorative Resources
- G. Properties That Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years

¹⁹ NR Bulletin 15, 18-19.

²⁰ Craig Stutman, et. al, “African American History in Pennsylvania Theme Study.”

²¹ Gregory P. Downs, Ph.D. and Kate Masur, Ph.D. “The Era of Reconstruction, 1861-1900.” *National Historic Landmarks Theme Study*, 2017.

A: Religious Properties:



Mount Zion Baptist Church (NRIS #95000911) at 328 W. Whitney Avenue in Albany, Dougherty County (extant). *Brian Brown, 2022.*

Typically, resources owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes are not considered eligible to the National Register. It is possible, however, for places of worship to be listed if documented as significant architecturally, artistically, or as the location of a demonstrably significant event or trend. If a building is potentially eligible for events (Criterion A) or for links to significant persons (Criterion B), these associations must extend beyond religion to include significance in other areas, such as Social History or Ethnic Heritage: Black.²² African American religious resources commonly have other associations, as churches often were places of organization and assembly for civil rights efforts and community

22 NR Bulletin 15, 26-27.

building, which may be eligible for nomination under Criterion A (Events).

B: Moved Properties:



Little Richard's House (extant) at 416 Craft Street in Macon, Bibb County. Moved due to highway construction. *Ethos Preservation.*

Ordinarily, resources that have been moved have lost their integrity of location and setting and therefore are no longer eligible to the National Register.²³ Buildings associated with early African American history in Georgia, to include dwellings for the enslaved, have often been moved in order to ensure their preservation. When intact and if not entirely disassociated with its original location, such as when a building is moved to the other side of a road to avoid demolition, slave dwellings may still prove

23 NR Bulletin 15, 29-31.

eligible due to the rarity of the resource type on the landscape today.

Additionally, Black historic resources disproportionately are subject to environmental justice concerns. Many Black historic resources have been lost, altered, or moved as a result. For example, after learning that the building sat on contaminated land associated with gas operations, the Mother Trinity AME Church at the southeast corner of Taylor and Eighth Streets in Augusta was moved across the street in order to ensure its preservation. The church remains a contributing resource to the Laney Walker North Historic District (NRIS #85001976) despite its relocation.²⁴

C: Birthplaces and Graves:

Historic resources linked to the birth or death of a significant person are commonly excluded from listing to the National Register since these resources are commonly temporally and geographically removed from a person’s significant activities. If a birthplace or grave is the only remaining resource associated with a significant person, then the resource may be eligible despite Criteria Consideration C.²⁵

D: Cemeteries:



Oak Ridge Cemetery within the bounds of Rose Hill Cemetery (NRIS #73000611), purported to be the largest unmarked cemetery of enslaved persons in an urban setting in Georgia. Located in Macon, Bibb County. *Ethos Preservation.*

Because cemeteries may embody values beyond personal or family-specific emotions, the National Register criteria allow for listing of cemeteries under certain conditions. Unless associated with other eligible resources or significant for the likelihood to yield important historical information, notable age in a geographic context, design values, or association with significant historic people or events that illustrate broad patterns; cemeteries typically cannot be listed to the National Register.

24 Rebecca Fenwick and Ellie Isaacs, *Mother Trinity Church Historic Structure Report*, 2019.

25 NR Bulletin 15, 32-33.

Exceptional significance may allow for the listing of a historic Black cemetery if the cemetery:

1. is a rural or designed landscape
2. includes graves of persons of “transcendent importance,” which is defined as persons which have been of great eminence in their fields or endeavor or had a great impact upon the history of their community, state, or nation
3. is the earliest cemetery in the region
4. is associated with important historic events (such as the settlement of an area by freed people)
5. has the potential to yield important information.²⁶²⁷

It should be noted that a context specific to cemeteries in Georgia, *Identification and Evaluation of Georgia’s Burial Grounds* was published in 2023 and provides additional information for nominators.

26 NR Bulletin 15, 34-36.

27 The potential to yield important historic information is related specifically to National Register Criterion D, which cannot be gauged adequately without an examination of below ground features and integrity through subsurface archaeological investigations. This may or may not require subsurface disturbance as non-invasive techniques exist such as probing, ground-truthing, and ground-penetrating radar (GPR).

E: Reconstructed Resources:



c. 1840 Double Pen Slave Dwelling (extant), moved from a plantation labor site operated by John William Dally in Walton County to the Arnold-Callaway Plantation (NRIS #72000402), 2160 Lexington Road, Washington, Wilkes County. *Ethos Preservation*.

Ordinarily, reconstructed resources are not considered eligible to the National Register due to a lack of integrity of materials, workmanship, and feeling. However, when accurately executed and no other resource with the same association survives, a reconstructed resource may be eligible despite Criteria Consideration E.²⁸

28 NR Bulletin 15, 37-38.

F: Commemorative Resources:



“Expelled Because of Color” Monument at the Georgia Capitol on Capitol Avenue SW south of Martin Luther King Jr. Drive SE in Atlanta, erected in 1978. *Nedra Deadwyler.*

Unless erected more than fifty years ago, commemorative resources, such as monuments and memorials, are not eligible for listing to the National Register.²⁹ Since the public commemoration of Black history in Georgia has only gained ground in the recent past, Criteria Consideration F will be a relevant consideration for most monuments and memorials associated with Black history in Georgia.

G: Properties That Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years:

Properties or districts younger than fifty years of age that have associations that extend periods of significance into the modern area (within the last fifty years) are generally not significant enough to be listed to the National Register. Some exceptions exist as exceptional significance may deem a property worthy of designation.³⁰ For example, significant buildings of the recent past designed by noteworthy African American architects such as J.W. Robinson or Stanely-Love-Stanley may be eligible under Criterion G.

In addition to classifying a resource’s significance according to the Criteria, every resource will have associations with specific Areas of Significance, which can be found in NR Bulletin 16A on pages forty through forty-one. Areas of Significance are categories that identify what a resource represents and are tied to theme(s), geographical limits, and chronological periods. These categorizations provide a perspective from which to evaluate a resource’s significance. Whenever possible, resources significant for their associations with Black history should explore the Ethnic Heritage: Black as a specific Area of Significance during the National Register process. Not all Black resources will be significant under Ethnic Heritage: Black, but nominators should consider this Area of Significance. Nominations only require one Area of Significance for listing, although multiple may be selected. Time or budget constraints, for example, may constrain

17 29 NR Bulletin 15, 39-40.

30 NR Bulletin 15, 41-43.

the nominator to select one or fewer Areas of Significance for recognition.

A resource's significance should be integral to its connections to African American heritage to be nominated with Ethnic Heritage: Black as an Area of Significance. Not all resources with an association with or used by African Americans are significant. Further, the resource's significant connections to African American heritage must have been present during the period of significance outlined in the nomination. A courthouse with segregated seating, for example, may have been designed with limitations by race in mind but this alone would not necessitate the nomination to list Ethnic Heritage: Black as an Area of Significance. Alternatively, a plantation labor site on a barrier island may be significant under Ethnic Heritage: Black because the plantation labor site's remote location was integral to the preservation of the enslaved laborers' Gullah Geechee culture.

Many older National Register nominations did not mention the ethnicity of persons associated with a resource. In many instances, older nominations may have failed to mention African American and other minority population's historic associations for a variety of reasons, including everything from overt discrimination to lack of awareness. As history scholarship has advanced, the tendency to be more inclusive has grown, and it is important to understand that just because a nomination does not mention African American historic associations, that does not mean there was no African American influence present. At times, the association of resources with Black history was not acknowledged or explored if other associations were deemed sufficient. This is one reason why past nominations for resources associated with Black history may

not have been categorized for Ethnic Heritage: Black as an Area of Significance. This situation is particularly evident in past historic district nominations, which have multiple resources and Areas of Significance. Importantly, older nominations can be revised and amended to capture underrepresented and layered histories. A resource's associations with African American history, however, may not be what elevates a resource for listing to the National Register. In these instances, the resource's African American associations should still be recognized and incorporated into the nomination text for inclusion as historical record.

Uncovering a resource's associations with Black history may be contingent upon the research methodology and availability of sources. The older a resource is, the less likely primary source material will be available simply due to its age, but also due to the legacy of slavery and systemic racism. Enslaved persons were often not recorded or recognized in detail in primary source documents outside of slave schedules, estate records, some census records, or Works Progress Administration (WPA) slave narratives. When recorded, the information provided was subject to the perspective of the author, who was most often white. Discriminatory practices for the recordation of Black persons and histories have persisted, although to lesser degrees, throughout American history. A keen eye for the understanding of source documents that takes into consideration the author, information recorded, and other implications is particularly important for documents related to early Black history.

A Note on Sources

When adequate published and unpublished archival sources are rare, nominators and reviewers should explore oral histories. Oral histories are one way first-person accounts related to Black histories have been recorded and are a common practice in the African American tradition, with histories commonly passed from one generation to the next verbally. When available and applicable, published or recorded oral histories should be consulted. Additionally, when persons with knowledge of a resource’s history are living, these human sources should be consulted through an interview or the recording of a new oral history. As stated in the Bulletin 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, “The property you are evaluating must be documented, through accepted means of historical or archaeological research (including oral history), to have existed at the time of the event or pattern of events and to have been associated with those events.”³¹ Oral histories are important sources and references for evaluating the significance of Black historic resources, and their use should be encouraged, particularly when other primary sources are scarce.



Extant slave dwellings at the Bailey-Tebault House (NRIS #73002146) in Griffin, Spalding County. *Russ Bogue*.

31 NR Bulletin 15, 12.

Periods of Significance

Every resource nominated to the National Register is assigned a period of significance by the nominator. Commonly a date range, a period of significance is the length of time when a property was associated with important events, activities, or persons, or attained the characteristics which qualify it for National Register listing. Periods of significance usually begin with the date when significant activities or events began giving the property its historic significance; often this date is the construction date.³² Periods of significance typically end when the last milestone or major event associated with the history for which the resource is nominated occurred. A period of significance may be several years, or even a few days, depending on the duration of the event. Although rare, some resources may have multiple periods of significance. Periods of significance should end at least fifty years prior to the year the resource is nominated, unless Criterion Consideration G is met.

32 NR Bulletin 16A, 42.

Integrity

As introduced in the *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, a resource's integrity is based on significance. Only after significance is fully established can you determine a resource's integrity. Integrity is defined by seven aspects: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. As described in the Bulletin, "To retain historic integrity, a property will always possess several, and usually most, of the aspects. The retention of specific aspects of integrity is paramount for a property to convey its significance. Determining which of these aspects are most important to a particular property requires knowing why, where, and when the property is significant."³³

Location is the place where the historic resource was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.

Design is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a resource.

Setting is the physical environment of a historic property.

Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic resource.

33 NR Bulletin 16, 44.

Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.

Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.

Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.

None of the seven aspects of integrity are inherently attributed a greater weight or consideration over another. The evaluation of integrity must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance.³⁴ The National Register lists tangible places that, through their physical integrity and characteristics, tell the story of that heritage. The National Register does not list intangible values, except so far as they are associated with or reflected by physical historic properties.³⁵

To better understand integrity as it relates to a resource's physical features, it is important to note that not all physical features are essential. As stated in *NR Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, "All properties change over time. It is not necessary for a property to retain all its historic physical features or characteristics. The property must retain, however, the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic identity. The essential physical features are those features that

define both why a property is significant (Applicable Criteria and Areas of Significance) and when it was significant (Periods of Significance)."³⁶

The steps to assessing integrity, as paraphrased from the Bulletin, include:

1. Define the essential physical features present
2. Determine whether the essential physical features are visible
3. Determine whether the property is better understood by comparing it to similar properties
4. Determine which aspects of integrity are the most vital and if they are present³⁷

In application, various aspects of integrity *may* be attributed greater weight by the nominator based on a resource's particular significance. This is the process of determining which aspects are the most vital, as conveyed above. The essential physical features are those features that define both why a property is significant (Applicable Criteria and Areas of Significance) and when it was significant (Periods of Significance).³⁸ In the past, greater emphasis was often placed on the more tangible or physical aspects of integrity, specifically design, setting, materials, and workmanship. As a result, determinations of eligibility more often hinged on architectural integrity, which ultimately disadvantaged Black buildings because they are less likely to conform to an academic

34 NR Bulletin 15, 44.

35 National Park Service, "Nominating Properties for Cultural Significance under Criterion A," *Best Practices Review*, Issue 6, 2024, 2.

36 NR Bulletin 15, 46.

37 NR Bulletin 15, 45.

38 NR Bulletin 15, 46.

architectural style and are more likely to have been altered over time. Further, the older a resource associated with Black heritage is, the greater the likelihood of its physical alteration through its continuous use.

Often, what may be perceived as a lack of integrity can be just as illustrative of the Black experience.³⁹ Change shows how resources and communities evolved. Specifically, factors such as income, community values, and individual aesthetic preferences impact historic resources.⁴⁰ Deferred maintenance, material replacement, and the removal of exterior detailing on buildings within a traditionally Black neighborhood, can be examples of such factors.⁴¹ Depending on the resource at hand, such alterations should not automatically limit eligibility when viewed through the larger lens of the impact of racial inequality on African American life.⁴² This consideration is of particular importance when evaluating the integrity of early Black resources, as examples of intact resources associated with African American settlement patterns are rare. Instead, integrity must be assessed on a case-by-case basis. Analysis of when and why a change occurred can inform a determination of a resource's significance.

39 Craig Stutman, et. al, "African American History in Pennsylvania Theme Study."

40 Betty Bird, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form for the African American Historic Resources of Prince George's County, Maryland, (2003), 49-50.

41 Craig Stutman, et. al, "African American History in Pennsylvania Theme Study."

42 Betty Bird, National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, 49-50.

Three questions that aid in evaluating changes that affect integrity are:

1. Did the changes to the historic resource that affect integrity remove historic fabric or rather, incorporate it into the alteration?
2. Does the alteration or change reflect a pattern tied to a broader theme or significance?
3. Would individuals who interacted with the historic resource recognize it today for what it was historically?⁴³

Additional considerations may require a deeper understanding of the change beyond its face value. The age, type, and association or source of an alteration may also impact the eligibility of a resource. For instance, a property only significant under Criterion C may require a higher degree of physical integrity in order to convey that architectural significance.

43 Craig Stutman, et. al, "African American History in Pennsylvania Theme Study."



Georgia B. Williams Nursing Home listed to the National Register in 2011 (NRIS #11000180), 176 Dyer St, Camilla, Mitchell County built c.1918 as a pyramid cottage, modified c.1930 (to bungalow appearance), 1940, and 1965 (extant).
*Denise Messik.*⁴⁴



New Hope Baptist Church, Cave Spring, Floyd County (extant).
Brian Brown.



44 Ethos Preservation, "Georgia B. Williams Nursing Home Preservation Plan," 18-19.

Alterations Over Time

Black resources often reflect continuous use and/or layered histories. The enclosure of a porch or replacement of earlier chamfered porch posts specific to the Victorian period with later tapered posts indicative of the Craftsman style are good examples of changes that reflect adaptation and modernization associated with continuous use. Changes that occurred during the period of significance associated with the resource may even contribute to the eligibility of a resource.

As NR Bulletin 15 states, "All properties change over time. It is not necessary for a property to retain all its historic physical features or characteristics. The property must retain, however, the physical features that enable it to convey its historic identity. The essential physical features are those features that define both why a property is significant (Applicable Criteria and Areas of Significance) and when it was significant (Periods of Significance)."⁴⁵

Change as Cultural Practice

Some changes are so common and specific to Black resources in Georgia that the type of alteration has become recognizable and indicative of the association of a resource with Black culture and therefore, the change itself has become a character-defining feature. One example is the application of brick veneer to wood sided buildings. This change is most commonly seen on church buildings; however, examples of residential and commercial buildings altered in this way also exist. The change reflects the

45 NR Bulletin 15, 52

continuous use of older buildings and their adaptation and evolution to reflect modernization, changing design trends, and energy efficiency. The widespread application of brick veneer to historically wood sided buildings associated with Black heritage in Georgia largely occurred in the 1950s and 1960s. Analysis of when and why a change occurred can inform a determination of a resource's significance and integrity.

Association

Not all resources associated with Black heritage originated with or were erected by Black Georgians. If the period of significance associated with a resource highlights its associations with Black heritage, it is important to consider how the changes made during this period reflect its association with African Americans. Some historic districts with African American historical associations were not originally associated with Black heritage but rather gained an association with Black history in later years. One example of this type of association is older urban residential areas that were abandoned by white populations in the 1960s - 1980s and became predominantly African American neighborhoods. Due in part to systemic racism and redlining practices, African Americans occupied many inner city dwellings, as evidenced in the movement of white residents out of downtowns and the rise of suburbanization across Georgia during this period, commonly referred to as "white flight."⁴⁶

The West End Historic District (NRIS #97000621) in Atlanta, Georgia, has a period of significance of 1859-1952. Built for white

⁴⁶ Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007), 5.

1128 Oak Street SW within the West End Historic District (NRIS #97000621), Atlanta, Fulton County [extant]. *Nedra Deadwyler.*



New Ford Baptist Church, 1832, Danburg, Wilkes County [extant]. *Brian Brown, 2023.*



residents, the neighborhood transitioned to Black residents in the mid-1960s. Currently, the district is listed under Community Planning and Development (Criterion A), Architecture (Criterion C), and Commerce (Criterion A).⁴⁷ This resource may also convey significance through its association with Black residents of significance in the mid-1960s and be eligible for listing under Ethnic Heritage: Black (Criterion A). One way the district's African American significance is demonstrated is through its associations with Jamil Abdullah Al-Amin, a Muslim spiritual and civil rights leader also known as H. Rap Brown, who operated the Oak Street Community Store at 1128 Oak Street SW, where Muslim owned businesses still exist.⁴⁸

The New Ford Baptist Church at 402 Bradford Road north of Danburg was built in 1832 by a white congregation. The earliest Black members of this church were enslaved, likely brought to the church by their enslavers. The church was purchased by its Black members in 1879.⁴⁹ This resource may also convey significance through association with the Black members of the congregation and transfer of ownership.

While the *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* notes that integrity of feeling and association alone are not sufficient for achieving integrity

for listing to the National Register, these aspects should not be discounted. Understanding integrity of feeling and association often requires a more in-depth understanding of a resource rooted in oral histories, archival research, and a comparative analysis of the historic characteristics of a resource. A community may have a common memory of a baptismal site after occupying surrounding land for generations that is not readily apparent in the documentary or physical record. When paired with the retention of essential physical characteristics, such as the retention of its rural setting, a strong integrity of feeling and association can elevate a resource to the point of eligibility.

47 Leslie Noel Sharp and Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr. "West End Historic District," 1999.

48 Larry Conley, "From advocate of violence to West End activist," *The Atlanta Journal*. 2000, A, 10.

49 Brian Brown. "New Ford Baptist Church, 1832, Danburg," *Vanishing Georgia*, 2023, <https://vanishinggeorgia.com/2023/06/06/new-ford-baptist-church-1832-danburg/>.

SECTION II

HISTORICAL THEMES

The historical themes section is a summary of the African American experience in Georgia, as described through its physical development. Organized into a series of themes that progress in roughly chronological order, the narrative establishes a backdrop for which resources may be considered for their commonality, rarity, and National Register significance. The African American context in Georgia covers resources associated with anyone of African heritage and begins with the first arrival of Europeans who brought kidnapped Africans with them. The legalization of chattel slavery in 1751 in Georgia shaped the built environment, and despite oppression, many people of African descent formed significant communities. The Black church developed as an integral aspect of African American life in Georgia. Throughout the narrative, the African American neighborhood - often centered around a faith based institution - consistently emerges as central to understanding the Black experience. Institutional racism at all levels of government – local, state, and federal – influenced the Black built environment in Georgia, often relegating Black communities to less desirable land, limiting access to financing, and resulting in inequitable treatment throughout every aspect of their lives. Today, examples of African American communities that look largely as they did when they were first constructed are rare.

African American boy seated on porch of house, another African American boy standing with bicycle on porch of another house, with two young African American women on steps, Georgia. W. E. B. Du Bois. *Library of Congress*.

Globalization, Migration, and Mobility

The earliest Africans to arrive to what is today Georgia were forcibly brought by their Spanish enslavers. These origins place the global movement of people and cultural practices at the center of the history of people of African descent. Although African slavery was illegal in Georgia from the colony's founding in 1733 through 1751, enslaved Africans were still present. Forced movement remained a significant part of the lives of Black Georgians until Emancipation in 1865. Additionally, free Africans and African Americans present before 1865 saw restrictions on their ability to move freely through the state. This theme continued well into the twentieth century as segregationist policies and racism directly and indirectly impacted the everyday lives of every African American, as witnessed in the elective movement of African Americans out of the South via the Great Migration and the creation of guides such as *The Green Book* specific to African American travel. Studying how people of African descent have been free to or restricted from moving through the state, cities, and the country is critical to understanding the Black experience. This theme discussion is not an exhaustive discussion of all events related to "Globalization, Migration, and Mobility," but rather an overview of the most significant events.

Spanish Expeditions into Modern-day Georgia

African people have been in the geographic area we now know as Georgia for as long as European people have been here. In 1526, Spaniard Lucas Vaquez de Ayllon created the mission colony of San Miguel de Gualdape on Sapelo Island. Lucas Vaquez de Ayllon and his company stopped off the coast of South Carolina but



Hernando de Soto discovering the Mississippi ca 1893 by Gebbie and Co. *Library of Congress.*

continued south to Sapelo Island, looking for Indigenous people.⁵⁰ The company included at least one hundred enslaved Africans whose labor would have supported the growth of Lucas Vaquez de Ayllon's planned colony. This group fought against their enslavers, with a number of people successfully liberating themselves. The Spanish abandoned this colony after this group liberated themselves. This group of Africans continued to live in the area with the surrounding Indigenous people.⁵¹

In 1540, Hernando de Soto traveled through Georgia, and his expedition included enslaved Africans. Hernando de Soto used

⁵⁰ Georgia Historical Society, "Today In Georgia History: September 29," *Georgia Public Broadcasting*, 2022, <https://www.todayingeorgiahistory.org/tih-georgia-day/lucas-vasquez-de-ayllon/>.

⁵¹ Gillian Brockell, "Before 1619, there was 1526: The mystery of the first enslaved Africans in what became the United States," *The Washington Post*, September 7, 2019, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2019/09/07/before-there-was-mystery-first-enslaved-africans-what-became-us/>.

these people to carry supplies for the entire party, easing the workload for his soldiers. Ultimately, this expedition also failed in 1543, and the Spanish abandoned the African people along the Mississippi River, although not in the area that is currently Georgia. The Spanish left on ships and did not allocate any room for the African people who had traveled with them for three years.⁵²

The Spanish wrote that they abandoned enslaved Africans with their missions, but there is no documentation of what happened to these people after the Spanish left. No evidence that the Spanish government, based in what is today Florida, engaged with people of African descent in the region that is now Georgia, has been documented. Many African people assimilated into surrounding Indigenous communities.⁵³

The Spanish government did begin to take notice of enslaved Africans further north after 1670. That year, the English colonized South Carolina, and English citizens quickly began to participate in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, the legal kidnapping



English explorer and Indian agent Thomas Nairne's 1711 map, "A compleat description of the province of Carolina in 3 parts," showing what would become Georgia along the Savannah River, the Ogeechee River, Altamaha River, Palawan River, and Saint Marys River, along with Saint Catherines Island and Sapelo Island are labeled. *Library of Congress*.

of people directly from Africa for enslavement in the future United States, transporting them to work rice plantation labor sites in the colony. The Spanish response was to encourage enslaved Africans in South Carolina to flee to Florida, where they could emancipate themselves by crossing the border and converting to Catholicism. Their goal was to destabilize the society and the economy of South Carolina and drive the English out of North America.⁵⁴ This encouragement was fairly effective; a number of people did liberate themselves by crossing the border into Spanish Florida and converting to Catholicism. However, life for these people was only nominally better under Spanish

rule, though the Spanish government did not consider African people property as the English did.⁵⁵ Despite Spanish attitudes, free Africans gained permission to establish Fort Mose, north of St. Augustine. This settlement was the first community of free Africans in North America.⁵⁶

⁵² National Park Service, "De Soto National Memorial," *National Park Service*, 2022, <http://nps.history.com/publications/deso/index.htm>.

⁵³ Worth, "Spanish Missions."

⁵⁴ National Park Service, "Fort Mose Site," *National Park Service*, 2023, https://www.nps.gov/nr/travel/american_latino_heritage/fort_mose.html.

⁵⁵ Bretin Mock, "From Fort Mose to Soul City," *Four Hundred Souls: A Community History of African America, 1619-2019*, ed. Ibram X. Kendi and Keisah N. Blain (New York: One World, 2021), 102.

⁵⁶ National Park Service, "Fort Mose Site."

Although the English had enslaved Africans to work in the rice fields of plantation labor sites from the very beginning of the colony, they had also enslaved Indigenous people. When the Yamasee War broke out in 1715, South Carolina lost not only the military buffer the allied Indigenous groups provided between the colony and Spanish Florida, but also feared that up to 25 percent of their enslaved Indigenous workforce might turn against them and rejoin their people. Thus, South Carolinians began to kidnap and enslave even more African people and fewer Indigenous people. They also demanded the English government provide a military buffer between the profitable land in their colony and Spanish Florida. That military buffer was the colony of Georgia.⁵⁷ As the United States was taking its first census in 1790, the Spanish in Florida ended their policy of granting freedom to enslaved people who made it to the border and converted to Catholicism. This policy had been in place for over one hundred years, and its end meant that the literal journey to freedom for many enslaved people was now too far to attempt.⁵⁸

57 Jon Bernard Marcoux, "The Yamasee War: 1715-1717," *South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina*, 2015, https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1023&context=archmonth_poster.

58 Jennison, *Cultivating Race*, 132.

The Founding of the Georgia Colony and Ban on Slavery

By the late seventeenth century, Spain and England both claimed the land that would become Georgia, and both countries referred to it as the "debatable land." Despite these claims, neither colonial power had a permanent presence in the area geographically until

the English established Georgia in 1733.⁵⁹

The English designed Georgia as the military buffer colony South Carolinians had been asking for since the Yamasee War, but the government outsourced the founding and management of the colony.

General James Oglethorpe was an English philanthropist, army general, and politician who had an interest in reforming debtors' prisons in England. He and a group of private individuals decided to privately fund the colony of Georgia. This private group was known as the Georgia Trustees. General James Oglethorpe and the Georgia Trustees had a number of philanthropic goals they wished to accomplish with their privately-funded colony. As part of this plan, they envisioned a colony of

self-sustaining farmers, and the Trustees believed allowing these farmers to enslave Africans would make the farmers insolent. Additionally, the English were afraid of enslaving so many Africans so close to Spanish Florida, where they could be encouraged

59 National Park Service, "For Frederica," *National Park Service*, 2023, <https://www.nps.gov/fofr/learn/historyculture/index.htm>.



General James Oglethorpe depicted in a painting. *University of Georgia*.

to rebel and/or flee to freedom in the Spanish controlled territory. Thus, the Trustees prevented African slavery for private landowners as much as possible from the founding of the colony through a law passed by Parliament in 1735 that officially banned African slavery in Georgia.⁶⁰

Despite the Trustees attempts to prevent slavery even after the legal ban was placed in 1735, African people were enslaved in Georgia. General James Oglethorpe used a small group of enslaved Africans from South Carolina in Savannah at the founding to help construct some of the city's first buildings. He soon decided to send these enslaved people away, as the Trustees felt enslaved Africans in the heart of their new colonial project set a bad precedent, beyond their original fears of revolt.⁶¹ However, it did not take long for Georgia colonists to start renting or borrowing enslaved people from enslavers across the border in South Carolina.⁶² Georgians also enslaved Indigenous people from the colony's founding, since only the enslavement of Africans was prohibited, but there were never as many enslaved Indigenous people in the Georgia colony as there had been in South Carolina. The demand to lift the ban on African slavery remained high because Georgia colonists wanted a larger labor force to work

60 Betty Wood, "Slavery in Colonial Georgia," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2021, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/slavery-in-colonial-georgia/>.

61 Watson W. Jennison, *Cultivating Race: The Expansion of Slavery in Georgia, 1750-1860*, (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2012), 44.

62 Georgia Historical Society, "Pre-Revolutionary Slavery," *Georgia Historical Society*, 2023, <https://georgiahistory.com/education-outreach/online-exhibits/online-exhibits/encounter-and-exchange/a-new-encounter-black-slaves-in-georgia/pre-revolutionary-slavery/#:~:text=The%20argument%20for%20slavery%20won,empire%20found%20throughout%20the%20world.>

their land.⁶³ In 1750, the Trustees agreed to lift the ban on African slavery in Georgia, with the new law going into effect on January 1, 1751. This official sanction simply legalized practices that were already occurring in the colony.⁶⁴

The African Diaspora: The People Caught in Triangular Trade

As the enslavement of Africans increased in South Carolina, there began to be more African people in what today is Georgia. At first, most enslaved persons arrived in Georgia from the Caribbean, having previously been kidnapped in Africa. Records show that the first vessel, the *Elizabeth and Mary*, a sloop captained by George Tucker flying under the flag of Great Britain, arrived in Savannah on June 22, 1752 from Jamaica with rum and twenty enslaved people, losing one on the journey.⁶⁵ This transportation dynamic changed in the second half of the eighteenth century. From 1768-1771, over 86 percent of enslaved Africans disembarking in Georgia came directly from Africa. This trade pattern was known as the Transatlantic Slave Trade.⁶⁶ Transatlantic voyages arriving in Georgia originated from the West Coast regions of Africa such as Senegambia, Sierra Leone, Windward Coast, Gold Coast, Bight of Benin, West Central Africa, and St. Helena. People kidnapped and forced into slavery from these regions were members of ethnic groups including the Mende, Yoruba, Igbo, and Fulani peoples.

63 Rodney Baine, "Notes and Documents: Indian Slavery in Colonial Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 419.

64 Georgia Historical Society, "Pre-Revolutionary Slavery."

65 Slave Voyages, "Intra-American Slave Trade Database," 2023, <https://www.slavevoyages.org/american/database>.

66 Karen Bell, "Atlantic Slave Trade to Savannah," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/atlantic-slave-trade-to-savannah/>.

These ethnic groups were targeted by Georgian enslavers for their ancestral skills in farming rice, cotton, and indigo. Thus, the Africans arriving on Georgia's shores did not speak the same language or practice the same religion, including many Fulani people who practiced Islam.

People of African Descent on the Frontier

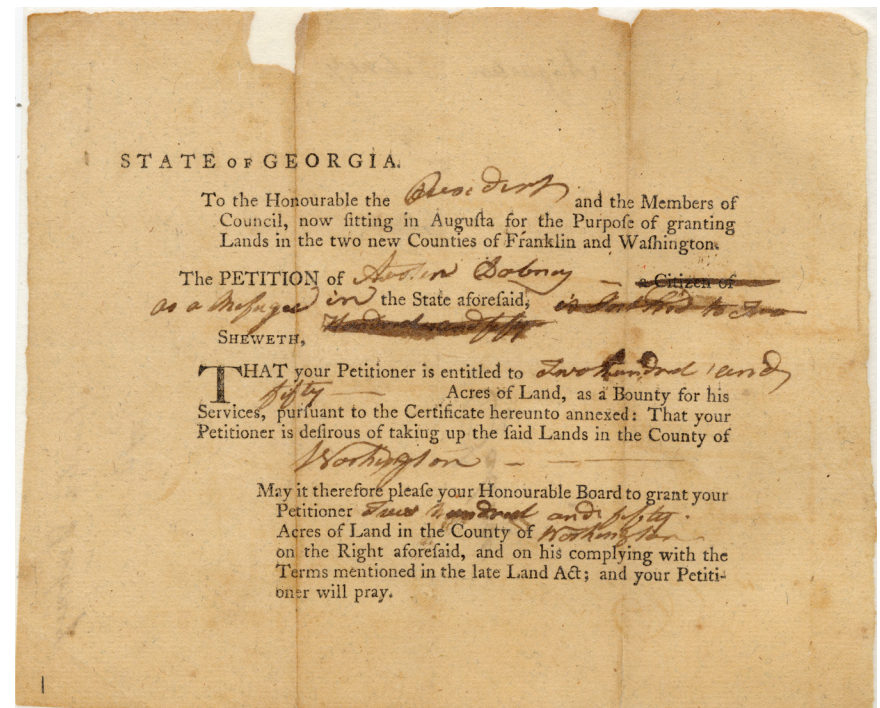
As European people expanded their geographic footprint in the new state of Georgia, African people moved along with them, forcing Indigenous people to move further west. Many African people and people of African descent moved to the frontier of Georgia enslaved, and they labored to build the state's infrastructure in a variety of ways. Besides the literal construction of roads and bridges, enslaved people of African descent built the buildings of University of Georgia after it was chartered in 1785 as the first public university in the future United States of America.⁶⁷

While many people of African descent were enslaved in Georgia during this period, there are some notable examples of free people, particularly on the frontier. Austin Dabney was a Black man who was born in North Carolina and served with the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. Austin Dabney received a land grant in Georgia because of his Revolutionary War service, and he settled on this 250-acre grant in Walton County, Georgia in 1786. Austin Dabney participated in the community as any other frontiersman, managing his land and fighting against Indigenous people in conflicts with other community members.⁶⁸

67 Chana Kai Lee, of "The History of Slavery at UGA," *University of Georgia*, 2020, <https://willson.uga.edu/global-georgia-initiative-humanities-in-place/the-history-of-slavery-at-uga/>.

68 Jennison, *Cultivating Race*, 1.

Austin Dabney's story is not necessarily common, but it was not unheard of in late eighteenth century Georgia. Wilkes County, approximately sixty-five miles east of Austin Dabney's home in Walton County, had the largest population of free people of African descent in Georgia according to the 1790 Census. The 180 free individuals in Wilkes County were a numerically greater population than the 112 free people in Chatham County, but this population also represented a much larger percentage of the Wilkes County total population than was present in coastal areas. Wilkes County only had a total population of 398 people, meaning free people of color represented over 45 percent of the total population of this frontier county.⁶⁹



Land grant to Georgia Revolutionary War Hero, Austin Dabney. Courtesy, Georgia Archives, Ad Hoc Collection, ah00009.

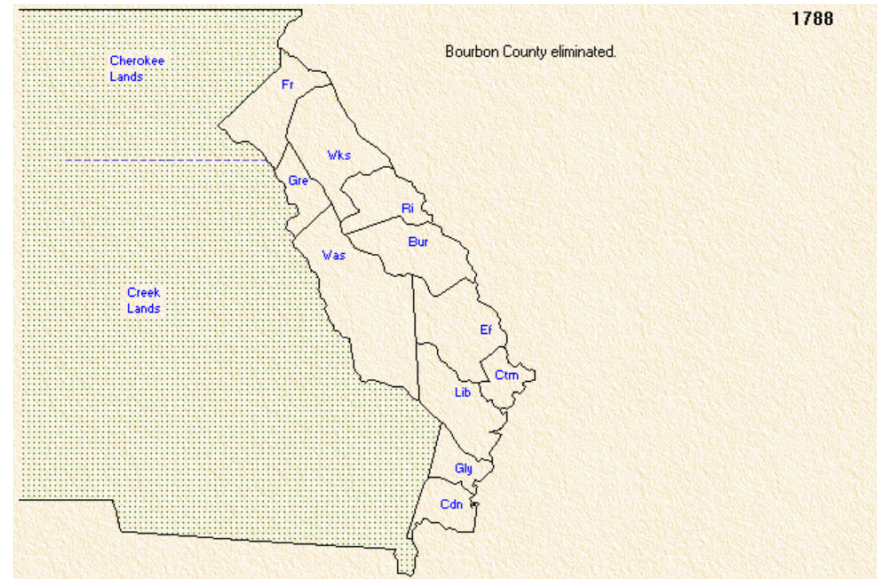
69 Jennison, *Cultivating Race*, 110.

The frontier was a popular location for free people of African descent in the period immediately following the American Revolution because it offered the opportunity to acquire land more easily and to establish farms away from the plantation labor system culture of the coast. As the area defined as the frontier moved further west into the interior of the state, the free Black population shifted with it, acquiring warrants to land that had been seized from the Muscogee Nation. Although the Muscogee people had largely cordial relations with the English during Georgia's Colonial period, their relationship with Georgia during the Early Republic period deteriorated swiftly. The Muscogee people traded in deerskins with the English, but as overhunting decimated the white-tail deer population in the late eighteenth century, the Muscogee people no longer had a role in the frontier economy. Both white and Black settlers coveted the land occupied by the Muscogee Nation for development into both small farms and plantation labor sites, and a series of treaties led to the steady erosion of Muscogee territory in Georgia. Settlers frequently violated the terms of the treaties by moving into land still controlled by the Muscogee people, leading to regular conflicts and skirmishes between settlers and Indigenous people.⁷⁰ As Austin Dabney's story illustrates, frontier society was much more concerned with the contributions of the individual to the collective protection of the community rather than the color of one's skin.⁷¹

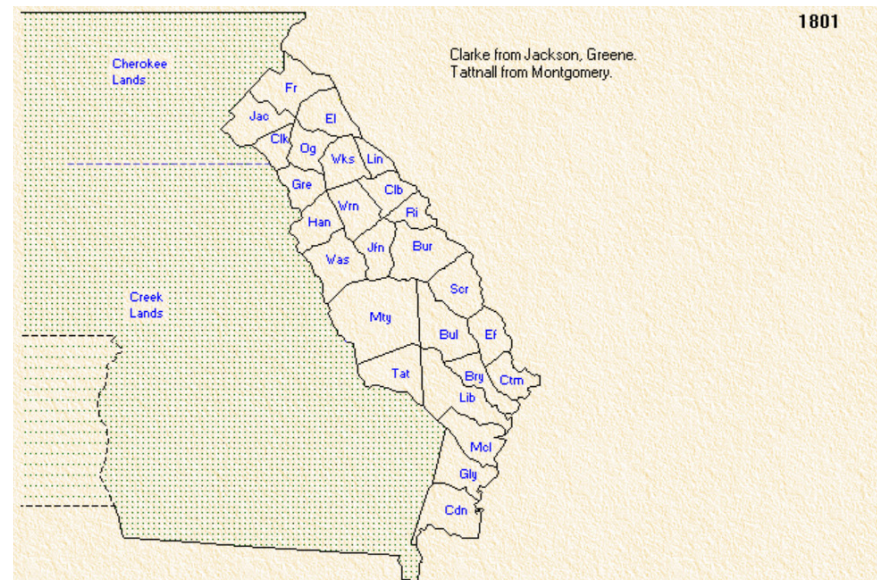
The decade of the 1790s also saw the growth of the institution of slavery throughout the state of Georgia. While free people

⁷⁰ Claudio Saunt, "Creek Indians," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/creek-indians/>.

⁷¹ Jennison, *Cultivating Race*, 111.

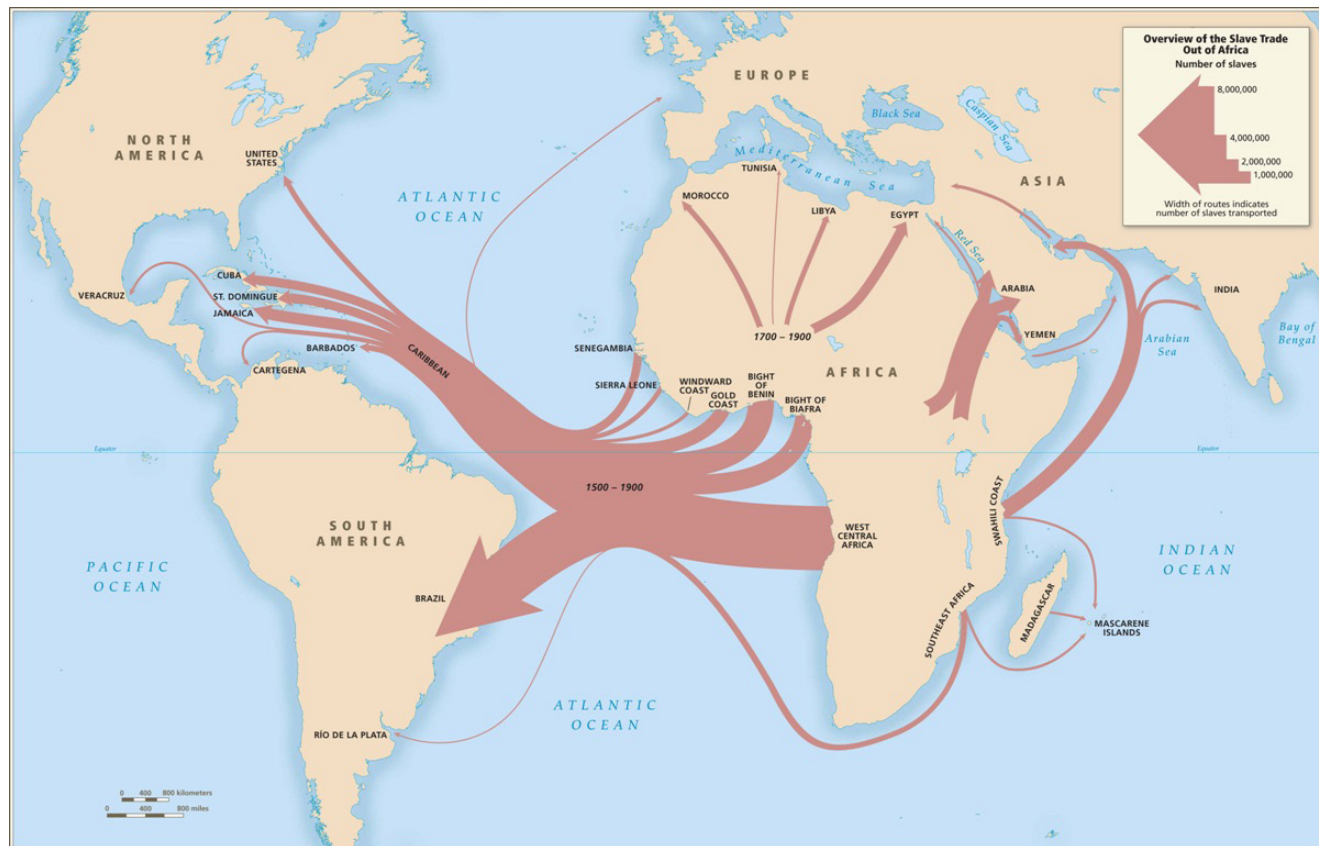


Georgia had relatively few counties in 1788, and what counties were present in the state were quite geographically large. 1788 map of Georgia counties. *Rootsweb.com*



By 1801, the number of counties in Georgia had increased, and the state's effective boundary had also moved further west. 1801 map of Georgia counties. *Rootsweb.com*

of African descent were claiming land grants, so were white people who were intent on setting up their own plantation labor sites. These individuals wanted enslaved people to work the land for them, maximizing their comfort and profit as the enslaver. The practice of enslaving people of African descent was not restricted to white enslavers though. Other people of African descent and some Indigenous people were also enslavers. This economic condition led to an increase in the Transatlantic Slave Trade, with many people kidnapped from Africa and sent directly to the interior of Georgia.⁷² Enslavers also became more concerned with their “property” liberating themselves through escape from their plantation labor sites to states where slavery had already been abolished.⁷³ Because so many members of the House of Representatives and Senate were enslavers, the First Fugitive Slave Act was easily passed in 1793. Prior to this act, there was no federal law that required non-



Eltis and Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (2010), the map “Overview of the slave trade out of Africa, 1500-1900.” *Reproduced with permission from Yale University Press.*

enslavers or states to assist with the recapture and kidnapping of freedom seekers. The Act allowed enslavers, and anyone else, to seize and arrest Black people on the suspicion of being “fugitives” based only on written or oral evidence. After arrest, they could be re-enslaved.⁷⁴

⁷² Jennison, *Cultivating Race*, 60.

⁷³ Pennsylvania passed the first law outlawing slavery in 1780, leading to the gradual emancipation of people who were enslaved that year and prohibiting the importation of any more enslaved people. Massachusetts abolished slavery entirely in 1783, and the Confederation Congress government outlawed slavery in the new Northwest Territory in 1787 as part of the Northwest Ordinance.

⁷⁴ Richard Peters, ed. *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from the Organization of the Government in 1789, to March 3, 1845*, (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1845): 302-305.

The *Wanderer*

The demand for people to enslave did not end with the closing of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in the United States. One notable example of this desire is the *Wanderer*, which landed at Jekyll Island on November 28, 1858 with 409 kidnapped people from Central Africa on board. The international slave trade had been illegal in the United States since 1807, so this ship was not designed to carry enslaved people. It was actually a luxury sailing vessel built for Colonel John D. Johnson of New Orleans, whose wealth came from sugar plantation labor sites in Louisiana. Colonel John D. Johnson sold the vessel shortly after it was completed in 1857 to William C. Corrie of Charleston, South Carolina, who was then approached by Charles A.L. Lamar of Savannah to convert the ship. William C. Corrie took the ship back to where it was built in New York City and had the necessary alterations made. Although some people were apparently suspicious of the below deck changes, such as the installation of a much larger storage system for drinking water, the ship still passed inspection and was allowed to leave New York harbor on June 18, 1858. On September 16, the ship arrived at the mouth of the Congo River, and it proceeded to sail upriver to where it was simple to purchase kidnapped people. William C. Corrie and Charles A. L. Lamar traded 500 people at fifty dollars per person for rum, gunpowder, swords, and guns. Thirteen of these kidnapped people died before boarding the ship. 487 kidnapped people boarded the *Wanderer*, and seventy-eight died during the voyage. The ship arrived at Jekyll Island on November 28, 1858. The location was ideal because the island was privately owned by Henry DuBignon, Jr., where the criminals hoped their illegal kidnapping would go unnoticed. Rumors quickly spread about the African people who were being sold, and Charles A. L. Lamar, William C. Corrie, and other conspirators were tried in the federal courts of Savannah in May of 1860 under charges of piracy. They were found not guilty by a local jury, and the kidnapped Africans remained enslaved.⁷⁵



Left to Right: Ward Lee, Tucker Henderson and Romeo were three survivors of the *Wanderer*. Charles Montgomery.

⁷⁵ Katherine E. Rohere, "Wanderer," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/wanderer/>.

The Trail, and Land, of Tears

While some cotton had been cultivated in Georgia since the English Colonial period, the long staple variety grown on the Sea Islands was not a major cash crop the short staple variety grown on Georgia's frontier would become.⁷⁶ The crop thrived in the same geographic areas as rice but needed the rare high ground in these areas concentrated around Georgia's five tidal rivers. Short staple cotton, which flourished further in the interior of the state, quickly became a major cash crop after more and more land came under cultivation.⁷⁷ In 1805, the State of Georgia held its first land lottery, distributing land the state had acquired primarily from Indigenous people. While the repeal of the ban on slavery had opened Georgia's five coastal rivers up to the plantation labor system in 1751, these land lotteries encouraged enslavers in South Carolina to set up new plantation labor sites in Georgia and made it possible for more Georgians to become enslavers.⁷⁸

Indigenous people also began to participate in chattel slavery in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In particular, the Cherokee Nation had some notable members who acquired great wealth as enslavers and plantation labor site owners. Chief James Vann and one of his sons Joseph Vann owned the Diamond Hill plantation labor site in Murray County. While the Cherokee Nation had practiced a form of slavery where they enslaved

captured members of other Indigenous people during warfare, chattel slavery did not arrive until people of European descent brought the system. Chief James Vann was the son of a Cherokee woman and Scottish immigrant. His complex relationships with both the Black people he enslaved and others he interacted with demonstrate the fluidity of race on the frontier. Despite Chief James Vann, Joseph Vann, and other members of the Cherokee Nation who adopted the white patriarchal system of chattel slavery, the Georgia and US governments ultimately did not view the Cherokee people as "white enough" to allow them to retain their land.⁷⁹

Georgia went on to hold eight total land lotteries (1805, 1807, 1820, 1821, 1827, two in 1832, and 1833).⁸⁰ The Cherokee Nation was one of the last remaining Indigenous groups blocking westward expansion in the eyes of the state. In 1830, President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act into law, authorizing the government to remove Indigenous people east of the Mississippi River and "give" them lands west of the Mississippi River.⁸¹ The Cherokee Nation challenged the government for the right to keep their lands in two different lawsuits that went to the Supreme Court, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832). The Cherokee Nation ceded their ancestral land in the 1835 Treaty of New Echota; however, the treaty was signed

76 Elizabeth Hargrett, "Cotton Gins," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/cotton-gins/>.

77 Hargrett, "Cotton Gins."

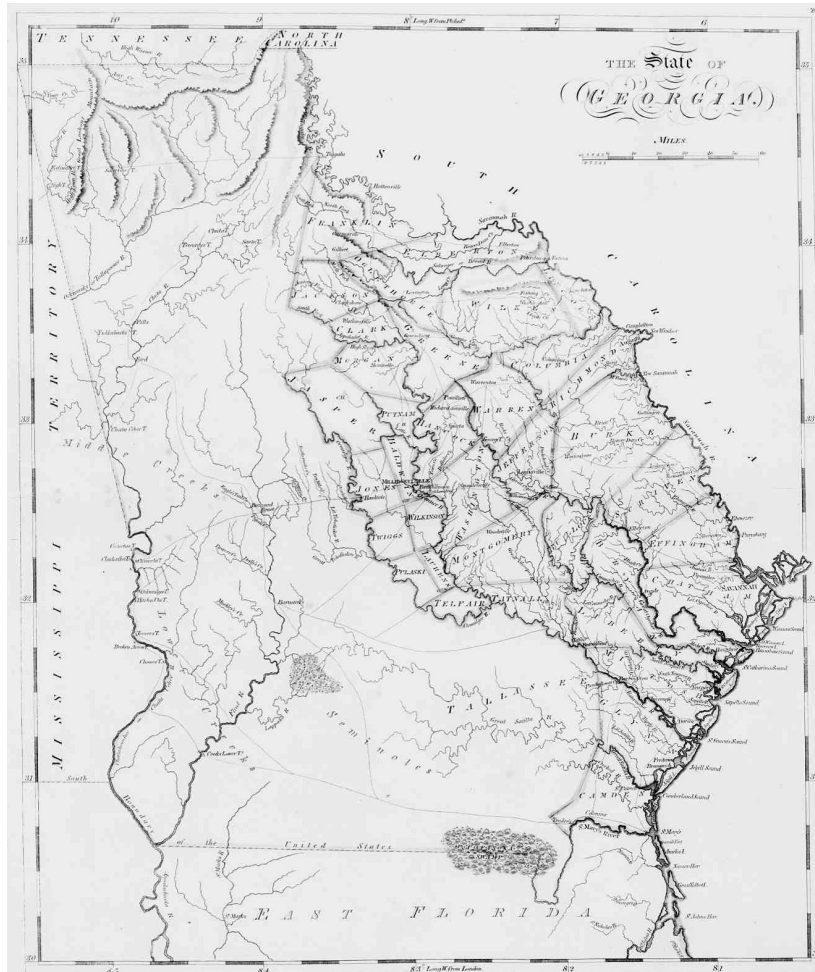
78 Jim Gigantino, "Land Lottery System," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/land-lottery-system/>; Jennnison, *Cultivating Race*, 60.

79 Tiya Miles, *The House on Diamond Hill: A Cherokee Plantation Story*, (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2010), 75-109.

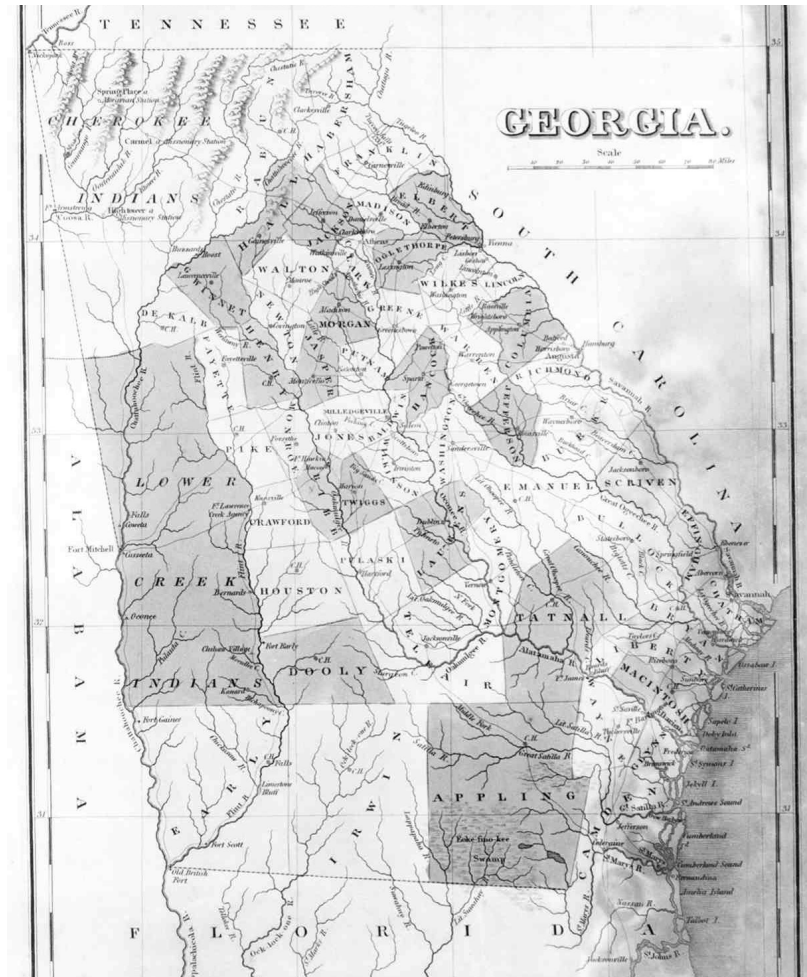
80 Jim Gigantino, "Land Lottery System," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/land-lottery-system/>.

81 Ken Drexler, "Indian Removal Act," *Library of Congress*, 2019, <https://guides.loc.gov/indian-removal-act#:~:text=May%2014%2C%202019-,Introduction,many%20resisted%20the%20relocation%20policy.>

by a group of Cherokee leaders who were not authorized to sign on behalf of the Nation. The Cherokee people were forced to relocate to present-day Oklahoma in an event remembered as the Trail of Tears.⁸² In Georgia, the State redistributed their lands at low cost to primarily white settlers.⁸³



1814 Georgia Counties Drawn by Lewis. *University of Georgia Libraries.*



1829 Georgia Counties Drawn by Young & Delleker. *University of Georgia Libraries.*

82 Elizabeth Prine Pauls, "Trail of Tears," *Britannica*, 2023, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Trail-of-Tears>.

83 Gigantino, "Land Lottery System."



Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1851 by The Messrs. Young & Delleker for the Southern District of New York.

1833 Georgia Counties Drawn by Young & Delleker. University of Georgia Libraries.

The Cherokee Nation’s land was ideal for the cultivation of short staple cotton, and when that land was redistributed to primarily white settlers after 1835, the number of cotton farms and plantation labor sites grew. Many Black people on Georgia’s frontier did not celebrate the growth of cotton as a major cash

crop. Eli Whitney’s cotton gin and the expansion of the frontier led directly to the increase and expansion of slavery in Georgia.⁸⁴ The physical landscape of slavery was different inland than it was on the coast. On rice plantations such as Hofwyl-Broadfield (NRIS #76000635) at 5556 Highway 17 in Glynn County, enslaved people lived in smaller groups, isolated from other enslaved people on the same plantation labor site. This situation was practical for the enslavers because the workers would cultivate the same areas of the rice fields year after year, and the enslavers believed the small separated groups reduced the chance of revolt.⁸⁵ Although short staple cotton did not deplete the soil as quickly as tobacco, most cultivators were not rotating crops to maintain the soil, which meant cotton yields quickly decreased after fields were used for only a few years.⁸⁶ To solve the problem, the wealthiest enslavers bought more and more land, but it was impractical to have the entire enslaved workforce commute from a central point to fields further and further away. Enslavers began requiring enslaved laborers to not only plant and pick cotton, but to also build new dwellings for themselves every few years. These dwellings were not as substantial as those at coastal rice plantation labor sites, which were sometimes constructed of tabby, leading to fewer examples remaining today.⁸⁷ One slave dwelling remains

⁸⁴ Hargrett, “Cotton Gins.”

⁸⁵ Buddy Sullivan, *Life and Labor on Butler’s Island: Rice Cultivation in the Altamaha Delta*, (Pennsauken Township: BookBaby, 2019), 60-63. The 1850s enslaver’s house and one slave dwelling, half of which serves as a restroom facility, remain on the Hofwyl-Broadfield Plantation.

⁸⁶ James C. Giesen, “Cotton,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/business-economy/cotton/>.

⁸⁷ Denise P. Messick, J.W. Joseph, and Natalie P. Adams, *Tilling the Earth: Georgia’s Historic Agricultural Heritage - A Context*, report prepared for the Georgia Department of Natural Resources and Georgia Department of Transportation, 2001, 88-89.

at Hofwyl-Broadfield today.⁸⁸ Approximately 20 percent of the enslaved population was held in bondage by white people who enslaved ten people or less. Overall, Black people outside of Coastal Georgia lived under a much higher level of white supervision due to their physical proximity to white people than people at rice plantation labor sites.⁸⁹

While white surveillance was high in part due to the more even racial makeup of frontier Georgia, that was not the case in urban environments like Savannah.⁹⁰ The urban enslaved population occasionally lived away from their enslavers, sometimes managing their own time and rarely interacting with their enslavers. Black people, regardless of their legal status, lived in the same wards as white people in Savannah, sometimes in quarters on an enslaver's property such as those extant at the Owens-Thomas House (NRIS #76000611) at 124 Abercorn Street in Savannah, and sometimes in small dwellings.⁹¹ Historians do not agree on what led to the decreased direct surveillance of enslaved people in Georgia cities, particularly Savannah, but the existence of this significant difference between the lives of urban and rural enslaved populations is well documented.⁹²

88 The total number of slave dwellings built over the lifespan of the Hofwyl-Broadfield plantation labor site is unknown. The remaining slave dwelling is a wood frame building that has had the exterior reclad over the years.

89 Young, "Slavery in Antebellum Georgia."

90 Young, "Slavery in Antebellum Georgia."

91 Johnson, *Black Savannah, 1788-1864*, 86-87.

92 Johnson, *Black Savannah, 1788-1864*, 3-4.

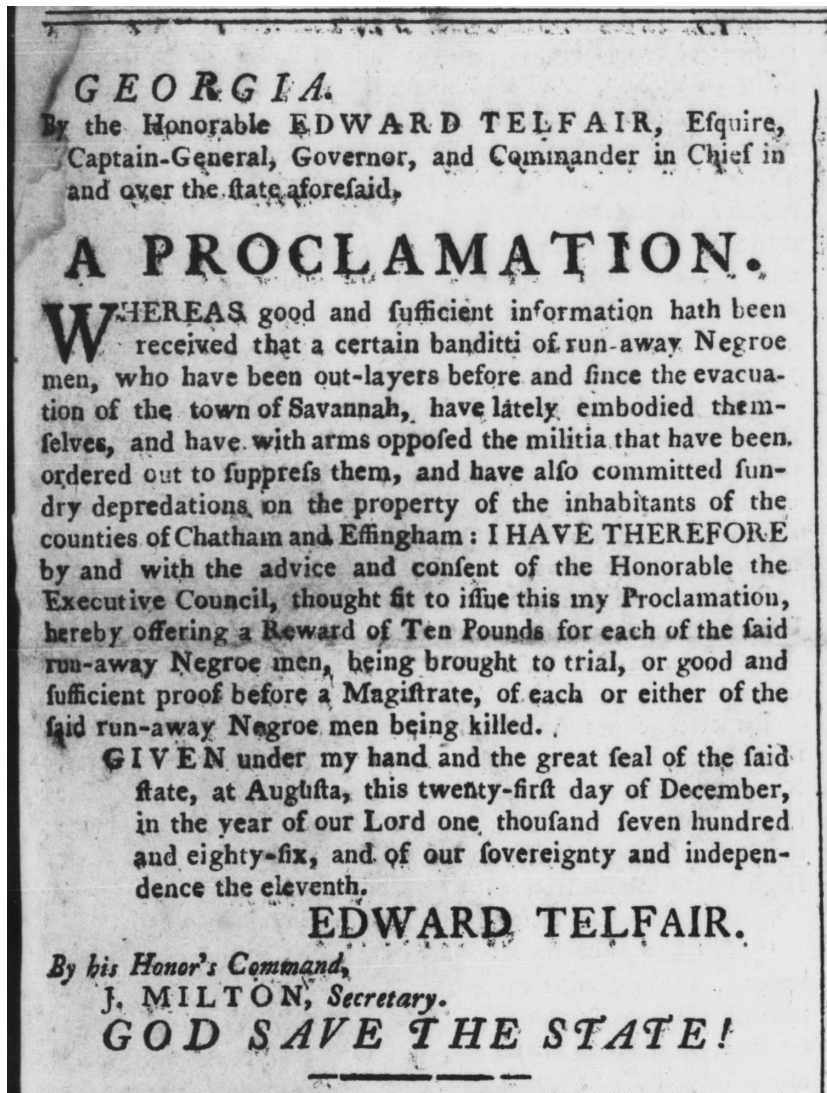
Securing Freedom on the Fringes of White Society

People of African descent actively resisted enslavement for many reasons, seeking their freedom by physically leaving places of enslavement. They did so to fight inhumane working conditions, to see relatives enslaved in other locations, and for a myriad of other reasons. Maroon communities were one early way people of African descent exercised their right to freedom. "Maroon" was a term used to describe enslaved people of African descent who escaped enslavement and formed their own community separate from the white-controlled government.⁹³ These communities existed prior to the Revolutionary War but grew significantly as a result of people taking advantage of the tumultuous nature of war to gain their freedom. Many of these communities established themselves along the islands in the Savannah River, which were ideal because of their relative inaccessibility by white outsiders.⁹⁴ The Bear Creek maroon community in today's Effingham County on the Savannah River lived for years largely avoiding all contact with white people; however, the community ultimately grew too large to be self-sustaining and started raiding neighboring plantation labor sites for supplies, leading surrounding white community members to notice.⁹⁵

93 Georgia Public Broadcasting, "Africans in America, Part 2: Maroons in the Revolutionary period," *PBS*, 2024, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part2/2p50.html>.

94 Timothy Lockley, "The King of England's Soldiers' Armed Blacks in Savannah and Its Hinterlands during the Revolutionary War Era, 1778-1787," ed. Leslie M. Harris and Daina Ramey Berry (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2014), 32.

95 Lockley, "The King of England's Soldiers," 33.



1787 Proclamation by Governor Telfair discussing “bandits of run away Negro men” and offering a reward of Ten Pounds for each brought to trial or killed. *The Georgia State Gazette, or, Independent Register.*

By 1786, the Georgia and South Carolina governments began to attack maroon communities along their shared border of the Savannah River. In addition to noticing the supplies the maroons were commandeering, enslavers grew more and more concerned about the example maroon communities gave to enslaved laborers. These communities demonstrated the possibility of a life away from the plantation labor site without the supervision of white enslavers. This example terrified enslavers and politicians.⁹⁶ By 1787, the largest maroon community in Georgia was the Bear Creek maroon community.⁹⁷ This community of over one hundred people drew the attention of the surrounding enslavers, who advocated strongly for its destruction. In May 1787, Georgia and South Carolina militia attacked and killed many members of the community, forcing the majority to flee toward the interior of Georgia. Despite the attack, historians believe that many of the maroons who were a part of this community did escape to Muscogee or Cherokee territory and likely avoided re-enslavement.⁹⁸

Flight to Freedom

The vast majority of historiography discussing the African diaspora experience in Georgia during the antebellum period looks at the role enslavement played in people’s lives. This situation is understandable given the percentage of the Black population that was enslaved during the antebellum period, but it is important to also address how enslaved people achieved freedom of their own volition. While Georgia does not have any events similar to

96 Lockley, “The King of England’s Soldiers,” 35.

97 Lockley, “The King of England’s Soldiers,” 37.

98 Lockley, “The King of England’s Soldiers,” 40-41.

more famous slave uprisings, such as the Haitian Revolution or Nat Turner’s rebellion, enslaved people have resisted bondage as long as they have been within the geographic area.

Besides fleeing to Spanish Florida prior to 1790 and British-occupied territory during the American Revolution as previously discussed, there is one notable incident of mass escape in Georgia history. In 1803, a group of Igbo people who had been kidnapped in modern day Nigeria, were held on a ship docked in a river on St. Simons Island and chose to drown themselves rather than be enslaved.⁹⁹ The exact location of this event is unknown, but the local Geechee community still commemorates the ancestors’ flight to freedom along Dunbar Creer on St. Simons Island, and the Georgia Historical Society placed a historic marker discussing Ibo Landing in 2022.¹⁰⁰ Oral traditions remember the actions of the Igbo people as a symbolic flight to freedom, and this specific incident is pointed to as the first documentary evidence of the flying African mythology in the United States. This mythology often connects freedom of the soul through flight over bodies of water, allowing the individual to connect to the ancestors.¹⁰¹

99 There are three different spellings of Igbo (Igbo, Ibo, and Ebo). We have followed the convection used by Dr. Tiya Miles in *Tales from the Haunted South: Dark Tourism and Memories of Slavery from the Civil War Era*, which is the most recent scholarly work covering Ibo Landing. Dr. Miles uses Igbo to refer to the people and Ibo to refer to the place. This spelling convention is also approved and used by the descendant community, as verified by the St. Simons African American Heritage Coalition who cosponsored the Georgia Historical Society marker. The Ebo spelling has been used in older scholarship, such as Malcolm Bell’s *Major Butler’s Legacy* but does not appear to be regular use as of 2023.

100 “Ibo Landing: The Legacy of Resisting Enslavement,” Georgia Historic Society Marker, 2022.

101 While chattel slavery as it existed in the United States did not exist on the African continent, there were forms of slavery present. Notably, victorious warriors from one group of people might enslave members of a conquered group. This pursuit of freedom is connected to the flying African mythology.

Regardless of whether or not the individual was enslaved, they could achieve freedom through this “flight.”¹⁰²

Although there are no documented slave rebellions in Georgia’s history, some enslaved people still freed themselves by fleeing Georgia’s boundaries to the south, after Florida became a US territory in 1821. The Underground Railroad is the term used to refer to the work of African Americans who sought their freedom by escaping slave states, such as Georgia, by traveling to free states in the North, Canada, Mexico, Indian Territory, the West, Caribbean islands, and Europe. These freedom seekers often completed their journeys unaided. However after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which required free states to assist with the return of freedom seekers, the Underground Railroad became more organized. Sympathetic people of all races, classes, and genders would assist freedom seekers offering food and shelter.¹⁰³ First African Baptist Church at 23 Montgomery Street, Savannah has hidden compartments under the floor for hiding freedom seekers from their pursuers.¹⁰⁴

102 Tiya Miles, “‘I’ve Known Rivers’: Slave Resistance and Environmental Consciousness,” lecture delivered at the Environment Forum at the Mahindra Center (Cambridge, MA, 2017); “Ibo Landing: The Legacy of Resisting Enslavement,” Georgia Historic Society Marker, 2022.

103 National Park Service, “What is the Underground Railroad,” *Underground Railroad*, 2022, <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/undergroundrailroad/what-is-the-underground-railroad.htm#:~:text=The%20Underground%20Railroad%E2%80%94the%20resistance,their%20freedom%20by%20escaping%20bondage>. Note, this Context Statement uses the term freedom seekers as opposed to fugitives, runaways, or escapee in accordance to the National Park Service guidance.

104 Georgia Public Broadcasting, “A Tour of the Underground Railroad,” *NPR*, 2024, https://www.gpb.org/georgiastories/stories/growth_of_slavery.

Population Shifts

As it became harder to make a living in the Southern states such as Georgia during the twentieth century, many Black families moved to urban areas in search of livelihoods.¹⁰⁵ Unfortunately, Black workers were almost always the last hired and the first fired in various industrial jobs. Seeing minimal improvement in their standard of living in Southern cities, six million African Americans moved from the South to the North and Midwest between 1916 and 1970. Known as the Great Migration, this was the largest population shift in US history. In 1916, Black newspapers were regularly publishing the large number of available jobs, such as factory jobs, in the North and Midwest. They also discussed the lack of de jure segregation, which is the segregation of races written into the law, which led to many Black people to move north. Unfortunately, de jure segregation did not mean that de facto segregation, which is segregation not mandated by the law but is still widely practiced as part of culture, did not exist. Regardless, the Great Migration changed the makeup of not only Georgia but also the many northern cities.¹⁰⁶

While the Great Migration of the early twentieth century is frequently discussed amongst historians, scholars now recognize a “New Great Migration,” or Reverse Migration, of African Americans moving from northern cities back to the South. Beginning in the 1970s, many African Americans lost jobs

¹⁰⁵ To learn more about tenant farming, see the Agriculture, Labor, and the Land theme.

¹⁰⁶ US Embassy Tbilisi, “What Was America’s Great Migration?,” *US Embassy in Georgia*, 2022, <https://ge.usembassy.gov/what-was-americas-great-migration/>.

due to deindustrialization in the North and began returning to live in the South, particularly southern cities. Georgia was and remains one of the top destinations for this migration.¹⁰⁷ The South has also seen a wave of Black people immigrating from Africa. In 1980, three percent of Black Americans were immigrants, generally from the Caribbean and living in New York City.¹⁰⁸



Train Station Waiting Room, Headed North. *Eastern Connecticut State University.*

¹⁰⁷ William H. Frey, “A ‘New Great Migration’ is bringing Black Americans back to the South,” *Brookings*, 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/a-new-great-migration-is-bringing-black-americans-back-to-the-south/>.

¹⁰⁸ Leah Donnell, “Reporter’s notebook: The South is home to a growing Black immigrant population,” *NPR*, 2023, <https://www.npr.org/2023/05/12/1165055943/black-immigrants-memphis-nashville-tennessee>.

RELATED AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "Globalization, Migration, and Mobility" are:

- » Archaeology: Historic - Aboriginal and Historic - Non-Aboriginal for any sites that have or have the potential to offer additional information about the lives of those enslaved particularly during the period of Spanish involvement in Georgia. For example, a site with historically documented Spanish mission with slave dwellings may be significant under this area for the potential to provide new information about the lives of Africans under Spanish rule in Georgia, if archaeology were to be performed in the future.
- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource's significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource's significance and justify its nomination.
- » Exploration/Settlement, for history associated with the earliest communities in Georgia, such as during the Spanish period as well as life on the Georgia frontier. For example, the farm of a Black frontiersman from the late eighteenth century may be eligible under this Area.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely Areas of Significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "Globalization, Migration, and Mobility" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.



St. Catharine's Island. *Ethos Preservation.*

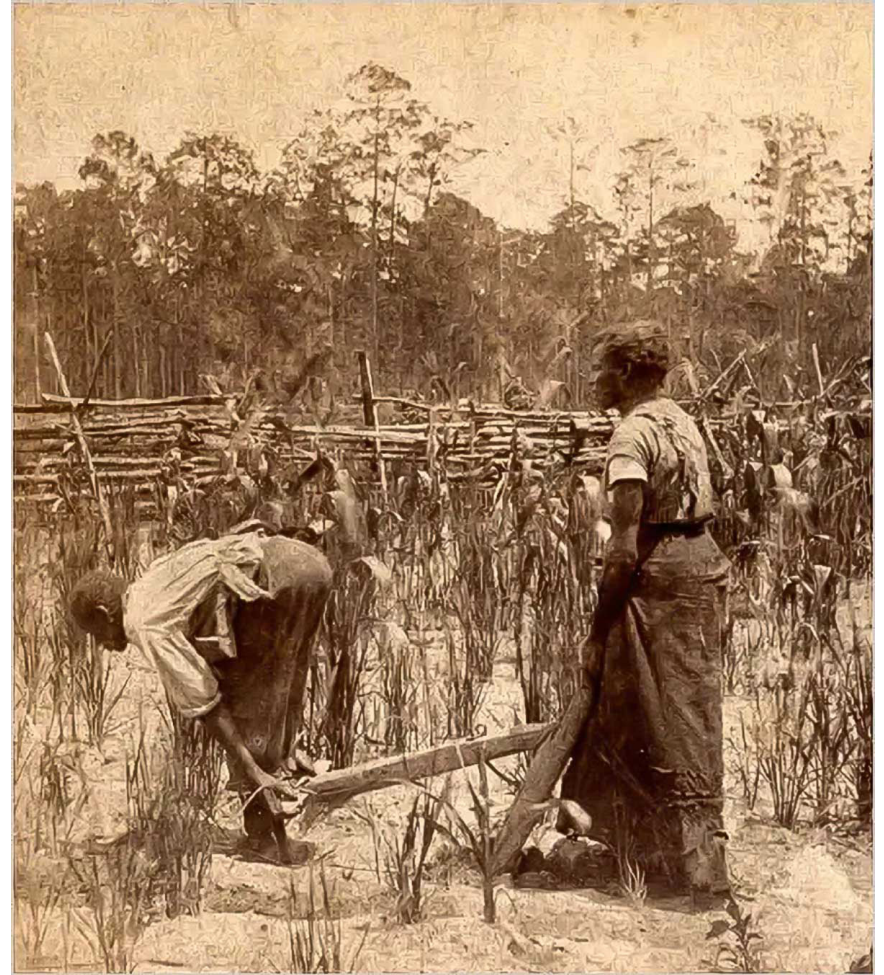
Politics and Government

From the founding of the colony, the government has had laws regarding the ability of people of African descent to live in Georgia. From the ban of slavery in place from 1733 to 1751 to the establishment of Jim Crow segregation laws in the twentieth century, politics and government have played a critical role in how and where Black Georgians can conduct their lives. Understanding this theme and its many facets is critical for comprehending the struggle for equal rights and freedom African Americans have endured in Georgia. This theme does not cover every event associated with people of African descent and political life; instead, it covers broad events that are helpful to understand when considering the potential significance of a resource for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places.

The Opening of African Slavery in Georgia

In 1752, the Georgia Trustees disbanded, and Georgia officially became an English royal colony. Life for Africans and people of African descent in the colony changed little with this official designation. Many South Carolina landowners purchased property south of the border in Georgia, and other British immigrants followed suit in establishing large rice plantation labor sites worked by enslaved Africans, many of whom were already skilled rice farmers in their homelands. By 1777, the Black population in Georgia was not as large as that in South Carolina, but both colonies were the only two of the original thirteen that would not allow any person of African descent to join the Continental Army or militias. Foreshadowing white fears in later years, those in power in Georgia and South Carolina worried that allowing Black

people to fight for the freedom of the nascent country would upset the racial “caste” system that was solidifying and might even lead to an uprising of enslaved people.¹⁰⁹



Two people working in a rice field near Savannah, Georgia, ca. 1855. *GHS 1361-SG, Georgia Historical Society stereograph collection, Georgia Historical Society.*

109 Jennison, *Cultivating Race*, 44.

Olaudah Equiano, A Free African in Georgia

It is worth noting that there have been free Africans in Georgia as long as there have been African people here. One notable example is Olaudah Equiano, who purchased his own freedom in 1766. Olaudah Equiano was a skilled mariner and visited Savannah in the 1760s, recording what life was like for a free Black man in Savannah in his autobiography *The Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African*. He recounts a brutal beating he suffered from a drunken white enslaver, multiple attempts to re-enslave him after he had purchased his freedom, and the kindness he received from other members of the Black community in Savannah. Olaudah Equiano's book is one of the earliest and most influential slave narratives, and it gives a small glimpse into life as an African in Georgia before the Revolutionary War.¹¹⁰



Portrait by Daniel Orme from *The Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African*. Equiano's self-published book from 1789. *New Georgia Encyclopedia*.

¹¹⁰ Pablo J. Davis, "Olaudah Equiano in Georgia," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/olaudah-equiano-in-georgia/>.

African Americans in Office and the Vote during Reconstruction

In the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, President Andrew Johnson placed few restrictions on former Confederate states, requiring only that they ratify the 13th Amendment, which abolished slavery except as punishment for a crime. In 1867, Congress repudiated the leniency that was allowing white supremacy to reemerge throughout the South and placed the former Confederate states under military rule, only allowing those states to rejoin the Union after they rewrote their constitutions and ratified the 14th Amendment, guaranteeing equal protection under the law to all US citizens, including newly freed people. In March 1868, a new constitutional convention was held in Georgia, which included thirty-seven Black men as delegates. This constitution established a free public school system, gave married women control of their own property instead of their husbands, and moved the state capital from Milledgeville to Atlanta. In April 1868, voters ratified this constitution and elected state officers and US congressmen. Eighty-four Republicans, including twenty-nine Black representatives, were elected, meaning they did not quite hold a majority in the Georgia General Assembly; however, three Black State Senators along with twenty-four other Republicans did control the Senate.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ William Harris Bragg, "Reconstruction in Georgia," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/reconstruction-in-georgia/#:~:text=Under%20the%20leadership%20of%20origina,to%20the%20constitution%20of%201861>. It is important to recognize that the ideologies of the Democratic and Republican parties in the nineteenth century were different than the platforms associated with the parties today. Democrats had generally become the party of wealthy individuals, particularly Southern enslavers, while Republicans had gradually supported abolition during the Civil War. One group of Republicans, known

In July 1868, the Georgia General Assembly ratified the 14th Amendment, meeting the final qualification to be readmitted to the Union. Democrats and some white Republicans ended this brief moment of Black elected power in September 1868. During the April campaign, Joseph E. Brown had argued that the new constitution did not grant Black men the right to hold office in Georgia, and all Black legislators were expelled on the basis of this argument. After the General Assembly failed to ratify the 15th Amendment, giving African American men the explicit right to vote, Georgia was once again placed under military rule in December 1869 for not meeting the requirements of Congressional Reconstruction.¹¹²

In January 1870 while Georgia was under the authority of the US Army, the commanding general of Georgia Alfred H. Terry removed all former Confederates from office, replacing them with the Republican candidates for those seats. He also reinstated all expelled Black legislators, which led to a significant Republican majority in the General Assembly. In February, the General Assembly ratified the 15th Amendment, the US's first voting rights act. In the December 1870 election, the Democrats won a large majority in both houses and began the process of rolling back the gains for racial equality wrought by Reconstruction.¹¹³

Despite this fraught political environment, Georgia did elect African American Congressman Jefferson Franklin Long, who served from 1870 to 1871. Jefferson Franklin Long represented

as the Radical Republicans, supported a number of measures leading to some measure of equality for African American men during Reconstruction.

112 Bragg, "Reconstruction in Georgia."

113 Bragg, "Reconstruction in Georgia."

Macon and was the first Black representative to ever speak to Congress. Unsurprisingly, his speech argued against allowing former Confederates to hold elected office, based on what had already been happening in Georgia.¹¹⁴

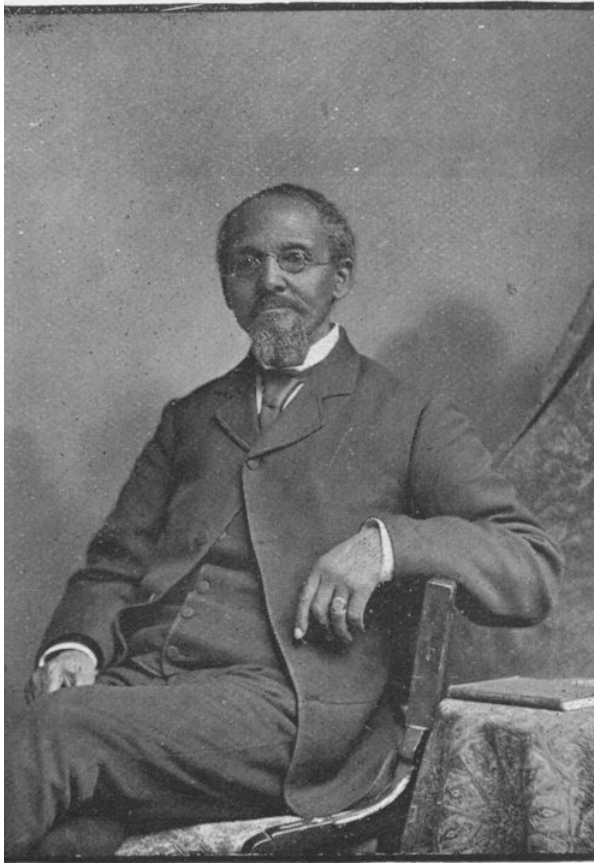
White Backlash

In addition to political backlash, white Georgians physically attacked Black Georgians during Reconstruction. The Freedmen's Bureau reported 336 cases of murder or assault in Georgia between January 1 and November 15, 1868.¹¹⁵ Some incidents were related to attempts to reinforce white supremacy at a political level while others were attempts to reassert white supremacy in social relations. The Camilla Massacre is one of the most violent episodes during Reconstruction in Georgia. After the Black legislators were ejected from the state legislature in September 1868, Philip Joiner, one of the ejected legislators, led a twenty-five mile march from Albany to Camilla along with several hundred supporters to protest the illegal actions of the General Assembly. Once the majority of the Black group reached Camilla, white residents opened fire, killing about twelve people and wounding about thirty more. Not only did this violent mob prevent the planned Republican rally in Camilla, but it also frightened many newly enfranchised Black voters from showing up to the polls in the future, allowing white Democrats to further cement their control.¹¹⁶

114 Bragg, "Reconstruction in Georgia."

115 Jonathan M. Bryant, "Ku Klux Klan in the Reconstruction Era," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/ku-klux-klan-in-the-reconstruction-era/>.

116 Lee Formwalt, "Camilla Massacre," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/camilla->



REV. JAMES M. SIMMS.

Reverend James M. Simms, one of the Chatham County representatives reinstated in the Georgia General Assembly in 1870. *Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Division, The New York Public Library.*



Hon. Jefferson Franklin Long of GA. *Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LC-DIG-cwpbh-00556.*

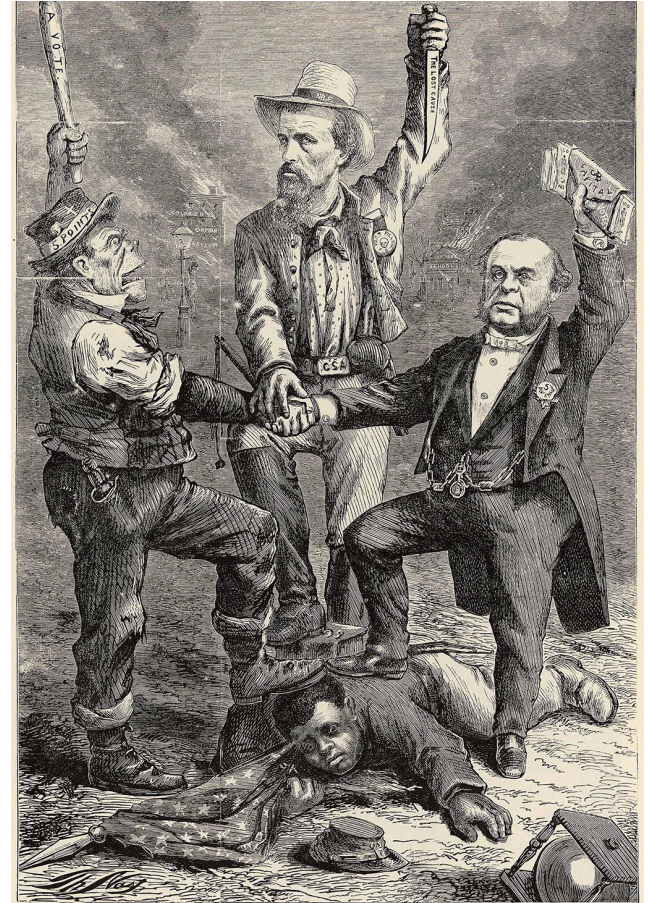


Illustration by Harper's Weekly cartoonist Thomas Nast depicting white men from Mitchell County, Georgia, assaulting a Black man, published after the Camilla Massacre in 1868. *Public Domain.*

Beyond the Camilla Massacre, there were other organized white movements against Black people's equality during Reconstruction. The Ku Klux Klan, or KKK, was a loose group of white vigilantes founded in Tennessee in 1866. The KKK began to grow in Georgia in 1867, in response to Black voters' political gains. The first documented violence attributed to the KKK was the murder of George Ashburn, a white Republican and supporter of African American rights, in March 1868 in Columbus, Georgia.

Violence like this incident removed political rivals and intimidated Black voters from continuing to exercise their new freedoms, much like the Camilla Massacre. While the KKK may not have been involved in all of these incidents, they represented the growing trend of vigilante violence against Black people occurring throughout the state.¹¹⁷



"Atlanta citizens enjoy visiting Ponce de Leon Park," note the sign announcing that African Americans are only allowed as servants. *Vanishing Georgia, Georgia Archives, University System of Georgia.*

massacre/.

117 Bryant, "Ku Klux Klan in the Reconstruction Era."

The Codification of Race

The system of American slavery had necessitated frequent contact and close proximity between white and Black people. During much of the antebellum period, enslavers preferred to have Black people live under direct white supervision. The laws dictating how African Americans could interact with white people and how they could physically move through Georgia were known as Black Codes. However after Reconstruction, white Georgians forced Black Georgians further and further to the fringes of the dominant white society through racial segregation. De facto segregation occurred as a product of cultural “norms” or customs. Many of these practices were codified into legal, also known as “de jure” or “by law” in Latin, segregation beginning in the 1890s. In effect, Americans, including Georgians, developed what some historians have compared to a “caste” system around race. One’s parents and skin color determined what position one occupied in society, and there was no action an individual could take to change their status.¹¹⁸ This meant the separation of public facilities was now not only common practice, but also the law of the state.¹¹⁹

In 1872, state legislators made the first move to legally limit African American freedoms by formally segregating schools by race. Many municipalities also took steps to legally segregate

118 Diamond and Cottrol, “Codifying Caste,” 255-256. Although one could not change their official position within the American “caste” system, it is worth noting that some African Americans were able to function in society as if they were white due to their lighter complexions. This practice was commonly known as “passing for white” or simply “passing.”

119 Edward A. Hatfield, “Segregation,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/segregation/>.

cemeteries in the 1870s and the 1880s.¹²⁰ Georgia had previously adopted laws against interracial marriage, largely with the new state constitution in 1868, and the Georgia Supreme Court upheld those laws in 1869, ruling in *Scott v. Georgia* that “all such [interracial] marriages . . . to be *null and void*.”¹²¹

Women’s Clubs and Women’s Suffrage

Immediately following the Civil War (1861-1865), abolitionists, Republicans, and the growing women’s suffrage movement advocated for the right to vote. In 1869, the 15th Amendment extended the vote to all American citizens, which included Black men. The 15th Amendment did not grant the right to vote to Black or white women. Radical Republicans fighting for the right to vote for African American men to be enshrined in the Constitution had ultimately divorced themselves from the women’s suffrage movement in the 1860s to ensure the 15th Amendment passed. The white leaders of the women’s suffrage movement in turn excluded Black women from their organizations. The racism present in organizations such as the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) was highlighted during the Jim Crow era to win the support of Southern white women.¹²²

120 Hatfield, “Segregation.”

121 Edward McPherson, *The Political History of the United States of America During the Period of Reconstruction, From April 15, 1865, to July 15*, (London: Forgotten Books, 2018): 474.

122 Megan Bailey, “Between Two Worlds: Black Women and the Fight for Voting Rights,” *National Park Service*, 2022, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/black-women-and-the-fight-for-voting-rights.htm#:~:text=During%20the%2019th%20and%2020th,gain%20the%20right%20to%20vote.>

Adella Hunt Logan

Adella Hunt Logan was an African American woman born in Sparta, Georgia, in 1863. Her father was a white planter and her mother was a woman of African and Cherokee descent. Adella Hunt Logan had a very light complexion, but she chose to actively and openly identify as a Black woman her entire life. She attended Atlanta University, known today as Clark Atlanta University, graduating in 1881. Adella Hunt Logan was a lifelong educator, beginning in 1881 in Albany, Georgia. She became only the second woman to join the faculty at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.¹²³

Adella Hunt Logan was friends with many of the most celebrated Black educators of the day, including George Washington Carver, W.E.B. Dubois, and, of course, Tuskegee's principal Booker T. Washington. She was also a leader in the Black Women's Club movement and a major advocate for universal suffrage. Although she never questioned her identity as a Black woman, Adella Hunt Logan did pass for white to serve her community. In 1895, just as the larger women's suffrage movement was becoming more overtly racist to gain the support of white Southern women, Adella Hunt Logan passed as a white woman to attend the NAWSA convention in Atlanta. There, Adella Hunt Logan listened to speeches arguing for the right of white women to vote in order to ensure the continued subjugation of Black people under Jim Crow.¹²⁴

Racism took a toll on Adella Hunt Logan, particularly the times she spent denying her own identity, according to her own writings. She wrestled with many health problems, including depression in her later years. She died of suicide in 1915, never seeing how she had contributed to the passage of the 19th Amendment.¹²⁵



Adella Hunt Logan in her wedding dress in Atlanta in 1888, photographed by Thomas E. Askew. *Wikimedia*.

123 Sidonia Serafini and Michelle-Taylor Sherwin, "Adella Hunt Logan: 1863-1915," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2022, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/adella-hunt-logan/>.

124 Serafini and Sherwin, "Adella Hunt Logan."

125 Serafini and Sherwin, "Adella Hunt Logan."

Nascent civil rights organizations and white women's suffrage organizations were not addressing the issues specific to Black women. African American women saw that they had to confront unique problems resulting from both their gender and their race. Thus, Black women formed their own women's clubs and organizations to advocate for the issues that affected them. The National Association of Colored Women (NACW) was founded in Boston in 1896, and its motto, "lifting as we climb," is a good description of the Black women's club movement as a whole. Like white suffragists, NACW and other Black women's clubs sought the right for women to vote, but Black women's clubs also sought a variety of reforms to generally improve the lives of African Americans. As historian Dr. Megan Bailey has written, "Because of their unique position [at the center of both racial and gender prejudice], Black women tended to focus on human rights and universal suffrage, rather than suffrage solely for African Americans or for women."¹²⁶ Atlanta's Neighborhood Union, founded in 1908 by Lugenia Burns Hope and others, advocated for a wide array of reform efforts including improving sanitary conditions in Black neighborhoods and hosting art and recreation events.¹²⁷



Lugenia Burns Hope (seated on the first row, second from the right) and the Neighborhood Union. *Neighborhood Union Collections, Atlanta University Center Robert W. Woodruff Library.*

126 Bailey, "Between Two Worlds."

127 Juan Cardoza-Oquendo, "Lugenia Burns Hope," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/lugenia-burns-hope-1871-1947/>

Jim Crow Laws

Jim Crow laws are statutes that required racial segregation or at minimum the separation of public facilities based on race. These laws built on the already established Black Codes of Georgia and other Southern states, which were passed after the Civil War to restrict the rights of African Americans in terms of voting, property ownership, and possibilities for employment.¹²⁸ The name “Jim Crow” is a reference to a minstrel show character named Jim Crow, who was a Black stereotype based on white ideas of Black men. The character was popular in the 1820s and 1830s. Despite the term’s incredibly wide acceptance, it is unclear how it came to be directly connected to laws regarding racial segregation.¹²⁹

Over a nearly seventy year span, the Georgia Legislature adopted twenty-seven formal laws requiring the separation of Black and white people. In addition to the early laws prohibiting interracial marriage and the separation of Black and white children in schools, the state legislature passed the following Jim Crow segregation laws:

1890 Voting restrictions including poll taxes and literacy tests

1890 Segregation in state prisons and on state chain gangs

1891 Segregation in separate railcars, except sleeping-cars

1895 Black and white children prohibited from attending the same school in any circumstance

1899 Sleeping-cars on railroads segregated by compartment at a minimum and railroads had permission to not accommodate Black passengers in sleeping-cars

c.1900 - White amateur baseball teams prohibited from playing within two blocks of a Black playground; Black amateur baseball teams prohibited from playing within two blocks of a white playground

1905 - Parks can only be donated to a city if the land is used exclusively for either the white or Black race

1908 Black and white prisoners required to have separate living, eating, and working quarters

1910 Restaurant licenses could only be used to serve either white or Black people; a second license was required to serve both races; Black and white people could not be served in the same room

128 University Libraries, “On the Books: Jim Crow and Algorithms of Resistance,” *University of North Carolina*, 2023, <https://onthebooks.lib.unc.edu/teach/glossary/>.

129 Hatfield, “Segregation.”

1925 Only white people could obtain a license to operate a billiards room for white people; only a Black person could obtain a license to operate a billiard room for Black people

1926 “Negro” defined as someone with at least one quarter Black “blood”; schools must be segregated, Black clergy must perform Black marriages; nullified interracial marriages even when performed where legal

1927 Required white people only marry white people; defined “Negro” as anyone with an ascertainable trace of “Negro blood”

1927 Prohibition of Black barbers serving white women or girls

1928 Miscegenation, or the mixing of the races, classified as a felony; white people specifically prohibited from marrying Asian and Polynesian people in addition to the previous prohibition against marrying Black people;

1928 Voter registration required racial ancestry information; any amount of Black ancestry equated to registration as a person of color

1931 Motor vehicles, such as taxis and buses, allowed to only carry white or Black passengers

1933 Boards of Education required to provide education to white and Black children in separate schools

1935 Hospitals required to have separate spaces for Black and white patients

1937 Marriage between a white person and any other race is a felony

1947 Any person who ever registered as being anything besides “white” was officially declared “colored” and prohibited from marrying a white person

1949 A voter registration test with 30 difficult questions instituted and required at least 10 correct answers to vote

1957 Public funds prohibited from going to non-segregated schools

1958 Voting registration now required the applicant to read and write a section of the Georgia Constitution as a literacy test and correctly answer 20 out of 30 questions on the material

1958 All public transportation segregated by race¹³⁰

130 Americans All, “Jim Crow Laws: Florida and Georgia.” *Americans All*, 2023, <https://americansall.org/legacy-story-group/jim-crow-laws-florida-and-georgia>.

Some of these laws, particularly the voting laws, were written in “race neutral” language, meaning the laws applied to white people of lower economic means as well as Black voters. However, “grandfather clauses” excused people who had a grandfather who met these requirements prior to 1860 from poll taxes and literacy tests – meaning that poor white people were exempted from these disenfranchising requirements.¹³¹

Georgia was not alone in their legal oppression through race. Many people discuss segregation as a problem only in the South. In reality, there were many national policies and decisions that reinforced the laws the State of Georgia was creating. In 1896, the Supreme Court’s decision in *Plessy vs. Ferguson* upheld a railroad’s right to segregate passengers by race if they provided “separate by equal” accommodations. This ruling supported many Southern states, including Georgia, in the creation of their new Jim Crow laws.¹³²

Municipalities in Georgia also passed their own Jim Crow statutes, and many began to pass these restrictions even before 1896. For example, the Columbus City Council passed an ordinance in 1891 that stated Black and white schoolchildren “shall always be kept separate and distinct from each other.”¹³³ These laws led to entirely separate schools, theaters, restaurants, business districts, and other facilities being built specifically for the African American community. Jim Crow segregation also caused existing buildings to

131 Behring Center, “Poll Taxes,” *National Museum of American History*, 2023, <https://americanhistory.si.edu/democracy-exhibition/vote-voice/keeping-vote/state-rules-federal-rules/poll-taxes>.

132 Hatfield, “Segregation.”

133 Anna Michele Traylor, *Jim Crow in the City: Spatial Segregation in Columbus, Georgia, 1890-1944*, Master’s Thesis, Auburn University, 2016, 17.

be altered to separate white and Black people from one another, such as separate bathrooms, waiting rooms, and entrances.



Photography by John Vachon, “Railroad station,” Manchester, Georgia. 1938. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/OWI Collection, LC-DIG-ppmsc-00210.

Criminalizing and Capitalizing Race: Convict Labor in Georgia

Jim Crow laws almost always directly targeted African Americans, but even “race-blind” laws were disproportionately enforced against Black people. As disproportionate numbers of Black men in particular were placed in prison for a variety of misdemeanors and felonies related to race, convict leasing was implemented by white state leaders to provide labor for state infrastructure projects, which had previously used enslaved people held in bondage by

private owners, and to relieve the pressure of the growing prison population.¹³⁴ For African American prisoners, this system looked a lot like slavery.

In 1868, provisional governor Thomas Ruger gave the first state convict lease to William A. Fort. William A. Fort paid \$2,500 for the labor of one hundred African American men to work on the Georgia and Alabama Railroad for one year. William A. Fort was responsible for looking after the men's basic needs, such as food, shelter, and clothing. Sixteen men died working for William A. Fort, but in the eyes of the white state leaders, the program was successful. Not only had they saved the state money by reducing the number of prisoners they needed to care for, they had also earned additional income from the private entities leasing the prisoners' labor. Major companies, such as the Chattahoochee Brick Company located in Atlanta, made enormous profits by utilizing and abusing the labor of Black people leased like property from the State of Georgia. In short order, convict leasing became a major source of revenue for the state.¹³⁵

Inhumane treatment in this system was frequent, and many Black men died as a result of the convict leasing system. There were a few attempts to reform the system, before the progressive

134 William Andrew Todd, "Convict Lease System," 2020, *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/convict-lease-system/>.

135 Todd, "Convict Lease System."



Convicts with horse cart in 1934. LBP52-040c, Lane Brothers Commercial Photographers Photographic Collection, 1920-1976. Photographic Collection, Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University Library.

movement was ultimately able to get legislation passed in 1908 outlawing convict leasing to private companies. Instead, the state shifted to "chain gangs," where incarcerated workers labored on state funded projects, particularly roads.¹³⁶

136 Todd, "Convict Lease System." The Progressive Movement and era refers to a time in American history where there were sweeping reforms designed to improve the quality of life for people in the country. Major areas of reform included issues such as prohibition, women's suffrage, child labor, food safety, penal reform, and social services. It should be noted that some of these reforms were quite racist, assuming that Black people and immigrants were incapable of ever fully looking after themselves.

The same abuses in the convict leasing system remained on state-run chain gangs, including inadequate food, clothing, and shelter as well as unsafe conditions and horrendous punishments. For example in 1947, H.G. Worthy, warden of the Anguilla Prison Camp in Glynn County, ordered the guards to fire on a group of prisoners, leading to the murder of five men and wounding of eight others.¹³⁷ H.G. Worthy claimed that the men were attempting to escape; in reality, they refused to climb through a ditch with poisonous snakes to complete roadwork because they feared for their safety. A grand jury exonerated H.G. Worthy of all wrongdoing one week after the massacre occurred, and no guards were ever charged with a crime.¹³⁸ Incidents such as the Anguilla Prison Camp Massacre brought national attention to the chain gang system in Georgia, and ultimately led to a gubernatorial investigation and a prison reform act that officially ended chain gangs in the 1940s.¹³⁹

The New Deal

Starting in 1933, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal policies aimed to alleviate the effects of the Great Depression but reinforced racial segregation and excluded African Americans from economic advancement. Black people had been hit hardest

137 "Prison Camp Shooting 'Massacre,'" *The Mercury*, July 14, 1947, <https://docs.google.com/document/d/14kGhkddGNYyv50wOFzcwVvFoNgJT4TXZtop2rL9Q4M/edit>.

138 Nicolas Lampert, "The Anguilla Prison Camp Massacre. . .," *Prison Culture: How the PIC Structures Our World. . .*, 2012, <https://www.usprisonculture.com/blog/2012/12/23/the-anguilla-prison-camp-massacre/>.

139 Todd, "Convict Lease System." People in Georgia's prisons today are still expected to work not only on state public works, such as roadside beautification, but are also leased to municipalities for tasks including cemetery landscaping.

by unemployment after the stock market crashed. The majority of employers fired African American employees before white employees and only hired African American workers if there were no white workers available.¹⁴⁰ While many New Deal programs were officially "race-blind" and did not explicitly exclude African Americans from participating, these programs were administered on a state or local level. Since racial discrimination was the norm in Georgia, Black Georgians were systematically excluded from many New Deal program benefits. Additionally, other "race-blind" rules written into federal legislation discriminated against Black people by more subtle means. For example, the Social Security Act of 1935 excluded workers in domestic service and agriculture from participating, and the majority of African Americans in Georgia worked in these industries. While the law did not mention race, it effectively barred the majority of African Americans from participating.¹⁴¹

Similarly, the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) of 1933 was not designed to force African American tenant farmers out of work. However, the act was designed to reduce agricultural surpluses, which would then increase demand and raise prices for the agricultural products that were available. This situation meant it was more profitable for land owners to leave land untended rather than work with tenant farmers. Since many tenant farmers in Georgia were African Americans, AAA led to the loss

140 Georgia Public Broadcasting, "FDR and The New Deal," *PBS*, 2021, <https://www.pbs.org/tpt/slavery-by-another-name/themes/fdr/>.

141 Price Fishback, Jessamyn Schaller, and Evan Taylor, "Racial Differences in Access to New Deal Work Relief in 1940," *Yale Economic Growth Center*, December 2020, <https://egc.yale.edu/sites/default/files/2021-04/2021-0423%20EconHistory%20Conference/fishback.et.al.short.2021.04.15%20ada-ns.pdf>.

of their agricultural work.¹⁴² These examples are only a few of the many “color-blind” New Deal policies that were ultimately discriminatory.

Fighting Segregation in the Courts

In 1944, the white primary election was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in *Smith v. Allwright*, a case based in Texas. In Southern states such as Texas and Georgia, the Democratic Party had dominated politics since Reconstruction. One incredibly effective means of disenfranchising those Black voters who had overcome the obstacles to successfully register to vote, was the white primary. The Democratic Party had argued, and been supported by the Supreme Court, that they were a private organization, and thus it was their discretion to choose to only allow white voters to cast ballots in the primary. Since many Democratic candidates ran unopposed in the general election, this white primary was the only opportunity to express a preference for a particular candidate.¹⁴³

With the *Smith v. Allwright* decision, Georgia civil rights leaders immediately prepared their case against the white primary. In July 1944, Primus E. King went to cast his ballot in the primary in Columbus, Georgia, at the Muscogee County Courthouse. He was denied the opportunity to vote, and he went directly to an attorney as had been planned in advance. The case was heard in Macon, Georgia, at the William Augustus Bootle Federal Building

142 Fishback, Schaller, and Taylor, “Racial Differences in Access to New Deal Work.”

143 Craig Lloyd, “Primus E. King,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/primus-e-king-1900-1986/>.

and US Courthouse. In October 1945, Federal Judge T. Hoyt Davis ruled in Primus E. King’s favor. The Muscogee County Democratic Party appealed the case and lost again in the US Circuit Court of Appeals, and in 1946, the Supreme Court opted to not hear the case, which meant the white primary was now illegal in Georgia.¹⁴⁴

One of the most notable civil rights court cases is *Brown v. Board of Education*. The Supreme Court overturned the 1896 “separate but equal” ruling in 1954. This landmark decision became the basis for civil rights legislation across the country, just as *Plessy v. Ferguson* had served as the legal backing of Jim Crow laws after its passage by the US Supreme Court in 1896.¹⁴⁵

Legislating Equality

While World War II had proven that Black Georgians were equal human beings to white Georgians, and President Harry Truman had desegregated the US military in 1948 with Executive Order 9981, racial segregation still remained firmly entrenched in society in the late 1940s and early 1950s.¹⁴⁶ The State of Georgia continued to fight against desegregation. In response to *Brown v. Board of Education*, Georgia passed a law making it a felony for any school official to spend public funds on a mixed-race school.¹⁴⁷ The federal government eventually responded with two key pieces of legislation during this period. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was

144 Lloyd, “Primus E. King.”

145 National Park Service, “1954: Brown v. Board of Education,” 2023, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/brown-v-board-of-education.htm>.

146 National Park Service, “Executive Order 9981, Desegregating the Military,” 2023, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/executive-order-9981.htm#:~:text=On%20July%2026%2C%201948%2C%20President,desegregation%20of%20the%20U.S.%20military..>

147 Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 99.

the most sweeping civil rights legislation since Reconstruction. The act prohibited discrimination in all public places, declared that schools and other public facilities must be integrated, and made discrimination in employment illegal. These issues were what many of the direct action protests during the 1960s had focused on.¹⁴⁸ Some cities in Georgia, such as Brunswick, Savannah, and Rome, had passed similar municipal civil rights legislation prior to the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law on June 6.¹⁴⁹

The other key piece of federal legislation during this period is the Voting Rights Act of 1965. While the 15th Amendment had outlawed discrimination in voting based on race, Georgia, like many Southern states, was able to circumvent the letter of this law by developing “race neutral” voting policies that targeted Black voters to disenfranchise them, particularly literacy tests and poll taxes. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 outlawed these practices, and included provisions requiring state governments to get “preclearance” on changes to voting laws. Essentially, the federal government could prevent state governments from enacting any new racist voting laws, even if they appeared “race neutral” on the surface. This legislation immediately made an impact. By 1966, there were over 250,000 newly registered Black voters in the US.¹⁵⁰

148 National Archives, “Civil Rights Act (1964),” 2022, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/civil-rights-act>.

149 Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 127-140.

150 National Archives, “Voting Rights Act (1965),” 2022, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/voting-rights-act#:~:text=It%20outlawed%20the%20discriminatory%20voting,after%20the%20amendment%20was%20ratified>.

The Myth of Post-Racial Georgia

Regardless of the victories of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, race relations in Georgia did not change overnight. While some public schools in the state saw token desegregation, most school systems remained segregated until the 1970s.¹⁵¹ By 1966, Georgians had elected seven Black senators, and they elected Andrew Young as the first Black Congressman since Reconstruction. Maynard Jackson became the City of Atlanta’s first Black mayor in 1973. However, African Americans remained disproportionately underrepresented in elected positions across the state despite enormous gains in voter registration.¹⁵² In 1970, the African American population in Georgia represented approximately twenty-seven percent of the state’s total population; in contrast, sixteen African Americans were elected to the Georgia Legislature in 1972, which is not quite seven percent of the state’s 236 legislators.¹⁵³

Even before Maynard Jackson was elected Mayor of Atlanta, the city was dubbed “the City Too Busy to Hate” because of its relative racial moderation, even before the Civil Rights Act of 1964.¹⁵⁴ Like places across Georgia that were desegregating public facilities, greater unemployment amongst Black citizens, higher poverty

151 Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 192-193.

152 Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 192-193.

153 Leon F. Bouvier and John L. Martin, “Shaping Georgia: The Effects of Immigration, 1970-2020,” *Center for Immigration Studies*, 1995, <https://cis.org/Report/Shaping-Georgia-Effects-Immigration-19702020>; Robert A. Holmes, “Georgia Legislative Black Caucus,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/government-politics/georgia-legislative-black-caucus/>.

154 National Park Service, “International Civil Rights Walk of Fame: Ivan Allen,” 2023, https://www.nps.gov/features/malu/feat0002/wof/ivan_allen.htm.

levels, and housing discrimination remained major problems.¹⁵⁵ Black business districts suffered due to lack of investment and continued neglect of infrastructure by government officials. By the early 1980s, many conservative politicians at both the state and national levels argued that race was no longer a factor in politics; that America, and Georgia, was now a post-racial society.¹⁵⁶ Continued local protests in Georgia into the late 1980s demonstrate that the existence of post-racial Georgia was a myth.¹⁵⁷

Gerrymandering the Vote, the New Jim Crow

While Black voter registration increased after the passage of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, white Georgian legislators quickly made sure to dilute the power of that vote. One method was the use of at-large elections to prevent African Americans from gaining political office. In an at-large vote, there are no districts, and all voters cast ballots for all the available offices. For example, in an at-large city council vote, all voters would vote for all council people, and would not have a specific representative for their area on that city council. This practice made it more difficult for African Americans to gain office, because while there were Black neighborhoods, the entire county often remained a white majority. The practice was so widespread that the Supreme Court recognized it as potentially discriminatory in 1969, although there were many subsequent efforts to institute at-large systems blocked by the preclearance provision in the Voting Rights Act.¹⁵⁸

155 Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 193.

156 Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 193.

157 Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 251.

158 Robert A. Kengle, "Voting Rights in Georgia: 1982-2006," *Review of Law and Social Justice* Vol.17, No. 2 (2008): 381.

The preclearance provision in the Voting Rights Act required all voting changes proposed by the state of Georgia to be reviewed by the US Department of Justice to ensure they were not racially discriminatory. A common proposed voting change that was denied by preclearance was redistricted maps that spread Black voters out across several districts, ensuring a white majority in as many districts as possible. Georgia also adopted or attempted to adopt multiple discriminatory voting practices after 1965, which as one legal scholar wrote, "is further circumstantial evidence that these changes were not merely coincidental, but rather were intended to move toward – or preserve – white hegemony over the election process, in the face of growing Black electoral participation."¹⁵⁹ These practices led to Congress placing Georgia under the temporary provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for another twenty-five years in 1982. The temporary provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 required the Department of Justice review any procedural changes to voting in the State of Georgia before they went into effect to ensure they were not racially discriminatory. This preclearance review prevented changes such as gerrymandered maps that were intentionally drawn to dilute the power of Black voters.

159 Kengle, "Voting Rights in Georgia," 382.

RELATED AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "Politics and Government" are:

- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource's significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource's significance and justify its nomination.
- » Law, for both the laws themselves and the interpretation of them in local, state, and federal courts. For example, resources associated with this Area of Significance may be the location of significant sites of enforcement, such as a jail, or the location where a significant arrest occurred.
- » Politics/Government, for resources such as city halls where these laws were passed or any government-owned building, such as post offices, courthouses, libraries, and schools, where racial laws were created or enforced.
- » Social History for how theories regarding the interaction of the races impacted society. For example, buildings with separate entrances as required by Jim Crow laws may be significant under this Area.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely areas of significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "Politics and Government" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

Agriculture, Labor, and the Land

Many people of African descent arrived in Georgia enslaved, often kidnapped specifically for their agricultural knowledge. Even before the English colonization of Georgia, the Spanish enslaved Africans here as laborers. The importance of the theme of “Agriculture, Labor, and the Land” to the Black experience in Georgia cannot be overstated. The connection to agriculture was a defining aspect of many Black Georgians’ existence until Emancipation in 1865 as many of those enslaved were forced to harvest and process crops, most commonly rice and cotton. Likewise, persons of African descent enslaved in urban areas labored in other ways, performing domestic, carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing, and other tasks at the behest of their enslavers. Who had access to land and property and the types of labor white Georgians wanted African Americans to perform significantly impacted the lives of Black Georgians. Even after Emancipation, the segregationist policies that came on the heels of the Reconstruction Era significantly impacted the rights and freedoms of the African American worker, as seen in the industrial tasks and duties relegated to African Americans on the home front during World War II, for example. Further still, “Agriculture, Labor, and the Land” remains central to the lives of a number of African Americans that operate family farms or who work in large numbers in many of Georgia’s industries.

Despite the official end of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in the United States in 1808, which meant that very few people were being kidnapped and transported directly from Africa for enslavement in Georgia, the institution of chattel slavery was

flourishing in the state in the early nineteenth century.¹⁶⁰ Chattel slavery is a form of slavery where children inherit the status of their parents, and in the United States, the law stated that the status of children followed that of their mother. In other words, if a child had a free father, they were still born enslaved if their mother was enslaved. People enslaved in areas such as Virginia and Maryland on tobacco plantation labor sites were forcibly removed from their homes for their enslavers’ profit and sent to live in places like Georgia and Louisiana. As tobacco plantation labor sites became less profitable due to the depletion of the soil’s nutrients, short staple cotton became one of the most profitable commodities in the South. While plantation labor sites in coastal Georgia continued to grow rice and long staple cotton, short staple cotton was the most common cash crop throughout the rest of the state, which was rapidly expanding to the west to its modern day boundaries during this period.¹⁶¹

160 Richard Peters, ed. *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America, from the Organization of the Government in 1789, to March 3, 1845*, (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1845): 302-305.

161 Henry Louis Gates, Jr., “What Was the Second Middle Passage?” *Georgia Public Broadcasting*, 2013, <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/what-was-the-2nd-middle-passage/>.



Aerial view of historic rice fields shaped by enslaved African labor visible on the landscape in McIntosh County, east of I-95, south of Butler Island, and nearby to Darien, McIntosh County. *Google Earth.*

More People, Less Freedom

The population of African Americans in Georgia grew exponentially even after the Transatlantic Slave Trade was outlawed in the United States in 1808. In 1790, there were 19,164 enslaved people of African descent in Georgia making up thirty-five percent of the population. By 1820, ten years after the legal end of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, there were 144,482 enslaved African Americans in Georgia making up forty-four percent of the population.¹⁶²

This population growth was due to both births and population shifts from the Upper South to the Deep South. White enslavers and overseers both encouraged enslaved people to have children and raped Black women to increase the enslaved population. Unlike many historical forms of slavery, chattel slavery in the United States was passed on matrilineally, meaning if a mother was enslaved her

¹⁶² U.S. Census Bureau, "United States Census, 1790, 1820," *U.S. Census Bureau*.



Photograph of an enslaved family picking cotton in Savannah, Georgia by Pierre Havens. C.1850s. *New York Historical Society*.

offspring would also be enslaved. This legal understanding meant that the vast majority of Black children born at plantation labor sites or to urban enslaved people were automatically enslaved for life.¹⁶³ It also led to the frequent sexual violation of Black women by white men, as in the case of the Black women of Butler Island

in McIntosh County. Roswell King Sr. and Roswel King Jr. served as overseers for the absent enslaver Major Pierce Butler and later his grandson Pierce Mease Butler. The Butlers did not stop the Kings from sexually exploiting the enslaved women of Butler Island. Both the enslaved population and the white community of McIntosh County knew that there were numerous mixed race, also known at that time as "mulatto," King children on Butler Island. While Major Pierce Butler may not have condoned the King men's acts,

which were not legal crimes at that time, the results continued to serve the Butler family's increasing wealth.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Jeffrey Robert Young, "Slavery in Antebellum Georgia," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/slavery-in-antebellum-georgia/#:~:text=By%20the%201830s%20cotton%20plantations,decades%20of%20the%20nineteenth%20century.>

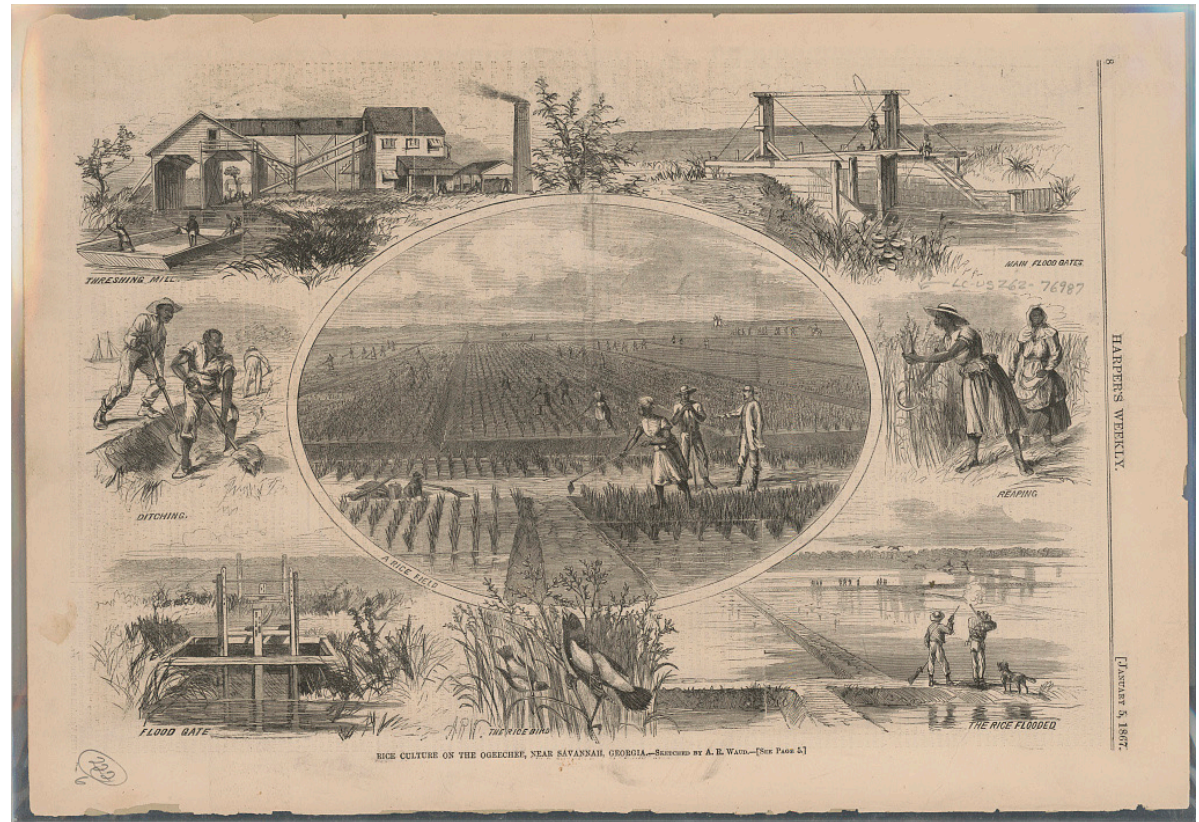
¹⁶⁴ Malcolm Bell, Jr., *Major Butler's Legacy: Five Generations of a*

While enslaved people were encouraged and forced to have children, they were not encouraged to participate in a nuclear family system. Enslavers were interested in enslaved men having as many children as possible with multiple women, but families were frequently broken up through sale. The death of an enslaver often meant people would be sold away from their home and family, and many people were sold to Georgia from other states during this period.¹⁶⁵ From the Colonial period through the early nineteenth century, rice was the primary cash crop produced in Georgia. Rice was cultivated along the five tidal rivers in the state: Savannah, Ogeechee, Altamaha, Satilla, and St. Marys. Although both inland and tidal rice plantation labor sites existed, rice could not be grown outside of these geographic areas, which naturally limited the number of enslaved laborers necessary for enslavers to maximize profit.¹⁶⁶ Although the earliest Georgia colonists notably experimented with cultivating silk, olives, and wine, none of these crops were exceptionally successful. The first major cash crop in Georgia was rice. Enslaved people cultivated rice in the coastal portion of the

Slaveholding Family, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 165-168.

165 Tera W. Hunter, "Slavery's anti-family politics," *The Washington Post*, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/made-by-history/wp/2017/12/19/slaverys-anti-family-politics/>.

166 Peter Coclanis, "Rice," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/business-economy/rice/>.



Rice Culture on the Ogeechee, Near Savannah, Georgia, 1867. Sketched by A.R. Waud. *Library of Congress*.

state, utilizing technology, such as dikes, from the homes they were kidnapped from West Africa. Coastal plantation labor sites also grew indigo and long staple cotton.¹⁶⁷ After the perfection of Eli Whitney's cotton gin in 1793 that could easily separate the seeds from short staple cotton bolls, short staple cotton quickly became the most profitable cash crop in the state. Short staple cotton could be grown throughout the Piedmont region, and the

167 William P. Flatt, "Agriculture in Georgia," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2022, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/business-economy/agriculture-in-georgia-overview/>.

spread of its cultivation created an enormous desire for plantation labor site owners to enslave even more people.¹⁶⁸

The type of crop grown is not the only aspect of the plantation labor system economy that varied across Georgia's geographic regions. The arrangement of enslaved people's labor also differed. On the coast where rice and Sea Island cotton were the primary crops, enslaved people worked under the "task" system. Laborers had a set amount of work they were expected to complete per day, a "task," and after that work was complete, they could spend their time cultivating their own gardens, raising livestock, enjoying the company of friends and family, etc. Although enslaved people working in the task system on a plantation labor site were by no means free, they had more autonomy and less white supervision than enslaved people who labored under the "gang" system. The gang system forced people to work in a group from sunup to sundown, regardless of how much they were able to accomplish. This labor arrangement was common on smaller farms and plantation labor sites throughout the state, and it was prevalent inland where short staple cotton predominated.¹⁶⁹

As cultivation in Georgia expanded westward, short staple cotton became the dominant cash crop. The rich soils crossing the center of the state were ideal for this crop, leading to the growth of plantation labor sites. This plantation labor sites differed from their coastal counterparts because crops could not be grown indefinitely on the same land. The environment limited how many

168 Young, "Slavery in Antebellum Georgia."

169 Daniel C. Littlefield, "Slave Labor," *South Carolina Encyclopedia*, 2022, <https://www.sencyclopedia.org/sce/entries/slave-labor/>.

seasons an area could be used, until much of the plantation labor site moved to the next patch of fertile soil.¹⁷⁰

The free Black population of Georgia also increased slightly during this period, due primarily to African American children being born to mothers who were free. There were some enslavers who freed the people they enslaved, but only 0.3% of the state's population were free Black people in 1860.¹⁷¹

Free African Americans were forced to fight ever more restrictive legislation that attempted to take away their freedom in the early nineteenth century. In 1818, the Georgia Legislature passed a law requiring all free African Americans in the state between the ages of fifteen and sixty to donate twenty days of free labor to the state of Georgia every calendar year to assist with the construction of public works in their county or town. This requirement was in addition to any local taxes or licenses required for free Black people to own or operate businesses where they lived.¹⁷²

Land Owner or Tenant Farmer?

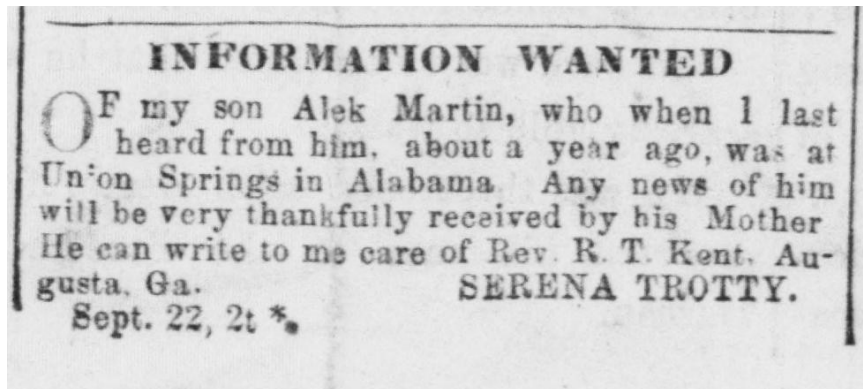
While some newly freedpeople along Georgia's coast had benefited briefly from US General William T. Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15, which granted land seized from Confederate property owners to newly freed African Americans, many more throughout the state never had the opportunity to own land and thus control their own livelihoods in the 1860s. As skilled

170 Flatt, "Agriculture in Georgia."

171 John C. Inscoe, "Georgia in 1860," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/georgia-in-1860/>.

172 Johnson, *Black Savannah, 1788-1864*, 40.

agricultural workers, many African Americans needed land to work in order to earn a living. Without any funding to purchase property, many saw no other opportunity than to return to former enslavers, who still owned the majority of arable land, in order to support themselves. In addition to returning to plantation labor sites for work, returning to these locations also offered the



Newspaper advertisement from the *Loyal Georgian* (Augusta, GA) in 1866 as Serena Trotty seeks information about her son Alek Martin. *Library of Congress*.

potential to reunite with family members who had been spread across the country due to sale prior to emancipation. Many African American families sought to reunite with their families as soon as they were able to do so.¹⁷³

Enslavers generally did not offer livable wages to newly freed African Americans, so unfair contracts abounded. Men were paid more than women, and former enslavers often charged the workers for rent, clothing, and food. For example, Frances

173 National Museum of African American History and Culture, “The Historical Legacy of Black Family Reunions,” *Smithsonian*, 2023, <https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/historical-legacy-black-family-reunions#:~:text=As%20waves%20of%20emancipation%20swept,believed%20best%20suited%20their%20new.>

Butler Leigh, the land owner of Butler Island in McIntosh County, returned to Butler Island to manage the rice plantation labor site in 1866. She worked out a contract similar to the task system of labor used on Butler Island during the antebellum period. The workers were offered half of the crop they grew, after the expenses of clothing, shelter, and food were removed by Frances Butler Leigh at prices she set. Notably, Frances Butler Leigh did offer the same contract to men and women, which she noted as unusual in her memoir.¹⁷⁴ The Freedmen’s Bureau, established by Congress in March 1865, attempted to oversee contracts between white landowners and newly freedpeople, but the oversight was generally unsuccessful.¹⁷⁵

Eventually, the wide failure of the contract labor system led to the development of sharecropping, which became the dominant agricultural labor system in Georgia until the 1940s. Under this system of tenant farming, also known as sharecropping, white landowners retained ownership of the arable land, but rather than directly supervising Black labor as they had under slavery and under the contract labor system, white landowners took a more hands off approach. Exact agreements varied from place to place, but in general, the sharecroppers “rented” land from landowners in exchange for a set amount of crop at the end of the season. Much as it was under the contract labor system, the sharecroppers were forced to buy seed, fertilizer, clothing, and other necessities from white landowners. Since the sharecroppers

174 Frances Butler Leigh, *Ten Years on a Georgia Plantation Since the War*, (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 1883), 14 and 56.

175 James C. Giesen, “Sharecropping,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/sharecropping/>.



Conditions of a Tenant House in the Harmony Community, Putnam County. *National Archives Catalog*.

rarely had cash, they often went into debt before they ever planted a crop, which meant they owed the landowner even more at the end of the harvest. Ultimately, it was almost impossible for sharecroppers to earn enough from their harvests to be able to accrue wealth or buy their own land.¹⁷⁶

African American Land Ownership

There were some notable exceptions to the general lack of Black land ownership. Some freedpeople gained title to the lands they gained under US General William T. Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15, and other people managed to purchase small tracts

¹⁷⁶ Giesen, "Sharecropping."



The only African American that owned property in the Harmony Community of Putnam County, Georgia. "It, too, is not large enough for the family, but there are at least enough beds and chairs to go around." 1941. *National Archives Catalog*.

of land from white landowners in Coastal Georgia and South Carolina. Tunis Campbell, an African American politician from New Jersey, played an integral role in securing this Black land ownership. Tunis Campbell worked in the Freedmen's Bureau and was in charge of land claims on the Georgia Sea Islands. When President Andrew Johnson revoked US General William T. Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15, Tunis Campbell quickly purchased land in McIntosh County and built an association of Black owners to divide the land into parcels and split the profits.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ Russell Duncan, "Tunis Campbell," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/tunis-campbell-1812-1891/>.

Cooperative and Experimental Farms

One New Deal program that did benefit some African Americans was a farm resettlement program, specifically the Flint River Farms Resettlement Project near Montezuma, Georgia. This program and others like it were designed to help sharecroppers purchase their own farms through a lease-to-own model. The Flint River Farms Resettlement Project was home to 106 Black families and was established in 1937. Previously used for the operation of plantation labor sites, the land the federal government purchased was divided into eleven different tracts for Black families. The farm also included an instructional farm to provide on-the-job training for young married couples, as well as a community center, and school.¹⁷⁸

Labor Movements and Factories

As with all areas of life in Georgia, segregation after Reconstruction forced Black workers to form their own unions in order to continue to advocate for themselves. Sharecropping and tenant farming became the one of the primary professions for African Americans in the late nineteenth century. Because of the difficulties making a living under this system, Black Georgians began to move away from rural areas in search of jobs. The textile industry became one source of employment. Mill owners discovered they could pay African Americans less than white workers, encouraging them to hire Black people to increase their profits. Black and white workers were frequently pitted against

178 Robert Zabawa and Tasha Hargrove, "Flint River Farms Resettlement Community," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/business-economy/flint-river-farms-resettlement-community>.



One of the project families. Flint River Farms, Georgia. Photographed by Marion Post Wolcott. 1939. *Library of Congress*.



"Chopping cotton on rented land, near White Plains, Greene County, Ga." Photographed by Jack Delano. 1941. *Library of Congress*.

each other by employers due in part to wage inequality. In 1909, the white employees of the Georgia Railroad throughout the state walked out demanding that the railroad fire the lower-paid Black firemen and replace them with white firemen. The strike lasted from May 17 to May 29, and as a result, a Federal Board of Arbitration ruled that Black firemen had to receive equal pay for equal work, which eliminated the financial incentive to the Georgia Railroad to hire Black firemen instead of white firemen.¹⁷⁹ In what came to be known as the “Georgia Race Strike,” this ruling was a color-blind victory for Black workers. Unfortunately in practice, de facto segregation made it more difficult for Black firemen to get jobs on the Georgia Railroad.¹⁸⁰

Race relations also became a flashpoint in industrial labor. For example in 1897, the Fulton Bag and Cotton Company in the Cabbagetown area (NRIS # 76000623) of Atlanta hired twenty Black women to work in the folding department. While the mill operation was already integrated, Black workers had only been allowed to work in the most menial and difficult roles; the workers viewed the folding department as the domain of white women. The Black women did not replace white workers, and Jacob Elas, the owner of the mill, had them physically separated from white women in the department. White folders still walked off the job, and ultimately the mill shut down with many workers joining the Textile Workers’ Union. The striking workers wanted Jacob Elas

179 John Michael Matthews, “The Georgia ‘Race Strike’ of 1909,” *The Journal of Southern History* 40, No. 4 (Nov. 1974): 613-630, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2206357>.

180 James Gilbert Cassedy, “African Americans and the American Labor Movement,” *Federal Records and African American History* Vol.29, No.2, 1997, <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1997/summer/american-labor-movement.html>.

to fire all Black workers. He ultimately agreed to fire the newly hired Black folders. He started hiring Black women again in 1900. While not directly related to race, the Fulton Bag and Cotton Company strike of 1914-1915 became the first major textile mill strike in the South. The mill was able to remain in operation because the company leased workers from other companies, and some Black men were used to evict white workers from company housing. White racial solidarity became a galvanizing aspect of the movement, highlighting continued racial tensions in the industrial arena.¹⁸¹

Another key labor movement during the Jim Crow era was the Atlanta Washerwomen Strike of 1881. In Atlanta, ninety-eight percent of all working Black women were domestic laborers, and laundress was the most common profession among these women. With the birth of more affordably manufactured clothing, more people had more clothes; however, washing clothes had not been mechanized. It was hard labor to make your own soap, scrub the clothes, and pick up and deliver them to clients. In July 1881, twenty women met and formed the Washing Society, looking to create a uniform pay rate for \$1 per dozen pounds of wash. Within three weeks with the help of others in the community, the women were able to grow to 3,000 striking laundresses. The City of Atlanta began taking action against the women in August, fining, jailing, and creating new laws to add additional fees to their businesses. Despite the pushback, the Washing Society held firm, earning higher wages and no additional fees. The Washing Society’s success encouraged other domestic workers

181 Tiffany Harte, “A Tale of 3 Strikes,” *Atlanta History Center*, 2022, <https://www.atlantahistorycenter.com/blog/a-tale-of-3-strikes/>.

to demand higher wages as well, and it established a precedent that Black women workers could not simply be ignored because white employers were not sure they could easily replace them.¹⁸² Historical records do not indicate what happened to the Washing Society after their success.¹⁸³



Picketing laundry workers of Laundry Workers International Union, 1934. *Library of Congress.*

182 AFL-CIO, "Atlanta's Washerwomen Strike," 2023, <https://aflcio.org/about/history/labor-history-events/atlanta-washerwomen-strike>.

183 Tera Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom': Southern Black Women's Lives and Labors After the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 91, 93.

Related Areas of Significance

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "Agriculture, Labor, and the Land" are:

- » Agriculture, for any resources connected to the technology of cultivating crops and livestock, such as advanced dike systems developed on Georgia rice plantations. Family farms and plantation labor sites may also be significant under this Area.
- » Economics, for the labor relations between both enslaved African Americans as well as the labor arrangements after Emancipation. The economic system of slavery and tenant farming is directly connected to the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth in Georgia, meaning that some plantation labor sites may be significant under this Area.
- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource's significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource's significance and justify its nomination.
- » Industry, because agriculture served as the primary industry within Georgia for much of the period covered by this context. Similar to economics, the technology and process surrounding some agricultural operations may be significant under this Area. For example, a cotton gin may be significant under this Area.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely areas of significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "Agriculture, Labor, and the Land" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible areas of significance.

Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services

After being forcibly removed from their homes in Africa and later sometimes homes in the Caribbean, many people of African descent turned to religion for comfort. The fellowship from shared religious practices and rituals created unique Black communities, despite the discrimination from white Georgians. Whether these communities were based on traditional African beliefs under chattel slavery or shared membership in a Black Masonic lodge in the twentieth century, they served a critical purpose in uniting African Americans to support one another, particularly in the face of white people's continued attempts to prevent Black freedom. This theme does not cover all of the events or movements associated with "Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services." Instead, it covers some of the major events associated with this theme.

Traditional African Cultural Beliefs and Customs

Religion was an important element in many people's lives in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and this fact was true for both enslaved and free Black people. Islam is one of the best documented religious practices associated with people of African descent from this period, in part because the Black practitioners of Islam were often literate. Ben Ali, who was kidnapped and enslaved on Thomas Spalding's plantation labor site on Sapelo Island, and Salih Bilali, who was enslaved by John Couper on St. Simons Island, were both Muslim Fulbes, an ethnic group that originated in what is today Sudan but had spread to

much of the western coast of Africa by the nineteenth century. Both men were literate and trusted by their enslavers to not only oversee the other enslaved laborers but to also manage the accounts.¹⁸⁴



Ben Ali, also known as Bilali Muhammad, wrote in Arabic and was considered a leader of the Muslim community on Sapelo Island. His original writings are preserved at the Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library at the University of Georgia. *About Islam*.¹⁸⁵

By the turn of the nineteenth century, many enslavers were encouraging the people they enslaved to convert to Christianity; this practice achieved two goals for the enslavers.¹⁸⁶

184 Raiber Muhiddin, "Islam as a Liberating Force for Muslim Slaves on the Georgia Sea Islands," Honors Thesis, (University at Albany, State University of New York: 2017): 4-6.

185 Papatia Feauxzar, "6 African Muslims that brought Islam to America," *About Islam*, 2020, <https://aboutislam.net/family-life/culture/6-african-muslims-who-brought-islam-to-america/>.

186 Besheer Mohamed, et al. "A brief overview of Black religious history in the U.S.," *Pew Research Center*, 2021, <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2021/02/16/a-brief-overview-of-black-religious-history-in-the-u-s/>.

First, Biblical passages were selectively used to encourage enslaved people to remain docile to their “earthly masters,” which was a goal of the enslavers. Second, proselytizing Christianity allowed enslavers who felt guilty about enslaving Black people to justify the practice to themselves as benevolent.¹⁸⁷ Trusted enslaved drivers such as Ben Ali and Salih Bilali were notable for their strict adherence to Islamic practices, such as prayer and diet, and because of their important positions in the plantation labor system hierarchy, they were not under pressure to convert to Christianity.¹⁸⁸

The Gullah Geechee

The Gullah Geechee people are descendants primarily of people from the West African coast who were enslaved on plantation labor sites on the coast of the Southern United States. The isolated nature of the sea island plantation labor sites in particular meant that cultural and religious practices, foodways, and language traditions were preserved and are still celebrated today, over 200 years later.¹⁸⁹

The Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor is a National Heritage Area stretching down the east coast from North Carolina to Florida. Managed by the Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor Commission, the Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor “preserves, shares, and interprets the history, traditional cultural practices, heritage sites, and natural resources associated with the Gullah Geechee community.”¹⁹⁰



Map of the Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor. *Gullah Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor Commission.*

187 Georgia Public Broadcasting, “Africans in America: Religion and Slavery,” *PBS*, 2023, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part2/2narr2.html>.

188 Muhiddin, “Islam as a Liberating Force for Muslim Slaves on the Georgia Sea Islands,” 2.

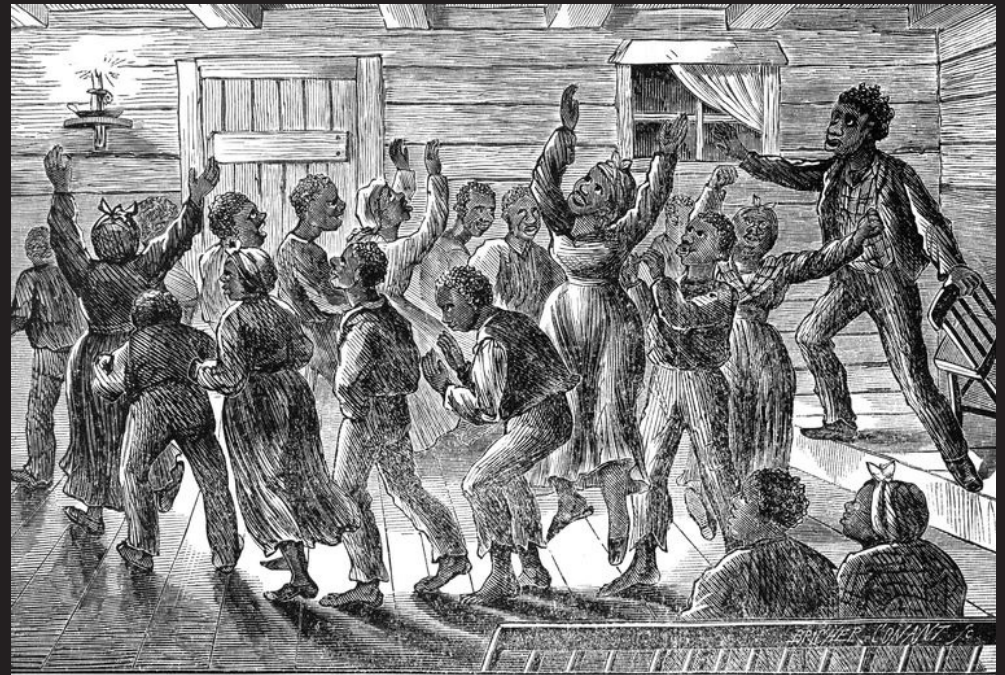
189 Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor Commission, “The Gullah Geechee,” *Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor Commission*, 2023, <https://gullahgeecheecorridor.org/the-gullah-geechee/>.

190 Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor Commission, “About Us,” *Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor Commission*, 2024, <https://gullahgeecheecorridor.org/about/>.

Ring Shout

One notable Gullah Geechee practice with its roots in both traditional African religions and Islam is the Ring Shout. The Ring Shout is performed by participants who form a circle, chant, clap, stomp, and move rhythmically in a counterclockwise motion.¹⁹¹ The rhythmic clapping, stomping, and communal movement are all easily traceable to West African practices, and the ritual as a whole shows clear influence from the Muslim Tawaf ritual that signifies unity and submission to Allah.¹⁹² Today, the McIntosh County Ring Shouters continue the practice at events throughout the country.¹⁹³

While the Ring Shout is not a physical resource of the type associated with the National Register of Historic Places, it is a social practice that is an element of Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Gullah Geechee people. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organizations (UNESCO) recognizes Intangible Cultural Heritage as “traditions or living expressions inherited from our ancestors and passed on to our descendants, such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts.”¹⁹⁴ Although not currently eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places or any other official list in the United States, the Ring Shout has been documented and archived by the Library of Congress because of its importance in the Gullah Geechee community. In the face of increased globalization, learning how to preserve important cultural practices such as the Ring Shout will become more important to historic preservation practice.



Religious dancing of the Backs, termed "Shouting," p. 371.

Depiction of Ring Shout by Charles Stearns from 1872. *The New York Public Library.*

191 Jazz History Tree, "Harlem Late Night Jazz Presents: Ring Shout," *The Jazz History Tree*, 2023, <https://www.jazzhistorytree.com/ring-shout/>.

192 Erica Lanice Washington, "Shabach Hallelujah!: The Continuity of the Ring Shout Tradition as a Site of Music and Dance in Black American Worship," Masters Thesis, (Bowling Green State University, 2005): 31.

193 McIntosh County Shouters, "About Us: The McIntosh County Shouters Kept The Tradition Alive," *McIntosh County Shouters*, 2023, <https://mcintoshcountyshouters.com/about-mcintosh-county-shouters/>.

194 UNESCO, "What is Intangible Cultural Heritage?," *UNESCO*, 2023, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/what-is-intangible-heritage-00003>.

The Mission Period in Georgia

Beginning in 1568 and continuing intermittently through 1604, the Spanish maintained Catholic missions on the Georgia coast. The purpose of these missions was to convert Indigenous people to Catholicism, and as a result, they primarily enslaved Indigenous people as laborers rather than African people. However, it is known that some African people were enslaved by Catholic missionaries in Florida, and it is possible that Africans were also present in Georgia during this period.¹⁹⁵ The Spanish established the Mission Santa Catalina de Guale on St. Catherines Island in the early 1570, and this location was the northernmost outpost of Spanish Florida. The Guale people fought against the Spanish colonizers, burning the mission in 1597. The mission was reestablished shortly thereafter, and the Spanish did not abandon the settlement until 1680, making it the last mission in Georgia.¹⁹⁶

Traditional African Religions and Islam

Although traditional African religions and Islam remained common in enslaved populations until the Civil War, Christianity also steadily gained more adherents.¹⁹⁷ Enslavers encouraged people of African descent to convert to Christianity, but the percentage of enslaved people practicing Christianity also grew after the Transatlantic Slave Trade ended in 1808 with the passage of the “Act Prohibiting the Importation of Slaves.”¹⁹⁸ Enslaved people born in the United States

195 John E. Worth, “Spanish Missions,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, June 8, 2017, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/spanish-missions/>.

196 Charles Seabrook, “St. Catherines Island,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2018, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/geography-environment/st-catherines-island/>.

197 Edward E. Curtis IV, *Muslims in America: A Short History*, 19.

198 National Archives, “Educator Resources: The Slave Trade,” National

were surrounded by Christianity while the number of individuals practicing traditional African religions and Islam dwindled. The Christianity of enslavement did retain influences from these religions. There were some notable incidents where the prohibition on Transatlantic slavery was violated, but the number of people directly kidnapped from Africa after 1808 remained low. This situation meant there were fewer individuals who had exclusively practiced traditional African religions or Islam in the United States to maintain those traditions.¹⁹⁹

Many enslavers encouraged their enslaved laborers to practice Christianity, but a mix of Muslim practices and African traditional religions were much more likely to be practiced in Georgia before the Civil War. Although there are no known physical resources that speak to the Islamic tradition, remnants of both Muslim and traditional African religious practices are still evident today, particularly in Gullah Geechee culture.²⁰⁰

Early Black Churches in Georgia

Black Baptist meetings began to occur openly in Georgia in 1778, when the British allowed African people to meet in large groups without white surveillance. Originally called the Ethiopian Church of Jesus Christ when it was formally established in 1788 in

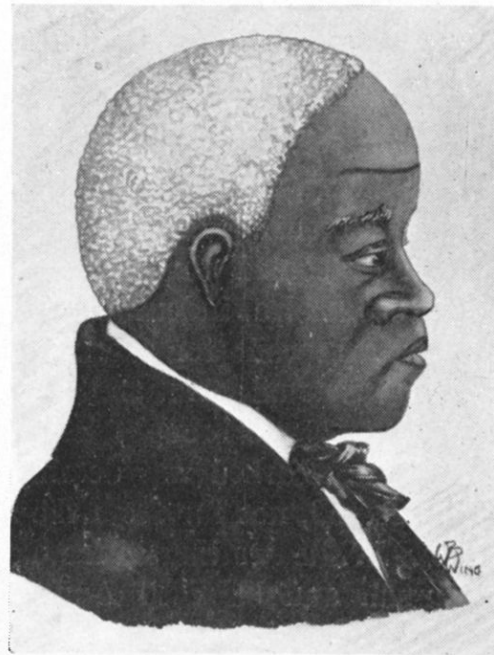
Archives, 2022, <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/slave-trade.html#:~:text=The%20Act%20Prohibiting%20the%20Importation%20of%20Slaves%2C%201808,-Enlarge&text=The%201808%20Act%20imposed%20heavy,the%20domestic%20sale%20of%20slaves.>

199 Georgia Historical Society, “Interpreting the Gullah/Geechee Heritage in the 21st Century: Religion,” *Georgia Historical Society*, 2023, <https://georgiahistory.com/education-outreach/online-exhibits/online-exhibits/interpreting-the-gullahgeechee-heritage-in-the-21st-century/religion/>.

200 Edward E. Curtis IV, *Muslims in America: A Short History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 19.

Savannah, the First African Baptist Church is one of the first independent Black churches established in Georgia. The congregation initially had a building on Mill Street in the Oglethorpe Ward of Savannah, before they moved to Yamacraw Village in 1812. The third church building was the old Savannah Baptist Church on Franklin Square, which this congregation moved to in 1832. In 1859, First African Baptist Church built their fourth home out of stone, which still stands today.²⁰¹

Regardless of its location, this church, like Black churches throughout the state, served as more than a location of religious services. These places were safe spaces for community gatherings away from white surveillance and violence and were locations where community organizing for political power occurred to advocate for the rights of the community. As historian Whittingham B. Johnson wrote, “The Black church, moreover, provided a visible physical landmark that attracted admiring white visitors and created a sense of pride among African Americans. It was the foremost and first major collective manifestation of self-help in the Black community.”²⁰² That tradition continued into the Civil Rights movement and is still active today.



ANDREW BRYAN

Reverend Andrew Bryan. “The history of the Negro church” (1921) by Carter Godwin Woodson. *The New York Public Library*.

Community Building through Religious, Educational, and Civic Institutions

Just as it had during slavery, the Black church played an important role in the post-Civil War transformation of the African American community in Georgia. The number of Black churches grew quickly after the Civil War, since the laws that had prevented Black people from gathering were no longer enforced. Congregations often initially used other buildings, such as members’ homes, to hold services. By the 1870s, an increasing number of Black churches had constructed church buildings to serve their congregations, such as Holsey Temple CME Church at 1101 Washington Avenue in Macon. The original wood frame building was built in 1870 but was destroyed by fire. The current brick

building was constructed in 1895.²⁰³ The Church served as more than just a spiritual haven; as historian Allison Dorsey has written, it also “addressed the moral, economic, and social needs of freed African Americans. Spirituality as practice in Black churches was at the center of their way of being, part of a racial consciousness that linked African Americans to the culture of their slave past and gave them the necessary hope and energy to build their future.”²⁰⁴

201 Whittington B. Johnson, *Black Savannah, 1788-1864*. (Fayetteville: Arkansas Press, 1996), 10-13.

202 Johnson, *Black Savannah*, 34.

203 Eric Mock, “Historic church says they can’t afford upgrades,” *WGXA News*, 2016, <https://wgxa.tv/news/local/historic-church-says-they-cant-afford-upgrades>.

204 Allison Dorsey, *To Build Our Lives Together: Community Formation in Black Atlanta, 1875-1906*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 54.

Churches provided physical aid to members in addition to spiritual nourishment. Initially, churches focused on educating their members, which led to many church-affiliated institutions of higher learning now known as Historically Black Colleges and Universities. Many churches set up specific religious aid societies to assist impoverished members, and newly formed fraternal organizations, such as the Knights of Pythias, also led to the establishment of mutual aid and insurance organizations within the Black community.²⁰⁵



Springfield Baptist Church (extant) (NRIS #82002461) at 114 12th Street in Augusta, Richmond County, 2008. *J. Stephen Conn.*



St. Cyprian's Church (extant) at 401 Fort King George Drive in Darien, McIntosh County, a contributing resource to the Vernon Square-Columbus Square Historic District (NRIS #85000581). Built c.1876 and constructed of tabby and still in use today. *Rebecca Fenwick.*

205 Karen Kossie-Chernyshev, "Churches," in *The Jim Crow Encyclopedia*, ed. by Nikki L.M. Brown and Barry M. Stentiford (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2008), 134.

Masonic Lodges

Professional societies and masonic temples also formed in Black communities after Emancipation, again most often based in Black neighborhoods and business districts. Fraternal organizations offered newly freedmen practical education in politics in an era when they could vote, but they also offered a venue for African Americans to invest in their own communities.²⁰⁶ Prince Hall Freemasonry is the oldest continuously active organization founded by African Americans. The organization was founded in Boston in 1775, and Prince Hall Masonic lodges and chapters proliferated in Georgia after the Civil War.²⁰⁷ The Prince Hall Masonic Temple in Columbus is an example of the type of building that served as a pillar of the community and fellowship in African American neighborhoods.



Prince Hall Lodge No. 221, 1924. Walker County, Chickamauga. 2017. *Brian Brown*.

206 Dorsey, *To Build Our Lives Together*, 115.

207 Sibyl E. Moses, "Prince Hall Freemasonry: A Resource Guide," *Library of Congress*, 2022, <https://guides.loc.gov/prince-hall-freemasonry>.

Related Areas of Significance

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services" are:

- » Architecture, for buildings designed by significant Black architects or built by significant craftspeople. Many buildings, such as Prince Hall Masonic Lodges and places of worship, may be significant under this Area because they are often purpose-built with specific architectural styles that may be significant representative examples.
- » Education, for the close connection of various schools and institutions of higher learning to religious organizations.
- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource's significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource's significance and justify its nomination.
- » Religion, for the connection to places of worship and other resources associated with religious or ritual practice. For example, baptismal pools may be significant under this Area.
- » Social History, for the efforts of various organizations to uplift the Black community at large. Social organizations often worked to promote the welfare of society, making resources associated with them potentially significant under this Area.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely areas of significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

Arts and Culture

Black joy is integral to the African American experience throughout Georgia's history. Some of the state's greatest musicians and athletes were African Americans, and their popularity helped break down barriers of racism and segregation. Equally important, many places where Black Georgians experienced music, shows, and athletics were safe spaces during times of intense segregation, making these places central to the cultural life of Black Georgians. This section is not an exhaustive exploration of every resource or event associated with "Arts and Culture," but rather an overview of significant events associated with the theme.

Black Music: A Truly American Art Form

Music has been an integral aspect of African American culture as long as it has existed.

Songs sung at plantation labor sites and cultural practices like the Ring Shout played a major role in Black lives throughout Georgia's history. Black music culture began to gain the attention of white Americans during the antebellum era with songs sung on plantation labor sites; however, during the twentieth century white Americans began to seek out Black music for their own listening enjoyment. Georgia has connections to many nationally known artists and places associated with African American



Gertrude "Ma" Rainey in 1917. *Wikimedia.*

music.²⁰⁸ Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, often called the "Mother of the Blues" was born in 1886 in Columbus, Georgia. She was one of the first blues artists to record an album in 1923.²⁰⁹ "Blind Willie" McTell from Thomson, Georgia, was another renowned blues musician in the 1920s and 1930s. He faced not only racial discrimination, but also a society that made few if any accommodations for his blindness. Based in Atlanta, his talent on the twelve-string guitar was recognized during his lifetime.²¹⁰

At the same time that Ma Rainey and "Blind Willie" McTell were performing, many Black artists were getting their start on the Chitlin Circuit, which was a touring circuit that began in 1921 in response to Jim Crow segregation. These performance venues, often

called Juke Joints or Black theaters such as the Morton Theater in Athens, were located in segregated neighborhoods primarily in

208 Encyclopedia.com, "The History of African American Music," 2023, <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/news-wires-white-papers-and-books/history-african-american-music>.

209 Mariana Brandman, "Gertrude 'Ma' Rainey," *National Women's History Museum*, 2022, <https://www.womenshistory.org/education-resources/biographies/gertrude-ma-rainey>.

210 Hal Jacobs, "'Blind Willie' McTell," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/blind-willie-mctell-1898-1959/>.

the South. These venues were safe havens for African American artists and listeners to be themselves and explore music.²¹¹ As described by author Zora Neale Hurston in *Characteristics of Negro Expression*, which was published in 1934, “Jook is a word for a Negro pleasure house. It may mean a bawdy house. It may mean the house set apart on public works where the men and women dance, drink and gamble. Often, it is a combination of all these.” The origin of the juke joint dates to the work camp culture of the South. At turpentine harvesting sites, juke joints were constructed to allow “workers to let off steam after a hard day’s, or more often week’s work.”²¹² Juke Joints in Milledgeville such as the Do-Drop In, Shady Rest, and Ebony Lounge were popular spots for both local bands and well known acts.²¹³



The Get-Away Juke Joint in Zebulon, Pike County. *Brian Brown.*

211 Tanya Ballard Brown, “The Origin (And Hot Stank) Of The ‘Chitlin’ Circuit,” 2014, <https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2014/02/16/275313723/the-origin-and-hot-stank-of-the-chitlin-circuit>.

212 “What is a jook joint, and what is its history?” New Deal Narratives, *Oberlin College*. <https://www2.oberlin.edu/library/papers/honorshistory/2001-Gorman/jookjoints/allaboutjooks/whatisjook.html>.

213 Of the juke joints that remain on the landscape today, most are remembered as music venues that operated similarly to a nightclub. Evan Leavitt, *The Soul of Georgia*, A Georgia College Special Collections Galleries Exhibit, storymap, 2022.

Born in Dawson, Georgia, Otis Redding was a Black artist who broke through from the Chitlin Circuit to the white consciousness in 1962 with soulful songs like “Try a Little Tenderness.”²¹⁴ Otis

Redding was so successful that he partnered with white brothers Phil and Alan Walden to form their own recording label Redwal. The office for the label was located at 535 D.T. Walton Sr. Way in Macon, Georgia, and was the first integrated office in the city. At Redwal’s height, the company had more Black artists signed to the label than MoTown. After Otis Redding’s sudden death in a plane crash in 1967, Phil and Alan Walden pivoted away from soul, changing the label to Capricorn Records, which created the genre

of Southern Rock. Despite the move away from R&B, the label continued to push racial boundaries, signing such groups as The Allman Brothers Band, which was integrated.²¹⁵

214 Jonathan Gould, “In Memory of Otis Redding and His Revolution,” *The New Yorker*, 2017, <https://www.newyorker.com/culture/culture-desk/in-memory-of-otis-redding-and-his-revolution>.

215 Mercer University, “Mercer Music At Capricorn: About,” 2023, <https://capricorn.mercer.edu/about/>.

Before Otis Redding became well-known, Little Richard, who was born in 1932 in Macon's Pleasant Hill neighborhood, took the rock'n'roll scene by storm after starting on the Chitlin Circuit. He notably got his big break at the extant Macon City Auditorium at 415 First Street in Macon.²¹⁶ Ray Charles, the "father of soul," was born in 1930 in Albany.²¹⁷ James Brown, "the Godfather of Soul," was born in 1933 in Barnwell, South Carolina, and was sent to live with his Aunt Honey in Augusta, Georgia at age 4.²¹⁸ Gladys Knight was born in 1944 in Atlanta and became one of Motown's leading female stars.²¹⁹ The Georgia Sea Island Singers and Bessie Jones are known worldwide for sharing their Geechee heritage through song and dance.²²⁰



Little Richard of Macon. *Photo courtesy of Magnolia Pictures.*

216 American Masters, "Little Richard biography and career timeline," *PBS*, 2023, <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/americanmasters/little-richard-biography-and-career-timeline/27612/>. Little Richard's childhood home was set to be demolished by a Interstate-75 expansion project in 2003, but it was ultimately relocated and is now a community resource center in the neighborhood. Maggie McGlamry, "Little Richard's renovated, relocated childhood home unveiled to the public," *WGXA News*, 2017, <https://wgxa.tv/news/local/little-richards-renovated-relocated-childhood-home-unveiled-to-the-public>.

217 American Masters, "Ray Charles: The Genius of Soul," *PBS*, 1992, <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/americanmasters/ray-charles-about-ray-charles/554/>.

218 Biography.com, "James Brown," 2021, <https://www.biography.com/musicians/james-brown>.

219 Hal Jacobs, 2021, "Gladys Knight," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/gladys-knight-b-1944/>.

220 Adrienn Mendonca, "Georgia Sea Island Singers," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2017, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/georgia-sea-island-singers/>.

Theaters

While many local theaters, live performance venues, and later movie palaces, were segregated, African Americans also built their own theaters to showcase the community's talent. The Douglass Theatre in Macon at 355 Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard was built in 1921 exclusively for the use of African Americans. In this space and others like it, Black Georgians were able to sit in the best seats, enjoying entertainment ranging from blues and jazz to musicals and dramas.²²¹



The Morton Theater (NRIS #79000709, extant) at 195 West Washington Street in Athens, Clarke County (extant). *Maelyn Ehrman, 2024.*

221 Douglass Theatre, "Welcome to the Douglass Theatre," *Douglass Theatre*, 2024, <https://www.douglasstheatre.org/>.

Museums

Although racial segregation in public places was outlawed in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the attitudes of many white people in Georgia still made it uncomfortable or dangerous for Black people in some spaces. Furthermore, many cultural institutions, such as museums, did not reflect the African American experience in their collections or exhibits. This situation led to the creation of places like the Kiah House Museum at 505 West 36th Street in the



Kiah Museum (extant) at 505 West 36th Street in Savannah, Chatham County in the 1960s. *African Diaspora Museology Institute, Kiah Museum Collection.*

historically African American Cuyler-Brownville Historic District (NRIS #98000028) in Savannah. In 1959, Dr. Calvin and Virginia Kiah opened their home as a museum that was free to all visitors and particularly welcomed Black people from the surrounding neighborhood. The wide-ranging collection included everything from African carvings to fossils and was listed in *Readers' Digest Treasures of America* in 1974. The museum also featured fine art by African Americans.²²² In Atlanta, the African American Panoramic Experience (APEX) Museum opened in 1978 to “tell the rich and often untold story of the people of the African diaspora.”²²³ Also in Atlanta, the Herndon Home Museum opened in the home of Alonzo Herndon, scion of the Auburn Avenue business district, in 1983.²²⁴ In 1985, the Harriet Tubman Historical and Cultural Museum opened in Macon, Georgia.²²⁵

Sports

Like all other areas of public life, sports were segregated by race in Georgia beginning in the late nineteenth century. In 1867, the National Association of Baseball Players banned white and Black players from participating in the same game. This ban eventually led to the creation of the Negro Leagues, which had to have their own practices fields and ball parks. Despite these restrictions, Black athletics in Georgia flourished during the first half of the

222 African Diaspora Museology Institute, “The Kiah House Museum (1959-2001), 2022, historic marker.

223 APEX Museum, “About,” *APEX Museum*, 2023, <https://www.apexmuseum.org/about-us>.

224 Which Museum, “Herndon Home Museum,” *Which Museum*, 2024, <https://whichmuseum.com/museum/herndon-home-museum-atlanta-8700>.

225 Tubman African American Museum, “About the Museum,” *Tubman African American Museum*, 2024, <https://tubmanmuseum.com/about-the-tubman-museum/>.

twentieth century. One historian has called Georgia the “epicenter of Black sports during the Jim Crow era.”²²⁶ For example, the Atlanta Black Crackers played on Ponce de Leon Park in Atlanta and regularly attracted sold out crowds of 5,000 or more. Despite their popularity, the ban on playing white baseball teams meant that the Atlanta Black Crackers struggled financially, with the team shutting down operations more than once.²²⁷

Professional baseball remained segregated until 1947, when native Georgian Jackie Robinson became the first Black player.²²⁸ Similarly, basketball, football, and every other sport was as segregated as all other leisure activities. Public recreational facilities such as parks and beaches were segregated by race, with only very limited funding provided for the construction and maintenance of those spaces designated for African Americans.²²⁹

226 Hasan Kwame Jeffries, “Fields of Play: The Mediums through which Black Athletes Engaged in Sports in Jim Crow Georgia,” *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol 86. No. 3, 2001, 264-275: https://doi.org/10.2307/1562447_

227 Will Butler, “The Black Crackers: Atlanta’s Negro League Baseball Legacy,” *Atlanta History Center*, 2001, <https://www.atlantahistorycenter.com/blog/the-black-crackers-atlantas-negro-league-baseball-legacy/>.

228 Tim Darnell, “Atlanta Black Crackers,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2021, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/sports-outdoor-recreation/atlanta-black-crackers/>.

229 William E. O’Brien, “State Parks and Jim Crow in the Decade Before *Brown v. Board of Education*,” *Geographical Review* 102, no.2 (April 2012): 166-167.

RELATED AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "Arts and Culture" are:

- » Art, for the connection to public art as well as museums. Other sites that may be significant under this Area include the workplaces of significant artists, such as painters, printmakers, photographers, or any other decorative artist.
- » Entertainment/Recreation, for the connection to theaters, sports venues, parks, beaches, and other recreational areas. These resources may represent the development and practice of specific leisure activities within the Black community.
- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource's significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource's significance and justify its nomination.
- » Landscape Architecture, for the connection to purpose-built parks for the African American community and other sites that are significant for the way they demonstrate the design of land for use and aesthetics, to include those designed by African American landscape architects.
- » Literature, for the connection to significant Black authors. Resources that may be significant under this Area include places where prose and/or poetry were created or associated, such as an author's office or a coffee house where poetry was regularly shared.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely Areas of Significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "Arts and Culture" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

Home Life

Home Life is integral to understanding the Black experience in Georgia in part because of how many restrictions have been placed on where African Americans can live throughout much of the period covered by this context statement. Enslaved people generally did not get to choose where or what type of housing they occupied. Similarly, racial deed restrictions in the twentieth century prevented many Black Georgians from living in certain neighborhoods. Despite these restrictions, people of African descent formed communities from their first arrival forward. Additionally, African American builders and architects designed communities specifically for Black people, creating a rich built environment.

Housing of Enslaved People

While the image of large plantation labor sites with hundreds of enslaved people residing in tidy cabins remains in popular culture, most enslaved people in Georgia were enslaved in smaller groups, living relatively close to their enslavers, sometimes even in the same buildings.²³⁰ When separated from their enslavers in rural areas, many slave dwellings were small single-pen, also known as one room; or double-pen, also known as two room, dwellings. Occasionally constructed of tabby or brick, these buildings were typically wood frame dwellings clad in wood siding. Considering their prevalence on the landscape historically,

²³⁰ John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery*, (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1993), 7.



Nacoochee slave dwelling, c.1850, located in White County at the Sautee Nacoochee African American Heritage Site (extant). Photo by Bob Andres. *Courtesy of The Atlanta Journal-Constitution.*

relatively few remain today.²³¹ After Emancipation, slave dwellings often continued to house African Americans who began tenant farming in Georgia. The buildings remained in the ownership of Black people's former enslavers, forcing them to rent their homes and fields from the people that once forcibly stole their labor.²³²

The landscape of urban slavery differed from rural. Some enslaved people were on call twenty-four hours a day and slept on the floor just outside of their enslavers' bedrooms, which was true in both

²³¹ Vlach, *Back of the Big House*, xiii.

²³² Frederick A. Bode, "Tenant Farming," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/tenant-farming/>.

urban and rural settings.²³³ Other urban enslaved individuals might share a space above a carriage house on the same property, as the African Americans at the Owens-Thomas property in Savannah did.²³⁴

Residential Segregation

Housing was one area where the institutionalized racism of the federal government was very obvious. The Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC) was part of the New Deal legislation President Franklin Delano Roosevelt established through Congress in 1933. The HOLC did not interact with consumers as a bank lending money to potential homebuyers. Instead, the HOLC purchased and refinanced mortgages in default or foreclosure from lenders and gave these lenders government bonds in exchange. To manage the government's risk in purchasing mortgages, the HOLC developed a neighborhood rating system with "Residential Security" maps based primarily on the racial and economic makeup of the neighborhood, commonly known as "redlining" today. Green neighborhoods were considered "best," safe areas for government financing, blue was "still desirable," yellow areas were "definitely declining," and red areas were labeled "hazardous" and considered too risky for government assistance. Green areas, such as Forrest Hills in Augusta, Georgia, were exclusively white neighborhoods.²³⁵ Many homes in these areas had racial

233 Telfair Museums, "Owens-Thomas House and Slaver Quarters," *Basement Exhibit*, 2018.

234 Telfair Museums, "Owens-Thomas House and Slave Quarters," *Telfair Museums*, 2024, <https://www.telfair.org/visit/owens-thomas/>.

235 Robert K. Nelson, et. al., "Augusta, GA," *Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America*, 2023, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=13/33.479/-82.046&city=augusta-ga>.

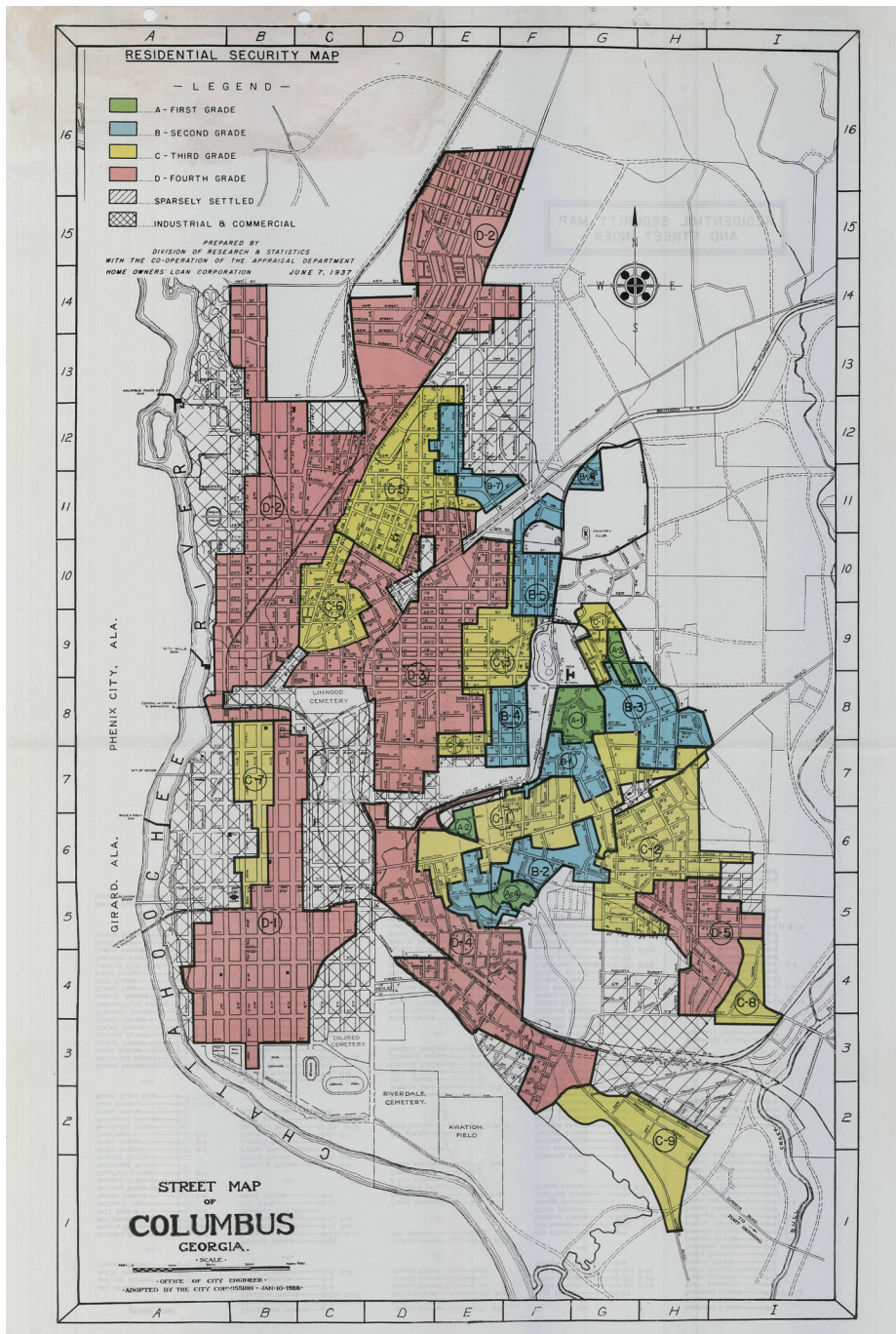
covenants on the deeds in an attempt to prevent any person of color from ever buying a home in these locales. Yellowlined neighborhoods were "in transition," meaning they were formerly white neighborhoods with some nonwhite or minority residents. Redlined neighborhoods were majority nonwhite neighborhoods, which in Georgia were most often majority African American neighborhoods.²³⁶

In cities with large Black populations like Columbus, this meant the majority of the city was excluded from secured home loans. However, there were some instances of Black triumph in the HOLC Residential Security maps. Local influence in Savannah was successful in advocating for parts of the Cuyler-Brownville neighborhood to be upgraded from yellow to blue and one part from blue to green. These changes meant that federally backed mortgages were possible in this historically African American neighborhood. Nearby, the Carver Heights neighborhood was "considered from a negro standpoint of homeownership" and upgraded from red to yellow.²³⁷ The HOLC maps and the Federal Housing Administration's (FHA) discriminatory underwriting manuals resulted in less access to capital for Black Georgians to buy a home, loans with exploitative terms, and limited options for where to live.

In addition to prejudicial federal home loan policies, federal funding for public housing also enforced racial segregation during

236 Bruce Mitchell, "HOLC 'redlining' maps: The persistent structure of segregation and economic inequality," *National Community Reinvestment Coalition*, 2018, <https://ncrc.org/holc/>.

237 Robert K. Nelson, et al., "Introduction," *Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America*, 2023, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=13/32.067/-81.133&city=savannah-ga&text=intro>.



Columbus, Georgia, Residential Security Map from 1938. *Mapping Inequality*.

this period. The US Housing Act, established in 1937 as part of the New Deal, established the nation's first public housing program as an effort to eliminate what the government termed "slums," i.e. the housing occupied by the poorest citizens, many of whom were Black.²³⁸ This legislation gave local municipalities federal funding and broad powers to declare an area as "slum and blight," eradicate the "unhealthy conditions," and redevelop the area to reverse the situation.²³⁹ As a test case in 1935, Techwood Homes in Atlanta was the first public housing project built in the US. The development razed the "slum" Techwood Flats, a community that was home to 1,611 families, many of whom were Black. Techwood Homes provided new housing for 604 white families in the same location.²⁴⁰ In 1937, University Homes was completed

238 Irene Holliman, "Techwood Homes," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, last modified Aug 26, 2020. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/techwood-homes/>

239 Eychaner vs. *City of Chicago*, 15; Joseph Schilling & Jimena Pinzon, "The Basics of Blight: Recent Research on its Drivers, Impacts, and Interventions," *Vacant Property Research Network*, 2016, 2; Andrew Herscher, "'Blight,' Spatial Racism, and the Demolition of the Housing Question in Detroit," *Institute for Contemporary Art*, 2016, 40. Prior to the Great Depression, social reformers borrowed the term "blight" from the concept of plant blight to raise alarm about unhealthy living situations caused by rapid urbanization and industrialization in many urban environments typically described as "slums" or "tenements." Urban planners believed that left unchecked, this blight would spread through cities like a disease, and represented social and economic liabilities to their communities. The definition of "blight" has been nebulous; however, the white fear of mixing of races has been a constant undercurrent. The New Deal programs set the stage for funneling federal money to eradicate "slum and blight," and by the 1950s-1960s, federal urban renewal programs formalized the legal justification for large scale clearance. Additionally, urban renewal programs often exaggerated the degree of structural conditions of properties to justify demolition. Urban renewal became known as "Negro removal" and has disproportionately been used to condemn private property in poor neighborhoods and communities of color.

240 Irene V. Holliman, "Techwood Homes," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/techwood-homes/>.

near Techwood Homes. This public housing development provided 675 units of housing for Black families.²⁴¹ The complexes remained racially segregated until 1968.²⁴² Georgia remained a leader in the use of federal programs to produce public housing in the 1930s to 1950s.²⁴³ The emphasis on public housing while continuing to restrict the possibilities for African American home ownership made it much more difficult for Black Georgians to amass generational wealth.



Looking east on Gilmer Street, c.1940, view of homes on Gilmer Street near downtown Atlanta, Fulton County, that would later be cleared to build Grady Homes. *Atlanta Housing Authority Photographs, Kenan Research Center, Atlanta History Center.*

241 “University Homes,” Georgia Historic Society Marker, 2022.

242 Holliman, “Techwood Homes.”

243 Sidney Johnson, “Georgia’s Modern Apartment Complexes Multiple Property Documentation Form,” 2013, 21.

Urban Renewal and the Impact on Black Places

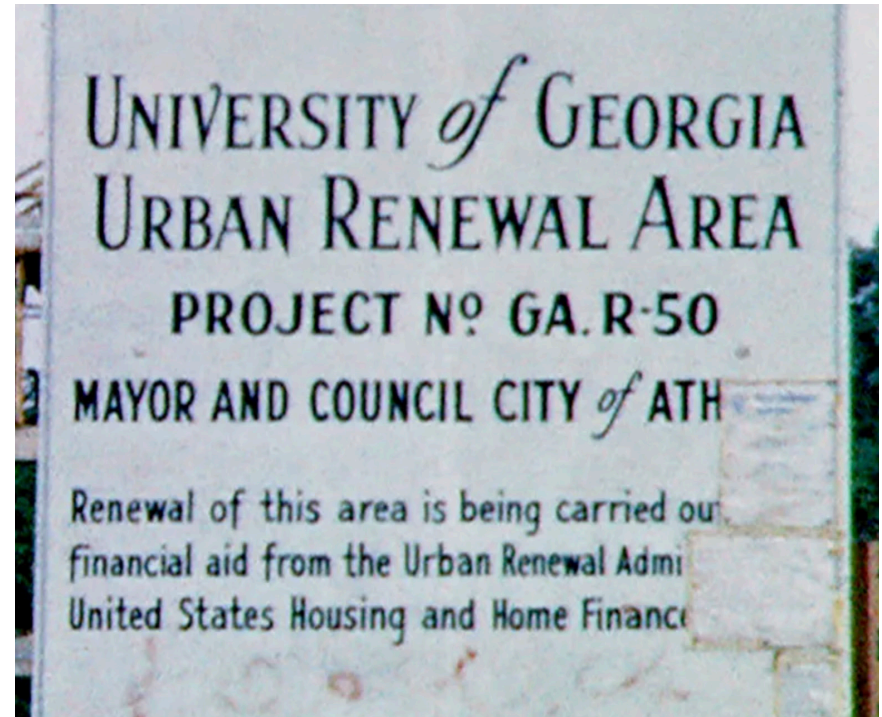
Beginning in 1949 and continuing through 1974, the federal government provided cities with funds to modernize and improve aging infrastructure in the wake of the Great Depression and World War II. Although the money came from the federal government through the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), decisions about how to use the money were made by individual municipalities.

Nationwide, these funds often went to the demolition of “slums,” which were often lower-income neighborhoods and small businesses. In Georgia, these “slums” were most often Black neighborhoods and had almost always been previously redlined by the HOLC.²⁴⁴ The City of Athens used the urban renewal program to declare the Linnentown neighborhood “blighted” in 1962. Linnentown was demolished in 1966 for the construction of the University of Georgia’s Brumby, Creswell, and Russell Halls, which are residential dormitories.²⁴⁵

244 Ann Pfau, David Hochfelder, and Stacy Sewell, “Urban Renewal,” *The Inclusive Historian’s Handbook*, 2019, <https://inclusivehistorian.com/urban-renewal/>.

245 Jesse Wood, “Linnentown lives on: Demolished neighborhood’s fight for redress and recognition,” *The Red&Black*, 2023, https://www.redandblack.com/athensnews/linnentown-lives-on-demolished-neighborhood-s-fight-for-redress-and-recognition/article_aca58584-6dd7-11ee-8b3c-c3b55d32ad57.html.

One frequent use of urban renewal funds in the 1960s and beyond was for the construction of interstate highways in Georgia. The system was envisioned in the 1930s, but nationwide construction really began with the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956.²⁴⁶ While the placement of interstates in Georgia's major cities was theoretically race-neutral in practice, state and local officials frequently determined that Black neighborhoods were "slums" that needed to be cleared. Of the 14,000 people displaced by interstate construction in Atlanta, eighty-nine percent were people of color. Interstate 85 cut through the affluent neighborhood of Sweet Auburn in Atlanta, which had been a base for many civil rights organizations. In Macon, Interstate 75 cut the historically African American neighborhood of Pleasant Hill in half. The extension of Interstate 16 in Savannah led directly to the demolition of the historic Black business district on West Broad Street. In all of Georgia's cities, urban renewal-funded infrastructure improvement projects took a massive toll on Black communities.²⁴⁷



A sign posted during the Linnentown urban renewal project in Athens, Clarke County. Captured on 8mm film by Atlanta Gas Light employee Fred Neeley in 1965. Atlanta Gas Light collection, 1957–1989. *Walter J. Brown Media Archives and Peabody Awards Collection, The University of Georgia Libraries, used with permission.*

246 John D. Toon, "Interstate Highway System," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2017, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/business-economy/interstate-highway-system/>.

247 Segregation by Design, "Atlanta: Freeways & Urban Renewal," 2023, <https://www.segregationbydesign.com/atlanta/freeways-urban-renewal>.



1955 aerial of Atlanta, pre-urban renewal clearing. *Adam Paul Susaneck, architect and founder of Segregation by Design.*



1978 aerial of Atlanta, post-urban renewal clearing. *Adam Paul Susaneck, architect and founder of Segregation by Design.*

Fair Housing

A major victory for civil rights came with the Civil Rights Act of 1968, commonly called the Fair House Act of 1968. It expanded on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 by explicitly prohibiting discrimination based on race in the sale, rental, or financing of housing. The law represented a significant change not only from the systemic racism of the HOLC, but also from common practices in Georgia, such as racial covenants on deeds prohibiting the sale of properties in particular neighborhoods to anyone who was not considered white.²⁴⁸ These restrictions had previously led to the birth of Black-designed neighborhoods, such as Atlanta's Vine City in 1917.²⁴⁹ As suburbanization increased after World War II and continued to grow in the 1960s and 1970s, Black suburbs further away from city centers also began to appear.²⁵⁰ Many Black Georgians continued to live in public housing, although President Richard Nixon stopped funding the construction of new public housing in 1974.²⁵¹

248 US Department of Housing and Urban Development, "History of Fair Housing," 2023, [https://www.hud.gov/program_offices/fair_housing_equal_opp/aboutfheo/history#:~:text=The%201968%20Act%20expanded%20on,Housing%20Act%20\(of%201968\).](https://www.hud.gov/program_offices/fair_housing_equal_opp/aboutfheo/history#:~:text=The%201968%20Act%20expanded%20on,Housing%20Act%20(of%201968).)

249 Robert W. Woodruff Library, "Vine City," *Black Neighborhoods and the Creation of Black Atlanta*, 2023, https://digitalexhibits.auctr.edu/exhibits/show/black_neighborhoods/birth/vine_city.

250 Richard Clouse, "Collier Heights Historic District," National Register of Historic Places nomination form, 2009, 35.

251 Danya E. Keene and Erin Ruel, "'Everyone called me grandma': Public housing demolition and relocation among older adults in Atlanta," *National Library of Medicine*, 2012, <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3811152/>.

Home Is What You Make It: Black Housing in the Mid-Twentieth Century

By 1900, the housing situation of many Black Georgians was similar to fifty years before. The population was still largely rural, and African Americans that lived in urban areas did not always live in segregated neighborhoods, although some historically Black neighborhoods, such as Pleasant Hill in Macon, Georgia, had formed during Reconstruction. While New Deal era programs and racial covenants had changed the places where Black Georgians could live, World War II drastically changed the form and location of housing across the country, including for Black Georgians. White World War II veterans benefited from low-interest loans from the GI Bill, allowing them to purchase suburban homes. Because the GI Bill was a federal program administered by local officials, Black World War II veterans in Georgia were denied the opportunity to utilize these same low-interest loans.²⁵² Despite this discrimination, planned African American suburbs such as Collier Heights (NRIS #09000457) in Atlanta still developed.²⁵³

World War II also brought the massive migration of many Georgians, including African Americans, from rural areas into cities. The sudden influx of people put a massive strain on the existing housing stock in cities across the state. Part of the federal government's response was the construction of large-scale public

252 Quil Lawrence, "Black vets were excluded from GI bill benefits - a bill congress aims to fix that," *GPB*, 2022, <https://www.npr.org/2022/10/18/1129735948/black-vets-were-excluded-from-gi-bill-benefits-a-bill-in-congress-aims-to-fix-th>.

253 Brittany Newberry, "Black Neighborhoods and the Creation of Black Atlanta," *Robert W. Woodruff Library*, 2023, https://digitalexhibits.auctr.edu/exhibits/show/black_neighborhoods/overview.

housing, which was segregated along racial lines. In 1941, Gilbert Manor opened in Augusta, Georgia. It was a public housing complex specifically for Black renters.²⁵⁴ In 1948, what is known today as the Carver Village Historic District (NRIS #100003340) was developed in Savannah with the backing of the Federal Housing Authority funds. It provided 608 African American families with single family homes.²⁵⁵

Discrimination in property ownership was still a large issue for Black Georgians. Some African Americans were forced to move to the city. Byrd Oliver was a landowner near Oscarville, Georgia in the late 1950s. Oscarville was an African American community that formed in Gwinnett County during Reconstruction. Oliver and his entire family were forced to move when the Buford Dam was built to create Lake Lanier. The town of Oscarville now lies at the bottom of the lake.²⁵⁶



A home in Collier Heights, Atlanta, Fulton County. *Collier Heights National Register Nomination, Photo 107.*

254 Rodger B. Murchison, "Housing project bears name of great Augustan," *The Augusta Chronicle*, 2009, <https://www.augustachronicle.com/story/opinion/columns/2009/02/08/op-510640-shtml/14313946007/>.

255 Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 84.

256 La'Tasha Givens, Makayla Richards, and Daris Schneider-Bray, "Relative of Oscarville resident shares history behind the city underneath Lake Lanier," *11 Alive*, 2022, <https://www.11alive.com/article/news/community/voices-for-equality/oscarville-lanier-lake-black-town-riot-mae-crow-chattahoochee-beulah-rucker/85-8647e2be-a07b-4e80-91cc-61613d0ff472>.

RELATED AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "Home Life" are:

- » Architecture, for homes designed by significant Black architects or built by significant craftspeople. Neighborhoods may be significant as a representative example of the types of places that African Americans could form communities. For example, a home designed by the first licensed Black architect in Georgia may be significant as the work of an important architect. An intact segregated public housing complex may be significant as a representative example of a type of building under this Area.
- » Archaeology: Historic – Non-aboriginal, for any sites that have or have the potential to offer additional information about the conditions associated with urban and/or rural enslavement. For example, a site with historically documented urban slave dwellings may be significant under this area for the potential to provide new information about the lives of urban enslaved people when they were not working.
- » Community Planning and Development, for both purposefully designed communities and neighborhoods that developed organically because of segregation. A Reconstruction-era community that grew up on the edge of a town may be significant under this Area, since its development was restricted to a particular part of the town. Similarly, a purpose-built African American neighborhood that was a response to the desire for middle class housing may be significant under this area, since its design and location was a direct response to racist housing policies.
- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, which may be a related Area of Significance for any theme discussed in this context. The purpose-built middle class Black neighborhood may also be significant under this Area, for the role African Americans played in all aspects of its development. Collier Heights Historic District (NRIS# 09000457) in Atlanta is an example of a neighborhood significant for Community Planning and Development as well as Ethnic Heritage: Black.
- » Social History, for the close connection between people's homes and the laws and customs that determined where people are allowed to live. Segregated public housing complexes may be significant under this Area.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely areas of significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "Home Life" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

Education

Education is a central theme of the Black experience in Georgia, because the freedom for African Americans to seek education has been so often restricted. Before Emancipation, state law forbade enslaved people from learning how to read; after Emancipation, many African Americans immediately advocated for their right for literacy and education. The 1896 Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, discussed earlier in this context, also led to significant discrepancies in the resources available to schools for Black children during Jim Crow segregation. Many African Americans saw clearly that education was key to ensuring Black citizens understood their rights and fully advocated for themselves in society. This section is not an exhaustive list of all events or people related to the history of African American in Georgia. Instead, it covers broad events and concepts that assist with understanding the potential significance of historic resources connected to this theme.

The Freedmen's Bureau

Established as a part of the United States War Department on March 3, 1865, the Freedmen's Bureau was charged with the supervision and management of all matters related to the newly freed people, refugees, and lands the US government acquired during the Civil War. The Bureau mostly operated between June 1865, shortly after the end of the Civil War, and December 1868. Its duties included redistributing confiscated land and goods, and operating the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company as chartered

by Congress.²⁵⁷ By 1870, the Savannah branch of the Freedman's Bureau held over \$415,000 from 3,000 account holders, either individually or as members of mutual-in-aid groups.²⁵⁸ Its other work included setting up schools for children and adults, providing clothing, and generally assisting newly freedpeople to become self-sufficient. This work included attempts at regulating fair labor contracts between African Americans and white landowners, although these attempts more often than not ended up in the favor of the white landowners.²⁵⁹ A great deal of the Freedmen's Bureau efforts were rolled back when the Bureau was disbanded in 1872, including the collapse of the bank. Even more of its work was undone with the Compromise of 1877, which essentially ended Reconstruction. After a contested presidential election, Southern Democrats agreed to the election of Republican Rutherford B. Hayes to the presidency, if federal troops were withdrawn from the South. Without federal enforcement, white Southerners quickly reestablished the previous racial hierarchy as widely as possible.²⁶⁰

Fighting for Equality through Education

Legally denied the right to read and write during the antebellum period, African Americans quickly sought education after the

257 National Archives, "The Freedman's Savings and Trust Company and African American Genealogical Research," 1997, <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/1997/summer/freedmans-savings-and-trust.html>.

258 Allen Skerrett, Jr. "Street Scene- Savannah, Georgia c.1880s", *Jubilo! The Emancipation Centurym* <https://jubiloemancipationcentury.wordpress.com/2015/09/03/street-scene-savannah-georgia-circa-1880s>.

259 National Archives, "The Freedmen's Bureau," 2021, <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/freedmens-bureau>.

260 NCpedia, "The Compromise of 1877," 2023, <https://www.ncpedia.org/anchor/compromise-1877>.

Civil War. Initially, the Freedmen's Bureau established schools to help with basic literacy, and when purpose-built schools were constructed, they were generally one-room schoolhouses. The original Risley School (demolished c. 1920) in Brunswick, Georgia was a good example of the type created by the Freedmen's Bureau.

With the end of the Freedmen's Bureau in 1872, the desire for education did not end in the African American community.²⁶¹ Although the original building has been demolished, the National Register-listed Colored Memorial School and Risley High School Complex (NRIS #02001290) at 1800 Albany Street in Brunswick exemplifies the later phases of a Freedmen's Bureau school transition into a school run by a religious organization. In this example, the American Missionary Association (AMA) continued to run the Risley School for Black children and adults in Brunswick's community. However, the community eventually felt that the AMA was not well enough funded to continue to run the school adequately. In 1882, Brunswick's Black community petitioned for the City of Brunswick to take over running Risley School, which it did.²⁶²

Black Georgians were looking for more than a grammar school education after Emancipation. The State of Georgia chartered a grammar school in 1865, which eventually became a university. This institution is Clark Atlanta University today. In 1896, W.E.B. DuBois joined the faculty, making the institution, which was

261 NCpedia, "The Compromise of 1877," 2023, <https://www.ncpedia.org/anchor/compromise-1877>.

262 Jeanne Cyriaque, "Colored Memorial School and Risley High School," *Reflections*, 2003, <https://georgiawildlife.com/sites/default/files/hpd/pdf/AfricanAmericanHistoricPlaces/September%202003.pdf>.

then known as Atlanta University, one of the most highly-regarded Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in the country.²⁶³

In 1866, Richard C. Coulter, a freedman, founded Morehouse College in Augusta, a Baptist school for Black people. In Atlanta, numerous African American institutions of higher education were established in the late nineteenth century. Morehouse College moved to Atlanta in 1879. Similarly, the Methodists founded a Black school in 1869, Clark University. In 1881, educators Sophia B. Packard and Harriet E. Giles founded Spelman College, which is the country's oldest HBCU for Black women. Also in 1881, the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church founded Morris Brown College.²⁶⁴ In 1883, Elijah H. Gammon, a bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, founded Gammon Theological seminary, which became one of the most prestigious Black seminaries in the South.²⁶⁵

Higher education grew across Georgia, not just Atlanta. When Morehouse College relocated from Augusta to Atlanta in 1879, Black and white Methodists banded together to found Paine College (NRIS #12001082) in Augusta to fill the educational void in 1882. In 1890, Fort Valley State University (NRIS #00000390) and Savannah State University were founded as land-grant colleges. The Second Morrill Land Grant Act required that states

263 Alton Hornsby, "Historically Black Colleges and University of Atlanta," *Black Past*, 2007, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/historically-black-colleges-and-universities-atlanta/>.

264 Historic buildings at Atlanta University, Morris Brown College, Clark College, Morehouse College, Spelman College, Interdenominational Theological Center, and Atlanta University together make up the Atlanta University Historic District (NRIS #76000621).

265 Hornsby, "Historically Black Colleges and University of Atlanta."

with segregated educational systems, such as Georgia, create land-grant colleges specifically for Black students. Fort Valley State University (FVSU), located in the middle of the state, was ideally situated to educate Black students on scientific agricultural practices. There were many other vocational and technical schools like FVSU across the state. In 1903, the Albany Bible and Manual Training Institute was founded in southwest Georgia for the education of Black youth in the area. Today it is Albany State University.²⁶⁶ HBCUs are an integral part of not only African American advocacy for education in Georgia, but also critical to the larger fight for equality.

Due to the growing list of oppressive Jim Crow laws being passed at this time, the allocation of funding and resources for Black education was severely impacted. Black Georgians often had to raise their own funding to build schools. As a result of their agency, new schools were built to accommodate the growing school population. By 1878, there were 152 schools for African Americans representing two-thirds of all Georgia schools.²⁶⁷ Julius Rosenwald, then-president of Chicago's Sears, Roebuck, and Company and philanthropist, gave a small grant to the Tuskegee Institute to fund Booker T. Washington's construction of six African American schools in 1912 in Alabama to meet this need. With Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute's support, Julius Rosenwald began a school reform program that would sweep the South, including Georgia, between 1913 and 1932. The Rosenwald

266 HBCUConnect, "Official List of HBCUs in Georgia!!!" 2023, <https://hbcuconnect.com/hbcu/state/georgia>.

267 Ray & Associates, "Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Georgia, 1868-1971," 2001, 5.

Fund built 259 schools in 103 counties in Georgia as well as other buildings for African American communities.²⁶⁸

The Rosenwald fund specialized in working in rural communities, where there was little to no funding for public schools. The Rosenwald grants gave communities plans and specifications along with funds to build small schoolhouses. Prior to 1920, Black architects were hired from the Tuskegee Institute to design the building plans. Two years after Booker T. Washington's death in 1915, Julius Rosenwald formed the independent foundation known as the Rosenwald Fund. By 1920, Julius Rosenwald hired a white architect Fletcher Dresslar to design new building plans. The Rosenwald Fund required matching funds from the school board and the African American community receiving the grant.²⁶⁹ Julius Rosenwald hoped this would encourage the white and Black communities to work together to sustain the success of the schools. The Black communities took great pride in their new schools, putting on fish fries and local events to raise money for their new school and sometimes donating labor and materials. In total, 242 Rosenwald Schools were constructed in Georgia, and it is unknown exactly how many of these schools remain today.²⁷⁰ The history of Rosenwald Schools and HBCUs intersects in Fort Valley. In 1926, Fort Valley State's new main building was built with Rosenwald funding.²⁷¹

268 Jeanne Cyriaque, Keith Hebert, and Steven Moffson, "Rosenwald Schools in Georgia, 1912-1937," 2009, Historic Context Statement, on file at the Georgia Department of Community Affairs, Historic Preservation Division, Atlanta.

269 Beverly Jones, "Rosenwald Schools," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2021, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/education/rosenwald-schools/>.

270 Jones, "Rosenwald Schools."

271 Andrew Feiler, *A Better Life for Their Children: Julius Rosenwald, Booker T. Washington, and the 4,978 Schools that Changed America*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2021), 75.

The final Rosenwald School built was in Meriwether County in 1937, and it remained open until 1972. The Eleanor Roosevelt School (NRIS #10000019) was actually completed after the Rosenwald Fund's school building program was over, but President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had specifically requested the construction of this school. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's retreat known as the Little White House was in Meriwether County, leading to his interest in this specific community.²⁷²

In 1949, the State of Georgia mandated a nine-month school year and reaffirmed that schools were segregated by race, as had been written in the 1945 state constitution. Although the State required that Boards of Education have schools for African Americans, there was no minimum funding requirement for those schools. Schools in Black communities were frequently overcrowded and increasingly underfunded.²⁷³

Equalization Schools: Maintaining Educational Inequality

One area where segregation remained especially stringent was in the school system. Many white parents in Georgia did not want their children to attend school with Black children. In 1949, the NAACP sued the Clarendon County School Board in South Carolina on behalf of a group of Black children. The suit pointed out how the Black school was separate but far from equal to the white school, which violated the Supreme Court's 1896 ruling in *Plessy*

272 Feiler, *A Better Life for Their Children*, 103.

273 Denise S. Mewborn, "Public Education: PreK-12," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/education/public-education-prek-12/>.



Students and Teachers at the Noble Hill Rosenwald School in Cassville, Georgia in 1925. *National Public Radio*.

vs. Ferguson. South Carolina responded by modernizing the Black school system across the state, and many other Southern states, including Georgia, followed suit. Many state leaders cared more about maintaining racial segregation than they did about spending the extra money to build these equalization schools.²⁷⁴

Georgia had the largest equalization school building programs in the South. Hundreds of new International Style schools were built across the state between 1951 and 1970. The plan called for at least one new consolidated elementary school and one new

274 National Park Service, "Equalization Schools of South Carolina," 2023, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/equalization-schools-of-south-carolina.htm#:~:text=Waites%20Waring, cases%20in%20the%20United%20States>.

consolidated high school to be built for Black students in all 159 of Georgia's counties. The plan also built new modern consolidated schools for white students as well. Despite the segregationist intent behind the construction of these schools, many African American communities took great pride in these institutions. They became anchors in their neighborhoods and served as important gathering spaces for not only children but also their parents.²⁷⁵

Open House Feb. 12; Swainsboro, Ga., At the New Gymnasium and School

The Swainsboro School will open its new gymnasium, school building and other facilities on Sunday, February 12, with an open house service from 2 until 5 p.m.

Starlight Club Names Officers

The Starlight Social and Saving Club was reorganized recently at the home of Mrs. Willie Bell Mercer, 1005 Haywood Road, Highland Circle, with the

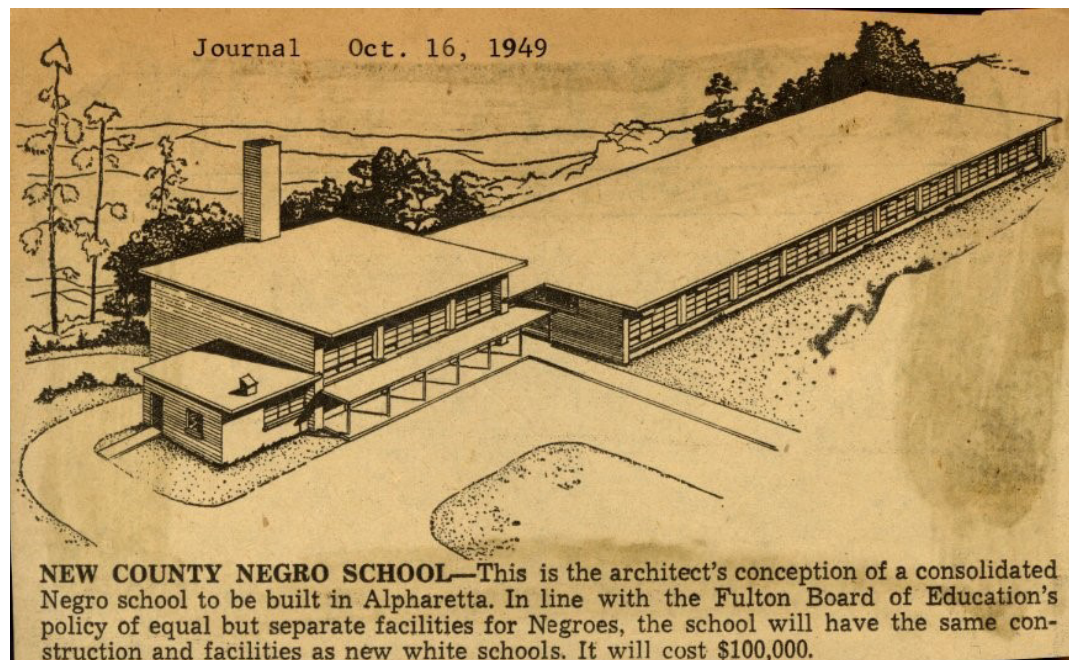
The gymnasium was erected from local funds. Emanuel County has now provided new and complete facilities for the Negro youth. This improvement has placed the Swainsboro School in the upper bracket of the approved High School Centers in Georgia, with complete facilities.

A cordial invitation is extended to the public both white and colored to attend the opening house on next Sunday. All high school principals, state workers, college officials, GTEA, PTA officers and citizens of the state are expected. N. F. Williams, principal.

Newspaper article announcing the opening of the Emanuel High School in Swainsboro, Georgia in 1956. *The Macon Telegraph*.

Despite the State of Georgia's efforts to avoid integration by creating an "equal" school system for African Americans, the

275 Steven Moffson, "Equalization Schools in Georgia's African-American Communities, 1951-1970," 2010, on file at the Georgia Department of Community Affairs, Historic Preservation Division, Atlanta, Georgia. Moffson's study includes excellent analysis of the architectural style and typical features of equalization schools in Black communities and should be consulted for anyone looking to study or list an equalization school in Georgia in the National Register of Historic Places.



"New County Negro School," Atlanta Journal, October 16, 1949. *Fulton County Schools Archives Digital Collections*.

Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 required integration. The State Legislature passed a constitutional amendment that cut off funding to any public school that racially integrated after *Brown v. Board of Education*; this movement to avoid desegregation was known as "massive resistance." By 1960, Georgia Governor Ernest Vandiver Jr. had to decide whether to integrate Georgia's public schools or shut them down entirely. In January 1961, Vandiver backed away from massive resistance and agreed to a plan to integrate Georgia's public schools. Despite this agreement in 1961, many Georgia public schools systems were still segregated until the early 1970s.²⁷⁶

276 Christopher Allen Huff, "Sibley Commission," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/education/sibley-commission/>.

RELATED AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "Education" are:

- » Architecture, for school buildings designed by significant Black architects or built by significant craftspeople. For example, a school designed by the first licensed Black architect in a city may be significant as the work of that important architect. Educational institutions may also be significant under this Area as representative examples of architectural styles. For example, buildings on an HBCU campus may be significant examples of the Richardsonian Romanesque architectural style and be significant in this Area.
- » Education, for any resource associated with the process of conveying knowledge and skills. School buildings and other educational institutions may be significant under this area, but this Area may also cover houses that served as schools prior to Emancipation when law banned African Americans from learning to read.
- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource's significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource's significance and justify its nomination.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely Areas of Significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "Education" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

Business and Commerce

Enslaved African Americans were property in Georgia, even prior to the legalization of slavery in Georgia in 1751. With the legalization of slavery in 1751, slave brokers could openly buy and sell human beings, and the markets where they performed this business and the warehouses where they kept living people were constructed. While these buildings and sites often do not retain their original form as built, prior to Emancipation, some still stand, such as the Montmollin Warehouse at 202 W. St. Julian Street in Savannah's National Historic Landmark District (NRIS #66000277).

Some Black people did run their own businesses prior to Emancipation, and the number increased after the Civil War. As Jim Crow segregation became commonplace, the segregated Black business district became a key locale not only for community but for local organizing. Similarly, Black businesses in rural areas served as safe havens for African American travelers who at times were met with hostility. Like the other themes in this context statement, "Business and Commerce" is not an exhaustive history of all Black businesses or commercial enterprises. This section contains a broad overview of the most significant events with some examples to help with understanding how the theme fits with specific resources.



The Montmollin Warehouse at 2020 W. St. Julian Street, within the Savannah Landmark District (NRIS #66000277), Chatham County. *Ethos Preservation.*

Humanizing Enslaved People

In the United States today, people are often identified by their profession. Historians frequently use the same types of identifiers in American history; however, this type of identification is noticeably less frequent when discussing enslaved people. The lack of identifying information such as occupation, or even name, is due to the lack of documentation on the lives of enslaved people in general. Legally considered property, the names of enslaved people were often not recorded in the same way that the names of horses were not recorded. One of the most common documents containing identifying information for enslaved people are probate inventories, which are property records taken after the death of the enslaver. Occasionally, these lists will contain names, but they regularly contain lists of enslaved people by their skills, such as cooper, blacksmith, field hand, or nurse. In nominating resources associated with enslaved populations to the National Register of Historic Places, nominators should seek out descendant communities for oral histories, which are a key source to reconstruct not only the names and professions of enslaved people, but also their experiences in these places.

Just as enslaved people had professions, free African Americans often were skilled craftspeople. Particularly in cities such as Savannah, where there was a larger number of free people, Black Georgians had the opportunity to practice their trades within the city limits, for a fee.²⁷⁷ As restrictions on the movement and freedoms of free African Americans grew in the 1840s and 1850s, their ability to grow their businesses successfully often

decreased. It would not be until after Emancipation that most Black businesses had a chance to flourish in Georgia.



Daguerreotype of Martha Ann "Patty" Atavis and Anna Whitridge, 1848. Ross J. Kelbaugh Collection. *National Gallery of Art*.

²⁷⁷ Johnson, *Black Savannah, 1788-1864*, 40.

The Following is an Inventory and Appraisement of the Personal Estate of the Late Lewis Hines of Bryan County, Painted out to us by Cheston Hines Esq Exor this 19 day of January A.D. 1841

At the Plantation Silk Hope

Years	ages.	valuation	Names	ages	valuation		
1	Flora	35	\$ 160	35	Edo	19	\$ 500
2	Frank	14	250	36	Eliza	18	500
3	Rim	12	325	37	Ima	17	500
4	Antoinette	11	340	38	Patience	15	475
5	Lack	8	200	39	Ellen	12	800
6	Flander	6	150	40	Sick	60	200
7	Daphney	4	100	41	Hannah	65	100
8	Sampson Infant	50		42	Lucy		100
9	Rose	27	500	43	Simon	23	600
10	Josephine	10	275	44	Isaac	17	600
11	Joe	7	200	45	Logget	50	400
12	Chance	5	150	46	Jane	17	500
13	Aurora	20	600	47	Stephen	15	500
14	Soll	27	500	48	Lavinia	13	500
15	Anthony	19	600	49	Washington	10	300
16	Judy	17	500	50	Isabella	7	200
17	Paul	15	450	51	Joe (blind)	45	700
18	Jim	31	600	52	Peggy	47	300
19	Annelle	24	500	53	Sulpha	25	650
20	Nancy	23	500	54	Isabel	17	600
21	Marcell	30	475	55	Isaac	22	500
22	Car	15	450	56	Henry	17	400
23	Tony	1	100	57	Outbid	10	300
24	Luke	80	5	58	Peter	5	150
25	Mud	75	2	59	Charles	50	450
26	Stokum	40	600	60	Flora	40	450
27	Edwin	9	275	61	Robin	27	450
28	Isma	6	250	62	Bob	15	420
29	Lee	25	500	63	Theresa	13	400
30	Nancy	10	275	64	Sally	10	250
31	William	5	150	65	Charles	4	130
32	Daphney	60	200	66	Elvina	2	125
33	Charlotta	23	500	67	Reif Infant		50
34	Car	20	600	68	Maniat	4	375
			11782	69	Jane	24	600
115	Edward	20	550	70	J. Ben	45	400
119	John (infant)		750	71	Ben	20	600
			1204	72	Jim	20	600
				73	Mavis	17	500
				74	old Sulpha	70	5
				75	Flander	45	450
							16230

Items	Value	Names	Value
Turn turn			
Lat Books	\$ 50		
1 head of bed	15		
do do	35		
in doghouse	47		
and museum	6		
11 can chairs	36		
2 Mahogany tables	5		
An dog & bellows	3		
How & axes	12		
Old wagon	15		
Buggy w/engines			
& lamp	50		
4 mules, 75 each	300		
2 do - 40	80		
2 cow milks	75		
Hammer	7		
Grind stone	3-50		
mule wagon	30		
1 Range	5		
low pin	25		
Roller gin	75		
4 Punching Ranges	21		
2 Windmill Press	8 50		
60 head cotton at 7			
5-8 each	300		
6 Oxen at 10	60		
Trunk & bars	100 50		
Wagon 2 mules	12		
Flat	20		
5 eggs	25		
	120850		
	16230		
	11782		
	1300		
Ab. at Millington	30520,50		
Out at Hightons	1714,00		
do.			
Produce at Millington			
Megans - ages			
Valuation			
76. Rhina	2		\$ 150.00
claudin	30		500
Louise	16		600
Limon	14		450
Lucy	12		350
Joe	10		290
Raymond	5		250
Benney	6		160
Francis	4		100
Agnes	2		125
John (infant)			50
old blue	50		5
Taman (cuck)	272		550
Barby	19		600
Carolina	17		550
collivis	15		550
Hagen	13		400
Orby (H.S)	27		550
Augustus	6		175
Lack	4		125
Ann	2		100
Phasha (H.S)	20		400
Emily	16		475
Coran	14		400
Mary	11		300
John	5		175
Louis (infant)			50
emeline	4		225
Abby	2		125
Abby	50		300
William	20		600
Amos	14		450
Annuk	13		450
Outbid	5		175
Paul	70		5
Charlotte	72		50
Mary	17		2350
Isaac	16		425
old Ben	75		5
old Isaac	76		5
Tony (blind)	40		50
Outbid	40		5

11,7,15,00

1841 Estate Inventory of Lewis Hines, Bryan County, Georgia. The inventory lists enslaved persons, noting only the first name, value, age, and the plantation labor site they were enslaved on. FamilySearch.

Entrepreneurship and Black Business Districts

Despite all of the challenges the Jim Crow era forced on African Americans in Georgia, Black businesses were born during the period. Forced out of white-owned businesses, many Black people had the opportunity to enter into business for themselves and began to create a wide variety of services for their own communities. Barber shops and beauty parlors became not only thriving businesses, but key third spaces in the community for people to share news and conduct other business. Funeral homes also began to prosper, particularly in the 1920s; many of these Black-owned funeral homes remain in business today. Because of state laws segregating saloons and pool halls, Black entrepreneurs established their own cafes, saloons, and taverns. African American travelers needed places to stay as well as eat, so businesses like motels opened to serve them.²⁷⁸

Besides service industries that catered to the needs of Black consumers, African American professional services also found success during this period. Black-owned life insurance societies began in Georgia in 1896. The only remaining African American-owned insurance company in the country is the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, which was founded in 1905 by Alonzo Herndon.²⁷⁹ Alonzo Herndon was a Black barber and entrepreneur who was enslaved as a child. Alonzo Herndon's businesses, including the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, were based in a

278 Donna R. Braden, "Black Entrepreneurs during the Jim Crow Era," *Past Forward: Activating The Henry Ford Archive of Innovation*, 2018, <https://www.thehenryford.org/explore/blog/black-entrepreneurs-during-the-jim-crow-era>.

279 Atlanta Life Insurance Company, "Home Page," 2023, <https://atlantailife.com/>.



C.H. Mitchell's BBQ restaurant (extant) at 515 South Ashley Street in Valdosta, Lowndes County. *Brian Brown, 2013.*

Black business district on Auburn Avenue in Atlanta.²⁸⁰ This Black business district was known as "Sweet Auburn" because John Wesley Dobbs, a community leader, declared it "the richest Negro street in the world."²⁸¹ Today, the extant resources in the area are part of the Sweet Auburn Historic District (NRIS #76000631), listed in the National Register of Historic Places.²⁸²

All cities in Georgia and many larger towns developed Black business districts during the Jim Crow era. Laws and practice

280 Alexa Benson Henderson, "Atlanta Life Insurance Company," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2018, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/business-economy/atlanta-life-insurance-company/>.

281 National Park Service, "Sweet Auburn Historic District," *Heritage Documentation Programs*, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/hdp/exhibits/african/auburn.htm#:~:text=%22Sweet%20Auburn%22%20was%20the%20name,Auburn%20a%20source%20of%20great>.

282 National Park Service, "Sweet Auburn Historic District."

prevented many African American entrepreneurs from developing businesses in historic downtowns, leading to their own commercial hubs, serving as central districts to a variety of businesses, churches, and homes. Although Black-owned newspapers had existed since the nineteenth century, those businesses also grew during this period. William Alexander Scott II began publication of the *Atlanta Daily World*, then known as the *Atlanta World*, in 1928 with offices on Auburn Avenue in Atlanta. The paper is the oldest African American newspaper in Atlanta, covering stories the white press either did not feature or reported in a racist manner, such as lynchings.²⁸³ In Albany, the business district was known as “the other Harlem,” and it was considered by many to be the cultural “place to be in southwest Georgia.”²⁸⁴ Albany’s Harlem Business District, also known as “Lil Harlem,” featured the first movie theater that Black people in southwest Georgia could patronize – the Ritz Theater (extant). “Lil Harlem” was located at the southwest edge of downtown Albany.²⁸⁵



Historic photo of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, 229 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Fulton County (extant). *The Herndon House*.

283 Alan Sverdlik, “*Atlanta Daily World*,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2021, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/atlanta-daily-world/>.

284 Sherrell Byrd and Michael Harper, “The Ritz Theater and Historic Harlem: Reviving the Soul of Albany,” *Reflections* Vol. XVI, No. 3, 2020, https://gadnr.org/sites/default/files/hpd/pdf/Reflections/Reflections_July2020.pdf.

285 Harlem Renaissance Corporation and Mt. Zion’s Community Reinvestment Corporation, “The Harlem Renaissance Project,” *Harlem Renaissance Project*, 2024, <https://www.harlemrenaissanceproject.com/>.

Sundown Towns and the Rise of the Green Book

A Sundown town is an all-white community that excludes Black people and other minority groups through laws, harassment, and violence. These communities allowed Black people to work and do business during the day but required that they be outside the neighborhood, city, or county limit by sundown. Between 1890 and 1960, scholars estimate there were approximately 10,000 sundown towns in the United States; however, the majority of these towns were in midwestern and western states, rather than in the South. These communities enforced these laws or rules through verbal and physical harassment as well as through physical violence.²⁸⁶ Known sundown communities in Georgia include: Thomas County, Union County, Dawson County, Towns County, and Forsyth County.²⁸⁷

Because of how dangerous it was for Black people to travel within the growing number of sundown towns, a postal worker from Harlem in New York City named Victor H. Green developed the first *Negro Motorist Green Book* in 1936. Commonly referred to as the Green Book, Victor H. Green's guide was available between 1936 and 1966, and it listed safe places for Black travelers to stay, eat, and stop for gas while on the road.²⁸⁸ Accommodations available to Black people were sometimes hotels in Black business districts or the homes of Black residents that served as boarding

houses.²⁸⁹ The Haugabrooks Funeral Home on Auburn Street in Atlanta was listed in the Green Book and run by Ms. Geneva Haugabrooks until 1977 and is one example of the type of business in Georgia included in this publication.²⁹⁰



The Imperial Hotel (extant), built c.1949, on West Jackson Street in Thomasville, Thomas County. Photo by Halston Pittman/Motor Sport Media. *Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation*.

286 Ross Coen, "Sundown Towns," *Black Past*, 2020, <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/sundown-towns/>.

287 J. Davis Winkie, "Sundown Towns," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2022, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/sundown-towns/>.

288 Coen, "Sundown Towns."

289 Many places in Georgia have made efforts to document remaining Green Book locations in recent years, but it is unknown exactly how many places listed in various editions of the Green Book remain.

290 "Compass," <https://negomotoristgreenbook.si.edu/compass/>.

THIS GUIDE
is Consulted Throughout
the Year
by Thousands of Travelers
Are You
Represented?

ORLANDO

HOTELS
Wells Bilt—509 W. South St.

SEBRING

RESTAURANTS
Brown's—406 Lemon St.

ST. AUGUSTINE

TOURIST HOMES
F. H. Kelley—83 Bridge St.
H. G. Tye Apts.—132 Central Ave.

ST. PETERSBURG

TOURIST HOMES
Mrs. J. A. Barrett 28th St. &
6th Ave. S.
Mrs. C. A. Sanders 1505 5th Ave.

TAMPA

HOTELS
Central Hotel—1028 Central Ave.
Dallas Hotel—329 Zack St.
Delux Hotel—822 Contant St.

RESTAURANTS
Dixie—1510 Nebraska Ave.
Bruce's—813 Scott St.

TAVERNS
Little Savory—Central & Scott

GEORGIA

ALBANY

TOURIST HOMES
Mrs. A. J. Ross 514 Mercer St.
Mrs. A. Bentley 525 Mercer St.
Mrs. L. Davis 313 South St.
Mrs. C. Washington—
228 S. Jackson St.

ATLANTA

HOTELS
Mack—548 Bedford Pl. N. E.

RESTAURANT
Suttons 312 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Nans'—529 Irwin St. N. E.
Dew Drop Inn—11 Ashby St. N. W.

TAVERNS
Yeah Man—256 Auburn Ave.

BARBER SHOPS
Artistic 55 Decatur St.

BEAUTY PARLORS
Poro Auburn & Belle St. N. E.

NIGHT CLUBS
The Top Hat—Auburn Ave. N. E.

SERVICE STATIONS
Harden's—848 Hunter St. S. W.
Planagan's—
Auburn Ave. Cor. Belle.
Halls Auburn Ave. N. E.

AUGUSTA

WINE & LIQUOR STORES
Eollingers—1114 Gwennett St.

BRUNSWICK

TOURIST HOMES
The Palms—1309 Glouster St.

COLUMBUS

HOTELS
Lowes—724—5th Ave.
Y.M.C.A.—521—9th St.

DUBLIN

TOURIST HOMES
Mrs. M. Burden, 508 McCall St.
Mrs. R. Hunter 504 S. Jefferson
Mrs. M. Kea 405 S. Jefferson St.

EASTMAN

TOURIST HOMES
J. P. Cooper 211 College St.
Mrs. M. Mariano 408 1st Ave.

GREENSBORO

TOURIST HOMES
Mrs. C. Brown Caanen Section
Mrs. E. Jeter Railroad Sec.
Mrs. B. Walker Springfield Sec.

MACON

HOTELS
Douglas Hotel—361-3 Broadway
Richmond Hotel—319 Broadway

TOURIST HOMES
Mrs. M. Clemens 104 Spring St.
Mrs. E. C. Moore 122 Spring St.
Mrs. F. W. Henndon—139-1st Ave.

SAVANNAH

TRAILERS PARK
Cocoanut Grove—Mrs. J. Cox

RESTAURANT
Dreamland—43rd & Hopkins St.

SERVICE STATIONS
Oliver's—Wayne & Broad Sts.

DRUG STORES
Moore's—37th & Florence St.

BEAUTY PARLORS
Rudies'—1827 Ogeechee Road
Rose—348 Price St.

SCHOOL OF BEAUTY CULTURE
456 Montgomery St.

TAILORS
Halls—1014 W. Broad St.

WAY CROSS

TOURIST HOMES
Mrs. E. Duggar—964 Reynolds St.
Mrs. K. G. Scarlett 843 Reynolds

ILLINOIS

CHICAGO

HOTELS
Brookmont—3953 S. Michigan Ave.
Grand—5044 S. Parkway
Huntington—3953 Michigan Ave.
Southway—6018 Parkway
Tyson—4259 S. Parkway
Vincennes—601 E. 36th St.
Y. M. C. A.—3763 S. Wabash Ave.
Y. W. C. A.—4559 S. Parkway
Franklin—3942 Indiana Ave.
Lincoln—2901 State St.
Pompeii—20 E. 31st St.
Grand—51st St. & Grand Bl'vd
New Hazle—3910 Indiana Ave.
Claridge—51st & Michigan Ave.

TOURIST HOMES
Mabel Bank—712 E. 44 St.
Mrs. K. Bell—5942 S. Parkway

RESTAURANTS
Morris'—410 E. 47 St.
Wrights—3753 S. Wabash Ave.
A/J—105 E. 51 St.

BEAUTY PARLORS
Matties'—4212 Cottage Grove Ave.

BARBER SHOPS
Tiptons'—5509 S. Michigan Ave.

DRUG STORES
Partee—4308 S. Parkway

SERVICE STATIONS
Turner's—
N. E. Cor. 59 St. & Wabash Ave.
Parkway—5036 S. Parkway
Waterford's—6000 S. Wabash Ave.
Standard—Garfield & S. Parkway
American Giants—
5906 S. Wabash Ave.
Roosevelt—4600 S. Wabash Ave.

TAVERNS
The Palm—466 E. 47th St.

NIGHT CLUBS
Boulevard Lounge—104 E. 51 St.
CENTRALIA

TOURIST HOMES
Mrs. E. Clayborne—393 N. Pine St.
Mrs. M. Coleman—503 N. Poplar A.
Mrs. E. Crawford—303 N. Pine St.
Mrs. B. Vernon—448 N. Poplar St.
Mrs. M. Ricks—131 N. Pine St.
Rooms for Tourists—520 N.
Locust St.

BARBER SHOPS
P. Coleman 503 N. Poplar St.

BEAUTY PARLORS
M. Coleman 503 N. Poplar St.

SERVICE STATIONS
Langenfield 120 N. Poplar St.

DANVILLE

TOURIST HOMES
Stewart—214 E. Main St.
Mrs. G. Wheeler—109 Hayes St.

EAST ST. LOUIS

HOTELS
Royal—2005 Missouri Ave.

TOURIST HOMES
P. B. Reeves—1803 Bond Ave.
W. E. Officer—2200 Missouri Ave.
I. Yancy—1737½ Market St.

NIGHT CLUBS
Cotton Club—1236 Mississippi Ave.
Dave's—343 E. Garfield

SPRINGFIELD

HOTELS
Dudley—130 S. 11th St.

TOURIST HOMES
Mrs. M. Rollins—804 S. College St.
Mrs. B. Mosby—1614 E. Jackson St.
Mrs. H. Robbins—
1616 E. Jackson St.
Mrs. G. Bell—625 N. 2nd St.
Mrs. E. Brooks—705 N. 2nd St.
Dr. Ware—1520 E. Washington St.

OTTAWA

TOURIST HOMES
Mrs. G. Danile—605 S. 3rd Ave.

ROCKFORD

HOTELS
Briggs—429 So. Court St.

TOURIST HOMES
Mrs. C. Gorum—301 Stewart Ave.
Mrs. G. Wright—423 S. Court St.
S. Westbrooke—1209 Crosby St.

Segregation and Public Accommodations

When researching a Black business district for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, you should consider Areas of Significance connected to the “Politics and Government” theme as well as those listed here in the “Business and Commerce” theme. Because Jim Crow laws forced the creation of separate spaces dedicated to African American use, both themes may be relevant in evaluating your resource.



Dudley Motel (extant) in Dublin, Laurens County, called “One of the finest and most modern Negro motels to be found anywhere in the nation” when it opened in 1958. *Courtesy of the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation.*



Dudley Motel Postcard as it appeared in 1957 just before it opened in 1958. Located in Dublin, Laurens County. *Courtesy of Carl Pearson.*

RELATED AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "Business and Commerce" are:

- » Commerce, for resources associated with the business of trading goods, services, or commodities. Black business districts may be significant under this Area, as significant locations where several commercial enterprises formed a central location for commerce.
- » Economics, for the connection to Black-owned business and how wealth was distributed differently across racial categories. The impact of segregation and discriminatory laws changed how African Americans were able to attain wealth. For example, a Black-owned life insurance company may be significant under this Area, because African Americans could not obtain life insurance, and help their family retain their accumulated wealth after death, at a white-owned company.
- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource's significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource's significance and justify its nomination.
- » Industry, for the connection to resources such as textile mills and the railroad; and transportation, for the connection to railroads and other means of transit. All of these examples may be significant for the technology and process of managing materials, labor, and equipment to produce goods and services.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely Areas of Significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "Business and Commerce" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

Military

Militaries have long represented freedom to many people of African descent in Georgia. During the English colonial period, enslaved people could seek their freedom in Florida under the protection of the Spanish military. During the Revolutionary War, the British similarly offered freedom to enslaved people who assisted the British military against the American forces. By the Civil War, many African Americans saw military service as a route to full citizenship, and this view remained clearly present through World War II and the Civil Rights movement. Military service is a powerful symbol of citizenship, and military resources associated with Black Georgians are important to understanding Georgia's Full Story. This section does not cover every military facility or engagement people of African descent have been involved in in Georgia. It provides an overview to assist with the nomination of resources potentially significant under this theme.

Slavery During the Revolutionary War

Although there was a small number of free people of color living in Georgia at the outset of the Revolutionary War, the majority of the African people in the state were enslaved. The war created opportunities for enslaved people to liberate themselves, even if they were not allowed to fight for freedom alongside white Georgians in militias and the Continental Army at the beginning of the conflict. As early as 1778, enslaved people gathered on Cockspur Island in an attempt to gain their freedom and passage on a British ship.²⁹¹

²⁹¹ Jennison, *Cultivating Race*, 47.

Much like the Spanish before them, the British encouraged African people to self-liberate and support British efforts to undermine the American war effort. An estimated 200 enslaved people actively fought to defend Savannah during the American siege of the British-occupied city in 1779, and an estimated 400 to 500 enslaved people labored prior to and during the siege to reinforce the city's four original redoubts and construct new redoubts.²⁹²



An unidentified Black Loyalist fighting alongside the British. "The Death of Major Peirson, 6 January 1781" by John Singleton Copley, 1783, displayed at Tate London. *The American Revolution Institute of the Society of Cincinnati*.

²⁹² American Battlefield Trust, "African American Service during the Revolution: African Americans were not invisible during the Revolution." *American Battlefield Trust*, 2023, <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/african-american-service-during-revolution>.

Georgia's Royal Governor James Wright enslaved many of these people on his eleven plantations. Other Black people volunteered for service and served as workers, troops, and sailors. Many white Georgians remained loyal to England during the Revolution, and British promises of freedom proved to be an additional incentive for British service for enslaved African people.²⁹³ Approximately 20,000 enslaved people fled to British-occupied territory during the Revolutionary War across what is now the United States.²⁹⁴

Africans had good reason to expect more freedom under British rule than under the colonial regime that existed prior to the Revolutionary War. Some enslavers were already actively preventing Black people from gathering in large groups, but in British-controlled Savannah, gatherings were allowed. These gatherings led to the formal development of Black churches, such as the First African Baptist Church, which began with Black Baptist meetings as early as 1778. Even from this early period, churches played an integral role in the African American community in Georgia.²⁹⁵

As compared to areas such as New England or Virginia, there were relatively few major engagements in Georgia during the Revolutionary War, although there was a great deal of guerilla warfare, as many people maintained their loyalty to England

293 Rita Elliot, *Savannah Under Fire, 1779: Expanding the Boundaries*, Coastal Heritage Society, 2011, http://thelamarinstitute.org/images/PDFs/publication_174.pdf, 29.

294 National Park Service, "Patriots of Color at Valley Forge," 2023, <https://www.nps.gov/vafo/learn/historyculture/patriotsofcoloratvalleyforge.htm>.

295 Edward A. Hatfield, "First African Baptist Church," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/first-african-baptist-church/>.

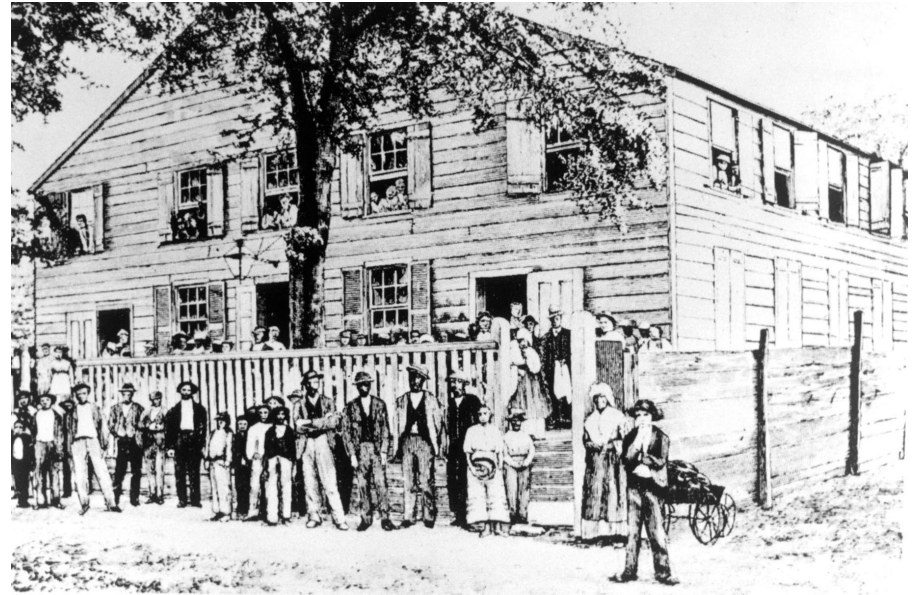


Photo of Savannah's First African Baptist Church, by James Simms, 1865. *New Georgia Encyclopedia*.

throughout the conflict.²⁹⁶ After the war ended in 1783, many white and Black loyalists left Georgia for ports in Canada alongside the British troops who were evacuating, including a number of formerly enslaved African Americans.²⁹⁷ The names of eighty-four formerly enslaved people or free people of color from Georgia were included in the 1783 list of nearly 3,000 names in the *Book of Negroes*, a detailed register compiled by the British army as they evacuated.²⁹⁸

296 Guerilla warfare is a type of military conflict involving small independent groups of fighters engaging the enemy, rather than larger, formal armies using traditional tactics.

297 Elliot, *Savannah Under Fire*, 6.

298 Library and Archives Canada, "Carleton Papers – Book of Negroes, 1783," *Library and Archives Canada*, 2019, <https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/military-heritage/loyalists/book-of-negroes/Pages/introduction.aspx#>.

Civil War: Acts of Secession

On December 20, 1860, South Carolina seceded from the United States of America. On January 19, 1861, Georgia followed South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, and Alabama in secession. Many of the states that would form the Confederate States of America explicitly stated that maintaining the practice of holding African Americans in slavery led to secession. The second sentence in the Georgia articles of secession reads, “we have had numerous and serious causes of complaint against our non-slave-holding confederate States with reference to the subject of African slavery. They have endeavored to weaken our security, to disturb our domestic peace and tranquility, and persistently refused to comply with their express constitutional obligations to us in reference to that property, and by the use of their power in the Federal Government have striven to deprive us of an equal enjoyment of the common Territories of the Republic.”²⁹⁹ Although many people would argue after the Civil War that the conflict was about the political concept of states’ rights, plural, and not the state’s right, singular, to chattel slavery, the future of African Americans and their freedom was integral to the war in 1861.

Contraband Camps

Shortly after the Civil War began on April 12, 1861, enslaved people saw the opportunity to liberate themselves. During the tumult of war with white overseers and enslavers enlisting in the Confederate forces, Black people had more freedom from white

299 Georgia Articles of Secession, *The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy*, Yale Law School, 1861, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/csa_geosec.asp.

supervision, and many people took the chance to flee to the lines of the United States military.³⁰⁰ Initially, there was no official policy on the legal status of these freedom seekers or how they should be treated. Some United States commanders put freedom seekers to work for the Army, while some sent them back to their enslavers, per the legal requirements of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. In August 1861, US Major General Benjamin Butler declared that as property, freedom seekers were officially contraband of war if they made it to the United States military. The United States was not returning enemy property during the Civil War, so freedom seekers were not forced back to their enslavers. US Major General Benjamin Butler’s 1861 act also declared contraband people to be free, since they were not being returned to their enslavers.³⁰¹

By March 1862, the United States Navy had captured all of the Georgia Sea Islands, which created a natural gathering place for freedom seekers. The United States military set up “contraband camps” as a way to provide limited food and shelter to freedom seekers.³⁰² One notable contraband camp was the one located at the south end of St. Simons Island. Susie King Taylor, a thirteen-year-old freedom seeker, wrote about her experiences in this contraband camp teaching children and adults to read and write in her 1902 self-published memoir *Reminiscences of My Life in Camp*.

300 John D. Fowler, “Civil War in Georgia,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/civil-war-in-georgia-overview/>.

301 National Park Service, “Living Contraband - Former Slaves in the Nation’s Capital During the Civil War,” 2017, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/living-contraband-former-slaves-in-the-nation-s-capital-during-the-civil-war.htm#:~:text=He%20classified%20the%20escaping%20slaves,and%20would%20not%20be%20returned.>

302 Fowler, “Civil War in Georgia.”

Susie King Taylor

Born enslaved, Susie King Taylor grew up primarily with her grandmother and two of her eight siblings in Savannah, where she attended secret schools learning to both read and write. By the time the Civil War began, she returned to Liberty County to her mother. Susie King Taylor and seven of her family members fled to St. Catherines Island after the siege of Fort Pulaski, just outside of Savannah, in April 1862. They were able to secure passage from St. Catherines Island on the U.S.S. *Potomska* to the large contraband camp on the south end of St. Simons Island. On the ship, Susie King Taylor impressed the commander with her knowledge and ability to teach others, and he asked her if she would lead a school for children once they arrived on St. Simons. Susie King Taylor agreed, and she also taught many formerly enslaved adults to read and write at night. Susie King Taylor is the first African American documented in Georgia to teach at a freed people's school. She was only fourteen years old in 1862. In the fall of that year, the United States military abandoned the contraband camp on St. Simons Island, decamping to the new Camp Saxton in Beaufort, South Carolina. Susie King Taylor traveled with them, officially as a laundress, but in reality, she continued to serve as a teacher as well as a nurse.³⁰³



Susie King Taylor.

Susie King Taylor, known as the first African American Army nurse, in 1902.
Library of Congress.

303 Library of Congress, "Susie King Taylor," 2023, <https://www.loc.gov/ghe/cascade/index.html?appid=5be2377c246c4b5483e32ddd51d32dc0>.

United States Colored Troops

Although some United States military commanders were already using freedom seekers to assist with labor, it was not until July 1862 that Congress formalized Black service with the Army through the Second Confiscation and Militia Acts. Some generals used these Acts to create the first Black regiments. The US Army only allowed African Americans to serve in segregated units with white officers in charge. In 1863, the Bureau of Colored Troops was formed and all Black regiments officially became United States Colored Troops or USCT units.³⁰⁴ An estimated 3,500 Black men from Georgia served in Black regiments for the United States during the Civil War.³⁰⁵

Some USCT units saw action in Georgia during the Civil War. The 54th Massachusetts Volunteers and the 2nd South Carolina Infantry, later known as the 34th USCT, were two of the units ordered to burn the city of Darien in June 1863. This order was part of US General William T. Sherman's larger strategy to defeat the Confederacy by destroying as much as possible, and white Southerners deeply resented his strategy to destroy farms and infrastructure. They saw Black troops following orders to commandeer supplies from Darien and burn it, which only added to white anger.³⁰⁶

304 Steward Henderson, "African Americans in the Civil War," *American Battlefield Trust*, 2022, <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/african-americans-civil-war>.

305 Fowler, "Civil War in Georgia."

306 Buddy Sullivan, "Darien," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2022, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/darien/#:~:text=In%20June%201863%20Darien%20was,considerable%20resentment%20among%20Southern%20sympathizers.>



"Dress parade of First South Carolina, [U.S.C.T.], Beaufort, S.C." Photographed between 1862 and 1864. *Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Civil War Photographs, LOT 4205, no. 6.*

Black soldiers also saw action in other parts of Georgia. Originally organized as the 1st South Carolina Volunteers, the 33rd USCT served on Georgia's Sea Islands early in the war. On June 16, 1865, the *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist* acknowledged the unit's "considerable precision" as they marched into Augusta.³⁰⁷ The 14th USCT was organized beginning in late 1863 in Tennessee and was primarily on garrison duty in Chattanooga through the fall of the next year.³⁰⁸ The 44th USCT was organized in the spring and summer of 1864 near Chattanooga, as US General William T. Sherman was preparing to besiege Atlanta. Both units saw battle in Dalton, Georgia, in August 1864, helping to defend a raid against the US Army's supply lines.³⁰⁹ This engagement was the 44th USCT's first action.

Emancipation Proclamation

President Abraham Lincoln issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation in September 1862. Word quickly spread through the enslaved population of the Confederate States, and the Emancipation Proclamation officially went into effect on January 1, 1863. The act declared all enslaved people in the states that were under Confederate control were now free. Because the Emancipation Proclamation did not cover the territory the United States had already regained, or slave states such as Maryland

307 "Arrival of Negro Troops," *Augusta Daily Constitutionalist*, June 16, 1865. <https://thereconstructionera.com/when-the-arrival-of-negro-troops-signaled-the-end-of-the-confederacy-in-the-spring-of-1865/>.

308 National Park Service, "14th Regiment, United States Colored Infantry," *National Park Service*, 2023, <https://www.nps.gov/civilwar/search-battle-units-detail.htm?battleUnitCode=UUS0014RI00C>.

309 Kim Coons, "The 44th United States Colored Troops (U.S.C.T.) in Dalton - 1864," *National Park Service*, 2014, <https://www.nps.gov/chch/learn/news/usctatdalton.htm>.

that had never seceded, it did not immediately change the official status of many enslaved people. As they did during the antebellum period, enslaved people continued to liberate themselves by fleeing bondage during the Civil War, often by escaping to United States Army-controlled territory. While the United States government declared enslaved people in Georgia free in 1863, they were functionally still enslaved. It took not just the formal end of the Civil War on April 9, 1865 to alter the actual status of enslaved people, but also for word of the end of the Civil War to make it remote areas such as southwest Georgia, where people remained enslaved until the summer of 1865.³¹⁰ In Galveston, Texas, the end of the Civil War was not known until June 19, 1865. Today, this event is recognized in an annual celebration known as "Juneteenth."³¹¹ The 13th Amendment declared all enslaved people in the United States were free and should remain that way, except for as a punishment for a crime. This Amendment was ratified on December 6, 1865.³¹²

Special Field Order No. 15

After US General William T. Sherman completed his March to the Sea from Atlanta to Savannah, he made another crucial decision impacting the lives of Black Georgians. On January 16, 1865, US General William T. Sherman issued Special Field Order No. 15 from Savannah. This military order redistributed all of the land

310 Susan E. O'Donovan, "Emancipation," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2021, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/emancipation/>.

311 National Museum of African American History & Culture, "The Historical Legacy of Juneteenth," *Smithsonian*, 2024, <https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/historical-legacy-juneteenth>.

312 Henderson, "African Americans in the Civil War."

between Charleston, South Carolina, and the St. Johns River in Florida from the sea islands to thirty miles inland, which was abandoned or confiscated by the US government during the Civil War, to newly freed people.³¹³ Radical Republicans, politicians who had supported abolition for years, supported US General William T. Sherman's act, but the majority of Americans did not applaud it.³¹⁴

Remembered as “forty acres and a mule,” US General William T. Sherman's order that allowed for the settlement of roughly 40,000 newly freed people was short-lived. John Wilkes Booth assassinated President Abraham Lincoln on April 15, 1865, which meant that Vice President Andrew Johnson assumed the presidency. Vice President Andrew Johnson was a Southerner who agreed with many white people that US General William T. Sherman's act of redistribution was too radical, and he reversed the order in the fall of 1865, less than a year after US General William T. Sherman issued it.³¹⁵ While there were notable exceptions where African Americans retained their land, such as the Harris Neck community in McIntosh County, the end of this policy had far-reaching consequences for African Americans in Georgia.³¹⁶ Without land, many Black people

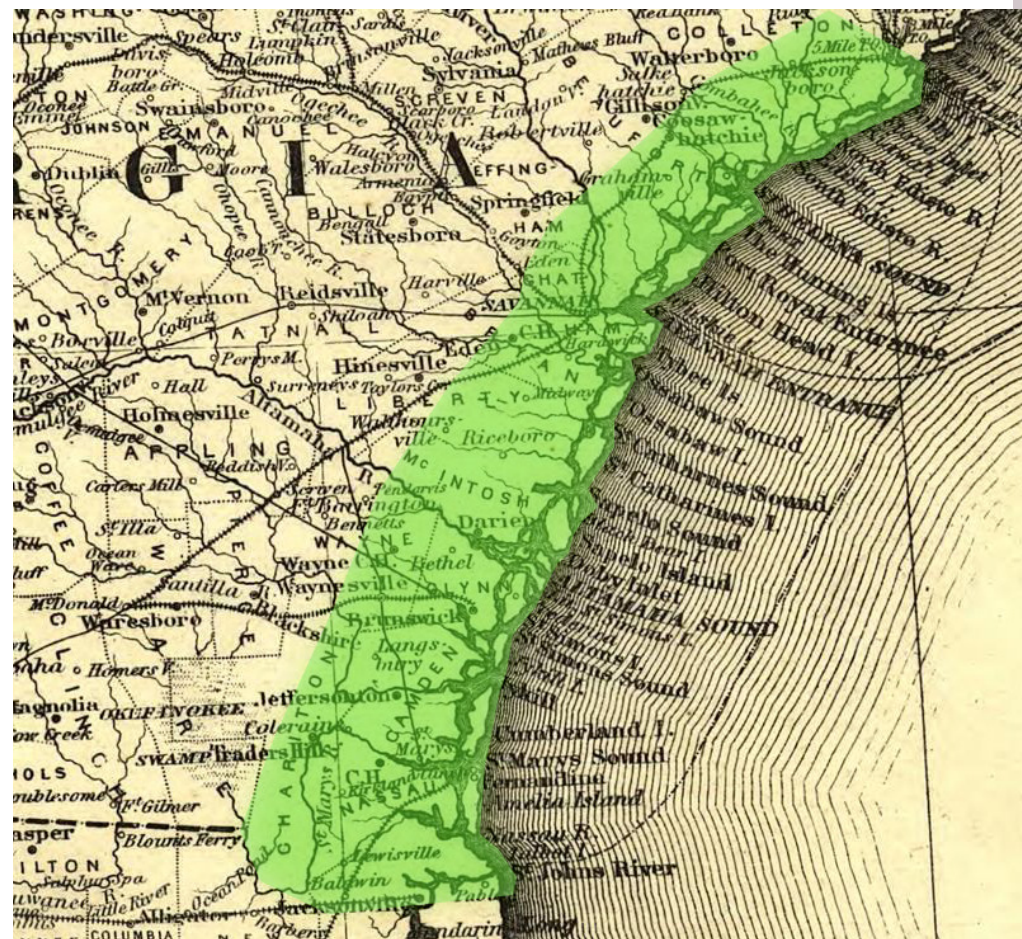
313 Georgia Historical Society, “Marker Monday: History of Emancipation: Special Field Orders No.15,” *Georgia Historical Society*, 2023, <https://georgiahistory.com/marker-monday-history-of-emancipation-special-field-orders-no-15/#:~:text=Sherman%20announced%20his%20special%20Field,South%20Carolina%2C%20to%20the%20St>.

314 Fowler, “Civil War in Georgia.”

315 Barton Myers, “Sherman's Field Order No.15,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/shermans-field-order-no-15/#:~:text=Sherman%20issued%20Field%20Order%20No,to%20the%20original%20white%20owners>.

316 See the section titled “Land Owner or Tenant Farmer” for more information about the Harris Neck community in McIntosh County.

had no way to support themselves and were forced back into virtual enslavement via unfair labor contracts with their former enslavers.³¹⁷



Approximate area of redistribution under Special Field Order No. 15 shown in green on “Colton's new railroad & county map of the United States and the Canadas &c.” 1860 map. *Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division*.

317 Emily West, “Emancipation and Thereafter,” *Hidden Voices: Enslaved Women in the Lowcountry and US South*, 2020, <https://ldhi.library.cofc.edu/exhibits/show/hidden-voices/continuities-and-changes/emancipation-and-thereafter>.

Spanish American War

In 1898, the US military invaded Cuba, starting the Spanish American War. No battles were fought on US soil, but there were a number of military installations in Georgia that were established because of the conflict. African American regiments had been part of the US military since the Civil War. Though still segregated and under the direction of white officers, the US Tenth Regiment was made up of African Americans from the South who were believed to be “immune” to the tropical climate of Cuba. The “Immune Regiment” formed in Georgia and was stationed in Macon and Augusta, where the surrounding white population verbally and physically abused the soldiers.³¹⁸

World War I

When the US entered World War I in 1917, Georgia became home to more training camps than any other state. As discussed in the “Globalization, Migration, and Mobility” theme, this period also saw the beginning of the Great Migration, where many African Americans moved away from rural areas in the South to industrial jobs in cities, particularly in the North and Midwest. Black Georgians also continued to serve in segregated military units during World War I, although white landowners resisted having their Black tenant farmers serve, refusing to allow them to register for the draft or report for duty if called.³¹⁹ For Black Georgians

318 Todd Womack, “Spanish-American War in Georgia,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2016, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/spanish-american-war-in-georgia/>.

319 Todd Womack, “World War I in Georgia,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/world-war-i-in-georgia/>.

who did serve abroad, the lack of Jim Crow segregation in Europe proved enlightening and a catalyst for advocacy for equal rights.³²⁰

World War II: Striving for Double Victory

The Home Front

The United States’ entry into World War II forever altered the social fabric of the country. While many people think of the international sites of World War II battles when first thinking about this period, most Americans experienced the war from the Home Front. The United States needed the engagement of both Black and white people to effectively mobilize in order to fight abroad. Many Georgians began to question socially constructed gender roles and the racial order in the state, due in part to the influx of people from all over the country. Georgians also traveled to other states and across the globe during the conflict, bringing back a new understanding of what society could look like.

The mass assembly of people and resources needed for war efforts resulted in some key victories for African Americans. In June 1941, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802. This order banned some racially discriminatory employment practices in all federal agencies, unions, and companies that had contracts for war-related work. In particular, it banned discrimination in hiring practices, which opened up a number of high-paying defense industry jobs to Black Americans, although employers could still pay African Americans less than their white counterparts for the same work and give them the most onerous jobs. For example, at the J.A. Jones Shipyard in

320 Womack, “World War I In Georgia.”

Brunswick, which built cargo vessels known as Liberty ships, Black women were hired to haul heavy pieces of steel, while white women could rise through the ranks to become welders. As Ida Mae Lawson, a Black employee of the shipyard, said, “African American women were always hired to do harder work than the white women.”³²¹ Despite continued inequality, the number of jobs created in defense industries and the additional openings created by people joining the armed forces led to an increase in Black employment that had not been seen since before the Great Depression.³²²

While the federal government ended some discriminatory practices, it reinforced inequality in other places. With the precedent already set in the previous decade from the New Deal programs, federally-funded displacement of Black families and the seizure of Black owned land increased during this time. In 1942, the federal government forced seventy-two Black families off their land in Harris Neck in McIntosh County, which they had owned since the Reconstruction period. The government took the land via eminent domain for the creation of an airfield, deemed a necessary taking of private property for public use. While the 5th Amendment states “...nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation,” the families received little or no compensation.³²³ The government provided the displaced

321 Sandy White and Kim Campbell, “Ladies Who Launch: Women of the Brunswick Shipyard,” *National World War II Museum*, 2021, <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/women-of-the-j-a-jones-brunswick-shipyard>.

322 Stephen G.N. Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta: The Struggle for Racial Equality in Georgia, 1940-1980*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 30.

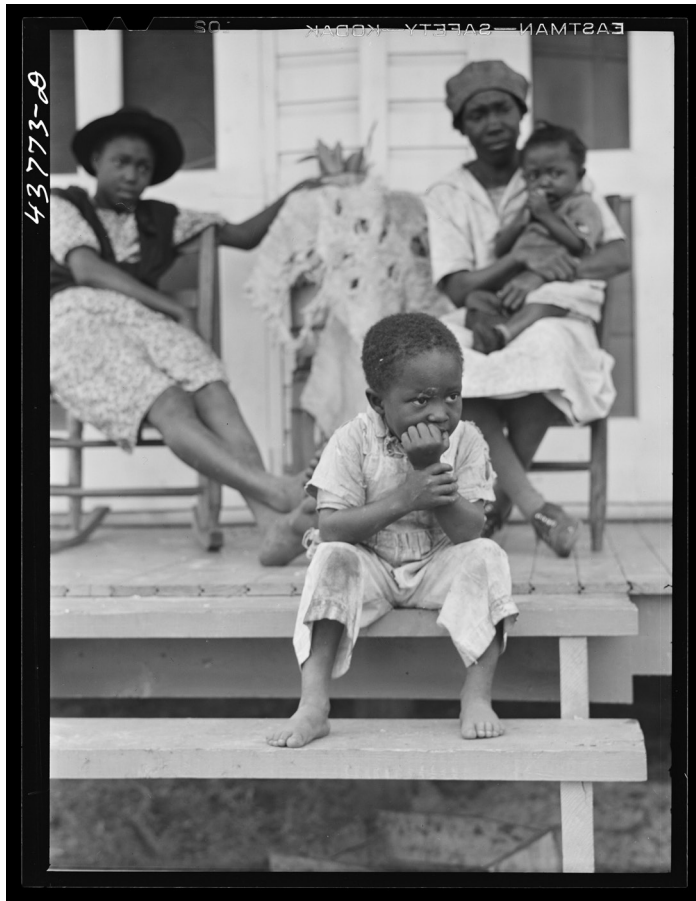
323 Nikole Hannah-Jones, creator, “Justice,” *The 1619 Project*, Hulu. 61 minutes.



Worker at Hercules Powder Company, Brunswick, Glynn County.
*Coastal Georgia Historical Society/Hercules Photo Collection, Pinova, a
Subsidiary of DRT.*

households only two weeks to move, before it demolished all but one building and even disinterred burials on the property.³²⁴ The Harris Neck community was able to deconstruct and then reconstruct the First African Baptist Church (extant) on land outside of Harris Neck. After World War II, the federal government initially turned the land over to McIntosh County, not the African

324 Nikole Hannah-Jones, creator, “Justice,” *The 1619 Project*, Hulu. 61 minutes.



One of the Negro families moved from the Camp Stewart area near Hinesville, Georgia, to Hazlehurst Farms, photograph by Jack Delano. 1941. *Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, FSA/DWI Collection, LC-USF34-043773-D.*

American owners or their descendants. The federal government decided years later that McIntosh County was not managing the land correctly, and in 1962, took the property back, making it a national wildlife refuge. Harris Neck is just one of many examples of federally funded displacement of Black people in Georgia.³²⁵

³²⁵ Nikole Hannah-Jones, creator, "Justice," *The 1619 Project*, Hulu. 61 minutes. Despite concerted efforts to regain the land and compensation from the federal government, the Harris Neck descendants have not received anything as of this writing.



One of the 555th Parachute Infantrymen. *National Archives and Records Administration .*

At War

The United States could not hope to win World War II without the fighting might of African American men in the military. However, the necessity of African Americans participating in combat did not translate to legal or social equality. Black soldiers saw Jim Crow segregation in different facilities, such as barracks and United Service Organization (USO) buildings. In the US military, they were also relegated to segregated units generally with white commanding officers, as they had been since the Civil War. These units often performed service roles, such as supply, maintenance, and transportation. The United States needed more men fighting though, and African Americans were willing and able.³²⁶

³²⁶ National World War II Museum, "African Americans in World War II: Fighting for a Double Victory," 2017, <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/sites/default/files/2017-07/african-americans.pdf>.

Similar to the Tuskegee Airmen based out of Alabama, the Triple Nickels, or the 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion based at Fort Benning near Columbus, Georgia, was an all Black unit formed in 1943 as a test platoon. Many white officers still believed in the racist notion that a Black man would not make as good a soldier as a white man. Units like the Triple Nickels shattered this myth, with all Black commissioned officers, noncommissioned officers, and enlisted men. This unit led to the formation of several other Black units, including the 3rd Battalion, the 505th Airborne Infantry Regiment, the 80th Airborne Anti-aircraft Battalion, the 503rd Airborne Artillery Battalion, and the 2nd Airborne Ranger Company, among others.³²⁷

The Double V Victory Campaign

The irony of fighting for freedom and against the racism of Nazi Germany while enduring the racism of Jim Crow in the United States and in the US military was not lost on Black Americans.³²⁸ In 1941 outside of Fort Benning, one Black soldier was lynched by a white mob for defying the custom of segregation and deference to white people. Because of this dissonance, African American support for the war was not high; however, many Black civil rights leaders and organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), believed it was

327 555th Parachute Infantry "Triple Nickel," 2008, "The History Of The Triple Nickels 555th Parachute Infantry Battalion," <http://triplenickle.com/history.htm>.

328 National World War II Museum, "African Americans in World War II: Fighting for a Double Victory."



African Americans waiting to register to vote outside Fulton County Courthouse. 1946. LBME3-036a, Lane Brothers Commercial Photographers Photographic Collection, 1920-1976. *Photographic Collection, Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University Library.*

important to defeat facism and racism abroad. They also saw the war as an oppportunity to advance Black civil rights.³²⁹

Just as Black soldiers, sailors, and marines proved that African Americans were as equal in various war theaters as their white counterparts, Black women proved that they could perform the same work as white women on the Home Front. Civil rights leaders simultaneously encouraged African American support for the war, arguing their labor and fighting was the exact evidence

329 Stephen G.N. Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 26.

necessary to prove beyond a doubt the flaws in racist Jim Crow logic. This effort was known as the Double V Victory campaign; however, it was not universally supported among civil rights leaders. Some believed the United States needed to make a concerted effort to rectify the wrongs of Jim Crow before Black Americans could support the government's efforts fighting abroad.³³⁰

While Black Georgians may have been divided on whether or not to support the war effort, many were united in renewed political activism. African Americans in Georgia had been terrorized away from the polls since the Reconstruction era through threats and acts of violence. Georgia saw 125,000 Black Georgians registered to vote by 1946 though. This increase in voter registration far exceeded that seen in other Southern states.³³¹ While African Americans did not see the complete fall of Jim Crow segregation during World War II, renewed voter registration and political activity in the form of protests, which grew more frequent by 1943, did set the stage for the Civil Rights era.

Korean War

The Korean War (1950 to 1953) is significant as the first conflict where Black and white Americans served in desegregated units, as a result of President Harry Truman's Executive Order 9981 issued on July 26, 1948. Civil Rights leaders saw the "right to fight" as a victory. As many had since the Civil War, the ability to fight for freedom was seen as a way to prove equality with

330 National World War II Museum, "The Double V Victory," 2023, <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/double-v-victory>.

331 Stephen G.N. Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 41.

white Americans.³³² Despite the integration of the military itself, African Americans who trained or were stationed at installations in Georgia continued to feel the degradations of segregation when they left post. See the "Politics and Government" theme for more information on the Jim Crow segregation laws that were still in effect during the 1950s.

Vietnam War

The Vietnam War (1955-1975) represented a shift in how many African Americans viewed the connection between military service and Civil Rights. Previously, Black Georgians viewed serving in the military as a way to prove equality with white Georgians; however, to quote historian John Fowler, "Black Southerners, while patriotic, struggled with the certainty that they were more likely to be drafted and serve in combat because of racial bias in the deferment and classification system used by the military" than white Southerners.³³³ The unfairness of this situation led to less vocal support for the Vietnam War than previous conflicts. Additionally, the vocal minority that had argued for fighting for true democracy and equality on American soil before fighting for democracy abroad that had existed since World War I, became a majority. African American college students in particular voiced this opinion.³³⁴

332 National Park Service, "Buffalo Soldiers in the Korean War," *Charles Young Buffalo Soldiers*, 2023, <https://www.nps.gov/chyo/learn/historyculture/busokoreanwar.htm>.

333 John D. Fowler, "Vietnam War in Georgia," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/vietnam-war-in-georgia/>.

334 Fowler, "Vietnam War in Georgia."

RELATED AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "Military" are:

- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource's significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource's significance and justify its nomination.
- » Military, for the connection to armed conflicts. These resources may include military bases or off-post housing. This Area may also cover battlefields associated with the Civil War where African American soldiers were involved, or resources that are significant for their connection to defense industries in World War II that employed Black workers.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely Areas of Significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "Military" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.



Civil War earthworks in Dalton, Whitfield County. *American Battlefield Trust.*

The Quest for Justice and Equality

The theme of “The Quest for Justice and Equality” can also be seen in many of the other themes throughout this context statement. Fighting for education and military service were both routes to achieving full citizenship, as were key Supreme Court rulings against unjust laws. The key difference between this theme and other themes with connections to the quest of justice and equality is the explicit demand. At Ibo Landing, kidnapped Africans chose death over enslavement; nominating resources connected to an event like this may not readily fit under another theme. Civil Rights organizations formed specifically to advocate for equal citizenship, using tools such as the law, education, and military service to help achieve this goal. Like the other themes, this section is not a complete history of the quest for equal citizenship. This overview is designed to help a potential nominator connect specific historic resources that may be significant under this theme.

Racial Violence

After Emancipation, efforts to further subordinate Black Georgians through the legal system and cultural norms continued. Violations of this racial hierarchy were often met with brutal violence, and lynching was the frequent tool of racial control. Between 1882 and 1930, there were more than 450 documented lynchings in Georgia.³³⁵ Only Mississippi has more documented lynchings in the 1880s and 1890s than Georgia. The vast majority of lynch mobs

335 Stewart E. Tolany and E.M. Beck, “Lynching,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/lynching/>.

were white people, and ninety-five percent of the victims were Black people. While lynch mobs typically justified their actions by claiming the victim was a criminal, the reality is that mobs did not have evidence of these crimes and were actually enforcing white supremacy. The two most common crimes victims were accused of were murder, almost always of a white person, and the rape of a white woman. By not just punishing, but murdering, Black people for the mere accusation of a crime against a white person, the majority white lynch mobs made it clear that skin color determined one’s power and place within society. From the 1870s through the mid-twentieth century, the gulf of power between the races is particularly apparent when comparing how a Black person could be put to death without a trial for the accusation of a crime against a white person, while a group of white people appearing in photographs with a Black person they murdered by lynching would typically not even be accused of a crime, much less prosecuted.³³⁶ In total, there have been 595 reported lynchings in Georgia between 1877 and 1950.³³⁷

Another form of violence present in Georgia was “whitecapping.” “Whitecapping” refers to a movement of vigilantes who disguised themselves and attacked victims and property, sometimes committing murder. While whitecapping began in the Midwest in the 1880s, it spread to Georgia by 1893. While whitecapping in Georgia was not always racially motivated, mobs did target successful Black farmers, particularly those that owned land.³³⁸

336 Tolany and Beck, “Lynching.”

337 Equal Justice Initiative, “Lynching in America,” 2023, <https://lynchinginamerica.eji.org/explore/georgia>.

338 William F. Holmes, “Whitecapping in Georgia: Carroll and Houston Counties, 1893,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly* Vol. 64, No. 4 (1980): 388-404, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40580702>.

While lynching, whitecapping, and property violence generally targeted one or a small number of individuals, Georgia also saw widespread episodes of racial violence during the Jim Crow era. In 1906, gubernatorial candidates Hoke Smith and Clark Howell began to publicly debate in prominent Atlanta newspapers about the continued disenfranchisement of Black men. Hoke Smith believed additional measures were necessary to further prevent Black men from voting, while Clark Howell felt the poll tax was sufficiently successful. Their agreed stance that white supremacy at the polls and in society was ideal along with printed inflammatory stories claiming Black men had raped white women in Atlanta ultimately led to what became known as the Atlanta Race Massacre of 1906.³³⁹ On September 22, thousands of white men and boys gathered in the central business district, becoming a mob by midnight. They assaulted hundreds of Black people that night, and the violence continued through September 24. While the city coroner only issued ten death certificates for Black people during this massacre, historians estimate that the actual death toll was between twenty-five and forty African Americans, with two white people killed.³⁴⁰

339 Clifford Kuhn and Gregory Mixon, "Atlanta Race Massacre of 1906," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2022, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/atlanta-race-massacre-of-1906/>.

340 Kuhn and Mixon, "Atlanta Race Massacre of 1906."

NEGRO CHURCHES IN CRISP ARE BURNED

White People at Meeting Urge Reward of \$1,000 for Arrest of Guilty Parties.

Motive for Attack Through Apparent Incendiarism Is Mystery; Lodge Is Destroyed.

CORDELE, Aug. 18.—Determined action against persons believed to be responsible for the burning of four negro churches and a negro lodge building in Crisp county during the past week was decided at a mass meeting of white people held at the courthouse here this morning. The board of county commissioners were requested to offer a reward of at least \$1,000 for the apprehension of the guilty parties and Governor Dorsey will be asked to offer a reward.

The churches and lodge were burned on different nights, starting about the time the returned negro soldier, Jim Grant, was lynched by a mob in Wilcox county. Most of the property burned is in that section of Crisp nearest Wilcox but whether there is any connection other than the wave of feeling against negroes, between the Wilcox trouble and the burning of churches in Crisp is not known.

Sheriff at Work.

Sheriff Ward has been quietly at work on the case and so far is understood to be at a loss for a motive. If his investigations have resulted in the discovery of any clues the fact is not known as he is one of the type of officers who do their work and then talk.

John S. Sheppard presided at the mass meeting held here today. Citizens present represented all sections of the county and were unanimous in condemning the destruction of the negro property. The churches were worth, on an average, about \$2,500 apiece and the lodge building slightly less.

As far as is known here there has been no clash of any kind between the negroes and whites in the sections where the burned churches were situated.

No Motive in Evidence.

The two races have been getting along all right, apparently, and this is what is puzzling authorities who are seeking the motive behind the action of the unknown parties.

The fact that the churches were burned at different times, and belonged to no one denomination, is taken to mean that what has been done was directed against the negro generally. The leading negroes of the various communities are said to be as much at sea over the matters as the white people.

It developed from talks made here today that the white people want to assist the negroes protect their property and it is expected the authorities will do all in their power to catch the parties responsible for what is accepted as incendiarism.

Negro Churches in Crisp [Co.] are Burned" The Macon Telegraph, August 19, 1919. *Newspapers.com*.

While Black men were the primary targets of white lynch mobs, Black women were not spared. In 1918, Mary Turner was lynched by a white mob in Brooks County, about sixteen miles north of Valdosta. Mary Turner was targeted because she spoke out publicly against the lynching of her husband Haynes Turner the day before. Mary Turner was eight months pregnant when she was murdered. The mob hanged her, burned her with gasoline, and cut her unborn child from her womb.³⁴¹

The year 1919 was a particularly violent year. Historians refer to 1919 as the Red Summer because so many Black people died as a result of white attacks across the country; an estimated 250 African Americans died in at least twenty-five separate incidents in the summer of 1919. No white mob received punishment for these acts.³⁴² In Georgia, one of the first attacks occurred when a lynch mob in Millen, Georgia burned Carswell Grove Baptist Church on April 13, 1919. That mob murdered at

341 Equal Justice Initiative, "Mary Turner, Pregnant, Lynched in Georgia for Publicly Criticizing Husband's Lynching," *A History of Racial Injustice*, 2023, <https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/may/19>.

342 Jesse J. Holland, "Hundreds of black deaths during 1919's Red Summer are being remembered," *PBS*, 2019, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/nation/hundreds-of-black-deaths-during-1919s-red-summer-are-being-remembered>.

least three Black men and boys that day, including a thirteen-year-old. White people burned three churches in Laurens County on August 29, 1919. This same mob gathered to murder a Black man they chose, who was a leader in the Laurens County African American community, two days earlier.³⁴³ There were more than a dozen Black churches burned in three counties in Georgia that summer.³⁴⁴

The Organizations of the Civil Rights Movement

During World War II, many African American communities in Georgia began to organize to advocate for their rights, leading in part to increased Black voter registration across the state in 1946, despite the threats of violence from white Georgians. The Georgia chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in 1917, less than a decade after the parent organization was founded in 1909 and a few years after the local Atlanta branch was founded in 1913. The NAACP was critical to the increase in voter registration during World War II. A large part of this growth was due to the dynamic and powerful leadership of Reverend Ralph Mark Gilbert of Savannah, making Savannah a concentrated area of NAACP activity³⁴⁵ For example, the NAACP Savannah Youth Council protested against the segregation of beaches on Tybee Island, by holding a “wade-in” at a white-only beach in 1960. These protests continued

343 Jan Voogd, *Race Riots and Resistance: The Red Summer of 1919*, (New York: Peter Lang, 2008).

344 John Eligon and Audra D.S. Burch, “After a Summer of Racial Violence Across the U.S., a Century of Neglect,” *The New York Times*, 2019, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/08/31/us/red-summer-black-church.html>.

345 Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 72.

until 1963, when Savannah Beach, as Tybee was then known, integrated public facilities.³⁴⁶

The number of local NAACP branches in Georgia grew quickly, and while the organization is often viewed as one of the most conservative civil rights organizations today, joining as a member in a rural community was still incredibly dangerous in the late 1940s. The Ku Klux Klan often used NAACP membership as a reason to target individuals. After the 1946 gubernatorial election, there was a sharp increase in lynchings across the state and further burning of churches and Black businesses. Eugene Talmadge won that election after campaigning on an openly racist platform, meaning supporters felt free to not only openly express white supremacist views but also act out violence against African Americans; Talmadge stated, “the election tomorrow [1946] is a question of white supremacy.”³⁴⁷ NAACP membership declined swiftly in 1947. Reverend Ralph Mark Gilbert stepped down from his leadership role due to the lack of support from the national NAACP for Georgia, which led to a further decline in NAACP activity across the state.³⁴⁸ The white supremacist resurgence repressed a much larger Black civil rights agitation across the state during the late 1940s and early 1950s.³⁴⁹

Despite the threat of violence, an interracial group of students founded the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in Chicago in 1942. CORE pioneered nonviolent direct action tactics in the

346 Georgia Historical Society marker, “Savannah Beach Wade-Ins,” 2022.

347 Stephen Tuck, “Civil Rights Movement,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/civil-rights-movement/>.

348 Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 72.

349 STuck, “Civil Rights Movement.”

civil rights struggle in the US, using sit-ins to integrate Chicago restaurants and business in the 1940s and organizing the Journey of Reconciliation in 1947, an interracial bus ride in the upper South to test the Supreme Court's ruling that interstate travel must be integrated. In Georgia, CORE partnered with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and advised student activists on nonviolent tactics. After Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Chaney, three CORE workers, were murdered in Mississippi in 1964, many CORE members turned away from nonviolent methods. After Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination, CORE officially changed its focus to Black nationalism.³⁵⁰

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) formed in Atlanta in 1957.³⁵¹ The SCLC was born out of the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955-1956. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., who lived in Montgomery at the time, was selected as the spokesperson for the movement after Black ministers became involved. The formal organization focused on gaining the support of the Black middle class, particularly the church community. Under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and SCLC co-founder Ralph David Abernathy, who encouraged Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to take a more active role in the Civil Rights movement, the SCLC focused on training the next generation of political activists and communities in nonviolent protest tactics. They also assisted other

350 The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, "Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)," *Stanford University*, 2023, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/congress-racial-equality-core>.

351 Atlanta History Center, "Atlanta in 50 Objects: Civil Rights Activism," 2022, <https://www.atlantahistorycenter.com/exhibitions/atlanta-in-50-objects/civil-rights-activism/#:~:text=The%20Southern%20Christian%20Leadership%20Conference,and%20organized%20voter%20registration%20drives>.

civil rights organizations with specific protests. The SCLC's focus was mostly on urban areas, filing lawsuits against governments for segregated employee lunchrooms, organizing voter registration drives and rallies, and arranging boycotts. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the SCLC were involved in the Albany Movement in 1961-1962, and the organization continued to be one of the preeminent civil rights organizations throughout the 1960s. After the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the SCLC organized a voter registration drive in Hancock County, one of Georgia's counties with the highest percentage of rural Black voters.³⁵²

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) often coordinated with the SCLC in Georgia, particularly in Atlanta and Albany. SNCC started as a result of the sit-ins at lunch counters in Greensboro, North Carolina, and Nashville, Tennessee. In 1960, students from this movement met with Ella Baker, the executive secretary of the SCLC, and organized SNCC. The organization was student led and focused on nonviolent, direct-action campaigns, including sit-ins, Freedom Rides, and voter education projects like voter registration drives. Led by founder John Lewis who later became a US Congressman from Atlanta, SNCC was involved with the initial protest and voter registrations efforts in Albany, Georgia. With headquarters on Auburn Avenue in Atlanta, SNCC also organized a massive sit-in of lunch counters at Atlanta department stores, such as Rich's.³⁵³ SNCC also made efforts in Georgia to organize resistance to segregation in rural

352 Elizabeth B. Cooksey, "Southern Christian Leadership Conference," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2022, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/southern-christian-leadership-conference-sclc/>.

353 Irene V. Holliman, "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/student-nonviolent-coordinating-committee-sncc/>.

areas, considered the bastion of white supremacy. From 1962 to 1967, SNCC worked on the Southwest Georgia Project. Initially aimed at voter registration in Lee and Terrell Counties, the project eventually centered on Americus in Sumter County. SNCC workers quickly learned that the extreme poverty of African Americans in the rural Black Belt of Georgia meant that the tactics they had been using in urban areas had to be adjusted.³⁵⁴ SNCC's philosophy changed under the leadership of Stokely Carmichael, who later rose to national prominence as a leader of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, beginning in 1966. Ultimately, Stokely Carmichael moved away from SNCC's longtime fight for racial integration and toward a philosophy of Black Power, highlighting racial dignity, self-reliance, and violence as legitimate self-defense. SNCC increasingly worked with the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in the late 1960s, and the organization fell apart in 1970.³⁵⁵

³⁵⁴ Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 158-177.

³⁵⁵ Irene V. Holliman, "Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/student-nonviolent-coordinating-committee-sncc/>.



Leesburg, Lee County. Arrested for Demonstrating in Americus; Teenage Girls Are Kept in a Stockade in the Countryside. 1963. © Danny Lyon/Magnum. *Courtesy of the Collection of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture.*

Although many civil rights organizations turned to Black nationalism in the 1960s, the philosophy was present before the Civil Rights movement. In 1931, W.D. Fard founded the Nation of Islam (NOI) in Detroit. W.D. Fard proclaimed opposition to the majority of popular portrayals of the day that God was Black, as was the first man, and Black men needed to create a separate nation within the US. This variant of Islam was not immediately popular; W.D. Fard disappeared in 1934, leaving the organization without a leader. Born in 1897 as Elijah Poole in Sandersville, Georgia, the man better known as Elijah Muhammad founded a new mosque in Chicago in 1930. His message of self-sufficiency

and Black pride began to resonate in the community. In 1952, Malcolm X, who became an internationally-recognized voice of the Black Power movement, joined, leading to a dramatic increase in membership for NOI.³⁵⁶

While the organizations above were the most active in Georgia during this period, there were other civil rights organizations at the national level, including the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and National Urban League. It is also important to note that the Civil Rights movement was a grassroots effort. Many individuals participated both in support of these formal organizations and as individuals. Many efforts, such as the Macon Sanitation Workers Strike of 1969, which was a union-led fight to improve horrific working conditions for the almost entirely Black Macon sanitation workforce, failed to receive national attention. This strike did receive attention in Georgia though, including coverage by WSB-TV in Atlanta.³⁵⁷

356 American Experience, "Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam," *PBS*, 2023, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/malcolm-x-elijah-muhammad-and-nation-islam/>. While NOI has offered numerous programs for Black uplift, the Southern Poverty Law Center notes that NOI "has been notorious for its antisemitism, homophobia, and anti-white bigotry," since its founding, officially designating NOI as a hate group. Southern Poverty Law Center, "Nation of Islam," 2023, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/nation-islam>.

357 WSB-TV, "Newsfilm clip of African American sanitation workers on strike as well as comments by African American leaders in Macon, Georgia," *Civil Rights Digital Library*, 1969, https://cdl.usg.edu/record/ugabma_wsbn_wsbn55890; Nakell Williams, "Macon's African-American sanitation workers strike for equality in 1969," *WGXA News*, 2019, <https://wgxa.tv/news/local/macons-african-american-sanitation-workers-strike-for-equality-in-1969>.

The Albany Civil Rights Movement

The first mass movement in the modern Civil Rights Era with the goal of desegregating an entire community occurred in Albany, Georgia, beginning in 1961.³⁵⁸ Like many communities in Georgia, the NAACP experienced a revitalization during the 1940s, but unlike other communities, the Albany chapter remained active into the late 1940s and into the 1950s, conducting voter registration drives. In 1961, three members of SNCC came to Albany to facilitate additional voter registration drives. At first, Charles Sherrod, Cordell Reagon, and Charles Jones ran into opposition from both the white community and more conservative members of the Black community. By November 1961, the local Black community had united behind the Albany Movement, led by Dr. William G. Anderson, a charismatic young physician. Dr. William G. Anderson led mass meetings and marches. Their goal was the complete desegregation of all public facilities in Albany.³⁵⁹ They started with demonstrations to integrate the Albany bus station, because federal interstate travel was officially desegregated on November 1, 1961.³⁶⁰ Within a month, 500 demonstrators had been arrested.³⁶¹

358 Victoria Gross, "2019 MLK Campaign: Telling Their Stories, Marching for Civil Rights," *National Institutes of Health: Office of Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion*, 2019, <https://www.edi.nih.gov/blog/communities/2019-mlk-campaign-telling-their-stories-marching-civil-rights>.

359 Lee Formwalt, "Albany Movement," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/albany-movement/>.

360 Jim Carrier, *A Traveler's Guide to the Civil Rights Movement*, (Orlando: Harcourt, Inc., 2004), 145.

361 Formwalt, "Albany Movement."

The SNCC Freedom Singers

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Freedom Singers formed in December 1962 in Albany, Georgia. The group sang hymns and spirituals, typically with the lyrics adjusted to the specific aims of the Civil Rights movement. They were first active in the Albany Movement and then traveled nationally raising money and awareness for SNCC. Cordell Reagon, Rutha Mae Harris, Bernice Johnson, and Charles Neblett drove over 50,000 miles in a Buick station wagon, singing everywhere from elementary schools to political rallies. When in Albany, the group and other activists were hosted at the family home of Rutha Mae Harris.³⁶² The group also sang at the March on Washington in 1963. This initial group of four recorded an album in 1963 and then disbanded, although other iterations of the group continued to use the name through 1966.³⁶³



SNCC Freedom Singers from Albany. *Photograph by Joe Alper, Civil Rights Movement Archive.*

362 Harris, Rutha Mae, Interview. Conducted by Ethos Preservation. September 8, 2023.

363 Edward A. Hatfield, "Freedom Singers," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/freedom-singers/#:~:text=During%20the%20early%201960s%20the,in%20communities%20across%20the%20South.>

Given the resistance they were experiencing, Dr. William G. Anderson and the other leaders of the Albany Movement decided they needed national attention to keep the movement going. They asked Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to come assist. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. spoke at a mass meeting on December 15, marched the following day, and was immediately jailed with other demonstrators. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. accepted bail, understanding that city officials had agreed to some of the Albany Movement's demands; however, white city officials went back on their word and made no changes to local segregation statues.³⁶⁴

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. stayed in Albany to continue the fight. He called on additional SCLC staff to help organize the efforts, but by early August 1962, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. felt he had failed in this campaign. Albany Police Chief Laurie Pritchett did not brutalize any demonstrators in front of television cameras or reporters. Whereas many Black protests had previously been met with physical violence, Albany Police Chief Laurie Pritchett contacted surrounding jails and locked up demonstrators. By the 1960s, the national and international media had begun to cover some of the physical violence and denounce it. Ultimately, Albany Police Chief Laurie Pritchett was able to continue to jail people until no one else was willing to continue marching, avoiding the media frenzy other civil rights protests had and would see. The City of Albany did not have to make any changes to their segregated public facilities as a result.³⁶⁵

While Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and other national civil rights leaders felt the Albany Movement was a failure because it failed

364 Formwalt, "Albany Movement."

365 Formwalt, "Albany Movement."

to achieve what they saw as any immediate change. Ruby Hurley, a key administrator at the NAACP, described the mainstream civil rights organizations' opinions on the Albany Movement in the immediate aftermath: "Albany was only successful if the aim was

movement had achieved some successes. Voter registration drives during this period were so successful that Black businessman Thomas Chatmon was able to force a runoff for a city commission seat in 1962. The next year, the Albany City Commission removed all of the segregation statues from its books. Thus, the Albany Movement's trajectory was significantly different than the movement in other Georgia cities and other cities across the South.³⁶⁷

366 Michael Chalfen, "'The Way Out May Lead In': The Albany Movement Beyond Martin Luther King Jr.," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* Vol. 79, No. 3 (1995): 560-598, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40583289>.

367 Formwalt, "Albany Movement."

Activism in the 1970s

In 1970, the Congress of African People met in Atlanta, Georgia, adopting resolutions to unite against the forces of capitalism, imperialism, neo-colonialism, and racism.³⁶⁸ This gathering attracted a diverse array of Black activists including Jesse Jackson, Coretta Scott King, and Betty Shabazz; and many historians see the pan-African movement, which is a political and cultural movement that aims to unite all people of African descent, as evidence of the maturation of the Black Power movement.³⁶⁹

The Movement toward Federal Recognition for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

When Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated on April 4, 1968, he was a controversial figure. Under the direct orders of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director J. Edgar Hoover, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. was under constant surveillance, and the FBI was actively working to undermine his and the SCLC's civil rights work.³⁷⁰ Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. began to move away from nonviolence and advocate self-defense, not dissimilar from the Black Panthers, by the end of his life.³⁷¹ The process of

368 Charlayne Hunter, "Congress of African People Ends Session in Atlanta," *New York Times*, 1970, <https://www.nytimes.com/1970/09/08/archives/parley-approves-black-party-plan-congress-of-african-people-ends.html>.

369 Donald J. McCormack, "Stokely Carmichael and Pan-Africanism: Back to Black Power," *The Journal of Politics*, Vol.35, No.2 (1973): 388.

370 Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Subject: Martin Luther King Jr. File Number 100-106670," *FBI Records: The Vault*, 1977, <https://vault.fbi.gov/Martin%20Luther%20King%2C%20Jr./Martin%20Luther%20King%2C%20Jr.%20Part%201%20of%202/view>.

371 The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, "Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)," *Stanford University*, 2023, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/federal-bureau-investigation-fbi>.

memorializing Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., began only four days after his death in 1968, with the first legislation to make Martin Luther King Jr. Day a national holiday. President Ronald Reagan signed the bill making Martin Luther King Jr. Day a national holiday into law fifteen years later in 1983, after years of advocacy to make the recognition minimally acceptable to many white legislators. Even still, every state did not recognize the holiday until 2000.³⁷²

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s legacy is also readily visible on the Georgia landscape in the form of the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historical Park in Atlanta and many streets named after him. Although President Jimmy Carter was not able to sign the Martin Luther King Jr. Day into law because the bill would not pass Congress, he did establish Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site in October 1980. Coretta Scott King advocated for federal protection of the community and church where Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. grew up.³⁷³ Georgia has more streets named after Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. than any other state. A few were named prior to the 1983 federal recognition, but over half were named for Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. after 1990.³⁷⁴

372 National Museum of African American History & Culture, "The 15 Year Battle for Martin Luther King, Jr. Day," *Smithsonian*, 2023, <https://nmaahc.si.edu/explore/stories/15-year-battle-martin-luther-king-jr-day#:~:text=On%20November%20%2C%201983%2C%20President,Martin%20Luther%20King%2C%20Jr.>

373 Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historical Park, "Establishing the Park," *National Park Service*, 2021, <https://www.nps.gov/malu/establishing-the-park.htm#:~:text=for%20this%20area-,With%20Mrs.,of%20Interior%2C%20National%20Park%20Service..>

374 Derek H. Alderman, "Naming Streets for Martin Luther King, Jr. No Easy Road." *Landscape and Race in the United States*, 2006, <https://docs.google.com/document/d/14kGhkddGNYyvv50wOFzcvVvFoNgJT4TXztop2rL9Q4M/edit>.

RELATED AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

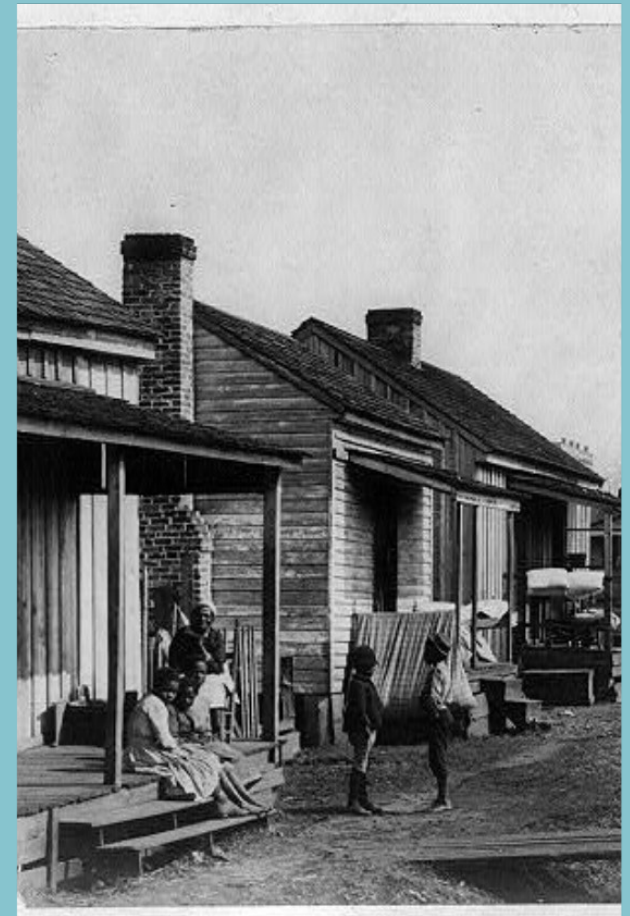
Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "The Quest for Justice and Equality" are:

- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource's significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource's significance and justify its nomination.
- » Law, for the advancements in civil rights legislation similar to the "Politics and Government" theme. Courthouses where discriminatory laws were overturned and City Halls where new racially inclusive laws were passed are both examples of resources that may be significant under this Area.
- » Social History, for the changes in race relations throughout the state. Sites of protest may be significant for their connection to seeking justice and welfare for society at large under this Area.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely Areas of Significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "The Quest for Justice and Equality" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

SECTION III

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES AND CASE STUDY EXAMPLES

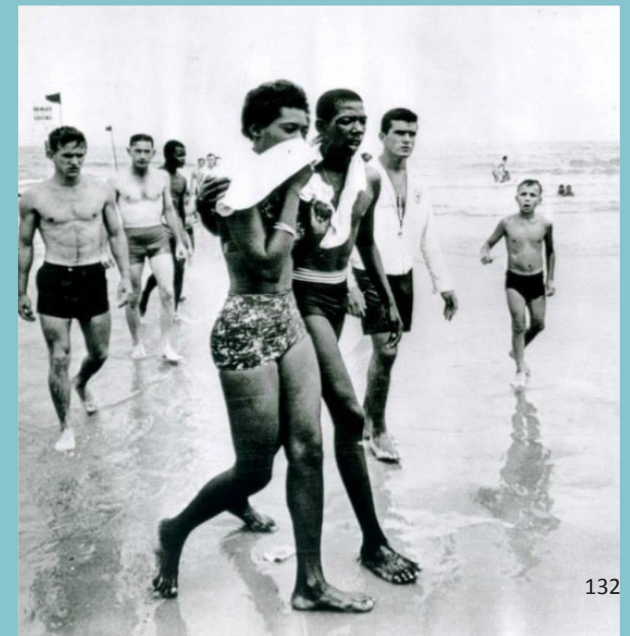


Top left: Uncle Paul's pawn shop, Augusta, Georgia, 1899. *Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, LOT 11308 [P&P];*.

Top right: "Negro homes at Thomasville, Ga." Between 1880 and 1930. *Library of Congress.*

Bottom left: "John Hope Homes (Public Housing), Bounded by Larkin, Dora, Spelman Streets & Lane, Atlanta, Fulton County, GA." Circa 1933. *Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress.*

Bottom right: "Black youths including future Savannah Mayor Edna Jackson were arrested attempting to desegregate the whites-only beach at Tybee Island in 1963." 1963. *GPB News.*



Associated Property Types

For the purposes of National Register listing, it is important to consider what property type may be applicable to your resource. Specifically tied to function and use, as described in the data categories included in *National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Form* (pages 20-23), the typology associated with a resource can further define what questions and considerations are applicable when considering eligibility for National Register listing. Significance is not dependent on property type, but the Area of Significance may assist with what questions you should ask.

The associated property types identified in this document are resource types that remain on the landscape today that are specifically associated with the Black experience in Georgia from 1526-1985. In reality, any resource type may have an association with significant African American history, and this potential significance should be explored and documented. For the purposes of this document, typologies are grouped by theme, as outlined in the Historical Themes (Section II). Types that were utilized by African Americans but not specific or unique to the African American experience have been excluded from this section, but these resources may still be eligible for National Register listing as connected to African American history. Importantly, this list is not considered to be comprehensive and does not preclude other resources with differing functions or uses that could have associations with the context, pending future research.

There are five property categories that can be listed in the National Register: Buildings, Structures, Sites, Objects, and Districts. The term “property” is often used in National Register related documents interchangeably with “resource,” and a property can have multiple resources. Property types are subsets of the above National Register categories (Building, Site, Object, or District). Examples include:

- » Shotgun House is a type of Building
- » Cemetery is a type of Site
- » Monument is a type of Object
- » Mill Village is a type of District

When relevant, other guidance published by the Georgia Historic Preservation Division and the National Park Service should be referenced to aid in the identification of typologies as many resources important to the Black experience will also be important in other ways. In Georgia, there are various context statements in addition to this one. Additionally, the National Park Service has published several relevant theme studies with specific ties to the African American story that can help place Georgia sites within the wider context of African American history nationwide. These include:

- » African American Outdoor Recreation Theme Study (2022),
- » Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation of Public Accommodations (2004, rev. 2009)
- » Civil Rights in America: Racial Desegregation in Public Education in the United States (2000); supplement (2004)

- » Civil Rights in America: Racial Discrimination in Housing (2021)
- » Civil Rights in America: Racial Voting Rights (2007, rev. 2009)
- » The Era of Reconstruction: 1861–1900 (2017)
- » Underground Railroad Resources in the United States (rev. 2000)

Importantly, the Georgia Historic Preservation Division and the National Park Service often announce new publications. Contact the Georgia Historic Preservation Division and consult these web addresses to ensure an accurate list of publications is consulted:

Georgia Context Statements

<https://dca.georgia.gov/community-assistance/historic-preservation/research-and-documentation-tools/statewide-historic>

National Theme Studies

<https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalhistoriclandmarks/recent-theme-studies.htm>

Associative Qualities

Associative qualities are the aspects of a resource’s history that link it with historic events, activities, or persons.³⁷⁵ A resource retains its association if it is the place where the event or activity occurred and is sufficiently intact to convey that relationship to the observer.³⁷⁶ By determining what physical characteristics associated with specific historic events, activities, or persons remain intact, a case can be made for how the resource conveys its significance today. In other words, these physical characteristics demonstrate the integrity of the resource. Identifying a resource’s associative qualities is an integral step in determining a resource’s integrity and thus its National Register eligibility. Commonly, Black historic resources in Georgia were used for purposes other than their original intent, such as a house or church that was used for civil rights meetings. As such, Black historic resources are often significant specifically for their associative qualities.

375 NR Bulletin 15, 53.

376 NR Bulletin 16A, 45.

A Note on Enslavement Resources

Resources or property forms associated with enslavement are a significant part of the African American experience in Georgia. These include residential dwellings, mills or shops, praise houses, cemeteries, landscapes, and many more resource types that served the purpose of supporting the system of enslavement. In urban settings, these may be residential dwellings, slave markets, outbuildings or multi-story service buildings with residential space upstairs. Many of these resources have been lost or altered beyond recognition. Pre-Emancipation resources significant to the Black experience that retain integrity are rare, and their rarity should be a factor in evaluation for National Register eligibility.

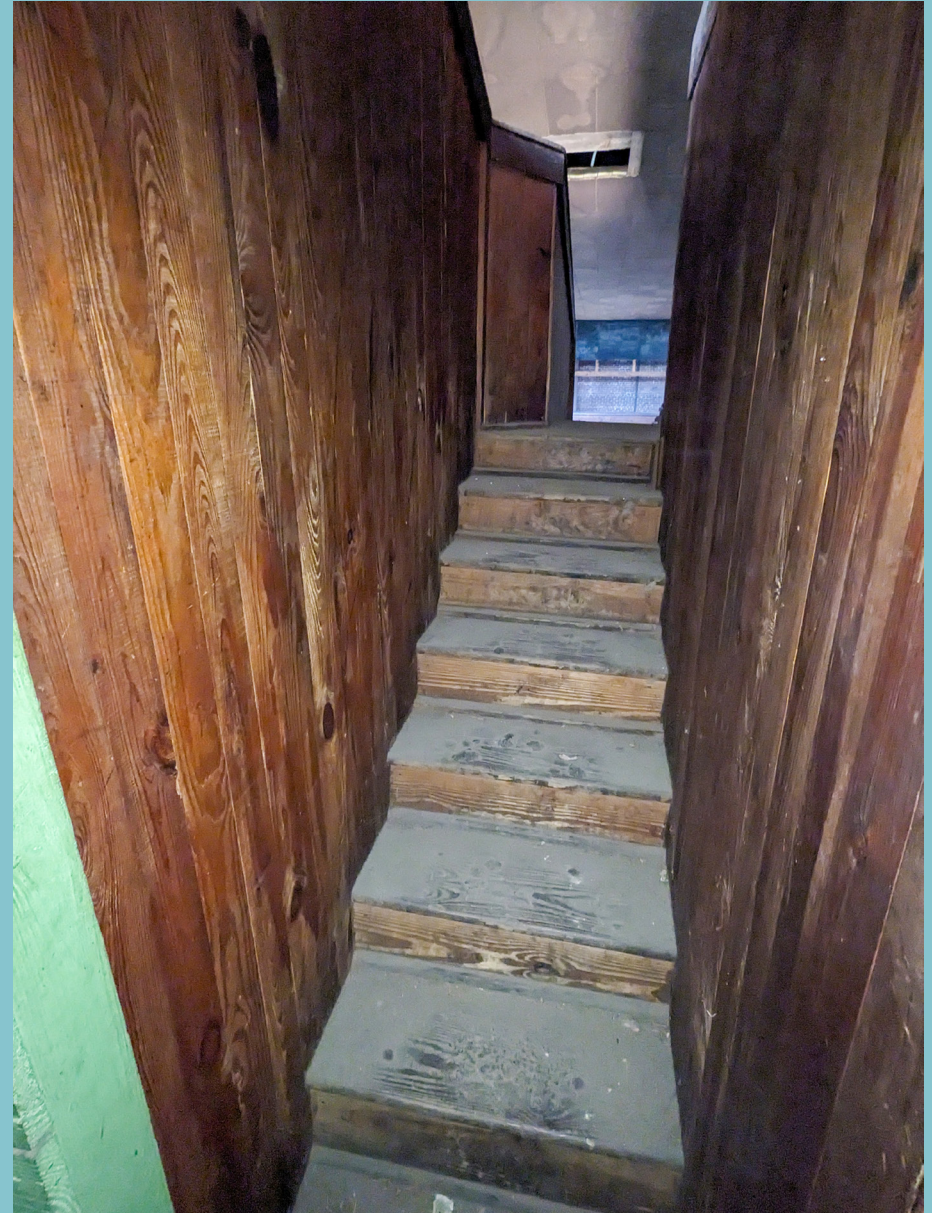
Throughout this section, resources associated with enslavement are discussed under their resource type as defined by their original intended use. For example a “slave dwelling” is not a house type. Instead, these resources are described by their formal building type, as defined by the building’s physical shape, such as a single pen house, and the term slave dwelling discussed as part of the historic context of what makes that resource significant.



Slave Dwellings on Ossabaw Island (NRIS #96000468), Chatham County (extant). *Ethos Preservation*.

A Note on Segregated Resources

Resources with African American significance in Georgia built approximately between 1896, the Supreme Court's decision in *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, and 1954, the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, were often designed specifically with spaces intended only for African American use. Specific elements, such as a building's layout or wayfinding signage, which often simply stated "Colored" to identify spaces relegated for African American use in public places, were intentionally designed to enforce segregationist policies. As a result, it is possible to look for physical clues when visiting public historic resources erected prior to 1954 to aid in determining if a space was segregated and in what way. Duplicate architectural features such as entrances, exits, elevators, and stairwells, often placed in secondary locations, were common. Architects and builders created separate spaces but also, in some instances, carefully planned systems of diversion, including entrances and passageways explicitly designed to lead non-whites away from white-designated spaces. Hospitals, for example, would have separate wings, public housing was divided into separate districts or units, and public parks were fenced or roped into grounds and facilities designated as "white" or "colored."³⁷⁷ At the Tos Theater in Pembroke, African Americans could only patronize the balcony and were provided a separate restroom in the basement, accessed by a narrow stair.



Tos Theater (extant) segregated spaces, a contributing resource to the Pembroke Historic District (NRIS #04001318) in Bryan County. *Ethos Preservation*.

377 Elizabeth Guffey, "Knowing Their Space: Signs of Jim Crow in the Segregated South," *Design Issues* 28, no. 2 (2012): 41–60.



Tos Theater (extant) segregated spaces, a contributing resource to the Pembroke Historic District (NRIS #04001318) in Bryan County. *Ethos Preservation*.

All segregated resources should consider Social History as an Area of Significance and, at a minimum, properly document and describe the meaning of the physical elements that existed or still exist in segregated spaces listed to the National Register. Segregated resources may also be eligible for nomination under Ethnic Heritage: Black. Important questions to consider when evaluating a segregated resource for nomination under Ethnic Heritage: Black include:

- » Is this the only resource with this use available to African Americans in the community? For example, is the segregated hospital the only hospital for Black people, or is there also a separate Black hospital? A unique use in the community adds to a segregated resource's significance.
- » Was the segregated resource a site of protest related to segregation or civil rights more broadly?
- » Does the Black community associate significance with the segregated resource? Oral histories are an important tool in answering all of these questions but will shed light on this question in particular.
- » What related Areas of Significance are applicable, as Ethnic Heritage nomination requires identifying related Areas of Significance to specifically explain what the resource's significance is in the context of ethnic heritage (see Bulletin 16A, page 39 under "Additional Guidelines" bullet point #3)?

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Folk Victorian Cottage, Byromville, Dooly County (extant). *Brian Brown.*

Property Types by Theme

Beginning with the theme “Globalization, Migration, and Mobility” and culminating with the theme “The Quest for Justice and Equality,” the key Black historic resource typologies specific to Georgia are cataloged in this section. Each includes information summarizing the physical description of the resource, its specific significance to the African American experience, and information on associative qualities and National Register requirements. The list is not exhaustive but rather documents the typologies that are specific and/or unique to the African American experience in Georgia from 1526 to 1985.

Globalization, Migration, and Mobility

The theme of “Globalization, Migration, and Mobility” captures the earliest resources with Black associations in Georgia to include those associated with the arrival of enslaved Africans such as ports of entry, as well as resources associated with the movement and spread of Black people across Georgia over time, such as places associated with the Underground Railroad and the Great Migration. Further, this category captures resources related to transportation that have significant African American associations, such as bridges built or designed by significant Black Georgians. The story of the African American experience in Georgia cannot be understood without describing the movement of people, making this theme essential to Georgia’s full story.

Resources associated with the earliest “Spanish Expeditions into Modern-day Georgia” (page 27) and “The Founding of the Georgia Colony” and “The Ban on Slavery” (page 29), which would have brought the first Africans to what we know today as America are extremely rare. If they exist, related resources are most likely to be sites, such as ruins related to Spanish missions or archaeological sites associated with the colony’s founding where enslaved people labored or lived.



Old College, a contributing building to the Old North Campus District (NRIS #72000379) in Athens, Clarke County, the oldest building on the University of Georgia campus; built with enslaved labor in 1806. *Wikimedia Commons.*

If nominating a port, slave market, or other resource associated with the trade or sale of enslaved Africans should consult the “African Diaspora: The People Caught in Triangular Trade” portion of “Globalization, Migration, and Mobility” in Section II (page 30). As those enslaved were brought inland by colonizers, they were forced to erect the state’s earliest infrastructure to include the first buildings on the University of Georgia campus, as detailed in the “People of African Descent on the Frontier” portion of “Globalization, Migration, and Mobility” in Section II (page 31).

As the number of Africans enslaved in Georgia grew, the state’s plantation labor economy was established. The earliest plantation labor sites help to tell the story of this early migration of peoples and should reference this theme as well as “The Trail, and Land, of Tears” portion of “Globalization, Migration, and Mobility” in Section II (page 35). Nominators

with resources associated with those enslaved who escaped bondage to establish their own communities, although rare, should reference the “Securing Freedom on the Fringes of White Society” (page 38) and the “Flight to Freedom” (page 39) portions of “Globalization, Migration, and Mobility” in Section II, as relevant.

Resources associated with the movement of African Americans in the twentieth century, to include those locating from rural to urban areas and those associated with persons leaving the South as part of the Great Migration should reference the “Population Shifts” portion of the “Globalization, Migration, and Mobility” in Section II (page 41). These resources will most often be bus and train stations.

Associated Property Types:

Bridges, Ports, Docks, Bus Stations, Train Stations, Railroads, Roads, Airports

COMMON AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context’s theme of “Globalization, Migration, and Mobility” are:

- » Archaeology: Historic - Aboriginal and Historic - Non-Aboriginal for any sites that have or have the potential to offer additional information about the lives of those enslaved particularly during the period of Spanish involvement in Georgia. For example, a site with historically documented Spanish mission with slave dwellings may be significant under this area for the potential to provide new information about the lives of Africans under Spanish rule in Georgia, if archaeology were to be performed in the future.
- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource’s significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included

to fully convey a resource’s significance and justify its nomination.

- » Exploration/Settlement, for history associated with the earliest communities in Georgia, such as during the Spanish period as well as life on the Georgia frontier. For example, the farm of a Black frontiersman from the late eighteenth century may be eligible under this Area.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely Areas of Significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of “Globalization, Migration, and Mobility” as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

Resources associated with this theme may be listed for Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History), Criterion B

(Person), Criterion C (Design/Construction), or Criterion D (Information Potential/Archaeology).

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History)**, a resource associated with “Globalization, Migration, and Mobility” must have been directly associated with the significant movement of African American peoples as part of a broad trend or pattern in history.

Example: A bus station used by a significant number of African Americans to depart the South as part of the Great Migration.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion B (Person)**, the significant individual must have been directly associated with the resource during the period in which they achieved significance as an individual, such as during the height of their career.

Example: A site where a significant conductor on the Underground Railroad received, housed, or transported those seeking freedom.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion C (Design/Construction)**, a resource associated with “Globalization, Migration, and Mobility” should have distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; be the work of a Black builder or architect, or possess high artistic value.

Example: An airport designed by a notable African American architect.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion D (Information Potential/Archaeology)**, a resource associated with “Globalization, Migration, and Mobility” should have the potential to yield new information if more research is performed through archaeology or other methods.

Example: The site of a Spanish mission known to have involved enslaved persons of African descent that has been undisturbed by development and therefore retains archaeological potential.

THEMATIC REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Resources must be representative of the theme and be directly related to the movement of multiple individuals or groups.

THEMATIC ASSOCIATIVE QUALITIES

- » Documented association with the theme through written records or oral histories.

Example: The site where a significant number of enslaved persons were sold as documented in newspaper articles.

- » The resource must retain most of the essential character defining physical features from the period in which the resource gained significance.

Example: A site associated with the Underground Railroad should retain the key architectural features that allowed freedom seekers to hide, such as secret compartments below the floor.

THEMATIC INTEGRITY CONSIDERATIONS

Overall integrity should be assessed within the time frame when the resource gained significance.

Unless Criterion C is selected, the most important aspects of integrity for this theme are Setting, Feeling, and Association.

The older the resource, the more likely its integrity of Design, Workmanship, and Setting have been diminished. In these instances, other areas of integrity should remain intact.

BRIDGES

Description

Bridge types specific to Georgia include truss; arch; slab, beam, girder, and rigid frame; moveable spans; suspension; trestles and viaducts; and cantilever bridges.³⁷⁸ Bridges relevant under this context include those that are considered to be significant crossings in Black communities, bridges constructed using the labor of enslaved people, those convicted of crimes, or bridges associated with civil rights activities, including protests or lynchings and displacement or urban renewal.³⁷⁹

Although rare, some historic bridges in Georgia were designed or built by African Americans. Horace King and the King Brothers Bridge Company is one example. King was the most respected bridge builder in west Georgia, Alabama, and northeast Mississippi from the 1830s until the 1880s. He constructed massive town lattice truss bridges over nearly every major river from the Oconee in Georgia to the Tombigbee in Mississippi and at nearly every crossing of the Chattahoochee River from Carroll County to Fort Gaines, many of which remain on the landscape. As a part of the creation of the King Brothers Bridge Company, King's five children also joined in the trade, building bridges and various structures in LaGrange, Atlanta, and east Alabama into the late twentieth century.³⁸⁰

378 Parsons Brinckerhoff, *A Context for Common Historic Bridge Types*, 2005, 142.

379 Georgia Historic Bridge Survey, Draft, Georgia Department of Transportation, 2024.

380 Thomas French and John Lupold, "Horace King," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/horace-king-1807-1885/>.

Significance

Bridges have the potential to demonstrate significance under Social History related to places of social events such as protests, social unrest, or other community gathering locations. Bridges may also have significance if erected as part of an area's settlement by African Americans or as the location of significant crossings within established communities. To be individually eligible, they must demonstrate individual significance related to this theme in a manner that is distinct from associated roads or other adjacent resources. Associations under Social History may include bridges constructed using labor of people convicted of crimes or enslaved labor; associations with civil rights, including protests or lynchings; and displacement/urban renewal. Bridges associated with urban renewal should also be considered for their potential association with Transportation, Politics and Government, and Community Planning and Development.³⁸¹

Bridges are likely to be eligible for local significance, although statewide and national levels of significance are possible, particularly if associated with a route significant to the Great Migration, for example.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, bridges should possess key features related to form, material, and layout as originally designed or constructed. If associated with a significant person, such as an engineer or builder, the use of methods or design elements characteristic or indicative of their work that remain visible can contribute

to integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and association. When considering integrity of feeling, the bridge as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A bridge should exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.



Watson Mill Truss Bridge (NRIS #91001147) built in 1885 by W. W. King in Comer, Madison County (extant). *Brian Brown, 2022.*

381 Georgia Historic Bridge Survey, Draft, Georgia Department of Transportation, 2024.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Was the bridge involved in the settlement of an area? How does it compare to other bridges from the same time period?
 - b. Was the bridge an important crossing for African Americans or used to connect an African American community to other areas?
 - c. Was the bridge the site of an important event, such as a protest or lynching?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. Was the bridge built or designed by African Americans, to include those erected using enslaved or convict labor?
 - b. Is the bridge a good example of a specific bridge type or method construction?
 - c. Did the builder or designer build other bridges in Georgia?
 - d. Is the bridge the oldest in the area?

Politics and Government

Significant resources associated with the theme of “Politics and Government” in the context of the African American experience in Georgia are those associated with laws as regulations that significantly impacted Black people, the struggle and obtainment of rights, and places associated with significant African American politicians. Lastly, resources designed as or altered to be segregated spaces, or those built or designed by African Americans, to include those built by enslaved persons, may also be significant.

Legal restrictions on persons of African descent began with the first Africans brought to the state. Nominators with resources that date to this period, to include archaeological sites with the potential to yield new information, should reference “The Opening of African Slavery in Georgia” portion of “Politics and Government” in Section II (page 43).

Resources related to the earliest African Americans in politics should reference “African Americans in Office and the Vote during Reconstruction” of “Politics and Government” in Section II (page 44). Because this period was brief, few, if any, resources associated with these events and persons exist. Nominators of resources that are significant for the retaliatory events that took place during this period should reference the “White Backlash” portion of “Politics and Government” in Section II (page 45). These are most likely to be sites where events occurred as few buildings related to these histories remain standing today.

Resources related to the segregation era are more prevalent as public law codified separation by race in public places. Nominators with significant resources that were impacted by segregationist policies should reference “The Codification of Race” (page 48) and “Jim Crow Laws” (page 51) portions of “Politics and Government” in Section II. This would include the earliest segregated and the first integrated public buildings in a community in addition to segregated (or early integrated) neighborhoods or workplaces of significance. The fact that a resource was segregated, such as a movie theater or public park, does not alone elevate its significance for listing under Ethnic Heritage: Black; however, the retention of segregated spaces may contribute to a resource’s integrity of design if from the period of significance. More information on segregated spaces can be found on page 136.

Nominators of resources built by convict labor should consider the impact of African Americans, where significant and reference “Criminalizing and Capitalizing Race: Convict Labor in Georgia” (page 53). Resources associated with this history largely include state infrastructure projects as well as sites of uprisings and other violent events associated with African Americans convicted of crimes.

Naturally, government buildings, specifically courthouses where segregationist laws were overturned, are central to the “Politics and Government” theme. Nominators with such resources should consult the “Fighting Segregation in the Courts” (page 56) and “Legislating Equality” (page 56) portions of “Politics and Government” in Section II.

Nominators of resources related to events after desegregation, to include the election of African American politicians in the 1960s and later and activism related to voting rights, should reference “The Myth of Post-Racial Georgia” (page 57) and “Gerrymandering the Vote, the New Jim Crow” (page 58) portions of “Politics and Government” in Section II.

“Politics and Government” significantly impacted the built environment in Georgia. When relevant, other themes should be consulted. For example, an African American neighborhood established in a flood zone as dictated by racist zoning policies may cite the theme of “Home Life” in addition to “Politics and Government.”

Associated Property Types:

Local Government Buildings (City Halls, Courthouses, and Post Offices), Libraries, Places of Riot and Massacre, Sites of Significant Civil Rights Protests

COMMON AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context’s theme of “Politics and Government” are:

- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource’s significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource’s significance and justify its nomination.
- » Law, for both the laws themselves and the interpretation of them in local, state, and federal courts. For example,

resources associated with this Area of Significance may be the location of significant sites of enforcement, such as a jail, or the location where a significant arrest occurred.

- » Politics/Government, for resources such as city halls where these laws were passed or any government-owned building, such as post offices, courthouses, libraries, and schools, where racial laws were created or enforced.
- » Social History for how theories regarding the interaction of the races impacted society. For example, buildings with separate entrances as required by Jim Crow laws may be significant under this Area.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely areas of significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of “Politics and Government” as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

Resources associated with this theme may be listed for Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History), Criterion B (Person), or Criterion C (Design/Construction).

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History)**, a resource associated with “Politics and Government” must have been the location where the event of significance occurred or be directly associated with a broad trend or pattern for which it is significant.

Example: A building where a sit-in took place at a lunch counter in an attempt to combat segregationist policies.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion B (Person)**, the significant individual must have been directly associated with the resource during the period in which they achieved significance.

Example: The office of a significant civil rights activist during the 1960s.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion C (Design/Construction)**, a resource associated with “Politics and Government” should have distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; be the work of a Black builder or architect; or possess high artistic value.

Example: An early courthouse distinctive for its design that was built using enslaved labor.

THEMATIC REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Resources must be directly related to laws or regulations that significantly impacted Black people, the struggle and obtainment of rights for African Americans, or African American political activism.

Resources may be sites where events occurred but should not be sites of commemoration.

THEMATIC ASSOCIATIVE QUALITIES

- » Documented association with the theme through written records or oral histories.

Example: The site of a civil rights protest as remembered by those who were present as recorded in an oral history.

- » The resource must retain most of the essential character defining physical features from the period in which the resource gained significance.

Example: A courthouse that has been minimally altered where segregationist legislation was overturned during the Civil Rights movement.

THEMATIC INTEGRITY CONSIDERATIONS

Overall integrity should be assessed within the time frame when the resource gained significance.

The resource should retain significant material from its period of significance.

The most important aspects of integrity for this theme are Setting, Location, Feeling, and Association.

The older the resource, the more likely its integrity of Design, Workmanship, and Setting have been diminished. In these instances, other areas of integrity should remain intact.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS: CITY HALLS, COURTHOUSES, AND POST OFFICES

Description

Local government buildings relevant to this context include those with specific associations with significant African Americans or events involving African Americans. Examples of such associations include courthouses where milestone court cases involving African Americans occurred or where the earliest Black judges were appointed, buildings where civil rights marches or protests occurred, or government buildings designed or built by African Americans. Other significant associations may also exist. Early government buildings erected prior to Emancipation may have been built using enslaved labor. City Halls and Courthouses are typically multi-story masonry buildings that are located in urban areas.

Significance

Local government buildings are likely to be eligible for local significance, although statewide and national significance is possible. Local government buildings will generally be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion B (Person) as related to Black history in Georgia. Significant court cases, riots or protests, or the use of enslaved people or convict labor for the construction of a government building would each apply Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History).

At the U.S. Post Office and Courthouse in Atlanta, known today as the Elbert Parr Tuttle U.S. Court of Appeals Building, Chief Justice

Elbert Parr Tuttle played a pivotal role in the American Civil Rights movement. Here, counsel from the NAACP helped advance a Fifth Circuit school desegregation ruling in 1966 (*U.S. v. Jefferson*) which marked a legal turning point in school desegregation in Georgia.³⁸²

Less common are local government buildings with African American associations linked to Criterion C (Design/Construction). Local government buildings built or designed by African Americans may be eligible under C. A comparative analysis of other resources

382 Matthew Burrell, "African American History Month: How Our Nation's Courthouses Played a Role in the Civil Rights Movement," *General Services Administration*, 2016, <https://www.gsa.gov/blog/2016/02/03/african-american-history-month-how-our-nations-courthouses-played-a-role-in-the-civil-rights-movement>.



U.S. Post Office and Courthouse (Elbert Parr Tuttle U.S. Court of Appeals Building) (NRIS #74000681), 56 Forsyth Street NW, Atlanta, Fulton County (extant).
Wikimedia.

of similar design or construction or designed or built by the same person or their contemporaries could aid in determining significance. For statewide or national significance, comparative analysis across a wider area would likely be required.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, local government buildings should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. If associated with a Black architect or builder, to include buildings erected using enslaved or convict labor, the use of methods or design elements characteristic or indicative of their work that remain visible can



Howard Academy & Freedmen's Courthouse, c.1870, Midville, Burke County (extant).
Brian Brown, 2020.

contribute to integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and association. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building should exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Did a legal milestone significantly impacting the lives of Black Georgians occur here?
 - b. Was the building the site of a demonstration, protest, or the backdrop for political activism for or by Black Georgians?
2. Person (Criterion B)
 - a. Is the building directly associated with an African American of importance during the period when he or she achieved significance as an individual?
 - i. Was the building the site of an important court case, protest, or other political event involving that individual?
 - ii. Was the building the location where an important African American politician worked?
3. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. Was the building built or designed by African Americans, to include those erected by enslaved labor?
 - i. Is the resource an outstanding example of a specific building type or an outstanding example of an extant building associated with a specific builder or designer?
 - b. Was the building designed as or altered to be a segregated space?



The Madison County Courthouse [extant] (NRIS #80001114) at 101 W. Courthouse Square, Danielsville, Madison County. Building was the site of multiple racially motivated trials including the trial of the men who murdered Lt. Col. Lemuel Penn. *Ethos Preservation.*

LIBRARIES

Description

Libraries significant to the African American experience in Georgia include those built using enslaved labor, those built for African American use during segregation, those where protests and sit-ins occurred, and those that were the first to be integrated. Libraries built specifically for use by Black people largely date to the early twentieth century, although earlier ones exist. Specifically, libraries funded by magnate Andrew Carnegie for African American use can be found throughout Georgia, although others built solely by public library systems also exist. Most are one story masonry buildings with central entrances and large interior spaces.



Carnegie Library (NRIS #82002404) at 215 North Jackson Street, Albany, Dougherty County (extant). Here, Black civil rights activists attempted to integrate the whites-only library on July 18, 1962, garnering the attention of local media.³⁸³ *Brian Brown, 2022.*

383 WSB-TV, "newsfilm clip of African American students attempting to integrate the Albany Carnegie Library in Albany, Georgia," 1962 July 18, WSB-TV newsfilm collection, reel 0798, 24:48/25:45, *Walter J. Brown Media Archives and Peabody Awards Collection, The University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Georgia.*

Significance

Libraries are likely to be eligible for local significance, although statewide and national significance is possible. Libraries will generally be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion C (Design/Construction). Buildings that were the first libraries erected for African American use in a community or those that were the site of a significant sit-in, protest, or other event may be significant under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). Buildings built or designed by significant African Americans, to include those erected using enslaved labor, should be nominated under Criterion C (Design/Construction). A comparative analysis of other resources of similar design or construction or designed or built by the same person or their contemporaries could aid in determining local significance. For statewide or national significance, comparative analysis across a wider area would likely be required.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, libraries should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. If associated with a Black architect or builder, or built using enslaved labor, the use of methods or design elements characteristic or indicative of their work that remain visible can contribute to integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and association. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building should exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity

of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.



537 East Henry Street Carnegie Library, Savannah, Chatham County (extant). The building is a contributing resource to the Savannah Victorian Historic District (NRIS #74000665). *Ethos Preservation*.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Was the library the location of political activism impacting Black Georgians?
 - b. Was the library constructed for African American use?
 - i. Was it the first and/or only library for Blacks in the area?
 - c. Was the library the first in the area to be integrated?
 - d. Is the library part of a larger campus?
 - i. Does the library have associations with a Historically Black College and University (HBCU)?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. How rare is your resource type? Are there other buildings built or designed by African Americans in the area? Did the builder or designer build other buildings in Georgia?
 - b. Is the resource an outstanding example of a specific building type or an outstanding example of an extant building associated with a specific builder or designer?
 - c. Was the building designed as or altered to be a segregated space?

PLACES OF POLITICAL RIOT, PROTEST, OR MASSACRE

Description

Because the African American story is fraught with injustice, and at times direct and organized assault, places of political riot, protest, and massacre must be considered when understanding Georgia's full story as it relates to place. Such incidents occurred over rights and issues that became political and/or occurred on government property, although they occurred over other issues and at other places as well. Places of political riot, protest, and massacre include, but are not limited to, buildings, city streets, parks, and bridges. Places of political riot, protest, or massacre may overlap with other typologies; local government buildings for example should also reference the Local Government Buildings typology.

Significance

Places of Political riot, protest, or massacre as identified in this typology will most often be sites remembered for an event for listing under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) as these events often involved challenges to racially motivated laws and societal expectations or were displays of racism and animosity indicative of the period. Places of significance are those where political riot, protest, or massacre led to consequential change that granted rights to African Americans, although some events only hardened existing regulations or deepened racist sentiments. One example is the site of the Camilla Massacre, one of the most violent episodes during Reconstruction in Georgia. After twenty-eight newly elected members of the General Assembly were expelled for being at least one-eighth Black, Philip Joiner, one of the ejected members, led a twenty-five mile march from Albany to Camilla in September of 1868 along with several hundred supporters to protest the illegal actions of the General Assembly. Once the majority of the Black group reached the courthouse

square in Camilla, white residents opened fire, killing an estimated twelve people and wounding about thirty more.³⁸⁴

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, places of political riot, protest, or massacre should retain integrity of setting, feeling, association, and location. Nearby buildings, roads, landscape features, or other elements that were present when the event occurred can aid integrity of setting. A site's overall character and ability to convey its association with the historical event should be considered related to integrity of feeling. If a site that was a community park but has since been redeveloped, the redevelopment may hinder its ability to convey integrity of feeling and association. Similarly, a site with a roadway that has been substantially widened introducing more traffic may also be so altered that its ability to convey integrity of feeling and association is diminished.

384 Lee Formwalt, "Camilla Massacre," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2020, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/camilla-massacre/>.



Site of the Camilla Massacre, Camilla, Mitchell County. *James L. Whitman.*

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Did the event that occurred have a demonstrable impact on society, a political movement, or politics and government?
 - b. What is the period of significance associated with the significant event? This can be a date range, a single year, or even a single day.
 - c. Are there images or other sources to reference how the place appeared during the period of significance? What design features, buildings, landscape features, or other elements were present during the period?
 - d. Was the event documented in published sources or remembered in oral histories?
 - e. Does the community today still commonly associate the site with the significant event?

Agriculture, Labor, and the Land

Significant resources associated with the theme of “Agriculture, Labor, and the Land” that have African American associations date to all historical periods and regions of Georgia. Early resources may include land cultivated by enslaved laborers such as rice fields, or a barn or farm house associated with a tenant farming family post-Emancipation. Resources associated with enslaved persons related to this theme should reference the “More People, Less Freedom” portion of the “Agriculture, Labor, and the Land” in Section II (page 62), while the section “Land Owner or Tenant Farmer?” (page 64) should be referenced by nominators with tenant farming resources. Later resources may include Black family farms; camps where a significant number of African Americans labored in support of timbering, turpentine, naval stores, or other agricultural operations; factories with significant African American associations; and non-Black owned resources that had a significant Black labor force, or impacted the Black community significantly.

Agricultural resources specifically are those associated with the cultivation of the earth, the production of cash or staple crops, and/or the raising of livestock.³⁸⁵ Identifying patterns in agricultural landscapes and evaluating them by National Register criteria is made more difficult by the transitory nature of many of these functional landscapes.³⁸⁶ When considering built resources with agricultural associations, the recycling of building materials as a necessity of survival on African American farms should be considered when analyzing the significance and integrity of design, materials, and workmanship of agricultural resources associated with African Americans. Many adaptations and changes, though not all, add to the integrity of these resources, because they show how people altered the resources to maintain continuous use.

Where agricultural properties remain intact, buildings may often be paired with archaeological resources that could yield additional information, which should be factored in their significance. The Hamilton Plantation Slave Cabins (NRIS # 88000968) at 1195 Arthur J. Moore Drive on St. Simons Island in Glynn County is one example where buildings and archaeological resources have been listed together as part of a Ethnic Heritage: Black National Register listing. Specifically, this nomination details that there is potential to yield, if archaeologically investigated, information on the lifeways of those enslaved.³⁸⁷

Historically, African Americans have disproportionately experienced limitations on work opportunities and were often relegated to manual labor jobs.³⁸⁸ Other resources associated with “Agriculture, Labor, and the Land” include mills and factories (such as grist mills, sawmills, sash

385 New South Associates, *Tilling the Earth: Georgia's Historic Agricultural Heritage - A Context*, 50.

386 New South Associates, *Tilling the Earth*, 60.

387 Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr., “Hamilton Plantation Slave Cabins,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1988.

388 Library of Congress, “America at Work,” *America at Work, America at Leisure: Motion Pictures from 1894 to 1915*, Library of Congress, 2024, <https://www.loc.gov/collections/america-at-work-and-leisure-1894-to-1915/articles-and-essays/america-at-work/#:~:text=African%20Americans%20were%20also%20generally,tasks%20such%20as%20loading%20freight.>

and door factories), mill-related resources (such as millraces, tailraces, log ponds), agricultural camps and distilleries (such as turpentine), machine shops, energy-related resources (such as dams and hydropower systems), and agricultural industry facilities (such as canneries, creameries, and cheese factories).

For as long as African Americans have been a part of the labor force, there have been challenges and disputes related to equal pay, employment conditions, and policies and procedures involving African Americans. Resources associated with significant labor disputes involving African Americans commonly include factories, mills, and other places of employment. Nominators of these resources should reference the “Labor Movements and Factories” portion of “Agriculture, Labor, and the Land” in Section II (page 67).

Associated Property Types:

Barns and Agricultural Buildings, Plantation Labor Sites, Agricultural Camps, Factories and Warehouses, Mills and Mill Villages, Distilleries

Common Areas of Significance

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context’s theme of “Agriculture, Labor, and the Land” are:

- » Agriculture, for any resources connected to the technology of cultivating crops and livestock, such as advanced dike systems developed on Georgia rice plantations. Family farms and plantation labor sites may also be significant under this Area.
- » Economics, for the labor relations between both enslaved African Americans as well as the labor arrangements after Emancipation. The economic system of slavery and tenant farming is directly connected to the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth in Georgia, meaning that some plantation labor sites may be significant under this Area.

- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource’s significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource’s significance and justify its nomination.
- » Industry, because agriculture served as the primary industry within Georgia for much of the period covered by this context. Similar to economics, the technology and process surrounding some agricultural operations may be significant under this Area. For example, a cotton gin may be significant under this Area.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely areas of significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of “Agriculture, Labor, and the Land” as connected to

Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible areas of significance.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

Resources associated with this theme may be listed for Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History), Criterion B (Person), Criterion C (Design/Construction), or Criterion D (Information Potential/Archaeology).

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History)**, a resource associated with “Agriculture, Labor, and the Land” must have been the location where the event of significance occurred or be directly associated with a broad trend or pattern for which it is significant.

Example: A sawmill operated primarily by African Americans to construct many community buildings.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion B (Person)**, the significant individual must have lived or worked in the residence during the period in which they achieved significance.

Example: A farm where an African American farmer pioneered a new way of cultivating crops.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion C (Design/Construction)**, a resource associated with “Agriculture, Labor, and the Land” should have distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; be the work of a Black builder or architect; or possess high artistic value.

Example: A plantation labor site where enslaved Africans engineered a system of dikes and levees to successfully cultivate rice.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion D (Information Potential/Archaeology)**, a resource associated with “Agriculture, Labor, and the Land” should have the potential to yield new information if more research is performed through archaeology or other methods.

Example: A plantation labor site where slave dwellings are extant but no archaeological work has been performed within the proximity of these dwellings, which could reveal information related to the lifeways of those enslaved.

THEMATIC REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Resources must be representative of the theme and be directly related to the working of land or labor of African Americans.

Resources erected using enslaved labor may not reflect this association in physical appearance. Resources associated with the theme erected prior to 1865 should evaluate this possibility.

THEMATIC ASSOCIATIVE QUALITIES

- » Documented association with the theme through written records or oral histories.

Example: A factory that employed a significant number of African Americans as documented through employer records.

- » The resource must retain most of the essential character defining physical features from the period in which the resource gained significance.

Example: A plantation labor site that retains multiple outbuildings in their original locations from the period of significance.

THEMATIC INTEGRITY CONSIDERATIONS

Overall integrity should be assessed within the time frame when the resource gained significance.

The resource should retain significant material from its period of significance.

The most important aspects of integrity for this theme are Location, Setting, Workmanship, Feeling, and Association.

The older the resource, the more likely its integrity of Design, Workmanship, and Setting have been diminished. In these instances, other areas of integrity should remain intact.

BARNs AND AGRICULTURAL BUILDINGS

Description

Because the cultivation of land and harvesting of crops is integral to the experiences of African Americans in rural areas, both before and after Emancipation, barns and agricultural buildings play a significant role in telling Georgia's full story. Indicative of the cultivation of land and storage of equipment, animals, grain, and harvested crops, agricultural buildings make up the majority of the resources eligible to the National Register associated with agriculture. When present, barns and agricultural buildings significant to the Black experience are typically associated with plantation labor sites, early tenant farms, sharecropping, family farms, and Black-owned farms. Various outbuildings associated with African American agricultural enterprises may include sweet potato houses, silos, chicken houses, and other crop or region specific outbuildings. For a detailed list of agricultural building typologies, the statewide context *Tilling the Earth* should be referenced, see page 134 for additional information.

Significance

Barns and agricultural buildings are likely to be listed for local significance, although statewide and national significance is possible. These buildings will generally be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion C (Design/Construction). More often than not, barns and agricultural buildings may be considered significant when they remain as part of a grouping of resources associated with a farm or plantation labor site. In these instances, nomination as a historic district is the most appropriate approach. These districts may also be eligible under Criterion D, for the potential to reveal more information about African American life, if additional investigation is performed, through methods such as archaeology. Buildings built or designed by significant African Americans should be nominated under Criterion C (Design/Construction). Those built by enslaved labor should be nominated under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). A comparative analysis of other resources of the same type or grouping, such

as other plantation labor sites, could aid in determining local significance. For statewide or national significance, comparative analysis across a wider area would likely be required.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, barns and agricultural buildings should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. Although rare, the use of construction methods specific to the African American association, such as the use of earth-walled and post-in-trench construction techniques originating from West Africa that were employed by enslaved Africans, would contribute to the resource's significance.

Barns and agricultural buildings will not typically be listed individually, but rather as a district where multiple resources with a shared period of significance exist. District listing hinges less on the individual significance of any one resource and centers more on the collective ability of multiple resources in relatively

close physical proximity that together convey association and significance. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship speaks specifically to built resources whereas integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association speak to a district's collective physical attributes. A rural plantation labor site listed as a district, where the majority of buildings retain their original form, where few new buildings have been erected, and the surrounding area remains largely underdeveloped, is one example where barns and agricultural buildings could be listed.

When considering integrity of feeling, barns and agricultural buildings should convey their origin and association with their period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. Buildings should be sited in their original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.



Double Crib barn on the c.1917 T. A. Bryant Homestead at 3956 Crossvale Road in Stonecrest, Dekalb County (extant). *Brian Brown, 2022.*



Single Crib barn on the c.1917 T. A. Bryant Homestead at 3956 Crossvale Road in Stonecrest, Dekalb County (extant). *Brian Brown, 2022.*

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Does the resource help to tell the story of the cultivation of land, harvesting of crops, or labor attributed to African Americans?
 - i. Was the activity associated with the use of the resource representative of the type of work performed in the area by Black Georgians?
 - ii. Where enslaved labor was involved, was the activity made possible by first hand knowledge of those enslaved?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. Is the resource a good example of a specific barn or agricultural building type?
 - i. Was the resource constructed or designed by African Americans, to include those built by enslaved labor?
3. Information Potential/Archaeology (Criterion D)
 - a. Are there any archaeological studies of the resources?
 - i. Did those studies uncover information that added significantly to our knowledge of the period of significance?
 - ii. Did those studies uncover that additional archaeological work may add significantly to our knowledge of the period of significance?

FARMS

Description

Farming is a longstanding activity associated with the Black experience in Georgia. The earliest African American resources associated with farming in Georgia include tenant farms established by freed African Americans post Emancipation. Farms extant today are often multi-generational Black family farms, some of which remain active farming sites. If a site of continuous use, changes to accommodate use help to tell this story and should be considered contributing elements if associated with a resource's period of significance. Farms can include residential houses, barns, outbuildings, and worked landscapes and will most often be classified as districts, if multiple resources are present. Farms can be large or small. Most are located in rural areas, with crops cultivated specific to the region. Whereas Black farms should be considered post-Emancipation resources, farms where people of African descent were enslaved should reference the plantation labor site typology on page 168.

Farms can include any combination of resources. For listing, a farm should include at least one above ground resource, either associated with the ownership of farmland or the cultivation of crops.

Significance

Farms are likely to be listed for local significance, although statewide and national significance is possible. Farms will generally be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion C (Design/Construction). Farms generally comprise a grouping of resources with a shared period of significance. In these instances, district listing is the best approach. Engineered landscape features, such as canals, that were built by enslaved labor should be listed under Criterion C (Design/Construction). A comparative analysis of other resources of the same type or grouping could aid in determining local significance. For statewide or national significance, comparative analysis across a wider area would likely be required.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, farms should possess physical characteristics indicative of the farm's period of significance. This can include the presence of buildings or landscape features but also the absence of features, to include open space preservation, where crops were cultivated. The use of construction methods specific to the African American association, such as the dike systems engineered by Africans with first hand knowledge of rice cultivation, would contribute to the resource's significance.

District listing hinges less on the individual significance of any one resource and centers more so on the collective ability of multiple resources in relatively close physical proximity to together convey association and significance. Integrity of design, materials, and

workmanship speaks specifically to built resources whereas integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association speak to a district's collective physical attributes. A historic family farm that is actively used for farming but retains multiple buildings from its inception in addition to continually cultivated areas is one example of a collection of resources that may be viable for district listing.

When considering integrity of feeling, a district should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.



Sam Ripley Farm (NRIS #04001187), 1337 Dorchester Village Road in Midway, Liberty County (extant).
Brian Brown, 2017.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. What is the period of significance associated with the specific event(s) that occurred at the farm?
 - i. If a Black-owned or Black family farm,
 1. What year was the farm established?
 2. What year(s) were the height of operations for the farm?
 - b. How does the farm compare to others?
 - i. Are there other Black farms in the area?
 - ii. What makes this farm significant or unique?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. How rare is your resource? Are there other Black farms in the area?
 - b. Is the resource an outstanding example of a specific type of farm? What resources on the landscape reflect the farm's association with this type?
 - c. Does the farm's physical characteristics reflect specific engineering or farming techniques?

PLANTATION LABOR SITES

Description

Plantation labor sites with African American associations can be found throughout Georgia. The majority of sites are located in rural areas. All are associated with the cultivation of crops to include landscapes and lands worked and/or engineered by Black laborers, such as rice fields cultivated with traditional skills and knowledge originating from West Africa. Sites include manmade landscape elements, such as rice fields paired with gridded dikes or canals. Many extant sites retain built resources in addition to archaeological deposits associated with the daily lives of enslaved people. Where multiple resources associated with a period of significance exist, district listing is appropriate.

In most instances, all resources at a plantation labor site will have an African American association to include buildings erected by enslaved laborers such as:

- » the enslaver's house, where enslaved persons worked, constructed, and possibly designed the house
- » agricultural buildings built and used by the enslaved;
- » land worked by enslaved persons;
- » dwellings and other buildings built and occupied by the enslaved; and
- » sites where the enslaved were buried.

Larger plantation labor sites may include multiple groupings of dwellings for the enslaved, as evidenced on Ossabaw and Butler Islands. Burial sites for enslaved persons were often relegated to low lying areas not suitable for cultivation or building.



Slave dwelling (extant) at Hofwyl-Broadfield Plantation labor site (NRIS #76000635), 5556 US-17, Brunswick, Glynn County. *Brian Brown*.

Significance

Plantation labor sites are likely to be listed for local significance, although statewide and national significance is possible. Plantation labor sites will generally be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion C (Design/Construction), but these resources may also be eligible under Criterion D (archaeology or potential to yield new information). Plantation labor sites may be considered significant when they remain as part of a grouping of resources with a shared period of significance. In these instances, district listing is the best approach. Resources built and worked by enslaved labor should be listed under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). A comparative analysis of other resources of the same type or grouping could aid in determining local significance. For statewide or national significance, comparative analysis across a wider area would likely be required.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, plantation labor sites should possess physical characteristics indicative of a site's period of significance. This can include the presence of buildings or landscape features but also the absence of features, to include open space preservation, where crops were cultivated. The presence of dwellings where the enslaved lived, paired with at least one other resource associated with the period, such as a second dwelling or a burial site or an overseer's house, would be enough to constitute a district.



Butler Island Plantation labor site on Highway 17 south of the Darien River in McIntosh County. *Ethos Preservation.*

District listing hinges less on the individual significance of any one resource and centers more so on the collective ability of multiple resources in relatively close physical proximity to together convey association and significance. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship speaks specifically to built resources whereas integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association speak to a district's collective physical attributes. For the land associated with crop cultivation to be listed as a contributing resource, the presence and preservation of built landscape elements, such as gridded dikes or canals, must remain visible in order for the landscape to have integrity.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Is the site representative of the plantation labor economy in Georgia?
 - i. If yes, is it a good example of a plantation labor site?
 - ii. If unique, in what way?
 - b. What sources of information and/or physical evidence remain that tell the story of those enslaved at the site?
 - i. Are there published records that mention enslaved people?
 - ii. Are there living descendants or oral histories that can be referenced?
 - iii. Do the resources reflect their association with enslaved people?
 1. Are the rooms or spaces preserved within buildings where enslaved persons worked or lived?
 2. Does the landscape reflect the cultivation of land by enslaved laborers today?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. What elements were designed or built by people of African descent?
 - i. What design elements or features help to tell this story? Do these elements remain today?
3. Information Potential/Archaeology (Criterion D)
 - a. Are there any extant below ground resources?
 - i. Burial sites of enslaved persons?
 - ii. Remnants of buildings built or occupied by enslaved persons?
 - iii. Archaeological deposits that would provide significant information regarding the daily lives of enslaved people?
 - iv. Features associated with the plantation labor site landscape that would provide information on the methods of construction that reflect the use of West African techniques?
 - b. Are there any archaeological studies of the resources?
 - i. Did those studies uncover information that added significantly to our knowledge of what occurred during the period of significance?
 - ii. Did those studies uncover that additional archaeological work may add significantly to our knowledge of the period for which the resource is significant?

FACTORIES AND WAREHOUSES

Description

A significant number of African Americans were employed in industries where factories and warehouses were common. Factories and warehouses associated with the Black experience in Georgia may be linked to laborers or owners. Factories and warehouses of greatest significance are those where Black entrepreneurs operated industrial and business enterprises, most commonly in urban centers. Few Black-built factories and warehouses remain on the landscape today. Where present, their rarity contributes to their significance. Factories and Warehouses linked to Black laborers worthy of significance are most commonly associated with important events, such as racially charged labor disputes. The Fulton Bag and Cotton Company building in Atlanta is one such example. The story of this building and its related history can be found on page 68. Alternatively, the uniqueness of a resource's significance may be what elevates its nomination. Now a museum, the A.S. Varn & Son Oyster and Crab Factory in Pin Point outside of Savannah employed numerous members of the local community in the early twentieth century. Largely descendants of those enslaved on nearby Ossabaw Island, those employed at the factory spoke Gullah Geechee daily, as celebrated in the Pin Point Heritage Museum housed in the complex today.



Fulton Bag and Cotton Company (extant) a contributing resource to the Cabbagetown Historic District (NRIS #76000623) at 170 Boulevard Avenue, Atlanta, Fulton County. *Danielle Meunier.*



A.S. Varn & Son Oyster and Crab Factory (extant) known today as the Pin Point Heritage Museum, located at 9924 Pin Point Avenue, Savannah, Chatham County. *Ethos Preservation.*

Significance

Factories and warehouses are likely to be listed for local significance, although statewide and national significance is possible. Factories or warehouses that were the location of racially charged labor disputes should be nominated under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). Historically rare, those owned or operated by African American entrepreneurs should be nominated under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) with Social History as a particular Area of Significance. Although less common, factories and warehouses built or designed by significant African Americans should be nominated under Criterion C (Design/Construction). A comparative analysis of other resources of similar design or construction or designed or built by the same person or their contemporaries could aid in determining local significance. For statewide or national significance, comparative analysis across a wider area would likely be required.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, factories and warehouses should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. If associated with a Black architect or builder, the use of methods or design elements characteristic or indicative of their work that remain visible can contribute to integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and association. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building should exist in its original context and not have been moved to

ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.



Southern Stamp and Stencil Company, 428 Edgewood Avenue, Atlanta. *Carter Finch.*

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Is the factory or warehouse associated with an industry significant to the African American experience?
 - i. Did the industry largely only employ African Americans?
 - ii. Were African American segregated within the factory or warehouse?
 - b. Did the factory or warehouse employ a significant number of African Americans?
 - i. Did African Americans make significant contributions to the industry or activities performed in the building?
 - ii. Or, is the building representative of the types of places that employed a significant number of African Americans during a specific period?
 - c. Did a significant event occur at the building?
 - i. Is the building associated with a significant labor dispute involving African Americans?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. How rare is your resource? Are there other buildings built or designed by African Americans in the area? Did the builder or designer build other buildings in Georgia?
 - b. Is the resource an outstanding example of a specific building type or an outstanding example of an extant building associated with a specific builder or designer?

MILLS AND MILL VILLAGES

Description

Georgia was historically home to numerous large mill operations, the majority of which processed textiles. The textile industry was strictly segregated and commonly Black male workers held menial jobs at mills. Women had no role in the mills until the 1950s although they commonly cooked, cleaned, and watched children in mill villages for white families.³⁸⁹ In addition to the buildings associated with the milling of material, many mill owners erected numerous ancillary buildings for use by employees to form a complex of buildings often known as a mill village. Mill villages were largely erected in the early twentieth century and were predominantly for use by white employees; however some included segregated sections for African American workers. When present, mill housing for African Americans was largely relegated to the outskirts of villages, as seen at Rose Hill in Porterdale, erected by Bibb Manufacturing. Although rare, some small scale mills were Black-owned or operated. When nominating individual houses, the “Home Life” theme should also be referenced. When present, the rarity of the resource will contribute to its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.



Rose Hill, part of the Porterdale Historic District (NRIS #01000974), Porterdale, Newton County (extant). *Joe Smith.*

³⁸⁹ Arden Williams, "Textile Industry," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2021, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/business-economy/textile-industry/>.

Significance

Mills and mill villages are likely to be listed for local significance, although statewide and national significance is possible. Mills that were the location of racially charged labor disputes or built and operated by African American entrepreneurs should be listed under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). Although less common, mills built or designed by significant African Americans should be listed under Criterion C (Design/Construction). A comparative analysis of other resources of similar design or construction or designed or built by the same person or their contemporaries could aid in determining local significance. For statewide or national significance, comparative analysis across a wider area would likely be required.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, mills and mill villages should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the period of significance. If associated with a Black architect or builder, the use of methods or design elements characteristic or indicative of their work that remain visible can contribute to integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and association. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building should exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.

In order to be significant in the area of Ethnic Heritage: Black, a mill village should include mill housing for African Americans. Commonly, mill villages were segregated, in which case African American worker housing was relegated to a specific area. This differentiation should be evident on the landscape for integrity to remain. When multiple resources are present, mill houses should be listed as districts. District listing hinges less on the individual significance of any one resource and centers more so on the collective ability of multiple resources in relatively close physical proximity to together convey association and significance. A mill village listed as a district, where the majority of buildings retain their original form to include a segregated section for African American workers in close proximity to a mill or factory, is a village example potentially eligible for listing for significant association with the African American experience under Ethnic Heritage: Black.

When considering integrity of feeling, a district should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. Buildings should be sited in their original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Did the mill employ a significant number of African Americans?
 - b. Did African Americans make significant contributions at the mill?
 - c. Was the mill the site of a significant labor dispute involving African Americans?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. How rare is your resource?
 - i. If a Black owned or operated mill, were there others in the area? How many remain on the landscape today?
 - b. Is the resource an outstanding example of a specific building type or an outstanding example of an extant building associated with a specific builder or designer?
 - c. If a mill village, were there buildings built specifically for African American use? Do they remain on the landscape? If segregated, is the African American part of the village and its relation to the mill or other mill related resources still evident today?

Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services

Resources associated with the historical patterns covered in the theme of “Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services” are some of the most present on the landscape and important to the African American community. Central to the African American story, resources associated with this theme served as the place of multiple functions in the community. Religious properties can include associated resources such as fellowship halls, playgrounds, schools, parsonages, rectories, convents, cemeteries, or office buildings. Although less common, religious resources may have Islamic associations, to include early churches where early African congregants and their descendants influenced the use of design elements of the Islamic tradition, or later predominantly African American mosques associated with the Nation of Islam. In these instances, the “Traditional African Cultural Beliefs and Customs” portion of “Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services” in Section II (page 71) will apply. Where applicable, schools with religious associations should also reference the “Education” theme and school typologies starting on page 231.

Resources related specifically to fellowship include fraternal buildings, such as masonic lodges, and leisure and lodging facilities, such as YMCAs purpose-built for African Americans. As outlined in “Community Building through Religious, Educational, and Civic Institution”’s portion of “Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services” in Section II (page 75), such spaces offered a safe haven for gathering, celebrating, and organizing while the organizations they housed provided financial support to members, protecting them against poverty and other hardships. While Prince Hall Freemasonry is the oldest recognized and continuously active organization founded by African Americans, numerous other organizations for Black fellowship were formed in Georgia. Nominators with masonic lodges should review the “Masonic Lodges” portion of “Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services” in Section II (page 77).

Ritual-specific resources are largely sites used as places of baptism. Resources related to social services are those with medical affiliations, which may be buildings built with public or private funds. It is possible that other resources related to ritual and social services may exist.



St. Luke's Cemetery, Thomson, McDuffie County. *Michelle Zupan.*

ASSOCIATED PROPERTY TYPES

Churches and Associated Buildings (Rectories, Parsonages, Convents, Fellowship Halls), Places of Baptism, Praise Houses, Cemeteries, Lodges, Social Halls, and Medical Facilities

COMMON AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services" are:

- » Architecture, for buildings designed by significant Black architects or built by significant craftspeople. Many buildings, such as Prince Hall Masonic Lodges and places of worship, may be significant under this Area because they are often purpose-built with specific architectural styles that may be significant representative examples.
- » Education, for the close connection of various schools and institutions of higher learning to religious organizations.
- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource's significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource's significance and justify its nomination.
- » Religion, for the connection to places of worship and other resources associated with religious or ritual practice. For example, baptismal pools may be significant under this Area.

- » Social History, for the efforts of various organizations to uplift the Black community at large. Social organizations often worked to promote the welfare of society, making resources associated with them potentially significant under this Area.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely areas of significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

Resources associated with this theme may be listed for Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History), Criterion B (Person), or Criterion C (Design/Construction) and will likely include Criteria Consideration A for Religious Properties (see page 14 for more information).

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History)**, a resource associated with "Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services" must have been the location where the event of significance occurred or be directly associated with a broad trend or pattern for which it is significant.

Example: A masonic lodge where African American members directly benefited from the training or connections made possible by the organization, contributing to their success as significant individuals.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion B (Person)**, the significant individual must have lived or worked

in the resource during the period in which they achieved significance.

Example: A church where an African American pastor turned politician gained prominence within the community.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion C (Design/Construction)**, a resource associated with “Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services” should have distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; be the work of a Black builder or architect; or possess high artistic value.

Example: A social hall of significance erected by local African Americans using locally available materials.

THEMATIC REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Resources must be representative of the theme and be directly related to the gathering of individuals in common purpose.

Churches will be considered potentially significant when activities or persons significant for non-religious reasons are associated with the resource, as is common with the multitude of uses associated with many church buildings; or if the building is architecturally or artistically significant in its design or construction or considered the work of a master (such as an architect or builder).

THEMATIC ASSOCIATIVE QUALITIES

- » Documented association with the theme through written records or oral histories.

Example: A baptismal site where a ledger of those baptized at the location was maintained within church records.

- » Resources associated with the theme commonly share a central gathering place for individuals, whether formally designed or not, or as interior or exterior space.

Example: A fraternal lodge where the first floor houses one large room where chairs could be assembled for meetings.

- » The resource must retain most of the essential character defining physical features from the period in which the resource gained significance.

Example: A church used as a grassroots organizing location for African Americans advocating for equal rights that retains substantial material present in the building during the 1960s when the events took place.

THEMATIC INTEGRITY CONSIDERATIONS

Overall integrity should be assessed within the time frame when the resource gained significance.

The resource should retain significant material from its period of significance.

The most important aspects of integrity for this theme are Location, Design, Materials, Workmanship, Feeling, and Association.

The older the resource, the more likely its integrity of Design, Workmanship, and Setting have been diminished. In these instances, other areas of integrity should remain intact.

PLACES OF WORSHIP

Description

Places of Worship in Georgia significant for African American associations vary widely in appearance based on when they were built, the size of the congregation, and the religious affiliation. Most commonly, those associated with the Black experience in Georgia are vernacular in design, of frame or brick construction, with a front gable roof and alterations reflective of continued use across multiple generations. Rural places of worship tend to be more vernacular buildings whereas those located in urban centers have more architectural details. These buildings are commonly one-story with rectangular floor plans and entrances on the gable end. Interiors include a large central worship space and a raised stage or altar at one end. Most that remain on the landscape date from the 1900s-1950s, although some pre-date Emancipation. Many congregations date from the 1870s, but the buildings often date from later periods. The earliest extant places of worship with African American associations are front gable frame buildings. Around the turn of the century, church designs specifically became more elaborate, to include towers or other elements in addition to more stylistic detail as means became available. Other common evolutions include additions to accommodate more functions and new exterior cladding, such as brick veneer. While there are identifiable common church typologies, no specific church form is unique to the African American experience or to a specific denomination.

In more developed areas, places of worship are frequently outside the central downtown, due to racial discrimination preventing congregations from building in more centrally located areas, although many were purposefully erected in close proximity to the congregants they served. In rural areas, Black religious resources are commonly located at a crossroads in a Black community or on the outskirts of a downtown.

Front Gable Church, Strawberry Chapel AME Church, Laurens County. *Brian Brown, 2021.*



Double Tower Church, Holsey Memorial C.M.E. Church at 187 Ghetts Street, Sparta, Hancock County (extant). *Brian Brown, 2018.*



Central Tower Church, Temple Baptist Church, Kingsland. *Brian Brown, 2018.*



Front Gable Church, Allen Chapel AME Church at 9830 Miami Valley Road in Fort Valley, Peach County (extant). *Brian Brown, 2023.*



Double Tower Church, Saint Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church at 308 Rowe Street, Dublin, Laurens County (extant). *Tyler Fountain.*



Central Tower Church, Black Rock A.M.E. Church at 441 S. Hulin Avenue, Tignall, Wilkes County (extant). *Brian Brown.*

Significance

Historic significance for a religious property cannot be established on the merits of a religious doctrine, but rather, for architectural or artistic values or for important historic or cultural forces that the property represents. A religious property can be eligible if it is directly associated with either a specific event or a broad pattern in the history of religion.³⁹⁰ To state this more plainly, a religious property cannot be eligible simply because it was the place of religious services for a community, or was the oldest structure used by a religious group in a local area. Rather, religious properties should be evaluated under the area of Religion in association with Ethnic Heritage: Black and/or Social History.³⁹¹

Places of worship are likely to be listed for local significance, although statewide and national significance is possible. Places of worship will generally be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion C (Design/Construction). Buildings that were the first places of worship erected for African Americans in a community, for example, may be significant under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). Places of worship built or designed by significant African Americans should be listed under Criterion C (Design/Construction). A comparative analysis of other resources of similar design or construction or designed or built by the same person or their contemporaries could aid in determining local significance. For statewide or national significance, comparative analysis across a wider area would likely be required.

390 NR Bulletin 15, 26.

391 NR Bulletin 16A, 25.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

When considering listing to the National Register, places of worship should possess key features related to use in religious services, civil rights organizing, or elements specific to the historic event, activity, or person with which it is associated. This may include the presence of a large gathering space, such as a sanctuary, and the retention of an identifiable exterior form, such as a front gable mass, for example. In particular, places of worship should retain their layout as it relates to how the building was used during its period of significance, such as the retention of the sanctuary, if significant for worship services versus the retention of meeting rooms if significant civil rights work was accomplished in those spaces, for example.

If nominated under Criterion C (Design/Construction), resources must retain the building features that define their artistic or architectural significance. Integrity considerations should account for historic alterations such as brick veneer over wood siding, which may demonstrate the resource's use over time. Such changes may reflect a congregation's changing needs as well as growth or prosperity. Changes become character defining if they occurred during the period of significance. Likewise, recent alterations to meet requirements of the Americans for Disabilities Act such as ramps or railings may slightly diminish architectural integrity but should not hinder eligibility. Understanding the purpose and intent of alterations are key for evaluating the impact those alterations have on a resource's integrity.

To retain integrity, places of worship should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's

period of significance. If associated with a Black architect or builder, the use of methods or design elements characteristic or indicative of their work that remain visible can contribute to integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and association. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and may remain eligible for listing in the National Register.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Criteria Consideration A
 - a. Does the place of worship have significance outside of its religious associations?
2. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Did the place of worship play a central role in the lives of African Americans beyond its religious role?
 - i. Did secular community meetings or events routinely take place at the church?
 - ii. Was the place of worship the site of civil rights organizing or activism?
 - iii. Was the place of worship connected to the education of African Americans either through an on-site school or through coordinated efforts with other institutions?
3. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. Was the building designed or built by African American(s)?
 - i. Is the building the work of a master, i.e. a notable architect or builder?
 - ii. Is the building indicative of a specific building typology or architectural style?
 - iii. Does the building have artistic significance, such as stained glass windows created by a notable Black artist?

VARIOUS DENOMINATIONS

Catholic Associated

Catholicism was introduced to enslaved Africans on Georgia's shores, beginning with the Spanish and later French/Haitian interactions. The majority of Black Catholic religious resources date from the Reconstruction Era. As such, many congregations have upgraded their buildings, like the St. Benedict the Moor Catholic Church in Savannah. The oldest African American Catholic church in Georgia, the congregation was founded in 1874. Today, the sanctuary building on the St. Benedict campus dates to 1889; however, the building's exterior and interior reflect a significant modernist redesign from 1949.³⁹² Common Catholic associated resources include schools and orphanages.



St. Benedict the Moor, Savannah, Chatham County (extant), located within the Savannah Landmark Historic District (NRIS #66000277). *Ethos Preservation.*



Midcentury Example, Catholic Church of the Most Blessed Sacrament, Atlanta. *Nheyob.*

392 Donna Myers in discussion with Rebecca Fenwick, April 2024.

Islam Associated

A portion of enslaved Africans brought to Georgia like those from the Fulbe ethnic group adhered to the Islamic faith, with notable examples from the Sea Islands. Over time, Christianity mixed with elements of traditional African religions and Islam, becoming the dominant religion of enslaved people in Georgia. There are no known pre-Emancipation Islamic associated resources.³⁹³ Some early African American churches incorporated Islamic elements into their design, however, these associations are secondary in these instances as these places were principally Christian spaces. The majority of extant Islamic associated resources are associated with the Nation of Islam, which is a movement that was popularized by Georgia native Elijah Mohammed in 1930.³⁹⁴



The Al-Farooq Masjid Mosque in Atlanta (no longer extant) before the new Mosque was completed in 2008.

393 Feauxzar, "6 African Muslims that brought Islam to America"; Muhiddin, "Islam as a Liberating Force for Muslim Slaves on the Georgia Sea Islands," 2.

394 American Experience, "Elijah Muhammad and the Nation of Islam."

Protestant Associated

The Protestant church contains a number of denominations significant to the African American community including Baptist and Methodist, and the Colored (later Christian) Methodist Episcopal (CME) and African Methodist Episcopal (AME) denominations established later. The first Black congregations in Georgia were Baptist, and during the Reconstruction Era, the number of Protestant churches erected by African Americans increased rapidly. Modest one story frame buildings are common for the Reconstruction Era, while later congregations elected to build larger more elaborate churches in the Central Tower or Double Tower form and include architectural styles such as Gothic Revival, Romanesque-Revival, or Greek Revival.



New Corinth Baptist Church (NRIS #98000928), Hooks Mill Road near the Indian Road intersection, Leslie, Sumter County. Built c.1884. Nearby Philema Creek was used for baptisms and a cemetery exists containing over 400 internments. *Steve Robinson, Historic Rural Churches.*³⁹⁵

395 Steven H. Moffson, "New Corinth Baptist Church," 1998, 7.

PLACES OF BAPTISM

Description

Places of baptism are typically locations with access to water that have been used for the religious ritual act. For the purposes of this section, places of baptism are open-air sites alongside rivers and creeks. Baptismal fonts and pools inside church buildings should be considered in relation to the places of worship building typology. Places of baptism existed before African Americans had the freedom to build church buildings.

Examples such as the “Round Hole” in Riceboro, the Ochlocknee Pond in Thomas County, and even open water locations in the Atlantic Ocean demonstrate the wide variety of significant places associated with the cultural practice of baptism.



Round Hole, Riceboro, Liberty County. *Brian Brown, 2019.*



Tidal Creek Baptismal Site, Pin Point, Savannah, Chatham County. *Briana Paxton.*

Significance

Places of baptism are locally significant and will generally be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). The practice of baptism in Black culture is rooted in the idea of transformation as referenced in West African spirituality and the baptism of Jesus of Nazareth. Prior to Emancipation, baptism was seen as a way to help bring about an end to oppression and free the spirit, even if the body remained in bondage. In some instances, early baptismal sites existed prior to the presence of a physical church. River baptisms were most widely performed by Black Southern congregations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Less common today, due to a variety of factors, sites that celebrate a continuum of use are significant.³⁹⁶

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

Places of baptism most commonly will be sites, as related to their open-air setting. While places of baptism have religious association, such sites often hold wider significance as places of traditional cultural practice. Thus, places of baptism should be evaluated under the area of Religion in association with Ethnic Heritage: Black and/or Social History.

Places of baptism should retain their integrity of setting, location, association, and feeling. National Register Bulletin 38, which covers specifics related to Traditional Cultural Properties (TCP), should be used as a guiding document when evaluating these resources. More information about TCPs can be found in the sidebar on page 189.

³⁹⁶ PBS Voices, “Exploring the Revolutionary Legacy of Black River Baptisms,” PBS, 2023, <https://youtu.be/wc3slhoiBh8?si=HeNRjHQ37fa7TSHA>.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. What years span the baptismal site’s greatest use?
 - i. Does the site date to before Emancipation?
 - ii. Is the site still in continued use?
 - b. How many people are estimated to have been baptized at the site?
 - c. What documentation exists that defines the location of the baptism site and its use or significance? Is the site mentioned in church records?
 - d. Are there images or other sources to reference how the place appeared during the period of significance? What design features, buildings, landscape features, or other elements were present during the period?
 - i. Are there living descendants or oral histories that can be referenced?
 - e. What character defining features remain that convey its significance? What is the site’s present relationship to water, trees, etc.? Is the setting the same as it was historically?

Traditional Cultural Places

Traditional Cultural Places (TCPs) are resources significant for their associations with cultural practices, traditions, beliefs, lifeways, arts, crafts, or social institutions of a living community. A TCP must be a physical property or place--that is, a district, site, building, structure, or object. There are no special criteria for TCPs, but they must meet one of the four NRHP criteria. Nominations of TCPs should emphasize a place's continuum of use or how the TCP is important for maintaining the cultural identity of a community. Because of the emphasis on the maintenance of cultural identity through memory and a connection to a community's history, there may be alternative options for establishing periods of significance for TCP nomination.



Phillips Community Historic District and Traditional Cultural Place, a post-Civil War Black farming community in Mount Pleasant, South Carolina listed to the National Register in 2024 (NRIS #100008589). *Brittany V. Lavelle Tulla*.

Potential TCPs for Black heritage in Georgia may include (but are not limited to):

- » a location associated with the traditional beliefs of a group about its origins, or its cultural history;
- » a rural community whose organization, buildings and structures, or patterns of land use reflect the cultural traditions valued by its long-term residents;
- » a location where religious practitioners have historically gone, and are known to go today, to perform ceremonial activities in accordance with traditional cultural rules of practice, such as a baptismal site;
- » an urban neighborhood that is the traditional home of a particular cultural group, and that reflects its continuing beliefs and practices;
- » a location where a community has traditionally carried out economic, artistic, or other cultural practices important in maintaining its historic identity.

The Taylors Creek community in Liberty County, forced off their land in 1940-1941 for the establishment of Camp Stewart (now Fort Stewart) is a known example of a TCP where descendants and local residents visit the extant cemeteries, hold annual celebrations, and religious ceremonies.³⁹⁷

In addition to the seven aspects of integrity that must be considered for listing to the National Register, two important questions must be asked related to the designation of TCPs:

1. Does the property have an integral relationship to traditional cultural practices or beliefs?
 - a. Example: Two groups use the same lake for baptisms. One group believes that baptism by water immersion in any body of water is significant. The second group believes that the particular lake in question is essential for acceptance of the individual. The second illustrates an integral relationship.
2. Is the condition of the property such that the relevant relationships survive?
 - a. Unlike traditional evaluations of condition and integrity, TCPs that have been altered may still be eligible if the site has been continually used or if archaeological evidence tells the story of cultural significance.³⁹⁸

397 New South Associates, *It Felt Like Everybody Was Kinfolk: The Taylors Creek Community and Its Traditional Cultural Practices Evaluation*, 2003, <https://home.army.mil/stewart/application/files/3515/2820/7514/NewTCBookforWeb1.pdf>.

398 NR Bulletin 38, 10-11.

PRAISE HOUSES

Description

Praise houses sometimes called “prayer houses” are small, frame buildings, typically with clapboard siding and wood floors where enslaved people gathered for meetings, worship services, and praise services. All have a single room interior layout. Sometimes located on plantation labor sites, the buildings primarily date to before Emancipation although many continued to be used after 1865. Prior to Emancipation, these buildings may have been hidden, since enslaved people were generally not allowed to congregate in large groups. The cultural practice of the Ring Shout was commonly performed in the praise houses of Coastal Georgia.³⁹⁹ Praise houses, particularly those dating to prior to Emancipation, are rare.



Praise House at 1038 R Palmer Road Southeast in Townsend, McIntosh County (extant). *Rebecca Fenwick.*

³⁹⁹ Mary Arnold Twining, “Movement and Dance on the Sea Islands,” *Journal of Black Studies* 15, no. 4 (1985): 471.

Significance

Praise houses are locally significant and will generally be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). Those that have been continually used or associated with a traditional cultural practice, such as the Ring Shout, are significant, in addition to those which retain their original form or materials. For more information on the Ring Shout, review the history sidebar in Section II (page 73).

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

Because Criteria Consideration A (Religious Properties) precludes most places of worship from being listed for associations with religious history alone, these properties should be evaluated under the area of Religion in association with Ethnic Heritage: Black and/or Social History. Religious properties are eligible for the National Register of Historic Places if they derive their primary significance from “architectural or artistic values or for historical importance.”⁴⁰⁰

To retain integrity, praise houses should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building’s period of significance. Praise houses should retain their interior one room layout. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building should exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of extant Praise houses should contribute to the evaluation of its significance.

⁴⁰⁰ NR Bulletin 16A, 25.

A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.



Praise House, c.1930, Long County. *Brian Brown, 2022.*

CEMETERIES

Description

The earliest African American cemeteries in Georgia were typically for enslaved people. Enslaved people were placed in unmarked graves in locations chosen by their enslavers, sometimes referred to as burial sites. When graves were marked, materials salvaged from local resources were used such as wood planks, shingles, fieldstones, shells, and everyday objects like bottles were used to define the location. Markers may have been used by enslavers to honor an enslaved person of importance or placed by family members. As such, early markers often utilize hand carving and may feature Adinkra images. Adinkra is a visual language used by the Akan people of Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire that expresses proverbs and other ideas through symbols. The absence of markers at cemeteries today may simply imply that original markers have since been lost, reused, fallen into the depression, or moved elsewhere. Sometimes, enslaved laborer graves were placed next to enslaver/owner burial sites but most often Black burials were placed out of the line of sight around the enslaver's house. Locations of early burial sites at plantation labor sites were often not usable for other purposes. Edges of fields, land lot corners, pastures, or on grounds dedicated to housing the enslaved were used as burial areas. Graves of enslaved persons were commonly subservient to other parts of a plantation labor site's operation. Families of enslaved persons separated on multiple plantation labor sites, were buried at their respective plantation labor sites, emphasizing that their ties to enslavement were of greater importance to enslavers, than their family unit.⁴⁰¹ Many burial areas on plantation labor sites continued to be used in the Post-Emancipation era, as the desire to be buried with family remained strong.⁴⁰²

401 Julie Coco, et al., *Identification and Evaluation of Georgia's Burial Grounds Context and Handbook*, 2023, 244-245.

402 Coco, et al., *Georgia's Burial Grounds Context*, 76.



Hand Carved Tombstone, Dunwoody Cemetery, Darien. *Brian Brown, 2023.*



Hand Carved Tombstone, Cedar Grove Cemetery, Lumber City. *Brian Brown, 2022*

The earliest Reconstruction Era cemeteries with African American association are believed to have begun as cemeteries for the enslaved. African American burial grounds established after 1865 were designed to accommodate a family or community and were rarely sites of public display. Commonly, they are hidden from view and near bodies of water as historic African and African American communities frequently viewed bodies of water as the transition area between worlds of the living and the dead.⁴⁰³ In urban settings, larger white cemeteries often had separate sections for African American burials, typically relegated to the back or in less visible or undesirable parts of the landscape. Those buried were often placed in an east-west alignment, with the head at the west, corresponding to Judeo-Christian traditions. This also meant that the dead were in sync with the sun's path, as important in African and African American cosmologies.⁴⁰⁴

Numerous types of cemeteries exist; however, no style or type of cemetery is unique to the African American experience. A cemetery is typically defined by its origin, reason for its establishment, or by ownership. Thus, community, family, religious, corporate, municipal, military, and institutional cemeteries with African American associations exist. Family cemeteries associated with Black history are typically informally laid out and located on private property, typically familial land occupied by multiple generations. Commonly, African American congregations established cemeteries alongside churches. Although rare, sometimes a church building has been lost but the cemetery remains.

Due to racial discrimination, Black veterans were not allowed to be buried in military cemeteries in Georgia until well after the passage of Executive Order 9981 desegregating the military in 1948. Instead, they were buried in other types of cemeteries such as Linwood Cemetery in Macon, which is the final resting place for approximately 4,000 African Americans, including



Linwood Cemetery, Macon, Bibb County. *Ethos Preservation*.

403 Justin Elmore and Hugh B. Matternes, *Inventory and Surface Feature Mapping of the Pierce Chapel African Cemetery (9HS535)*, 2022, 25.

404 Coco, et al., *Georgia's Burial Grounds Context*, 244-245.

Buffalo Soldiers, Spanish-American War veterans, and many other veterans and non-veterans alike.⁴⁰⁵

Institutional cemeteries are those that were once controlled by a state institution such as a hospital or prison, as seen at Central State Hospital in Milledgeville, a psychiatric hospital. Segregated, and sometimes unmarked burials, were also common here.

Most African American cemeteries are informal and lack a defined arrangement, although some have gridded plans with central avenues and paths intersecting at right angles; curvilinear plans with plots, graves, roads, and sections arranged to suit the topography with roads curving; or regimented plans which have a rigid and measured precision to the placement of graves and lack plots. The guide *Identification and Evaluation of Georgia's Burial Grounds Context and Handbook* should be referenced for more information specific to cemetery typologies.



Central State Hospital African American Cemetery (formerly known as the New Colored Cemetery), Milledgeville, Baldwin County. *Milledgeville-Baldwin County Convention & Visitors Bureau.*



Woman reading grave marker at Community Cemetery, Jonesville Cemetery, Cobb County. *Dobbins Air Reserve Base.*

405 Maria Smith, "4 African American Military Memorials You Have to See," *Explore Georgia*, 2018, <https://www.exploregeorgia.org/things-to-do/article/4-african-american-military-memorials-you-have-to-see>.

Significance

Because Criteria Consideration D (Cemeteries) establishes specific significance thresholds that a cemetery must meet in order to qualify for listing, cemeteries should be evaluated for significance in the areas of Ethnic Heritage and/or Social History. Although Criteria Consideration D generally excludes cemeteries from National Register nomination, certain conditions can elevate a cemetery for listing, if the site:

1. Is a landscape reflecting aesthetic or technological achievements in the fields of city planning, architecture, landscape architecture, engineering, mortuary art, and sculpture;
2. Includes graves of persons of “transcendent importance”⁴⁰⁶;
3. Is of one of the oldest in a particular area or within a specific cultural context;
4. Is associated with important historic events (such as the settlement of an area by freedpeople);
5. Has the potential to yield important information.⁴⁰⁷

406 To be of transcendent importance, a person must have been of great eminence in their field of endeavor or had a great impact upon the history of their community, state, or nation as outlined in National Register Bulletin 15, 34.

407 The potential to yield important historic information is related specifically to National Register Criterion D, which cannot be gauged adequately without an examination of below ground features and integrity through subsurface archaeological investigations. This may or may not require subsurface disturbance as non-invasive techniques exist such as probing, ground-truthing, and ground-penetrating radar (GPR).

Cemeteries will generally be listed for local significance and eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion C (Design). The earliest marked cemeteries for African Americans in a community, for example, may be significant under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). Those with formal arrangement or specific landscape elements may be listed under Criterion C (Design). A comparative analysis of other African American cemeteries within the local community can aid in determining significance. For statewide or national significance, comparative analysis across a wider area would likely be required.

Because forced displacement is a common element of the Black story in Georgia, the location of Black cemeteries can provide insight into a community’s evolution. The Jonesville Cemetery on the Dobbins Air Reserve Base in Cobb County is an example of a Black community cemetery that remains despite the displacement of the Jonesville community by the federal government for the creation of the base in the 1940s.⁴⁰⁸

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, cemeteries should possess key features related to location, setting, feeling, and association specific to its period of significance. Depending on the age of the cemetery, the rarity of African American cemeteries from the period within the local context, and the documented evidence of known burials, unmarked cemeteries may be eligible for listing. If a potential cemetery exists, physical evidence may be visible such as mounding human-sized linear or cigar-shaped depressions

408 Public Affairs, “Jonesville Cemetery Cleanup II,” *Dobbins Air Reserve Base*, 2011, <https://www.dobbins.afrc.af.mil/News/Article-Display/Article/171194/jonesville-cemetery-cleanup-ii/>.

that are the result of deterioration and collapse of coffins and other structures within a grave. Mounding is a common practice among many African American communities. Soils from grave construction are deposited on top of gravesites and maintained by the community as a means of demonstrating that the deceased was still remembered and considered a part of the community. When a cemetery has not been maintained, linear depressions can indicate the location of a grave; however, these depressions are not necessarily diagnostic of gravesites as they can be formed by uprooted tree falls, collapsed burrows, and non-grave related animal or human digging. Linear depressions should be treated as potential gravesites until their origin can be verified.⁴⁰⁹ Evidence of burials can be confirmed using a variety of methods to include Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR), archaeology, cadaver dogs, and other methods as explained in the *Identification and Evaluation of Georgia's Burial Grounds Context and Handbook*.

Grave offerings, sometimes referred to as “grave goods,” are not specifically used to identify or evaluate gravesites because they complement, rather than define them. They do, however, represent an important suite of African American mortuary traditions. Objects left on grave surfaces can serve as mediums of communication between survivors, other community members, and the deceased. Grave offerings may associate general mortuary symbols and ideas with the deceased that the community can understand, or transmit highly personal messages interpretable by select members of the community.⁴¹⁰

409 Justin Elmore and Hugh B. Matternes, “Inventory and Surface Feature Mapping of the Pierce Chapel African Cemetery (9HS535),” New South Associates, 2022, 23.

410 Justin Elmore and Hugh B. Matternes, et al., 24.

A cemetery’s setting, to include natural and manmade elements that have remained since the period of significance can contribute to integrity of setting and association. For cemeteries with gravestones, integrity of workmanship and material may also be applicable. When considering integrity of feeling, a cemetery as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. Internments must exist in their original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location.

Cemeteries will be listed as sites unless other associated resources, such as churches, mausoleum buildings, or other built resources also exist within the immediate context, in which case district listing may be applicable.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Does the cemetery meet one of the criteria for exceptional significance as defined in Criterion Consideration D?
2. What years span the cemetery's greatest use?
 - a. Does the site date to before Emancipation?
 - b. Is the site still in continued use?
 - c. Are there images or other sources to reference how the place appeared during the period of significance? What design features, buildings, landscape features, or other elements were present during the period?
 - i. Are there living descendants or oral histories that can be referenced?
 - d. What alterations have occurred to the site since the end of the period of significance?
 - e. Is the cemetery the only remaining element of a displaced African American community?

LODGES AND SOCIAL HALLS

Description

Largely associated with fraternal organizations, lodges and social halls associated with the Black experience play a significant role in pre and post-Emancipation history as places where important community, political, and civil rights events took place. African American fraternal organizations first began as a means of meeting the economic and social needs of the African American community. These organizations shaped African American identity through rituals of brotherhood and protected members against poverty and other hardships. Although fraternal organizations originated in free Black communities prior to Emancipation, thousands were founded during Reconstruction. Fraternal organizations for Black people and white people began before governmental aid and other assistance programs existed for the poor. Segregation and discriminatory practices made obtaining what little help that was available even more difficult for African Americans. By collecting membership dues, organizations were able to aid the poor, the unemployed, orphans, and widows, often providing burial funds.⁴¹¹

Fraternal lodges rivaled churches as centers of Black community life in cities, towns, and rural areas. Many played key roles in the struggle for civil rights and racial integration. Between the 1890s and the 1930s, white legislatures passed laws to outlaw the use of important fraternal names and symbols by Black people. However, African Americans successfully fought back, employing lawyers who in some cases went on to work for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Black fraternalists took their cases all the way to the Supreme Court, which eventually ruled in their favor. At the height of the modern Civil Rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s, Black fraternalists marched on Washington and supported lawsuits through lobbying and demonstrations that finally led to legal equality.⁴¹²

411 National Park Service, "African American Fraternal Organizations: Bright Hope Lodge #9; Montgomery, WV," *New River Gorge National Park*, 2020, <https://www.nps.gov/neri/planyourvisit/african-american-fraternal-organizations-bright-hope-lodge-9-montgomery-wv.htm>.

412 Theda Skocpol, Ariane Liazos, and Marshall Ganz, *What a Mighty Power We Can Be: African American Fraternal Groups and the Struggle for Racial Equality*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018.

Significance

Lodges and social halls are likely to be listed for local significance, although statewide and national significance is possible. Lodges and Social Halls will generally be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion C (Design/Construction). The first fraternal buildings erected for African American use in a community, for example, may be significant under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History).

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, lodges and social halls should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building should exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.



Johnson Lodge No. 37, Walthourville, Liberty County. *Brian Brown, 2019.*



Prince Hall Lodge, Dublin, Laurens County. *Brian Brown, 2022.*



Needful Lodge, Jenkins County. *Brian Brown, 2022.*

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Was the lodge or social hall central to the lives of a significant number of African Americans? Was this demonstrated through sustained use, financial support, or other ways?
 - b. Did a significant event take place at the building?
 - c. Was the lodge or social hall affiliated with a larger organization?
 - i. Did the organization have a professional or trade affiliation, such as a masonic lodge?
 - d. Was the lodge or social hall located within an African American community, such as at a crossroads within a residential area?
 - e. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - i. How rare is your resource? Are there other lodge buildings built or designed by African Americans in the area? Did the builder or designer build other buildings in Georgia?
 - ii. Is the resource an outstanding example of a specific building type or an outstanding example of an extant building associated with a specific builder or designer?

MEDICAL FACILITIES

Description

Largely associated with the segregation era, medical facilities purpose-built for Black use and treatment once dotted the landscape, although fewer in number when compared to white facilities. Medical facilities may have been government-built or erected by Black medical practitioners, such as the McLendon Hospital opened by Dr. Frederick Earl McLendon in the Hunter Hills neighborhood of Atlanta in the mid-1940s. This category also includes clinics, doctor's offices, and segregated hospitals.

Significance

Medical Facilities are significant at the local level and will typically be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion C (Design/Construction). Although rare, these buildings may represent an outstanding example of a resource associated with an African American of significance and be listed under Criterion B (Person). Buildings built or designed by significant African Americans should be listed under Criterion C (Design/Construction). A comparative analysis of other resources of similar design or construction or designed or built by the same person or their contemporaries could aid in determining local significance. For statewide or national significance, comparative analysis across a wider area would likely be required.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, medical facilities should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. If the interior has been subdivided or significant additions constructed, the building may no longer be eligible. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period



McLendon Hospital, 1031 Chicamauga Avenue in Atlanta, Fulton County. *Atlanta Preservation Center.*

of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Was the medical facility central to the lives of a significant number of African Americans?
 - b. Was the building the only medical facility to serve African Americans within a single community or region?
 - c. Was the medical facility segregated or one of the first to be integrated?
 - d. Did a significant event occur at the facility?
1. Person (Criterion B)
 - a. Was the medical facility associated with an African American medical practitioner of significance?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. How rare is your resource? Are there other buildings built or designed by African Americans in the area? Did the builder or designer build other buildings in Georgia?
 - b. Is the resource an outstanding example of a specific building type or an outstanding example of an extant building associated with a specific builder or designer?

Arts and Culture

“Arts and Culture” related resources associated with the Black experience in Georgia are varied and numerous and are most commonly found in urban settings. Although not an exhaustive list, arts and culture related resources associated with the African American experience in Georgia include music venues, theaters, fine arts related resources, to include artist studios, museums, sports facilities, beaches, parks, and camps. Resources should either have been built or primarily used by African Americans, be the site of a significant event, or be associated with an African American person of significance in order for it to be listed for Ethnic Heritage: Black.

The Douglass Theatre in Macon is one example. Built by Charles Henry Douglass, the wealthiest Black businessman in early 20th century Macon, the building is the third to bear his name.⁴¹³ More information on theaters can be found in the “Theater” portion of “Arts and Culture” in Section II (page 82). In Augusta, The Patch golf course site is significant as the first course in the city to be desegregated. Segregated beaches are another common typology in Georgia, such as St. Andrews Beach on Jekyll Island. Lastly, some “Arts and Culture” resources might be more obscure, such as the Kiah Museum in Savannah, one of the only African American-owned and operated museums in the state during segregation.

Only resource types specific to the Black experience in Georgia are highlighted below, although many more typologies may apply. Where applicable, other existing historic contexts should be referenced for additional information.

Associated Property Types

Juke/Jook Joints, Dance Halls, Theaters, Auditoriums, Sports Facilities, Museums, Artist Studios, Public Art, Beaches, Parks

413 Brian Brown, “Douglass Theatre, 1921, Macon,” *Vanishing Georgia*, 2023, <https://vanishinggeorgia.com/2023/06/27/douglass-theatre-1921-macon/>.



Douglass Theatre at 355 Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd., Macon, Bibb County. Built 1921, the building is a contributing resource to the Macon Historic District (NRIS #74000658). *Brian Brown, 2023.*



The Patch, 2023 Highland Avenue, Augusta, Richmond County. *The Augusta Press.*



Kiah Museum (listing pending), 505 W 36th Street, Savannah, Chatham County. *Ethos Preservation.*

COMMON AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "Arts and Culture" are:

- » Art, for the connection to public art as well as museums. Other sites that may be significant under this Area include the workplaces of significant artists, such as painters, printmakers, photographers, or any other decorative artist.
- » Entertainment/Recreation, for the connection to theaters, sports venues, parks, beaches, and other recreational areas. These resources may represent the development and practice of specific leisure activities within the Black community.
- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource's significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource's significance and justify its nomination.
- » Landscape Architecture, for the connection to purpose-built parks for the African American community and other sites that are significant for the way they demonstrate the design of land for use and aesthetics, to include those designed by African American landscape architects.
- » Literature, for the connection to significant Black authors. Resources that may be significant under this Area include places where prose and/or poetry were created or

associated, such as an author's office or a coffee house where poetry was regularly shared.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely Areas of Significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "Arts and Culture" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

Resources associated with this theme may be listed for Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History), Criterion B (Person), or Criterion C (Design/Construction).

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History)**, a resource associated with "Arts and Culture" must have been the location where the event of significance occurred or be directly associated with a broad trend or pattern for which it is significant.

Example: A jazz club where significant Black musicians routinely performed during the height of their careers.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion B (Person)**, the significant individual must have lived or worked in the resource during the period in which they achieved significance.

Example: A stadium where a significant African American athlete played during the height of their career.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion C (Design/Construction)**, a resource associated with "Arts and Culture" should have distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or

method of construction; be the work of a Black builder or architect; or possess high artistic value.

Example: A theater built by a significant Black builder.

THEMATIC REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Resources must be representative of the theme and be directly related to the creation or enjoyment of art or practice of leisure or recreation.

A resource that hosted a significant African American for a single event will likely not meet the criteria for listing unless the event itself marked an important moment in history or was representative of a pattern of events or a historic trend that made a significant contribution to the development of a community.

THEMATIC ASSOCIATIVE QUALITIES

- » Documented association with the theme through written records or oral histories.

Example: A segregated beach used by African Americans as remembered through recorded oral histories.

- » The resource must retain most of the essential character defining physical features from the period in which the resource gained significance.

Example: A baseball field significant for association with the Negro leagues that retains its original form and location of landscape elements, such as trees, roadways, and other surroundings from the period of significance as evidenced through a comparison with historic photographs.

THEMATIC INTEGRITY CONSIDERATIONS

Overall integrity should be assessed within the time frame when the resource gained significance.

The resource should retain significant material from its period of significance.

The most important aspects of integrity for this theme are Location, Design, Materials, Workmanship, Feeling, and Association.

The older the resource, the more likely its integrity of Design, Workmanship, and Setting have been diminished. In these instances, other areas of integrity should remain intact.

JUKE OR JOOK JOINTS

Description

Juke, or Jook, Joints that were built specifically for use by Black people largely date to the early twentieth century, although earlier ones may exist. These performance venues were located in segregated neighborhoods primarily in the South and were safe havens for African American artists and listeners to be themselves and explore music.⁴¹⁴ The origin of the juke joint dates to the work camp culture of the South. At turpentine harvesting sites, juke joints were constructed to allow “workers to let off steam after a hard day’s, or more often week’s work.”⁴¹⁵ Juke Joints in Milledgeville such as the Do-Drop In, Shady Rest, and Ebony Lounge were popular spots for both local bands and nationally recognized acts.⁴¹⁶ The “Black Music: A Truly American Art Form” portion of Section II (page 79) should be referenced by potential nominators of juke joints.



Famous Get-A-Way, Zebulon, Pike County. *Brian Brown, 2022.*

Juke joints include both purpose-built and repurposed buildings that were built for African American entertainment. Most were music venues, some of which hosted traveling musicians. The earliest examples were built by turpentine mill owners for employee use.

414 Tanya Ballard Brown, “The Origin (And Hot Stank) Of The ‘Chitlin’ Circuit,” *Code Switch: NPR*, 2014, <https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2014/02/16/275313723/the-origin-and-hot-stank-of-the-chitlin-circuit>.

415 Juliet Gorman, “What is a jook joint, and what is its history?,” *Oberlin College*, 2001, <https://www2.oberlin.edu/library/papers/honorshistory/2001-Gorman/jookjoints/allaboutjooks/whatisjook.html>.

416 Evan Leavitt, “The Soul of Georgia,” *Georgia College Special Collections Galleries*, 2022, <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/ea1c2bead6894d42b923ab332f3eb92e>. Of the juke joints that remain on the landscape today, most are remembered as music venues that operated similarly to a nightclub.



Uncle Tom's Place, a white-owned store that was staffed by Black employees with a Black juke joint in the back section for many years. 1949, Baldwin County. *Brian Brown*

Significance

Juke Joints are locally significant and will generally be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) and possibly under Criterion B (Person). Buildings that were the first music venues erected for African American use in a community, for example, may be significant under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). Venues where significant musical artists performed regularly may be significant under Criterion B (Person). A single performance at a Juke Joint by a notable artist likely would not meet National Register criteria, unless that

performance was demonstrably significant in the context of that performer's career. A comparative analysis of other resources of similar use could aid in determining local significance.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, juke joints should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. A dedicated space for artists to perform and a bar are the most common elements. If associated with a significant person, design elements from the period associated with the person, that are visible today, can contribute to integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and association. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Was the building central to the cultural life of a significant number of African Americans?
 - b. Did significant African American musicians perform at the juke joint?
 - c. Was the juke joint the only venue for African American musicians to perform in a community or region?
 - d. Was the juke joint documented for its associations with the Chitlin Circuit?
2. Person (Criterion B)
 - a. Was the juke joint a venue frequented by a significant musician during the height of their career?
 - i. Was the juke joint owned or operated by an African American of significance?

PARKS

Description

Specific to the segregation era, parks and squares built by local municipalities and parks and recreation departments for use by African Americans play an important role in the social and recreational story of Black people in Georgia. Often situated on the fringes of towns or placed on land deemed unsuitable for development, most of the parks built for African Americans during this era were in urban centers.



George Washington Carver Park at 3900 Bartow Carver Road in Acworth, Cobb County. Established in 1950 as the first “Negro” State Park, now owned and operated by the county. *Explore Georgia.*

Significance

Parks are locally significant and will generally be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) and possibly under Criterion C (Design/Construction). Parks that were the first public open air recreational spaces established for African American use in a community, for example, may be significant under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). Although rare, parks designed by African Americans may be significant under Criterion C (Design/Construction).

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, a park should possess key features related to location, setting, feeling, and association specific to its period of significance. Importantly, parks that have continually been used should have physical characteristics that convey their significance today. A park that has had few alterations and retains its original layout may retain enough integrity for listing, for example. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Was the park central to the cultural life of a significant number of African Americans in the community?
 - b. Was the park the only public park for African Americans in a community or region?
 - c. Did a significant event take place at the park?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. Was the park designed by an African American?
 - b. Is the park's design unique or a good example of a park type or style?

Home Life

As detailed in the theme narrative on page 85, “Home Life” is an essential theme of the African American experience in Georgia. The stories of significant activities, events, and people associated with Black Heritage can be told through the nomination of resources associated with home life. Houses are the most intrinsically linked resource type associated with this theme; however, multi-family dwellings, public housing, mill and factory housing, cooperative and community housing, neighborhoods, and outbuildings all contribute to the theme of “Home Life.”

Residential properties are any resource originally purposed as housing. This includes a wide variety of both single-and-multi-family dwellings typically one to two stories tall. Residential dwellings associated with African Americans are located in both urban and rural settings, and may be in individual settings or districts. They may be properties built or owned by African Americans or rented by Black tenants. They may be properties where Black tenants lived for a long period of time despite racial discrimination.⁴¹⁷ If associated with legally segregated neighborhoods, these resources may be best nominated under the theme of “Politics and Government,” because despite being residential resources in use, their primary significance under this context may be as representative examples of racially restrictive housing policy and laws.

According to Georgia’s statewide historic preservation plan for 2022-2026, an estimated five percent of Georgia’s historic buildings date from the pre-Emancipation period (before 1865). Any residential resource from this period should reference the “Housing of Enslaved People” portion of “Home Life” in Section II (page 85). Only a small number of these buildings are residential resources, so while houses are the most prevalent type of historic building in Georgia, resources dating to before 1865 should be considered rare.

Associated Property Types

Single Pen, Double Pen, Shotgun, Double Shotgun, Multi-Family Dwellings

⁴¹⁷ Page & Turnbull, *Santa Barbara African American and Black Historic Context Statement*, 2022, 105.

A NOTE ON SECONDARY USES OF HOUSING

Importantly, houses with African American historical associations may be significant as the location of activities that may not directly relate to a house's traditional use as a dwelling. It was not uncommon for houses to be gathering places for community organizing, entrepreneurship and business, and as boarding houses. In these instances, other themes may be applicable. The Craftsman bungalow owned by Rev. Isaiah A. and Katie B. Harris House at 623 Whitney Avenue in Albany, Dougherty County is one example. Used as a "freedom house" in the 1960s, the Harris family provided lodging, food, and support to Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) workers during the Civil Rights movement.⁴¹⁸ Here, these events are of greater significance than the house's design or construction, with the most applicable theme "The Quest for Justice and Equality." To learn more, check out the Case Study for this house on page 122.

Since Emancipation, African Americans have built and occupied a variety of house types, reflective of larger societal trends in home construction. As such, very few typologies have a unique or specific association with Black heritage. When African American resources associated with "Home Life" are nominated, the typology employed will largely be of secondary importance in most instances. Within the Carver Village neighborhood of Savannah, for example, numerous American Small Houses were built in the 1940s as part of a Federal Housing Authority-approved development exclusively for African Americans.⁴¹⁹ In this instance, the neighborhood's primary significance is derived from its origin as an early planned suburb for African American use. In this instance, both the "Home Life" and "Politics and Government" themes would apply. Any resource significant for its existence, evolution, or use during segregation should reference the "Residential Segregation" portion of "Home Life" in Section II (page 86).

African American residential resources, particularly districts, may also derive significance from later changes imposed through governmental activity, such as eminent domain policies that fueled the taking of properties for the construction of the interstate highway system in the 1960s. Disproportionately these policies impacted African American neighborhoods. As such, numerous Black neighborhoods were eliminated, cut in half, or were otherwise impacted by the construction of the interstate highway system. Any resource that demonstrates this impact should reference the "Urban Renewal and the Impact on Black Places" portion of "Home Life" in Section II (page 88).

The twentieth century saw the continued growth of planned communities created for and by African Americans. Within the Collier Heights neighborhood of Atlanta, numerous architect designed ranch houses were built by African Americans in the 1950s. The neighborhood's significance in the Area of Ethnic Heritage: Black is derived from the neighborhood's creation for and by middle and upper class African Americans.⁴²⁰ Resources dating to the mid-twentieth century and beyond should reference the "Home is What You Make It: Black Housing

418 SNCC Digital Gateway, "Harris Family," 2023, <https://snccdigital.org/people/harris-family/>.

419 Ellen Harris, "Carver Village Historic District," National Register Nomination, 2019.

420 Richard Cloues, "Collier Heights Historic District," National Register Nomination, 2009, 27.

in the Mid-Twentieth Century” portion of “Home Life” in Section II (page 91). Additionally, a resource’s development before or after the Fair Housing Act of 1968 should consider the impact of this legislation, as referenced in the “Fair Housing” portion of “Home Life” in Section II (page 91).

Within the theme of “Home Life,” the typologies included below are those with unique or specific associations with African Americans in Georgia.



Artist Mildred Thompson’s home and studio [extant] at 361 Cherokee Avenue SE, a contributing resource to the Grant Park Historic District (NRIS #79000722) in Atlanta, Fulton County. *Amanda Greene.*

COMMON AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "Home Life" are:

- » Architecture, for homes designed by significant Black architects or built by significant craftspeople. Neighborhoods may be significant as a representative example of the types of places that African Americans could form communities. For example, a home designed by the first licensed Black architect in Georgia may be significant as the work of an important architect. An intact segregated public housing complex may be significant as a representative example of a type of building under this Area.
- » Archaeology: Historic – Non-aboriginal, for any sites that have or have the potential to offer additional information about the conditions associated with urban and/or rural enslavement. For example, a site with historically documented urban slave dwellings may be significant under this area for the potential to provide new information about the lives of urban enslaved people when they were not working.
- » Community Planning and Development, for both purposefully designed communities and neighborhoods that developed organically because of segregation. A Reconstruction-era community that grew up on the edge of a town may be significant under this Area, since its development was restricted to a particular part of the town. Similarly, a purpose-built African American neighborhood

that was a response to the desire for middle class housing may be significant under this area, since its design and location was a direct response to racist housing policies.

- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, which may be a related Area of Significance for any theme discussed in this context. The purpose-built middle class Black neighborhood may also be significant under this Area, for the role African Americans played in all aspects of its development. Collier Heights Historic District (NRIS# 09000457) in Atlanta is an example of a neighborhood significant for Community Planning and Development as well as Ethnic Heritage: Black.
- » Social History, for the close connection between people's homes and the laws and customs that determined where people are allowed to live. Segregated public housing complexes may be significant under this Area.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely areas of significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "Home Life" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

Resources associated with this theme may be listed for Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History), Criterion B (Person), or Criterion C (Design/Construction).

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History)**, a resource associated with "Home Life" must have been the location where the event of significance

occurred or be directly associated with a broad trend or pattern for which it is significant.

Example: A planned neighborhood built by and for African Americans during the early twentieth may be eligible for nomination under Criterion A for its significance in Community Planning and Development as a designed community and under Social History for its significance as one of a limited number of neighborhoods where Black Georgians could own a home.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion B (Person)**, the significant individual must have lived or worked in the residence during the period in which they achieved significance.

Example: The home that also served as the workplace of a significant Black artist.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion C (Design/Construction)**, a resource associated with “Home Life” should have distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; be the work of a Black builder or architect; or possess high artistic value.

Example: A subdivision established by government subsidy specifically for African American residents.

THEMATIC REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Resources must be representative of the theme and be directly related to the residential life of Black Georgians.

Districts must have documented association with African American community development, occupation, and use or be associated with the lives of significant African Americans.

THEMATIC ASSOCIATIVE QUALITIES

- » Documented association with the theme through written records or oral histories.

Example: A community where property deed restrictions state the legal restriction of African American property ownership, such as public housing or a mill village housing that was segregated.

- » The resource must retain most of the essential character defining physical features from the period in which the resource gained significance.

Example: A house where a Black person of significance moved to and lived during the height of their career, resulting in modifications to the house during the same period. Such modifications, like the addition of new siding, should be largely intact for the association to remain.

THEMATIC INTEGRITY CONSIDERATIONS

Overall integrity should be assessed within the time frame when the resource gained significance.

The resource should retain significant material from its period of significance.

The most important aspects of integrity for this theme are Location, Workmanship, Design, Feeling, and Association.

The older the resource, the more likely its integrity of Design, Workmanship, and Setting have been lessened. In these instances, other areas of integrity should remain intact.

Single-family house types vary widely based on the period of construction. All of the following houses pictured have African American associations, showing the breadth of types and styles as well as rural and urban locations.

Photo 1: Georgian Cottage, Walthourville, Liberty County. An African American dwelling and common vernacular house type. *Brian Brown, 2023.*

Photo 2: Georgian House, Collier-Toomer House, Savannah, Chatham County. First owned by Dr. John Collier, an African American dentist. Later purchased by Louis B. Toomer, founder of the African American newspaper the *Colored Tribune* (*The Savannah Tribune* today).⁴²¹ *Ethos Preservation.*

Photo 3: Bungalow, Fort Hawkins neighborhood, Macon, Bibb County. Located in the south half of the Fort Hill Historic District, an area built for white people that later transitioned to primarily Black residents. *Gregory Ragins.*

Photo 4: Double Pen House, Hogg Hammock Historic District (NRIS #96000917), Sapelo Island, McIntosh County. Community established by descendants of those enslaved on the island. *Robert Ciucevich.*

Photo 5: Manufactured House, Earnest McIntosh House, Harris Neck, McIntosh County. Founder of E.L. McIntosh & Son Oyster Company.⁴²² *Ethos Preservation.*

Photo 6: Hall-Parlor House, William Jones House, Hogg Hammock Historic District (NRIS #96000917), Sapelo Island, McIntosh County. Community established by descendants of those enslaved on the island. *Ethos Preservation.*

Photo 7: American Small House, Pine Gardens Historic District (NRIS #14000890), Savannah, Chatham County (extant). Defense worker housing for shipbuilders during WWII. *Ethos Preservation.*

Photo 8: Gabled-Wing Cottage, Folk Victorian Cottage, Byromville, Dooly County. An African American dwelling and common vernacular house type. *Brian Brown, 2020.*

Photo 9: I-House, Rosa Lambright House, Freedmen's Grove, Liberty County. Lambright was a school teacher during segregation at a two room school in this historically African American community. *Brian Brown, 2015.*

Photo 10: American Foursquare House at 621 W 36th Street in Cuyler Brownville Historic District (NRIS #98000028), Savannah, Chatham County (extant). House hosted traveling religious leaders and preachers in the 1940s to include Martin Luther King Sr.⁴²³ *Ethos Preservation.*

Photo 11: Shotgun Houses, Macon Historic District (NRIS #74000658), Bibb County. Shotgun houses are a common house type in African American neighborhoods. *Ethos Preservation.*

Photo 12: Gable Front House, Spring Bluff, Camden County. An African American dwelling and common vernacular house type. *Brian Brown, 2021.*

421 John Collier Jr., phone interview with Ethos Preservation, June 11, 2024.

422 Rebecca Fenwick and Ellie Isaacs, McIntosh County Historic Resources Survey, Phase Four, 2019, 40.

423 City of Savannah, "Cuyler Brownville - My Historic District," *YouTube*, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UFo14dG1_40.



Photo 1



Photo 2



Photo 3



Photo 4



Photo 5



Photo 6



Photo 7



Photo 8



Photo 9



Photo 10



Photo 11



Photo 12

ENSLAVEMENT: RESIDENTIAL RESOURCES

The construction techniques of residential resources associated with enslavement are useful in dating the building or resource. The oldest residential slave dwelling buildings that have been identified were constructed using earth-walled and post-in-trench construction techniques, with walls made of rammed earth or wattle and daub, which utilizes woven sticks covered in clay. These techniques were used in West Africa. These dwellings were common in rural areas throughout the state. Tabby architecture, a building type found along the Georgia coast where the building material is a concrete formed from lime, sand, and oyster shell, also employs the use of wall trenches and forms found on African American earth-walled buildings.⁴²⁴ Tabby dwellings built by and for enslaved persons were confined geographically to coastal areas.⁴²⁵

Early slave villages in Georgia were more African in appearance, meaning more informal configurations set at a distance away from the enslaver's residence and built by those enslaved. The villages typically included work yards, gardens, pits for root crop storage, and wells.⁴²⁶ Most structures were single pen houses or saddlebag house types. Pre-1700, these structures were built with earthen materials like cob, wattle, or wattle and daub, with thatched roofs, and coastal Georgia slave dwellings were typically made from tabby.⁴²⁷ These early earthen houses often had no interior hearth and beaten earth or brick floors. Later, log, frame, and brick houses became more common, and along with houses raised on piers made of brick. These raised cabins often had wood floors, and window openings without glass, covered by wooden shutters.⁴²⁸ By the Antebellum era (1832-1860), tabby, brick, and wood were still common construction materials, but frame construction with brick and tabby chimneys soon became more popular. In the 1830s, enslavers began to believe



Remnants of tabby Chocolate Plantation labor site slave dwelling, Sapelo Island, McIntosh County. *Ethos Preservation*.

424 J. W. Joseph, "African American Archaeology," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2014, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/african-american-archaeology/>.

425 Carole Merrit, "Historic Black Resources," Historic Preservation Section, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, 1983, 13.

426 New South Associates, *African American History in the Shadow of the Oak: archaeological Data Recovery of Site 9CH1205, Chatham County, Georgia*, 2014, 23.

427 New South Associates, *African American History in the Shadow of the Oak*, 25.

428 New South Associates, *African American History in the Shadow of the Oak*, 128.

orderly slave dwellings would lead to more productivity and more control over the enslaved labor force. In this period, slave dwellings were often constructed along a street or formal thoroughfare with set intervals in between relatively close to the enslaver's residence. These residences also typically remained in use post-Emancipation. In these instances, nominators and reviewers should reference the theme "Agriculture, Labor, and the Land" and explore the continuum of use as tenancy/sharecropper associations may exist

Common house types associated with plantation enslavement include single pen, double pen, saddlebag, and hall parlor. In urban environments, enslaved workers were less likely to have their own space and may have slept on the floor in the main house, in the upper floors, or a rear building.



Grove Point Plantation labor site, Chatham County. *Ethos Preservation*.



Boswell Tenant Housing at 1464 US-129, Eatonton, Putnam County. Built in the early 1800s as a Double-Pen with a side gable roof. A small family cemetery also exists on the lot. This resource is included in the National Register Nomination as an outbuilding to the Historic Tompkins Inn (NRIS #78001002). *Brian Brown, 2022*.

SINGLE AND DOUBLE PEN HOUSES

Description

Single and Double Pen Houses are some of the earliest house types associated with the African American experience, due to their frequent use as a dwelling type for enslaved people. Frame and masonry examples exist, depending on the location of the resource. Most are in rural locations and many are associated with plantation labor sites to include numerous examples built of tabby on Georgia's sea islands. While not uniquely associated with Black heritage, the commonality of these forms among extant residential resources associated with slavery elevates their importance for inclusion in this context.

Most surviving Single Pen Houses date to the period between 1850 and 1900 and consist of a one-story single unit, either square or rectangular. Most are side gabled. While the location and arrangement of doors and windows varies, chimneys and flues are located at the exterior of one end. Sometimes the interior was partitioned into two rooms. Most have additions due to their original small size. Many houses for enslaved laborers on plantation labor sites were single pen and continued to be used post-Emancipation.⁴²⁹

Double Pen Houses commonly date from 1870 to 1930 with two rooms which are typically square. While the placement and location of openings varies, most have two doors on the main facade. Chimneys and flues are commonly located at the ends. Most were originally built for agricultural and industrial workers although few remain. Many have been altered..⁴³⁰



Single Pen Cottage, Freedmen's Grove, Liberty County. *Brian Brown, 2023.*



Double Pen Houses, Monroe Street in Macon Historic District (NRIS #74000658), Bibb County (extant). *Ethos Preservation.*

429 Georgia Historic Preservation Division, "House Types in Georgia," 3.

430 Georgia Historic Preservation Division, "House Types in Georgia," 3.

Significance

Single and Double Pen Houses may be locally significant and generally eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). Those which were built as part of a larger grouping of resources, such as on a plantation labor site, may be nominated under Criterion C (Design/Construction).

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, Single and Double Pen houses should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. In this instance, the form and layout as one or two rooms (single or double pen, respectively) is the type's most character defining feature. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. A rare resource type, Single and Double pen houses may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Was the house constructed to house enslaved persons?
 - b. Was the house the home of an African American worker?
 - c. Was the house built by African Americans, to include those who were enslaved?
 - d. Was the house used both before and after Emancipation?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. How rare is your resource? Are there other buildings built or designed by African Americans in the area? Did the builder or designer build other buildings in Georgia?
 - i. Is the resource an outstanding example of a specific building type or an outstanding example of an extant building associated with a specific builder or designer?

SHOTGUN HOUSES

Description

Relative to this context, the Shotgun House type is associated with the transition of previously enslaved generations to land ownership in urban centers during Reconstruction although examples as late as 1930 exist. This house type is typically a one-story frame house, one room wide, two to three rooms deep, with a gabled roof, and a covered porch.⁴³¹ The shotgun is believed to be influenced by the design form of descendants of the Yoruba people from West Africa, who were first enslaved in Haiti and Cuba. As the Intra-American slave trade brought many of these Haitians to Louisiana, shotgun houses resulted from the blend of West African and Caribbean characteristics. Shotgun houses are one of the earliest forms of affordable housing and are one of the more ubiquitous house types associated with African Americans.⁴³²



Shotgun Houses (extant) on Hill Street, Macon, Bibb County. *Ethos Preservation*.

431 Georgia Historic Preservation Division, "House Types in Georgia," 7.

432 James Draper, "From Slave Cabins to 'Shotguns': Perceptions on Africanisms in American Architecture," *Eastern Illinois University*, 2000, <https://www.eiu.edu/historia/draper.pdf>.

Significance

Shotgun Houses are locally significant and will typically be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion B (Person). Those which exemplify the type or an architectural style or were built by African American builders may be eligible under Criterion C (Design/Construction). Many were built by white landlords as rental housing for African American tenants.⁴³³ Shotgun Houses erected by African Americans, however, also exist.⁴³⁴ Shotgun Houses that were built by a mill operator as part of a segregated mill village may be significant under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). A house that was the home and workplace of an important African American individual may be significant under Criterion B (Person). Neighborhoods of Shotgun Houses may be eligible under both Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) and Criterion C (Design/Construction) for the development of the neighborhood itself.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, Shotgun Houses should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. If associated with a significant person, design elements from the period associated with the person, that are visible today, can contribute to integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and association. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form,

and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.



Shotgun houses (extant) on 600 Block of W 42nd Street in Cuyler Brownville Historic District (NRIS #98000028), Savannah, Chatham County. *Ethos Preservation*.

433 Britannica, "Shotgun House," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 2024, <https://www.britannica.com/technology/shotgun-house>.

434 John Michael Vlach, "The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy. Part I," *Pioneer America* 8, no. 1 (1976): 54.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Was the house built for or occupied by African Americans?
 - b. Was the house part of an early African American neighborhood or settlement, such as one originally founded during Reconstruction?
2. Person (Criterion B)
 - a. Was the house the home of a significant African American during the period within which they achieved significance as an individual?
3. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. Is this building a good example of the Shotgun House type?
 - b. Was the house built alongside other Shotgun Houses or part of a grouping of houses built by the same developer?

MULTI-FAMILY DWELLINGS

Description

Multi-Family Dwellings typically exist in urban areas, although some appear in rural settings. This building type includes duplexes, apartments, public housing complexes, and any residential building where multiple living units exist under the same roof.

Duplexes such as the Double Shotgun house type were once common within African American neighborhoods. A few examples remain on the landscape today. Where extant, their rarity contributes to their significance. Double Shotgun houses date to the late 19th and early 20th centuries and consist of two shotgun houses side by side with no openings in the shared party wall. Usually a single hipped or gabled roof covers both sections. These are found in rural and urban areas.⁴³⁵

Apartments are multi-unit buildings with three or more units of housing. The earliest apartments date to the mid nineteenth century and were in multi-story houses. By the late nineteenth century, multi-unit “tenements” were established to house numerous Black, working class, and immigrant families. Rising costs after the Civil War prompted builders to market apartments as an alternative to boarding houses.⁴³⁶ Early apartments were modeled after the “French flat,” with one unit on each floor; however, these buildings were not available to African American renters. Atlanta saw a sharp increase in apartment building construction between 1910s-1930.⁴³⁷ Beginning in the 1930s, federally funded housing initiatives built larger multi-family apartment buildings, complexes, and later highrises primarily for low-income inhabitants, all of which was segregated according to national policy. For this reason, apartments uniquely associated with the African American experience in Georgia are most likely to be those developed as public housing. However, examples exist of apartments designed by Black architects or erected by Black builders or developers.⁴³⁸



Double Shotgun Duplex Houses (extant), 200 Block of Cobb Street in Thomson, McDuffie County. *Ethos Preservation*.

435 Georgia Historic Preservation Division, “House Types in Georgia,” 7.

436 Michael Ray, “Apartment House,” *Britannica*, 2023, <https://www.britannica.com/technology/apartment-house>.

437 David W. Cornelison, “Courtyard Apartments in Atlanta,” 4.

438 More information on apartments in Georgia can be found in the Multiple Property Documentation Form “Georgia’s Modern Apartment Complexes.”



East Lake High Rise (extant) at 380 East Lake Blvd. SE, Atlanta, Fulton County, built c.1970.⁴³⁹ *Nedra Deadwyler.*



Wigwam Apartment Complex (extant) at 589 Auburn Avenue NE in Atlanta, Fulton County, built by Cornelius King and Sons.⁴⁴⁰ *Nedra Deadwyler.*



Parkview Homes (extant) off of South Newton Street north of Waddell Street in Athens, Clarke County. *Bob Thomson.*

439 Sarah Burns and David McMahon, *East Lake Meadows: A Public Housing Story*, (2020; Atlanta: Georgia Public Broadcasting), documentary.

Significance

Multi-Family Dwellings are locally significant and will typically be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion B (Person). Those which exemplify the type or an architectural style or were built by African American builders may be eligible under Criterion C (Design/Construction). Many multi-family dwellings were built as rental housing for African American tenants. A dwelling that was the home and workplace of an important African American individual may be significant under Criterion B (Person). Neighborhoods of multi-family dwellings may be eligible under both Criterion A (Event/Broad

440 Josh Green, “\$305K buys condo at Atlanta’s colorful, iconic Wigwam Complex: Old Fourth Ward landmark is rare example of International Style modernism,” *Urbanize Atlanta*, 2022, <https://atlanta.urbanize.city/post/305k-buys-condo-atlantas-colorful-iconic-wigwam-complex>.

Patterns of History) and Criterion C (Design/Construction) for the development of the neighborhood itself.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, multi-family dwellings should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. If associated with a significant person, design elements from the period associated with the person, that are visible today, can contribute to integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and association. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Was the dwelling built for or occupied by African Americans?
 - c. Was the dwelling part of an early African American neighborhood or settlement?
 - d. Does the dwelling represent significant public investment in housing for Black Georgians?
 - e. Was the housing segregated?
4. Person (Criterion B)
 - a. Was the dwelling the home of a significant African American during the period within which they achieved significance as an individual?
5. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. Is this building a good example of a building type or architectural style?
 - b. Was the dwelling built alongside others or part of a grouping of buildings built by the same developer?

Education

Educational resources in Georgia vary from rural to urban, public and private, and often include a main school building and auxiliary structures such as auditoriums, gymnasiums, libraries, cafeterias, vocational buildings, teacherages, and extracurricular facilities. Properties might be individual resources or multiple resources listed as a district. Eligible properties should represent a significant association with Georgia's Black educational development and may be eligible even if the use has changed. Due to anti-literacy laws, there are no known extant purpose-built educational resources that date to before Emancipation as these activities were held in secret in homes or churches, like at the First African Baptist Church in Savannah.⁴⁴¹ During Reconstruction, educational facilities for African Americans were funded by groups such as the Freedmen's Bureau and Northern aid societies such as the American Missionaries Association. Examples include the Dorchester Academy at 8787 E. Oglethorpe Highway in Liberty County, the Risley School at 1800 Albany Street in Brunswick, and the Evergreen Church and School at 497 Meridian Road in Grady County. Black educational resources built before 1971 are significant for their association with segregation and desegregation and the fight for equal access to education that impacted the Black community.⁴⁴²

Within the area of higher education, numerous Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) in Georgia exist, the majority of which have historic buildings on their campuses. HBCUs are defined as institutions that were established before 1964 with the principal mission of educating African Americans. Nominators of HBCUs should reference the "Fighting for Equality through Education" portion of "Education" in Section II (page 94). In 1988, a survey of HBCUs was conducted by the Secretary of the Interior in order to identify, restore, and preserve historic structures on HBCU campuses, many of which have critical rehabilitation and restoration needs but lack the resources for repair.⁴⁴³ Today, the National Park Service provides



Packard Hall at Spelman College (formerly Spelman Seminary), c.1887. *Menefee Architecture.*

441 Rosenwald Schools in Georgia, Multiple Property Documentation Form, 7.

442 SWCA Environmental Consultants, "The African American Civil Rights Experience in Nevada, 1900-1979," 2020, *Nevada State Historic Preservation Office*, 164.

443 Linda Hall, "Historically Black Colleges and Universities Initiative," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2021, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/historically-black-colleges-and-universities-initiative/>.

specific program and funding support to HBCUs that apply for grants as part of the national Historic Preservation Fund.⁴⁴⁴

Numerous school building typologies exist, but no school building typology is unique or specific to the African American experience. Some typologies were more common among African American educational institutions, such as the early one-room school; however, many of the same typologies were employed in the erection of separate schools for Black and white students during segregation. Other typologies highlighted below stem from the school's associations with the Freedmen's Bureau, Julius Rosenwald, resistance to desegregation (as seen in the construction of Equalization Schools), and higher education to include HBCUs. Early educational buildings may also have religious associations, as many churches funded and/or erected school buildings for African American use.

Where applicable, the historic contexts *Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Georgia, 1868-1971*, *Equalization Schools in Georgia's African-American Communities, 1951-1970*, and *Rosenwald Schools in Georgia, 1912-1937* should be referenced.

While classroom facilities will be the most common resources listed within the theme of "Education," other facilities with educational associations significant within the Black community also fit within this theme, such as auditoriums, gymnasiums, libraries, cafeterias, vocational buildings, teacherages, and extracurricular facilities.

Associated Property Types

One Room Schools, Freedom Schools, African American Equalization Schools, Colleges and Universities, Industrial and Vocational Schools, Rosenwald Schools



St. Benedict of the Moor Industrial School (extant), 12th Street south of Laney Walker Blvd. in Laney Walker North Historic District (NRIS # 85001976) in Augusta, Richmond County. *Ethos Preservation*.



Middle Hill Schoolhouse at 40 Middle Hill Road in Warthen, Washington County, built c.1900. *Brian Brown, 2022*.

⁴⁴⁴ More information about the National Park Service's HBCU program and funding support can be found at <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/historicpreservationfund/historically-black-colleges-and-universities.htm>.

COMMON AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "Education" are:

- » Architecture, for school buildings designed by significant Black architects or built by significant craftspeople. For example, a school designed by the first licensed Black architect in a city may be significant as the work of that important architect. Educational institutions may also be significant under this Area as representative examples of architectural styles. For example, buildings on an HBCU campus may be significant examples of the Richardsonian Romanesque architectural style and be significant in this Area.
- » Education, for any resource associated with the process of conveying knowledge and skills. School buildings and other educational institutions may be significant under this area, but this Area may also cover houses that served as schools prior to Emancipation when law banned African Americans from learning to read.
- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource's significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource's significance and justify its nomination.

- » While these Areas of Significance are the most likely Areas of Significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "Education" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

Resources associated with this theme may be listed for Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History), Criterion B (Person), or Criterion C (Design/Construction).

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History)**, a resource associated with the "Education" theme must have been the location where the event of significance occurred or be directly associated with a broad trend or pattern for which it is significant.
Example: The first public school to serve African Americans in a community.
- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion B (Person)**, the significant individual must have lived or worked in the resource during the period in which they achieved significance.
Example: A school where an African American educator of significance taught.
- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion C (Design/Construction)**, a resource associated with "Education" should have distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; be the work of a Black builder or architect; or possess high artistic value.

- » Example: A equalization school for African Americans that retains architectural integrity and is a good example of the building typology.

THEMATIC REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Resources must be representative of the theme and be directly related to the education of African Americans.

THEMATIC ASSOCIATIVE QUALITIES

- » Documented association with the theme through written records or oral histories.

Example: A Rosenwald school built for African Americans that was documented in local newspaper articles.

- » The resource must retain most of the essential character defining physical features from the period in which the resource gained significance.

Example: A gymnasium used by African American students that retains its original form including the largely open interior, exterior material, and windows.

THEMATIC INTEGRITY CONSIDERATIONS

Overall integrity should be assessed within the time frame when the resource gained significance.

The resource should retain significant material from its period of significance.

The most important aspects of integrity for this theme are Location, Design, Materials, Workmanship, Feeling, and Association.

The older the resource, the more likely its integrity of Design, Workmanship, and Setting have been diminished. In these instances, other areas of integrity should remain intact.

ONE ROOM SCHOOLS

Description

This typology catalogs the earliest extant resources associated with Black education in Georgia. The term “one room school” refers to the building type; however, these buildings are also referred to as “Freedmen’s Bureau schools,” “Reconstruction Era schools,” and even “Rosenwald Schools” when erected as one room. Nominators of these schools should reference the “Fighting for Equality through Education” portion of “Education” in Section II (page 94).

At the end of the Civil War, there was an explosion of energy in Black communities to create schools. The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, better known as the “Freedmen’s Bureau,” was established in 1865. The Bureau supervised the establishment of schools for Blacks but did not directly establish them. Rather, they coordinated with Northern benevolent societies such as the American Missionary Association (AMA) who provided funding and teachers in partnership with freed people. The AMA provided teachers for schools such as the Dorchester Academy (NRIS #86001371) at 8787 East Oglethorpe Highway in Liberty County, Risley School (NRIS #02001290) at 1800 Albany Street in Glynn County, and Evergreen Church and School (NRIS #02001260) at 497 Meridian Road in Grady County. Early school buildings were not well constructed and classes were often held in private homes, churches, and barns. Many lacked heating and only held classes for a few months each year. Many counties, particularly those in northeast Georgia, lacked school buildings for African American education for decades after the Civil War.⁴⁴⁵

The majority of Black schools established during Reconstruction were a product of the Georgia Educational Association (GEA), an organization established by freedpeople. More than two thirds of the state’s Black schools were organized and sustained by the GEA. Although hampered by the postwar economic depression, a segregated public school system was established in Georgia in 1870.⁴⁴⁶

Although few remain, the earliest purpose-built resources associated with African American education are the one room schools. The Cherry Grove School in Wilkes County is one example. The majority of those that do remain were funded by philanthropist and magnate Julius



Cherry Grove School on Danburg Road north of Garrard Lake in Washington, Wilkes County. *Friends of Cherry Grove Schoolhouse, Inc.*

445 Rosenwald Schools in Georgia, Multiple Property Documentation Form, Georgia, 8.

446 Rosenwald Schools in Georgia, Multiple Property Documentation Form, Georgia, 9.

Rosenwald between 1915 and 1937, although the fund erected schools of other building typologies as well. Almost every school erected by the Rosenwald Fund shares similar architectural qualities. As such, Rosenwald Schools are included as a separate typology..

Rectangular in form, the one room school house is typically a frame building that is front-gabled. The side walls are usually lined with windows to provide light and ventilation. They are most commonly found in rural areas and African American communities.⁴⁴⁷

Significance

One Room Schools are locally significant and will typically be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). Generally vernacular in design, listing of these resources under Criterion C (Design/Construction) is rare. Those erected by freed people either alone or in collaboration with others should be evaluated under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). Even more rare are those associated with significant persons, either as students or teachers, which should be evaluated under Criterion B (Person). Typically, resources listed under B reflect the time period when the person achieved significance.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, One Room Schools should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. If the interior has been subdivided or significant additions have been added, it may no longer be eligible. If associated with a significant person, design elements from the period associated with the person, that are visible today, can contribute to integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and association. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance.



Seabrook School at 660 Trade Hill Road in Midway, Liberty County, built c.1905. *Brian Brown, 2023.*

447 Beverly Jones, "Public School Buildings," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2014, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/public-school-buildings/>.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Was the school the first to serve African Americans in the area?
 - b. Did the school serve African Americans for a long period of time?
 - c. Was the school the only institution for learning for African Americans in a community or region?
 - d. Was the school the predecessor building for a larger institution?
 - e. Was the school associated with a church, settlement, neighborhood, or have some additional affiliation outside of its central purpose?
 - f. Was the school constructed or funded by African Americans or by others for the benefit of African Americans?
2. Person (Criterion B)
 - a. Is the school associated with a significant African American during the period the individual gained significance?

FREEDOM SCHOOLS

Description

Briefly in 1964, a network of alternative schools for African Americans flourished known as Freedom Schools. An initiative begun in Mississippi by the Council of Federated Organizations, an alliance of civil rights groups led by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the activists brought hundreds of northern volunteers to Mississippi to register voters and teach. SNCC had gained fame for their leadership on the sit-ins and Freedom Rides. These community-run schools began as an alternative to the separate-but-equal schools, which received little funding, provided poor educational opportunities, and invoked psychological trauma on children. Begun as a summer school program, academic subjects, a cultural program, and political and social studies were taught in addition to opportunities provided for local organizing, transforming isolated students into activists who could “articulate their own desires, demands and questions.”⁴⁴⁸ Few Freedom Schools existed in Georgia; those that did exist were housed within existing buildings, which may or may not have been built for educational purposes.⁴⁴⁹ The Americus Colored Hospital in Sumter County and the Springfield Log Cabin School in Union Point in Taliaferro County are examples of buildings that were used in the 1960s as Freedom Schools.⁴⁵⁰ Nominators of Freedom Schools should reference both the “Education” (page 94) and “The Quest for Equality and Justice” (page 122) portions of Section II.



Americus Colored Hospital, 133 J.R. Campbell Sr. Street, Americus, Sumter County. One of the earliest hospitals for African Americans in southwest Georgia, constructed in 1923, which later served as the site of a Freedom School. *Brandy Morrison.*

448 Daniel Perlstein, “Teaching Freedom: SNCC and the Creation of the Mississippi Freedom Schools,” *History of Education Quarterly* 30, no. 3 (1990): 297–324.

449 Andre Harrmann, et. al, “Historic Structure Report: Springfield School,” University of Georgia, 11-13.

450 Brandy Morrison, “Americus Colored Hospital,” National Register of Historic Places Nomination, Draft, 2022.

Significance

Freedom Schools are locally significant and will typically be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). Extant examples in Georgia have been documented in buildings that existed prior to the 1960s, thus Criterion C (Design/Construction), if applicable, will not be tied to the building's associations as a Freedom School. Those associated with significant persons are rare, either as students or teachers, which may be listed under Criterion B (Person). Typically, resources listed under B reflect the time period when the person achieved significance.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, Freedom Schools should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the period with which the school was used as a Freedom School. If the interior has been subdivided or significant additions have been added since that time, it may no longer be eligible. If associated with a significant person, design elements from the period associated with the person, that are visible today, can contribute to integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and association. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. How long was the Freedom School operational?
 - b. Did the Freedom School share the building with other uses at the time it was operational?
 - c. What activism or organizing activities occurred at the school or were performed by its students?
 - d. Was the building altered to accommodate its use as a Freedom School or were other changes made to the building during the time it was used as a Freedom School?
2. Person (Criterion B)
 - a. Is the building the only known resource associated with the person or an outstanding example of a resource associated with that person?
 - b. Does the building illustrate the person's important achievements?
 - c. How long were was the person associated with the building?

AFRICAN AMERICAN EQUALIZATION SCHOOLS

Description

As outlined in “Equalization Schools: Maintaining Educational Inequality” portion of “Education” in Section II (page 97), African American Equalization Schools were created throughout the South following the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision. In an effort to satisfy the demand for better schools for African Americans and avoid integration, white leaders attempted to preserve segregation with new and altered buildings for Black students using federal funding in what was titled the Minimum Foundation Program for Education. In Georgia, 700 schools for white children and 500 for Black children were constructed between 1952 and 1962 as part of the program. Many of the buildings consolidated individual African American schools that existed within Georgia’s counties into one school per county.⁴⁵¹ While these schools were an improvement in many ways, the schools and resources provided for use by Black Georgians were still not equal to what white children experienced. Once school systems started integrating, Equalization Schools were either shut down or converted into elementary or junior high schools.⁴⁵²



Wetherington-Robinson Elementary School, c.1956, 4533 US-84, Naylor, Lowndes County. *Brian Brown, 2019.*

451 Steven Moffson, “Equalization Schools in Georgia’s African American Communities, 1951-1970,” Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, 2010, 7.

452 Dr. Hilary Green, Dr. Keith S. Hebert, “Historic Resources Study of African American Schools in the South 1865-1900,” National Park Service, <http://npshistory.com/publications/hrs-aa-s-schools.pdf>

Significance

African American Equalization Schools are locally significant and will typically be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). The buildings are rarely associated with significant persons, either as students or teachers, which should be listed under Criterion B (Person). Typically, resources listed under B must be tied to the time period when the person achieved significance as an individual.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, African American Equalization Schools should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. If the interior has been subdivided or significant additions have been added, it may no longer be eligible. If associated with a significant person, design elements from the period associated with the person, that are visible today, can contribute to integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and association. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Is there documented evidence that the school was erected or altered with funds from the Minimum Foundation Program for Education?
 - b. How long was the school operational? Did operations continue after integration or was the school abandoned?
 - c. Did a significant event happen at the school?

HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES (HBCUS)

Description

During Reconstruction, African Americans in Georgia made significant advancements in higher education. In 1865, Atlanta University opened its doors, and in 1867, the Augusta Institute opened in the Springfield Baptist Church in Augusta. The Augusta Institute would relocate to Atlanta in 1879 and be renamed Morehouse College in 1913. In 1869, the Freedmen’s Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church founded Clark College (later Clark University). Both Atlanta and Clark universities trained hundreds of educators and librarians who gradually improved the quality of instruction available to rural Black students across the South. In 1890 the adoption of the Second Morrill Land Grant Act led to the founding of Savannah State University and Fort Valley High and Industrial School, later known as Fort Valley State University.

The majority of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) originated between 1865 and 1900, with the term HBCU applied to those established prior to 1964 to educate persons of African descent. Those founded after 1964 are known as predominantly Black institutions (PBIs).⁴⁵³

HBCUs are typically multiple building campuses that include groupings of buildings by use in addition to landscaped areas to include recreational areas. Individual buildings or entire campuses may be significant as resources or districts depending on age, integrity, and significance. Nominators of HBCUs should reference the “Fighting for Equality through Education” portion of “Education” in Section II (page 94).



Paine College Historic District (NRIS #12001082) at 1235 15th Street in Augusta, Richmond County. *Ethos Preservation.*

⁴⁵³ Thurgood Marshall College Fund, “History of HBCUs,” *Thurgood Marshall College Fund*, 2024, <https://www.tmcf.org/history-of-hbcus/>.



Hill Hall (NRIS # 81000197), Savannah State University, Savannah, Chatham County.
Ethos Preservation.

Significance

HBCUs are commonly significant at the state or local level and will typically be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion C (Design/Construction). An institution's origin story and uniqueness in offering African Americans higher education opportunities within a region, prior to desegregation, contributes to its significance. Buildings with integrity from the related period of significance should be retained. Campuses may be listed as districts if multiple buildings and/or other features, such as historically used open space, remain.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, HBCUs and significant buildings on HBCU campuses should possess key features related to form, material,

and layout specific to the building's period of significance. For individual buildings, if the interior has been subdivided or significant additions have been added, it may no longer be eligible. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance.

District listing hinges less on the individual significance of any one resource and centers more so on the collective ability of multiple resources in relatively close physical proximity to together convey association and significance. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship speaks specifically to built resources whereas integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association speak to a district's collective physical attributes to include open spaces or common areas typical of college campus design.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Was the HBCU the first institution of higher learning for African Americans in a community or region?
 - b. Was the HBCU established by individuals or through the work of a group, such as a religious institution?
 - c. Did the HBCU originate as an institution of a different name?
 - d. Were African Americans of significance associated with the institution?
 - e. Did significant events take place at the HBCU?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. Was the HBCU designed or built by African Americans?
 - b. Does the HBCU have multiple buildings from the period of significance that form a campus?
 - c. Does the HBCU have buildings that are representative of a specific building type or architectural style?

INDUSTRIAL AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS

Description

Prior to desegregation, high school educational opportunities were limited for Black Georgians. Starting in the 1910s, many Black high schools were called “training schools” and emphasized vocational training or domestic science over academic subjects.⁴⁵⁴ Some became colleges. Industrial/Vocational schools may have been individual buildings or groupings of buildings in addition to recreation areas or farmland areas. Individual buildings or entire campuses may be significant as resources or districts depending on age, integrity, and significance. Nominators of vocational schools should reference the “Fighting for Equality through Education” portion of “Education” in Section II (page 94).



State Teachers and Agricultural College for Negroes (NRIS #03000475) (extant), built 1936, 500 Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd., Forsyth, Monroe County. *Brian Brown*, 2023.



Girls Dormitory, Gillespie-Selden Institute (NRIS #97000336) (extant) at 615 West 15th Avenue in Cordele, Crisp County. *Brian Brown*, 2018.

454 Barry Goldberg and Barbara Shubinski, “Black Education and Rockefeller Philanthropy from the Jim Crow South to the Civil Rights Era,” *Rockefeller Archive Center*, 2020, <https://resource.rockarch.org/story/black-education-and-rockefeller-philanthropy-from-the-jim-crow-south-to-the-civil-rights-era/#:~:text=The%20Black%20high%20schools%20were,domestic%20science%20over%20academic%20subjects>.

Significance

Industrial and Vocational Schools are commonly significant at the state or local level and will typically be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion C (Design/Construction). An institution's origin story and uniqueness in offering African Americans higher education opportunities within a region, prior to desegregation, contributes to its significance. Buildings with integrity from the related period of significance should be retained. Campuses may be listed as districts if multiple buildings remain.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, Industrial/Vocational Schools and specific buildings on school campuses should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. Many were made up of multiple buildings. In these instances, district listing is most appropriate. For the listing of individual buildings, if the interior has been subdivided or significant additions constructed, it may no longer be eligible. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance.

District listing hinges less on the individual significance of any one resource and centers more so on the collective ability of multiple resources in relatively close physical proximity to together convey

association and significance. Integrity of design, materials, and workmanship speaks specifically to built resources whereas integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association speak to a district's collective physical attributes.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Was the vocational school the first institution of higher learning for African Americans in a community or region?
 - b. Was the school established by African Americans of significance?
 - c. Did the school provide training that significantly impacted the lives of Black Georgians?
 - d. Did significant events take place at the school?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. Was the school designed or built by African Americans?
 - b. Does the school have multiple buildings from the period of significance that form a campus?
 - c. Does the school have buildings that are representative of a specific building type or architectural style?

ROSENWALD SCHOOLS

Description

Rosenwald Schools were typically built in rural locations and did not have electricity. The schools featured large windows to provide natural light to the classrooms, sanitary outdoor privies, an industrial room or shop building, and sometimes an auditorium. The designs were intentional from window placement to paint color to landscaping to provide natural light, fresh air, and a healthy sanitary environment. Prior to 1920, three building plans were designed by Black architects which included schools designed for one teacher, a larger central/county school, and a county training school. After 1920, Rosenwald building plans were redesigned by a white architect, Fletcher Dresslar. These plans had the option for one to seven teachers. Dresslar oriented the buildings from east-west to increase natural light and air flow. The *Rosenwald Schools in Georgia Multiple Property Documentation Form* lists 259 schools in Georgia that were funded by Rosenwald and approximately forty were extant in 2009.⁴⁵⁵

Prior to the Rosenwald Fund, few groups had the resources to construct entirely new buildings for Black education. Earlier organizations that aided Black schools commonly provided monies for the rehabilitation of school buildings with few dollars going toward the erection of new buildings.⁴⁵⁶ Nominators of Rosenwald Schools should reference the “Fighting for Equality through Education” portion of “Education” in Section II (page 94).



Barney Colored Elementary School, 1933, Barney, Brooks County. *Brian Brown, 2018.*

⁴⁵⁵ As stated on page 2 of NR Bulletin 16B, “The National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (NPS 10-900-b) nominates groups of related significant properties. On it, the themes, trends, and patterns of history shared by the properties are organized into historic contexts and the property types that represent those historic contexts are defined. The Multiple Property Documentation Form is a cover document and not a nomination in its own right, but serves as a basis for evaluating the National Register eligibility of related properties. It may be used to nominate and register thematically-related historic properties simultaneously or to establish the registration requirements for properties that may be nominated in the future.”

⁴⁵⁶ Rosenwald Schools in Georgia, Multiple Property Documentation Form, Georgia, 10.

Significance

Rosenwald Schools are significant at the local level and will typically be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion C (Design/Construction). An institution's origin story and uniqueness in offering African Americans educational opportunities within a region, prior to desegregation, contributes to its significance. Buildings with integrity from the related period of significance should be retained. Although rare, campuses may be listed as districts if multiple buildings remain.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, Rosenwald Schools should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. If the interior has been subdivided or significant additions constructed, it may no longer be eligible. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Does the school have documented association with the Rosenwald Fund?
 - b. Was the Rosenwald School the first school to serve African Americans in an area?
 - c. How long was the Rosenwald School operational?
 - d. Did the Rosenwald School serve other purposes, such as a community gathering space or location for adult education at night?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. Is the Rosenwald School representative of the published Rosenwald School building plans and types?
 - b. Was the school constructed with local materials?

Business and Commerce

The story of Black commerce in Georgia is rich with historic resources associated with Black business enterprise found throughout the state, in both rural and urban areas. Commercial resources include both purpose-built buildings and buildings adapted to serve specific uses.

The earliest resources associated with “Business and Commerce” and persons of African descent include markets where enslaved persons were sold, many of whom were skilled tradespeople as described in the “Humanizing Enslaved People” portion of “Business and Commerce” in Section II (page 101). The businesses and professions of early freed people are included in this history. The majority of Black commercial resources date from the post-Emancipation period, to include businesses that operated specifically for African American patrons during segregation. Nominators of these resources should reference the “Entrepreneurship and Black Business Districts” portion of “Business and Commerce” in Section II (page 103). Outside of Black-owned businesses, any business that served African American clientele during segregation may be significant.

Significant commercial resources include buildings associated with the earliest Black-owned businesses in a community as well as those associated with individuals who were innovators, found widespread success, or were multi-generational family-owned enterprises.

Associated Property Types

Commercial Blocks, Community Stores, Corner Stores, Single Retail Establishments, Funeral Homes, Restaurants, Gas Stations, Lodging Facilities, Medical Facilities

300 Block of Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd.
[extant] [formerly West Broad Street]
in Savannah’s Landmark District (NRIS
#66000277), Chatham County.
Ethos Preservation.



COMMON AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context's theme of "Business and Commerce" are:

- » Commerce, for resources associated with the business of trading goods, services, or commodities. Black business districts may be significant under this Area, as significant locations where several commercial enterprises formed a central location for commerce.
- » Economics, for the connection to Black-owned business and how wealth was distributed differently across racial categories. The impact of segregation and discriminatory laws changed how African Americans were able to attain wealth. For example, a Black-owned life insurance company may be significant under this Area, because African Americans could not obtain life insurance, and help their family retain their accumulated wealth after death, at a white-owned company.
- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource's significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource's significance and justify its nomination.
- » Industry, for the connection to resources such as textile mills and the railroad; and transportation, for the connection to railroads and other means of transit. All of these examples

may be significant for the technology and process of managing materials, labor, and equipment to produce goods and services.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely Areas of Significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of "Business and Commerce" as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

Resources associated with this theme may be listed for Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History), Criterion B (Person), or Criterion C (Design/Construction).

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History)**, a resource associated with the "Business and Commerce" theme must have been the location where the event of significance occurred or be directly associated with a broad trend or pattern for which it is significant.

Example: A motel that operated as the only place of accommodation for African Americans in a community during segregation.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion B (Person)**, the significant individual must have lived or worked in the resource during the period in which they achieved significance.

Example: A store operated by a significant Black business mogul.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion C (Design/Construction)**, a resource associated with the “Business and Commerce” theme should have distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; be the work of a Black builder or architect; or possess high artistic value.

Example: An African American movie theater built in the Art Moderne architectural style of the 1930s.

THEMATIC REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Resources must be representative of the theme and be directly related to the business and commerce of African Americans.

THEMATIC ASSOCIATIVE QUALITIES

- » Documented association with the theme through written records or oral histories.

Example: A family-owned pharmacy that served African Americans as documented in historic photographs.

- » The resource must retain most of the essential character defining physical features from the period in which the resource gained significance.

Example: A storefront erected by a significant African American that retains its original exterior material, recessed entrance, and picture window streetface.

THEMATIC INTEGRITY CONSIDERATIONS

Overall integrity should be assessed within the time frame when the resource gained significance.

The resource should retain significant material from its period of significance.

The most important aspects of integrity for this theme are Location, Design, Materials, Workmanship, Feeling, and Association.

The older the resource, the more likely its integrity of Design, Workmanship, and Setting have been diminished. In these instances, other areas of integrity should remain intact.

COMMERCIAL BLOCK

Description

Located in urban areas, commercial blocks are buildings that are either large enough to front the majority of a city block with a single or primary tenants, such as a bank, or exist as a single building that houses multiple businesses, typically as storefronts, fronting a sidewalk on a city block. These buildings are most commonly built of masonry, although frame examples exist. Those associated with the Black experience are found in many historically Black commercial corridors. As a result, they are integral to telling the story of the historic built environment associated with Black commerce in Georgia. Commercial Block buildings do not have to take up the entirety of a city block to fall under this category. Nominators of Commercial Blocks should reference the “Entrepreneurship and Black Business Districts” portion of “Business and Commerce” in Section II (page 103).

Significance

Commercial Blocks are significant at the local level and will typically be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion C (Design/Construction). Although rare, Commercial Block buildings may represent an outstanding example of a resource associated with an African American of significance and be listed under Criterion B (Person). Buildings built or designed by significant African Americans may be nominated under Criterion C (Design/Construction). A comparative analysis of other resources of similar design or construction or designed or built by the same person or their contemporaries could aid in determining local significance. For statewide or national significance, comparative analysis across a wider area would likely be required.



Old Penny Savings Bank (extant), built c.1925, a contributing resource to the Laney Walker North Historic District (NRIS #85001976) in Augusta, Richmond County. *Ethos Preservation.*

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, Commercial Block buildings should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building’s period of significance. If the interior has been subdivided or significant additions constructed, the building may no longer be eligible. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Was the commercial block home to one or more businesses?
 - b. Was the primary tenant the owner an African American?
 - c. Was the building developed or erected by African Americans?
 - d. Was there a longstanding business that occupied the building?
 - e. Did the businesses housed within the building contribute significantly to the lives of many African Americans?
 - f. Did the building have multiple uses, such as apartments or rental rooms on the second floor?
 - g. Was the building part of a larger Black business district?
 - h. Did a significant event take place at the building?
2. Person (Criterion B)
 - a. Was the building erected by a significant African American? Did the person develop other buildings?
 - b. Was the owner of a business housed in the building an African American of significance?
3. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. Was the building built or designed by African Americans?
 - b. Is the building representative of a specific building type or architectural style?

COMMUNITY STORES, CORNER STORES, AND SINGLE RETAIL ESTABLISHMENTS

Description

Community Stores, Corner Stores, and Single Retail Establishments built and operated by African Americans were common throughout Georgia in rural and urban settings. Nominators of these buildings should reference the “Entrepreneurship and Black Business Districts” portion of “Business and Commerce” in Section II (page 103).

Community Stores are found in residential neighborhoods as well as on the fringes of small towns. Most were built between the 1890s and the 1930s, retailing everyday necessities. Most commonly erected as stand alone frame buildings with gabled roofs, occasionally single retail masonry buildings, often with a flat roof and parapet, served as community stores.⁴⁵⁷

Corner Stores are the urban equivalent to community stores and were general merchandise or grocery stores that were built between 1900 and the 1940s in residential and mixed-use neighborhoods. These stores are found on street corners with chamfered, or angled, corner entrances, often in Black neighborhoods.

Single Retail Establishments reference single unit buildings that either stand alone or share party walls with other buildings. Built mostly between 1880 and the 1950s in small and large towns, these buildings typically have flat or sloping roofs and a three bay facade.⁴⁵⁸



Marion Vinson “Doc” Holliday Food Store, Higgsville, Twiggs County. *Brian Brown, 2020.*

457 Historic Preservation Division, “Commercial Types in Georgia.”

458 Historic Preservation Division, “Commercial Types in Georgia.”



Beaver & Sons Barbers (extant) at 2515 Martin Luther King Jr. Blvd., a contributing resource to the Cuyler Brownville Historic District (NRIS # 98000028) Savannah, Chatham County. *Ethos Preservation.*



Toomer Building (extant) at 735 Carroll Street, Perry, Houston County, built in 1905. *Brian Brown, 2023.*

Significance

Community Stores, Corner Stores, and Single Retail Establishments are significant at the local level and will typically be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion C (Design/Construction). Although rare, these buildings may represent an outstanding example of a resource associated with an African American of significance and may be listed under Criterion B (Person). Buildings built or designed by significant African Americans may be listed under Criterion C (Design/Construction). A comparative analysis of other resources of similar design or construction or designed or built by the same person or their contemporaries could aid in determining local significance. For statewide or national significance, comparative analysis across a wider area would likely be required.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, Community Stores, Corner Stores, and Single Retail Establishments should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. If the interior has been subdivided or significant additions constructed, the building may no longer be eligible. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Was the building developed or erected by African Americans?
 - b. Was there a longstanding business that occupied the building?
 - c. Was the building tenant the owner?
 - d. Did the business housed within the building contribute significantly to the lives of many African Americans?
 - e. Was the building part of a larger Black business district?
 - f. Did a significant event take place at the building?
2. Person (Criterion B)
 - a. Was the building erected by a significant African American? Did the person develop other buildings?
 - b. Was the owner of a business housed in the building an African American of significance?
3. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. Was the building built or designed by African Americans?
 - b. Is the building representative of a specific building type or architectural style?

FUNERAL HOMES

Description

Anchors of communities that are often owned by multiple generations of the same family, funeral homes are important to the Black experience. Most often these places are located in urban centers within African American commercial corridors. Historic funeral homes can include purpose-built buildings in addition to houses converted for use as funeral homes, as seen at Campbell & Sons Funeral Home in Savannah. Nominators of funeral homes should reference the “Entrepreneurship and Black Business Districts” portion of “Business and Commerce” in Section II (page 103).



Campbell & Sons Funeral Home (extant), 124 W. Park Avenue, a non contributing resource to the Savannah Victorian Historic District (NRIS #74000665), Savannah, Chatham County. *Ethos Preservation*.



Dudley Funeral Home (extant), 617 E. Jackson Street in Dublin, Laurens County. *Brian Brown, 2022*

Significance

Funeral homes are significant at the local level and will typically be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion C (Design/Construction). Buildings built or designed by significant African Americans may be listed under Criterion C (Design/Construction). A comparative analysis of other resources of similar design or construction or designed or built by the same person or their contemporaries could aid in determining local significance. For statewide or national significance, comparative analysis across a wider area would likely be required.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, funeral homes should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. If the interior has been subdivided or significant additions constructed, the building may no longer be eligible. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Did the funeral home play a central role in the lives of a significant number of African Americans?
 - b. Did the funeral home operate for a long period of time?
 - c. Was the funeral home operated by an African American family?
 - d. Was the funeral home part of a larger Black business district or neighborhood?
 - e. Were notable Black Georgians honored after their passing at the funeral home?
 - f. Did a significant event take place at the funeral home?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. Was the funeral home designed or built by African Americans?
 - b. Was the funeral home purpose-built as a funeral home?
 - c. Is the building representative of a building type or architectural style?

LODGING FACILITIES

Description

Lodging Facilities, sometimes referred to as places of accommodation, is a term used to describe any place where money is exchanged for a place to stay. Lodging facilities specific to the Black experience in Georgia are post-Emancipation resources that can include boarding houses, roadside motels, hotels, early Black YMCA's, and other facilities where rooms were rented by the night. Facilities purpose-built or specifically operated for African American use during segregation were often highlighted in the Green Book, an annual guidebook for African American roadtrippers that was circulated across America from 1936 to 1967 and became "the Bible of Black travel" during the era of Jim Crow laws.⁴⁵⁹ Facilities connected to the African American experience built after integration may also exist. Nominators of lodging facilities should reference the "Segregation and Public Accommodations" sidebar within "Business and Commerce" in Section II (page 107).



**Butler Street YMCA (extant), 22 Jesse Hill Jr. Drive NE, Atlanta, Fulton County, a contributing resource to the Sweet Auburn Historic District (NRIS #76000631).
*Danielle Meunier.***



**Dudley Motel, Cafe, and Service Station (extant), Dublin, Laurens County, built 1958.
*Brian Brown, 2022.***

459 Victor H. Green & Co., *The Negro motorist Green-book* (New York City: V.H. Green, 1936).

Significance

Lodging Facilities are likely to be listed for local significance, although statewide and national significance is possible. Lodging facilities will generally be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History), although examples listed under Criterion C (Design/Construction) also exist. Buildings that were the first lodging facilities erected for African American use in a community, may be significant under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History). Lodging facilities built or designed by significant African Americans may be listed under Criterion C (Design/Construction). A comparative analysis of other resources of similar design or construction or designed or built by the same person or their contemporaries could aid in determining local significance. For statewide or national significance, comparative analysis across a wider area would likely be required.

In Atlanta, the Butler Street YMCA at 22 Jesse Hill Jr. Drive NE showcased the centrality of lodging facilities to African American life in the early to mid-twentieth century. Designed by Hentz, Reid, and Adler and built by prominent Black builder Alexander D. Hamilton in 1920, the building provided a place for African Americans in downtown Atlanta to congregate, swim, dine, exercise, and sleep. Several significant African Americans maintained memberships to include Vernon Jordan, Jesse Hill Jr., Maynard Jackson, and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.⁴⁶⁰ This resource is listed under both Criteria A and C.

460 Atlanta History Center, "Butler Street YMCA," *Atlanta History Center*, 2024, <https://www.atlantahistorycenter.com/programs-events/public-programs/juneteenth/butler-street-ymca/>.

In Dublin, Herbert "Hub" Dudley, a prominent Black business owner, opened the Dudley Motel in 1958 to accommodate Black travelers during the Civil Rights era. In addition to this 12-unit motel, Dudley also owned the nearby Retreat Cafe and Service Station, as well as several other businesses for African American patrons. The Dudley Motel was the first African American hotel in the area and was listed in African American travel guides such as the Green Book. Important guests included Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Andrew Young.⁴⁶¹

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, lodging facilities should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance, such as individual rooms for rent by the night. If associated with a Black architect or builder, the use of methods or design elements characteristic or indicative of their work that remain visible can contribute to integrity of design, materials, workmanship, and association. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building should exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance. A rare resource may have a lower level of integrity and remain eligible for listing in the National Register.

461 Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation, "Dudley Motel, Cafe and Service Station," *Places in Peril*, 2023, <https://www.georgiatrust.org/places-in-peril/dudley-motel-and-cafe/#:~:text=The%20Dudley%20Motel%20was%20the,and%20Andrew%20Young.>

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Did the lodging facility serve African American patrons only?
 - b. Was the lodging facility operational for a long period of time?
 - c. Was the lodging facility operated by African Americans? Were they the owner of the building?
 - d. Did the facility lodge African Americans of significance?
 - e. Did a significant event occur at the lodging facility?
2. Design/Construction (Criterion C)
 - a. Was the lodging facility designed or built by African Americans?
 - b. Was the building purpose-built as a lodging facility?
 - c. Is the lodging facility a good example of a specific building type or architectural style?

Military

Military resources associated with the African American experience in Georgia include significant battlefields and camps, particularly from the Civil War period, as well as military facilities that were purpose-built during segregation for African American use, either during the Spanish American War, World War I, or World War II. Sites associated with the integration of the military during the Korean War period may also exist. Although less common, monuments to African American military that were erected over fifty years ago may also qualify for listing. Nominators of military resources should reference the historical chronology included under the “Military” portion of Section II (page 109) as applicable to the historical period associated with a particular resource.

Military cemeteries for African Americans should reference the cemeteries typology.

Associated Property Types

Battlefields and Military Camps, Military Facilities, Monuments

COMMON AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context’s theme of “Military” are:

- » **Ethnic Heritage: Black**, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource’s significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource’s significance and justify its nomination.
- » **Military**, for the connection to armed conflicts. These resources may include military bases or off-post housing. This Area may also cover battlefields associated with the Civil War where African American soldiers were involved, or

resources that are significant for their connection to defense industries in World War II that employed Black workers.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely Areas of Significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of “Military” as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

Resources associated with this theme may be listed for Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History), Criterion B (Person), Criterion C (Design/Construction), or Criterion D (Information Potential/Archaeology).

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History)**, a resource associated with the “Military” theme must have been the location where the

event of significance occurred or be directly associated with a broad trend or pattern for which it is significant.

Example: A segregated military barracks built for African American use on an Army base.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion B (Person)**, the significant individual must have lived or worked in the resource during the period in which they achieved significance.

Example: A battlefield where a significant African American soldier played a defining role in the events that took place.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion C (Design/Construction)**, a resource associated with the “Military” theme should have distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; be the work of a Black builder or architect; or possess high artistic value.

Example: A significant military facility designed by an African American engineer.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion D (Information Potential/Archaeology)**, a resource associated with the “Military” theme should have the potential to yield new information if more research is performed through archaeology or other methods.

Example: A battlefield where a significant number of African American soldiers fought that has been undeveloped and therefore has the potential to yield new information if archaeology were to be performed.

THEMATIC REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Resources must be representative of the theme and be directly related to African Americans and the military.

THEMATIC ASSOCIATIVE QUALITIES

- » Documented association with the theme through written records or oral histories.

Example: A World War II shipbuilding facility that employed a significant number of African Americans on the home front as documented in employment roles.

- » The resource must retain most of the essential character defining physical features from the period in which the resource gained significance.

Example: A segregated USO building for African American use that retains its original form and exterior material from the period of significance.

THEMATIC INTEGRITY CONSIDERATIONS

Overall integrity should be assessed within the time frame when the resource gained significance.

The resource should retain significant material from its period of significance.

The most important aspects of integrity for this theme are Location, Design, Materials, Workmanship, Feeling, and Association.

The older the resource, the more likely its integrity of Design, Workmanship, and Setting have been diminished. In these instances, other areas of integrity should remain intact.

BATTLEFIELDS AND MILITARY CAMPS

Description

Although few exist, and even fewer recognize African American involvement, Battlefields and Military Camps are a significant historic resource associated with the Black military experience in Georgia. The earliest sites are those associated with the Revolutionary War. Nearly 200,000 African Americans served in the US armed forces during the Civil War, although few saw combat in Georgia.⁴⁶² A number of military installations were established in the state during the Spanish American War such as those at Macon and Augusta, where a segregated regiment was stationed.⁴⁶³ Where extant, resources associated with these wars are battlefield landscapes, which are listed as sites, or commemorative monuments or markers, which should be listed as objects.



Fort Pulaski National Monument (NRIS #66000064) at 101 Fort Pulaski Road, Savannah, Chatham County (extant). Following the fall of Fort Pulaski in 1862, hundreds of enslaved African Americans sought refuge behind Union lines at Fort Pulaski. Many were later recruited to form some of the nation's first colored troops, the 1st and 2nd South Carolina Volunteers.⁴⁶⁴ *Ethos Preservation.*

462 Georgia Historical Society, "African American Soldiers in Combat," *Historic Marker*, 2010, https://www.georgiahistory.com/ghmi_marker_updated/african-american-soldiers-in-combat/.

463 Todd Womack, "Spanish-American War in Georgia," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, 2016, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/spanish-american-war-in-georgia/>.

464 African American History Month Concludes at Fort Pulaski, National Park Service, 2011, <https://www.nps.gov/fopu/learn/news/african-american-history-month-2011-part-ii.htm>

Significance

Battlefields and Military Camps are likely to be listed for statewide significance, although local significance alone is sufficient.

Battlefields and Military Camps will generally be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) but these resources may also be eligible under Criterion D (Information Potential/Archaeology). Most often, these resources will be sites associated with battle or wartime fortification.

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, Battlefields and Military Camps should possess key features related to location, setting, feeling, and association specific to its period of significance. The setting of the resource, to include natural and manmade elements that have remained since the period of significance can contribute to integrity of setting and association. When extant, above ground resources associated with the theme should retain integrity of workmanship and material. When considering integrity of feeling, a Battlefield or Military Camp site as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Were a significant number of African Americans involved in the site?
 - b. Did a significant event involving African Americans occur at the site?
2. Information Potential/Archaeology (Criterion D)
 - a. Does the site remain undeveloped and/or undisturbed?
 - b. Are there any published archaeological reports or studies of the area that detail the potential for more information to be uncovered if more work is performed?

MILITARY FACILITIES

Description

Between the time the first African American units were formed in the Civil War until President Truman desegregated the military during the Korean War, Military Facilities erected by the government included buildings to be used for white soldiers and separate facilities erected for Black soldiers. Of those that remain today, the majority date to the 1930s and 40s, from the period after World War II until the close of World War II.

Extensive military training activities took place in several camps in Georgia during World War I (1917-1918), all of which were segregated. Camp Benning, now known as Fort Benning, which was established in 1918 on a former plantation labor site, established facilities for African Americans including recreational buildings, such as Nett Hall which was built in 1933 for the all-Black 24th Infantry Regiment.⁴⁶⁵



Nett Hall [extant], Fort Moore [formerly Fort Benning], Columbus, Muscogee County. U.S. Army photo by Edward Howard, U.S. Army Garrison Fort Benning Directorate of Public Works.

⁴⁶⁵ Franklin Fisher, "Veteran African American regiment, its band, among those to be honored at Fort Benning," https://www.army.mil/article/243542/veteran_african_american_regiment_its_band_among_those_to_be_honored_at_fort_benning.

Significance

Military Facilities will either be significant at the state or local level and will typically be eligible under Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History).

Associative Qualities and National Register Requirements

To retain integrity, Military Facilities should possess key features related to form, material, and layout specific to the building's period of significance. If the interior has been subdivided or significant additions constructed, the building may no longer be eligible. When considering integrity of feeling, a building as a whole should convey its origin and association with its period of significance. Historic material, form, and layout dating to the period of significance can contribute to this ability. A building must exist in its original context and not have been moved to ensure integrity of location. Lastly, the rarity of such a resource should be considered in any evaluation of its significance.

Suggested Questions to Ask

1. Events/Broad Patterns of History (Criterion A)
 - a. Did the facility serve a significant number of African Americans?
 - b. Was the facility segregated or one of the first to be integrated?
 - c. Did a significant event occur at the facility?

The Quest for Justice and Equality

Numerous resources remain on the landscape in Georgia that tell the story of “The Quest for Justice and Equality.” Rooted in the variety of activities surrounding this theme, the historic resources that are related are varied. Additionally, the origin of resources associated with this theme are most often tied first to separate themes, such as a building built as a church that was used for civil rights organizing or a house that was used to host traveling activists. While some facilities purpose built for “The Quest for Justice and Equality” theme exist, such as a building erected to house a local branch of an NAACP office, these buildings would first fall under “Business and Commerce.” As such, other themes should be referenced when considering the nomination of resources associated with this theme.

Resources associated with “The Quest for Justice and Equality” include those related to African American activism in support of equal rights but also places where racism and discrimination led to violence and retaliation against Blacks. Within Section II, “Racial Violence” (page 122), the “Organizations of the Civil Rights Movement” (page 124), the “Albany Civil Rights Movement” (page 127), “Activism in the 1970s” (page 130), and the “Movement toward Federal Recognition for Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.” (page 130) are available for reference.



Woolworth's, 802 Broad Street, Augusta, Richmond County. A contributing resource in the Augusta Downtown Historic District (NRIS #04000515). *Brian Brown, 2022.*



Emery Thomas Auditorium, 100 Riverview Drive, Dublin, Laurens County (NRIS #100007698). *Ethos Preservation.*

Resources should retain material and elements from the period of activities associated with this theme. Because many resources were not purpose built for “The Quest for Justice and Equality,” but were primarily resources erected for other purposes, the retention of elements from this later, related era is of particular importance. A church that converted its offices for use by civil rights organizers in the 1960s, which retains 1960s metal windows that replaced earlier wood windows, is one example of a building element that aids in telling the story of the civil rights period.

At the African American Dublin 4-H Center camp, the Emery Thomas Auditorium (NRIS #100007698) was built in 1957 to support the growing campus. Camp youth used the building to host civil rights discussions surrounding the desire for integration and equalization within the 4H program, garnering national coverage from the African American newspaper *The Pittsburgh Courier*.⁴⁶⁶ At the Woolworth’s department store in Augusta, the lunch counter was the site of a Civil Rights era sit-in demonstration by a group of Paine College students in 1960. Both are examples of resources associated with “The Quest for Justice and Equality.”

COMMON AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

Areas of Significance most likely to be associated with a resource considered significant under this context’s theme of “The Quest for Justice and Equality” are:

- » Ethnic Heritage: Black, for resources where Black heritage is integral to a resource’s significance. For this context, this Area will likely always be included. While only one Area of Significance is required for listing, others may be included to fully convey a resource’s significance and justify its nomination.
- » Law, for the advancements in civil rights legislation similar to the “Politics and Government” theme. Courthouses where discriminatory laws were overturned and City Halls where new racially inclusive laws were passed are both examples of resources that may be significant under this Area.

- » Social History, for the changes in race relations throughout the state. Sites of protest may be significant for their connection to seeking justice and welfare for society at large under this Area.

While these Areas of Significance are the most likely Areas of Significance one would use to nominate a resource related to the theme of “The Quest for Justice and Equality” as connected to Black history in Georgia, they are not the only possible Areas of Significance.

CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

Resources associated with this theme may be listed for Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History) or Criterion B (Person).

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion A (Event/Broad Patterns of History)**, a resource associated with “The Quest for Justice and Equality” theme must have been the

⁴⁶⁶ Rebecca Fenwick, “Emery Thomas Auditorium,” National Register Nomination, 2022.

location where the event of significance occurred or be directly associated with a broad trend or pattern for which it is significant.

Example: The site of a pivotal labor march involving African Americans in defense of equal pay across racial lines.

- » To demonstrate significance under **Criterion B (Person)**, the significant individual must have lived or worked in the resource during the period in which they achieved significance.

Example: A Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) office where a significant civil rights leader trained young activists in the 1960s.

THEMATIC REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Resources must be representative of the theme and be directly related to the actions of African Americans to gain equal rights and the events involving the struggle to obtain them, such as incidents of racial violence.

THEMATIC ASSOCIATIVE QUALITIES

- » Documented association with the theme through written records or oral histories.

Example: A labor dispute based on race documented in court records and newspaper articles.

- » The resource must retain most of the essential character defining physical features from the period in which the resource gained significance.

Example: A department store where a sit-in took place that still retains the lunch counter, seats, and other building elements from the time period.

THEMATIC INTEGRITY CONSIDERATIONS

Overall integrity should be assessed within the time frame when the resource gained significance.

The resource should retain significant material from its period of significance.

The most important aspects of integrity for this theme are Location, Feeling, and Association.

The resource's physical characteristics as a whole should convey the feeling and association of the historic period for which the resource is significant.

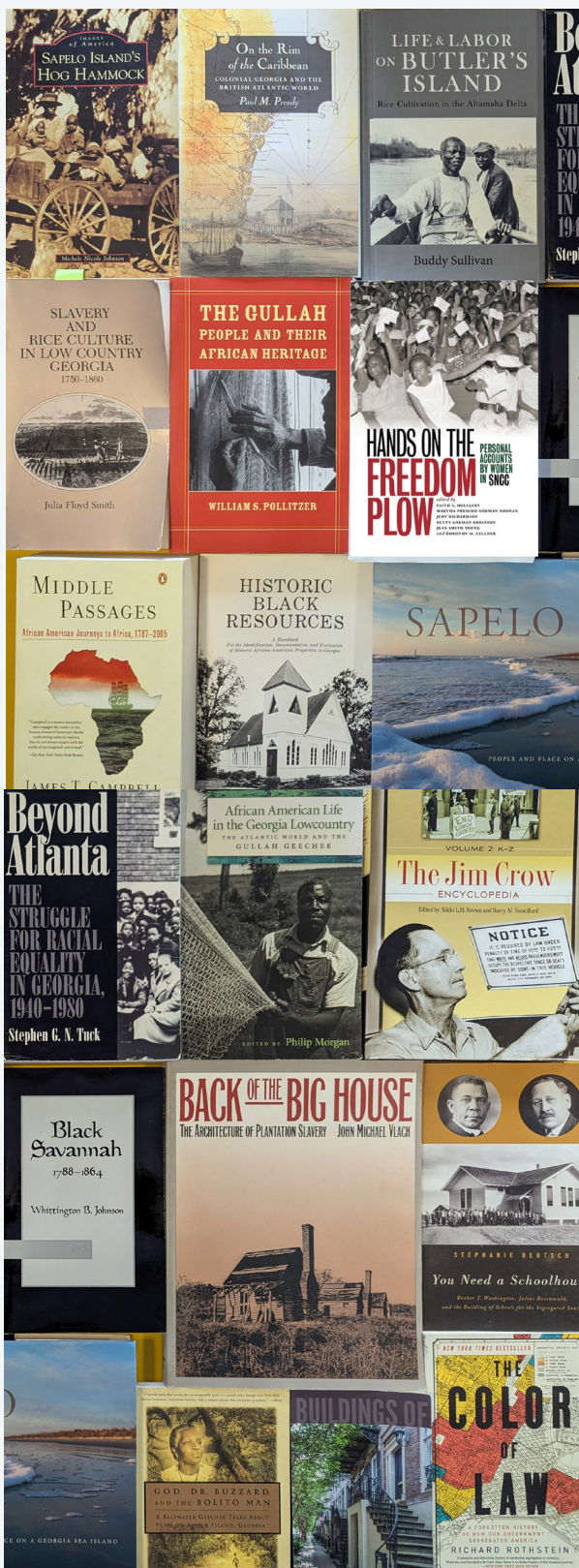
The older the resource, the more likely its integrity of Design, Workmanship, and Setting have been diminished. In these instances, other areas of integrity should remain intact.

RESOURCE TYPES

Resources associated with this theme are commonly those built for other purposes. As such, the typologies listed below are compiled for reference, to include the types most commonly associated with the theme. As such, multiple themes will apply for all resources associated with “The Quest for Justice and Equality.” The list below is not exhaustive as any resource type could potentially be associated with the theme, depending on its significance.

- » Places of Worship (page 180)
- » Factories and Warehouses (page 171)
- » Mills and Mill Villages (page 174)
- » Places of Political Riot, Protest, or Massacre (page 155)
- » Multiple resource types associated with Home Life (page 213)
- » Multiple resource types associated with Business and Commerce (page 250)

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Case Studies

Listed below are case studies that aim to demonstrate how different resources associated with African American history in Georgia could potentially be analyzed for eligibility for listing through the utilization of this historic context. All case study examples are not yet listed to the National Register.⁴⁶⁷

The case studies herein are starting points for National Register eligibility analysis for a selection of resource types in terms of their potential significance for association with the historic African American experience. These examples are not intended to present the full spectrum of resource types that may be significantly associated with the context of the historic African American experience in Georgia. The opinions presented are not the official opinions of Georgia Historic Preservation Division and are provided here as starting points and models for additional and similar analyses. Formal eligibility for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places for these and any other property requires an in-depth analysis of documentation at the time of nomination, through formal application to the Georgia Historic Preservation Division. Furthermore, any of these resources may also possess significance under additional Areas of Significance and/or for their association with additional contexts not defined or discussed here.

A sampling of resources consulted for the creation of Georgia's Full Story. *Ethos Preservation.*

⁴⁶⁷ Potential nominators should note that inclusion in this document does not guarantee eligibility to the National Register of Historic Places. Determinations of eligibility can only be made by reviewing the current conditions of the property with the Georgia Historic Preservation Division.



Butler Island Plantation Labor Site rice chimney remains.
Ethos Preservation.

Butler Island Historic District, Butler Island, McIntosh County

BACKGROUND

Butler Island in McIntosh County is the former site of the Butler Island Plantation Labor Site, where people of African descent were forcibly enslaved in four settlements for the cultivation of rice and Sea Island cotton between 1784 to 1864. African Americans continued to cultivate rice in this location through Reconstruction and into the twentieth century as tenant farmers. The island was later used as a dairy and cattle farming operation as well as an iceberg lettuce farm, with African Americans continuing to work the land through all of these agricultural phases. Farming operations continued until 1954 when the island was deeded to the State of Georgia by R.J. Reynolds for use as a wildlife management area.⁴⁶⁸

The property has multiple above ground historic resources including two c.1833 steam rice mill chimneys, erected and used by enslaved people of African descent, the 1927 Model Dairy Demonstration Office, and the 1935 Huston Dairy Barn. Other historic resources on the island include fields that were engineered for rice cultivation by enslaved people of African descent with an associated dike system, four settlement sites with documented archaeological evidence of lifeways of the enslaved people, and an unmarked cemetery where those enslaved individuals were buried, as documented by archaeologists. Until June 2024, Butler Island also contained the 1927 Colonel Tillinghast L. Huston House; this building burned to the ground on June 26, 2024.⁴⁶⁹ Because of the size of the property and the variety of types of resources, it is best listed as a National Register district.

NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA

Butler Island is significant at the state level under **Criterion A** for its association with the development of large-scale **Agriculture** from the late eighteenth century through the mid-twentieth century and for its association with **Ethnic Heritage: Black and Agriculture** because of the large number of enslaved people of African descent who worked on Butler Island and the number of African Americans who continued to work as agricultural laborers until 1954. It is also connected to the Weeping Time, the largest sale of enslaved persons in American history. Butler Island is significant at the state level under **Criterion D** for both the previous archaeological work performed on the enslaved communities, as well as the potential information future investigations might uncover.

468 Kim Campbell, "Butler Island Plantation," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Draft, 2022.

469 Kim Campbell, "Butler Island Plantation," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Draft, 2022.

AREA(S) OF SIGNIFICANCE

Butler Island is a good example of a potential historic district that would incorporate Ethnic Heritage: Black as an Area of Significance, in addition to Agriculture and Archaeology: Historic - Non Aboriginal.

Butler Island's association with African American heritage is significant at the state level because of its correlations to the broad pattern of large-scale agriculture from the establishment of plantation slavery period (1750 to 1785) through the mid-twentieth century that saw the death of King Cotton and the birth of agricultural diversity in the state of Georgia. Butler Island is also significant as the largest rice plantation labor site on the Georgia coast during the antebellum period, made possible by the enslavement of over 500 people of African descent, making it one of the South's greatest concentrations of enslaved persons, and as one of the only well-documented plantation labor sites in the post-Emancipation period. Farming continued on Butler Island until 1954, with African Americans serving as the majority of the workforce. The large number of both enslaved people of African descent and African Americans who worked on Butler Island also make it significant at the state level under Ethnic History: Black. More than half of the people sold at auction during the Weeping Time, the largest domestic slave auction in US history, called Butler Island home as well.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

1790 to 1954

THEMES

Globalization, Migration, and Mobility

As the district represents an early plantation labor site associated with the initial settlement and development of Georgia's sea islands to include the relocation of numerous enslaved persons from Africa to Butler Island, many of whom were transported specifically for the cultivation of rice in America.

Agriculture, Labor, and the Land

For the district's associations with the plantation labor economy, the cultivation and harvest of crops, and the use of enslaved labor and later employment of African Americans. Beyond this context, additional information related to this theme can be found in the statewide agricultural context *Tilling the Earth*. Referencing this context would inform a deeper understanding of Butler Island within the larger framework of Georgia's agricultural history.

INTEGRITY (IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE)

Location as conveyed by the same latitude and longitudinal coordinates where the significant activities took place. The resources remain in their original location on Butler Island.

Design as an intentional and engineered layout of fields, dikes, irrigation channels, and other elements oriented in proximity to water systems, living quarters, etc. The design of the fields, dikes, and irrigation channels in particular are based on technology from the West African coast, engineered by the enslaved people of Butler Island.

Association as conveyed by the physical evidence visible from the natural and manmade elements that remain present. Natural elements could include proximity to a river and built elements include the gridded dike systems used to irrigate and cultivate rice as engineered by those under forced labor. The descendant community also still associates the place with their Gullah Geechee heritage.

Feeling as conveyed by the the island's lack of development and retained open space and its combination of landscape features and their relationship to each other, which together continue to express the island's coastal agricultural aesthetic and historic sense of place.

Setting as conveyed by the island's physical environment to include the proximity of the district's resources to known archaeological settlement sites and preserved open space that was once cultivated for rice, as well as the resources' proximity to riverbanks, dikes, and stands

of trees. Although situated across the Darien River from the city of Darien, and Interstate 95 runs through the island, the area still retains much of its rural setting.

Workmanship is conveyed in what remains of the two c.1833 steam rice mill chimneys built and used by enslaved laborers and in the dike system still visible in aerial view, despite change over time, engineered by those enslaved who employed this technology from knowledge gained in West Africa.

Material integrity is conveyed in the bricks that remain as part of the two c.1833 steam rice mill chimneys built and used by enslaved laborers.

CHARACTER-DEFINING FEATURES

- » Proximity to water source for irrigation of the rice and later iceberg lettuce fields
- » Low lying elevation
- » Gridded system of fields and dikes still visible from aerial view, engineered by people of African descent based on West African technology
- » Lack of development and retention of open space where rice was planted
- » Extant above ground resources built and operated by enslaved laborers (steam rice mill chimneys)
- » Extant above ground resources where African Americans labored (dairy barns)



Pierce Chapel African Cemetery. *Ben O'Hara Watson.*

Pierce Chapel African Cemetery, Midland, Harris County

BACKGROUND

Established c.1827, the Pierce Chapel African Cemetery is one of the oldest burial sites in Harris and Muscogee Counties, where generations of enslaved Africans and their descendants are buried. The cemetery should not be confused with the Pierce Chapel Methodist Church Cemetery, which is a separate burial ground located approximately 395 feet northwest of the Pierce Chapel African Cemetery.⁴⁷⁰

The cemetery is located on the line where Muscogee County meets Harris County. The setting is rural and wooded, located across the street from a clearing where Pierce Chapel stands. The 1855 Chapel is home to a white congregation; however, it is believed that the building was constructed by enslaved laborers.⁴⁷¹ While physically related, the burial site is not historically associated with the Chapel as the earliest burials predate the establishment of this white congregation and the Chapel. The cemetery is a landscape of tribute and memory, with archaeological evidence of cultural traditions that trace back to West and Central Africa. The descendants of the enslavers still own this site, and the descendants of the interred have advocated for its preservation.⁴⁷² Originally believed to contain fifty graves, archaeological investigations, to include ground penetrating radar and cadaver dogs, have confirmed roughly 500 burials.⁴⁷³ These investigations were able to identify a boundary for the cemetery, which stretches from the adjacent roadway, down a hill to where baptisms in Flatrock Creek took place, straight back into the woods, roughly 1.97 acres. It is possible that the total acreage is greater, as oral histories have described other known burials beneath the road, beneath the Chapel parking lot, and in other nearby areas.⁴⁷⁴

The site is bordered on the west by Flatrock Creek. As shared by descendants, the creek was a communal center for spiritual and cultural identity. In many African burial practices, water is a purifying and transitional element, representing a boundary between the living and the spiritual realms. The landscape of the burial ground is characterized by elements that reflect cultural traditions and beliefs, including quartzite stones, vinca and yucca plants, daffodils, and periwinkle which line the path to the main road.⁴⁷⁵ Vinca is a traditional ground cover in Southern folk cemeteries and evergreen foliage is symbolic of eternal life. Flowering daffodils, which renew themselves, have

470 Justin Elmore and Hugh B. Matternes, "Inventory and Surface Feature Mapping of the Pierce Chapel African Cemetery (9HS535)," New South Associates, 2022, 1.

471 Justin Elmore and Hugh B. Matternes, et al., 7.

472 National Trust for Historic Preservation, "11 Most Endangered Historic Places," 2023. <https://savingplaces.org/stories/11-most-endangered-historic-places-2023>.

473 Elizabeth Williamson, "America's Black Cemeteries and Three Women Trying to Save Them," *New York Times*, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/09/27/us/black-cemeteries.html>.

474 Yamona Pierce, Hamilton Hood Foundation, telephone interview with Ethos Preservation, November 1, 2024.

475 Candace Dantes, "Descendants of Harris County farmers reclaim trashed historic Black cemetery [case study]," *Black Farmers Network*, 2021, <https://blackfarmersnetwork.com/descendants-of-harris-county-farmers-reclaim-trashed-historic-black-cemetery/>.

Christian associations with the resurrection of Christ and the promise of life after death. Unmarked gravesites, gravesites memorialized with fieldstones and other grave goods, formal markers and ledgers, and informal grave covers exist.⁴⁷⁶ Extant grave offerings, also referred to as experience objects, include part of a glass water pitcher, signifying the connection of water as a transition area between the worlds of the living and the dead; glass sherds to provide a doorway to the world of the dead and as a means of keeping the spirit within the grave; and agricultural tools, which is a West African burial tradition that signified the skill or occupation of the deceased. Additionally, both depressions, where graves have settled, and intentional mounds, as common in the African American cemetery tradition, can be found.⁴⁷⁷ More information on West African burial traditions can be found in chapter three of the context statement *Identification and Evaluation of Georgia's Historic Burial Grounds*. Additionally, the African Cemeteries Pre-1865 typology on page 193 of this document is a useful tool for referencing how Pierce Chapel African Cemetery compares to other early African cemeteries in Georgia, should additional nomination exploration be pursued.

After Emancipation, a community of freed people was established in the area, most of whom were either individual farmers or sharecroppers, who continued to work the land. Burials continued in the cemetery until the 1930s after which there was a gap of time where no burials occurred as a result of many descendants leaving the area during the Great Migration. The cemetery is actively used today by descendants with the last burial performed in 2000.⁴⁷⁸

NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA

Pierce Chapel African Cemetery is significant at the local level under **Criterion A** for its association with **Ethnic Heritage: Black and Exploration/Settlement** for the cemetery's use as a burial site in support of the plantation labor system established as part of the area's earliest settlement by persons of European descent who enslaved persons of African descent. For this reason, the site is the oldest cemetery for persons of African descent in the area and meets the requirements of **Criteria Consideration D** due to its age. The cemetery is also significant for its association with **Ethnic Heritage: Black and Social History** for the burial practices and traditions employed at the site by people of African descent and their descendants as documented in the site's intentional setting, plantings, and utilization of experience objects as rituals originating in West and Central African tradition. Additionally, the cemetery is significant at the local level under **Criterion D** for Information Potential as confirmed by archaeological reporting confirming the presence of graves and the potential for more information to be uncovered if additional work is performed.⁴⁷⁹

476 Justin Elmore and Hugh B. Matternes, et al., 9.

477 Justin Elmore and Hugh B. Matternes, et al., 23-25.

478 Yamona Pierce, Hamilton Hood Foundation, telephone interview with Ethos Preservation, August 12, 2024.

479 Justin Elmore and Hugh B. Matternes, "Inventory and Surface Feature Mapping of the Pierce Chapel African Cemetery (9HS535)," New South Associates, 2022.

AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Pierce Chapel African Cemetery is a good example of a potential site of Ethnic Heritage: Black in the Areas of Exploration/Settlement and Social History; and Archaeology - Historic - Non-Aboriginal.

Pierce Chapel African Cemetery's association with African American heritage is significant at the local level because of its correlations to the broad patterns of exploration and settlement reflected in the regional establishment of plantation labor sites using enslaved labor; whereas the enslavers at these sites together used the Pierce Chapel African Cemetery as a burial site for persons of African descent who perished at their sites. The burial site reflects an association with the earliest persons of African descent in the area for this reason. The cemetery is also significant at the local level for social history as the site reflects the traditions, rituals, and lifeways of persons of African descent in the early nineteenth century specific to burial practice.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

1828 - 1930

THEME(S)

Agriculture, Labor, and the Land

For the cemetery's associations with the plantation labor economy and the persons enslaved as part of that system, who were buried by enslavers at this site.

Globalization, Migration, and Mobility

For the cemetery's associations with the early settlement of Harris and Muscogee Counties through the establishment of plantation labor sites where numerous enslaved persons were relocated from Africa to America for forced labor on plantation labor sites.

Religion, Fellowship, Rituals, and Social Services

For the cemetery's associations with the traditional practice of human burial associated with the rituals employed by persons of African descent and their descendants, integrating West and Central African rituals with Christian customs as practiced in the U.S. in the nineteenth century. The site reflects a continuum of cultural expression, where ancestral rites honoring the deceased were blended with Christian beliefs.

INTEGRITY (IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE)

Location as conveyed by the same latitude and longitudinal coordinates as the resource has not been moved or relocated.

Association as conveyed by oral tradition and verified with physical evidence visible from the natural and manmade elements that remain present such as the presence of grave offerings and specific and traditional plantings to include yucca, daffodil, and periwinkle which are meaningful in African American burial practice and used to identify the location of gravesites.⁴⁸⁰ Manmade associative elements include the proximity to an associated church site and former plantation labor sites, where those buried were enslaved.

Feeling as conveyed by the retention of specific plantings and combination of landscape features that express the aesthetic and historic sense of the period.

Setting as conveyed by the preservation of the site's rural location and its access to Flatrock Creek and nearby plantation labor sites where those buried labored.

Design as reflected in the intentional mixing of burials associated with various families interred, as confirmed by oral histories and documented burial practices originating in West Africa.

Material as reflected in the extant grave markers that remain.

Workmanship as reflected in the hand carved markings on tombstones.

CHARACTER-DEFINING FEATURES

- » Rural location
- » Placement by Flatrock Creek
- » Topographic depressions and mounds in the earth
- » Plantings of yucca, daffodil, and periwinkle
- » Burials oriented east-west
- » Extant grave offerings, which have Christian, African American, and West African symbologies
- » Informal arrangement of graves

480 Hamilton Hood Foundation, "Historical Preservation," 2023, <https://hamiltonhood.org/historic-preservation-projects/>.



Springfield Log Cabin School, Union Point, Taliaferro County

Springfield Log Cabin School at 1278 Springfield Road in Union Point, Taliaferro County. Image by Halston Pittman/Motor Sport Media. *Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation.*

BACKGROUND

At the urging of local community members, the Springfield Log Cabin School opened in the fall of 1938 for Black students in Taliaferro County. Prior, a local “Society Hall” served as a school for Black people in the area prior but was inadequate as demand grew. African American property owners cut pine logs from their land to erect the school, which is uniquely built of log construction. The school is T-shape in plan and situated many feet off of Springfield Road in rural Union Point, where it sits in a clearing and is visible from the street. The interior has wood floors, tongue and groove walls and ceilings, and double hung sash wood windows. A review of the *Public Elementary and Secondary Schools in Georgia, 1868-1971 Multiple Property Documentation Form*, reveals that while the layout and interior finishes were typical of the period, the building’s exterior construction of logs was uncommon. The majority of schools erected in the early twentieth century in Georgia utilized building plans circulated for public school construction with wood siding or bricks as the exterior material.

The parcel of land where the school sits was originally part of land associated with the adjacent Springfield Baptist Church, where a church and cemetery remain extant today.⁴⁸¹ Following consolidation in 1955, the school closed and became a community center. In 1965, the school briefly served as an alternative Freedom School funded by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).⁴⁸² The activities of students of the Freedom School influenced the involvement of the federal court system in Taliaferro County as well as the activity of civil rights advocates in other communities nationwide.⁴⁸³

As stated in a 1965 article, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and the SCLC were focused on education issues in Taliaferro County, with civil rights activist Hosea Williams visiting Taliaferro to lead the charge. After Black students were allowed to register to attend white schools in the county, the white student population transferred their registration to neighboring counties. This failure to integrate led officials to close the formerly all white school known as the Alexander Stephens Institute. After this event, some African American students returned to their former school, known as Murden High School and some dropped out. Others joined the Freedom School at the Springfield Log Cabin School. Here, pupils were taught by civil rights staff members and trained as activists.⁴⁸⁴

As recorded in an article and television news footage, Freedom School student activists boarded buses carrying white students to neighboring counties, at which point state troopers removed the Black passengers from the buses.⁴⁸⁵ This activism culminated in two U.S. Supreme Court decisions. In *Turner v. Goolsby*, it was determined that Black children are entitled to attend a desegregated school and that the expenditure of funds to bus white children to schools in neighboring counties is illegal if the Black students are not afforded the same benefit. This case placed the school system in receivership, with the state superintendent of schools ordered to take over the county school system.⁴⁸⁶ The second U.S. Supreme Court decision *Turner v. Fouche* in 1970, argued that the policies and procedures that led to the creation of an all-white school board in Taliaferro County were unconstitutional and not reflective of the sixty percent African American population of the county.⁴⁸⁷ After these cases, new private schools were established in Taliaferro by whites and, as a result, the public school system remained segregated, albeit not by law.

481 Terry Howard, Email Correspondence to Rebecca Fenwick, April 2, 2024.

482 Andre Harrmann, et. al, "Historic Structure Report: Springfield School," University of Georgia, 11-13.

483 Ken Willis, "10 Years Later: Court Control Backfired in Taliaferro - An All-Black School System Remains," *Atlanta Constitution*, 1975.

484 *The Record*, "Negro Drive Seeks Cures for Past Ills," *Newspapers.com*, 1965, <http://www.newspapers.com/image/491307694/>.

485 WSB-TV, "newsfilm clip of African American high school students protesting continued segregation of local schools following the transfer of all white students in the county to schools in neighboring counties," Crawfordville, Taliaferro County, Georgia, 1965, WSB-TV newsfilm collection, reel 1039, 00:00/11:38, *Walter J. Brown Media Archives and Peabody Awards Collection, The University of Georgia Libraries*, Athens, Georgia. ; WSB-TV, "African American students prevented from entering the school in Warrenton," Warren County, Georgia, 1965, WSB-TV newsfilm collection, reel 1039, 00:00/11:38, *Walter J. Brown Media Archives and Peabody Awards Collection, The University of Georgia Libraries*, Athens, Georgia; *The Record*, "Negro Drive Seeks Cures for Past Ills," *Newspapers.com*, 1965, <http://www.newspapers.com/image/491307694/>.

486 *Turner v. Goolsby*, 255 F. Supp. 724 (S.D. Ga. 1966), <https://casetext.com/case/turner-v-goolsby>.

487 *Turner v. Fouche*, 396 U.S. 346 (1970), <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/396/346/>.

During the 1960s, the Summer Community Organization and Political Education (SCOPE), a voter registration program involving college students, used the school as their headquarters.⁴⁸⁸ By the end of 1965, the Springfield Log Cabin School had been rehabilitated to serve as the first home of Crawford Enterprises, a training center to supply workers needed locally for silk screening and sewing. Described as a “self-help, anti-poverty program,” the school housed the organization’s initial activities which grew to include a garment operation, a woodcraft shop, two day care centers, a farmer’s cooperative, and other projects. By 1968, the enterprise had become the largest single employer in the county, bringing employment to many who had lost jobs after participating in demonstrations over school desegregation. The school operated in this way until 1968 when training activities were relocated to a larger facility.⁴⁸⁹

Changes to the building that occurred in the 1960s, as part of its converted use, include restrooms that were installed within the existing footprint and aluminum windows on the south facade that replaced deteriorated wood sashes. One door was also added to the east facade. None of the changes altered the building’s original form, which remains preserved today. Recently, the building has suffered from water intrusion along its north face, leading to this facade’s partial collapse; however, this wall has been shored in place while stabilization plans are designed.

NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA

Springfield School is significant at the local level under **Criterion A** for its association with **Ethnic Heritage: Black and Education** as the first purpose-built school for African American students in Taliaferro County and as one of a handful of known Freedom Schools in the state of Georgia. It is also significant under **Criterion C** for its association with **Ethnic Heritage: Black and Architecture** as a building erected by African Americans that uniquely employed the use of logs in its construction that were cut locally for the school’s erection. Despite the north wall’s partial collapse, other areas of integrity remain strong.

488 Terry Howard, Email Correspondence to Rebecca Fenwick, April 2, 2024.

489 Philip Gailey, “Taliaferro’s Negroes Learn to Help Selves,” *The Atlanta Constitution*, 1968, 6.

AREA(S) OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Springfield Log Cabin School is a good example of a potentially significant building that would incorporate Ethnic Heritage: Black as an Area of Significance in the areas of Education and Architecture.

The Springfield Log Cabin School's association with Black heritage is significant at the local level for its contributions to the education of African Americans, as the earliest purpose-built school for Black children in the county, and for the building's use as a Freedom School where activists were trained and subsequently carried out demonstrations to include the forced integration of school buses carrying white children to neighboring counties that was documented on local television. The students' activism brought greater attention to the illegal actions of the local school board, which were ultimately challenged in two U.S. Supreme Court cases that resulted in victories for the activists.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

1935 - 1967

THEME(S)

Education

As the earliest purpose-built school for African Americans in Taliaferro County and the later use of the building as a Freedom School, a school type specific to the Civil Rights movement that utilized existing buildings as sites to prepare African American students to fight for social, political, and economic equality.

The Quest for Equality and Justice

For the building's use as a freedom school established by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference at a time of local activism following the failed integration of Taliaferro County schools. Students of the freedom school led a school bus integration demonstration that brought significant attention to the cause.

INTEGRITY (IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE)

Location as conveyed by the same latitude and longitudinal coordinates as the resource has not been moved or relocated.

Materials as present in the original logs sourced from the area to build the school, which are its most character defining feature.

Design as the school retains its original plan with minimal alterations, including the collapse of the north wall, and therefore conveys its original layout today.

Workmanship as evidenced in the vernacular construction techniques used to build the school.

Association is retained as the school is the authentic physical space where segregated educational instruction was provided as reflected in the building's material, form, layout, and overall context.

Feeling as conveyed by the retention of the school's material, form, layout, and context, to include classrooms, chalkboards, and other original material that together, situated in an original setting, allow for the interpretation of the building as a school, and freedom school.

Setting as conveyed by the site's rural location, lack of surrounding development, and landscape features similar to the historic period.

CHARACTER DEFINING FEATURES

- » Log construction
- » Use of local materials
- » Wood windows and doors
- » Wood floors and interior tongue and groove walls and ceilings
- » Tin roof
- » Interior layout and T-shape plan
- » Rural setting



623 Whitney Avenue, Albany, Dougherty County. *AE Jenkins Photography.*

Rev. Isaiah A. and Katie B. Harris House, Albany, Dougherty County

BACKGROUND

Rev. Isaiah A. Harris was the founding minister of Mt. Calvary Baptist Church in Albany, a pulpit from which he served as a civil rights activist to establish a literacy school and champion voter registration. In 1932, Harris built the bungalow house that still stands at 623 Whitney Avenue in Albany. After his death in 1951, Harris' wife Katie B. Harris used the family home as a "freedom house." She provided lodging, food, and support to Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) workers throughout the 1960s.⁴⁹⁰ The Harris legacy of activism was continued by their children, Alphonso, Juanita, and McCree, who were civil rights strategists, and younger siblings Rutha and Emory, who were members of the original SNCC Freedom Singers and were SNCC workers, along with brother, J.T. Johnson, who joined the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and worked closely with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. as a SCLC Field Secretary.⁴⁹¹

SNCC focused on building organizations and introducing new concepts of leadership in the Deep South, where the harshest forms of racial segregation, economic oppression, and terrorism held sway. SNCC workers lived and worked in communities where earlier civil rights activists had been run out of town or killed. An account by Rutha Harris of her time as a Freedom Singer was included in the book *Hands on the Freedom Plow*, which describes her travel as a singer to over 45 states and her frequent involvement in marches and demonstrations; events that led to her arrest on three occasions.⁴⁹² On December 1, 1966, Alphonso Harris was killed in Albany. Although the motive of the killer was never confirmed, Alphonso was known for his involvement in organizing a student walkout protest.⁴⁹³ No one was ever arrested for his murder and the case is still considered unresolved.⁴⁹⁴ The house remains in Rutha Harris' ownership and the City of Albany has twice honored her by designating a Rutha Mae Harris Day.⁴⁹⁵

NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA

The Rev. Isaiah A. and Katie B. Harris House is locally significant under **Criterion A** for its associations with **Ethnic Heritage: Black and Social History** as a freedom house with ties to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee during the Civil Rights era.

490 Rutha Harris, Telephone Interview with Briana Paxton, September 8, 2023.

491 SNCC Digital Gateway, "Harris Family," 2023, <https://snccdigital.org/people/harris-family/>.

492 Faith S. Holsaert, et. al, *Hands on the Freedom Plow: Personal Accounts by Women in SNCC*, (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 4, 144-146..

493 Emory University, "Alphonso Harris," *The Georgia Civil Rights Cold Cases Project*, 2024, <https://coldcases.emory.edu/alphonso-harris/>.

494 PBS, "Alphonso Harris," *Un(re)solved*, 2024, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/frontline/interactive/unresolved/cases/alphonso-harris>.

495 Faith S. Holsaert, et. al, *Hands on the Freedom Plow: Personal Accounts by Women in SNCC*, (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 146.

AREA(S) OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Rev. Isaiah A. and Katie B. Harris House is a good example of a potentially eligible historic building that would incorporate Ethnic Heritage: Black and Social History as Areas of Significance.

The house's association is significant at the local level because of its ties to Rev. Isaiah A. Harris, Katie B. Harris, and their children Alponso, Juanita, McCree, who were civil rights strategists, and Rutha and Emory, who were part of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Freedom Singers. It is also significant for its use as a "freedom house" that provided lodging, food, and support to SNCC workers throughout the 1960s. The activities of these individuals led to the creation of a literacy school and numerous voter registrations of African Americans, and indirectly brought attention to the injustices faced by African Americans through their calls to action during the nation's larger Civil Rights movement.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

1951 -1970

THEME(S)

The Quest for Justice and Equality

As the homeplace of a significant family associated with the Albany Movement, a notable arm of the nation's larger Civil Rights movement, where every member of the family was involved in activist work, and for the house's use as a "freedom house" by Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee workers throughout the 1960s.

INTEGRITY (IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE)

Location as conveyed by the same latitude and longitudinal coordinates as the resource has not been moved or relocated.

Association with important persons as identified in archival sources and oral histories and confirmed by the physical building and its retention of form, mass, and elements from its period of significance.

Feeling as conveyed by the building's siting within its original context, its proximity to other buildings and vegetation similar to the historic period, and its interior and exterior which convey its continued use as a residential dwelling.

Setting as conveyed by the proximity of the house to the street, neighboring houses, and landscape elements.

Materials as reflected in the retention of elements of the building from the period of significance and original exterior wall cladding set beneath exterior vinyl siding applied after the period of significance.

Design as reflected in the design intent of the building conveyed during the period of significance despite some alteration, to include the installation of a handicap accessible ramp on the front facade.

Workmanship as reflected in the construction techniques and carpentry employed to erect the

building as reflected in the building's intact form and materials, some of which is concealed behind vinyl siding.

CHARACTER DEFINING FEATURES

- » House form and layout from the period of significance
- » Building materials retained from the period of significance, despite the application of vinyl siding atop earlier clapboard siding
- » Neighborhood context to include proximity to other residential dwellings in established neighborhood



Dixie Hill Shopping Center at 2179 Verbena Street, Atlanta, Fulton County. *Timothy Deptula.*

Dixie Hills Shopping Center, Atlanta, Fulton County

BACKGROUND

Located at 2179 Verbena Street in the Dixie Hills neighborhood of Atlanta, the Dixie Hills Shopping Center was the site of multiple altercations between police and area youth that happened between June 17 to 20 in 1967 in what is today remembered as the Dixie Hill Riots.⁴⁹⁶ While other events occurred during the four day period of unrest, to include gatherings and altercations in the streets of the surrounding neighborhood, the shopping center was the location of the originating incident and subsequently became the central site of unrest as additional alterations occurred there. The shopping center subsequently became the location of City organized press briefings related to the events and the centerpoint of a curfew boundary established to ease unrest. The events are remembered in conjunction with the Long Hot Summer of 1967, when more than 150 race riots erupted across major cities in the United States.⁴⁹⁷

On the Saturday evening of June 17, 1967, a young man carrying a can of beer was denied entry by a security guard at the Flamingo Grill within the Dixie Hill Shopping Center. A scuffle ensued, and police officers were called. Between 200 and 300 people gathered with three Black youth arrested. Racial tensions within the community had been building for some time as the African American neighborhood of Dixie Hills had petitioned the City to address several issues. On Sunday night, a larger crowd gathered to discuss these grievances, which included a lack of garbage service, issues with vacant lots where debris was drawing rats, inadequate storm drainage that flooded streets, and failed

⁴⁹⁶ National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report of the National Advisory Committee On Civil Disorders*, 1968, 28-30.

⁴⁹⁷ Jonathan Elderfield, "The long hot summer of 1967," *AP News*, 2017, <https://apimagesblog.com/blog/2017/7/7/the-long-hot-summer-of-1967>.

action by City officials to install playgrounds where area residents had purchased property for this purpose. Residents likewise contended that Atlanta's City Council was not reflective of the city's population. Many Black neighborhoods did not have Black representation on the City Council, since only one of the sixteen seated council members was African American.⁴⁹⁸

Activist gatherings involved the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and its former president, Stokely Carmichael. Carmichael was arrested after threatening a riot and refusing to move following the gathering of police cars in the neighborhood. After this arrest, a second altercation occurred at the Dixie Hills Shopping Center on Sunday, when a young man using a broom handle began to pound on the outside bell of a burglar alarm that had been set off by a short circuit. Police arrived and a fight ensued with several bystanders intervening. The police shot the young man, who was wounded. After this event, a meeting in the neighborhood with a gathering of over 1,000 people convened in the street led by Stokely Carmichael where rocks and bottles were thrown at nine police officers from alleys and rooftops and firecrackers were deployed. Believed to be gunshots, police fired over the heads of the crowd, and ten people were arrested, six of which were twenty-one years old or younger. On Monday, the City began installing playground equipment in the neighborhood, and a volunteer Black youth patrol was established.⁴⁹⁹

498 National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report of the National Advisory Committee On Civil Disorders*, 1968, 28-30.

499 National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report of the National Advisory Committee On Civil Disorders*, 1968, 28-30.



Dixie Hills Shopping Center, Dixie Hills Neighborhood in Atlanta, Fulton County. *Georgia State University Library.*

On Tuesday, a group of 200 protestors gathered, met by 300 police officers. Two police officers chased several young men down a street, and an incendiary device exploded at the officer's feet.⁵⁰⁰ In response, several shots were fired by police at the corner of Verbena Street and Shirley Place where the Dixie Hills shopping center is located.⁵⁰¹ One of the shots struck a bystander sitting on their porch, and a 46-year-old man was killed and a nine-year-old boy critically injured. A photo of the boy on a stretcher made the cover page of *The Atlanta Constitution* the next day.⁵⁰² After this violence, Mayor Ivan Allen Jr. toured the riot-torn area following the shootings late Tuesday night, instituting a 7 p.m. curfew for area youth for the neighborhood surrounding the shopping center.⁵⁰³ On Wednesday, the Mayor held a press conference at the shopping center, where the curfew was adjusted to begin at midnight.⁵⁰⁴ On Wednesday afternoon, an Atlanta patrolman saw smoke on top of the shopping center, after which he climbed on top of the roof to find a smoking bottle which he put out with water.⁵⁰⁵

These events led civil rights activist H. "Rap" Brown to get involved, visiting other African American neighborhoods in an unsuccessful attempt to gather support for a retaliatory event. Advocating nonviolence, State Senator Leroy Johnson and others formed a petition demanding Stokely Carmichael leave the Dixie Hills area to allow residents the opportunity to "handle their own affairs," which was signed by more than 1,000 Dixie Hill residents, after which no more events ensued.⁵⁰⁶

Built in 1956, the Dixie Hills Shopping Center retains its original form, storefront openings, and unpainted masonry finish that were present during 1967 when riots occurred despite the later installation of a pent roof in stucco over the building's formerly boxed awnings. Other area landmarks related to the Dixie Hill Riots, such as the 600 apartments that stood across the street have been lost.

NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA

The Dixie Hills Shopping Center is locally significant under **Criterion A** for its associations with **Ethnic Heritage Black and Social History** as the location of specific activities that took place between June 17, 1967 to June 20, 1967 as part of the Dixie Hill Riots, which spotlighted Atlanta during what is remembered nationally as the Long Hot Summer of 1967, a pivotal year of unrest during the larger Civil Rights movement.

500 National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report of the National Advisory Committee On Civil Disorders*, 1968, 28-30.

501 Joe Brown and Duane Riner, "Negro Killed, 3 Shot in Dixie Hills; Mayor Declares Emergency, 7 O'Clock Curfew Set for Teens" *The Atlanta Constitution*, June 21, 1967, 1.

502 Brown and Riner, "Negro Killed," 1.

503 Brown and Riner, "Negro Killed," 8.

504 Brown and Riner, "Negro Killed," 1.

505 Brown and Riner, "Negro Killed," 1.

506 National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, *Report of the National Advisory Committee On Civil Disorders*, 1968, 28-30.

AREA(S) OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Dixie Hills Shopping Center is a good example of a historic building that would incorporate Ethnic Heritage: Black and Social History as Areas of Significance.

The shopping center's associations with African American heritage is significant at the local level for the specific events that transpired at the building and for the impact these events had on igniting a larger activist movement within the Dixie Hills neighborhood during the Long Hot Summer of 1967 and the Civil Rights period. The events brought significant attention to the disparities faced by Black residents in the surrounding African American neighborhood and led to the involvement of Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen Jr., Civil Rights activists H. "Rap" Brown and Stokely Carmichael, and State Senator Leroy Johnson. The events are representative of the racial challenges facing African Americans Atlantans in the 1960s and the variety of activist groups and approaches that formed as a result during the Long Hot Summer of 1967, a pivotal year of unrest during the Civil Rights movement.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

June 17, 1967 to June 20, 1967

THEME(S)

The Quest for Justice and Equality

For the racially charged confrontations that took place at the shopping center and the activism, events, and changes that were ignited following the events in 1967.

INTEGRITY (IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE)

Location as conveyed by the same latitude and longitudinal coordinates as the resource has not been moved or relocated.

Association with important persons as identified in archival sources and oral histories and confirmed by the physical building and its retention of form, mass, and materials from its period of significance.

Feeling as conveyed by the building's siting within its original context, its proximity to other buildings and vegetation, which together express the aesthetic and historic sense of the historic period associated.

Setting as conveyed by the proximity of the building to the street, neighboring houses, and landscape elements.

Materials as reflected in the retention of elements of the building from the period of significance.

Design as reflected in the design intent of the building that remains intact despite the alteration of the building's storefront awning, which applied new material over old.

Workmanship as reflected in the workmanship present in the building and conveyed during the period of significance.

CHARACTER DEFINING FEATURES

- » Building form and layout from the period of significance
- » Building materials retained from the period of significance
- » Neighborhood context retained to include proximity to residential dwellings in established neighborhood

SECTION IV

APPENDICES



"Front of old negro house Greene County, Georgia." 1939. Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Farm Security Administration/Office of War Information Black-and-White Negatives.

Research Methodology

In 2022, the Historic Preservation Division of the Georgia Department of Community Affairs awarded a contract to Ethos Preservation to prepare a statewide historic context statement on resources associated with African American heritage meeting the requirements of a multiple property documentation form. The document was thoroughly researched using traditional sources, and Ethos Preservation also utilized a human-centered approach to uncover the fuller history of the African American community in Georgia due to the systemic underrepresentation of the Black community in the traditional documentary record. The research process consisted of three phases: an initial review of previous preservation studies on Black resources, a review of secondary sources informed by an advisory committee and the Historic Preservation Division, and a final phase of primary source research and identification of related resources.

The initial phase of research reviewed Georgia's two previous preservation guides that focused on Black resources: *Historic Black Resources: A Handbook For the Identification, Documentation, and Evaluation of Historic African-American Properties in Georgia* (1984) and *African American Historic Places and Culture: A Preservation Resource Guide for Georgia* (1993). In addition to these state specific resources, the National Council of State Historic Preservation Officers' "A Report of the National Historic Designation Advisory Committee: Recommendations for Improving the Recognition of Historic Properties of Importance to All Americans" (2022) and the National Trust for Historic

Preservation's "Preserving African American Historic Places" (2012) were consulted.

Because of the large scope of the project, the review of secondary literature was the primary method to develop the document. First, the advisory committee for the project, a selected group of individuals with knowledge and experience in the history and preservation of Black resources from across the state, provided a list of materials for review. The Georgia's Full Story Advisory Committee was made up of ten individuals with knowledge of historically significant Black places.⁵⁰⁷ Eight of these individuals were African American women, and all brought the integral perspective of lived experience to this document. The group was selected prior to the start of the project and worked as subconsultants to Ethos Preservation. All members were paid, except for the representatives of the Georgia Historic Preservation Division and the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation.

The Advisory Committee's list was supplemented by secondary resources recommended by the Georgia Historic Preservation Division. Ethos Preservation also revisited secondary sources connected with Black history in Georgia encountered during previous projects. The most current scholarship on the African diaspora in Georgia and the southeastern United States was reviewed for relevance and further studied if applicable to this context. For a full list of secondary sources, see the bibliography at the end of this section.

507 For a full list of committee members and their titles, please see the acknowledgements section at the beginning of this report.

The secondary sources consulted provided additional information to our understanding of the important events, individuals, and themes connected to African American heritage in Georgia. This research was supplemented with primary source research. Many primary sources were provided by the Advisory Committee and the general public through the Georgia's Full Story website. This information was the basis for many of the specific examples and personal stories included throughout the text.

This research formed the basis for determining which resource typologies have significance in the African American community. Rather than an exhaustive typology covering all types of resources found in African American places, the typology section identifies resource types that are specifically significant or unique to the African American experience, whether they are identified by use or physical form. Photographs of these resources come primarily from field investigation, the Advisory Committee, the general public, and Brian Brown of *Vanishing Georgia*.

Drafts of this report were reviewed by the Advisory Committee at thirty percent, sixty percent, and ninety percent completion. This review allowed for critical adjustments to terminology and language and assisted with making the report accessible to a broad audience. In addition to written comments, the Advisory Committee also met for four two-hour meetings conducted over Zoom to discuss the project. Drafts incorporating the advisory committee's comments were reviewed by the Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Community Affairs and the Georgia Department of Transportation.

After the analysis was complete, the report was graphically designed to be useful to a wide range of audiences, while meeting the requirements of a historic context as outlined by the National Park Service.



Georgia's Full Story button developed by Ethos Preservation to encourage conversation and awareness about the project. *Ethos Preservation*.

Community Engagement

Numerous outlets for community engagement were coordinated as part of our research approach to inform Georgia's Full Story. At project outset, Ethos secured the website domain www.georgiasfullstory.com and developed an online survey using Google Forms to link to the website. Ethos built the website to serve as an online face for the project and to allow direct access to the Google Form where anyone could offer information and upload articles, photographs, or other material about historic Black places in Georgia they wished to share for inclusion in Georgia's Full Story.

With the domain secured and website and survey form built, a project press release was composed by the Georgia Historic Preservation Division and Ethos, which was then distributed to news outlets. This led to multiple news stories in print, radio, television, and online formats. Each was shared on Ethos' social media accounts using the hashtag #georgiasfullstory and the tag @gashpo to link to the Georgia Historic Preservation Division's social media accounts.



Rebecca Fenwick of Ethos Preservation being interviewed by WTOG for a segment on Georgia's Full Story with the Springfield Terrace neighborhood in background. Savannah, Georgia. 2023. *Ethos Preservation.*

In October of 2023, a special announcement was filmed and shared via social media to encourage more submissions on www.georgiasfullstory.com. Prior to the end of 2023, an in-person event held in East Point with Mary Wilson Joseph, Briana Paxton of Ethos participated in a panel about context statements at the State Historic Preservation Conference, and an additional television news story shared the project with the public. At the start of 2024, a newspaper article by committee member Maxine Bryant shared an impassioned plea for the listing of more Black places to the National Register and invited submissions at www.georgiasfullstory.com.

In addition to the comprehensive list of engagements listed below, Ethos fielded numerous phone calls and emails from those interested to connect about the project throughout its completion. This led to numerous introductions and stories gathered. Additionally, social media posts allowed for Ethos to share intriguing histories discovered as part of our work, which often led to additional discoveries and engagement from the dialogue surrounding each post online.

Community Engagement Activities 2023-2024

March 3, 2023	Initial press release by DCA	https://www.einnews.com/pr_news/620166616/georgia-s-full-story-project-to-identify-black-heritage-sites-stories-statewide
April 2023	Ethos Preservation produces “Help Me Tell Georgia’s Full Story” buttons to wear and email signature graphic linked to www.georgiasfullstory.com for use throughout the project	
April 10, 2023	GPB News story and article “Black history project aims to tell 'Georgia's Full Story'”	https://www.gpb.org/news/2023/04/10/black-history-project-aims-tell-georgias-full-story
April 25, 2023	WTOC Story “Georgia’s Full Story Project Aims to Bring Equity to Historical Archives” shares project overview and promotes the gathering of stories at www.georgiasfullstory.com , features Rebecca Fenwick	https://www.wtoc.com/2023/04/25/georgias-full-story-project-aims-bring-equity-historical-archives/
October 12, 2023	Social Media Special Announcement involving committee members Hermina Glass Hill, Harvee White, and Mary Wilson Joseph	https://fb.watch/sCSjxYOL3j/
September 2023	Reflections Article by Briana Paxton, “An Update on Georgia’s Full Story (GFS) Initiative”	https://www.dca.ga.gov/sites/default/files/reflectionssept2023.pdf
September 14, 2023	Briana Paxton sits as member of panel on context statements at Georgia State Historic Preservation Conference in Augusta	

November 4, 2023	Mary Wilson Joseph holds in-person Community Outreach event in East Point	
December 26, 2023	WTOC Story “Georgia’s Full Story Project Pushes Forward into New Year” featuring committee member Maxine Bryant and Rebecca Fenwick of Ethos	https://www.wtoc.com/2023/12/26/georgias-full-story-project-pushes-forward-into-new-year/
January 12, 2024	Committee Member Maxine Bryant article ‘ <i>We Speak for We</i> ’: <i>Georgia Seeks to Add More Historic Black Sites to National Register</i> published in Savannah Morning News	https://www.savannahnow.com/story/opinion/columns/2024/01/12/georgia-launches-effort-to-tell-a-fuller-story-of-states-black-history/72158717007/
January 27, 2024	African American Programs Coordinator Mary Wilson Joseph gave the presentation titled “Importance of African American Preservation” at the Butler Baker School in Eatonton, Georgia	
February 21, 2024	African American Programs Coordinator Mary Wilson Joseph gave the presentation titled “History of GAAHPN” at the Bartow County Historic Center	
March 16, 2024	African American Programs Coordinator Mary Wilson Joseph gave a presentation on African American historic preservation grant opportunities to the Thomasville Landmark Society	
April 2, 2024	African American Programs Coordinator Mary Wilson Joseph gave the presentation titled “History of GAAHPN”	
May 14, 2024	African American Programs Coordinator Mary Wilson Joseph gave the presentation titled “Importance of African American Preservation” at the Liberty Theatre in Valdosta, Georgia	

Recommendations for Future Research

Because of the geographic and temporal breadth of this document, there are some areas that could not be thoroughly researched and analyzed. One of the most frequent inquiries to the Georgia's Full Story project from the general public was about the possibility for National Register of Historic Places nominations for unmarked cemeteries connected to the African American experience in Georgia. Further research and investigation are needed into what physical elements of an unmarked cemetery must remain for the resource to be listed, and what Areas of Significance are applicable. Typical questions regarding unmarked cemeteries include: If there are no markers, what other physical features must be present to nominate a cemetery? What sources are best for documenting an unmarked cemetery? Are cadaver dogs, ground-truthing, ground-penetrating radar, or some combination of these best for determining boundaries?

The nomination of discontinuous historic districts could be an option where there has been substantial resource loss over time. A discontinuous historic district does not have a single encompassing boundary, but rather, lists two or more resource areas of which boundaries do not physically connect, but that have a shared, collective significance. While Georgia does have some discontinuous districts related to archaeology and mill villages, the possibility of this type of listing for above ground resources related to African American heritage should be explored further. This listing type could be a useful preservation tool in areas where systemic racist policies have led to the demolition

of Black places, leaving extant resources separated by modern developments.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has led the charge in examining Traditional Cultural Properties (TCPs) and how to recognize and preserve them.⁵⁰⁸ More recently, the National Park Service has published guidance on this topic. While introductory information describing TCPs and their use has been included in this document, more research is needed to determine what types of properties might qualify within an African American context in Georgia.

508 According to Patricia L. Parker in *CRM* Volume 16 from 1993, "Traditional Cultural Properties: What You Do and How We Think" Traditional Cultural Property, or TCP, "is a property, a place, that is eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places because of its association with cultural practices and beliefs that are (1) rooted in the history of a community, and (2) are important to maintaining the continuity of that community's traditional beliefs and practices." Places such as Ibo Landing on St. Simons Island are examples of places potentially eligible for nomination as a TCP.

Regions of Georgia

The Georgia Department of Community Affairs divides the state into twelve regions that allow the Department to assist with planning for local governments and regional commissions. These divisions allow coordination of resources across neighboring jurisdictions. The Georgia Planning Act (O.C.G.A. 45-12-200, et seq., and 50-8-1, et seq.) defines and governs the work of the twelve Regional Commissions, including the management of regionally important resources and creation of regional comprehensive plans.

These regions were also used as a part of this document to help ensure a geographically diverse spread of resources were highlighted and reviewed. The map to the right below shows each of the twelve regions.



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