
GEORGIA COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND
MORPHOLOGY OF COMMUNITY TYPES

by

Darlene R. Roth
D. Roth & Associates, Inc.
3151 Lindmoor Drive
Decatur, Georgia 30033

for
Historic Preservation Section
Georgia Department of Natural Resources

December 1989

Since they are such complex entities and present so many facets, towns can be classified in various ways. When we speak of market towns, seaports, capital cities, county towns, or industrial towns, we are distinguishing them in terms of their varied functions. Alternatively, we may classify them according to the size of their population. Again, towns differ in their legal status and may be classified on this basis. But however we distinguish them, towns usually present recognisable features on the ground . . .

W. Gordon East
The Geography Behind History

Table of Contents

Introduction	5
Definition of Community	5
Scope of This Study	7
Methodologies	7
The Study Communities	9
The Community Types	14
I Settlements	15
IA Roadside Communities	15
IB Plantations	21
II Water Towns	26
IIA River Crossings	26
IIB Port Towns	29
IIC Savannah and Savannah Plan Variations	34
III Courthouse Towns and Other Government Planned Towns	40
IIIA Savannah Style Courthouse Towns	40
IIIB Sparta Courthouse Model	45
IIIC Augusta Courthouse Model	55
IIID Capitol Town	61
IIIE State Planned Market Towns	64
IV Crossroads Communities	68
V Railroad Communities	85
VA Crossroads Towns with Railroads	85
VB Cross-rail Towns	97
VC Railroad Strips	114
VD Railroad Stops	130
VE Railroad Centers	131
VI Automobile and Other Non-Railroad Strips	136
VIA Mountain Strips	136
VIB Automobile Strips	148
VII Specialized Land-Use Areas	156
VIIA Industrial/Commercial and Central Business Districts	156
VIIB Subdivisions and Suburbs	158

VIIC Black Sections	161
VIII Education Centers	162
IX Military Installations	
IXA Settlement and Colonial Forts	163
IXB Modern Forts and Military Installations	164
IXC Other Forts and Fortifications	166
X Resort Communities	167
XI Mill and Other Industry Villages	168
XII Utopian Communities	169
XIII Temporary Communities	170
XIII A Campgrounds	170
XIII B Construction Camps and Other	172
XIV Aboriginal Communities	173
Observations and Recommendations	174
Bibliography	183

Introduction

The sense of community has shifted dramatically in Georgia in the since the middle of the twentieth century. Prior to 1950, 80% of the Georgia population lived in places designated "rural" by the United States Census Bureau. After 1950 the population shifted until today the majority of Georgia citizens live in places qualifying as "urban" (more than 2500 people) by the Census Bureau. This suggests clearly two things: first that the truly urban population centers of Georgia have been few in number and distinctly different in character from the rest of the state, and second, that the "norm" or common image of community held by Georgians for almost two hundred years was of a very small town situated in rural surroundings.

Definition of community

There are many intangibles attached to the notion of community, most of which were not included in this study. Simply put, a community is understood to be a group of people who live in the same locality. There are communities based on work and shared interests as well, but these were not included in this study. Here a community had to be a visible thing; it had to have qualities or elements which said loudly and clearly: "this is a community." Reference to some geographical and cultural histories help this identification. Gerald Danzer refers to the three stages of life for American communities, referring specifically to large centers of population. Each has gone through, according to his summary of geographical theory, three stages of development--the walking city (or environment), the streetcar city, and the automobile city. The origins of community, he suggests, may be very simple:

Chances are the town began with some sort of public place as a nucleus. Perhaps it was a trading post, a fort, a crossroads, or a seat of government. Around this central place of meeting, a town gradually emerged, and it developed a system of internal transportation to supplement the original roads and trails. Some communities, of course, never developed enough to extend beyond the original street or crossroads. They remain today as one- or two-street hamlets, places where motorists slow down as they pass through but

joke about not blinking for fear they will miss the community.¹

The shape of these original places is at the heart of this study, and the nature of the meeting place which they provide lies at the core of the interpretation of physical community utilized here. Urban geographers have struggled with the problem of defining what a "town" is and what a "city" is since the end of the nineteenth century. Two of their conclusions are useful here: one, that every culture has its own definition of "town" and two, that a "town" (here, community) represents some sort of agglomeration of people and dwellings which are distinguishable from the open countryside.² This project was not concerned with towns per se, but with all forms of community, a somewhat broader undertaking.

Specifically, a community was defined geographically and structurally as some place which had the following six characteristics: 1) a recognized nucleus or cluster of buildings, a focus, node, or "center," in other words, which was expressed architecturally or perceptible through some other means; 2) an organized public space or meeting place, which might be the same or different as the community "center," which could be architectural, structural, or geographic; 3) a mix of functions which were represented architecturally and otherwise (residential, commercial, institutional, industrial, etc.), though no required number of functions was specified; 4) a skyline or some other break in the vista which announced the presence of a community; 5) recognized or recognizable symbols of community (such as a church or a school) which might or might not be the same as 2 above, which would serve as a "focus" for the community if not its actual center; and finally, some identifiable origins which were also present architecturally or otherwise.

These qualities were specified at the outset of the project, and they held up well during the project. Basically, however, the primary characteristics came to be these, more simply stated: an observable core or center to the place, a particular configuration of architectural resources in relation to the street/road patterns which were distinct and mutually exclusive among the specific types; and a clear association with public functioning of many kinds.

¹Gerald Danzer, *Public Places* (AASLH, 1987), pp. 98-99.

²J. Beaujeu-Garnier and G. Chabot, *Urban Geography* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1969), translated from the French edition, published 1967.

Scope of this study

This project took a lesson, as it were, from Fred Kniffen, the grandfather of geographical diffusion studies pertaining to architecture and culture, who affirmed the following:

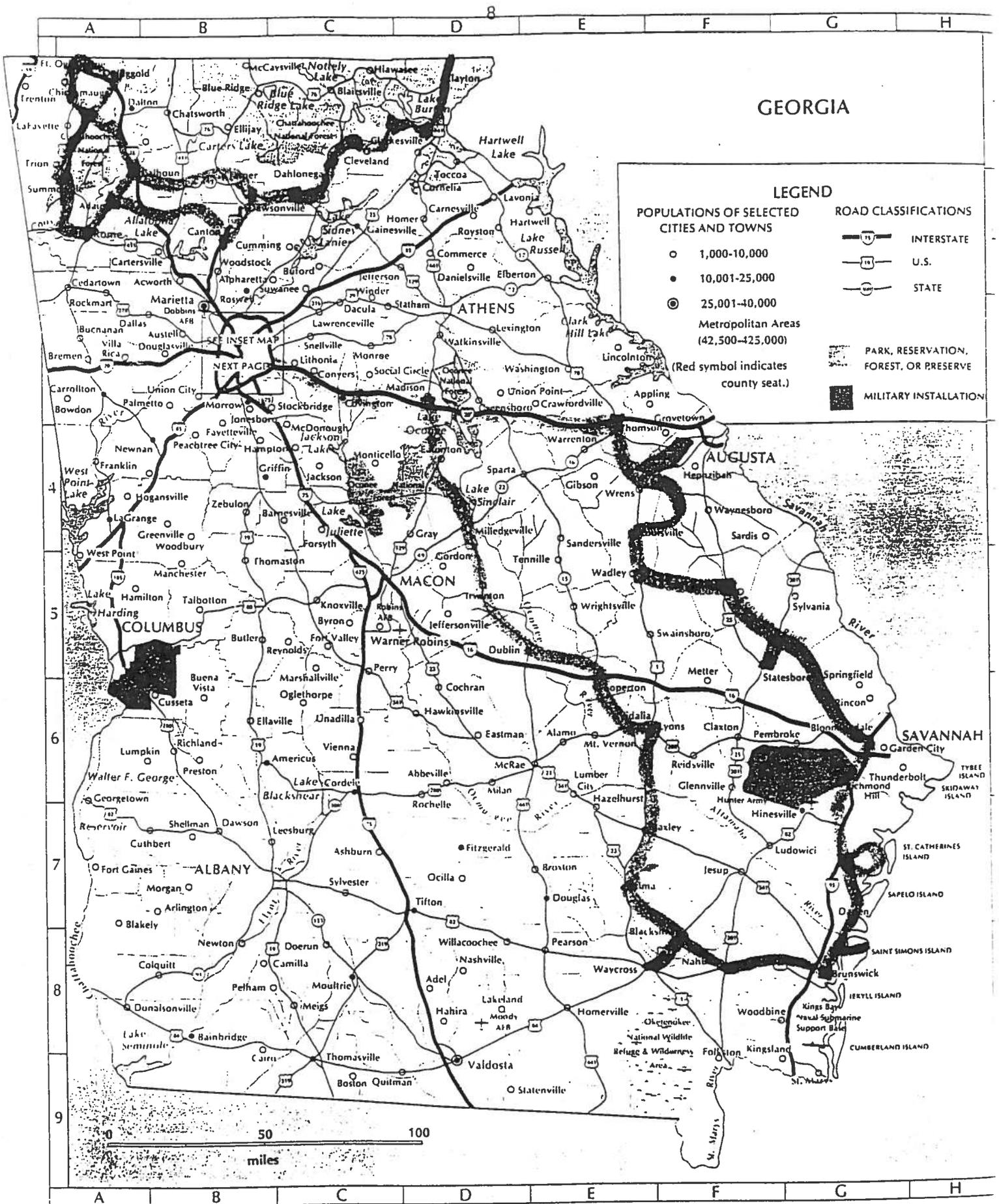
If the geography of settlement is ever to reach its full potential as the interpretable record of the historical events and cultural processes imprinted on the land, the components of settlements of all kinds must be systematically reduced to types and quantities before they are set against the revealing vagaries of reality.³

The purpose of this project was to identify and categorize, as far as possible, types of communities which were endemic to Georgia. This meant identifying some common elements which were used to identify a place as a community, analyzing the assortment and relationships of historic resources to the basic forms (street patterns and physical orientations) of the communities, and coming up with some cogent observations. This study broke ground in many ways as will be seen. The research alone took a year to do, and was still not "done" at the end of that time. The results presented here are not tentative, but certainly preliminary. More research is needed, as indicated. Nonetheless, it is hoped that this work will stand as a contribution to the preservation community and to local planners as well.

Methodologies

The project used standard literature search and field survey techniques. The literature search included local histories, county histories, journals and classic texts in geography and urban history, descriptive travel literature, gazetteers, some state history texts, planning studies, and historic preservation surveys. The National Register files in the Historic Preservation Section were also used. Two trips across parts of Georgia were taken in order to pass over all the different physiographic regions in the state and to see what changes appeared because of topographic differences. This analysis resulted in the discovery of several unique types of communities (e.g., the mountain strip). The most representative communities were photographed and sketch maps made in the field, which were then compared with USGS topographic representations of the study communities and other communities throughout the state.

³"Building in Wood in the Eastern United States: A time-Place Perspective," with Henry Glassie, published in Thomas Schlereth, *Material Culture Studies in America* (Nashville: AASLH, 1982), p. 237.



Map of Georgia showing field trips taken for this project.

Considerable time was spent researching community descriptions. This was done to identify the types of structures (historic resources) associated with each potential community type, to see what differences in associated dwellings and other buildings emerged (actually very few), and to dig deeper to derive some sense of the culture at work creating its physical reality. At the heart of this study was an undying question, what made a Georgia community a community? How did one identify it? The answer was sought, as stated, in field work, but the background research and reading contributed greatly to the conceptualizations present throughout.

One observation is pertinent at this point: the novelty of this project was apparent throughout the literature search. Most academic and other studies look at parts of the whole rather than at the entirety of a community; if the whole is looked at, usually some one aspect is paramount, such as map form or social cohesiveness or economic character. If the physical form of the community is studied, then the nature and location of historic resources is often overlooked or taken for granted; often individual historic resources are studied without connection with the community as a background context. And if the intangibles of community are studied, then the physical realities are overlooked altogether. There were few precedents for examining the form and resource content of small communities anywhere in most of the professional literature or in the local history studied for this project.

The study communities

The following list of counties and towns consists of the towns actually visited during the study period. Maps, photographs, and local historical data were collected on these places in order to help the identification process. The research into Georgia literature on communities and general development added some other towns and sites which became useful for examples of various forms, but the research towns were not visited or field checked.

In order to confirm that the sample actually contained a mix of places, certain census and other records were checked. According to the U.S. Housing Census for 1940, twelve of these places were identified as "urban" areas, prior to World War II, the great watershed for Georgia population shifts; i.e., they had a population of 2500 or more. Two, Rome and Brunswick, had populations between 10,000 and 50,000 (indicated below by a "B" after the listing); the remaining ten had populations between 2500 and 10,000 (indicated below by a "C" after the listing). None had populations exceeding 50,000 people, but that designation in 1940 only applied to five Georgia cities: Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus,

Macon, and Savannah. The remaining places had populations of fewer than 2500. The 1940 designation was used instead of a more current one because it marked a convenient point from which to measure change in either direction. From historical sources it was known that some of these places had been larger at one time than they now were; others were going to have grown. The impacts of the last 40 years of history would itself have something to say about the development and forms of these communities. As an indication of the directions of growth, those places which were listed with populations of 2500 or more in 1912 are also indicated. The lowest recorded population among these study communities over the years researched was ten people. In all, the researcher was sure that she had a wide ranging sample, communities from all the geographic regions of the state, many of which which had been "untouched" by recent development and therefore would reveal "pure" forms (as far as possible).

When known, the founding date of the community is given and its incorporation date, if incorporated. Any other pertinent dates are also included and explained. Communities which were listed in Shole's Gazetteer of Georgia for 1886-87 as post offices are indicated with an 1886 next to the listing. Again, this was done to seek description and check community age.

Adairsville, Bartow County, 1886; settled 1825; inc'd 1854
 Alma, Bacon County; incorporated 1906
 Auraria, Lumpkin County, 1886; 1832 made provisional county seat
 Armuchee, Floyd County, 1886
 Atkinson, Brantley County

Baxley, Appling County (C), 1886; county seat 1874; inc'd 1875
 Blackshear, Pierce County, 1886; founded 1878
 Bloomingdale, Chatham County
 Bristol, Pierce County; inc'd 1838
 Blackwood, Gordon County
 Brunswick, Glynn County (B), 1886; fd 1771; chartered 1813
 Burtsboro, Lumpkin County

Clarkesville, Habersham County, 1886; fd 1823
 Cleveland, White County; fd 1857; inc'd 1870
 Calhoun, Gordon County (C), 1886; fd 1854
 Canton, Cherokee County (C), 1886; fd 1832
 Chickamauga, Walker County; inc'd 1891
 Coffee, Bacon County

Darien, McIntosh County, 1886; settled 1736; incorporated 1816

Dover, Screven County, 1886
 Dahlonga, Lumpkin County, 1886; inc'd 1833
 Dawsonville, Dawson County, 1886; inc'd 1859
 Dillard, Rabun County; inc'd 1906
 Dublin (C), 1886, and East Dublin, Laurens County
 Dublin est'd 1811, inc'd 1812; urban, 1912;

Eatonton, Putnam County, 1886; county seat 1808; inc'd 1809
 Egypt, Effingham County, 1886

Freedman, Liberty County
 Fort Oglethorpe, Catoosa County; 1902/04 and 1949 inc'd
 Fairmount, Gordon County, 1886; inc'd 1908
 Farmville, Gordon County
 Folsom, Bartow County
 Flat Rock, Putnam County

Gough, Burke County; 1905 (listed as a post office on the
 Gough Plantation)
 Guyton, Effingham County, 1886

Hardwick, Baldwin County
 Herndon, Jenkins County
 Halcyondale, Screven County, 1886; fd 1842
 Hoboken, Brantley County, 1886; inc'd 1920
 Hinton, Pickens County
 Hollywood, Habersham

Irwinton, Wilkinson County; county seat 1811; inc'd 1816

Jasper, Pickens County, 1886; inc'd 1854

Keysville, Burke County, 1886; inc'd 1890

Lyons, Toombs County; inc'd 1897; county seat 1905
 Louisville, Jefferson County, 1886; inc'd 1796; state capitol
 1796-1806
 Lulaton, Brantley County
 Lafayette, Walker County (C); fd 1836; inc'd 1885
 Leaf, White County
 Ludville, Pickens County, 1886

Mountain City, Rabun County; inc'd 1907
 Marble Hill, Pickens County; fd c1900
 Mershon, Pierce County
 Minter, Laurens County
 McIntyre, Wilkinson County; inc'd 1910
 Milledgeville, Baldwin County (C), 1886; fd 1803, made
 capitol in 1804; inc'd 1806; urban, 1912

Millen, Jenkins County (C), 1886
 Marlow, Effingham County, 1886
 Midway, Liberty County; fd 1750; inc'd 1925
 Meridien, McIntosh County

Nahunta, Brantley County
 New Hope, Glynn County
 Nickelsville, Wilkinson County
 Noble, Walker County

Oliver, Screven County, 1886
 Ogeechee, Screven County, 1886

Pineora, Effingham County
 Parkers, Toombs County
 Pine Log, Bartow County, 1886
 Porter Springs, Lumpkin County, 1886

Rocky Ford, Screven County, 1886
 Riceboro, Liberty County; fd 1797; county seat 1798; inc'd
 1819
 Ridgeville, McIntosh County; first developed c1850s
 Rockledge, Laurens County; fd 1899; inc'd 1908
 Rome, Floyd County (B), 1886; inc'd 1834; urban, 1912
 Rock Springs, Walker County
 Rossville, Catoosa County (C); fd 1817; inc'd 1905

Shannon, Floyd County
 Summerville, Chatooga County, 1886; inc'd 1839
 Sonoraville, Gordon County, 1886
 St. Clair, Burke County
 Summertown, Emmanuel County; inc'd 1906
 Scarboro, Jenkins County, 1886; fd 1839; inc'd 1959
 St. Simons, Glynn County, 1886; earliest founding date 1736
 Soperton, Treutlen County; inc'd 1902
 Statesboro, Bulloch County (C), 1886; fd 1805; inc'd 1866;
 urban, 1912

Tate, Pickens County, 1886; fd 1818
 Turnerville, Habersham County, 1886; fd 1858
 Tusculum, Effingham County, 1886
 Tarrytown, Montgomery County; inc'd 1912
 Tallulah Falls, Rabun County, 1886; earliest settlement
 1770s; inc'd 1889
 Talking Rock, Pickens County, 1886; inc'd 1883

Vidette, Burke County; inc'd 1908
 Vidalia, Montgomery County (C)

Wrens, Jefferson County, 1886; est'd 1884; inc'd 1901
 Wadley, Jefferson County, 1886; inc'd 1876
 Waynesville, Brantley County; fd pre-1854
 Waleska, Cherokee County; est'd 1835; inc'd 1889

In addition to these towns, the National Register files at the Historic Preservation Section were searched for district nominations for commercial areas and multiple resources nominations for whole towns, in order to gather yet more descriptive information on specific Georgia examples. Other town types were added to the list of descriptions as they were encountered. Several categories of town type were added from discussions with Dr. Richard Cloues of the Historic Preservation Section, but many of these were not checked in the field, and they did not receive the same background research effort. The areas which deserve additional research are described in the narrative sections.

For purposes of brevity, the community types are presented first, then the general discussions of the project findings. Where possible, specific examples are given for each type. Some of the types are abstractions only and were not present among the communities listed, so could not be field checked. Others are communities based on some functional differences, which differences are not necessarily reflected in the actual physical form of the community.

The community types

The assumption throughout is that a community is a meeting place and also a dwelling place. "Main streets," also known as central business districts, are included because they did at one time constitute a dwelling place. Downtowns are beginning to offer new residential arrangements, and therefore, based on their possible futures, they are a legitimate community type, though they lack, at present and in most instances, the residents present in true communities. Some community types were not included and probably ought to be added in the future: mobile home parks, housing projects, "New" towns, and mixed use centers. The essential ingredient in all of these types is a relationship among the components. That is what these descriptions are actually describing.

The communities were typed according to two basic criteria--their origin (why they were founded) and their dominant economic function(s). Sometimes these two things were the same; sometimes they were different but meshed; sometimes they were different and buried each other; sometimes they simply varied. Sometimes an original function was superseded by others, completely erasing evidence of the origins. Sometimes the community showed overlays of function upon function.

Every community must be accessible to its members, therefore, transportation was a key element in identifying the community types. Every community must have a public focus or market/economic focus; thus, major industries and economic development were another key to community types. The final major key to differentiating types was its political functioning; the government plays an important role in originating and developing communities, and one whole set of community types relates to the government's function.

I. Settlements

These are the smallest communities identified. They meet the criteria established for this project, they are identifiable places, they often do not have names, they usually do not have signs, but nonetheless they announce their presence visually to strangers.

I. A. Roadside communities

These communities are identifiable through the presence of a public meeting place of some kind--a church, a school, a post office, a general store or gas station--on the side of the road with a group of related dwellings in proximity to it. This meeting place serves as the focal point for the community and often its central landmark as well. Other scattered and "hidden" related dwellings or farms may be associated with a roadside community, spread out over a large geographic area without obvious boundaries. In fact, the boundaries for such communities are habitually social and traditional rather than geographic.

Cross roads may or may not be in evidence. Often these communities bear the name of the most prominent local family or founder. Often they bear the name of the local store owner, if the store is the public focus, of the school or church, if either of those is the focus, or of the post office, if there is one. Sometimes the name will come from the road.

Various types of roadside communities exist, identifiable because of the setting they have on the road. They occur, clustered at obvious spots in the road--at a T, a fork, bend, dogleg, or crossing. They seem to appear out of nothing, gone by in an eyeblink. There is usually no grid pattern to the streets, though there may be an occasional side street or long driveway off the main road. Roadside communities are very responsive to their topographical settings, are often picturesque, and some, even, exist because of interesting landscape or physiographic features (waterfalls, ravines) or other potential, natural "tourist" attractions.

Examples:

The "Rogers" community on Highway 17 near Wrens, Georgia (not on the map and not found in any of the literature), consisting of a "tabernacle," a store, and five houses.

Coopersville, in Screven County at the junction of highways 17 and 301, including the Paradise Motel and restaurant

and a group of houses. (Coopersville has a sign but is not on the Georgia map.) See photograph.

Blaine, at the intersection of 136 and 136 connector, in Pickens County, consisting of a "general store" and related houses. See photograph.

Jones, a post office community near Riceboro, in McIntosh County. See photograph.

Marlow, on highway 17 below Pineora in Effingham County, consisting of a church and several dozen houses. See map. Marlow was described in 1886 as follows:⁴

Two miles from the Ogeechee River, 10 south of Springfield, the courthouse; 4 from Guyton, its express office; 7 from Eden, telegraph station; 26 from Savannah, nearest bank; and 267 from Atlanta. Population 150, with Union Church and Academy. The exports consist of rice and naval stores. Mail daily.

Freedman's Grove, highway 17, outside Midway in Liberty County, consisting of two churches and scattered houses.

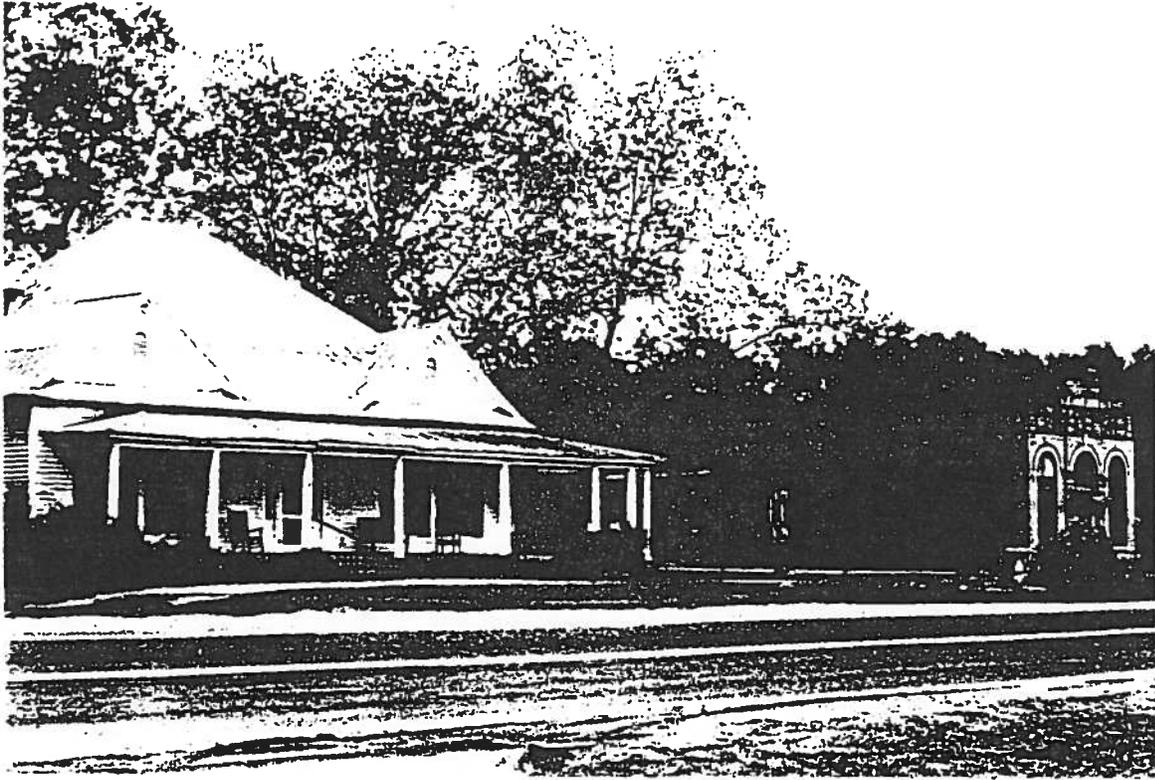
Meridien, a post office community, highway 99, between Crescent and Darien in McIntosh County, consisting of a post office, a strip of houses, and a church. Meridien was described in 1905 as follows:⁵

a post village in McIntosh County; population: 49.

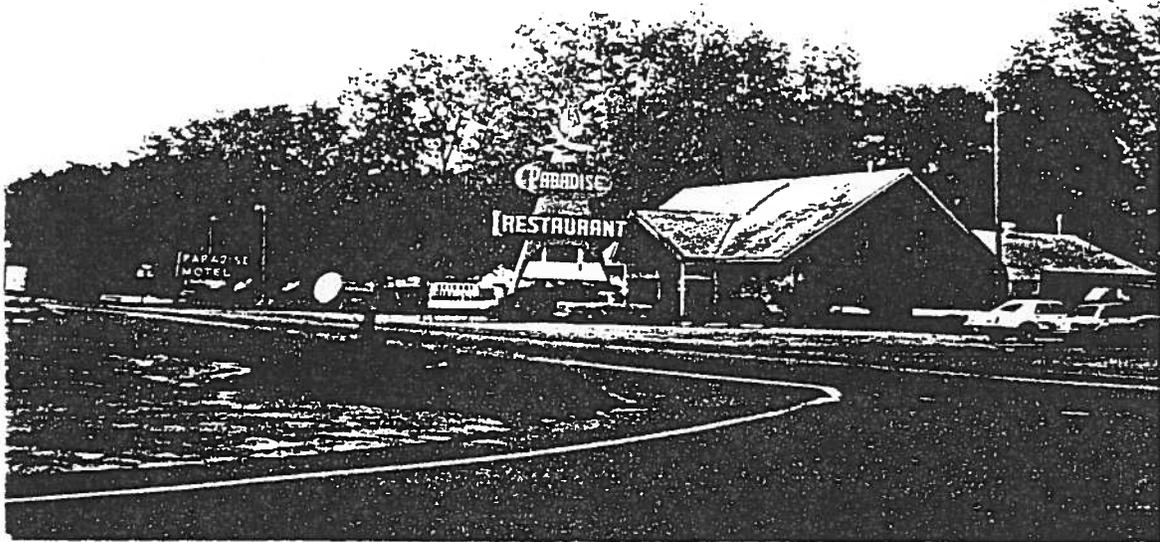
Coffee, highway 32 between Bristol and Alma in Bacon County, consisting of a church and scattered houses.

⁴All references to 1886 are to the Shole's Gazetteer of Georgia.

⁵All references to 1905 are to Candler and Evans, Cyclopedia of Georgia.



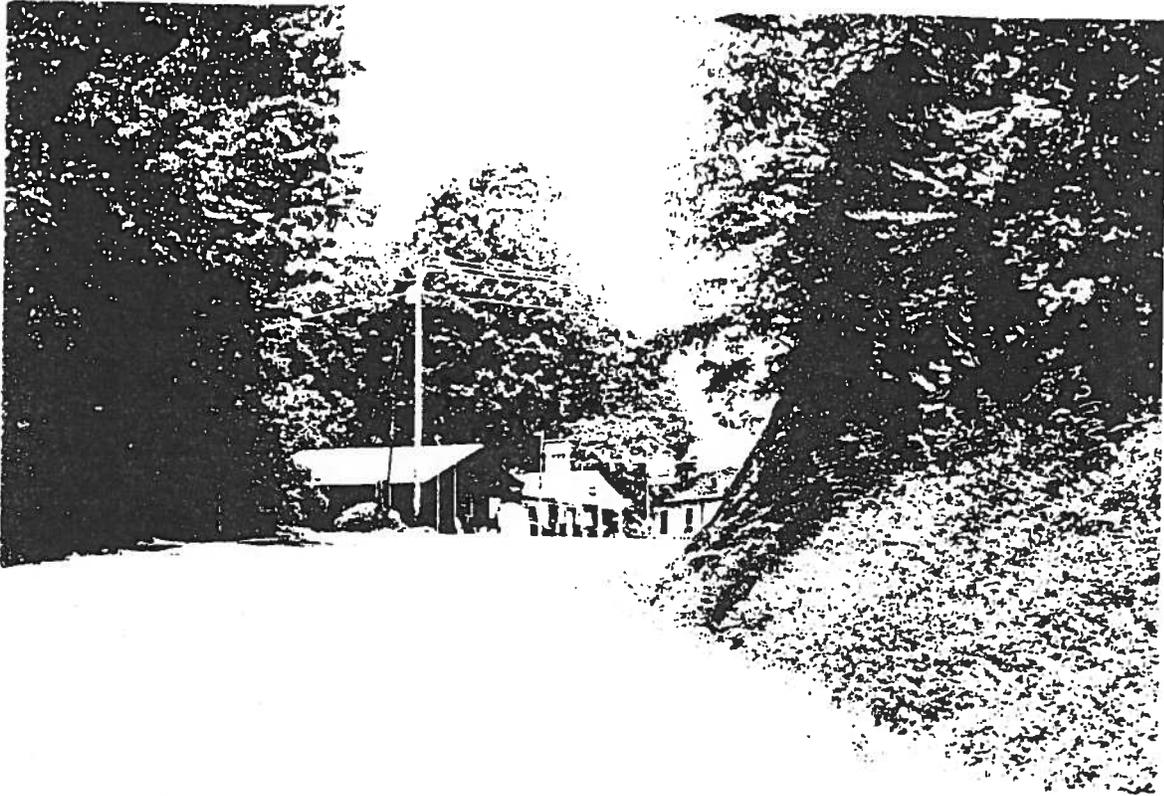
The Matthews community outside Wrens. The mix of resources shown here-- a house next to a bank building (now vacant)--shows the mix of historic resources which is possible in early community development, prior to the time when specialized land uses begin to occur. The Matthews community is not listed on any map of the state studied in this project, but it has a road sign to identify its presence.



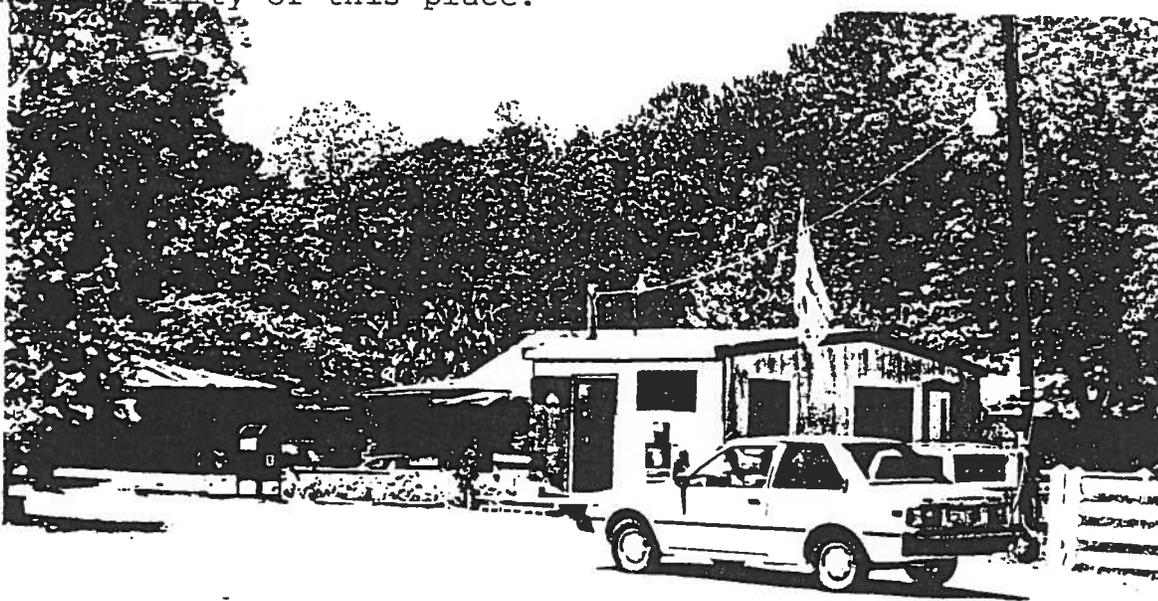
Coopersville: a contemporary roadside community with motel and restaurant the node of the community



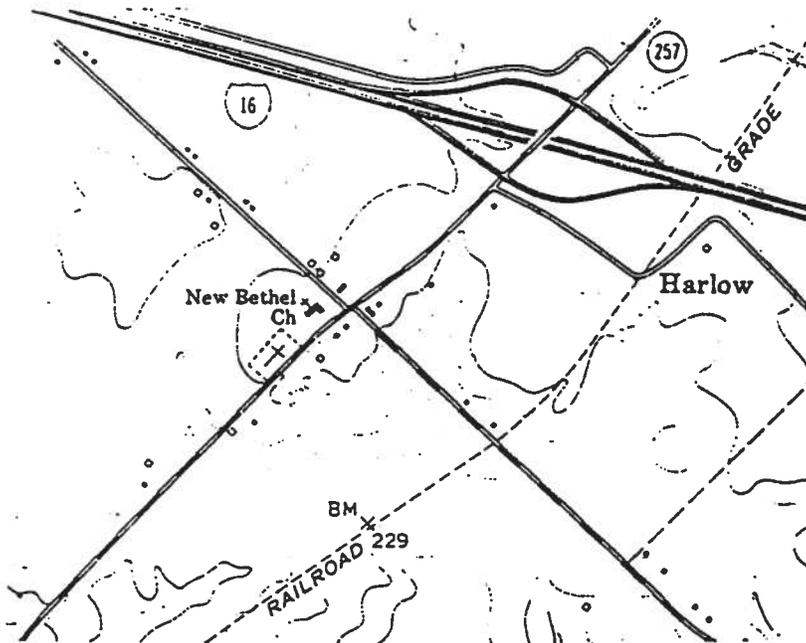
Blaine: a more traditional node for a roadside community. The roadsigns indicate the nature of the convergences here.



The roadside node at Porter Springs. Notice how important the bend of the road is to the identification and visibility of this place.



A post office node near Riceboro. There were houses across the street as well as next door to the post office building.



Not studied, but an example of how a church can become the node for a roadside community.

I. B. Plantations.

The plantation is virtually extinct, but evidence of its existence still can be found throughout Georgia. Some large agribusiness facilities bear the title Plantation in their names, and some large farms, held in the same family for generations, also are referred to as plantations. However, the plantation model here is assumed to be more an historic example than a contemporary one. Here the focal point is the "big house" or primary residence. Since plantations historically served public as well as private functions, they fit the descriptive criteria. Many had milling, transportation (ferries, toll roads), post office, banking, smithing, and "general store" functions for their respective communities.

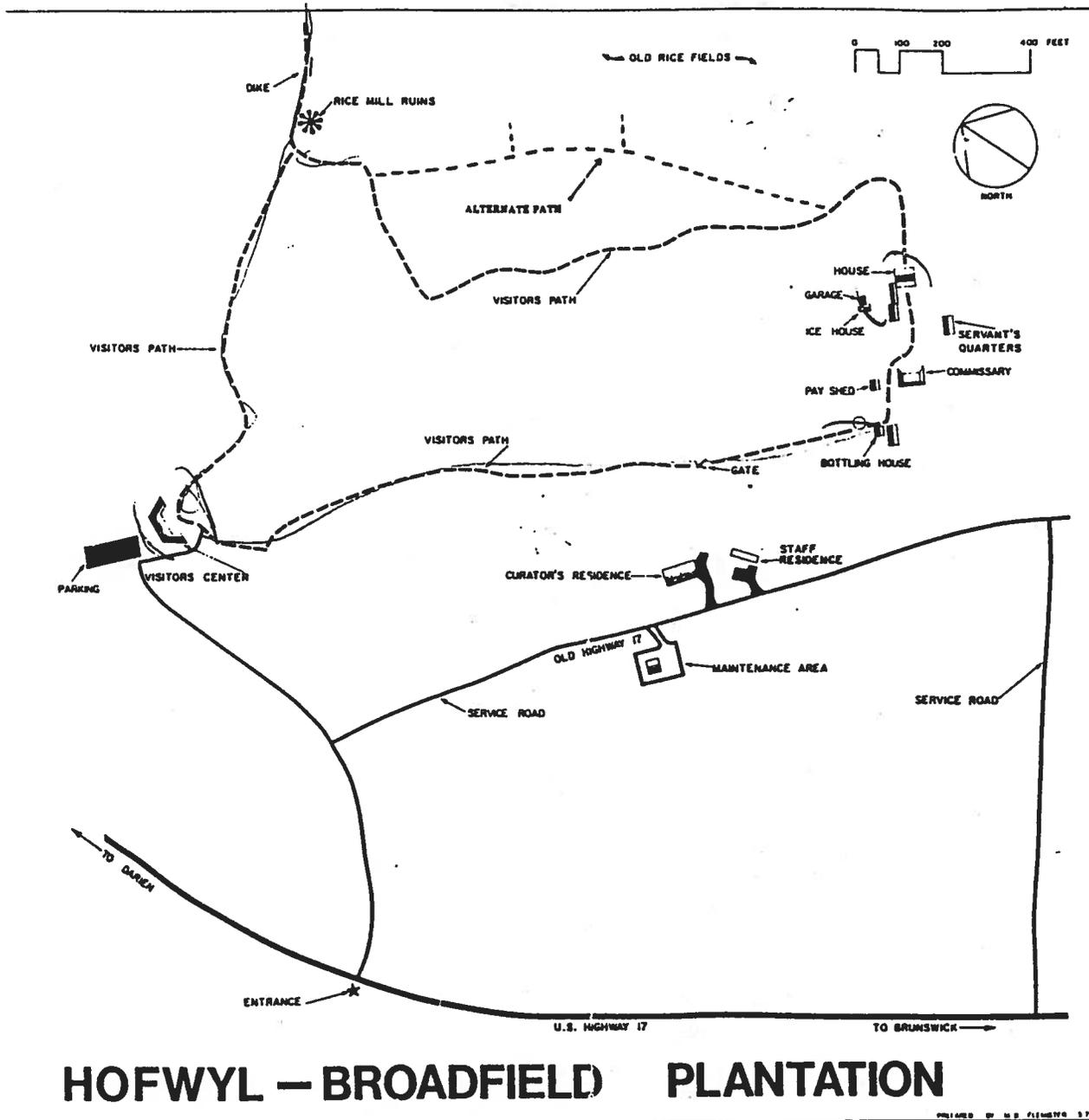
The plantation model here refers to two types: one in which the membership is based on kinship ties and the other which involves merely people living in proximity to each other and working the same land. A familial plantation might include several houses belonging to members of an extended family: parents, children, and grandchildren living within "shouting" distance of each other, in the same valley and connected by the same road, for example, or living in separate houses on the same plot of land. A tenant plantation refers to one which may have at one time housed slaves, but which moved into the pattern of tenancy to keep the land worked. A tenant plantation presumes a close relationship between the owners and the workers (a dependent relationship, not a personally intimate one); it presumes that all workers are working a part of a larger land holding; and it presumes some common history to the land, as does the family plantation.

It is often necessary to have the historical information, or historical/geographical information from maps, in order to determine that a site truly is (or was) a plantation. Visual information may not suffice to make the proper identification. For this reason, the plantation community differs from the other communities listed in this study, but it is included within this study because the plantation meets the descriptive criteria for community which were used. The plantation community is presumed to be (or have been) self-contained, to encompass a mix of buildings and structures which constitute now its historic resources, and to have served several "public" functions, as indicated above. These will be reflected in the structures present on the plantations as well, and might include, e.g., processing (saw, cotton, seed mills); maintenance (blacksmith or carpentry shop); religion (usually a room reserved for special occasions and Bible reading, not always a separate structure); some limited manufacturing; a "store" or "office" or other congregating point where money was exchanged. The single family farm, no matter what the size, is

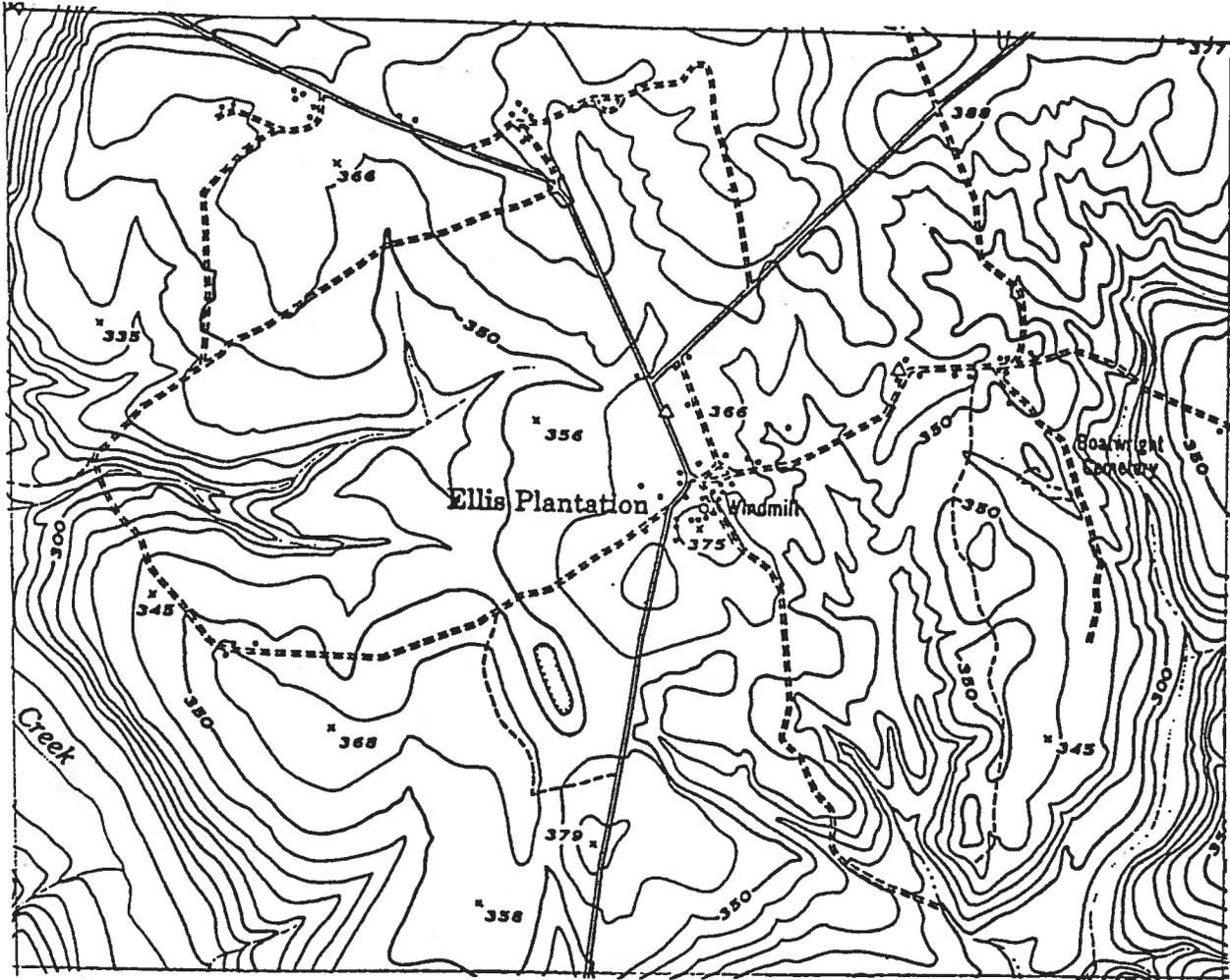
not considered a "community" in this morphology, unless it contains tenant houses.

Large plantation houses still dot the Georgia landscape, though most have lost their slave and/or tenant quarters. As their histories are reconstructed, however, more can be known about the shape of this type of community.

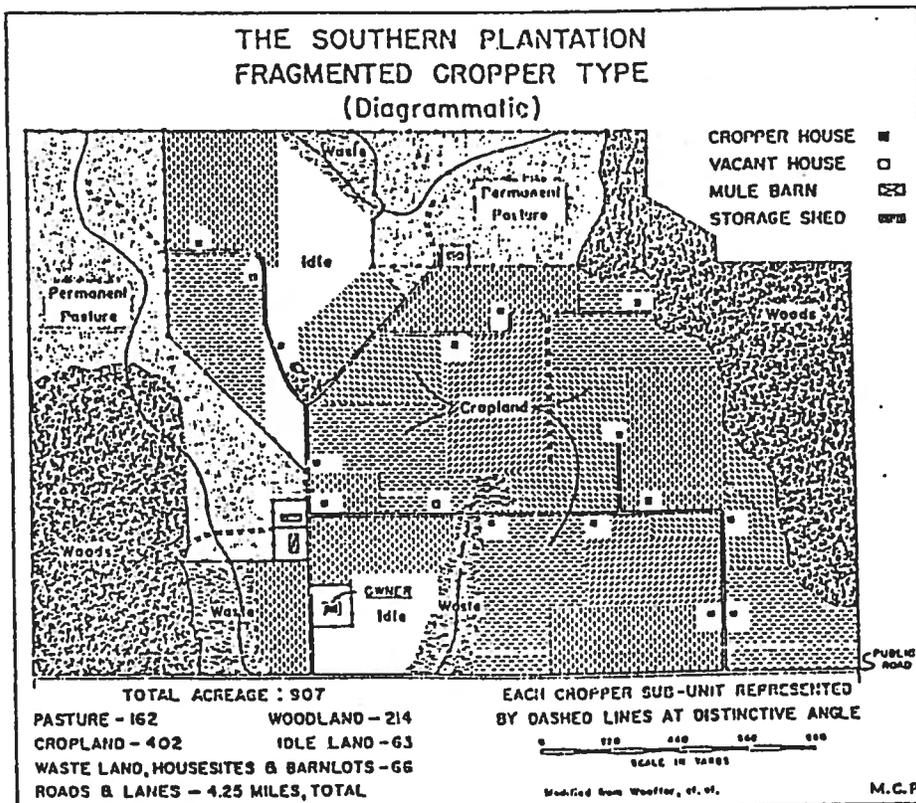
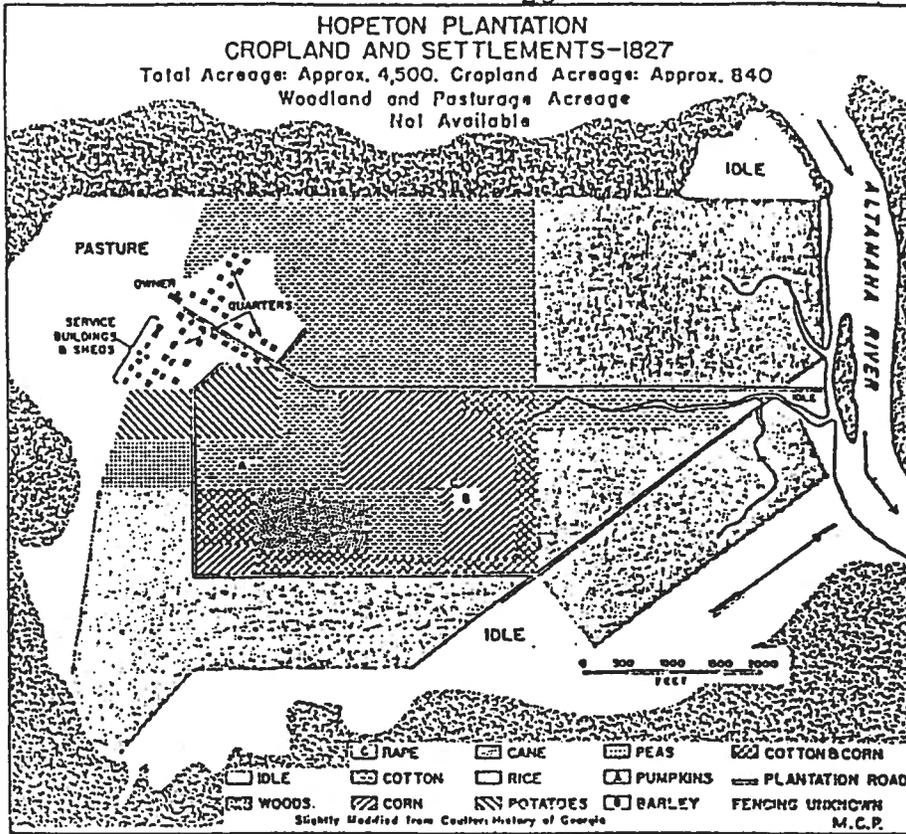
Examples: Plantation complexes owned by the State of Georgia, such as Hofwyl-Broadfield, serve to demonstrate the type. Locations with the word "plantation" in their name suggest other forms or derivations which could be included in this category.



Hofwyl Broadfield as it can be visited today. Except for one servant's quarters building, the domiciles for the remainder of the population in this "community" are not present. However, the existence of several forms of public service buildings (the ruins of the rice mill, the bottling house, the commissary, and the pay shed) indicate that this was not simply a family farmstead.



This location was not studied, but it is included because it is an example of the use of the word "plantation" being carried on through the map. One would expect to encounter a small community here rather than a farm.



Merle Prunty's classic illustrations of the fragmentation of the plantation

II. Water towns

Georgia's first communities were established along the long river courses of the colony. The interior of the colony was defined as the territory lying beyond the navigable part of the rivers, thus, communities such as Macon and Augusta, were founded to serve the interior of the colony and communicate with the coast (chiefly, Savannah). As steamboats and other large and small river craft plied the Oconee, the Savannah, and the Ogeechee Rivers, settlement communities appeared along the rivers' edge. The railroads so far superseded the water transportation systems in Georgia, that dependence on water transport was short-lived in the state. In addition, bridged replaced ferries across rivers, eliminating the drawing card for some small communities. And finally, water reclamation and control projects carried out by the Army Corps of Engineers have claimed many other river sites, flooding bottom lands and small villages once occupied by either Indians or European settlers.

There are two types of water towns, delineated below; they differ primarily because of size. All but the very largest water towns seem to have disappeared.

II. A. River crossing

This form is extremely rare in Georgia, though it was common in the early history of the state. It was, in fact, probably the most common communal form besides the county seat (always located in the interior of the county not necessarily on a river) and the plantation. River crossings were small communities which located themselves at steamboat stops along the navigable rivers. Since steamboats had such a shallow draft, they did not need deep water wharves and piers for docking. They could pull up in a few feet of water, drop a plank, and serve passenger and freight needs alike. They did not require a large structural investment on the part of locals, unlike railroads with their tracks, and sidings, and depots, and as a result the physical evidence for the presence of steamboat communities is often lacking. Sometimes the only identifying marks for them are a name in the local, or a bridge, or an old road dead-ending at the water's edge.

The focal point for this type of community was the intersection of a roadway and the waterway. There were rarely landmarks protruding onto the landscape. The river pilots and captains had to read the river courses, not the land ones. The river crossing community usually consisted of the same mix of resources as found in the roadside community and small crossroads towns. It required the presence of a road going to the water, a collection of buildings fronting the water and served by the road, and scattered associated dwellings. The "public" function or "meeting place" was the steamboat or ferry landing, and the

related structures included warehouses or large barns to store goods for shipment. The cross road or ferry approach angled down to the water or approached it straight on, depending on the topography.

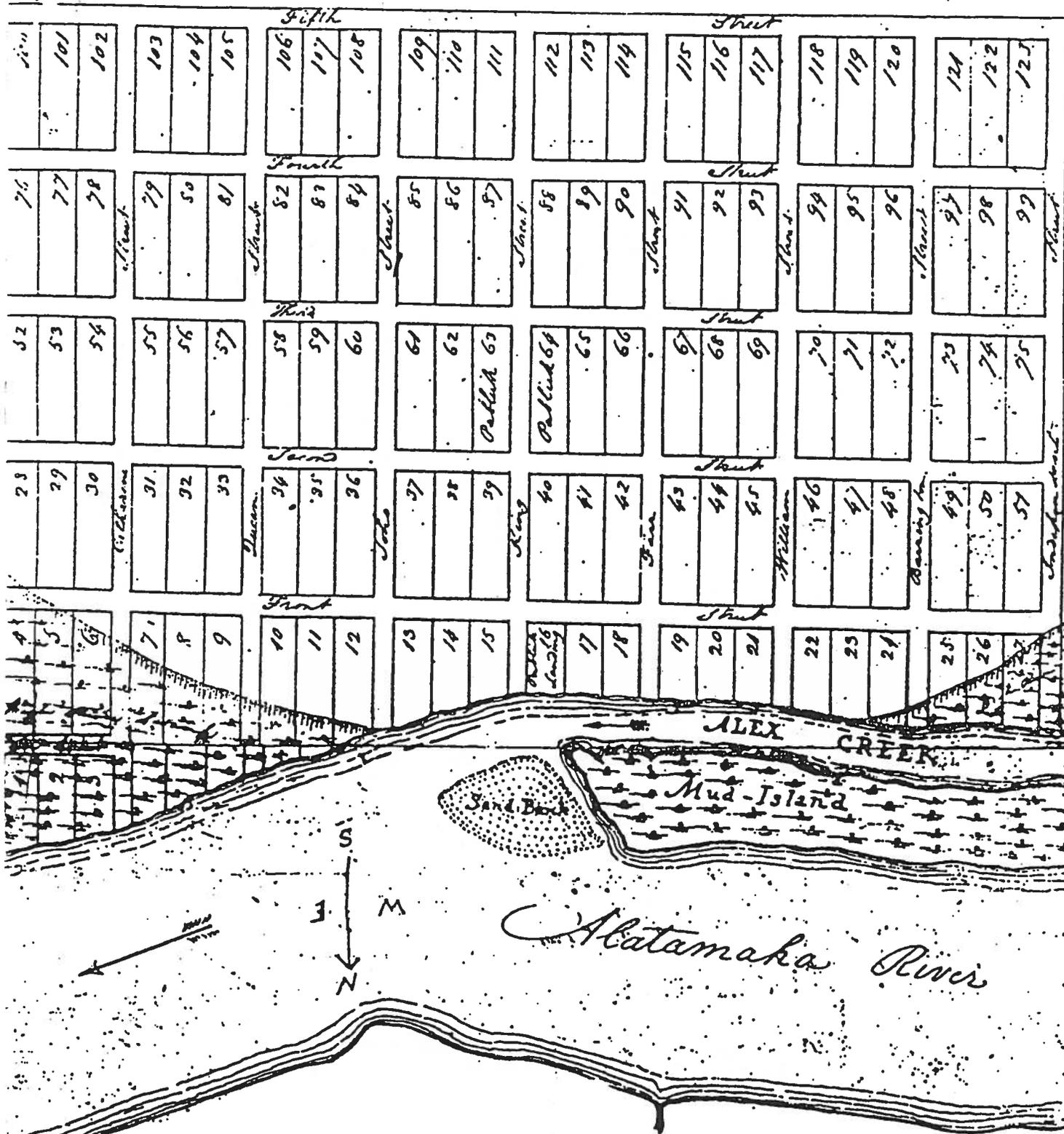
Many of these river communities relocated themselves with the coming of the railroad, and thus they became railroad towns instead of water towns. There may be nothing left standing on the original town site, but that site might have archaeological potential.

Examples: None were visited during the research period of this project. Many were encountered in the written record. The Savannah, Altamaha, Ocmulgee, and the St. Mary's Rivers are more likely to have extant water crossing communities than the other rivers in the state. These were the most active rivers during the navigation-dependent years of the early colony and state of Georgia. Some indication of the numbers of landings can be seen from the listings in the 1886 gazetteer. On the Georgia side of the Savannah River, the following steamboat stops were listed between Savannah and Augusta: Ebenezer, Seine's Landing, Gaffney's Landing, Sister's Ferry, Trowel's Landing, Mt. Pleasant, Porter's Landing, Hudson's Ferry, Poor Robin, Hager Slags, Brier Creek, Matthew's Bluff, Saxon's Landing, Black's Landing, Hershman's Lake, Burton's Ferry, Stony Bluff, Steel Creek, Brigham's Landing, Griffin's Landing, Hancock's Landing, Point Comfort, Demery's Ferry, and Shell Bluff. Most of the landings were on the Georgia side of the river. Shell Bluff has moved inland; none of the others exist anymore.

The lower Chattahoochee has fared better, since Florence, Columbus, and Fort Gaines, Georgia were all steamboat stops along that river. All have grown, though, beyond their earliest riverine phase. The Altamaha, according to modern maps seems clear of any river towns except Hawkinsville (actually on the Ocmulgee). Besides the city of St. Mary's, the St. Mary's River hosted other built up landings--Traders Hill, Colerain, Center Village, and Pinckney's Landing.¹ Traders Hill is still shown on the Georgia map, but the others are not.

¹Mentioned in George Hatcher, ed., *Georgia Rivers*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1969), p. 40.

An unidentified plat for a town along the Altamaha River. It is supposed that the old river crossing towns would have begun much as this one is proposed. (Source: Georgia Rivers)



II. B. Port towns.

This designation applies to a limited number of towns in Georgia which occupy points on actively navigable waters along the coast and at certain interior riverine centers. These communities are all today good sized towns with highly developed shipping interests. The older section of the towns have an orientation to the water and an industrial and/or commercial district along the waterfront. The focal point of this type of community will probably now be varied and multiple; at one time it would have been the waterfront. The town will still usually contain a shipping center with docks and wharves, a warehouse district along the waterfront, possibly a district of industries along the waterfront, cross-roads, and railroad accesses. The retail and office centers may have relocated from the water's edge to some interior point, If planned like Savannah, the retail center will be incorporated along a strip paralleling the waterfront but not located directly on it, with one or more important commercially developed roads leading to the town center. Port towns of all sizes, because of their age and developmental status, will reflect much differential land use.

Example: Rome

Rome is the only port city in northern Georgia. As a county seat and railroad center, it shares characteristics with many other community types outlined here. However, its first importance lay in the ferry business across the two rivers which converge in Rome, so it is included here as originally a water town. Rome was described as follows in 1886:

Floyd County Seat. Is located at an altitude of 627 feet above sea level, in the center of a very rich agricultural and mineral region, offering excellent opportunities for manufacturing, being easily accessible by rail and by river. Like its ancient namesake, it is situated upon seven hills, at the mingling of the waters of the Oostanaula and Etowah rivers, forming the Coosa, navigable from Rome to Gadsden, Ala., a distance of 185 miles. [Sherwood continues by describing Rome's railroad service, its industries, waterworks, public institutions, schools, and churches.]

During the nineteenth century, steamboats and barges navigated the Coosa River carrying such cargo as cotton, pig iron, produce, dried animal skins, and live fowls.² According to the

²Hatcher, Georgia Rivers, p. 54.

1886 gazetteer, Rome was joined in servicing the Coosa by two other steamboat stops in Georgia: Coosaville (probably present-day Coosa; and Livingston, apparently now extinct and exact location unknown). The last steamboat plied the river in the 1930s, carrying sightseers. According to local history sources, the Coosa River traffic was successful until the roads superseded them entirely. The railroads had both a cooperative and competitive relationship with the steamboat services. The steamboat service in Rome, like many others in the south, were bought out by the railroad interests. After that, there was no question which form of transportation would begin to dominate. The steamboats held on, however, until trucks could do what even the railroads could not do in the way of flexible and speedy deliveries.³

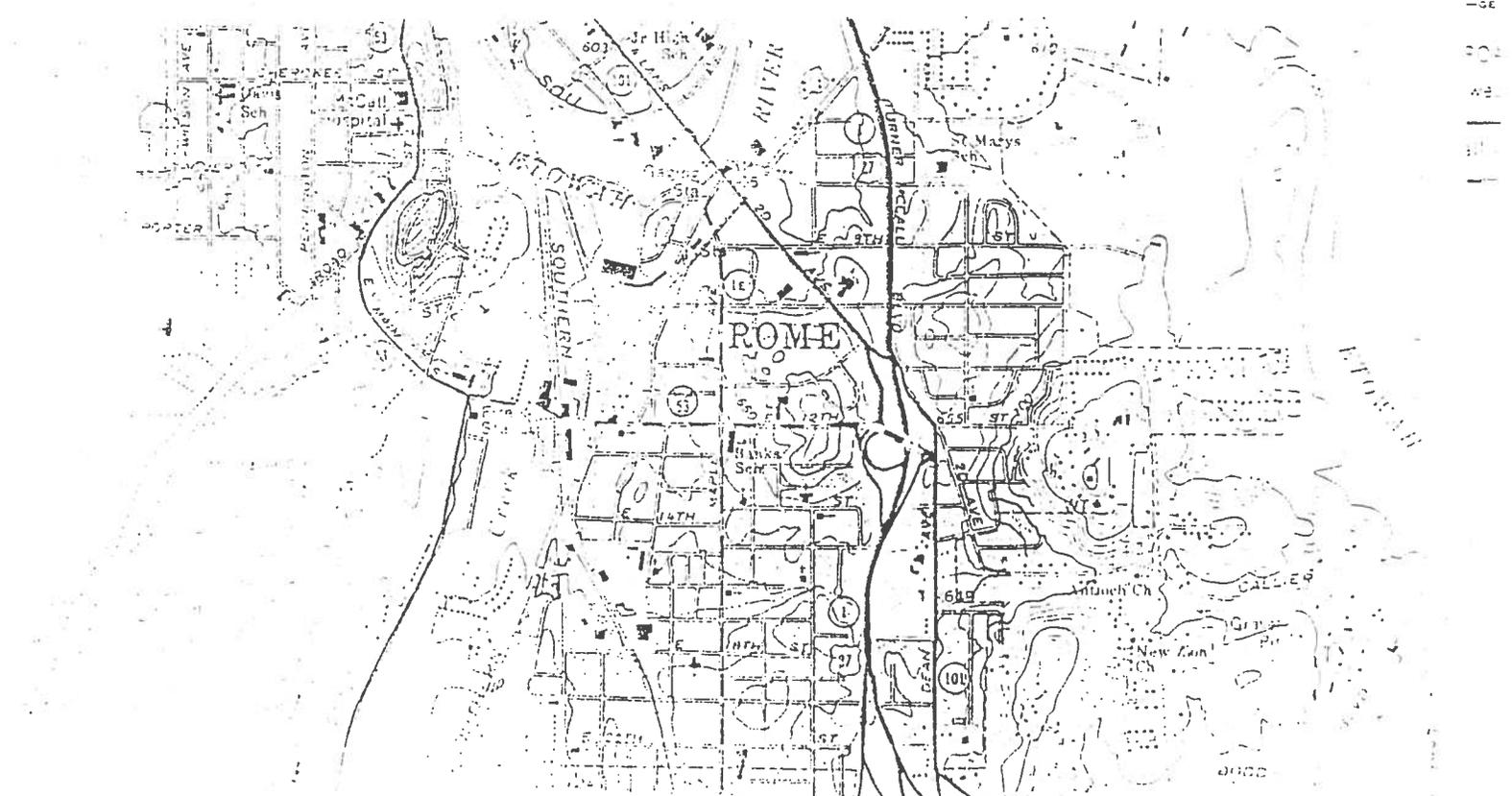
Rome's original city plan, drawn up by Daniel R. Mitchell of Canton and Zachariah B. Hargrove of Cassville (both referred to as "Colonel" in the history texts), was oriented to the junction of the rivers. The surveyor (Mitchell) located the town on the most propitious point, where the two rivers joined to form the third. Mitchell took advantage of the fact that the Old Alabama Road ran through the city site, and he gave the town two very broad avenues. Broad Street and Oostanaula Street are both 132 feet wide (wide enough for four lanes of automobiles). The other streets are also broader (66') than the average (40') in Georgia.⁴ The survey was conducted in 1934, and according to the local historian, copies of its are still in existence. It would be valuable to know more of what Mitchell had in mind when he laid out Georgia's version of the Imperial City.

Rome can also be categorized by others of its functions: a courthouse town, a railroad center, and education center (because of the presence of Shorter College). In addition, it includes many other urban components as described below under specialized land use. These would be useful to describe the progression of economic function and physical development. However, the water-borne activities came first; it was, in fact, a bargain made with the County for free ferry and bridge service over the rivers which brought the county seat to Rome in the first place.⁵

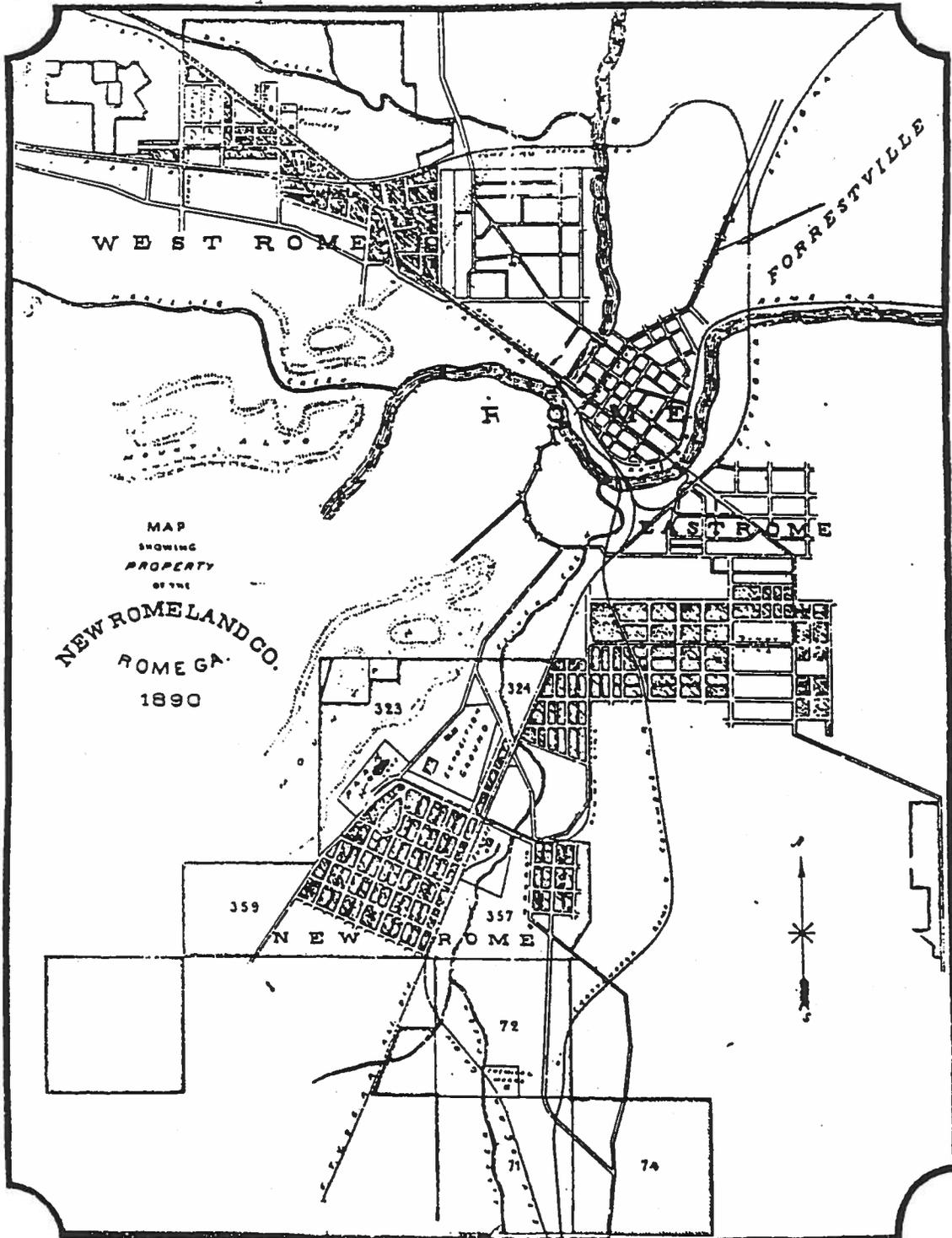
³Roger Aycock, *All Roads To Rome*, (Rome: Rome Area Heritage Foundation, 1981), pp. 47, 165-169; see also Battey's *History of Rome and Floyd County* (1922).

⁴George M. Battey, *A History of Rome and Floyd County* (Atlanta: Webb and Vary, 1922), p. 90.

⁵Candler and Evans, *Cyclopedia*, pp. 213-14.

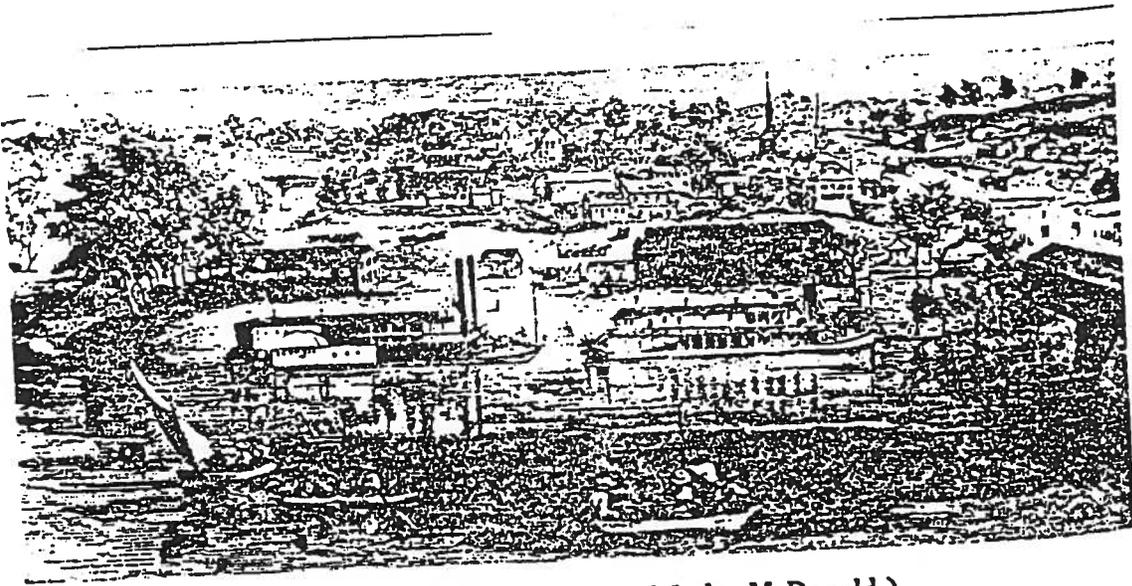


Maps showing the proposed suburbanization of Rome, Georgia, west, east, and south of the original city. A comparison with the U.S.G.S. topographic map on page 31 will show that the regularity of the plats, as shown here, were severely interrupted and/or rendered incomplete by the growth of the city.



A MAP OF ROME IN 1890. (Scale, one mile to the inch).

Illustration from All Roads to Rome showing Rome's original orientation to the waters around it.



ROME IN 1857 (Courtesy of Luke McDonald.)

II. C. Savannah and Savannah plan variations

This refers to a limited number of cities, all of them located on navigable waters, which were designed By General James Oglethorpe and which bear similarities to the same open square plan which makes Savannah so distinctive. The towns include Savannah, Darien, Frederica, Ebenezer (extinct), and Augusta. These towns were all planned and settled directly after the founding of the colony of Georgia. None of these is as well developed as Savannah itself; none carries the grid-with-square plan so far as does Savannah, but the influence of the Savannah plan is direct and still visible.

This community category is unlike the remaining categories, as it actually describes a plan type not a community type. It is distinctive and limited enough in its impact to include as a special category. It is not to be confused with the Savannah style courthouse town listed below.

Example: Darien

Darien was settled first by a group of Scottish Highlanders in 1736 on the site of old Fort King George which was in ruins by that time, itself on the site of long centuries of native-American settlements. General James Oglethorpe surveyed and laid out the town, placing the lots and streets in squares which fronted on the Altamaha as they did on the Savannah in Savannah. Commons were placed on the west and north sides of town and farm acreage on the east, just as these were placed around the circumference of Savannah.⁶ The initial settlement was devastated during the battles with the Spanish colonials, and a new town was laid out by Lachlan McIntosh in 1767 much along the lines already established by Oglethorpe. It was not until the 1790s that Darien rose out of an almost dormant state. In 1801 the town was described as having three stores and eight dwellings, but the end of the century saw a rise in shipping and with it a rise in the population and enterprise of the place. In 1806 the town had grown enough to require a re-survey. This time Thomas McCall laid out the town and prepared a map, which map is still current.⁷ It was 1816 before the town was incorporated. By then it had churches, a small mill village, and a bank.

⁶Bessie Lewis, *They Called Their Town Darien*, (published by the author, 1975).

⁷Lewis, pp. 27, 29-40.

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, tabby warehouses fronted all along the Altamaha, evidence of the shipping interests locally.¹³ The wharves and warehouses served as the lower storeys of offices and stores along the bluff and were built during Darien's heyday, c1810-1830. Ruins of these can still be seen today, a reminder that this was the the focal point for the first successful Darien. By 1850 Darien housed shipping and extensive lumbering interests and contained 283 dwellings; a total free population of 1399 people and a total slave population of 4629.¹⁴ Darien was not established as the "capital" of McIntosh county but has been the county seat since before the Civil War. The court house, however, does not dominate the landscape as it does in some of the town types listed below. (Darien would follow the Augusta model of court house town.) In the gazetteer of 1886, Darien was described as follows:

One of the principal timber markets of the world. Is located at the mouth of the Altamaha River, 18 miles north of Brunswick, the nearest bank, Vessels drawing 20 feet of water pass the bar, and those drawing 14 feet proceed to the wharves. Darien has six white churches . . . 3 colored churches . . . two white and two colored schools, a weekly paper . . . tri-weekly communication by steamer with Savannah and Jacksonville. Large quantities of timber, lumber and naval stores are the exports. Mail daily.

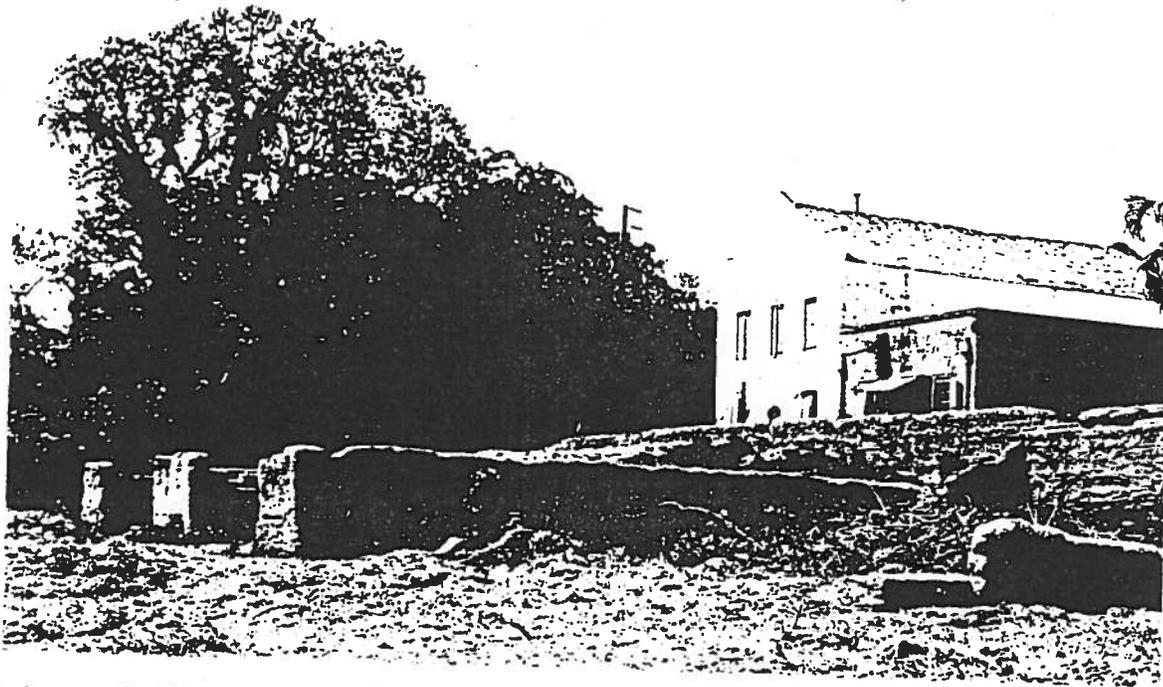
The orientation to the river and the open squares plan are still in evidence today. (See map and photos.) Darien is probably the clearest copy of Savannah still extant today. Both Brunswick and Augusta have undergone significant changes which have impacted the open squares plan and the orientation to the water.

¹³Lewis, pp. 44-47

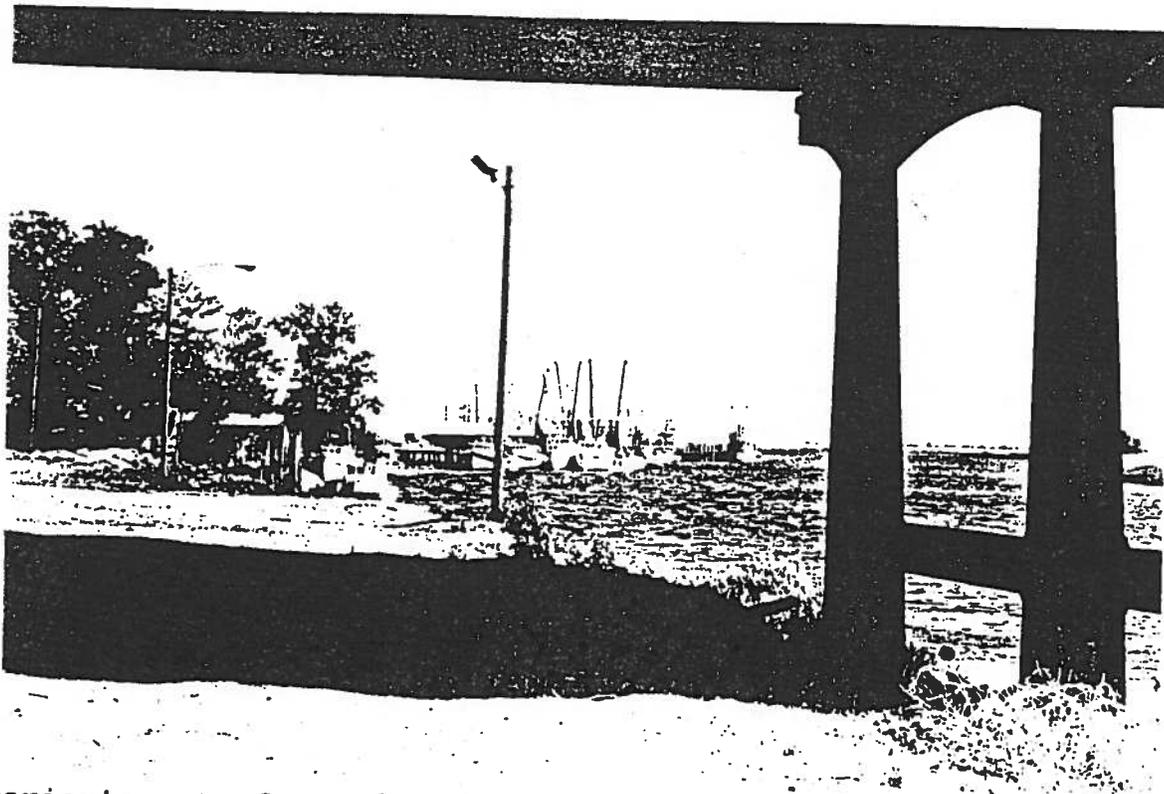
¹⁴George White, Historical Collections of Georgia, listing for McIntosh County, pp 546ff.



One of the undeveloped (unpaved, "naturally" landscaped) squares in
Darien



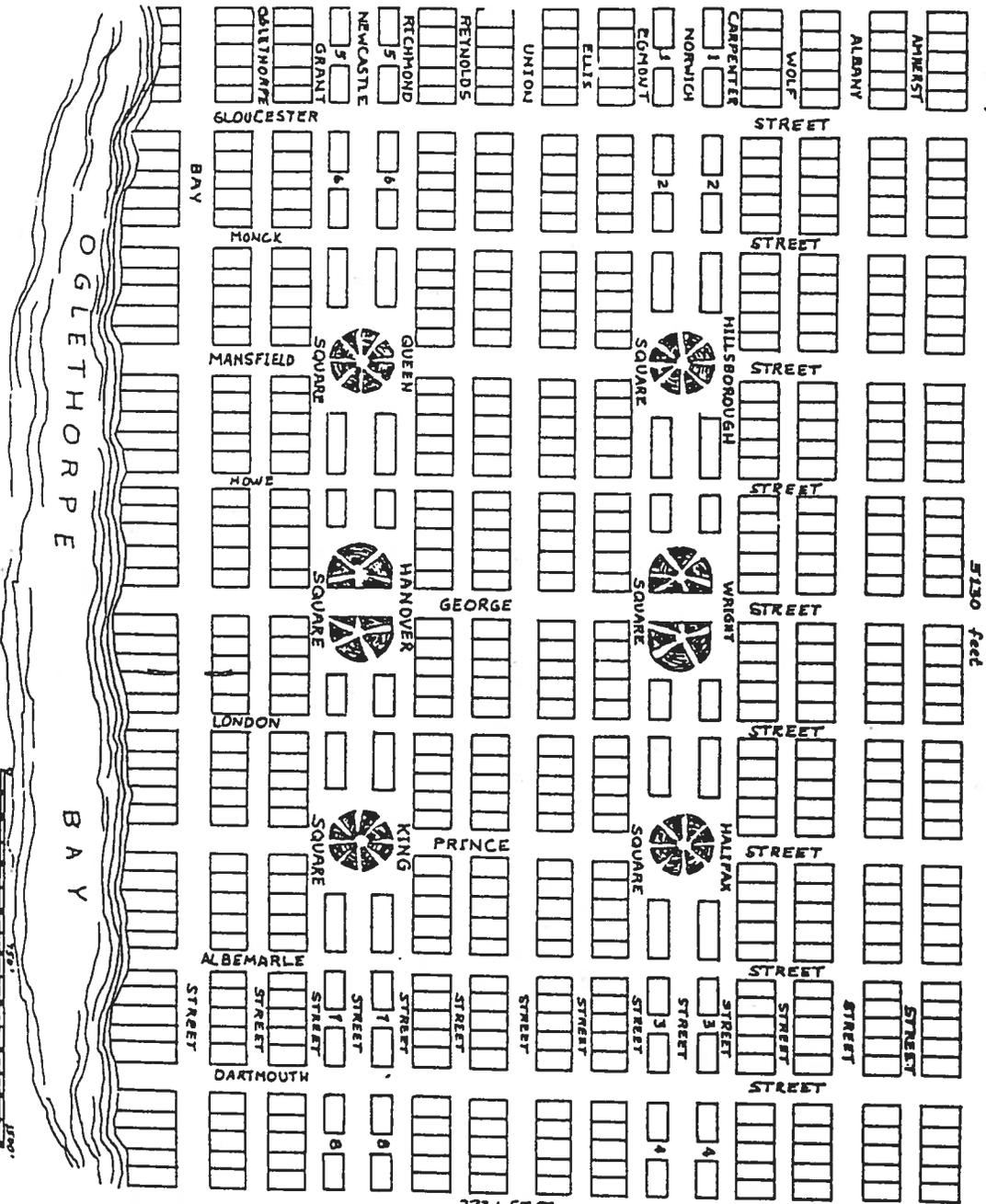
Ruins of the tabby warehouses along Darien's waterfront



Darien's waterfront from the tabby warehouses looking east and north along the water under a modern bridge.

City of Brunswick
STATE OF GEORGIA

APRIL, 1937
 DRAFTED BY: R. SAUBWIN, ASSISTENT ENGINEER
 CHECKED BY: DOROTHY PAULK AVERA
 OCTOBER, 1935



Brunswick

Squares on Norwich Street

- 1 & 1 Hillary Square
- 2 & 2 Blythe Square
- 3 & 3 Satilla Square
- 4 & 4 Frederica Square

Squares on Newcastle Street

- 5 & 5 Machen Square
- 6 & 6 Jekyll Square
- 7 & 7 Crispin Square
- 8 & 8 St. Simons Square

Plan of the city of Brunswick showing the same pattern of Savannah-type squares and open spaces between the blocks.

III. Courthouse towns and other government planned towns

The state of Georgia was extremely aggressive in its land policies during the early years of American federation. As a result many towns were "planted" in the interior lands to be market centers and government centers often years before there were well developed markets or population centers to serve. The planned courthouse town is a particularly long-lived town form in Georgia, a familiar one to local residents, and a source often of local pride. The courthouse square is as common a southern image as is the communal commons to New England. In this community type the courthouse square and the courthouse constitute the focal point of the community. In the Augusta model, the courthouse does not actually dominate the local landscape, but it still gives the town its functionary meaning.

There are several distinct patterns to the courthouse town phenomenon, differentiated by the location of the courthouse within the community, the orientation of the streets to the courthouse square, and the relative size of the block containing the courthouse.

In all of the examples, the location of the railroad is not the determinant of the type of courthouse town, but rather an indication of the chronology of the town's development. The nearer and more integrated the railroad to the center of town, the later the town will have developed in history. The less integrated the railroad is to the town, the earlier the town will have developed (relative to the railroad, that is). In the examples given below, the railroad is most likely to be integrated into a town which was developed first as a railroad town to which a courthouse has been added. (See Augusta model.)

III. A. Savannah style courthouse towns

This model is not to be confused with towns designed on the Savannah plan, referred to above. The Savannah style of courthouse town is described by Joan Sears in *The First One Hundred Years of Town Planning in Georgia*¹⁵. For purposes here the Washington and Savannah courthouse plans, as described by Sears, were combined, as the important distinguishing feature of each is the intersection of roads at the corners of the courthouse square block. The Savannah plan also includes streets coming in at mid-block along with the corner streets, but this is not as important a difference in the development of the town's form as the configuration of regular blocks, of which the courthouse square is

¹⁵Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Co., 1979, pp. 15-16, 19-20.

one block, without interrupting the grid pattern of the streets.

In the Savannah, or Washington, model the courthouse sits in the middle of a square with the streets coming in at all four corners; the pattern of streets may be square or rectangular leading away from the courthouse square and their size or width may vary, but the approach to the square is the same--from the corners. Commercial development occurs around the square, and the grids of streets are measured out in quadrants north, east, south, and west of the square. Topography will require some alterations in the grids, making them linear, rectangular, or broken, but ordinal order of the streets is visible and recognizable. It is rare except in the most highly populated and developed towns, for all four quadrants to be equally developed. Usually specialization occurs in the quadrants, with one quadrant heavily industrialized or commercialized, one quadrant devoted to the finer houses and subdivisions, and one quadrant containing the black section of town.

Examples: Eatonton

Eatonton is a classic Savannah model courthouse town. The courthouse square sits in the middle of the original town plan with streets crossing at the corners. The courthouse block is very large and completely surrounded by development. The two main streets (highways 441 and 16) intersect at the north east corner of the courthouse square.

Putnam County was created in the middle portion of Georgia history, laid off from Baldwin County in 1807, at which time Eatonton was made the county seat. Eatonton was the center of a thriving plantation economy in its section of the state, and received service from the Central of Georgia Railroad on the Milledgeville branch. Until 1819, when the first church was established, there was very little "civilization" in Eatonton.

Historian George White described Eatonton in 1849 as follows:

. . . , named after General Eaton, is the seat of justice, in the center of the county, on a high ridge, . . . It has a court-house, jail, one church for Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians; a branch of the Bank of the state of Georgia, Masonic Hall, two academies, eleven stores, mechanics' shops, etc. The town is distinguished for its beautiful groves. . . . Population 600.¹⁶

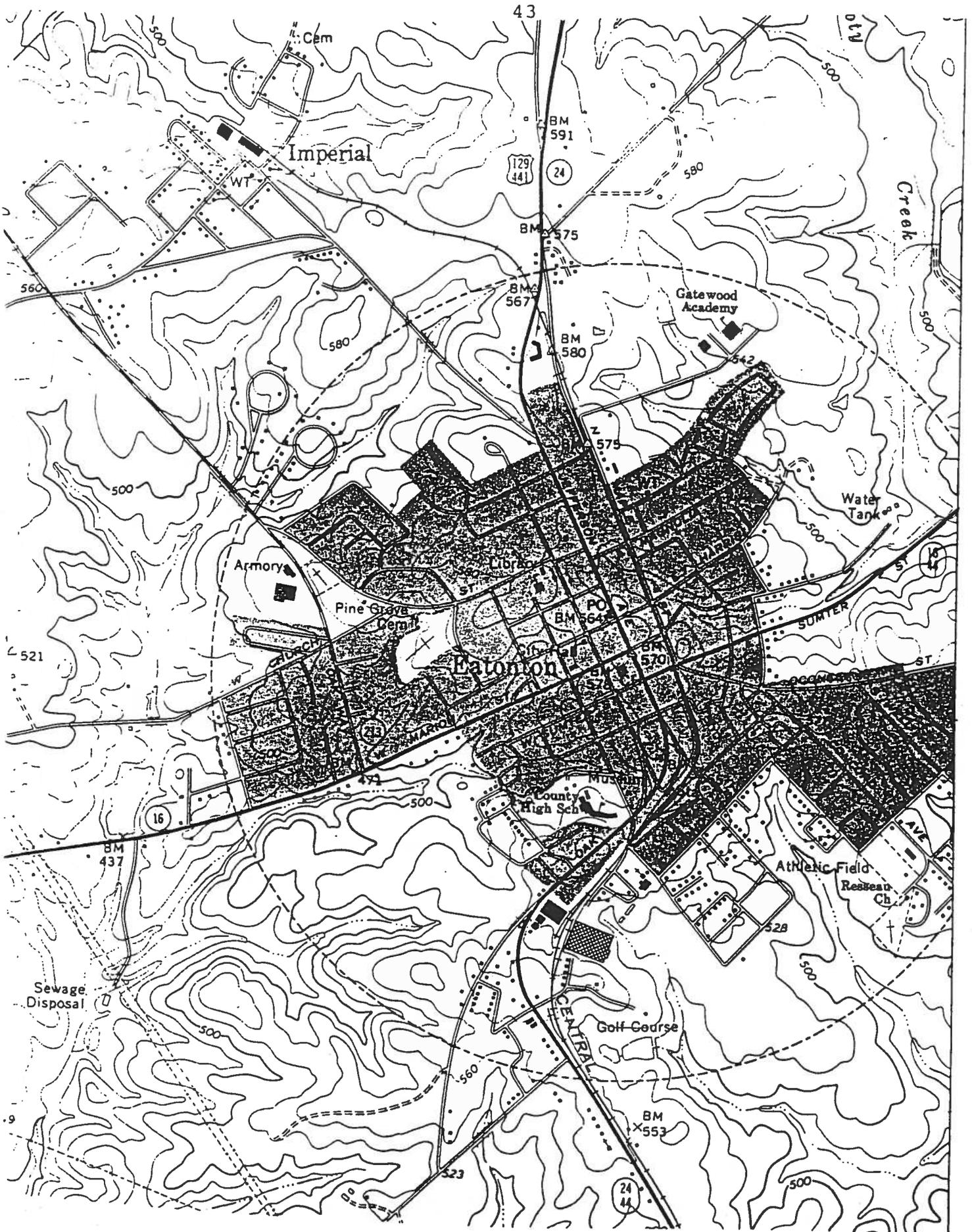
¹⁶Historical Collections, Putnam County listing, pp. 480ff.

In 1900 Eatonton had a population three times that size, but retained the small town atmosphere it had throughout the nineteenth century. Candler and Evans described it very much the same as did White:

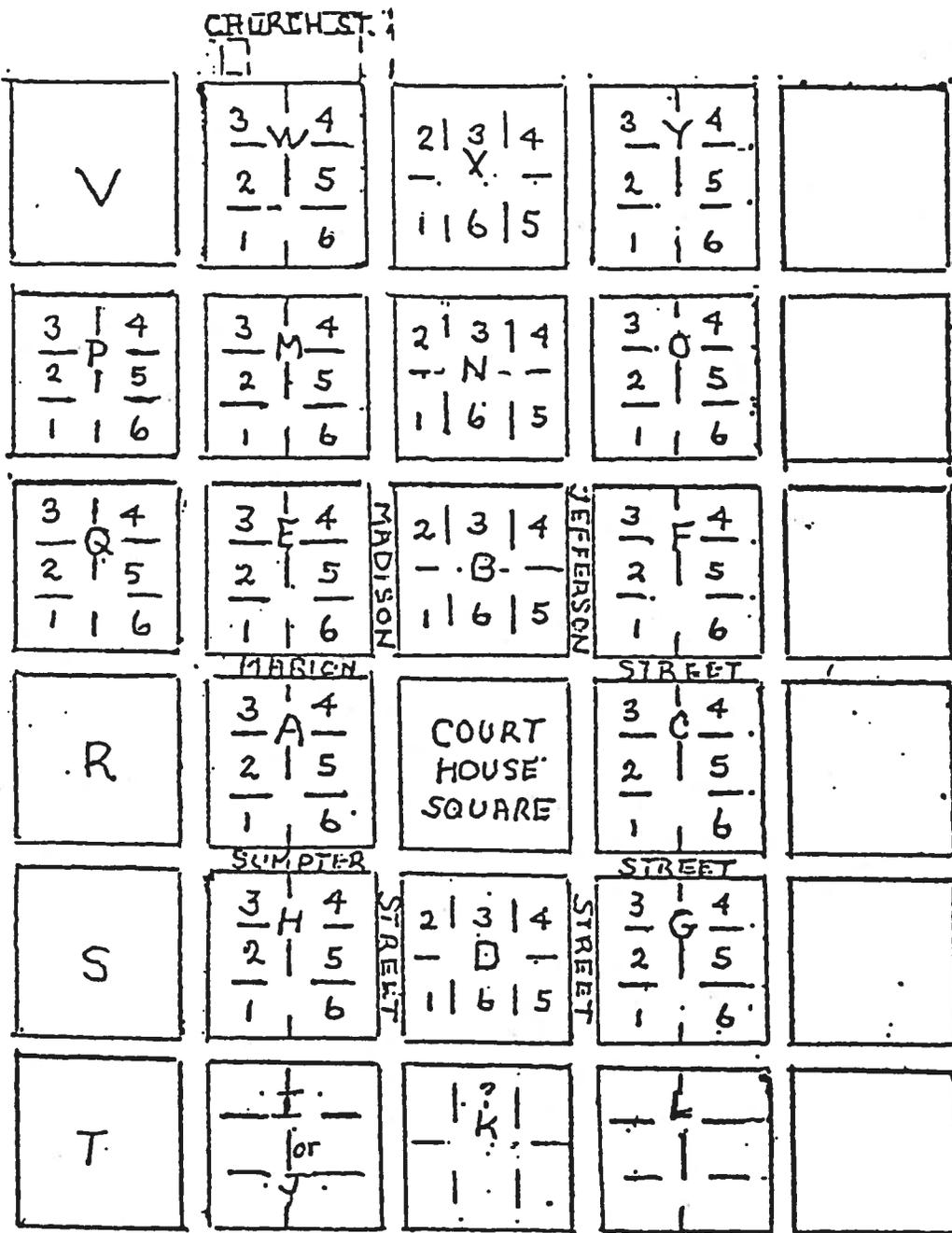
the county seat of Putnam county . . . has a court house valued at \$20,000, a money order post office with free rural delivery, express and telegraph offices, two banks, a good hotel, several prosperous mercantile establishments and water works owned by the city. There are good church buildings, graded schools, . . . a shoe factory . . . two canning factories . . . two cotton mills¹⁷

One would expect the historical resources of the town to reflect these developments, but the town remains centered around its courthouse even today.

¹⁷Cyclopedia of Georgia, under "Eatonton," Vol. I, p. 646.



CH: The courthouse, the entire block is reserved for the courthouse square.



The original town plan showing the courthouse square

III. B. Sparta courthouse model

This form of courthouse town differs from the Savannah/Washington model in one basic aspect: the approaches to the courthouse square occur in the middle of the block rather than at the corners. Sometimes the courthouse is located at the end of a T of streets, with the courthouse prominently located where the street ends. Because the streets lead directly to the courthouse, the roadway vista ends prominently with that building. It is not the square which dominated so much as the building itself. Often it is placed on a hill or other prominence, which adds further stature to its presence. There is always some development encircling the court house, but the streets usually broaden once away from the courthouse. Frequently the courthouse square is very small, completely encircled by a road, or else the streets surrounding it have been lost, filled in with sidewalks or buildings. Therefore, the greatest commercial development occurs in a linear pattern away from the courthouse square, often anchored by some distant but primary point--a city hall, a hospital, a dominant dwelling, a major intersection, hotel, railroad station, etc. This is probably the most common court house town type in Georgia.

As in the Savannah model, the streets are organized into grid patterns, but there is usually more linearity to the grids, or else the grids are broken with different grids occurring at a distance of a street or two away from the courthouse. There is more unequal development in the grids but with the same variability in land uses as described above under the Savannah model.

It is most common to find examples of the Sparta model in the more mountainous portions of the state, where a dramatic approach to the courthouse is more easily made on a street rising up a hill with the courthouse directly in view, and where grid-iron street patterns are likely to be elongated on one side anyway. (See mountain strip.) However, the type is not at all restricted to the mountain areas.

Examples: Calhoun, Dawsonville, Dahlonega, Dublin

(See maps for all these; only enough description is included here to demonstrate the relationships between resource types found in the communities and the court house itself.)

Dahlonega: This mountain center was founded in 1833, planned in 1834, and became the seat of one of the operations branches of the U. S. Mint in 1835, because of the gold mined in the area. The town also became the home of North Georgia College in 1873, after the Civil War closed the Mint. The focal point of the town was and is the court house square. As is typical of mountainous areas, the grids surrounding the square are both incomplete and elongated because of the topography in the region.

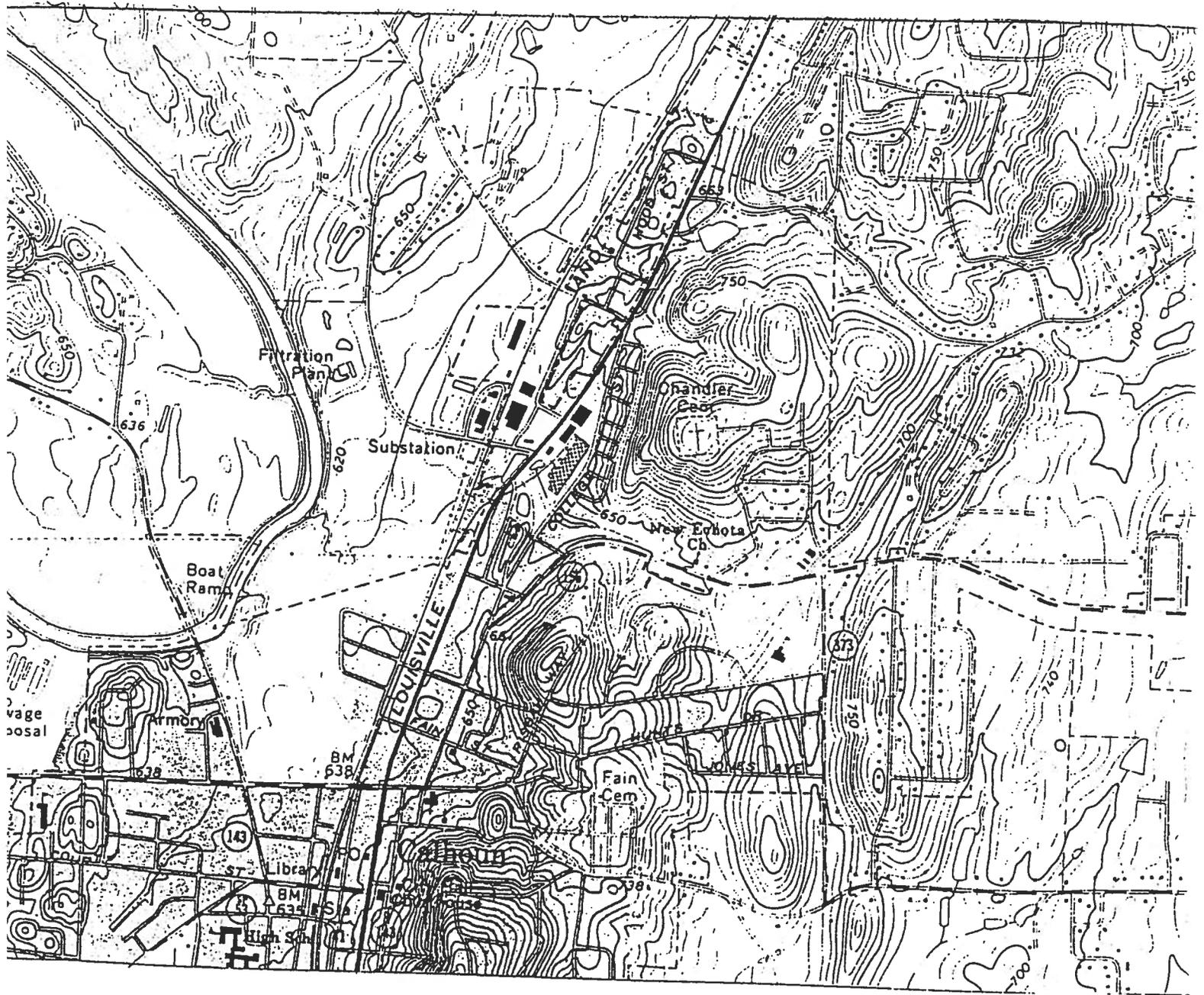
Dublin: This lower Georgia city demonstrates the patterns of linear development associated with the Sparta courthouse model. Here the other anchoring structure is the city hall. Dublin was described in the 1886 gazetteer as follows:

Laurens County Seat. Situated on the Oconee river, 23 miles southeast of Toombsborough (sic!), its depot, express and telegraph office, 35 miles from Hawkinsville, nearest bank, . . . Has a population of 620, Baptist and Methodist churches, and academy, public schools, a steam gin and grist mill, two weekly papers, . . . cotton, 5000 bales, live stock, naval stores and wool are shipments. Mail daily.

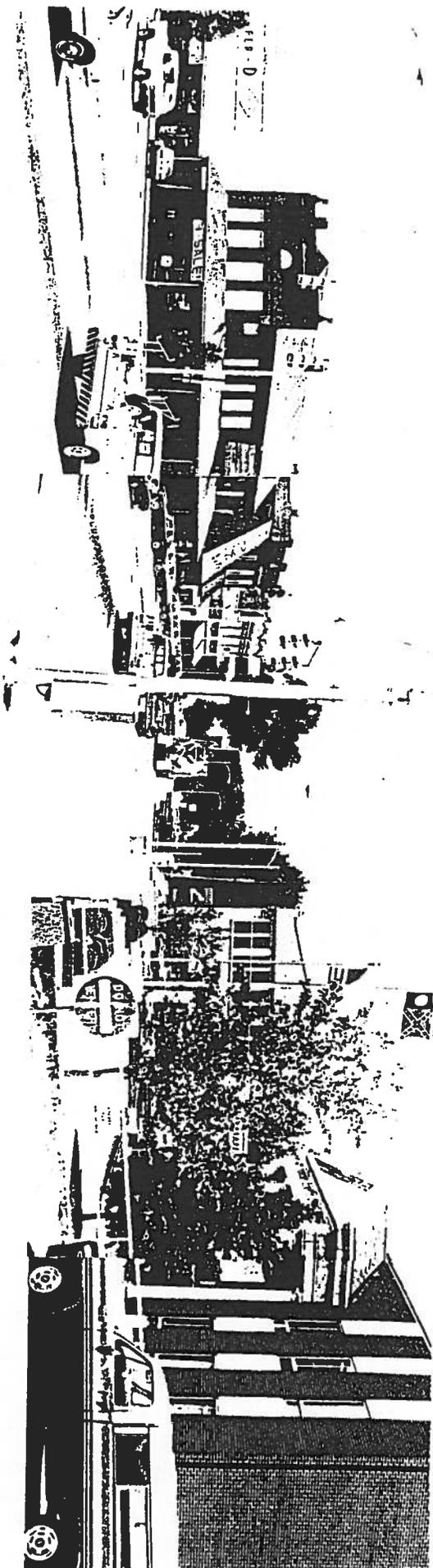
According to one Georgia history text, the Laurens County seat remained a village until the railroad was built near the turn of the century.¹⁸ It was described at that time as a "handsome city" with "several prosperous stores, . . . four banks, a furniture factory, ice factory, cotton mill, foundry, brick works, cotton seed oil mill, variety works, shingle machine, stove foundry, and several industries of lesser importance."¹⁹ Dublin was well located, accessible by river along the Oconee to Darien. The population was 2987 in 1900, making it one of Georgia's urban places at that time.

¹⁸George Smith, *The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People*, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co.; 1968 [1901]), "Laurens County," pp. 283ff.

¹⁹Candler and Evans, *Cyclopedia of Georgia*, under "Dublin," Vol. I, p. 631.

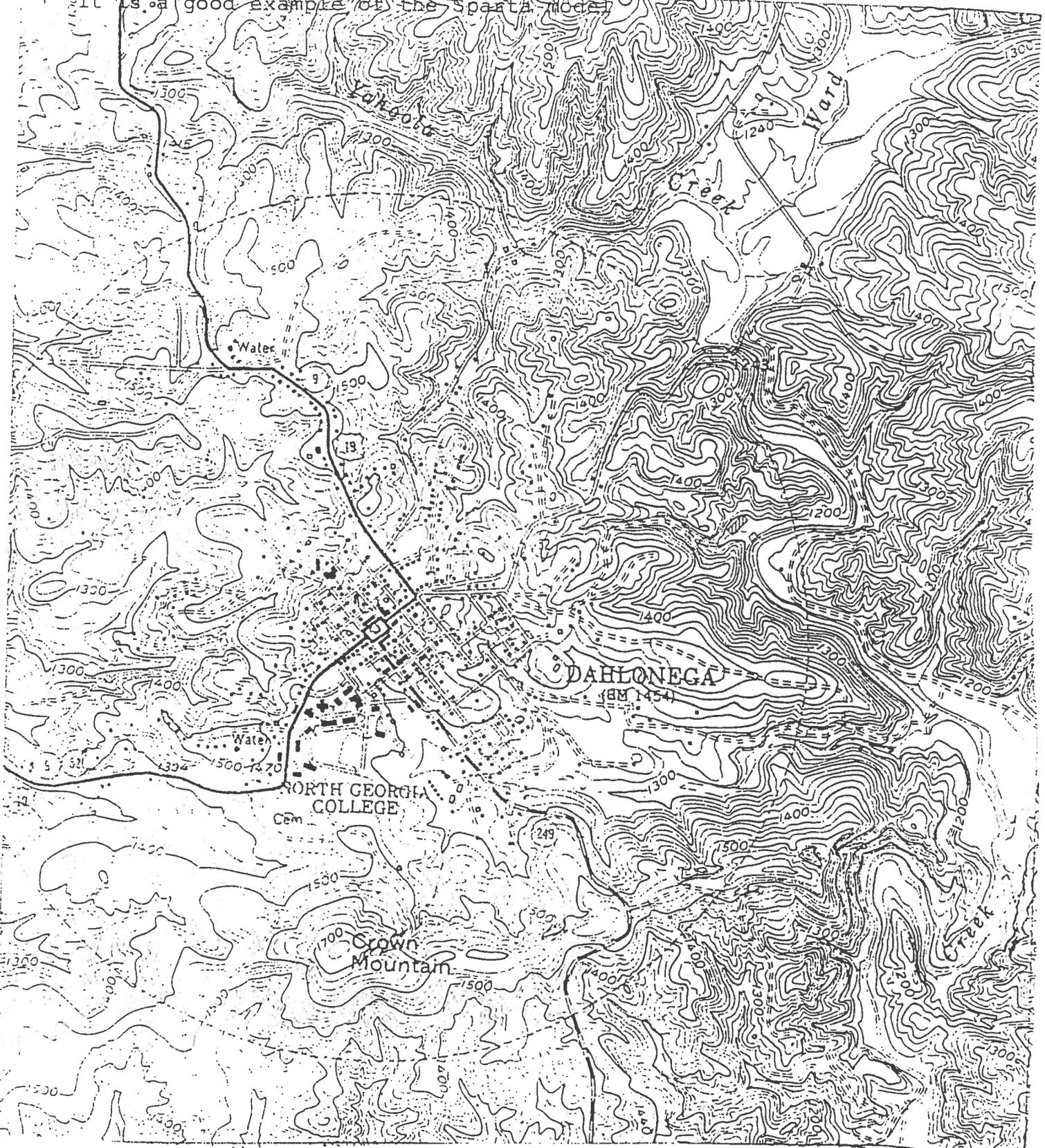


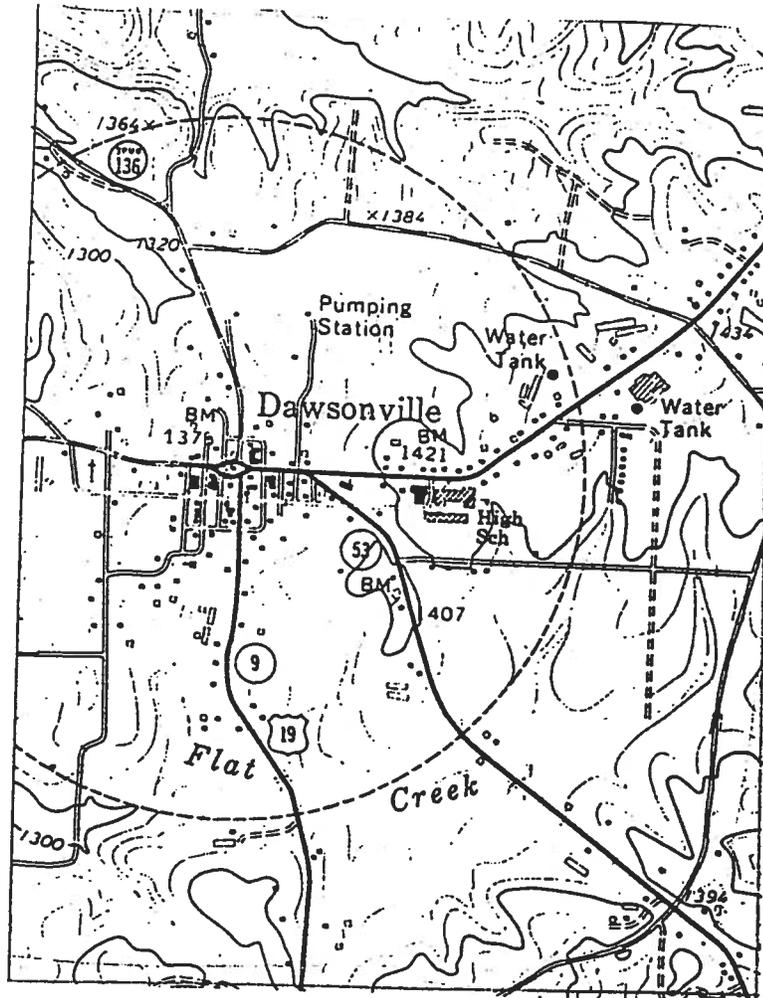
Note that Court Street leads directly to the courthouse which is located on the main road through Calhoun.



The intersection of Court Street and Highway 41, looking north along 41. The courthouse is the contemporary building on the right of the picture with the classical revival portico.

Dahlonega shows the roads coming in a mid-block and other roads intersect at the corners. Because of the way traffic flows through the town it is a good example of the Sparta model.

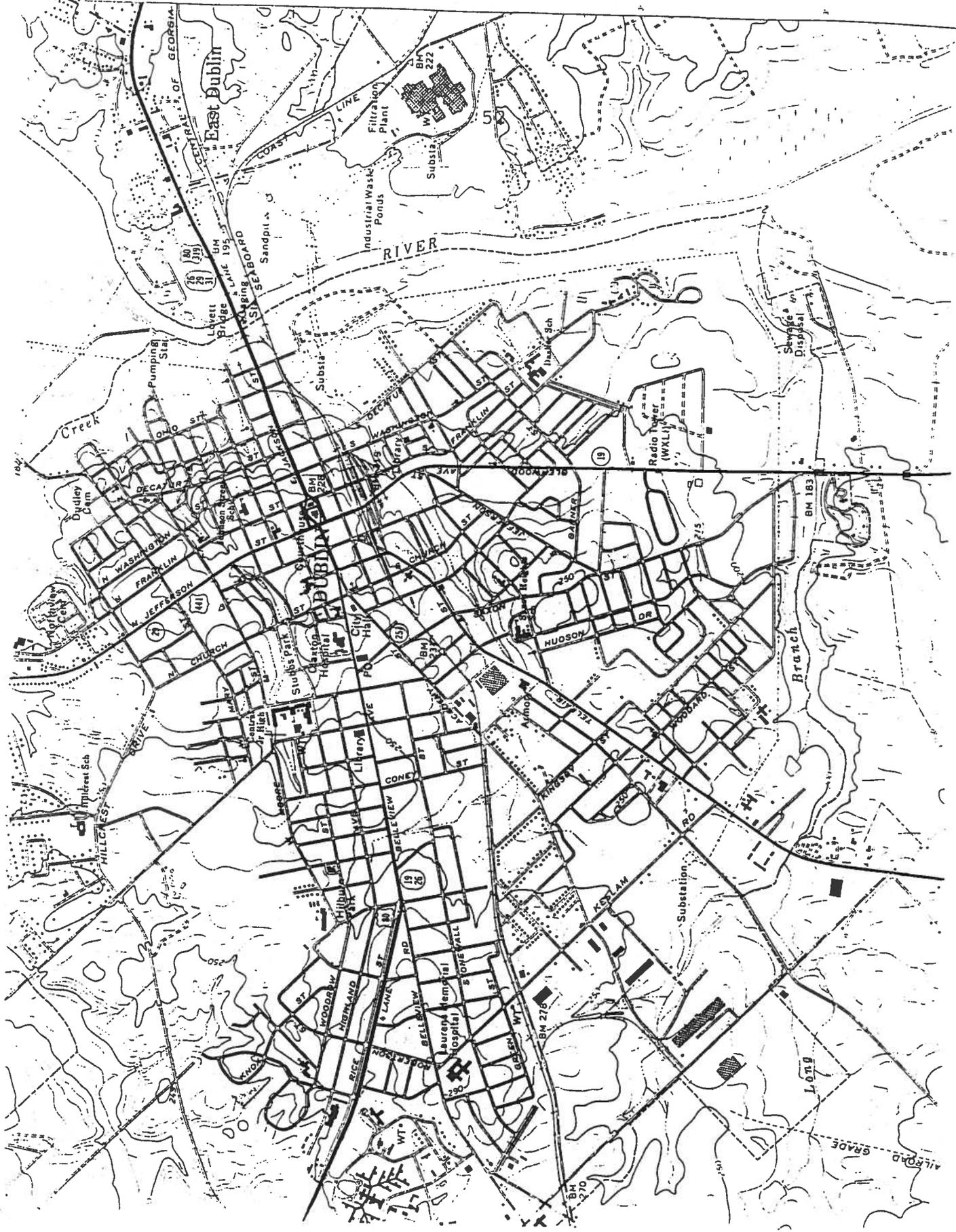




The courthouse "square" at Dawsonville is completely compromised by the road systems to the extent that the courthouse now stands on a traffic "island" in the middle of the main intersection. All roads lead directly to the middle of the same block on which the courthouse stands.



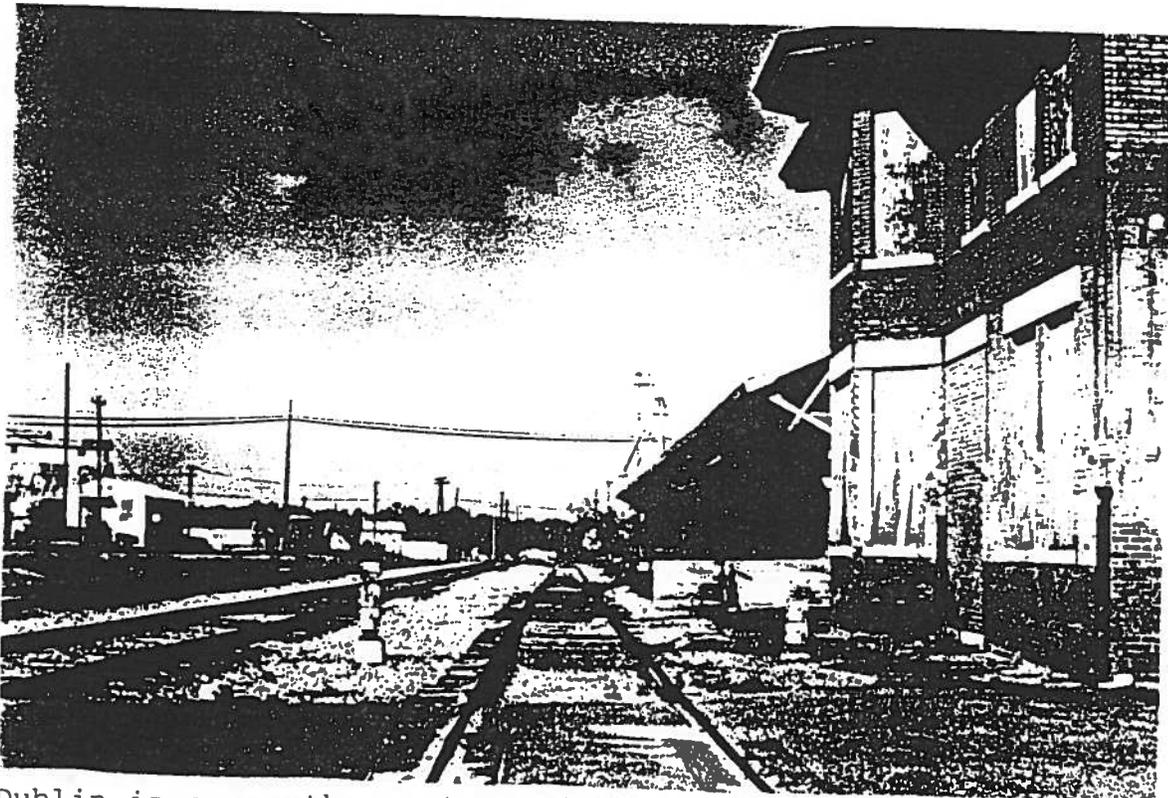
Looking west at the Dawsonville courthouse along highway 9 at the junction with 53, which is the courthouse square intersection.



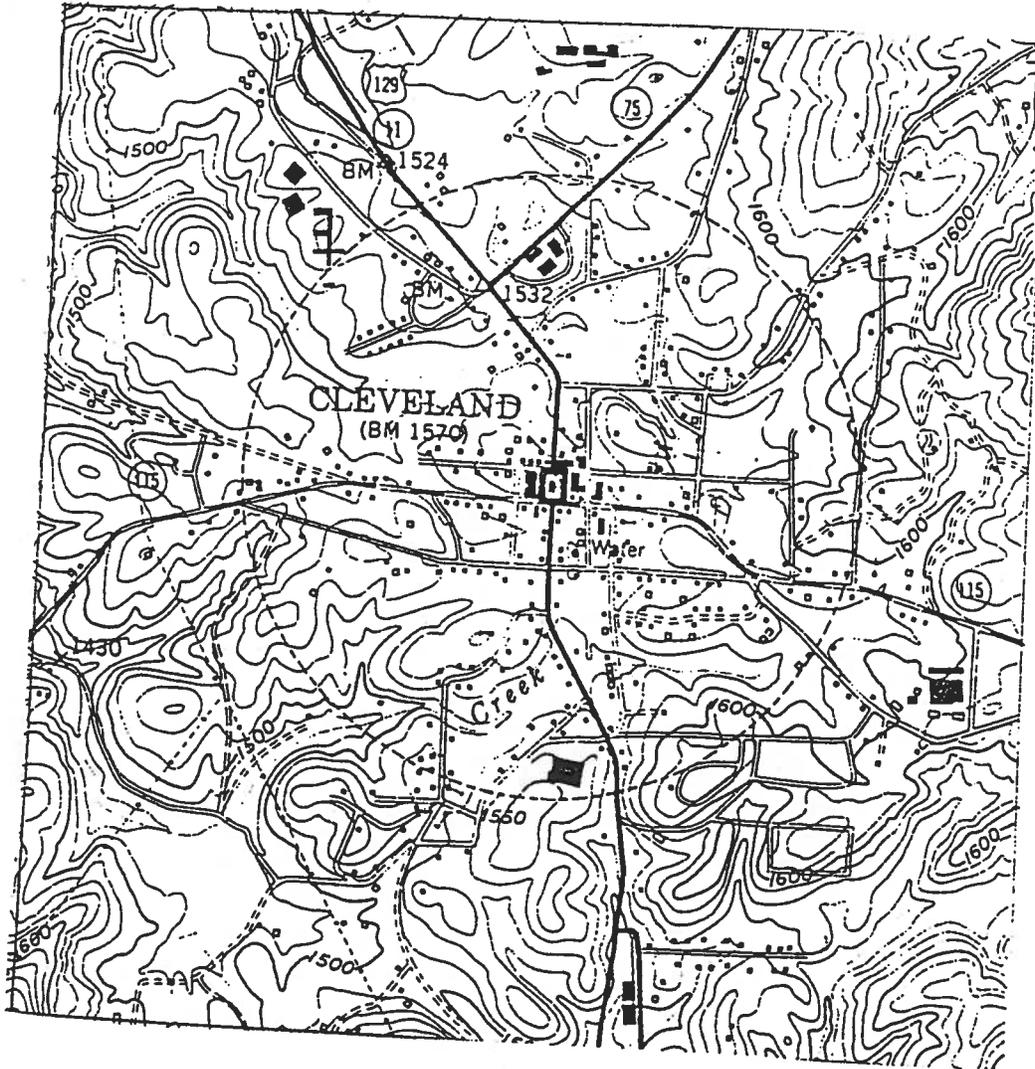
Note the location of the city hall in relation to the courthouse. The primary commercial/retail development in Dublin lies along this corridor. Secondary development occurs along Jefferson.



Dublin: A view of the courthouse .



Dublin is a courthouse town with a railroad, which lies alongside the edge of the original town .



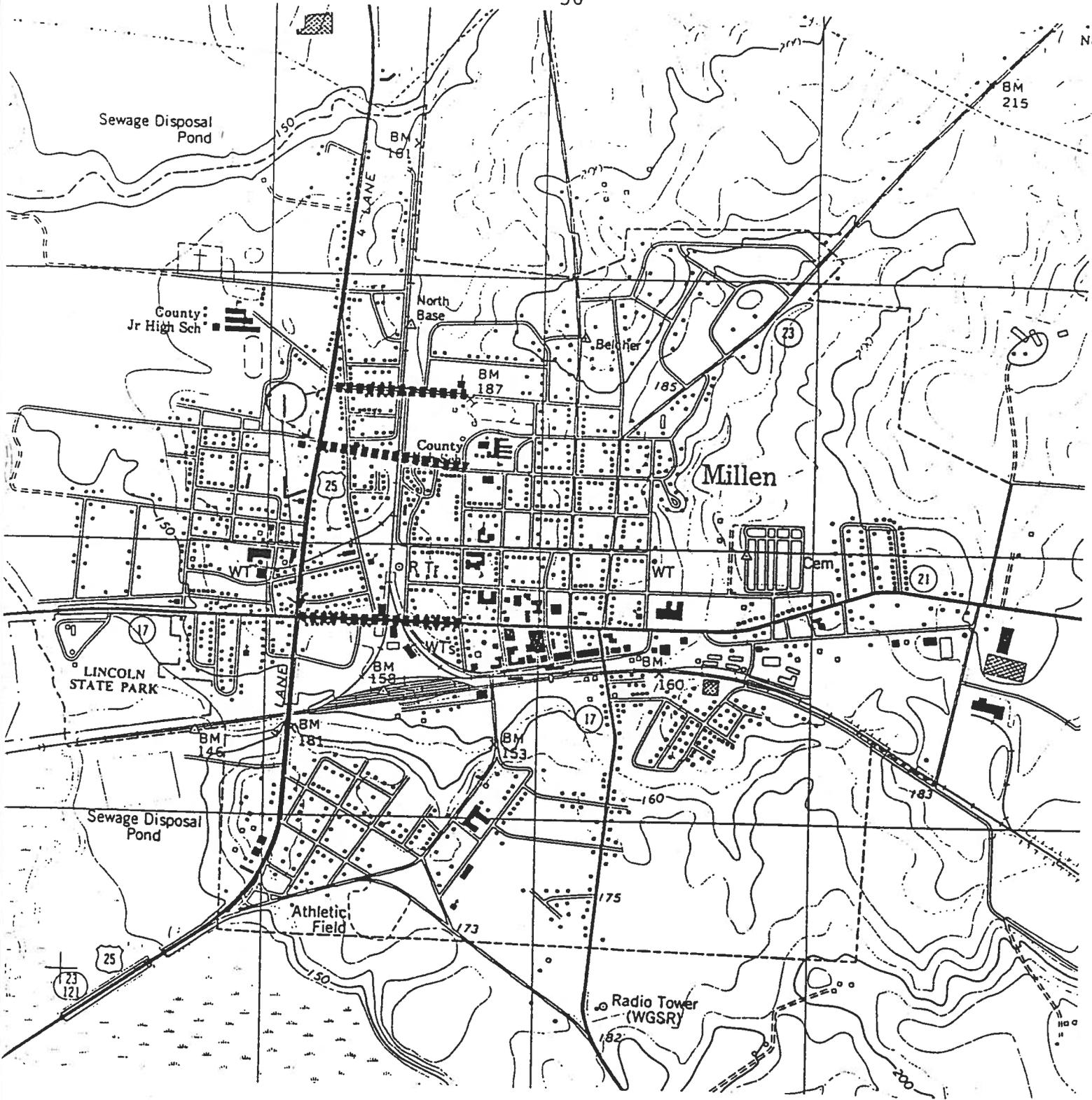
Cleveland: Another good example of the Sparta model.

III. C. The Augusta model

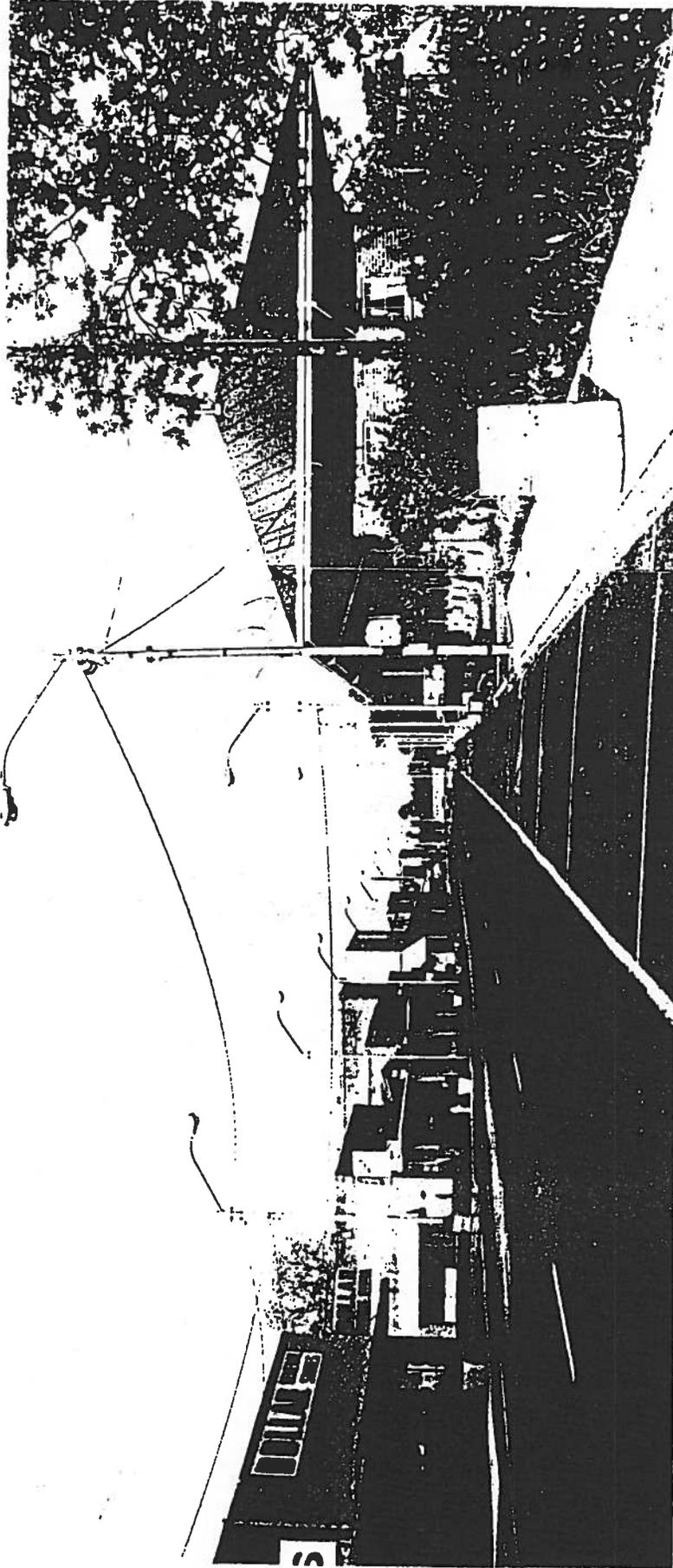
When a town which has developed for another reason gets designated as a county seat, usually the courthouse is not as dominant a landmark as it is in the other cases above. The town will orient itself around its original function (railroad or crossroads probably) and the courthouse will be placed in some secondary position, even if located on a main street. As a result the courthouse will not dominate the local landscape as it does with the Sparta and Savannah models. Often, though not always, the courthouse is surrounded by commercial development. This form is especially common among court house towns in counties formed very late in Georgia history.

Examples: Millen, Alma, Soperton, Jasper

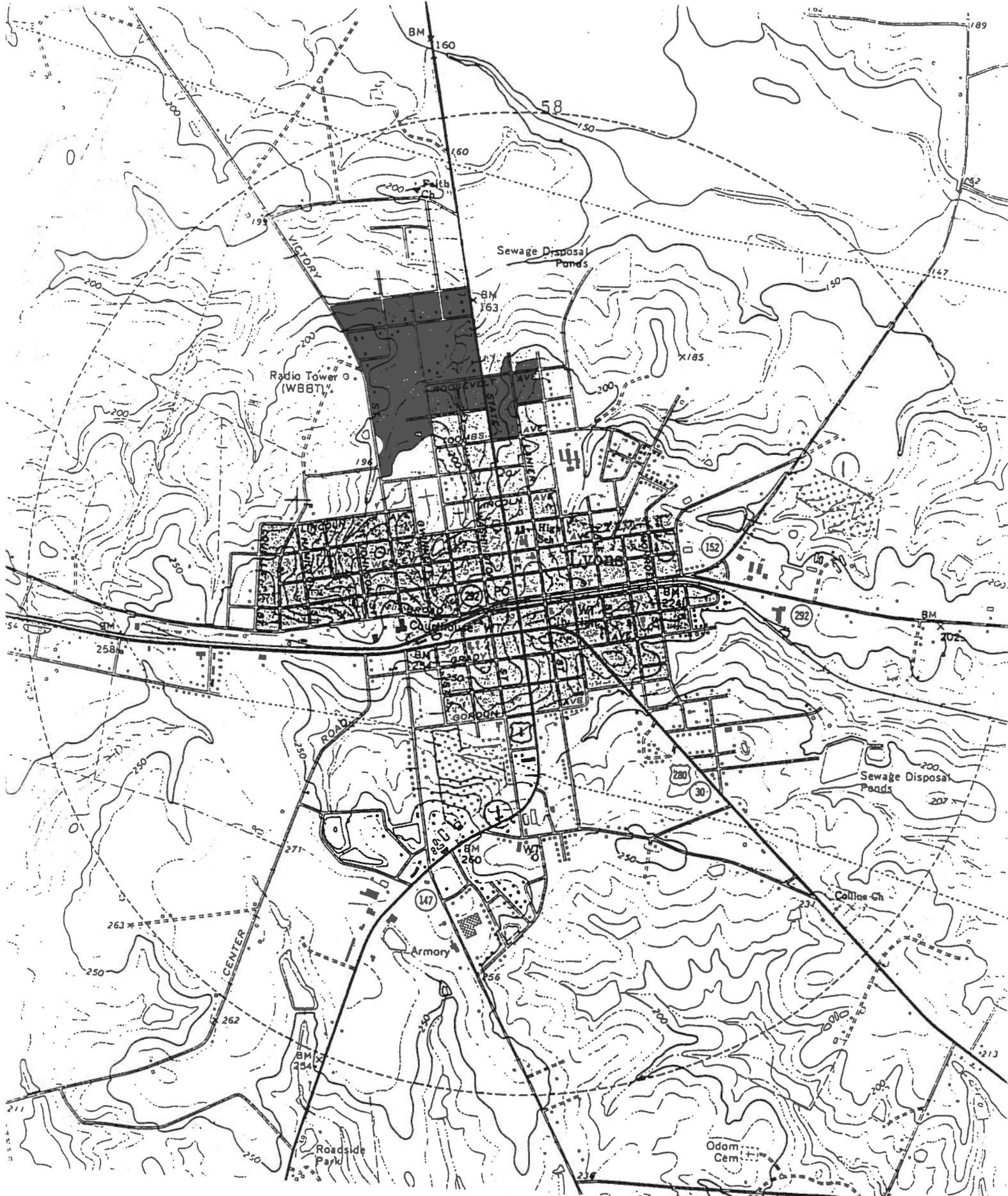
In these examples, it is impossible to tell, from the map alone, where the court house is located. Soperton is a cross-rail town with the courthouse located one block below the railroad crossing at Highway 29 and 221. The courthouse sits alone on a small block, set back from the street. Next to it are much larger commercial buildings which front both on the railroad and on Highway 221. Similarly, but in an entirely different physiographic environment, Jasper is a cross-roads town with a railroad which has the courthouse located one block away from the intersection of highways 5 and 53. It too sits back from the street on its own (small) block of land. In Alma and Millen, the courthouse is so unobtrusive, it is lost on the land. You have to know where to look to find it, and it is not obvious (or even visible) on the map either.



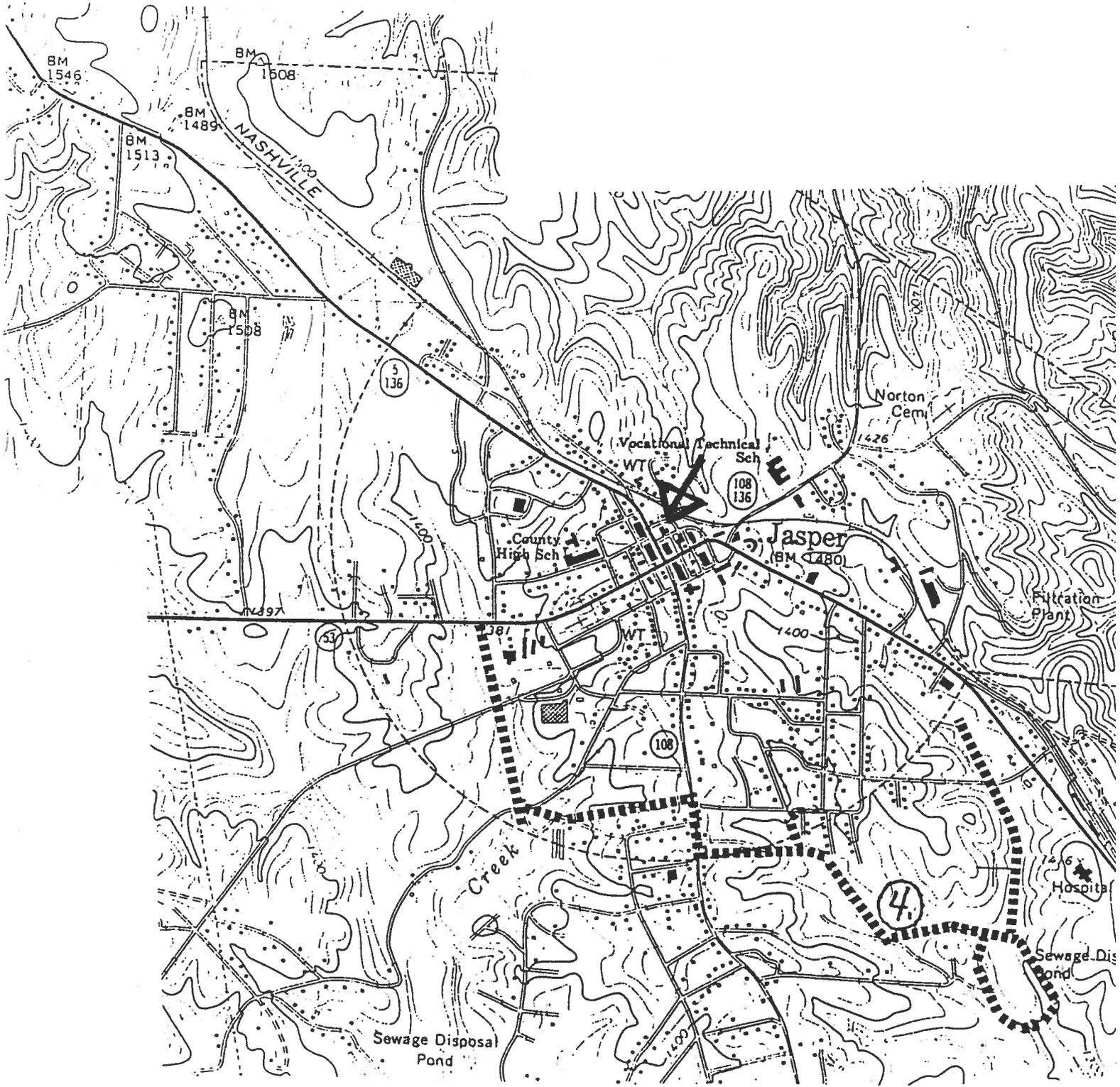
Primary commercial development in Millen lies along the railroad track. The courthouse is not a part of this development (nor is the courthouse even indicated on the map).



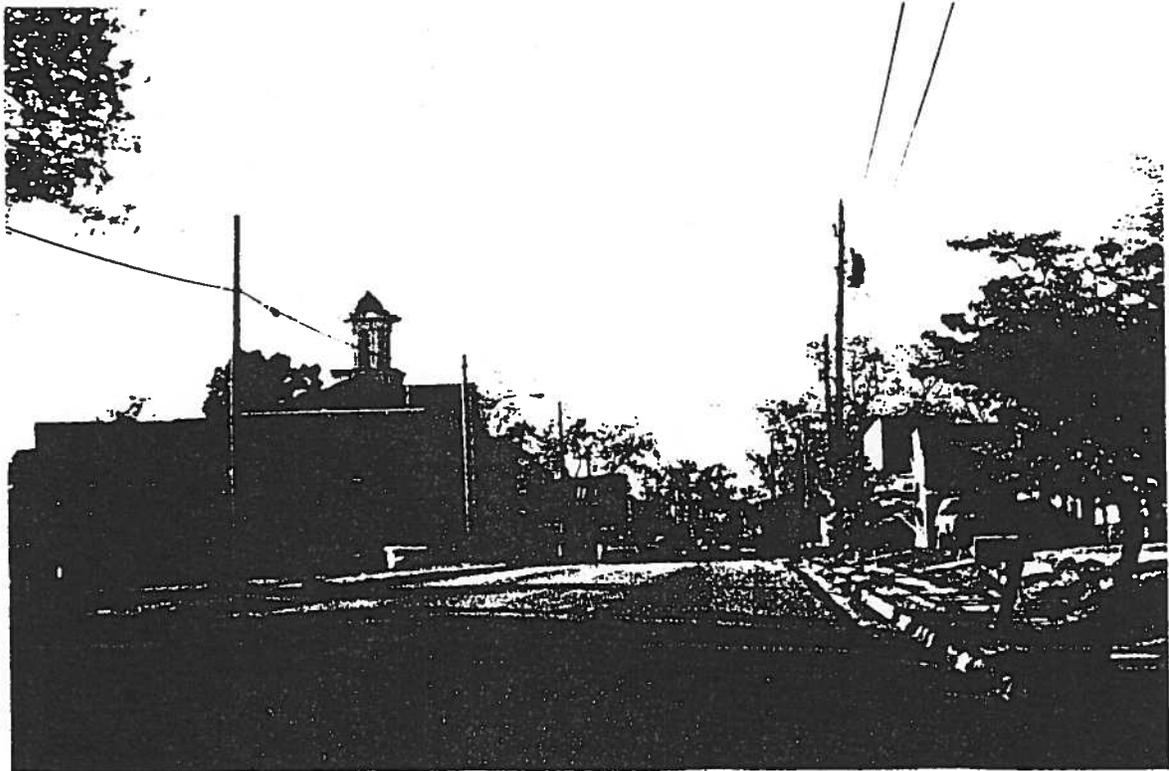
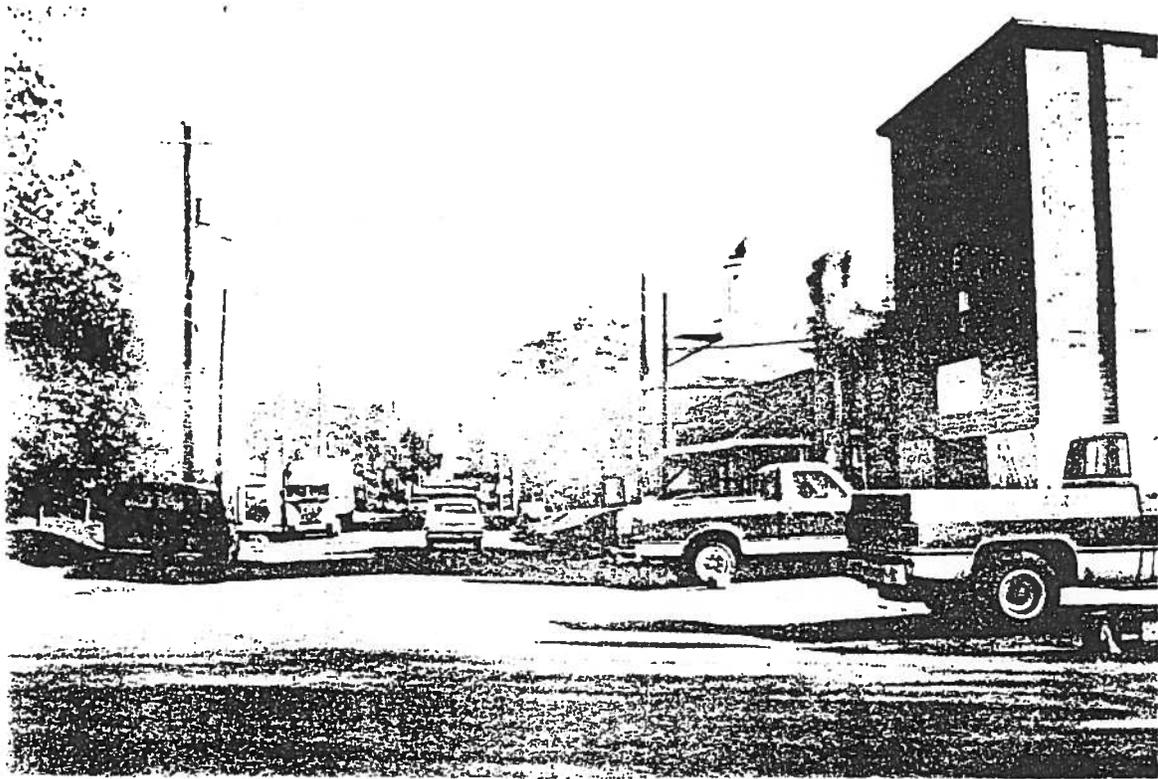
Millen: note the railroad orientation of this "county seat."



The courthouse is located at a remove from both the important sets of convergences: road/rail and road/road.



Arrow indicates the courthouse in Jasper, which is not at the primary intersection of the town and is also set back further from the street than its neighboring commercial buildings.



Two views toward the courthouse at Irwinton (building with the cupola) where, were it not for the cupola, the courthouse would not be seen at all.

III. D. Capitol town

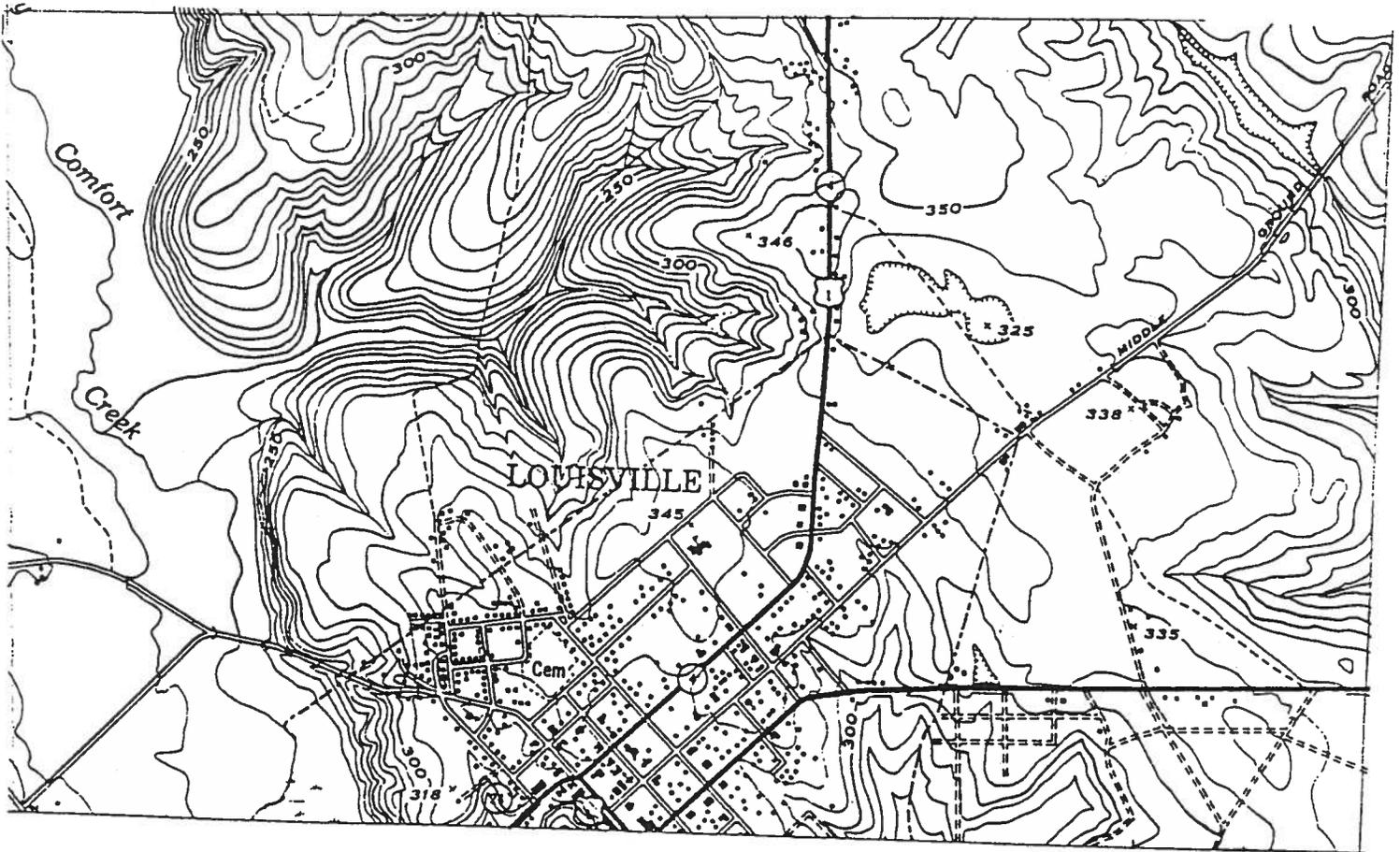
This category is a highly restrictive one, and not as descriptive of a community type as of a specific community origin. This designation pertains to the several towns in Georgia created for use as the state capitol, and only to those towns--Louisville, Milledgeville. Augusta may be included in this category, but it was already a trade center before it was a capital, so its form deviates from the basic outline of the other two. Likewise Atlanta deviates from the original form, as it was already a railroad center before it was the state capitol.

This example was not studied, and it relates to the next category on state-planned market towns, because both Louisville and Milledgeville, planned as government centers, were also intended to serve as market centers. This may, in fact, be a redundant or extraneous category, if further research into it defines its physical characteristics to be similar to the other category. What is likely to be found, however, is this: In the example of the capitol town the state would simply have been more generous in its space allocations than with the courthouse towns, but as in the courthouse towns, i.e., the Savannah and Sparta models, the capitol building and/or square would have a prominent location in the local or "downtown" landscape. Another part of the focal point would be in the relationship of one or more broad avenues giving access to the capitol itself.

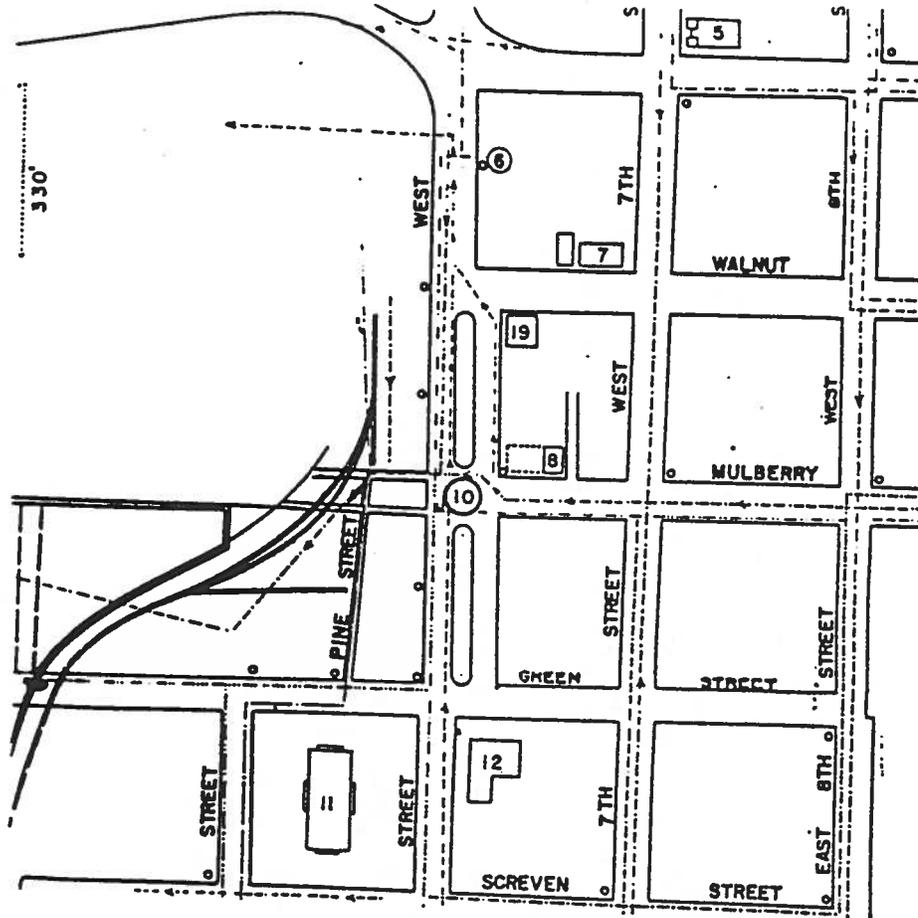
Examples: Louisville

The founding of Louisville was authorized by the state in 1786, and 1000 acres of land procures on which to establish a new seat of government. According to Joan Sears, a large central square was sited as the center, positioned on a rise, and surrounded by one-acre town blocks separated into four lots per block. The Jefferson County courthouse presumably sits on the site of the original capitol. Sears recounts that no original plan for Louisville has been found and that the town seems to have undergone considerable changes. The railroad, when built, cut off blocks in the north section of town and changed the towns orientation. Broad Street became the central business section, leaving the square abandoned and no longer central. Louisville turned out not to be a propitious site for a state capitol and in 1805, it was abandoned for Milledgeville.²⁰

²⁰Joan Sears, *First Hundred Years of Town Planning in Georgia*, pp. 157-58, 165-67.



Louisville today.



The capitol section of Louisville (number 11 on the map marks the site of the original capitol). Sears postulates that the original town plan has been ~~LOUISVILLE~~ altered over time, where this, originally, was the center of town. When the railroad was put through, it cut off sections of streets to the north of the capital square, and the commercial center moved to another location.

III. E. State planned market towns

This category pertains to a specific number of towns in Georgia which were planned by the state of Georgia to be market centers in the developing frontier sections of the state. These towns included Augusta, Milledgeville, Macon, Louisville, and Columbus. All are located (except Louisville) along the river fall line, at the head of navigable waters.

According to Sears, these towns are actually quite varied in their patterns and planning. All were intended to be county seats as well as market centers. All are planned towns in which the courthouse square is reduced in importance to the overall plan, which includes other public squares and which also includes at least one main, tree-lined avenue. This category should be studied for possible similarities. At present the shape of the towns does not appear to deviate that strongly from courthouse towns and other forms of organized, rationalized space. The importance of this category lies in the recognition it gives to the origins of these places and the intentions which created them. Probably, their overall original plans are the most important record of these intentions, and would serve as a guidepost to their continuance and meaning.²¹ In terms of other physical developments, beyond the bounds of the original plans however, these places tend to resemble other towns and cities and include much the same components as other urban centers.

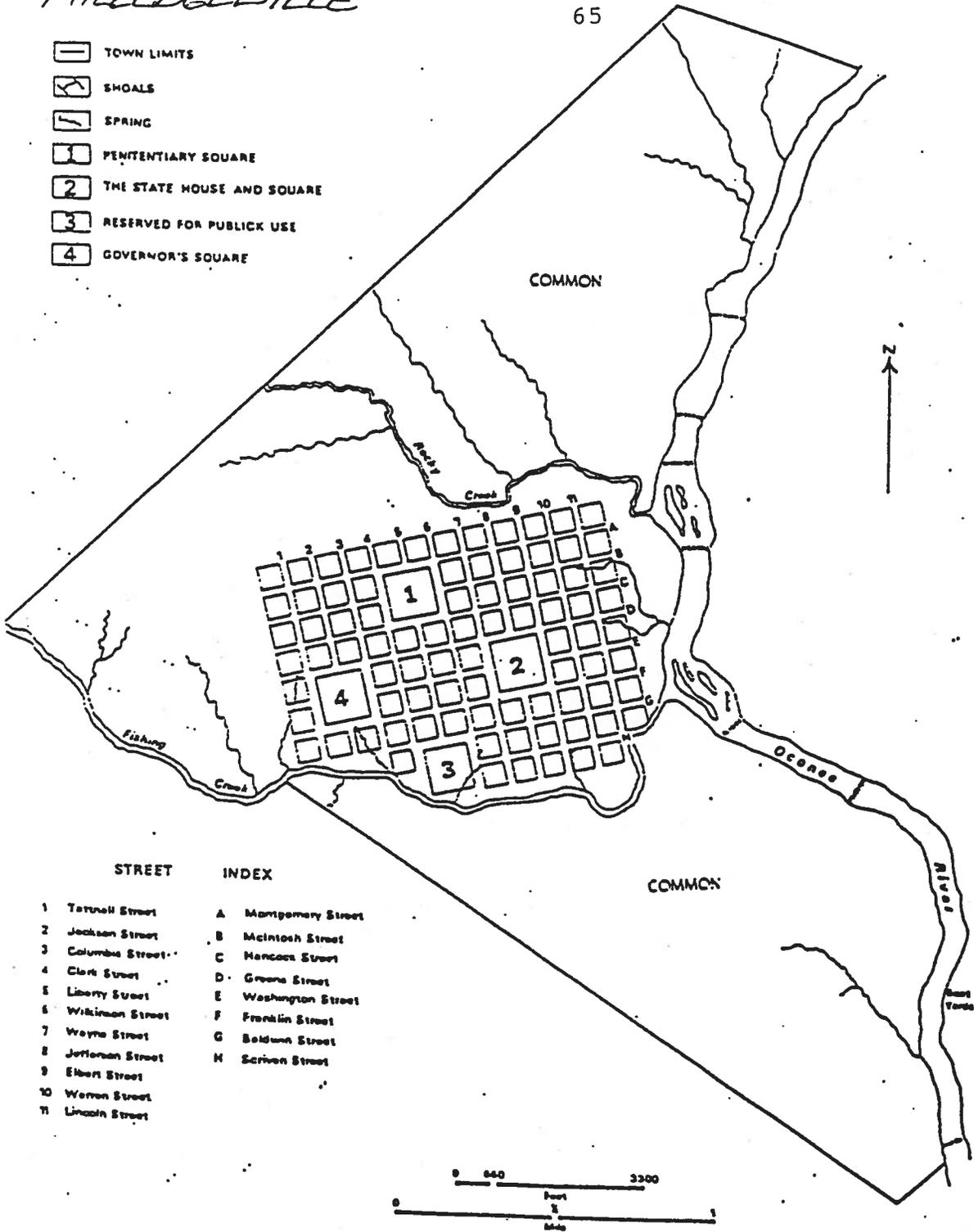
Examples: Milledgeville, Macon, Columbus

²¹See Gerald L. Holder, "State Planned Trading Centers in Pioneer Georgia," *Pioneer America* 14 (1982), pp. 115-123. Holder restricts his commentary to just Milledgeville, Macon, and Columbus. Because of their planned size and importance, he says, their planning and development "between 1803 and 1827 stand as a monument to early pioneering unparalleled elsewhere in the [southern] region."

MILLEDGEVILLE

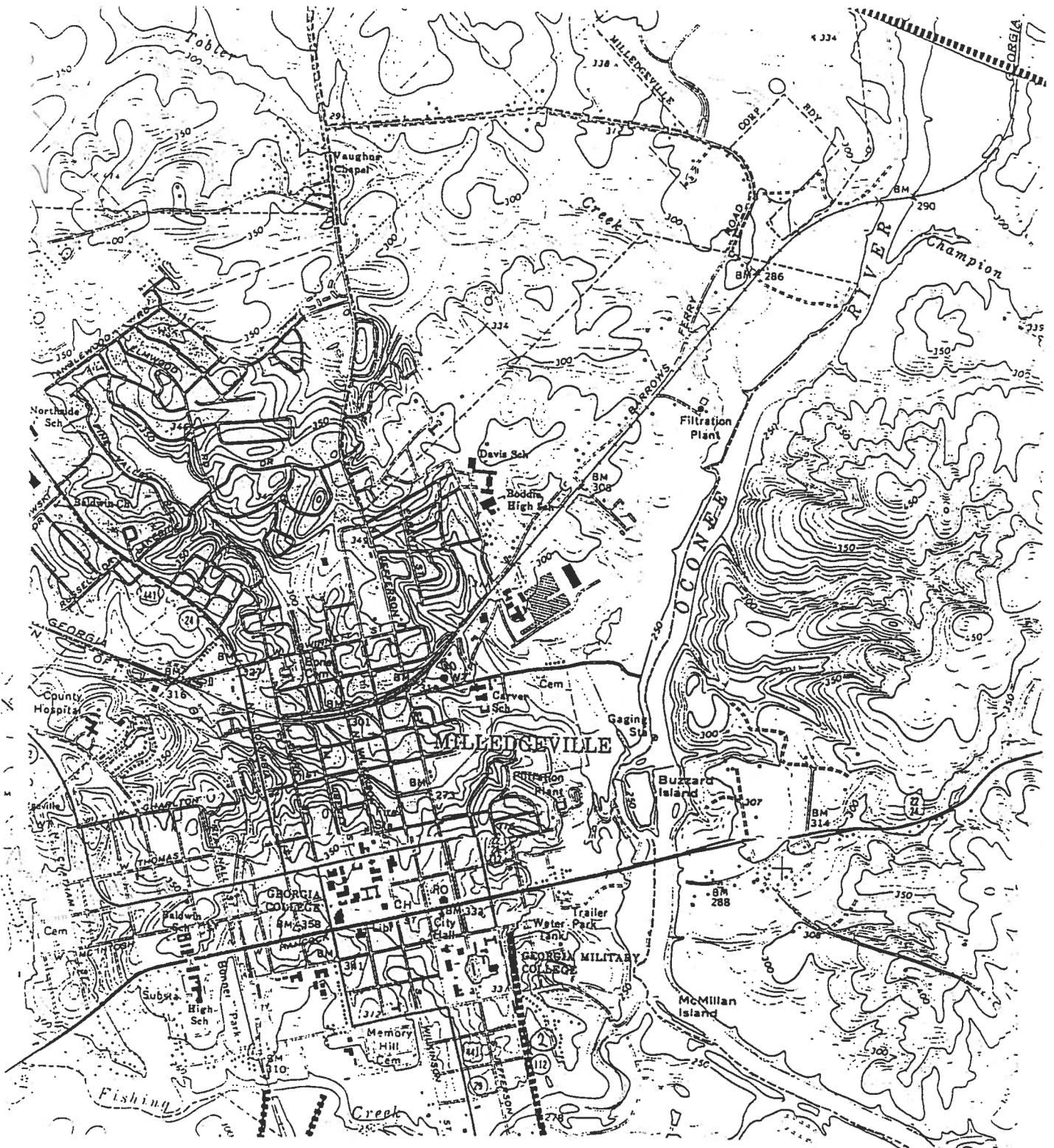
65

- TOWN LIMITS
- SHOALS
- SPRING
- PENITENTIARY SQUARE
- THE STATE HOUSE AND SQUARE
- RESERVED FOR PUBLIC USE
- GOVERNOR'S SQUARE



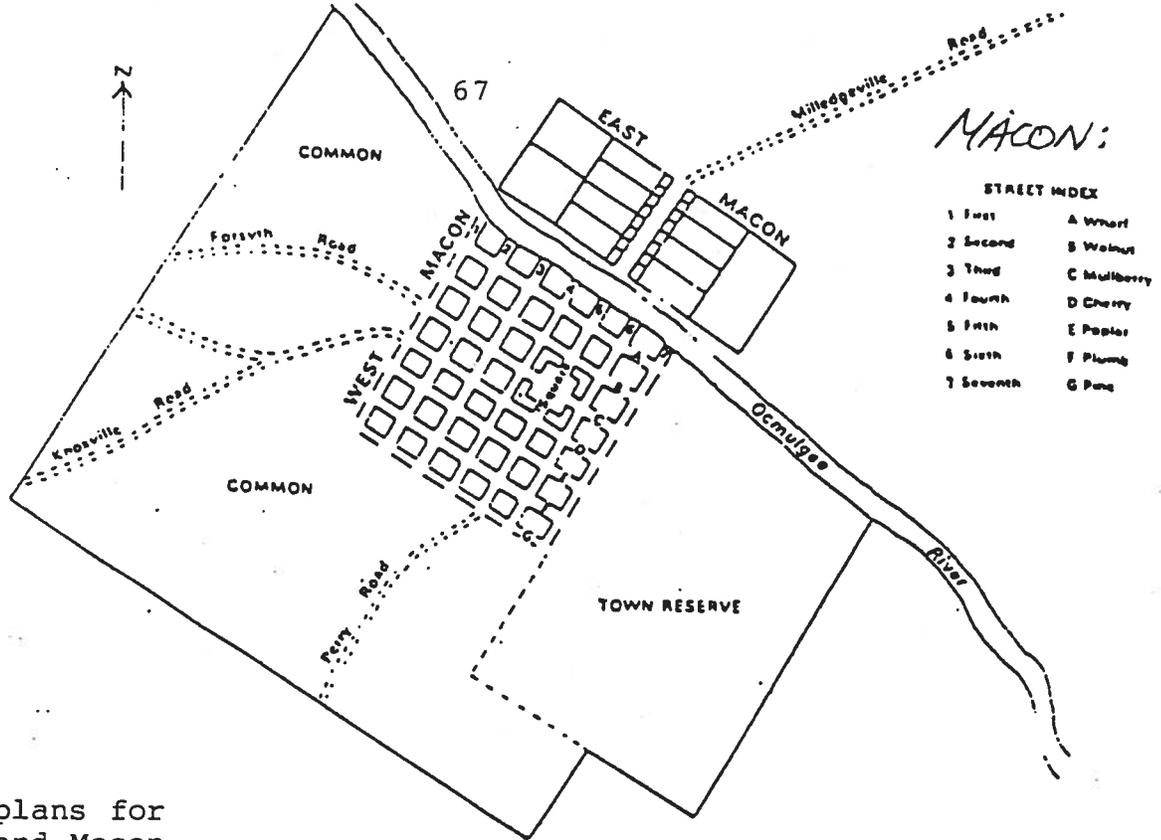
STREET	INDEX
1 Tutwiler Street	A Montgomery Street
2 Jackson Street	B McIntosh Street
3 Columbia Street	C Hancock Street
4 Clark Street	D Greene Street
5 Liberty Street	E Washington Street
6 Wilkinson Street	F Franklin Street
7 Wayne Street	G Baldwin Street
8 Jefferson Street	H Scriven Street
9 Elbert Street	
10 Warren Street	
11 Lincoln Street	

The state's original plan for Milledgeville, which actually orients the town to Fishing Creek rather than to the Oconee River



Elements of the original town plan are still very much in evidence today.

The plans for these towns have several things in common: the original orientation to the water, a grid plan (though two are square and one is rectangular) and reserved common spaces. However, the towns themselves have evolved into very different entities.

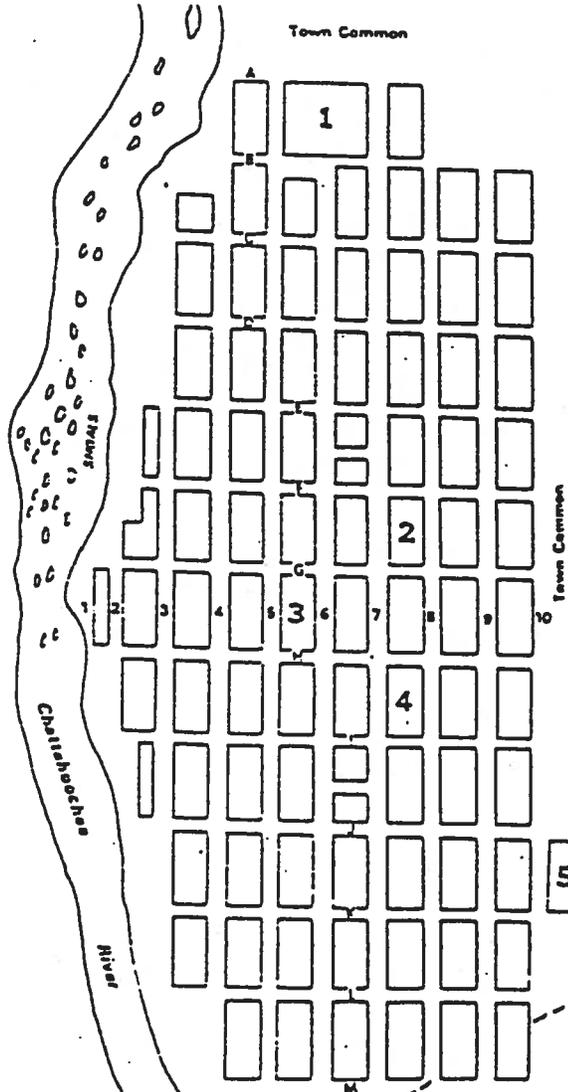


MACON:

STREET INDEX

1 First	A Wharf
2 Second	B Walnut
3 Third	C Mulberry
4 Fourth	D Cherry
5 Fifth	E Poplar
6 Sixth	F Plum
7 Seventh	G Pine

Original plans for Columbus and Macon



COLUMBUS:

STREET INDEX

A Washington	1 Bay
B Stage	2 Short
C Franklin	3 Front
D Bryan	4 Broad
E Randolph	5 Oplethorpe
F St. Clair	6 Jackson
G Crawford	7 Troup
H Thomas	8 Forsyth
I Baldwin	9 McIntosh
J Few	10 Mercer
K Early	
L Fulton	
M Covington	

- 1** Courthouse Square 10 Acres
- 2** Female Academy
- 3** Town House and Offices
- 4** Male Academy
- 5** Graveyard



IV. Crossroads communities

This is a very large category of communities. Prior to the coming of the railroad, this would have been the most common communal form in Georgia. The crossroads community takes its name from the presence of the road crossing; it takes two roads to make a crossroads community or town. Sometimes, more than two. The shape may be derived from a simple cross, a T formation, a wide V, or any junction of more than two roads. The crossroads community is characterized by a nucleus or cluster of structures with non-residential uses. In this it differs from the roadside community which, generally speaking, has only one focus. The crossroads community contains several public buildings or service areas: including, for example, a bank, a market block, a collection of storefronts, possibly a small office building, church(es), school(s), a post office, a small factory of some kind or very localized industry (something which would employ fewer than a dozen people). The crossroads community will also contain all of the associated dwellings for the community, some in concentrated clusters, some scattered over the nearby territories. A true crossroads community, by definition, does not have a courthouse nor a railroad, though its market function will be clearly visible. Development occurs along both roads in the "cross" and between the intersections, but most crossroads towns are too small to have much development. The street grids are usually small or underdeveloped.

Examples: Nicklesville, Hinton, Ludville, Vidette, Mershon, Midway, Egypt, Bristol

No descriptive information about Nicklesville was found in the Wilkinson County local histories. The only mention made of Hinton in the Pickens County material tells little about the community but establishes its character as a crossroads type:

At Hinton the road forms a parting of the ways, one branch going to Talking Rock and the other to Jasper. As a result Hinton has long been a trading point of some importance for the western part of Pickens County.²²

Similar information is given about Ludville in Pickens County, also with the same characteristic in evidence:

Ludville, west of Jasper, was the first community in Pickens County to establish a high school or academy . . .

²²Luke & Tate, Pickens County, p. 247.

Ludville is located in a splendid farming section and has long been a trade center for the western part of Pickens.²³

Ludville is also mentioned in both the 1850 gazetteer (as an "unimportant" post office) and the 1886 gazetteer. At that time, Ludville was listed as 12 miles from the nearest telegraph office, more than 80 miles from the nearest bank:

Population 150, with Baptist, Christian, and two Methodist churches, a high and two common schools, a saw and three grist mills Cotton, produce and grain the shipments. Mail tri-weekly.²⁴

Today Ludville appears to consist of a handful of houses in relation to a grocery store located at the V in the road where Highway 53 meets a county road.

Vidette appears in Candler and Evans as a "post-hamlet" on Buckhead Creek whose nearest railroad is at Louisville. Mershon is likewise described as a "post-hamlet," as is Midway. Midway, founded in 1750, is one of the oldest crossroads communities in the state.²⁵

Egypt and Bristol share an interesting history in that they are now both crossroads towns which at one time enjoyed railroad connections. The railroad was added, then dismantled, leaving the crossroads towns intact, but trackless. Egypt, to illustrate this, was a hamlet with a population of 40 people in 1850, with an express office and a steam saw mill. By 1886, it had grown: Station no. 4 on the Central of Georgia railroad, it boasted a population of 200, "two Missionary Baptist churches and common school. Cotton, 500 bales, corn, rice and oats . . . the exports. Mail daily."²⁶ Candler and Evans describe it in 1905 as a "shipping point of some note" located "in the midst of a fertile section." Egypt now had a population of 250, its own bank, post office, telegraph office, and "good stores." Today Egypt has no railroad and only the remnants of its former life as a "shipping point of some note." Its history reflects its association with the railroad, but today it would be classified as a crossroads town. Bristol was described by Candler and Evans simply as a post-village on a railroad. It too has no railroad today.

²³Luke & Tate, Pickens County, p. 247.

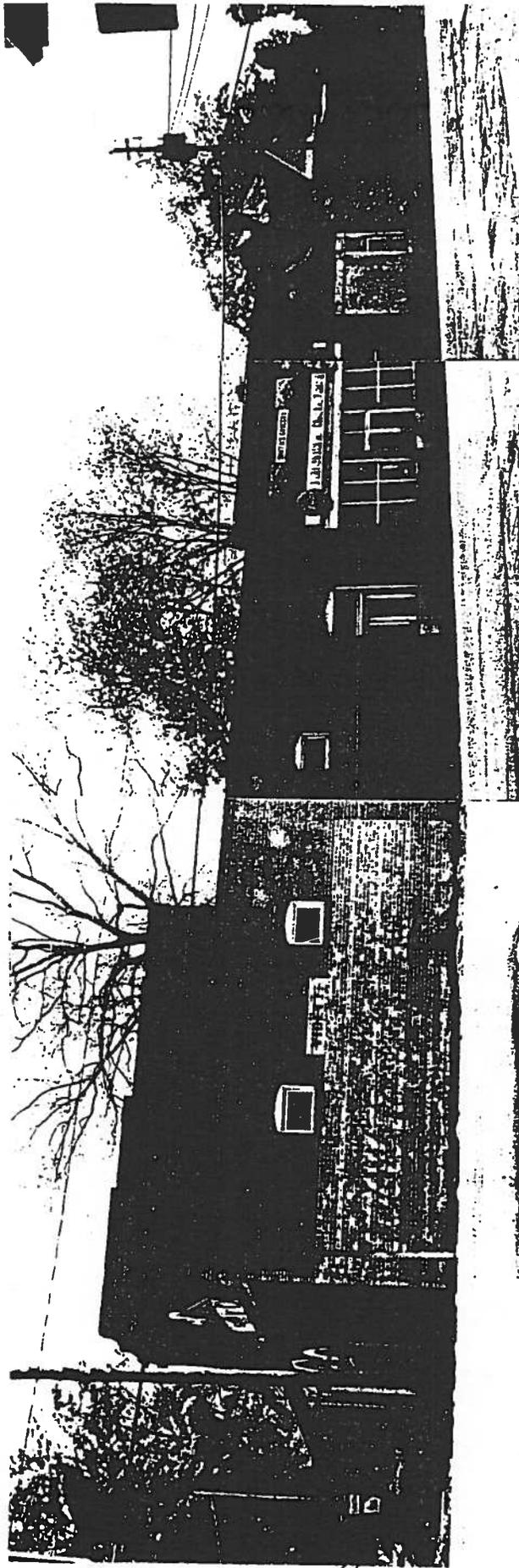
²⁴Sholes, 1886, p. 596.

²⁵Krakow, Georgia Place-Names, p. 148.

²⁶Sherwood and Sholes gazetteers, 1850 and 1886, respectively.

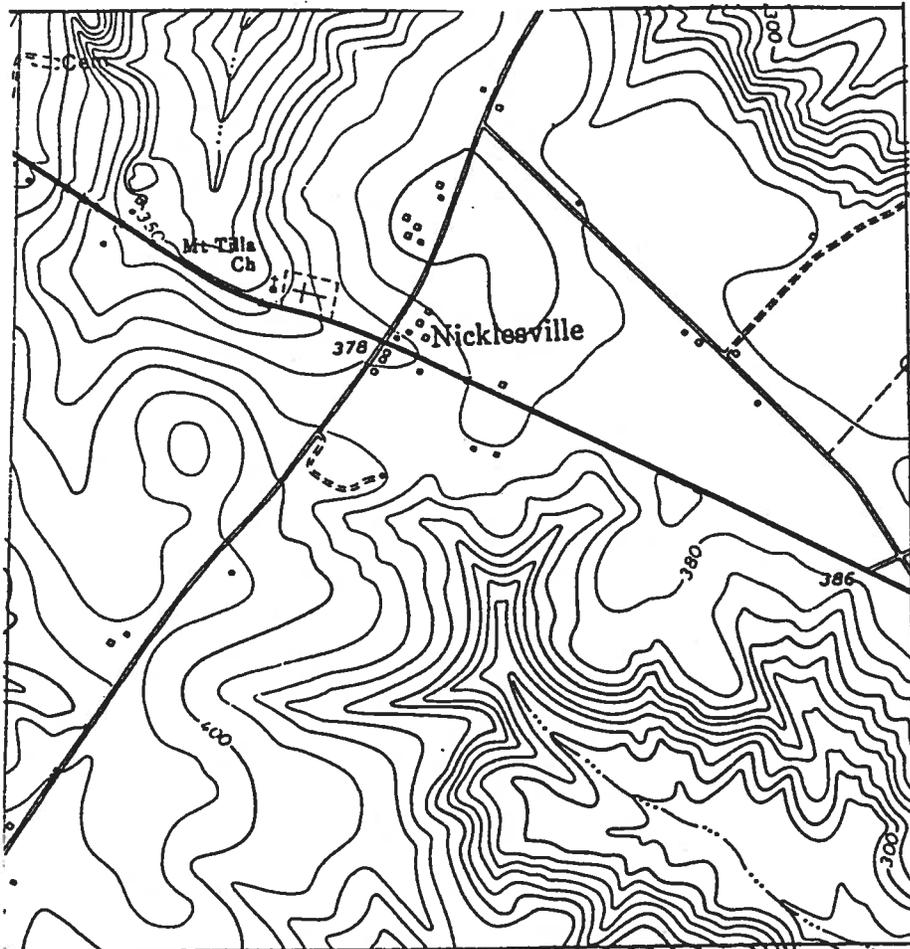
Irwinton, in Wilkinson County, gives another possible illustration of the crossroads type. It is a courthouse town of the Augusta type, or, differently stated, it is basically a crossroads town with a courthouse. It was established as the county seat in 1811, incorporated in 1816. The courthouse is said to be located on the site of an early Indian trading post, an indication of the crossroads nature of the community even before the Georgians settled there.²⁷ The community was located three miles from the nearest railroad. Described in both Sholes and Sherwood, the 1850 community was said to have a population of 300, a Union church, a "good" academy, public schools and a weekly paper. The nearest express, and telegraph were three miles away at the railroad, and the nearest bank was 34 miles away. Cotton was the principal export, and Irwinton did have a post office.

²⁷Krakow, Place-Names, p. 116.

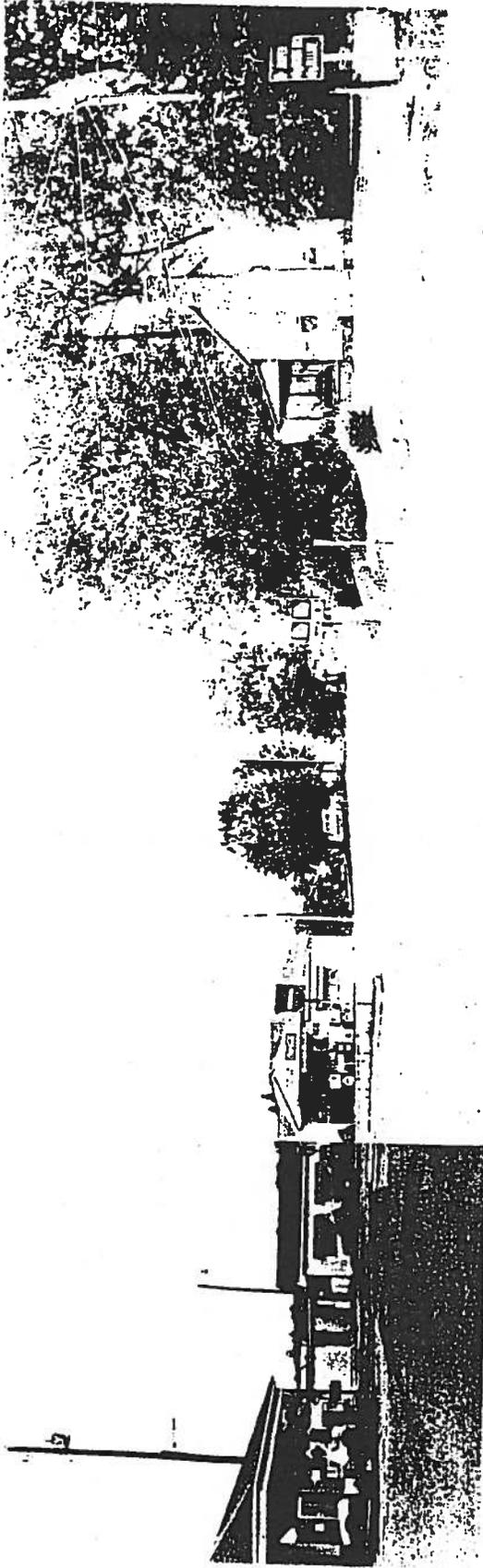


Commerce at the crossroads: commercial buildings face in two directions at the same intersection.

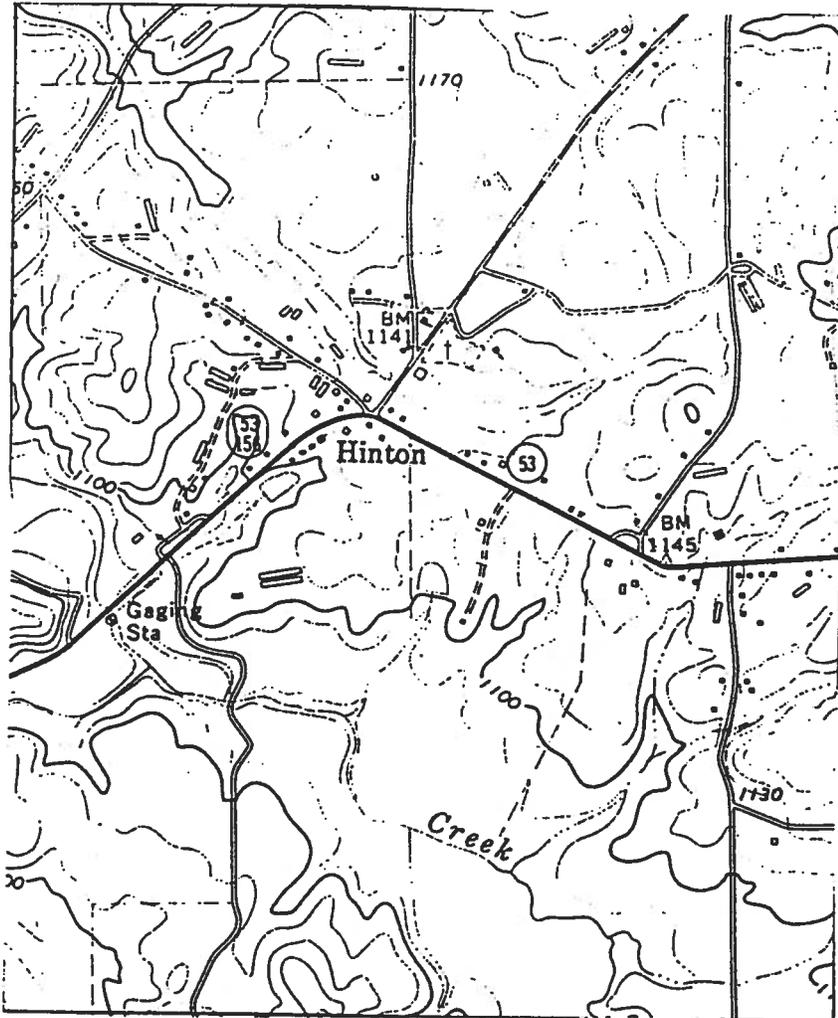
This is not found in the roadside community

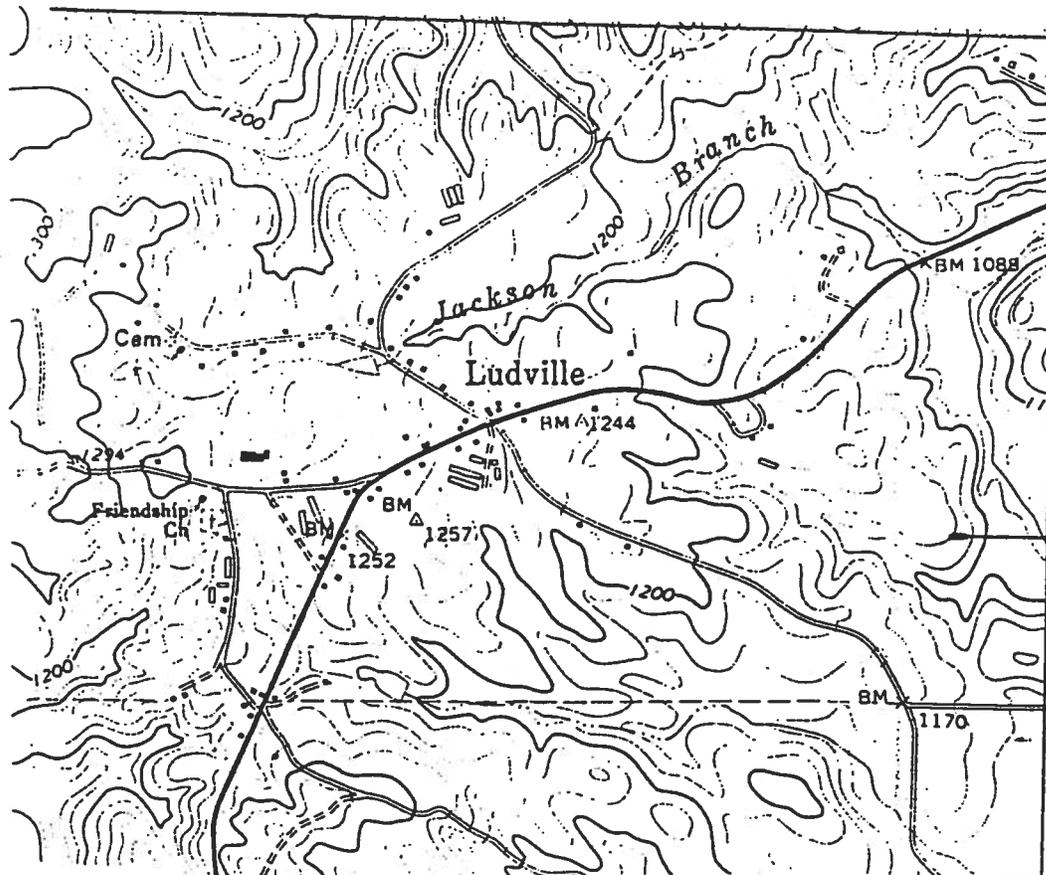


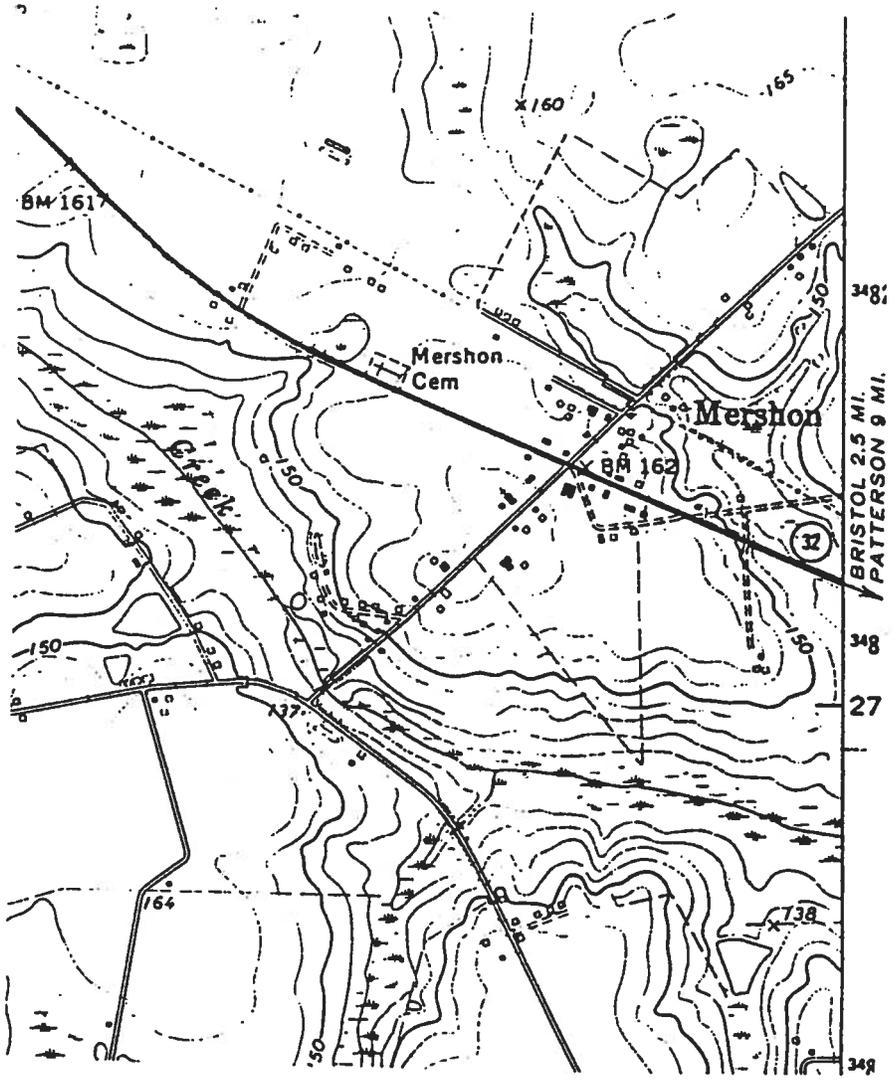
At least on the map, a very clear indication of how the crossroads community gets its start. Nicklesville is so underdeveloped, it has no grid nor sidestreets. This is a roadside community at a crossroads.

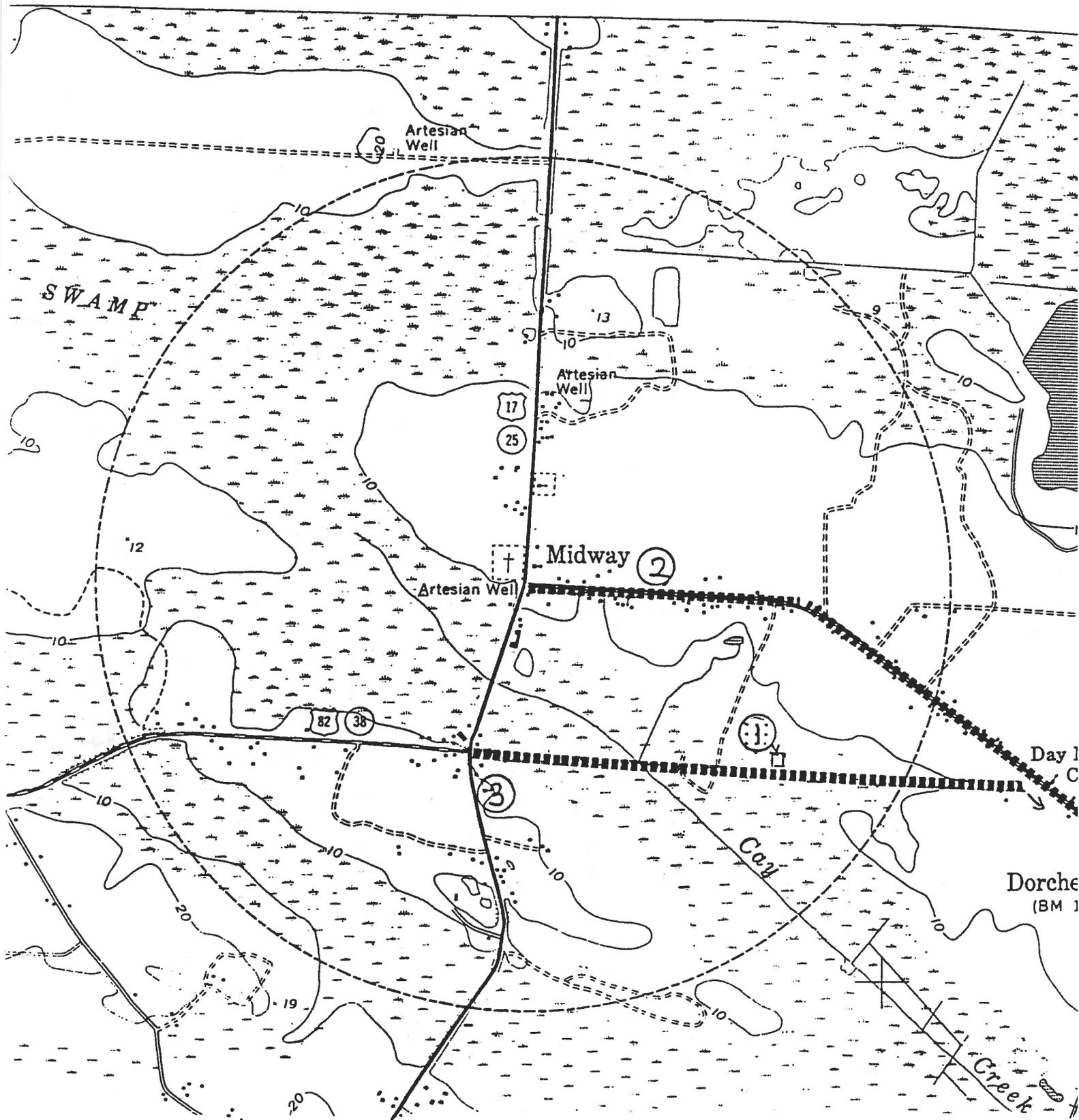


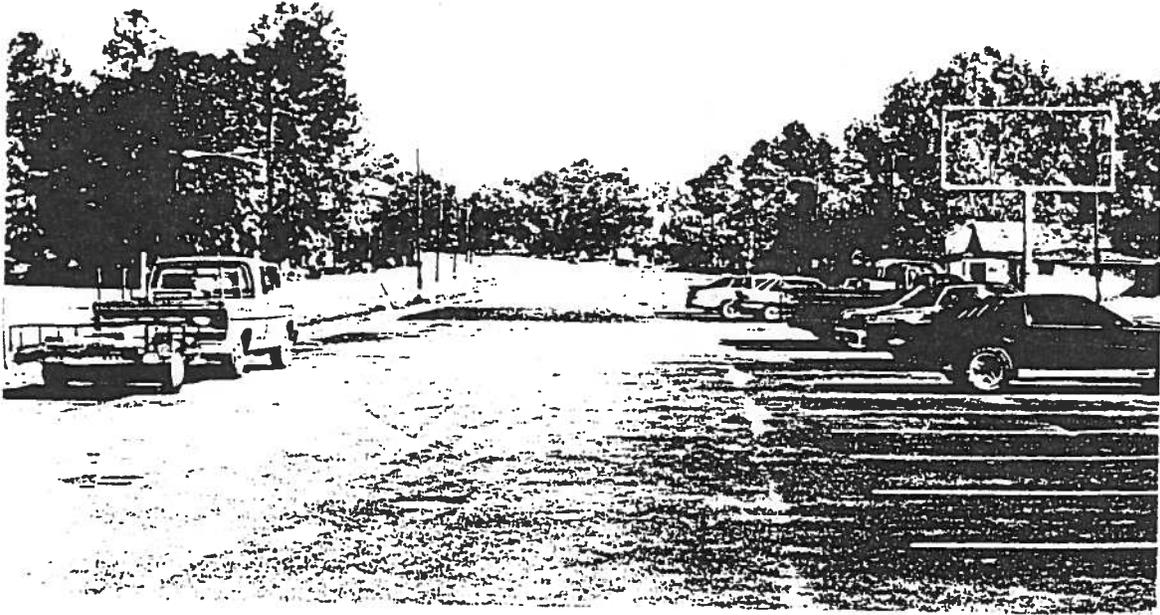
Hinton, where two gas stations sit at the crossroads intersection.





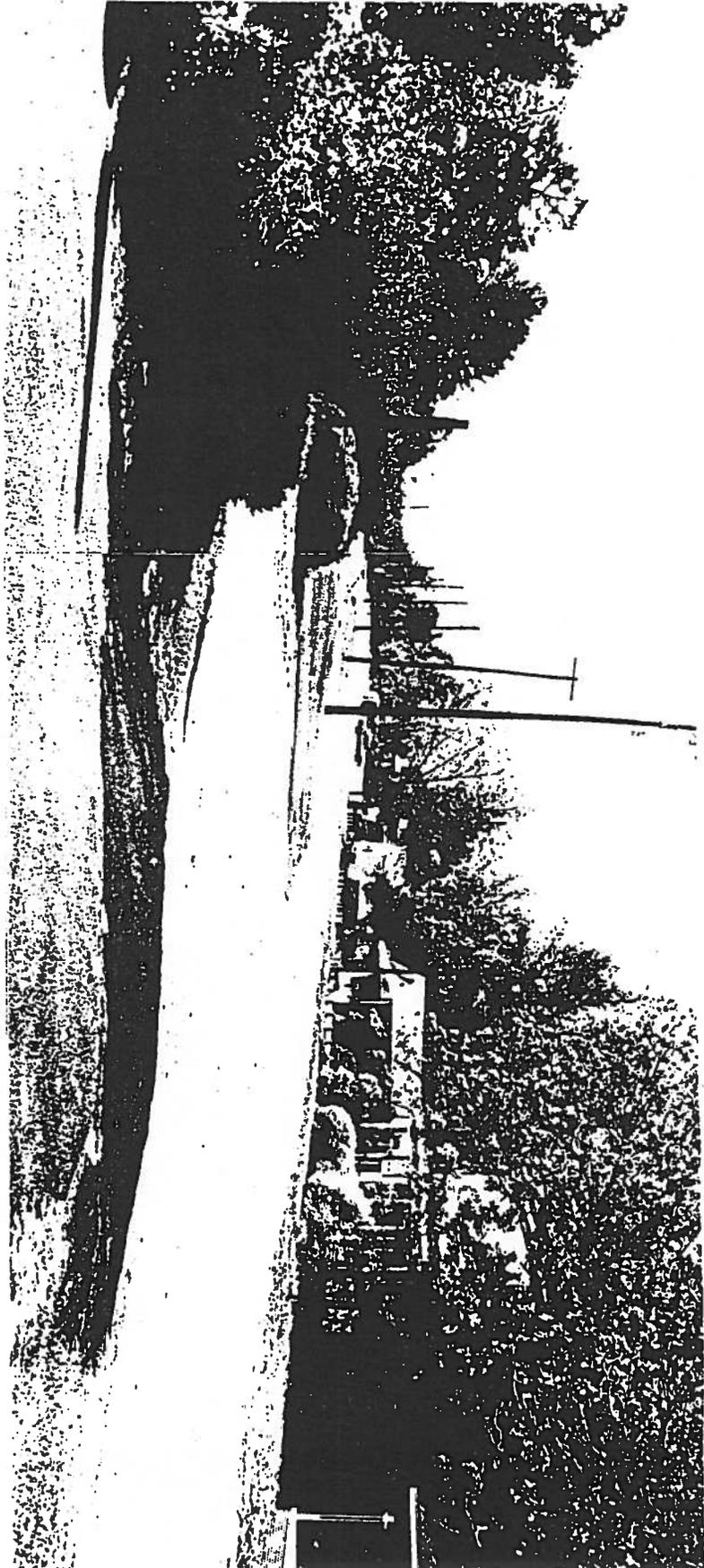


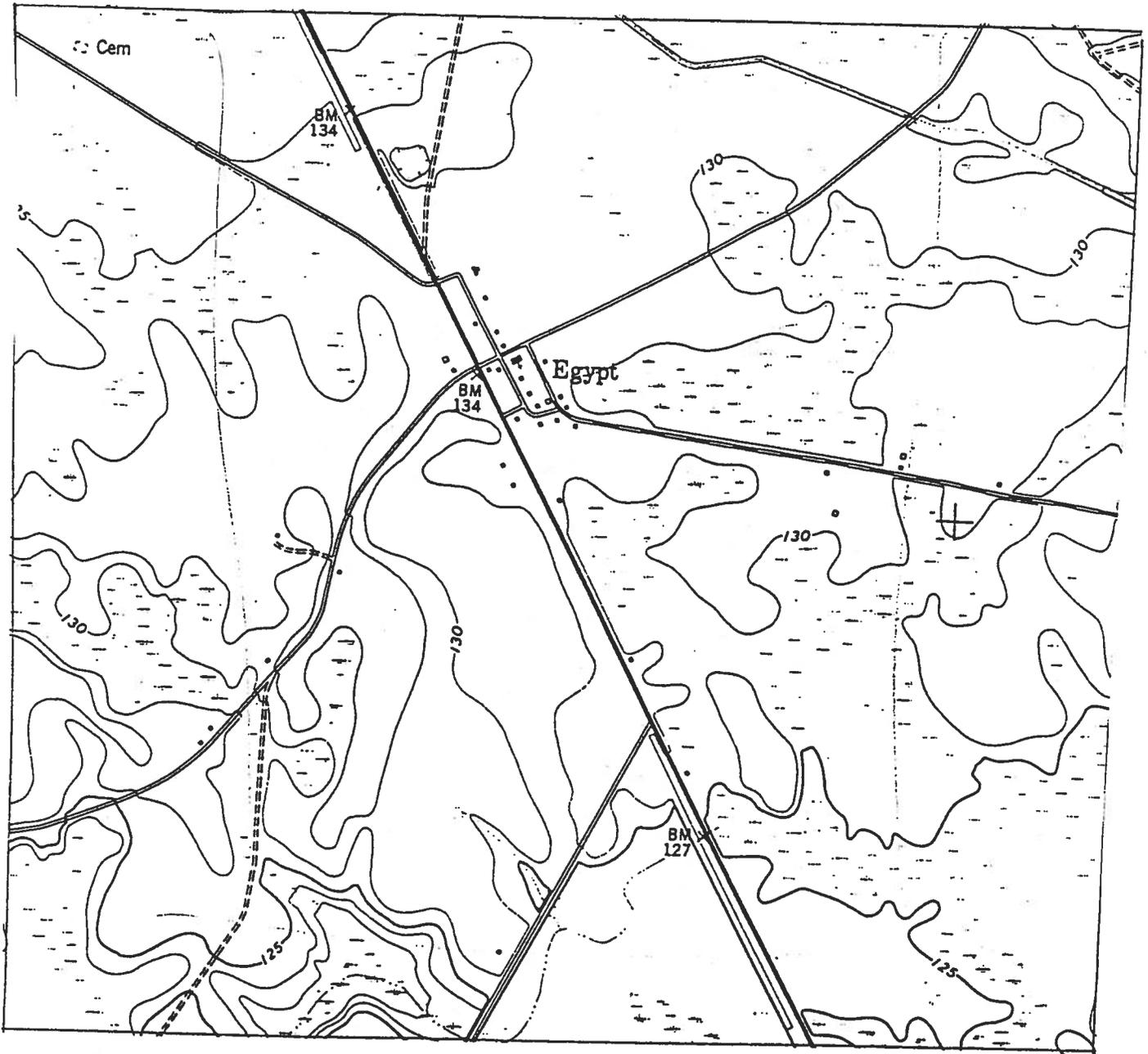




Egypt: where the "commons" houses the local dumpsters.

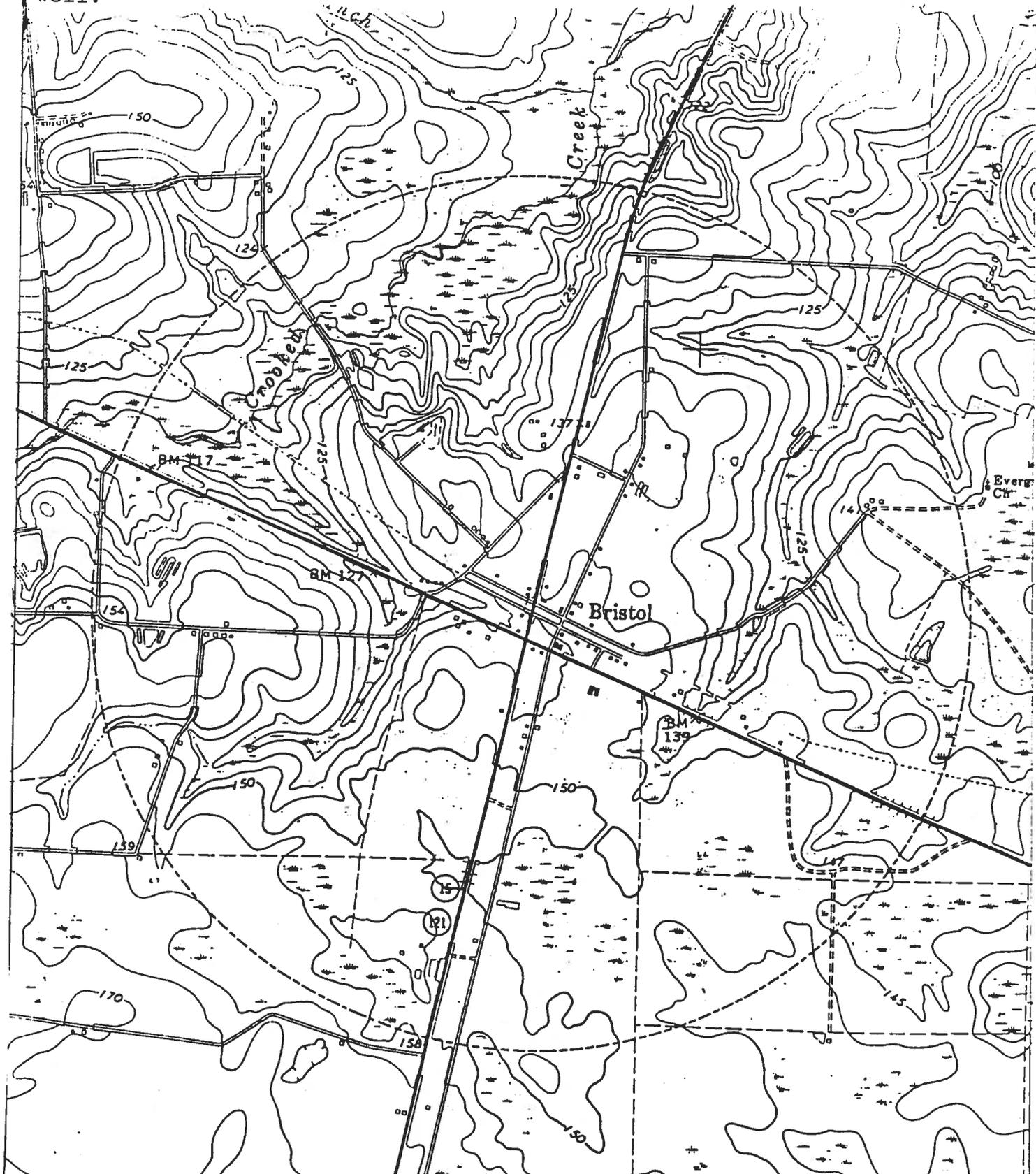
Another view of Egypt.



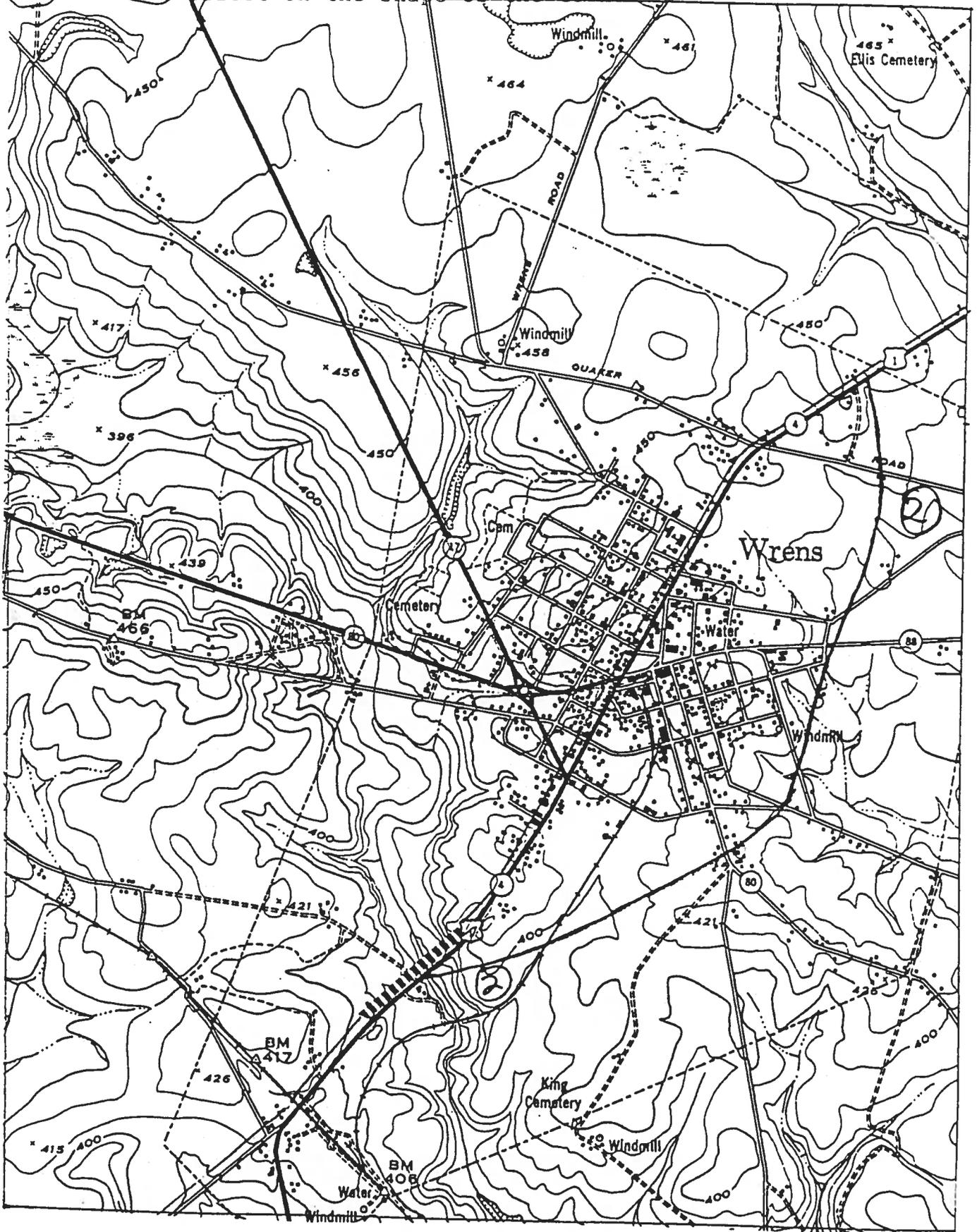


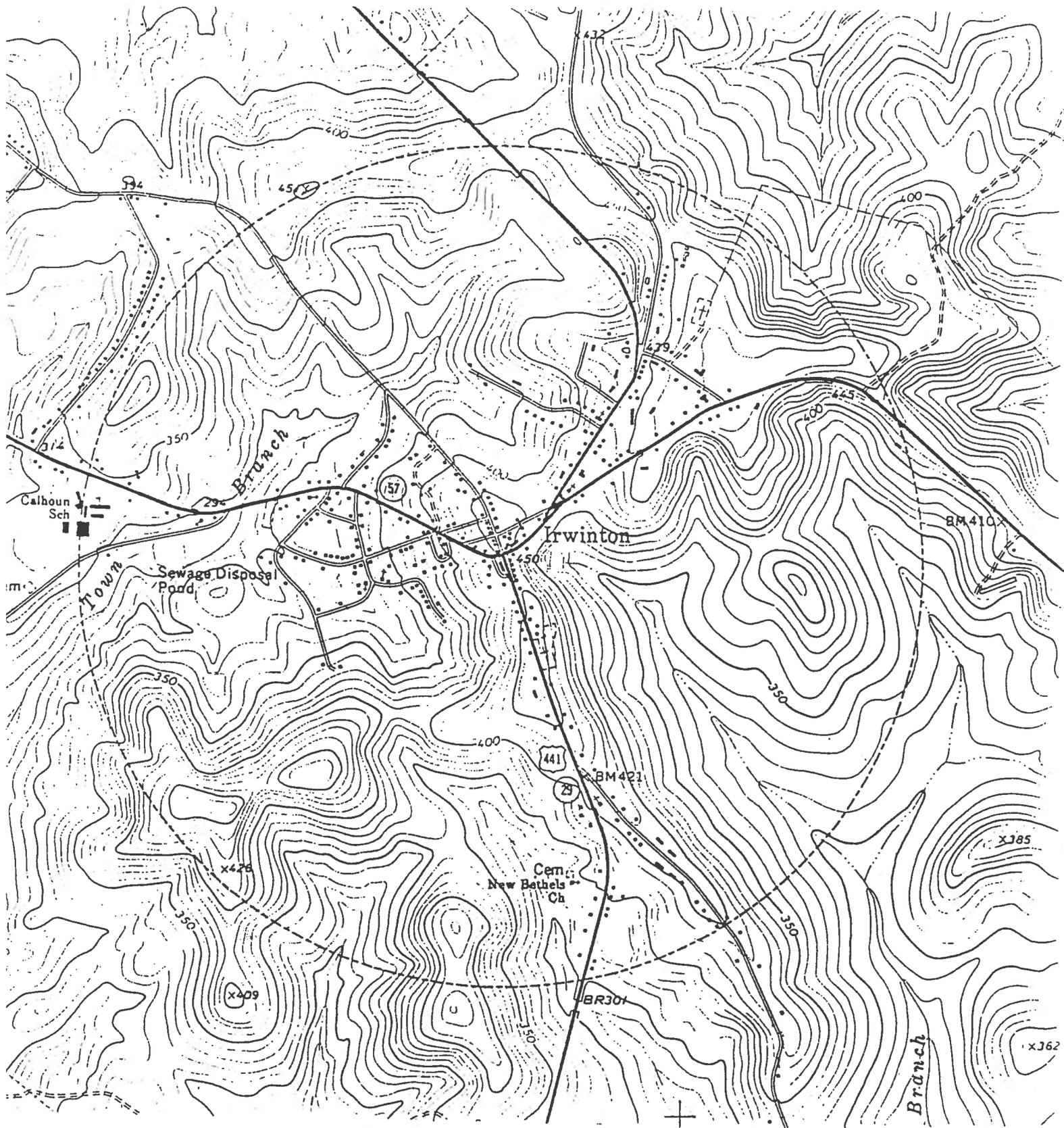
Crossroads communities are by nature very small places. Only those with railroad connections seem to have developed to any size at all. Many, as shown by these illustrations, have no grids developed around the crossroads, some have very small grids, as Egypt.

Bristol: a crossroads community of some size, and incorporated as well.



Wrens: a crossroads community where the road convergences have shaped the town. Railroad connections are so far removed from the city they have had no effect on the shape of the town





Irwinton is basically a crossroads town with a courthouse.

V. Railroad communities

Prior to the advent of the automobile, the railroad was the most important shaper of local communities in Georgia as elsewhere in the nation. Because of the railroad, new towns were formed, older towns grew or were passed by. Some towns, as indicated earlier, picked up their buildings and moved, lock, stock, and barrel, to the site of the railroad from wherever they had been located. The railroad companies laid out many of Georgia's new little towns, and in these towns, the railroad is the dominant visual landmark.

V. A. Crossroads towns with railroads

This form is similar in every respect to the basic crossroads community described above except that this version of community has a railroad present. Frequently, but not always, the railroad post-dates the founding of the community, so the primary orientation of the town is not toward the railroad. Yet, the railroad is an important part of the physical development or patterning of the layout of the town and usually accounts for the development of a set of railroad related structures--depot, warehouses, freight sidings, service buildings, even backtracks and switching tracks. Frequently the railroad lies at a remove from the main center of the town, or cuts across the previously developed grid or other street pattern. This relationship distinguishes it from other railroad town types as much as from the basic crossroads type. The crossroads community with a railroad is generally larger than the crossroads community without a railroad.

Examples: Keysville, Atkinson, Lulaton, Bartow, Hoboken, Riceboro, Statesboro

Keysville is a "picture-perfect" example of the crossroads town with a railroad. There is little information about the place, except that it was incorporated in 1890 (according to Candler and Evans), founded "as a farmer's post office" in 1886 (according to Shole's). Candler and Evans indicate that the community is located on the Augusta and Savannah Railroad; Shole's indicates no such connection but also has no official "report" on the town. Keysville was a shipping point for its section of the County; in 1890 it had a bank, an express office, post office, and telegraph, and a population of 101. Keysville was probably already a settlement at a creek crossing; the community bears the distinct imprint of a pattern of old roads converging at this point. The community is not oriented to, at, or along the railroad.

Atkinson is both older and smaller than Keysville. Again, little is known about it, but it appears in the 1879 Sherwood gazetteer as a community "situated in a sparsely inhabited country 15 miles south of Waynesville, without mail facilities." By 1905, after the railroad, Candler and Evans can describe it as a village on the railroad, with a bank, post office, business houses, schools, and churches, with a population of 110. The map clearly shows the old crossroads community on high ground east of the Saltilla River, with the railroad lying to the north with very little development attached to it. Atkinson is so small there are no grid patterns to disturb.

Lulaton is quite another example. Several structures lie along the railroad tracks, facing it, but the road pattern is not oriented to the railroad at all. It appears instead that a railroad goes through the middle of town, at the heart of a crossroads, but the town, such as it is, is primarily located along the roads at the central point. Lulaton is quite small, and could reasonably be classed as a cross-rail community.

Bartow in Jefferson County is yet another example. Bartow appears as a post office (Spear's Turn Out) in George White's 1855 Historical Collections of Georgia. The community is situated on high land next to a creek. The railroad passes on lower ground, nearer the creek, and is lined with industrial and railroad-associated structures.

Hoboken is somewhat like Lulaton. It was not incorporated until 1920, but appears in earlier literature as a small town. Sherwood describes it as having a population of 100, two Baptist churches, two schools, steam saw mill and turpentine distilleries, with shipments of lumber and naval stores. The main part of town lies south of the railroad tracks and east of the intersection of two highways. Hoboken might be classified with the cross-rail communities as reasonably as here; it was probably developed simultaneously with the railroad. However, the configuration matches more nearly the crossroads with railroad pattern.

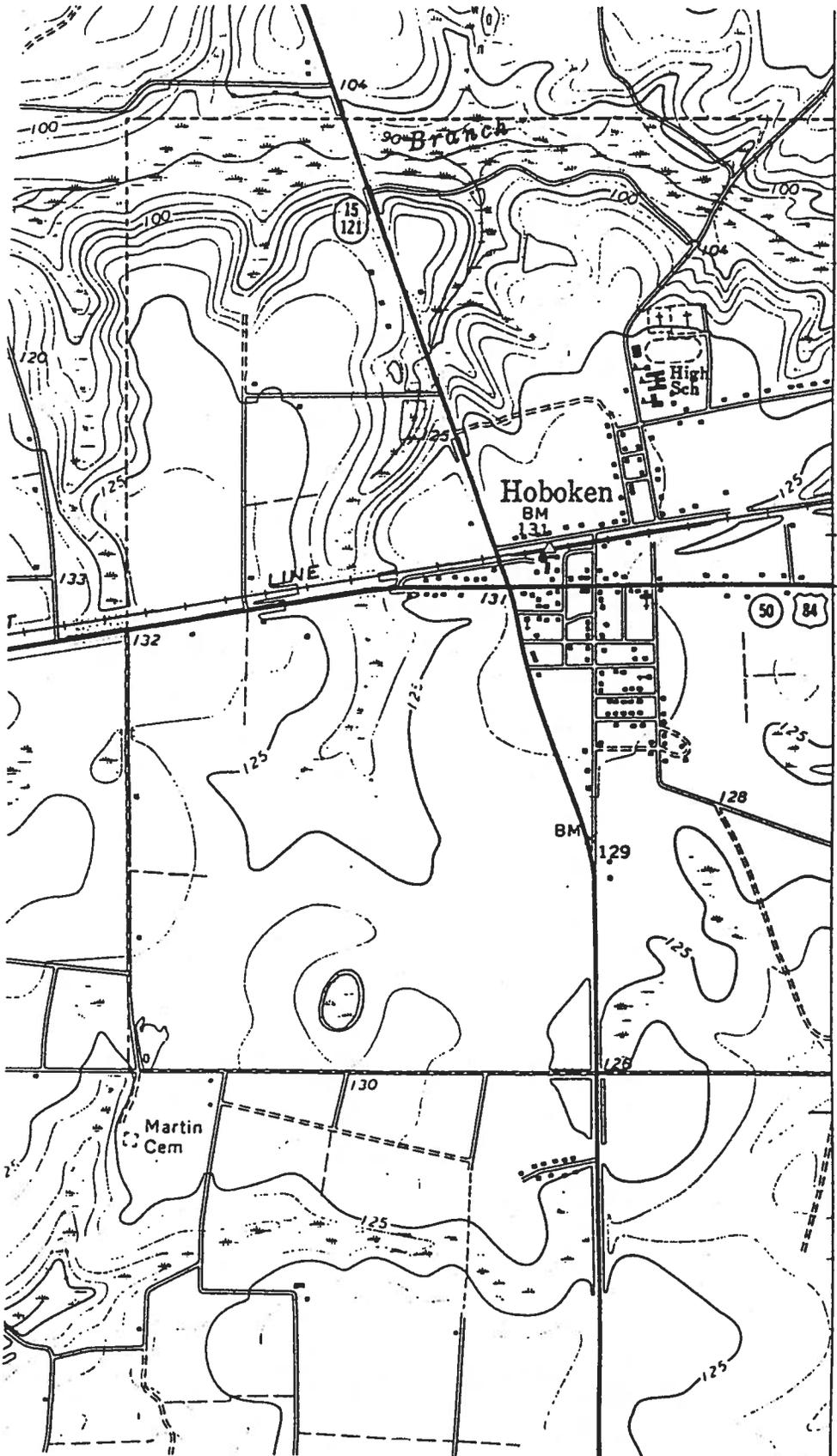
Riceboro offers a slightly different example of this form. It is basically a linearly developed community in which almost all of the development lies along the road and very little along the rail line. The railroad came very late in its existence. Riceboro was known in the mid-nineteenth century as a small community of a handful of families (population about 40, according to Sherwood). It contained a Baptist church, common school, steam grist mill and cotton gin. Rice and cotton were the chief exports. It lay a long a stage route which connected it to Darien and McIntosh. It received mail on horseback. According to George White, it was a shipping port, but no evidence of this can be seen today. Riceboro undoubtedly revived in the twentieth century with the appearance of the automobile, which accounts for

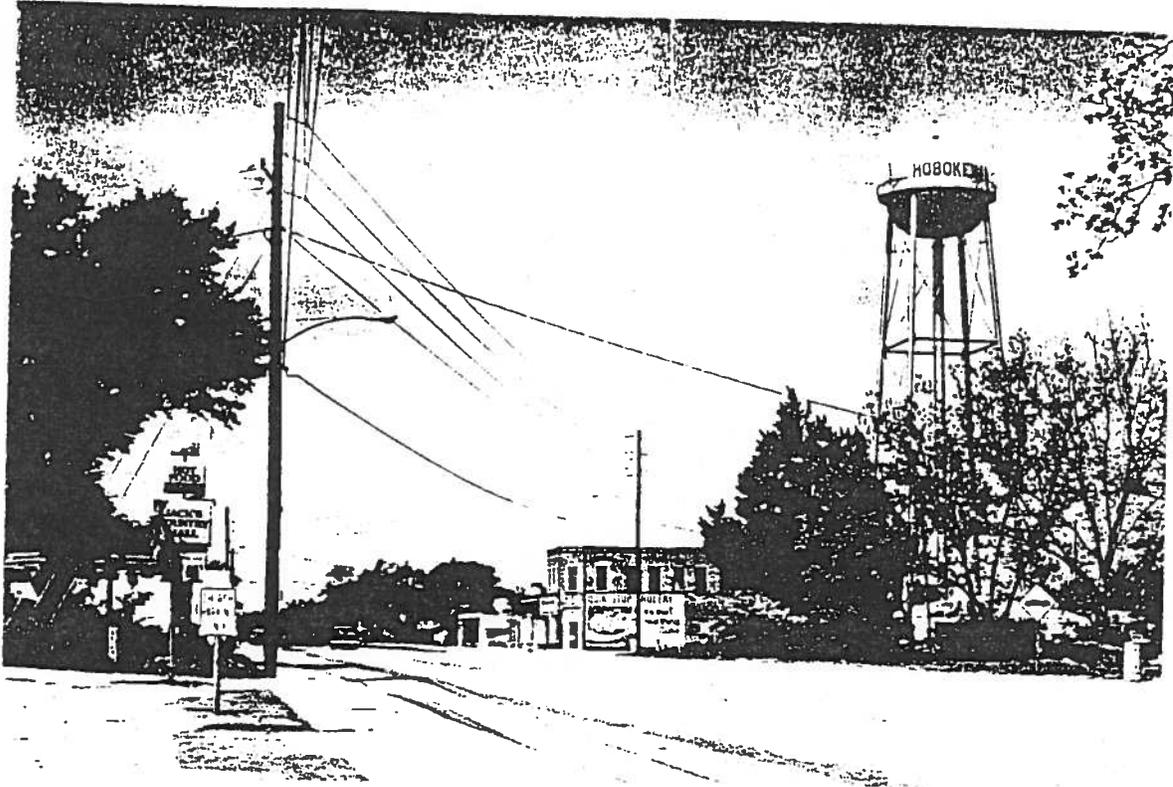
the development attached to the road today, and the linearity of the community. The history of the place, however, accounts for its non-orientation to the railroad even before the railroad was superseded by the automobile.

Statesboro is included in this category by way of demonstrating a common phenomenon with courthouse towns. In this instance, the town was planned around the courthouse square and the junction of two primary roads (West Main, South Main). The railroad lines circumvent the grid pattern on the west side of town but break the regularity of the grid pattern on the east side of town, clear evidence that the railroads came after the town was founded. Statesboro was, in fact, made the county seat of Bulloch County (formed from Effingham in 1796) in 1800. George White described it as a "small place, having a courthouse, jail, two stores, etc., . . . 15 [miles] from the Central Railroad." The town did not develop much until the end of the nineteenth century when the railroads and turpentine interests expanded.²⁸

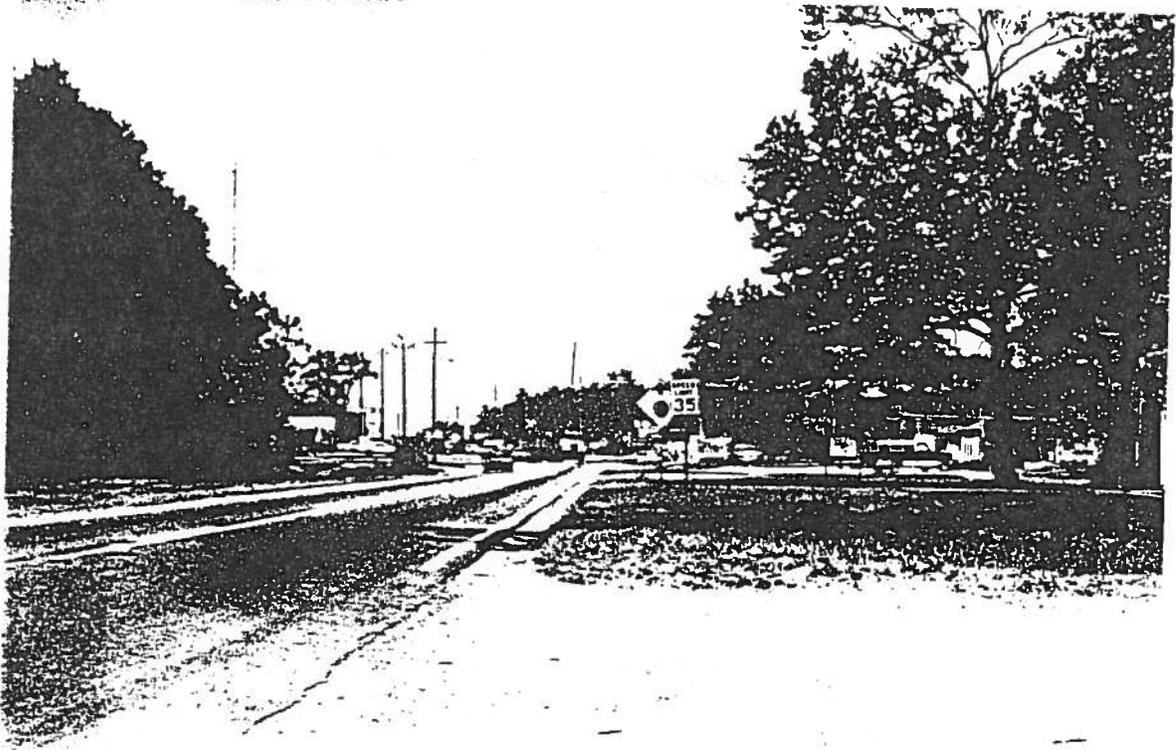
²⁸Candler and Evans, Vol. III, p 363.

Hoboken: spread out sparsely, Hoboken's primary development lies at the intersection of the roads, though there is secondary development in a strip along the railroad track.



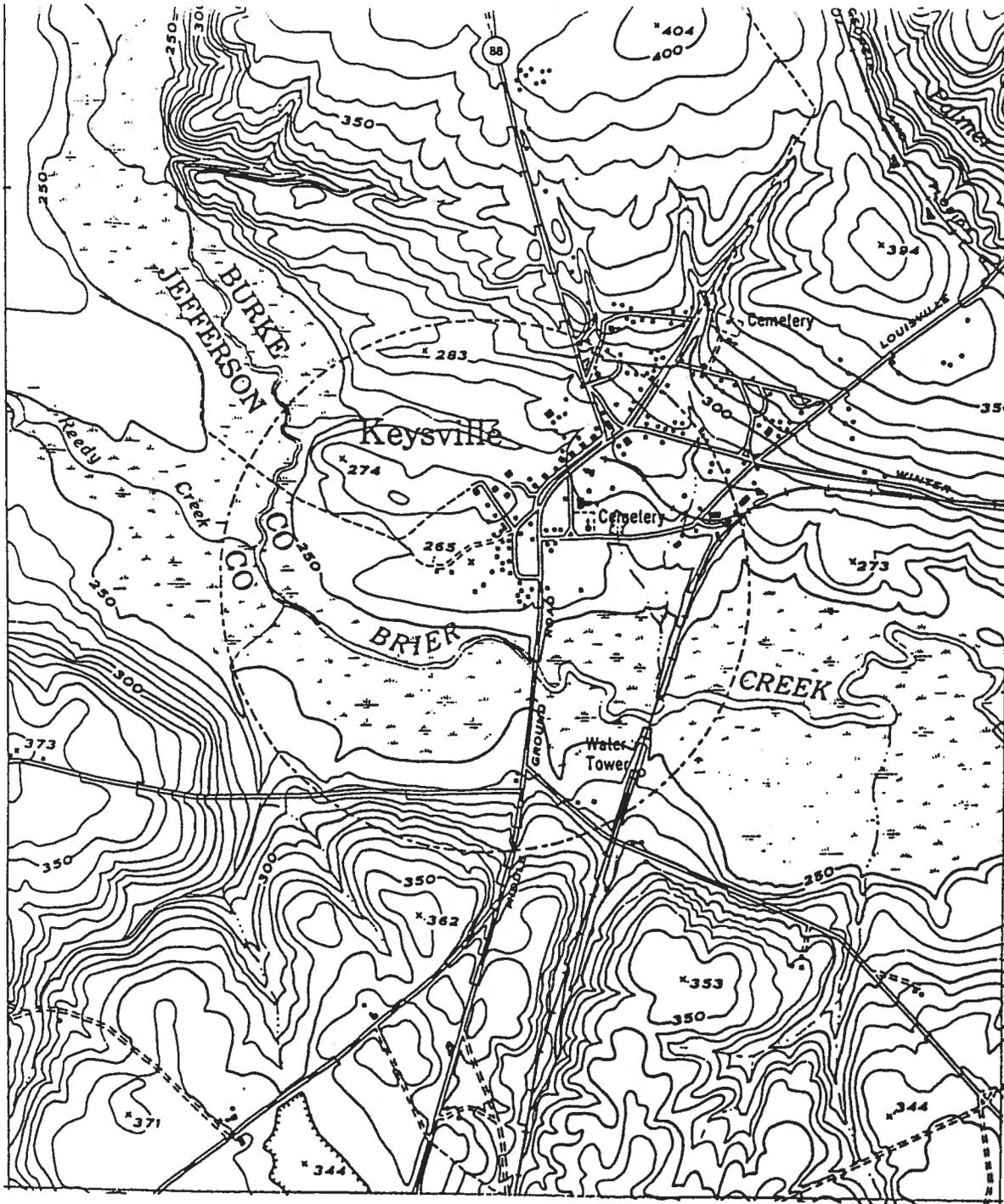


A view of Hoboken's old and primary commercial "center" at the corssroads and below, a view of its sparseness.

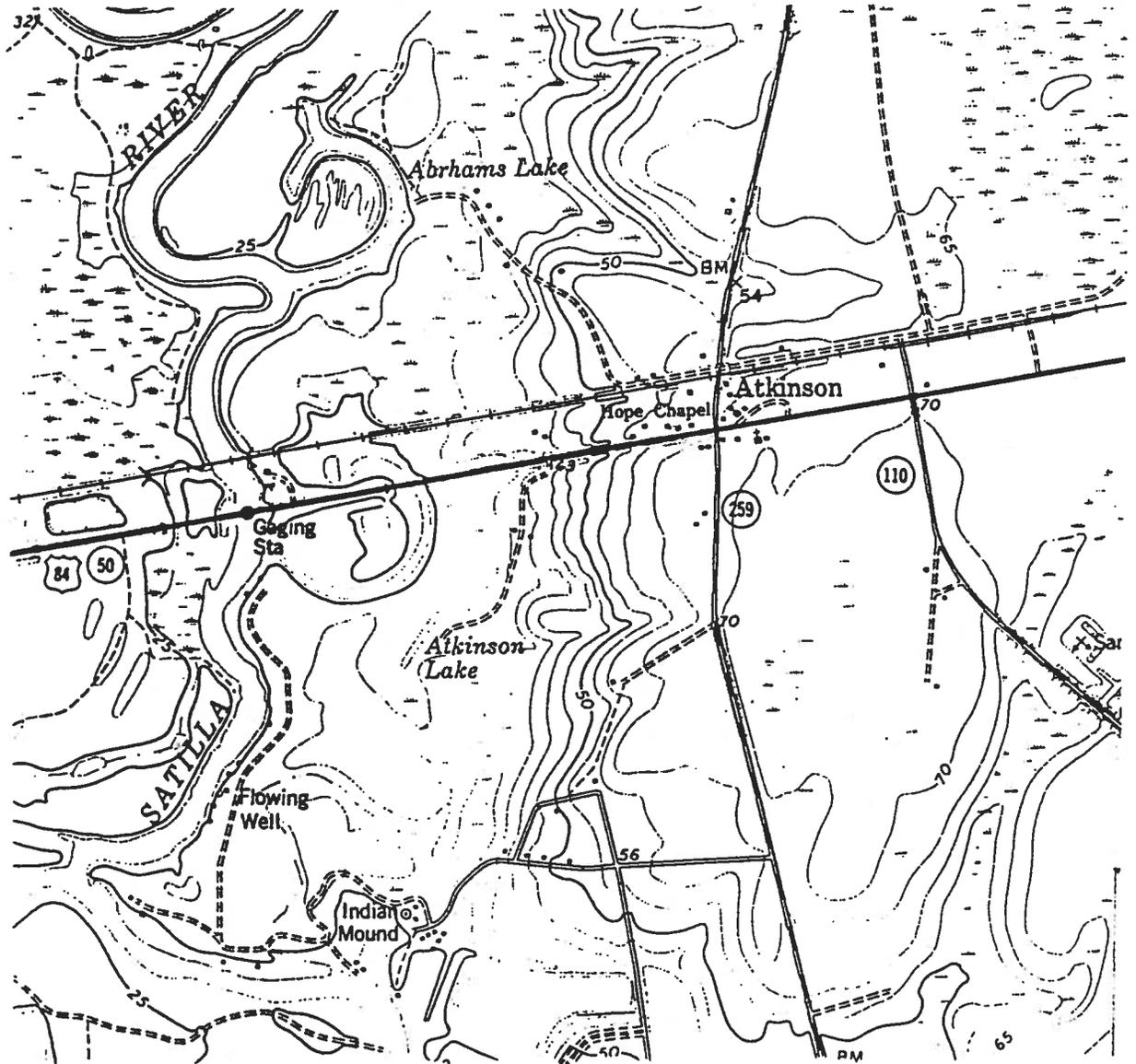


Two views along the same road: looking back to "central" Hoboken, looking toward the railroad tracks. Note the newer development at the tracks.

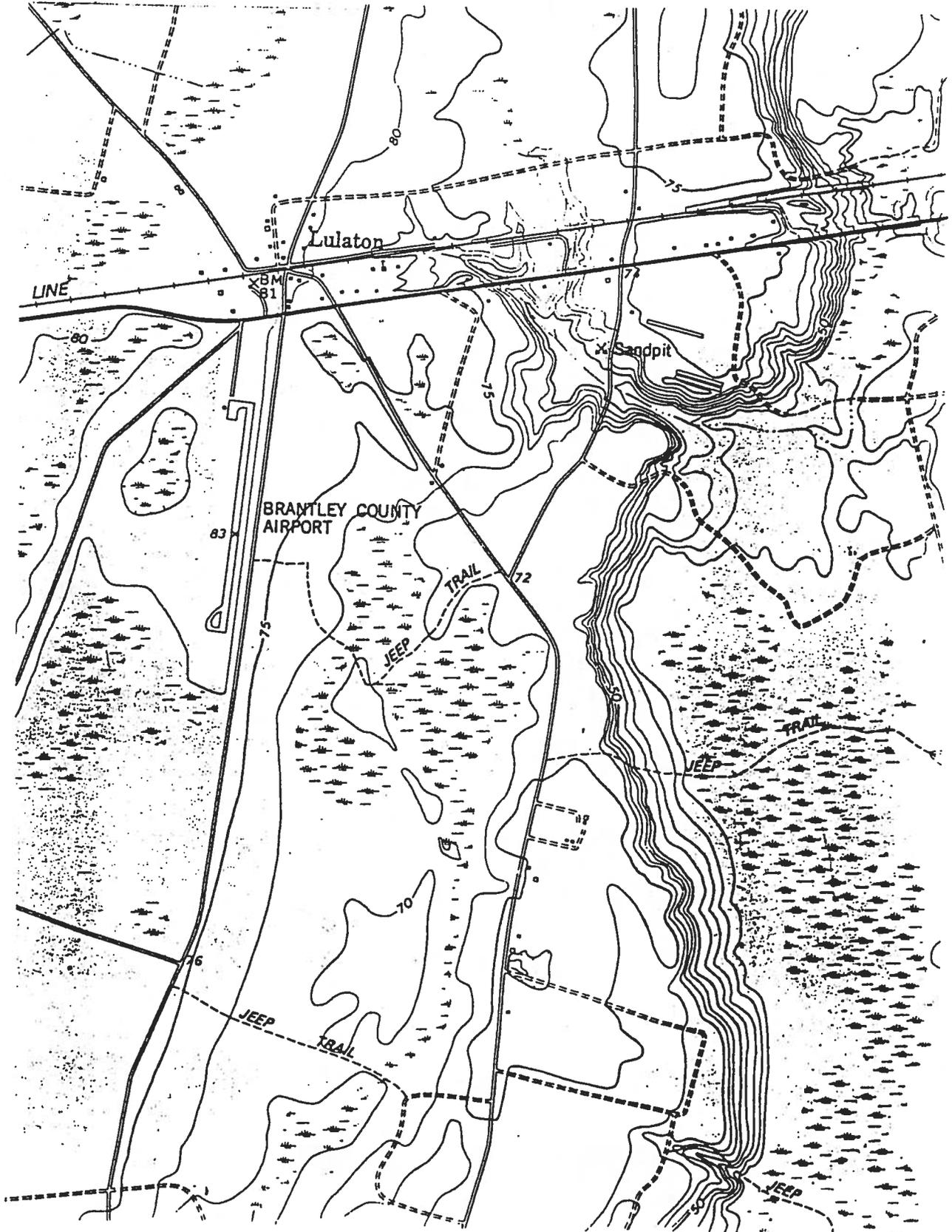
A crossroads town in which the railroad circles across the edge of the city limits.



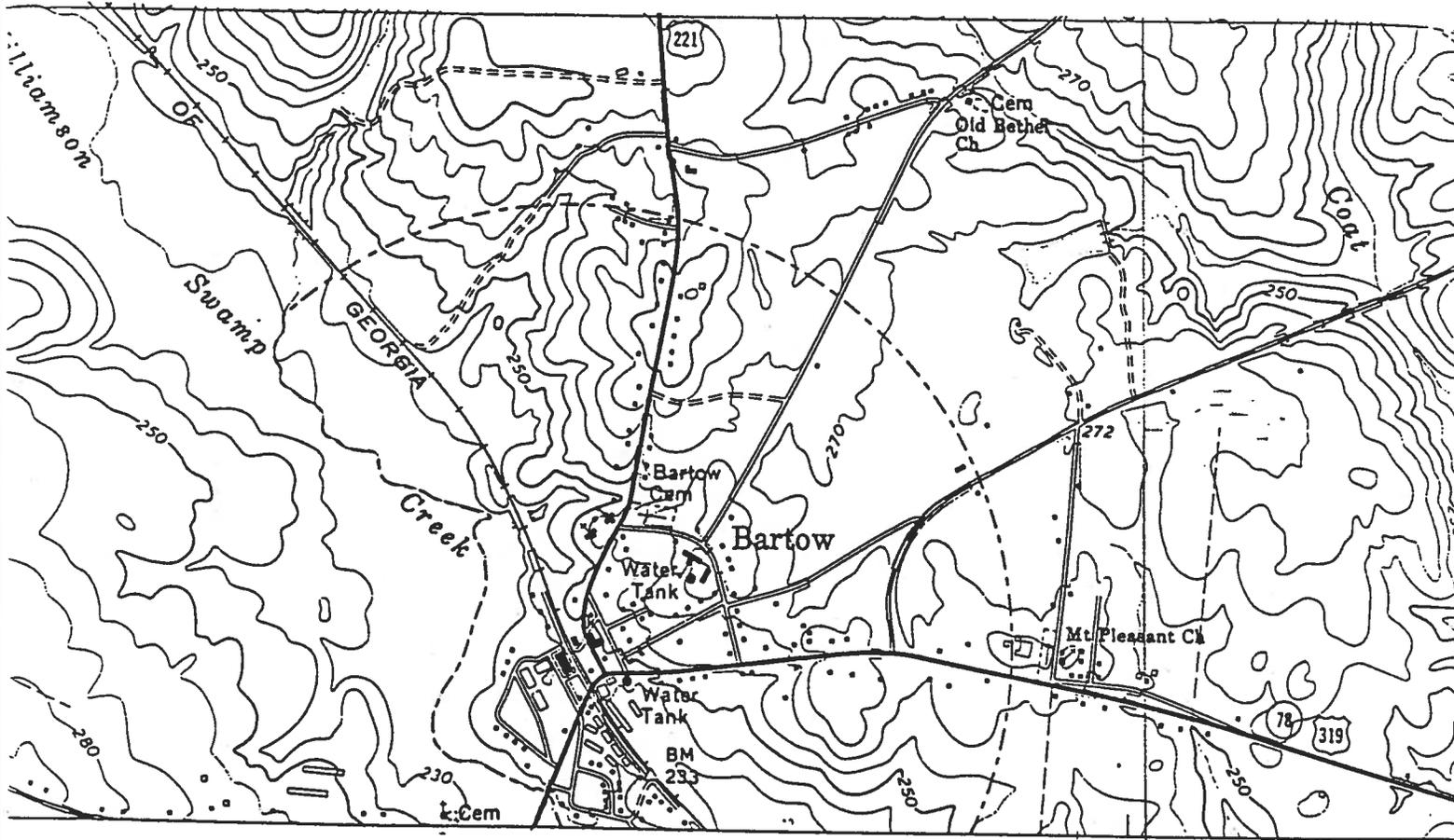
The railroad parallels one of the roads in this example, but the town is concentrated along the roads rather than along the tracks.

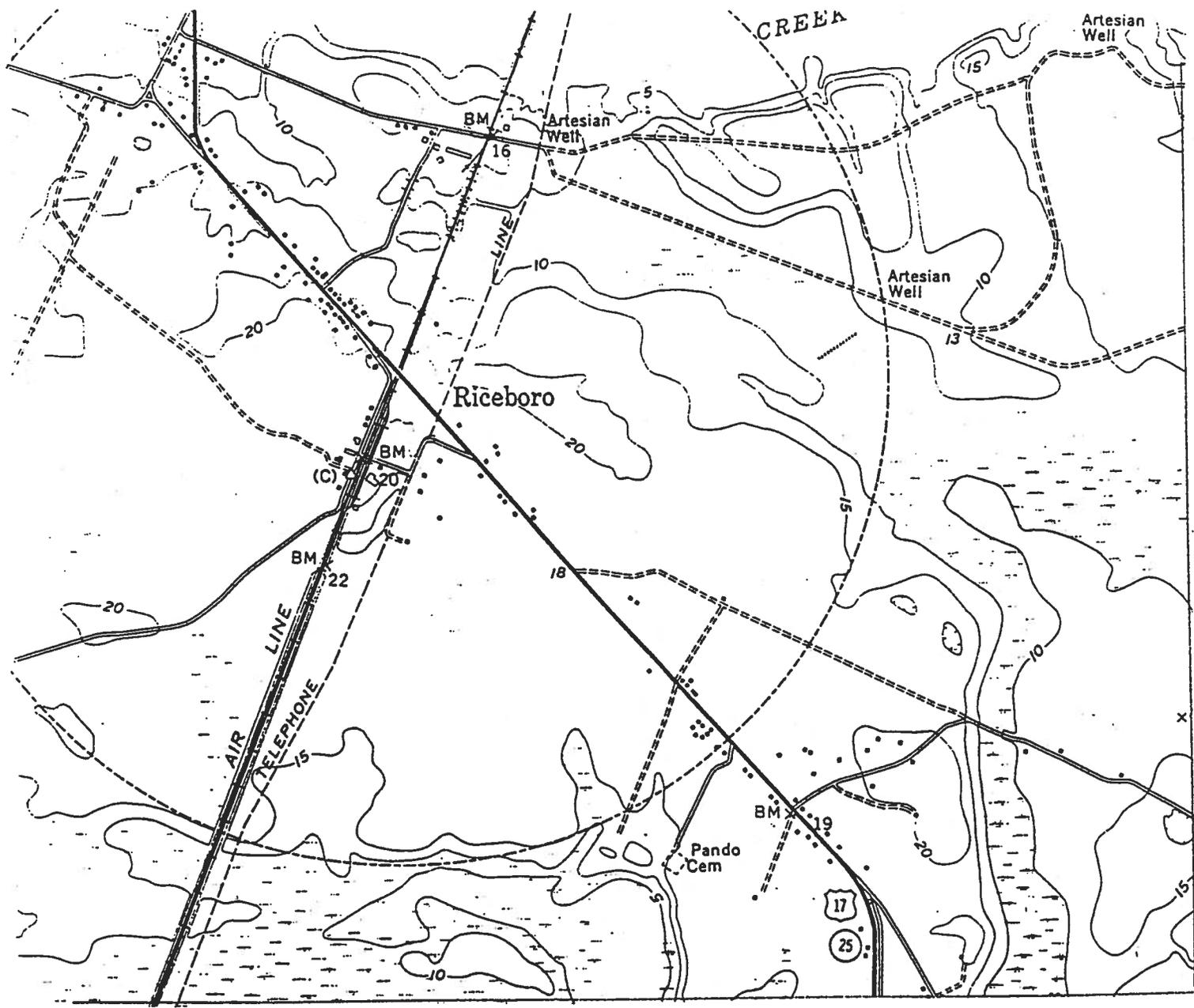


Crossroads town with the railroad passing right through the middle of the road convergences



The intersection of the railroad with one of the crossroads offers a second node for development--industrial rather than commercial and/or residential.





Riceboro is really a roadside community with a railroad; the railroad is not the focus of the town, nor is the intersection of roads at the upper left.

A well-developed crossroads town, which is a courthouse town with a railroad cutting along the original edge of the town.



V. B. Cross-rail town

This example differs from the crossroads type described above because it was created with the railroad already intact or created simultaneously with the railroad. As a result the town relates more intricately to the railroad line than the crossroads town to which a railroad line has been added. The cross-rail town, planned or incorporated around the railroad tracks, has at its heart a junction of roads and railroad tracks. The main road will cross the railroad tracks perpendicularly, and the remaining street grids will be developed out from this intersection of road and rail. Commercial development will occur at the railroad junction and also along the main road or roads crossing the tracks.

The cross-rail town is very common in Georgia. Sometimes there is more than one main route going through the town and more than one main crossing, but the key is that the railroad itself will be an integral part of the layout of the town instead of an accessory to it, an addition, or an intrusion upon it. The roads will be paramount in the rationalization of the street plan; the railroad tracks secondary. And the relationship between the road(s) and the railroad tracks will be based upon right angles.

Examples: Rocky Ford, Oliver, Scarboro, Nahunta, McIntyre Blackshear

Rocky Ford may provide the clearest example of the cross-rail community type. The community is laid out between two intersections, one between two highways and one between the highway and the railroad. The focal point of the community lies at the latter intersection, even though most of the development lies along the primary highway. There is one small grid which lies perpendicular to the railroad, parallel to the primary highway through town. Rocky Ford was known as Station 6.5 on the Central Railroad, and in 1879 had "perhaps 35 inhabitants."²⁹ In a few years it had grown; by 1886 it boasted a Baptist church, common schools, telegraph and express office, and two steam saw mills. The railroad town shipped cotton and lumber and had a population of 425.³⁰ The effect of railroad development is reflected in these two quotations.

²⁹Sherwood, p. 652.

³⁰Sholes, p. 703.

Oliver is another good example. Situated on the same railroad line as Rocky Ford, it was described by Candler and Evans as "one of the important towns of Screven County."³¹

Scarboro shows the remains of a cross-rail community very clearly. It also illustrates how much territory can belong to a community which is not heavily populated or densely developed. Scarboro is in the same county as Rocky Ford and Oliver and on the same railroad line. While it was a thriving community at one time, it is barely a ghost town today, but its cross-rail focus still features a church and two store buildings as well as several large houses.

Both Nahunta and McIntyre appear, from the maps, to be "borderline" railroad strip communities because of their road patterns. In each there is a road, or a portion of one, which parallels the railroad, but because in each case the primary commercial development lies along the road, not the railroad, they fall into the cross-rail category. Nahunta actually has two railroads passing through it, but it is only oriented to one of them. The Birmingham and Western was the first of the two lines through the community. In 1886 Nahunta was described as follows:

Has 150 inhabitants, Baptist church, common schools, a steam saw mill, several manufactories of naval stores, offices of Southern Express and Western Union Telegraph. Naval stores, lumber, rice, and syrup are the exports. Mail daily.

With all this Nahunta was still 36 miles from the nearest bank, though money could be gotten at both the express and the telegraph offices.

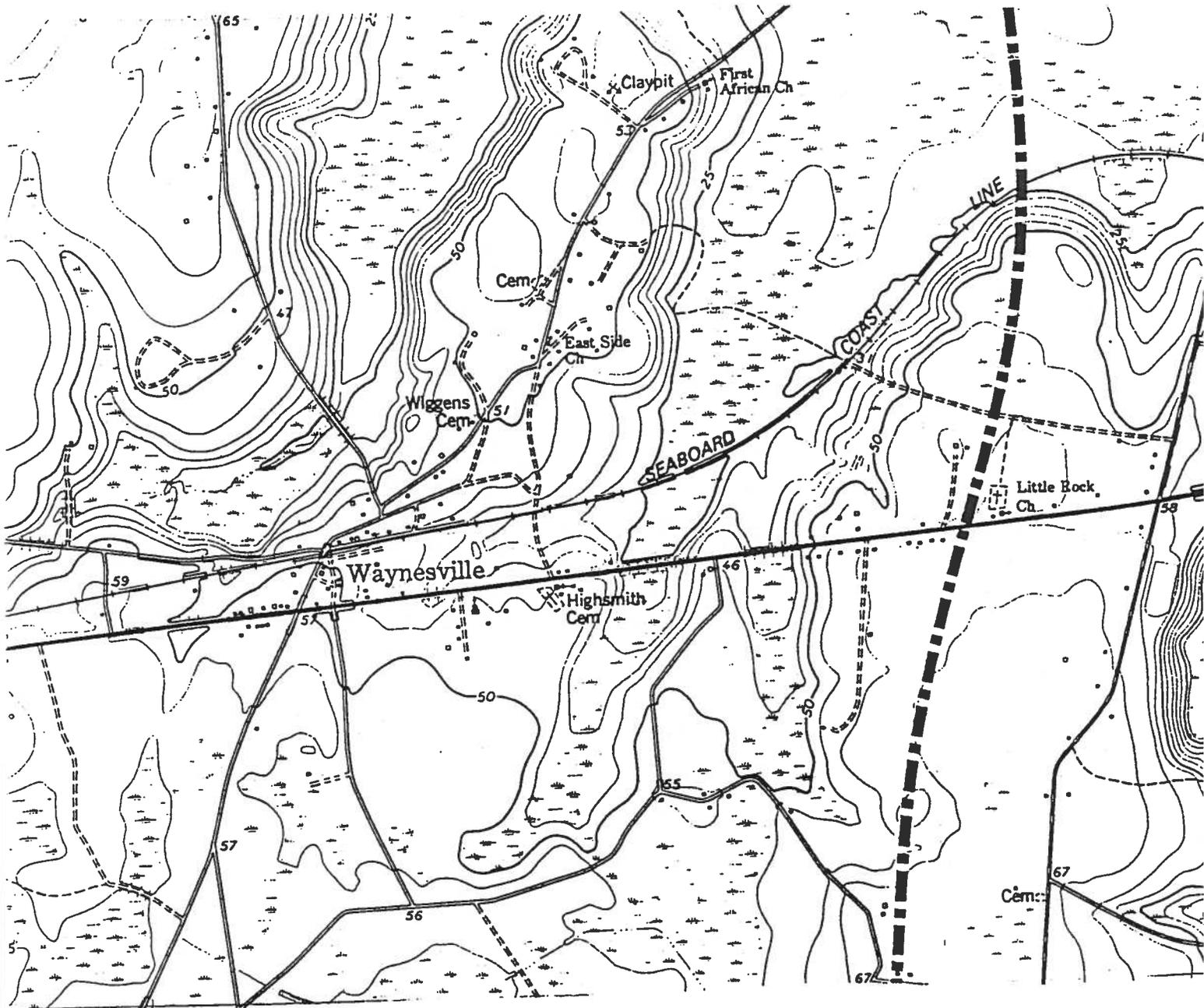
There is little information about McIntyre except that it is one of the towns built along the Central of Georgia rail line in Wilkinson County in the late nineteenth century. In 1879 Sherwood indicated it was a hamlet without a post office, Candler and Evans in 1905 reported it to be a "town" with bank, post office (with RFD routes), express and telegraph, and mercantile establishments, shipping, and a population of 101 people.

Blackshear is an excellent example of a well-developed cross-rail town, where the main road crosses the tracks at a 90 degree angle and the focal point of the town lies at the intersection of the main street with the railroad tracks. Most of the development lies along the road, not the railroad, contrary to the

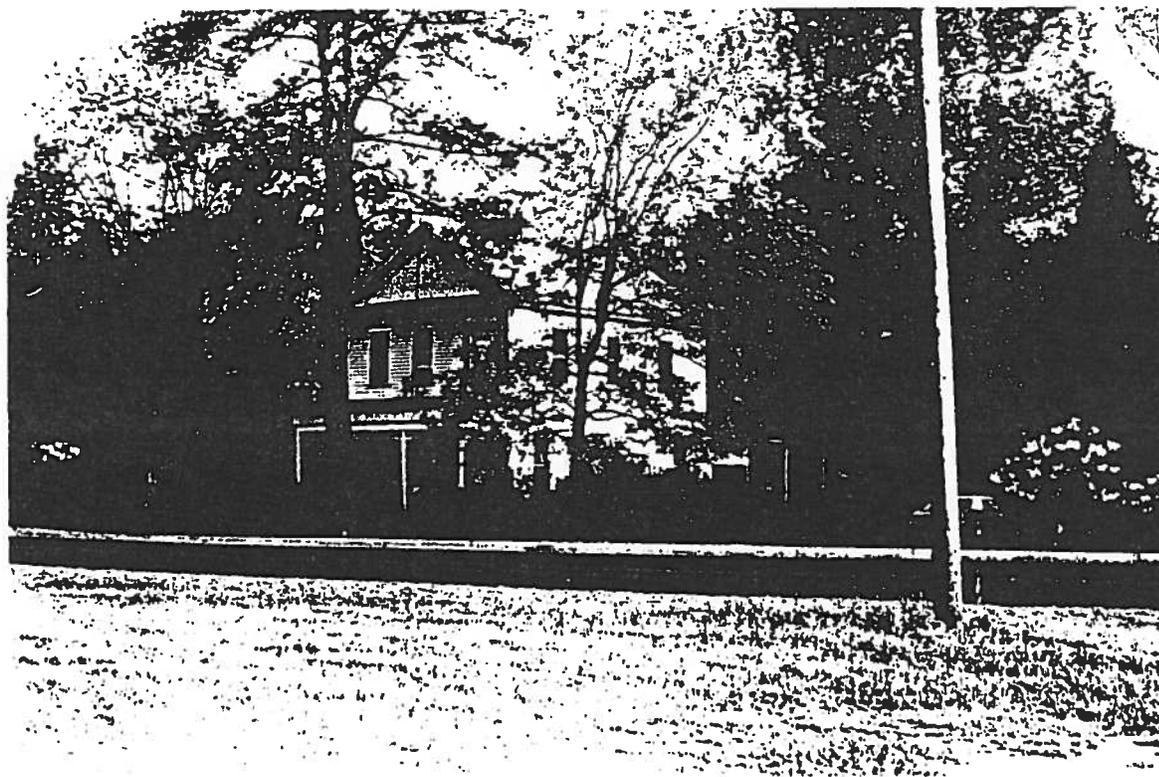
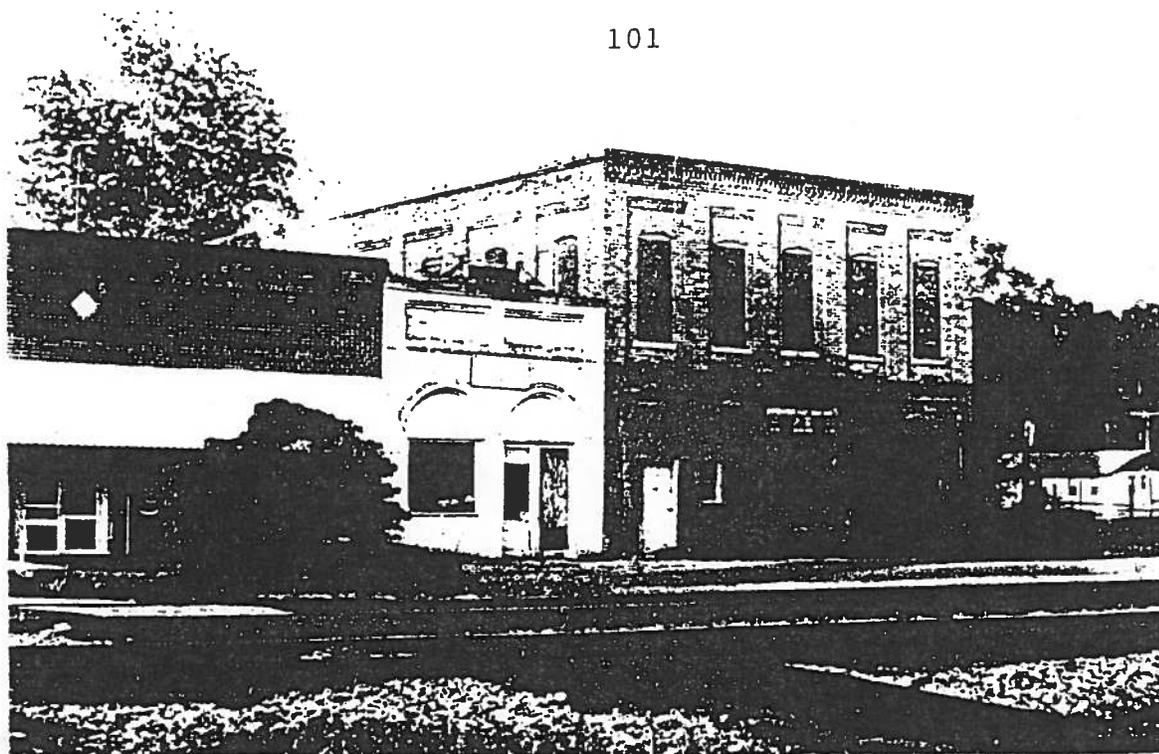
³¹Vol. IV, under "Oliver."

pattern of the railroad strip, where central commercial development parallels the railroad. Blackshear would also have to be described under the courthouse town categories as it is the county seat for Pierce County. Its development was contemporaneous with the railroads. Incorporated in 1859, the town offered a shipping point for burgeoning pine forest interests in this area of the state. At the turn of the twentieth century Blackshear had a small population of 876 people, but served a district of nearly 3000 persons.³²

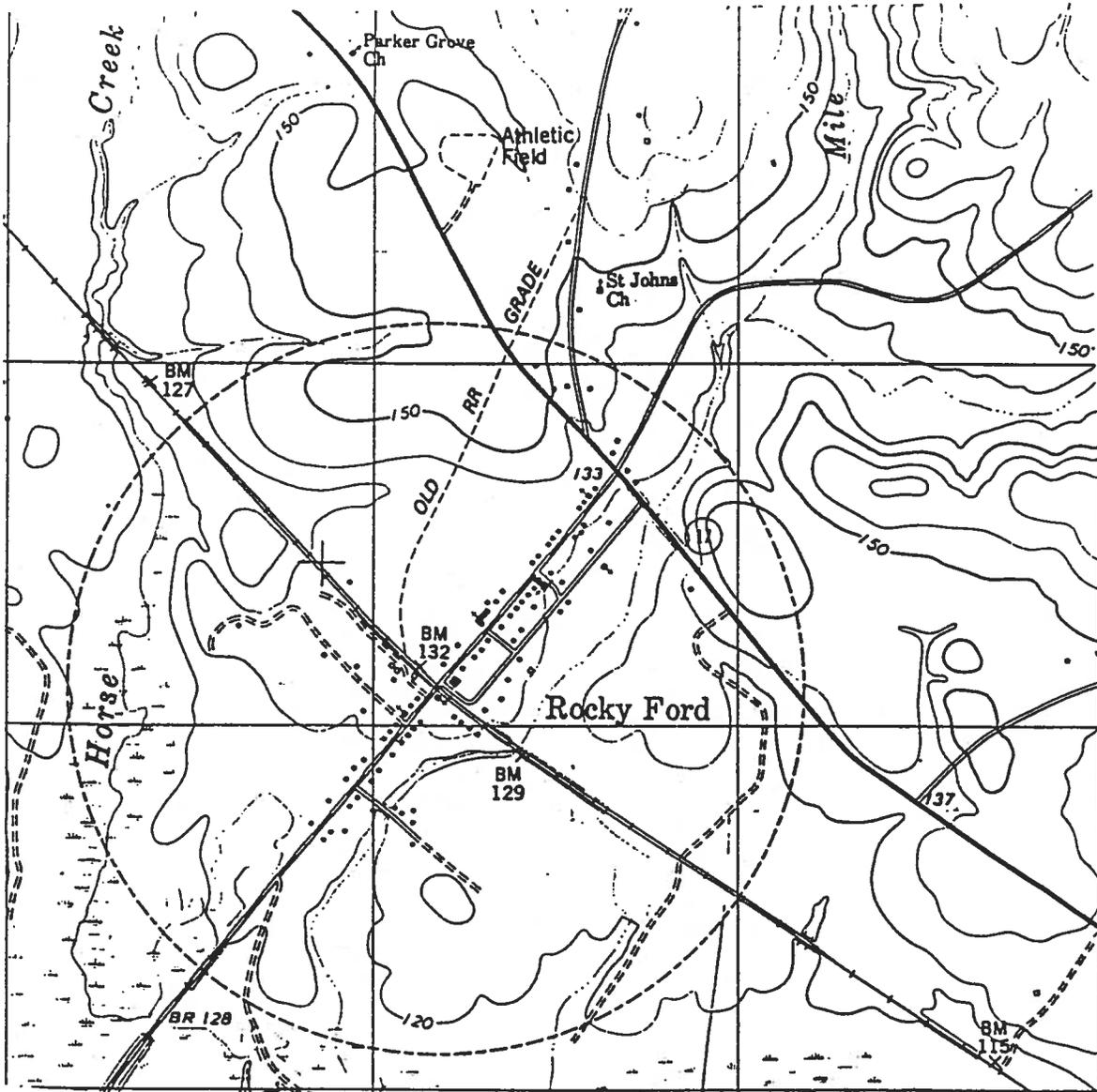
³²Candler and Evans, Vol. I., p. 189.



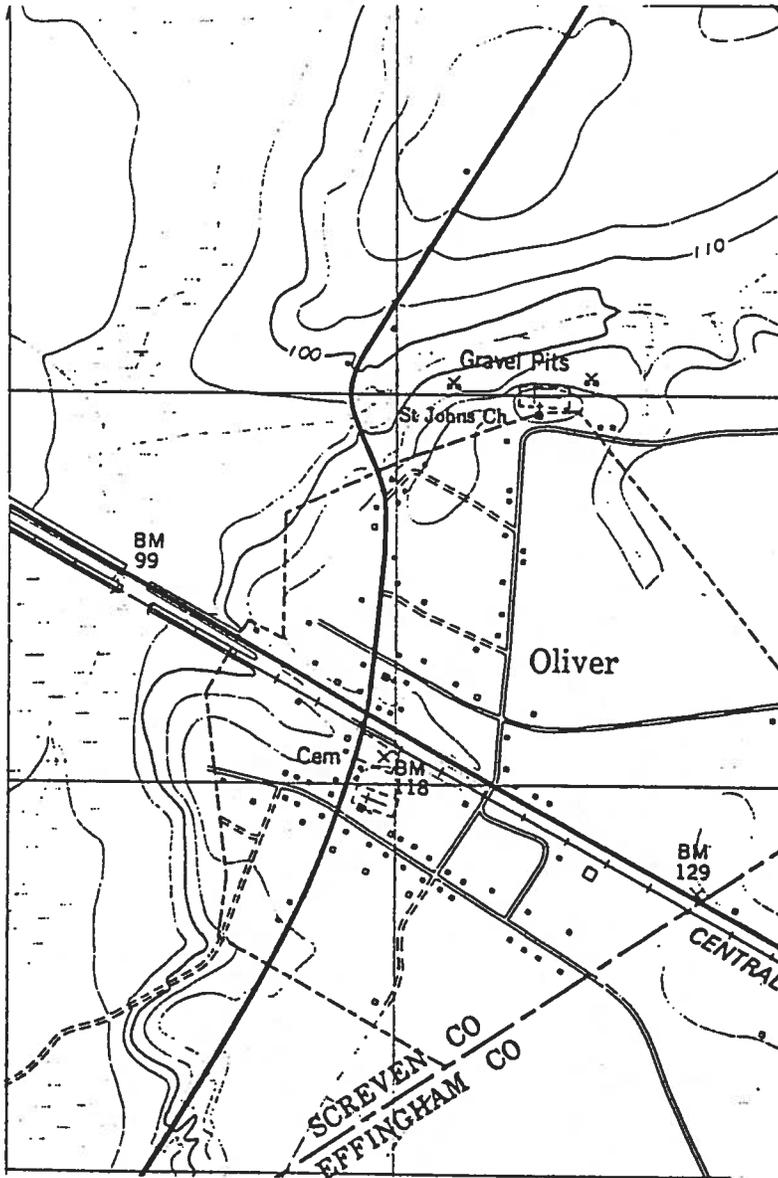
A crossroads town with a railroad in which the road crossing the railroad tracks now serves to connect the primary development along the highway and the secondary development along the railroad.



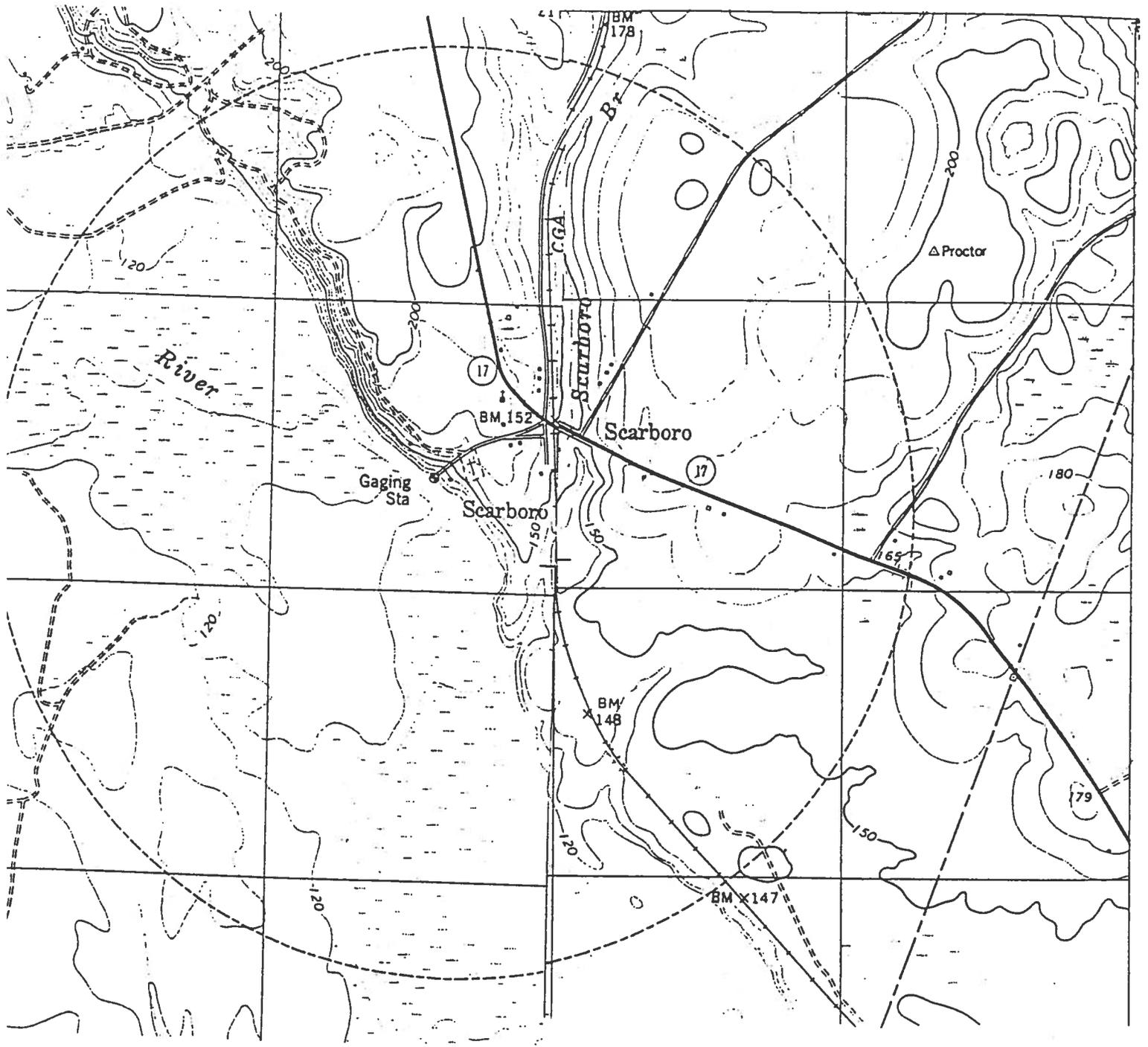
Rocky Ford: a cross-rail town showing the corner of buildings which front on the road and the railroad, and a house facing the railroad tracks (common in all forms of railroad towns).



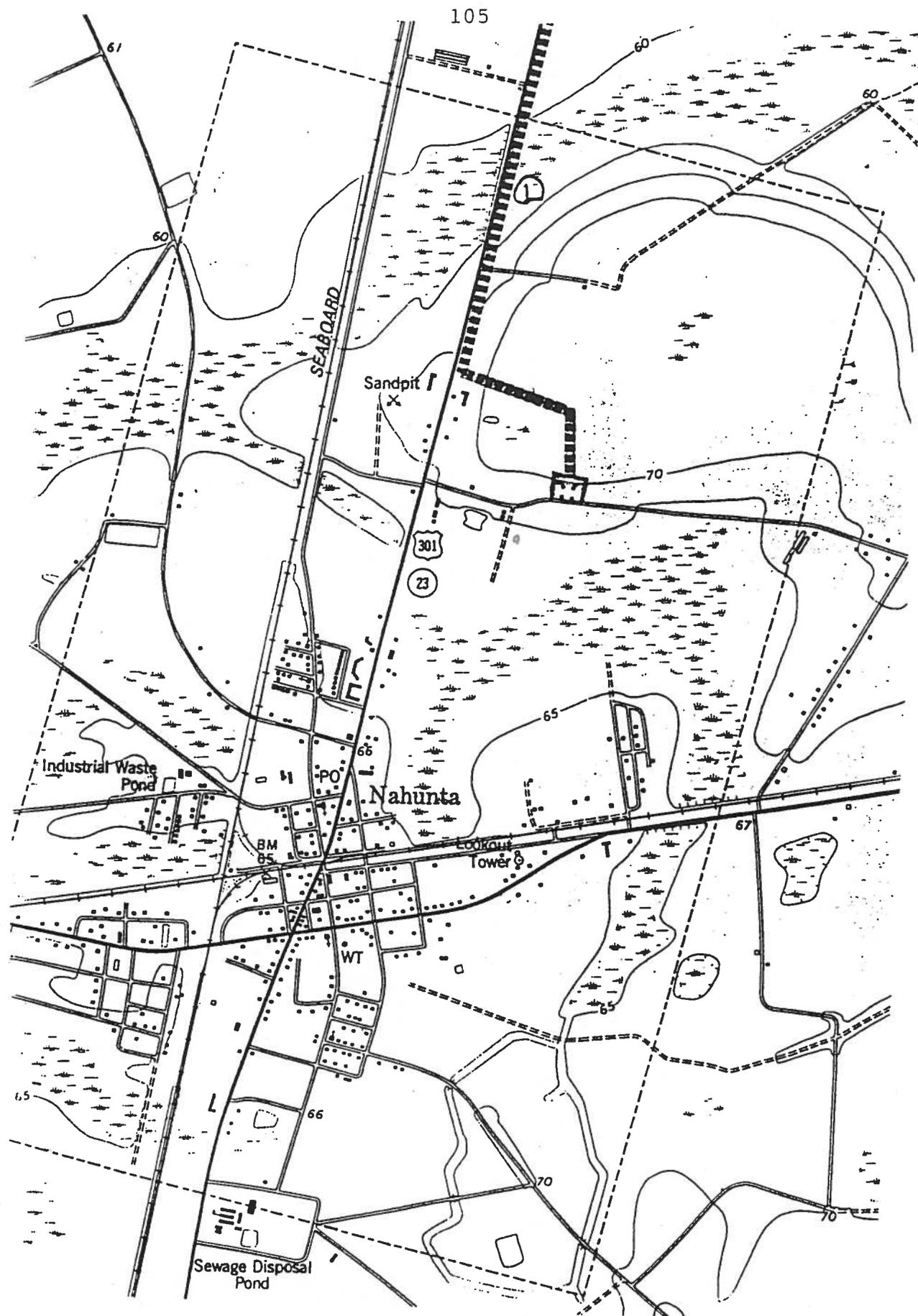
What grid there is in Rocky Ford comes off the roadway which crosses the tracks. The commercial building shown in the forgoing picture is the large square block shown here at the intersection of the road and the rail. Rocky Ford is an excellent example of the cross-rail type

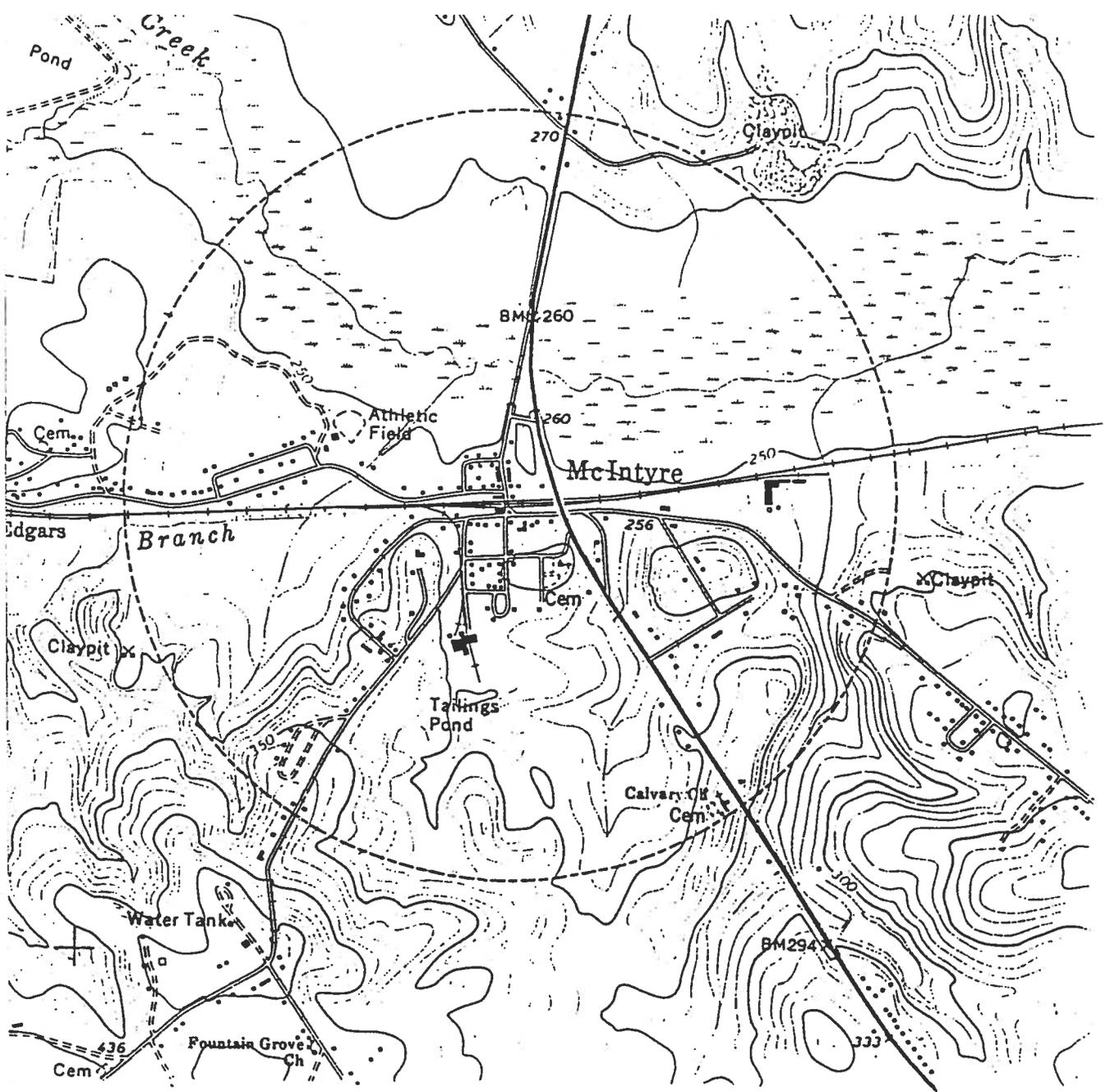


Oliver: a small community in which two of the three main roads in town cross the railroad tracks; the direction of development crosses the tracks as well.

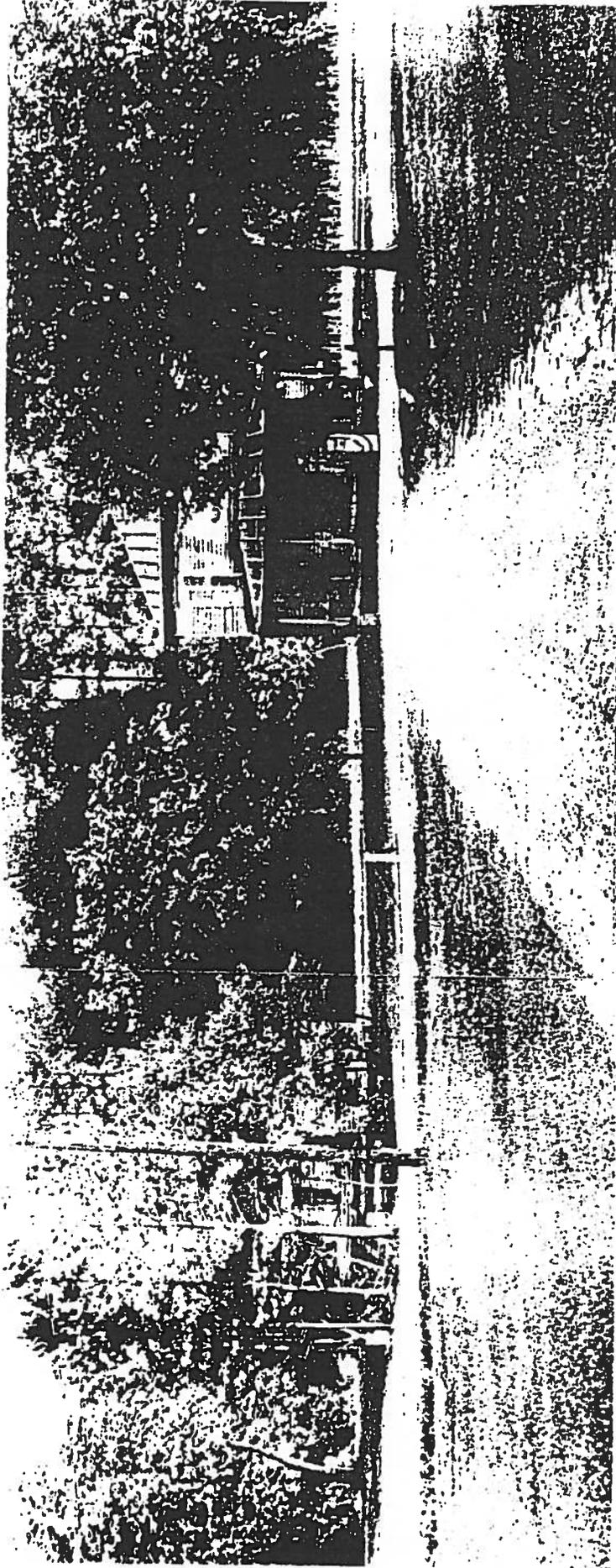


Scarboro: a tiny version of the cross-rail town.

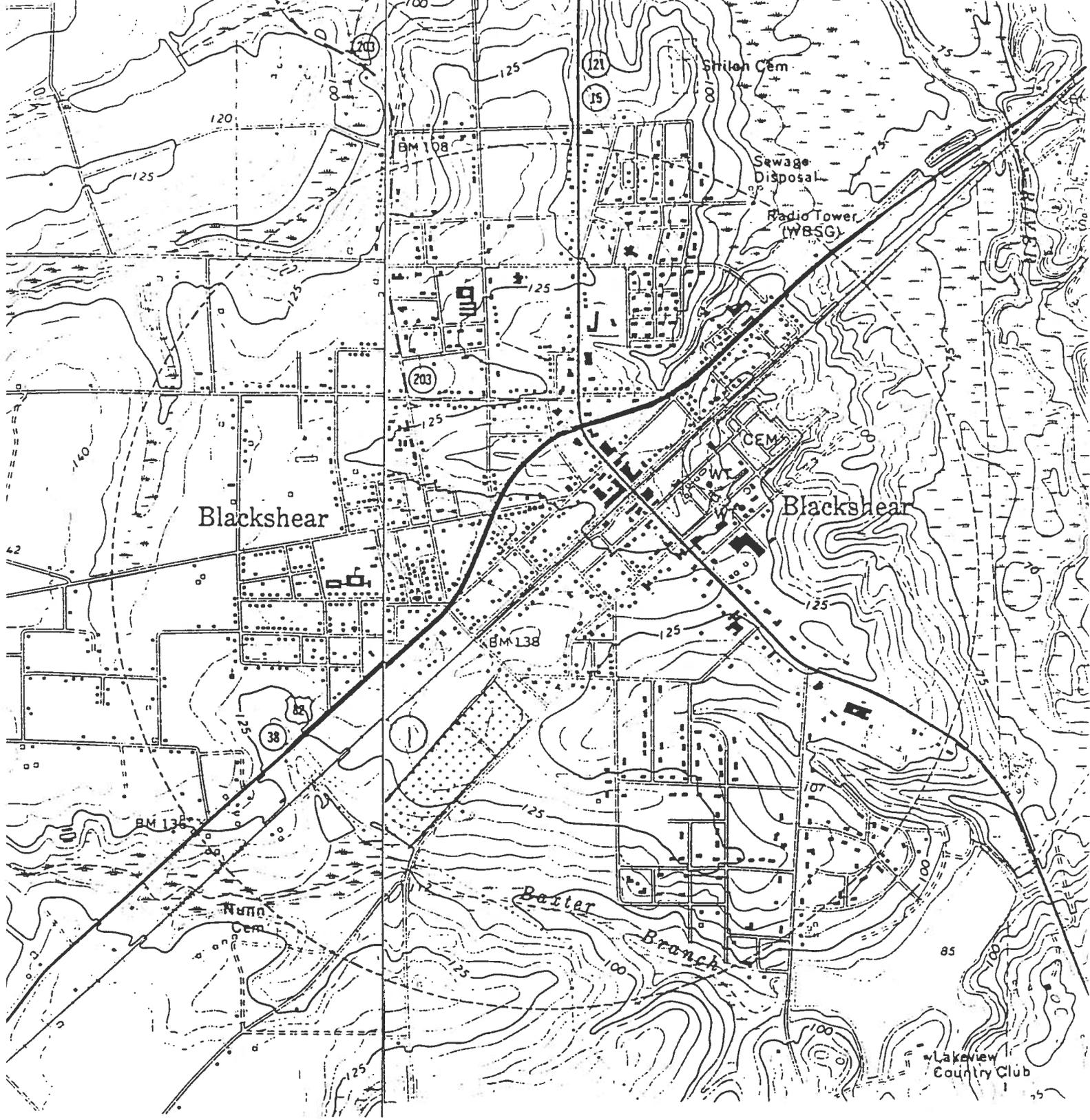




Like Nahunta, McIntyre is a small but well-developed example of the cross-rail community. Here the original cross-roads and railroad relationship is still intact and development along the more modern highway to the right of the old town has not superseded the original development. A very good example of this type of community.



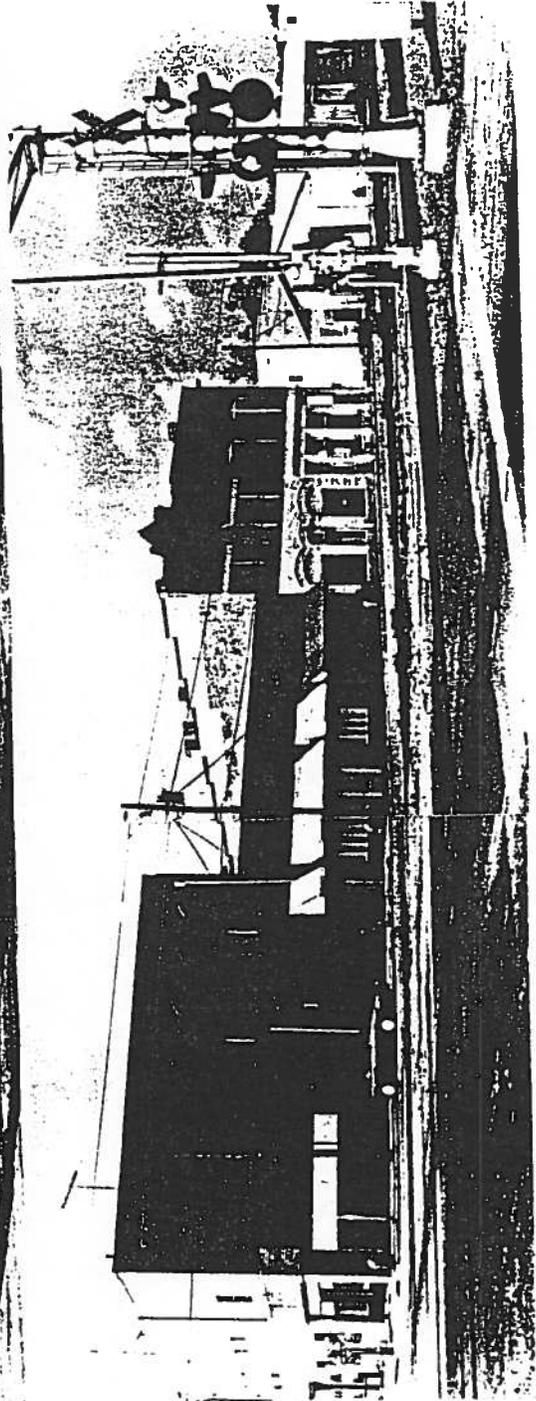
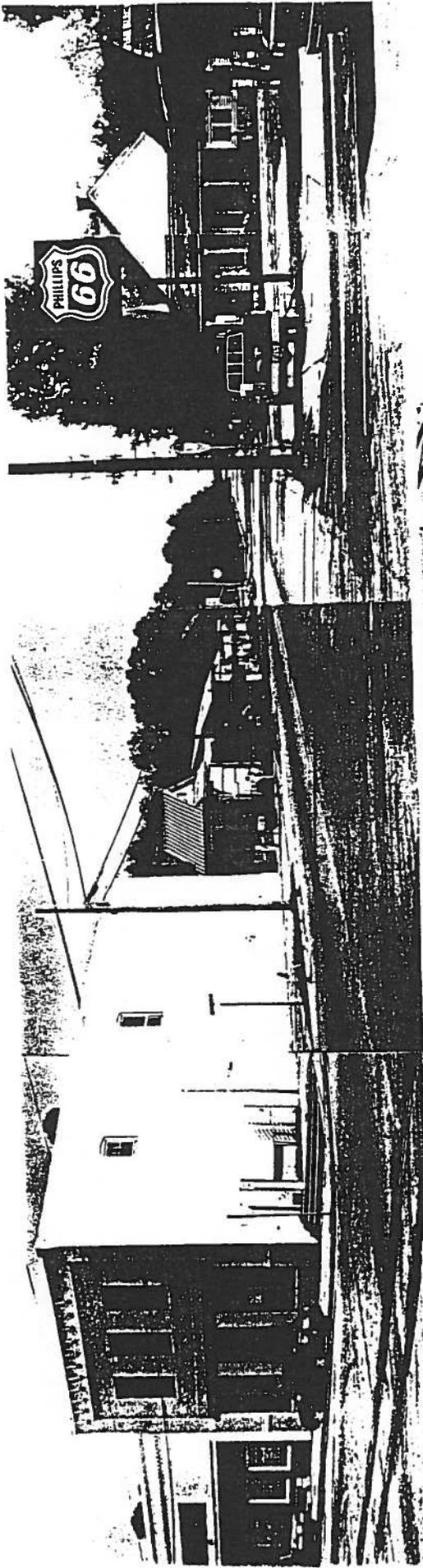
Part of the secondary street pattern at Scarborough. The two-story building appears to have been a store at one time.



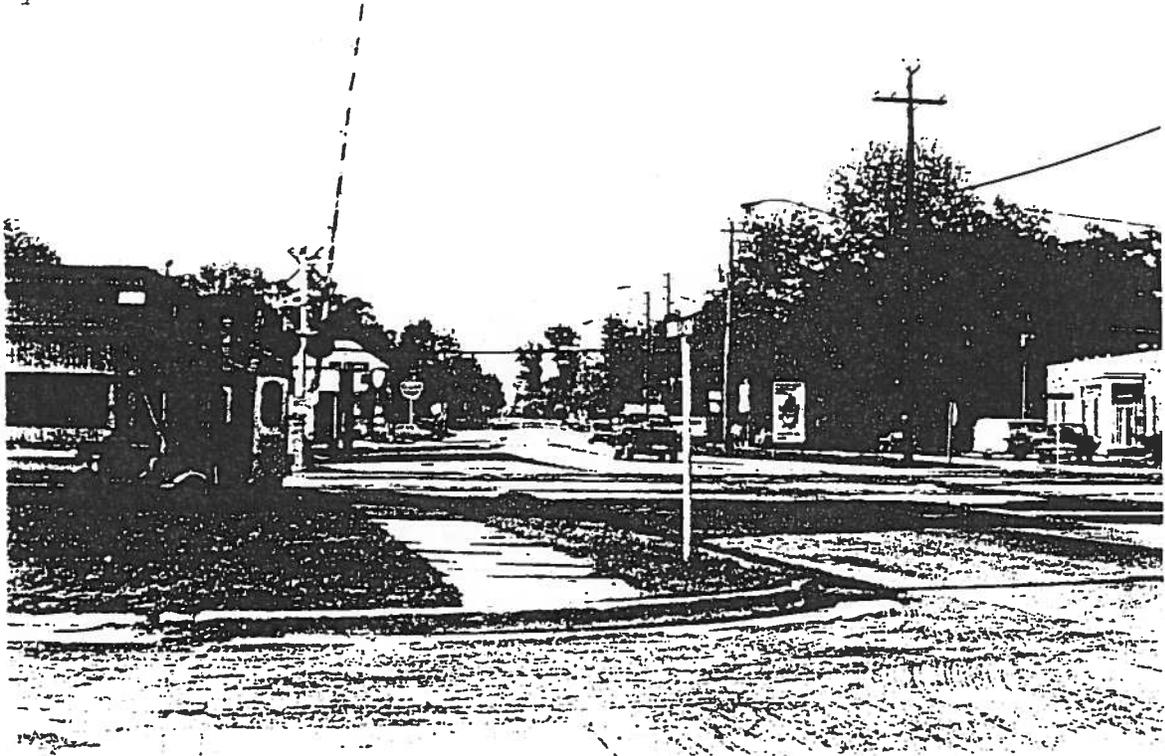
A very good example of a well-developed cross-rail town type, in which the central business district has stayed at the intersection of the main road and the railroad tracks.

112

Wadley: cross-rail intersection



Wadley



V. C. Railroad strip

This is the commonest form of railroad town found in Georgia (as elsewhere). The plan probably emanated from the railroad companies themselves. In this model the main road(s) parallel the tracks instead of lying at right angles to them as in the cross-rail example immediately above. The associated commercial development parallels the tracks as well and is often oriented to the railroad tracks directly. Grade crossings are few in number; frequently they appear only at the far edges of the commercial section. Occasionally commercial and other non-residential development occurs on both sides of the tracks, but it is much more common for commercial development to occur on one side of the tracks alone and for residential development to occur on the other. It is not uncommon to find dwellings fronting on the tracks directly, with the street running behind the houses. The grid systems tend to be elongated parallel to the tracks and shortened on the sides perpendicular to them.

The railroad strip can be found in all parts of Georgia. The most distinguishing feature is that the tracks run right down the middle of town. In those cases where the back of the downtown section faces the railroad tracks rather than the front, even though the streets may be parallel to the tracks (i.e., where commercial buildings do not face the tracks but away from it, though often there are warehouse or other industrial structures next to the tracks), the history of the town should be checked, because it is likely that such a case is actually a crossroads town to which a railroad has been added.

Examples: Talking Rock, Adairsville, Mountain City, Rockledge, Gough, Guyton

Talking Rock in Pickens County is little more than a railroad stop, but its form is pure strip. The main road parallels the railroad track with another foreshortened block running behind it. All the development lies along that one strip.

Talking Rock was described by Candler and Evans as an incorporated town in Pickens County founded as a station on the Atlanta, Knoxville, and Northern Railroad with a population of 102 at the turn of the twentieth century--the principal trading center for its section of the county. According to the nineteenth century gazetteers, Talking Rock was located on a stage route before it was a railroad station. And according to local history sources, the name is derived from Indian associations.³³

³³Luke and Tate, Pickens County, p. 28.

Adairsville is similar to Talking Rock in that it is a railroad strip in a mountainous area, though it is much larger than Talking Rock, the focal point for which is barely a block long. Adairsville was described as follows in 1886:

population 500 with Methodist, Presbyterian and 2 Baptist churches, a high and public school, a cotton factory and steam flour mill, capacity 300 barrels daily, hay 20,000 bales annually with grain and dried fruits, center of diversified industries, tributary to this railroad [the W & A]. Telegraph, Western Union, Express, Southern, 4 mails daily.

Incorporated in 1854, the town had only grown to 600 by the turn of the century.³⁴ Adairsville shows the same shortening of the blocks paralleling the main road (and also here the railroad tracks) that mountainous communities have, discussed earlier in relation to the mountain strip communities.

Mountain city demonstrates most clearly the relationship between the main road and railroad tracks, which parallel each other closely in this example. Mountain City also shares characteristics with mountain strips (see below) in that development is sporadic along the main road.

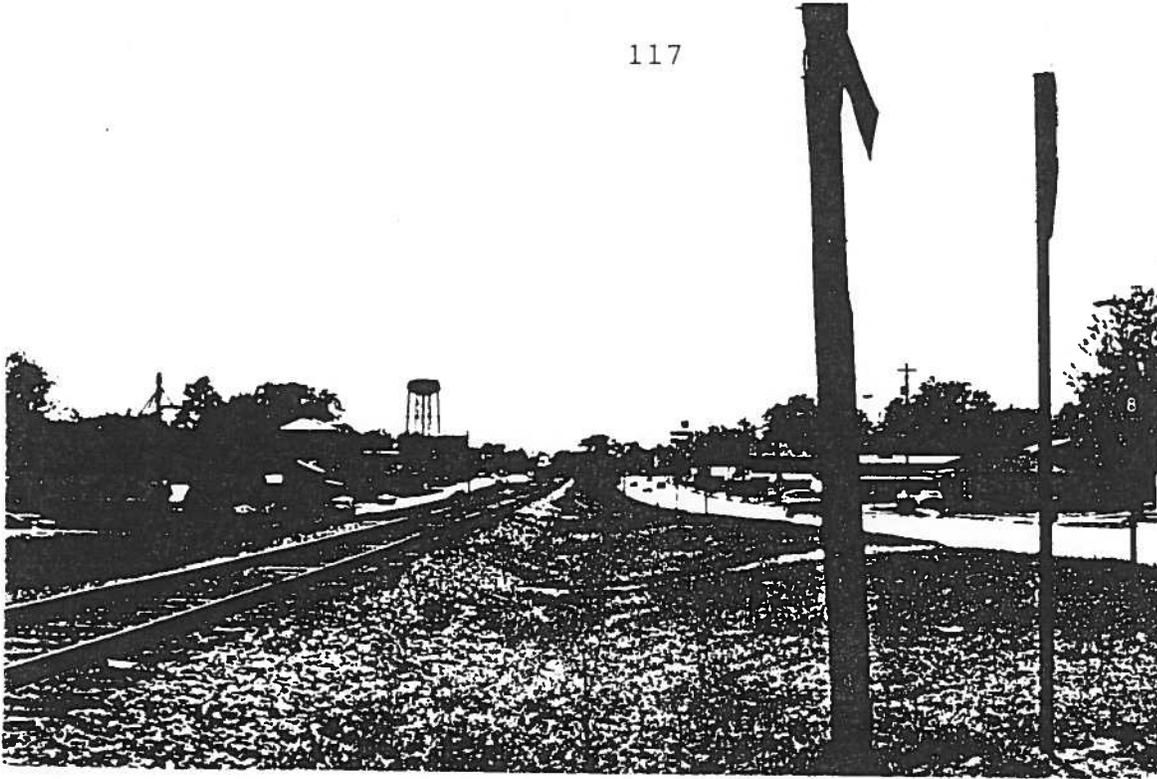
Rockledge shows a pattern of development common to the railroad strip where the main road bypasses the developed community. As far as can be ascertained from local history sources, Rockledge was developed at the turn of the century, doubtless as a stop on the Macon, Dublin, and Savannah Railway. It probably originated, however, as a roadside community around the Methodist Church there, which had been in existence for several decades.³⁵

Today there is increasing development along the highway and around the intersection with the "old" road and the newer highway, at some distance from the older railroad strip center.

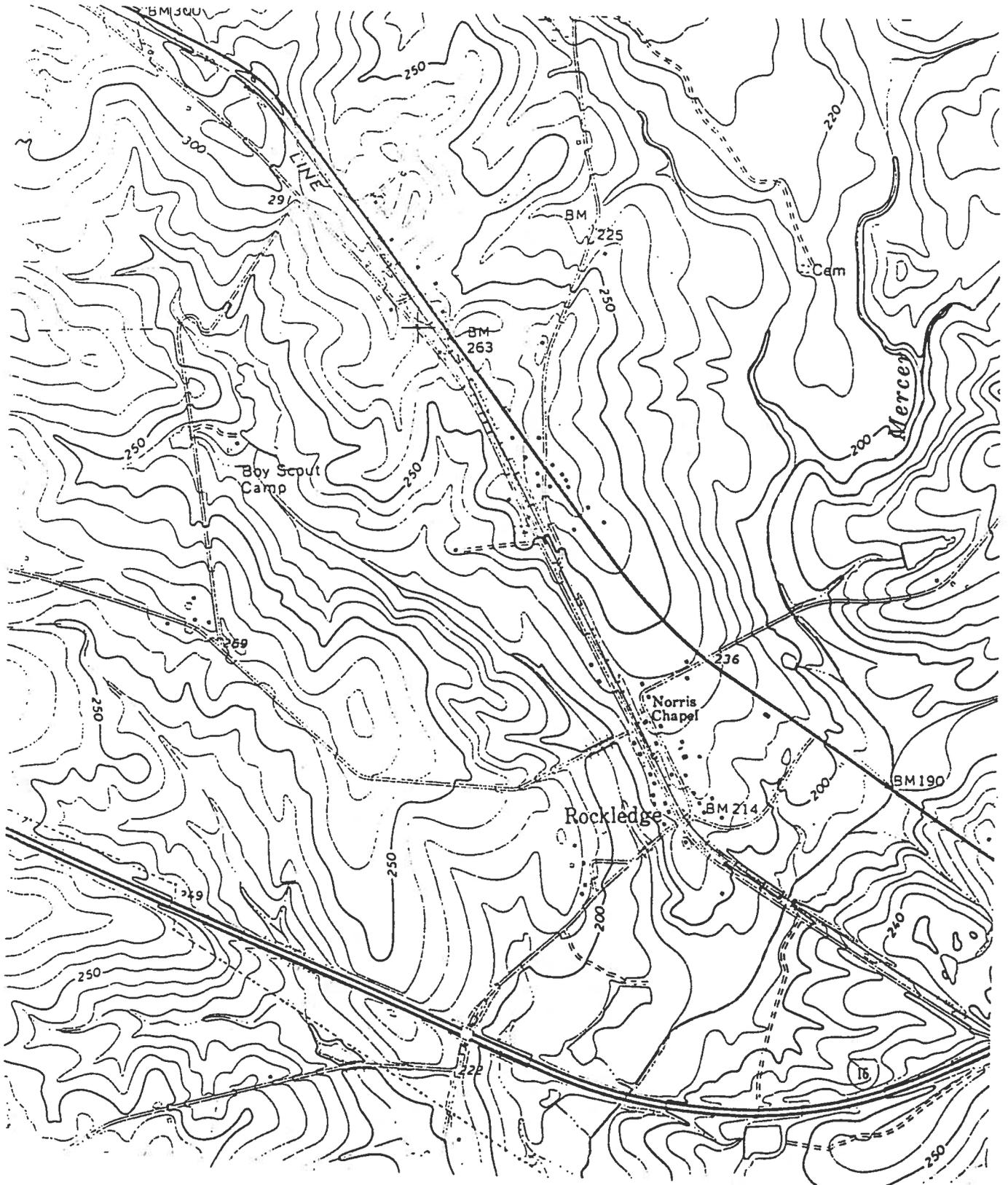
Gough and Guyton are typical of the railroad strips found in the flat, southern section of the state. The main road parallels the tracks in Gough and in Guyton it parallels the old route of the railroad, though the tracks themselves have been pulled up. A very square gridiron of streets is present in both towns, and though it falls on both sides of the tracks in Gough, it is only truly developed on one side. In Guyton, the grid of streets falls on one side of the tracks only. This is common and can also be found in the cross-roads communities. In 1905 Gough

³⁴Candler and Evans, Vol. I, p. 24.

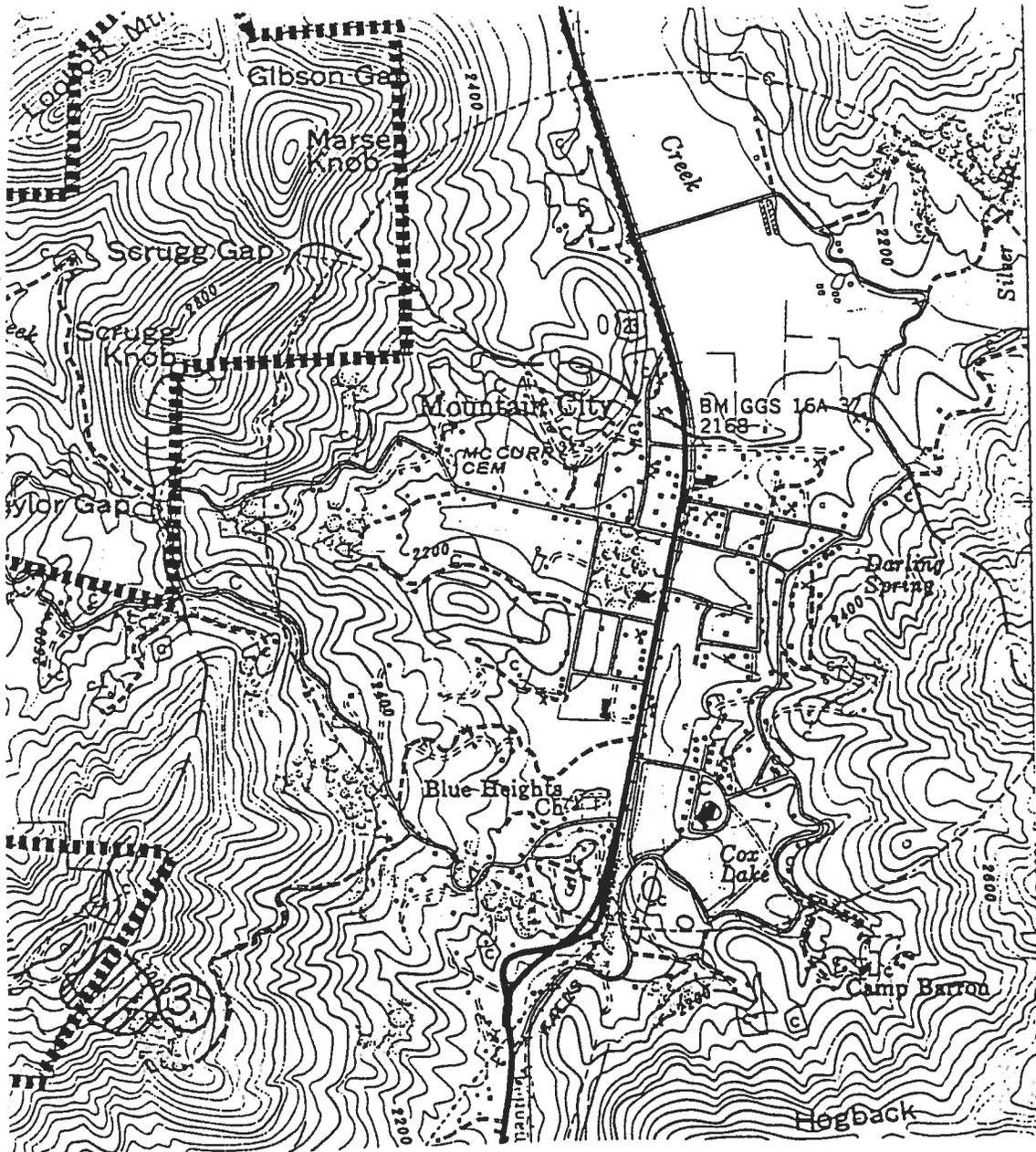
³⁵Bertha Sheppard Hart, *The Official History of Laurens County, Georgia, 1807-1941* (Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Co., 1941).



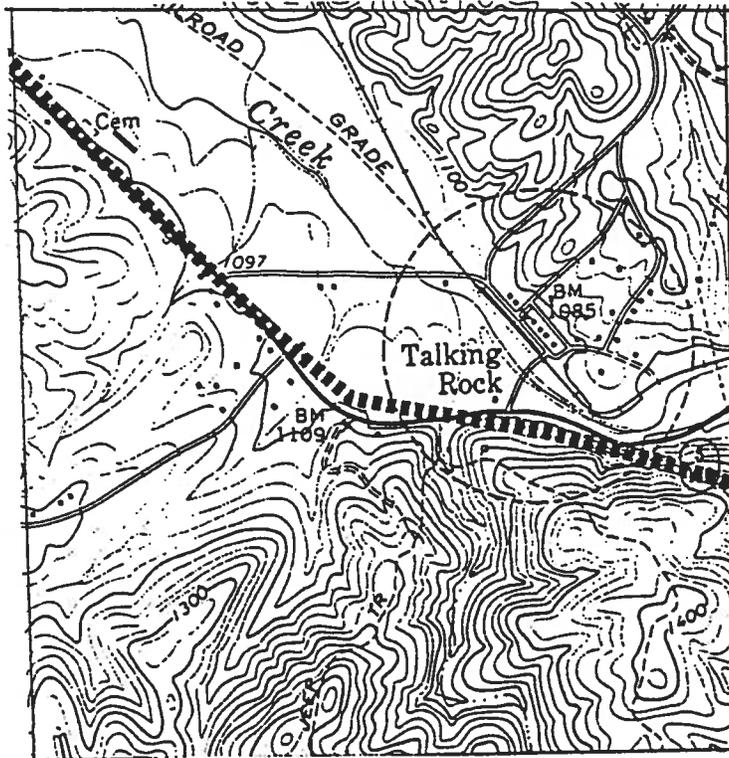
Lyons: a courthouse town on the Augusta model, built, as can be seen from these photographs, as a railroad strip community.



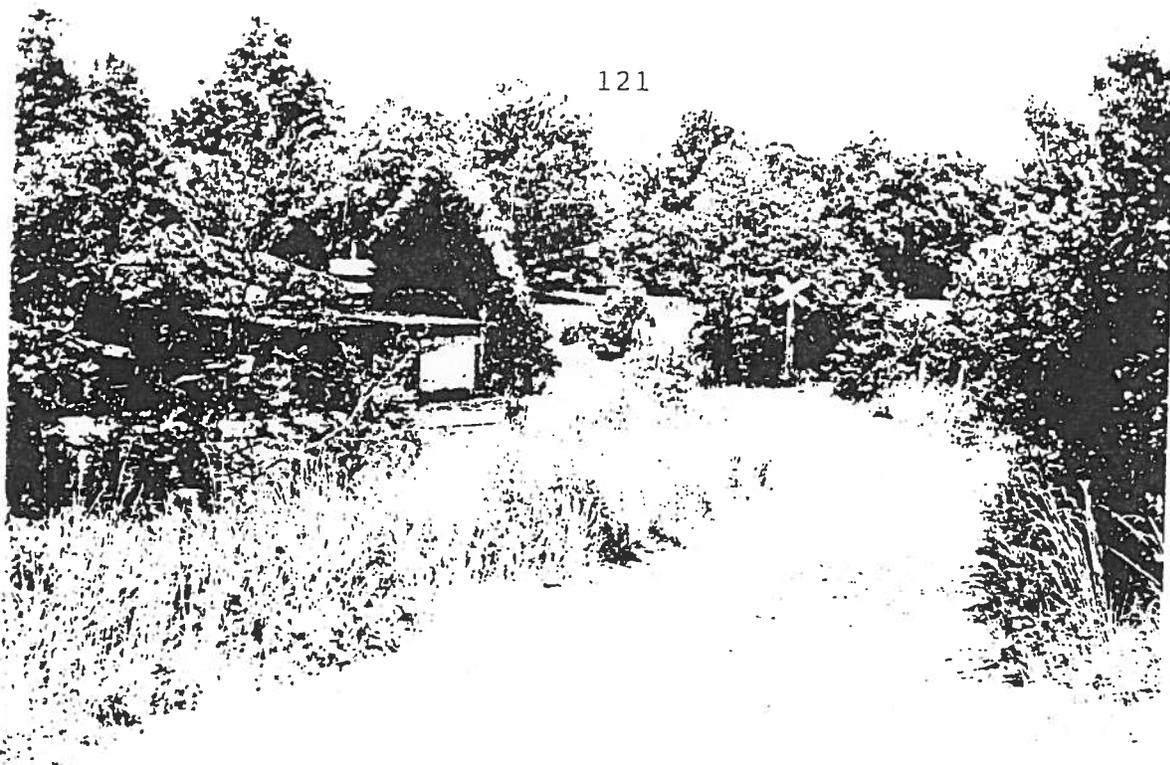
Rockledge is an example of a railroad strip in which almost all of the development for the community lies directly along the railroad tracks.



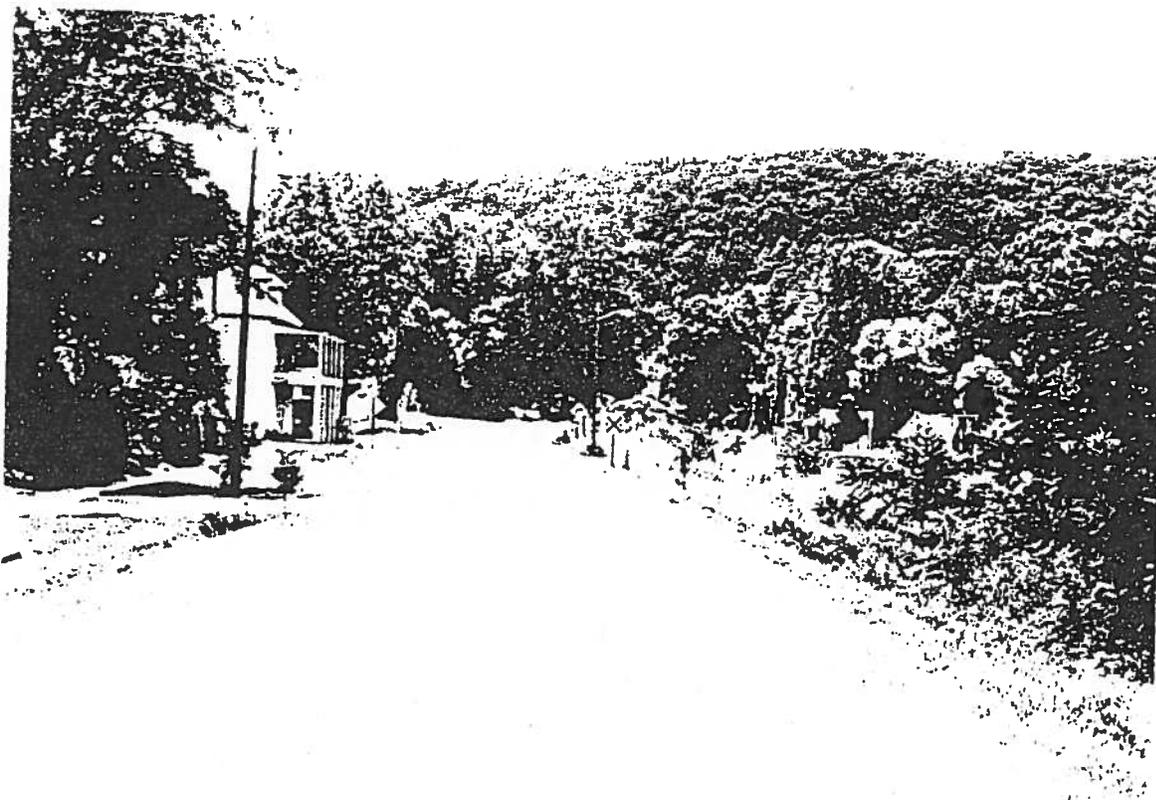
Mountain City combines features of the railroad strip and the mountain strip (See Adairsville and discussions on mountain strip)



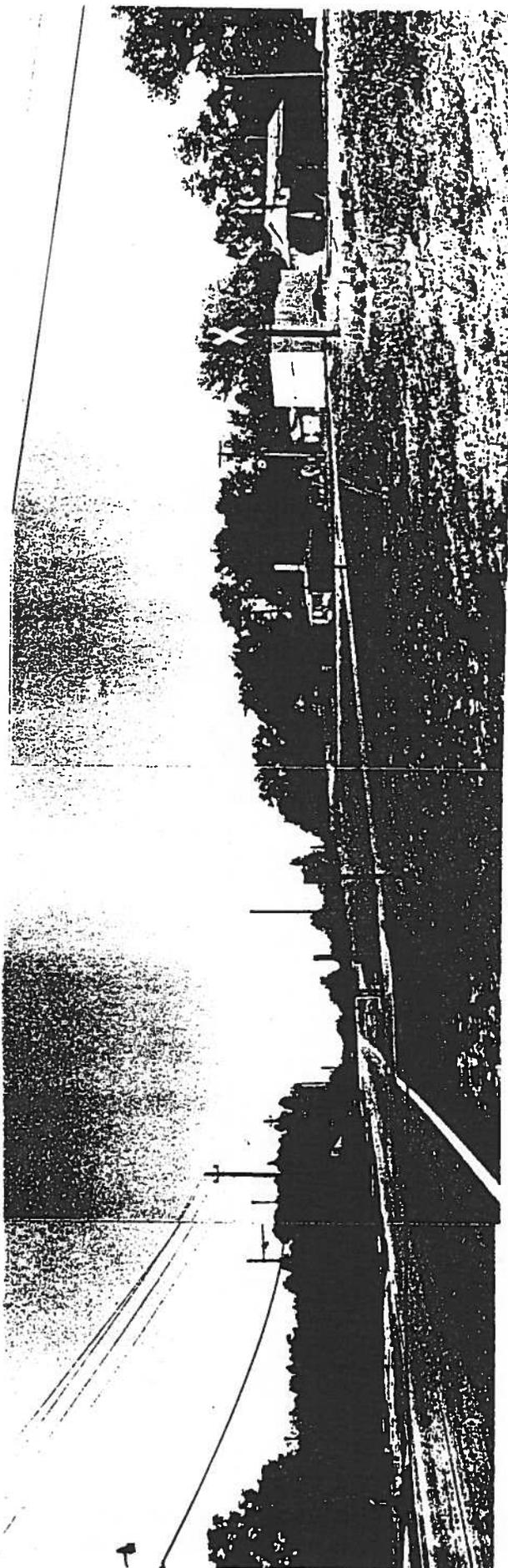
Talking Rock is a very small example of the railroad strip--small, but clear. The primary development lies parallel to the railroad, and a secondary street parallels that.



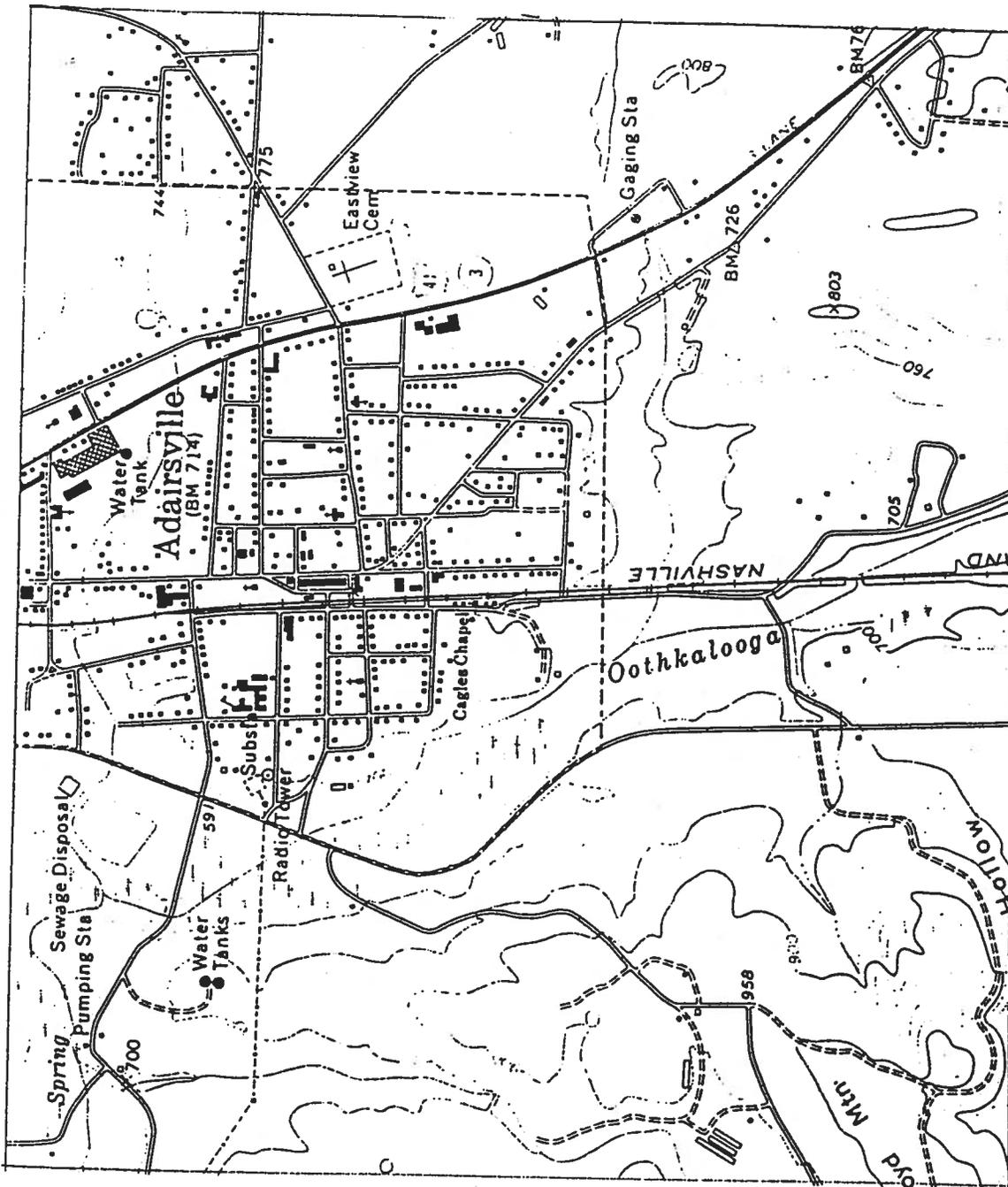
Entrance to Talking Rock at the eastern edge of town.



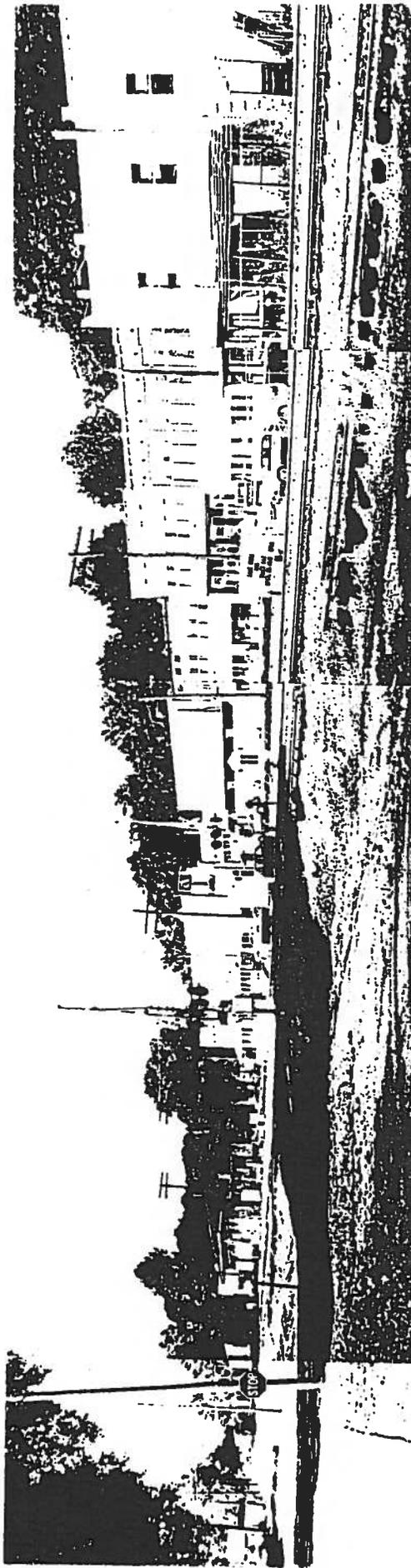
The strip along the railroad tracks



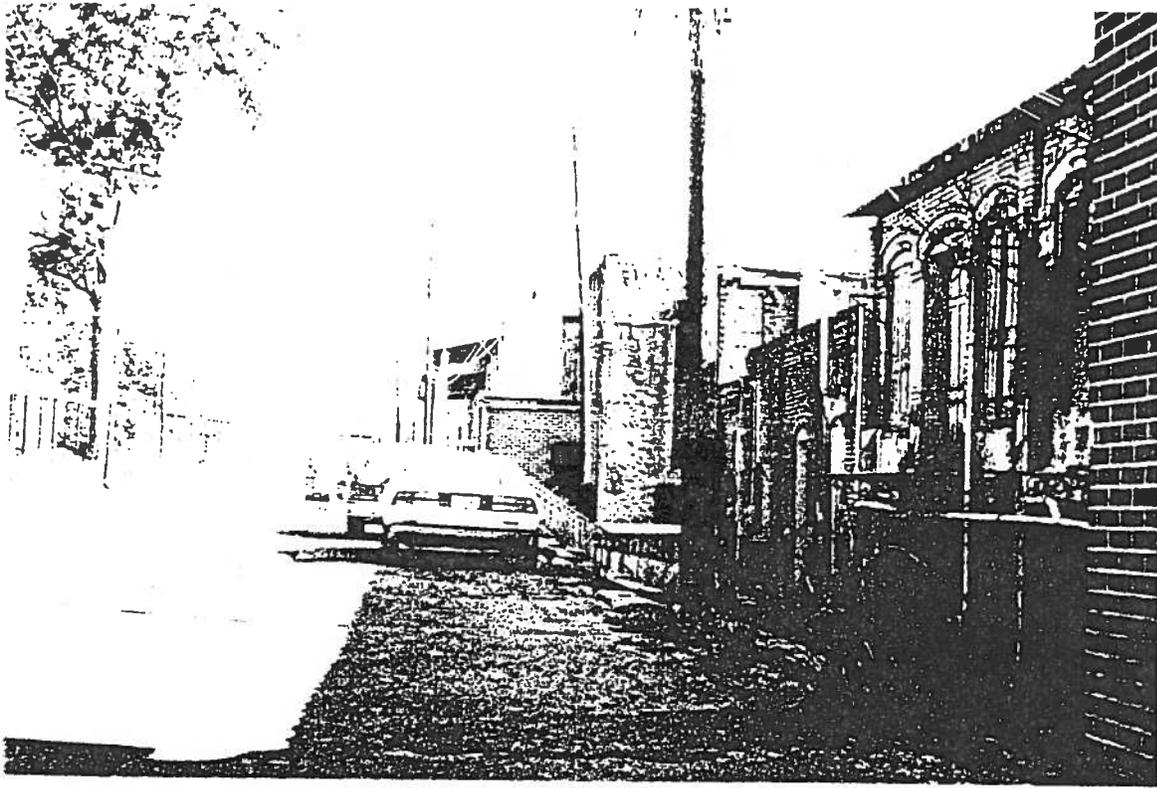
Tarrytown: the railroad right-of-way paralleled by the main road of town.



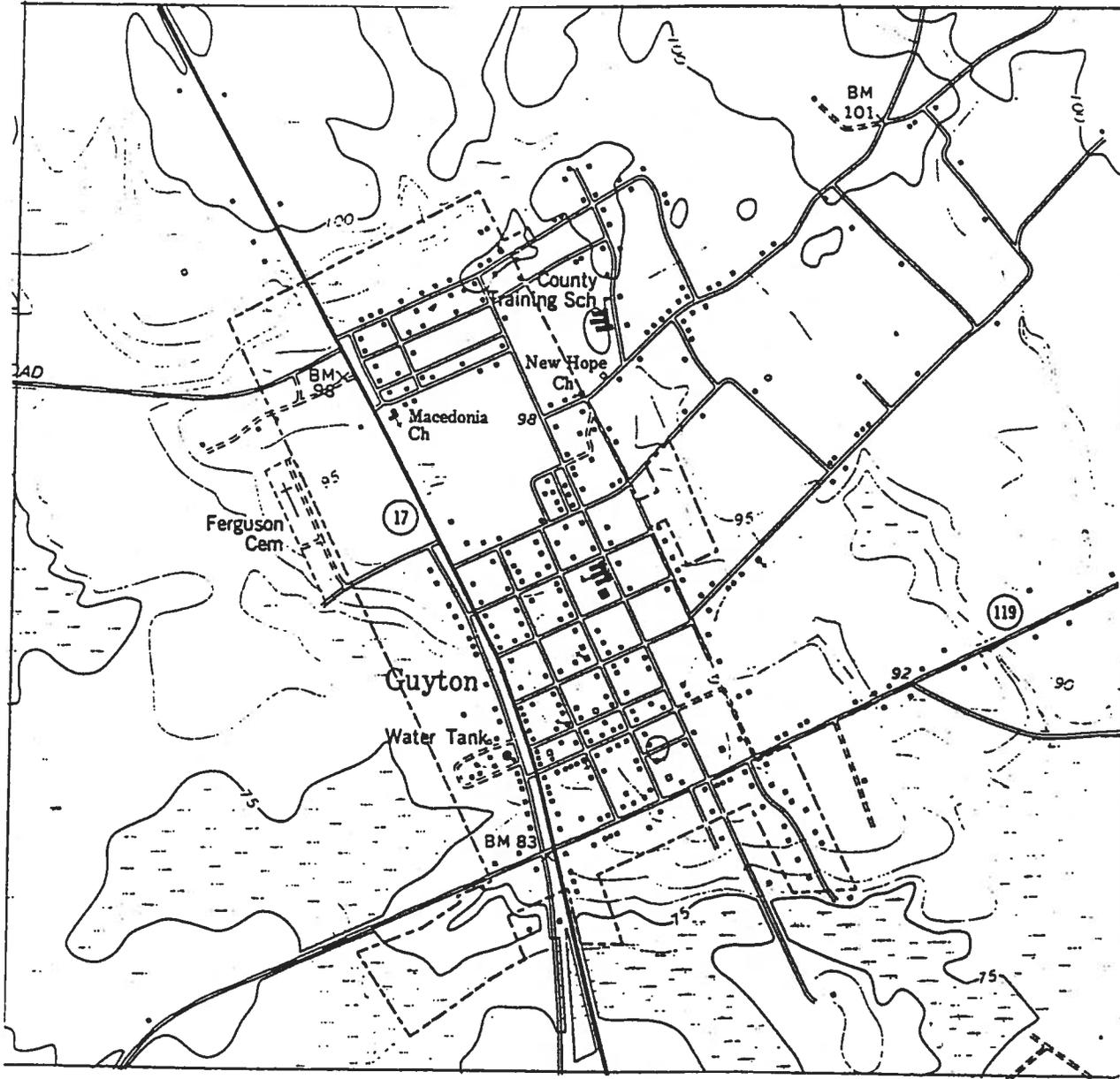
Adairsville is a good example of the railroad strip town with the main commercial development paralleling the tracks and with the tracks bifurcating the city. Adairsville also shares characteristics with mountain strips in that the grid patterns are compromised by the topography and are foreshortened on the upward hill side.



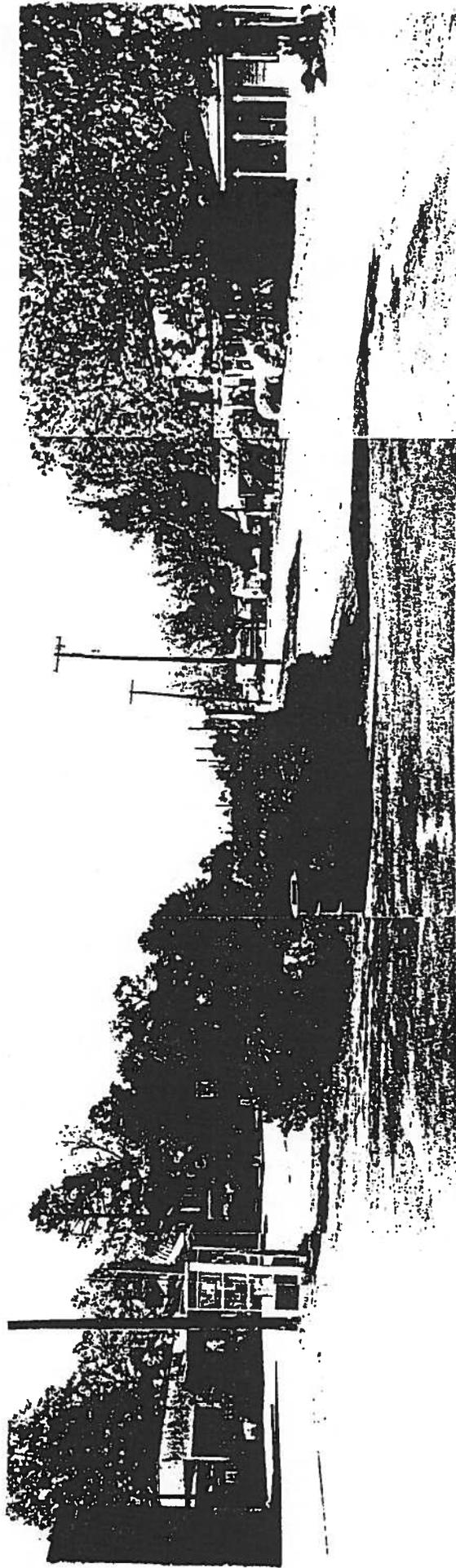
The main commercial strip in Adairsville.



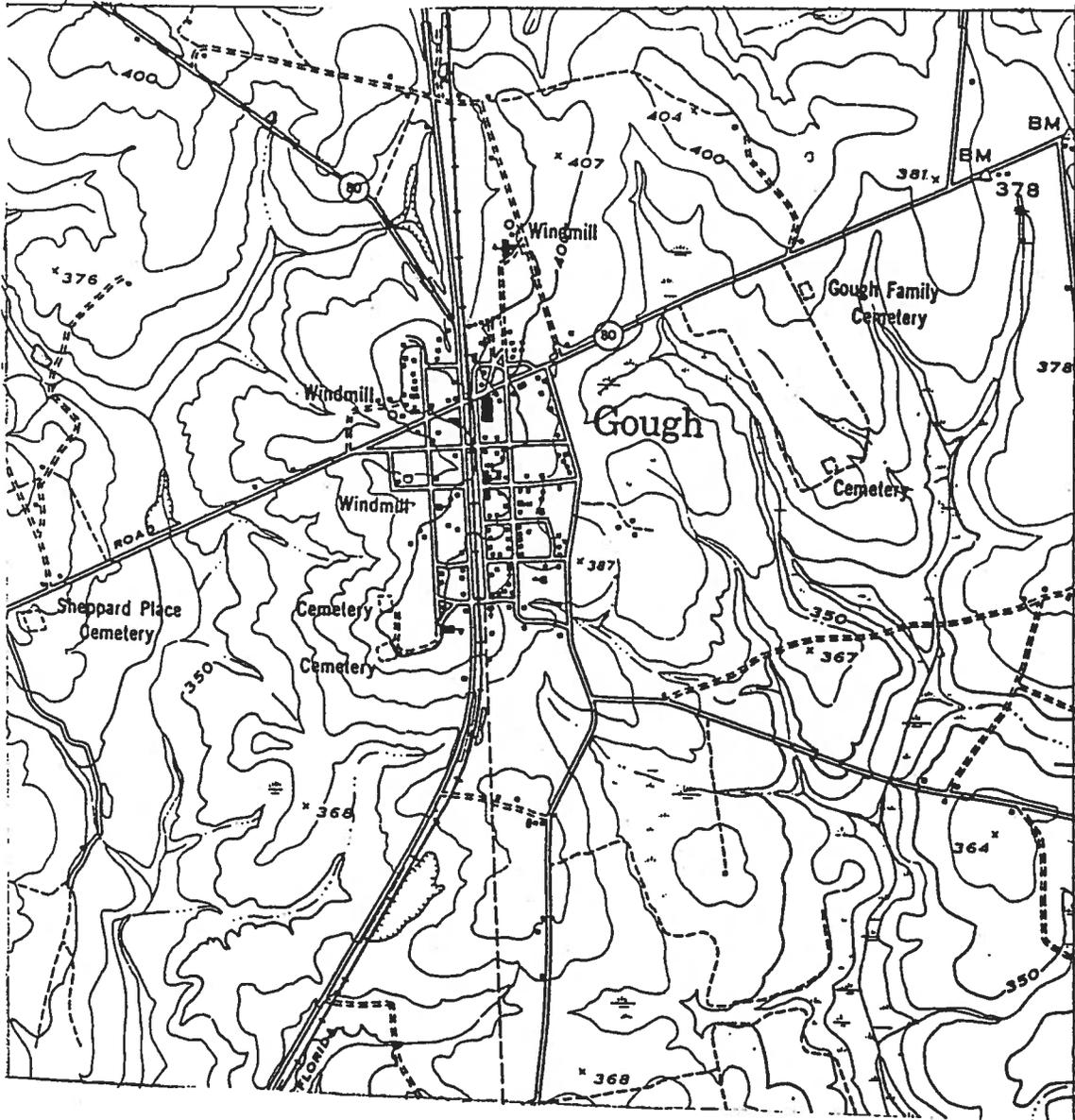
One of the short blocks in Adairsville, showing the back of the main commercial block fronting on the railroad tracks.



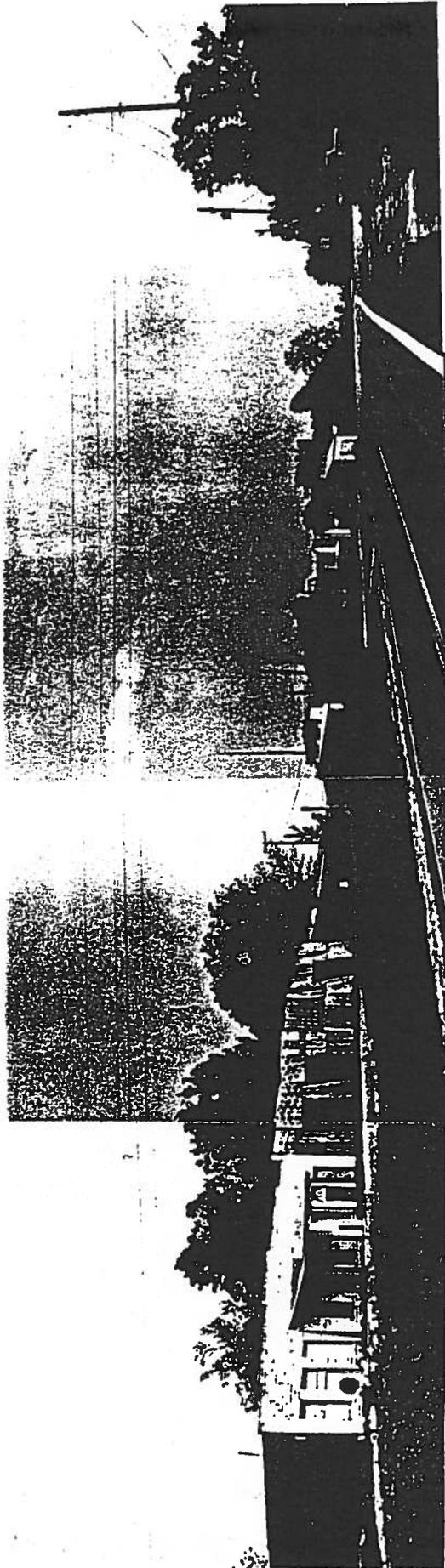
Guyton is an excellent example of the railroad strip town in shape, except that the tracks have been pulled up. The right-of-way still exists as a strip through the center of town, and as is typical of most railroad strip towns, the primary development occurs not only parallel with the tracks but to one side of them.



The old railroad right-of-way in Guyton.



Even though Gough is platted on both sides of the railroad tracks it is developed primarily along one side. It is another good example of the railroad strip.



Gough.

V. D. Railroad stops

This is also a common form, though less common now than earlier, before the dominance of the automobile in all transportation systems. The railroad stop is similar in form to the cross-rail town, but its size is much smaller. It functions like the roadside community and the river crossing community, which has at its heart a railroad track rather than a road or a river. There will be dwellings but no depot. There may be a warehouse but no other public use structure. There may be a loading dock or siding, perhaps very small railroad service structures. It will be clear from the look of the place that the reason for its existence is to relate to the railroad, and its connection with the railroad will make it a community node, albeit a small one.

Examples: Dover (no photos, no map).

The focal point for Dover consists of a gravel road crossing the railroad tracks where a short piece of siding and a warehouse type structure stand. In addition there is one house on the road near the tracks and a cluster of other houses "down the road a piece."³⁷

It should be noted that not all stops along a railroad are communities or nodes for communal districts. Many stops were set up at individual farms and plantations (and not all of the plantations were full communities), but the type does exist.

³⁷Dover was photographed, but it was too late in the day for the pictures to come out clearly.

V. E. Railroad center

This form lies at the other extreme from the railroad stop. What distinguishes the railroad center from any other rail-oriented community is the presence of two or more rail lines coming into the community. The grid patterns of the streets will be oriented to the railroad tracks and thus may break in and intrude upon one another. The railroad tracks may (and probably will) interrupt some of the grid patterns or suspend them in some way. These broken grid patterns are very visible on maps and on the ground because they create a number of triangular inter-sections. Another distinguishing feature is the presence of extra rail tracks, rail yards, and the presence of multiple depots--for passengers and for freight. Railroad centers are sizeable communities. They have developed from smaller forms and like port towns they will demonstrate patterns of land use specialization in high degrees.

In addition to the physical evidence as outlined, the railroad center will be known as a "railroad town." The railroad will surface as the dominant economic force in the history of the community. It is likely to be or to have been the chief employer of the local populace, and there may be subdivisions associated with railroad workers present somewhere in the community--usually not too far from the tracks.

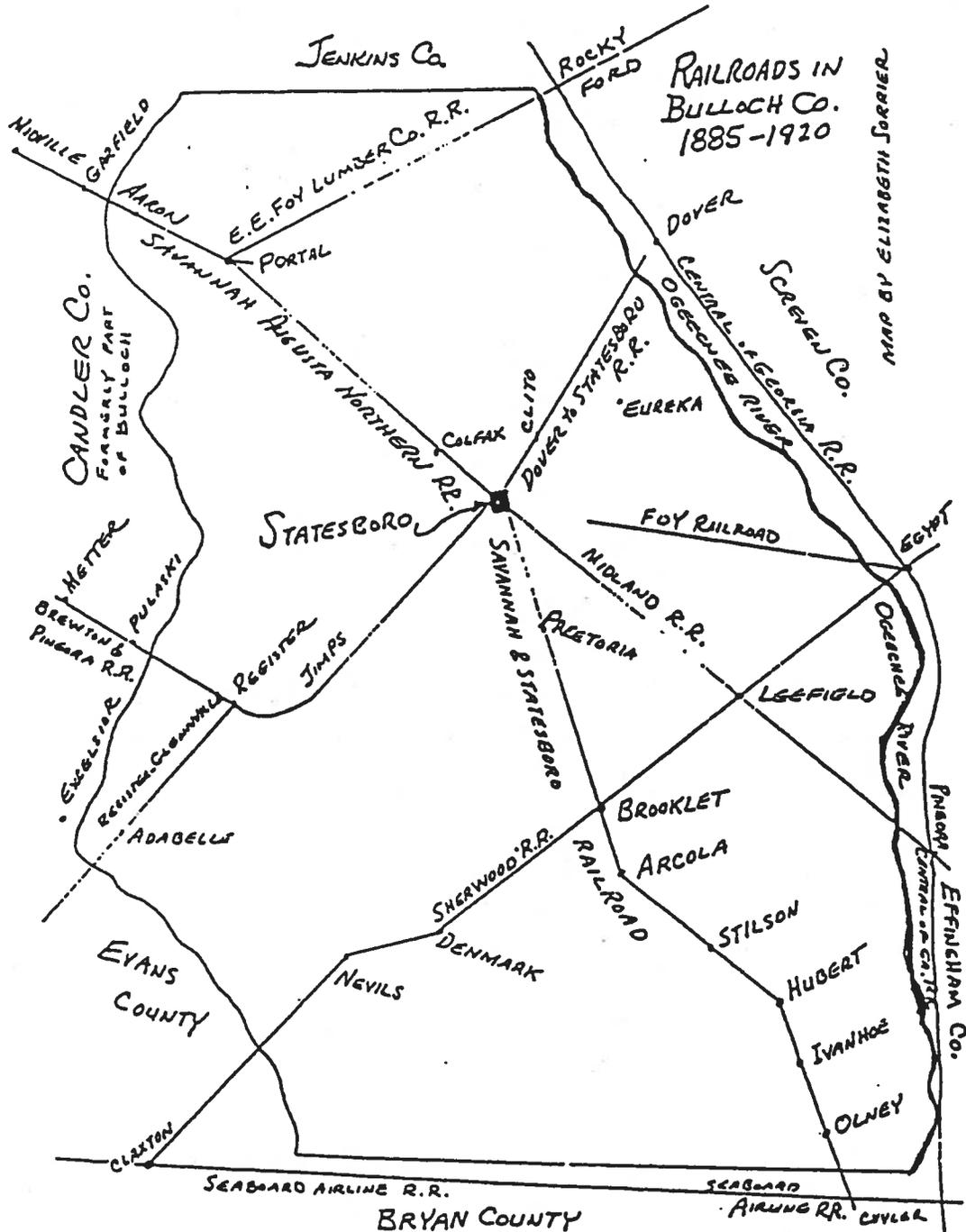
Examples: Waycross (map included; not studied); Vidalia (map and information below); Atlanta (not studied)

Vidalia is known as a shipping center, lying at the conjunction of the Seaboard Air Line with the termini of the Millen and Southern and Macon, Dublin, and Savannah railroads. Because of the success of the onion business Vidalia is especially prosperous today, but it has held its own over time. Candler and Evans described it in 1905 as a "well supplied" town with prosperous business houses, lumber mills, turpentine distillers, cotton oil mill, and other manufacturers.

The county is quite old, having been formed (in part) in the late eighteenth century, but it was the coming of the railroad which opened the countryside up.³⁸ Because of the flatness of the land, Vidalia's street patterns is uniformly square. However, certain characteristics of the railroad center are apparent: the main railroad tracks suspend the grid system throughout most of the town. What results is long blocks parallel to the railroad with few crossings; the tracks of one railroad interrupt the grid system in the northwest part of the town. The grids do not quite "match" each other across the lines of the tracks either. This

³⁸George Smith, *The Story of Georgia*, pp. 224-25.

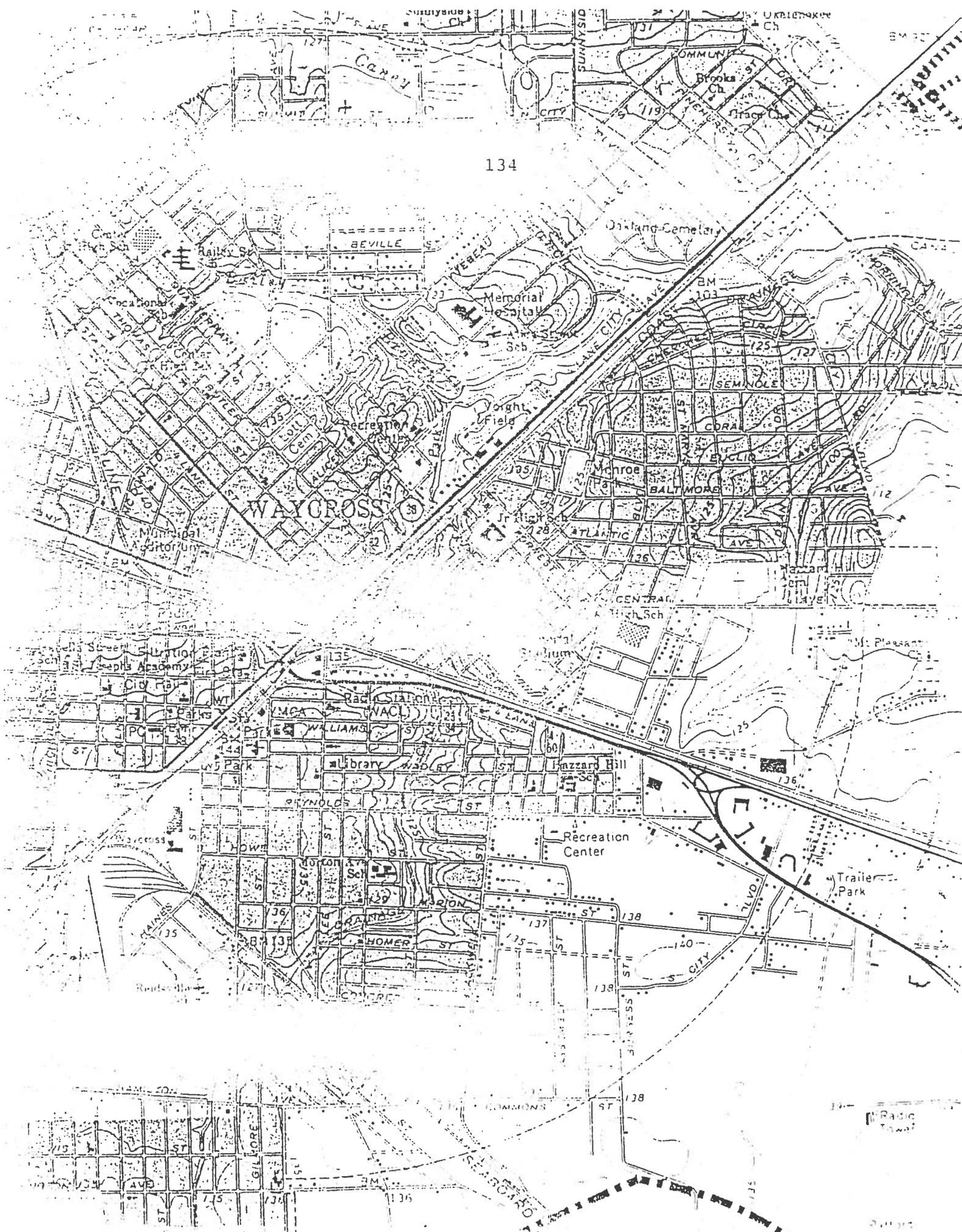
too is typical. The main depot in Vidalia is a prominent structure, though not a landmark.



Map showing the kind of railroad connections which make a railroad center of a town.

MAP BY ELIZABETH SORRIER

WAYCROSS



Radio Tower

VI. Automobile and other non-railroad strips.

VI. A. Mountain strips.

This community type was created because the form for this kind of strip had sufficient differences from others to make it noteworthy. In part, the mountain strip has a great deal in common with all automobile strips, since it takes its configuration from a road (rather than a river or a railroad track) but mountainous topography requires some differences when it comes to growth and development around a mountain strip, which differentiate it from the others significant. The mountain strip is (or can be) quite deceptive and hard to detect from roadside communities because it often appears to take the form of a series of roadside communities occurring in sequence along the road. Small sections of development are interspersed with open, rolling, or wooded countryside. Secondary street systems are often partial or underdeveloped; when they run perpendicular to the main strip the streets are often foreshortened by the topography, so blocks appear elongated along the hills and shortened on the side going up the hills. It is even more common for the secondary street patterns not to be based on a perfect square grid, for the streets to angle in to the main road, and for the streets to wind and meander according to the topography. The grid is always compromised by the topography, something which simply does not happen with grids in other, i.e., non-mountainous, sections. The one exception to this is noted below, when development has been very recent and very modern road-building technology has compromised the topography rather than the topography constraining the roads.

Examples: Tate, Marble Hill, Hollywood, Helen

Tate is a very good example of a mountain strip. First of all several of its roads parallel the railroad tracks, and the tracks themselves are a bit winding, due to the terrain in the local area. However, the primary, or "landmark" communal structures--the school, the depot, and at least one church--lie in sporadic placement along the main highway which parallels the course of the railroad tracks, but at some remove from them. The residential development lies along the railroad tracks and is quite a distance from the school, the depot, and the church.

The local history of Pickens county describes Tate as a "scattering community" of about 1600 people clustered around the main quarries of the Georgia Marble Company on the tracks of the L. & N. Railroad. The town is a very old settlement, dating back to the organization of the Cherokee territory in 1832. Its

primary growth came from the passage of the railroad through it in the 1880s.³⁹

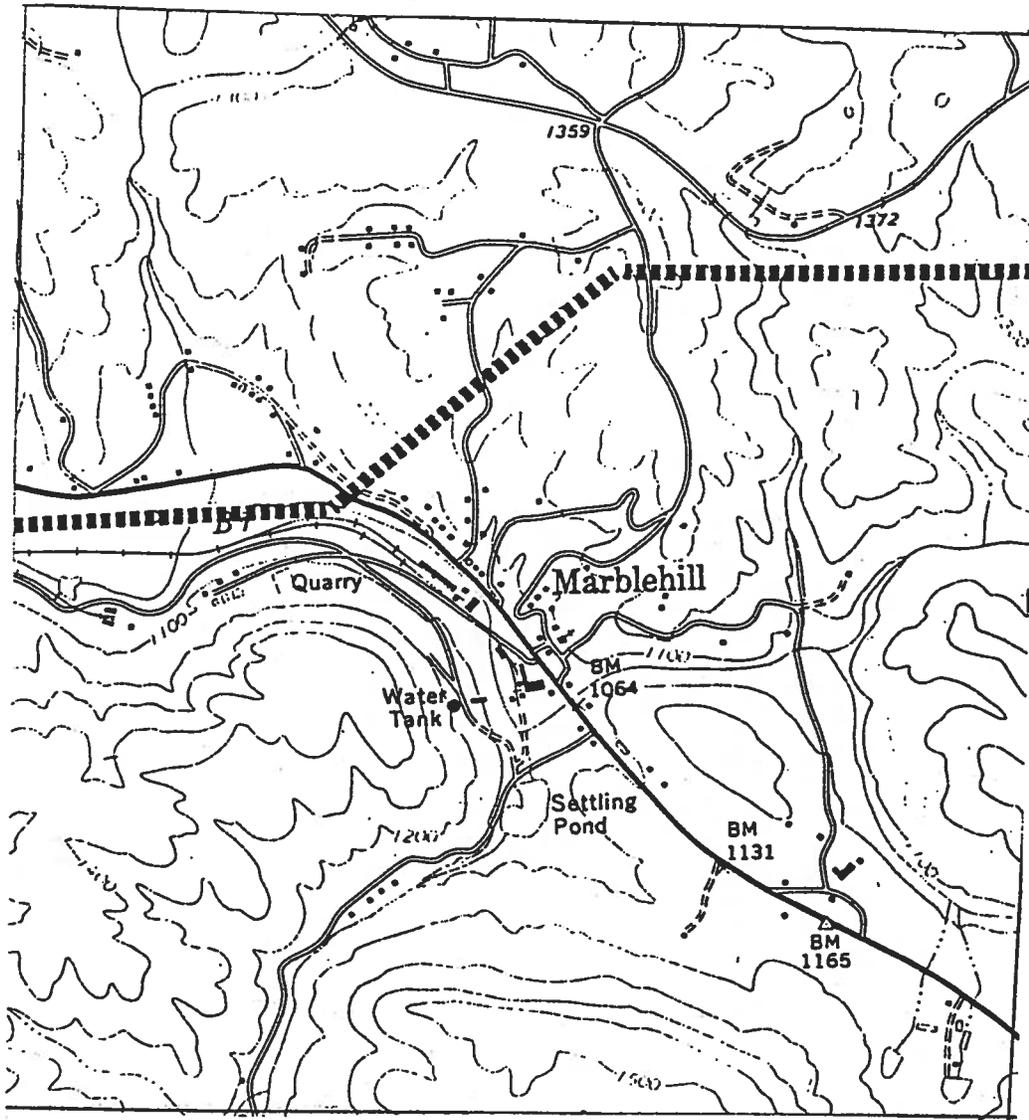
Marble Hill lies in the same county as Tate and shares the characteristics of mountain strip. In this case the railroad is a terminal stop, so the community does not form its self around the railroad so much as it forms itself near the railroad. Marble Hill gives a very good representation of how the side streets angle off and away from the main road in a mountain strip community, their direction and routing very much dependent upon topographic configurations. The total absence of a grid systems to these streets and roads is noteworthy but not exceptional in the mountain strip formation.

Marble Hill is a community formed around the marble works in Pickens County. It would share architectural similarities with other industrial communities described below, but it is not quite the single-industry town that nearby Nelson is, or other more familiar mill villages. There is some repetitive architecture, but it exists only on a small basis.

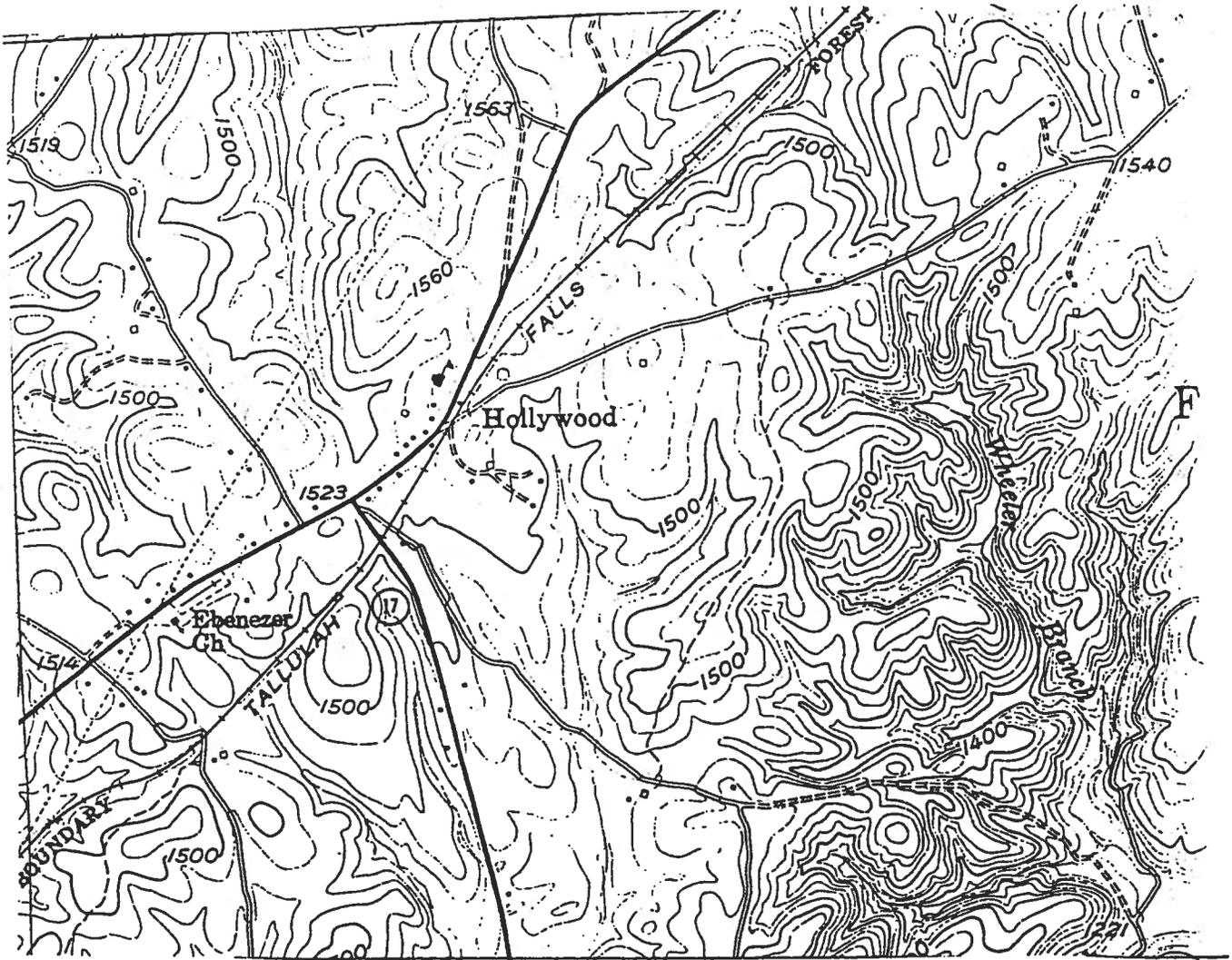
Hollywood in Rabun County is another example of the mountain strip. In this instance there is no relationship whatsoever with the railroad which runs nearby. This may be due in part to the fact that the railroad was a limited line which ran only into Tallulah Falls and was pulled up years ago. Hollywood stretches out along the highway, again with the sporadic, spotty development pattern which Tate and Marble Hill also show.

Helen is included in this discussion (map only), because it also shares characteristics of the mountain strip. In this case there is no railroad and also no crossroad. The town has a developed main street with an irregular grid of streets lying off of it. Were it not for the size of development, Helen would fall in the roadside community category. The side streets which angle off and function as much as elongated driveways as they do streets are typical of the mountain strip pattern, and, though the map does not indicate this clearly, the same pockets of development occur along the road in Helen as were found in Marble Hill and Tate. In effect, the main street blocks in Helen are simply the largest "pocket" of this sporadic development.

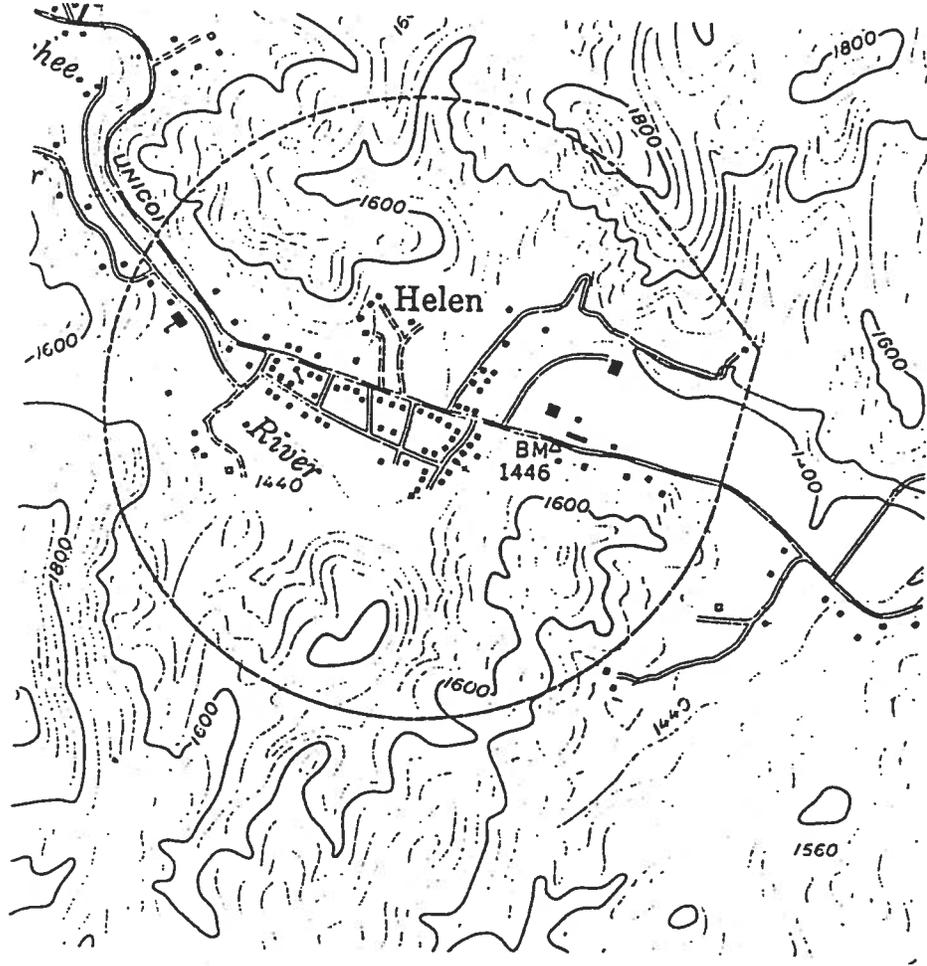
³⁹Luke and Tate, Pickens County, pp. 245-46.

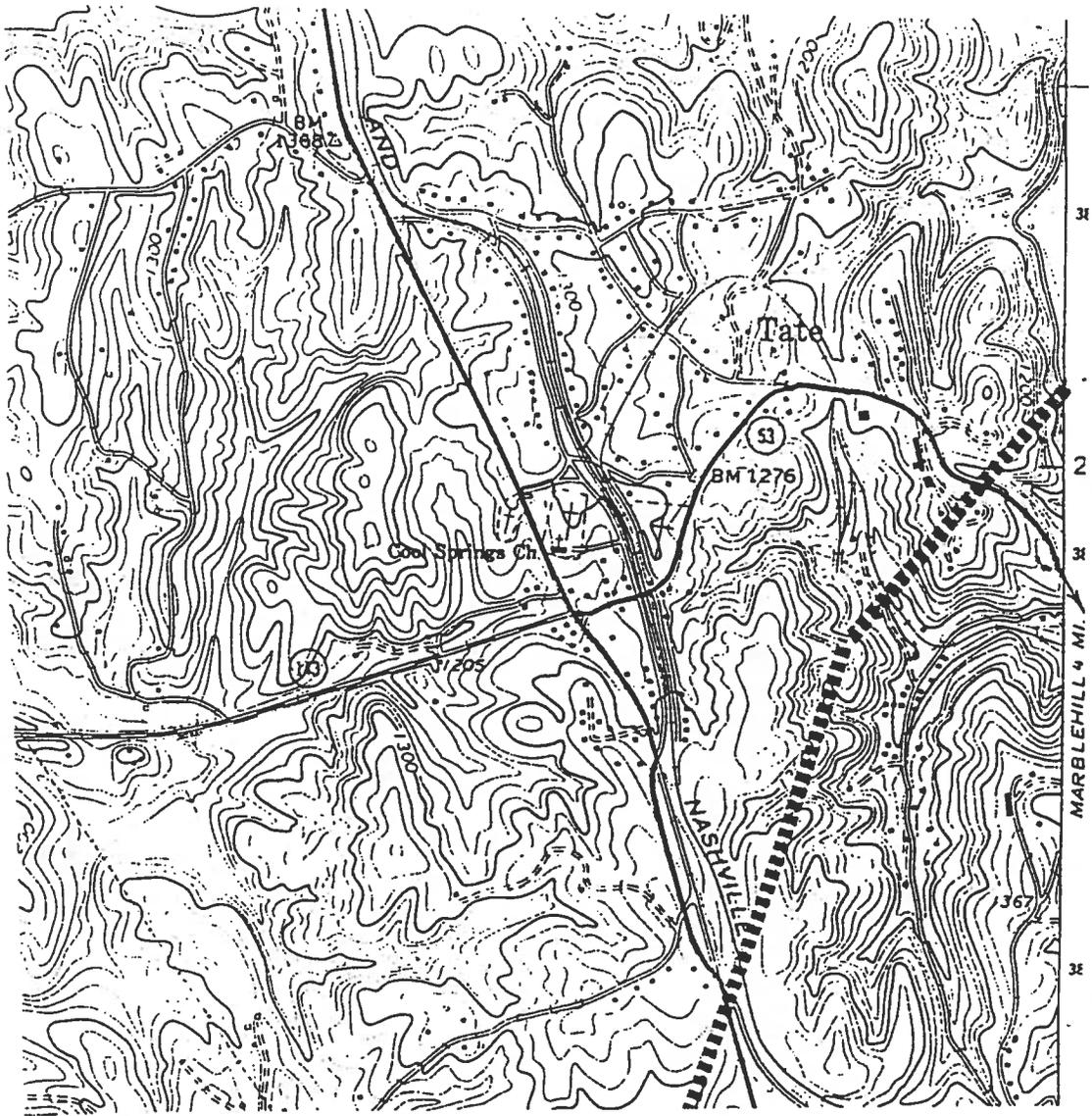


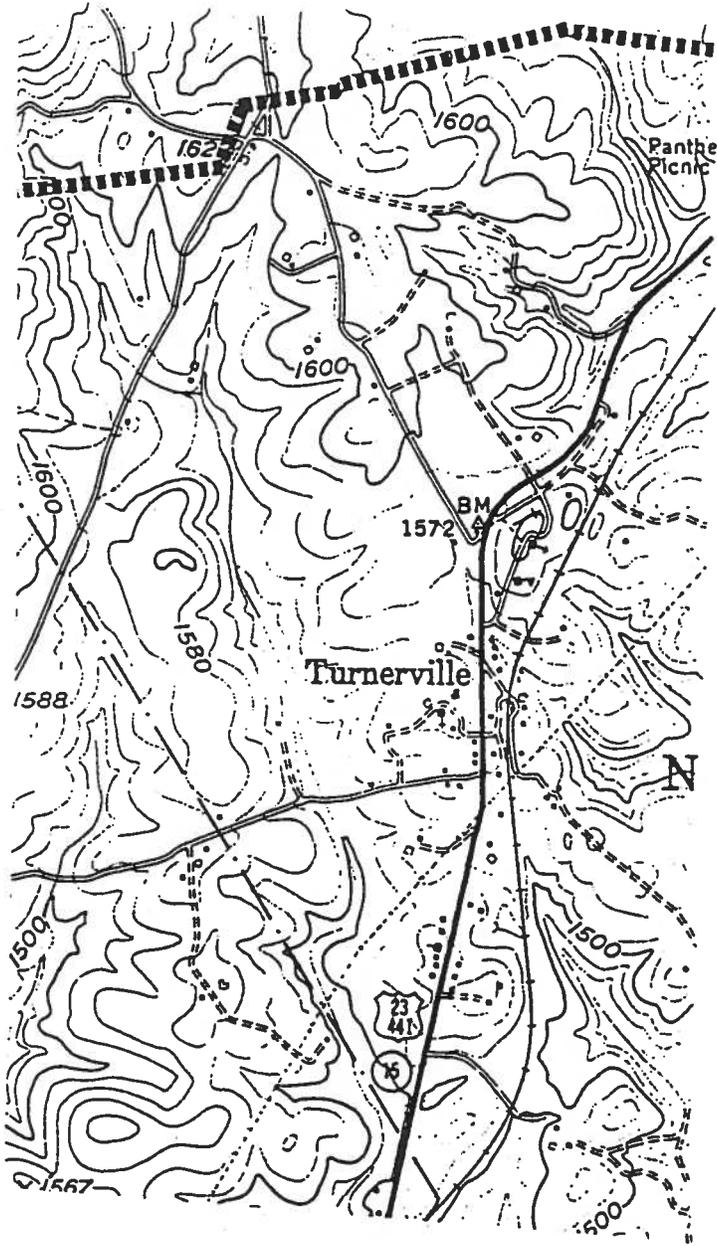
The components of a mountain strip: one main road with interspersed developments, sidestreets which come off the main road in every direction, and grid patterns, where they exist, compromised by the topography.

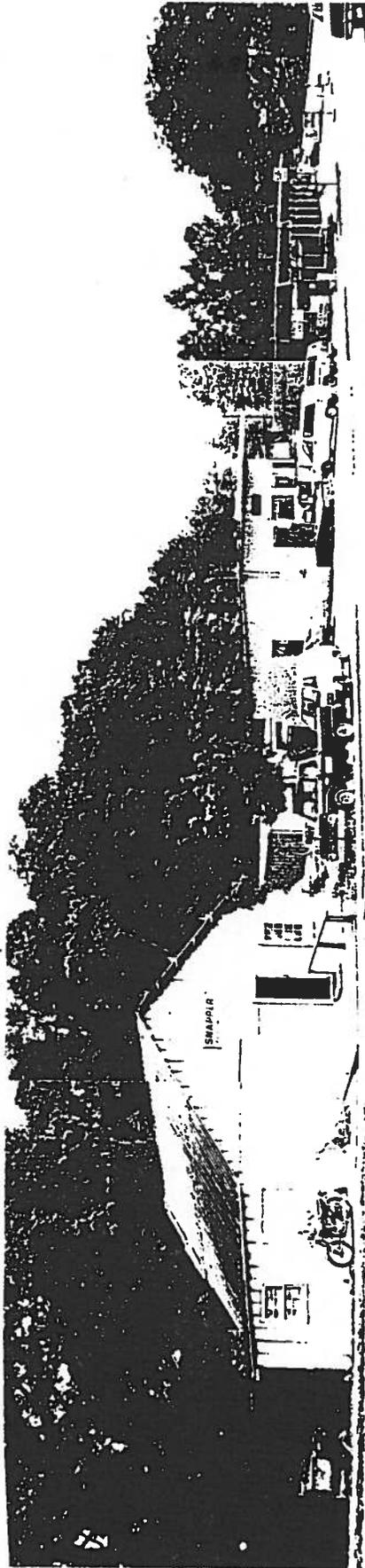


The intermittent nature of development is particularly pronounced in the example of Hollywood.









A node of development at Dillard along the main road.





Commercial automobile strip at Clayton.



Main Street in Clayton.

VI. B. Automobile strips

The automobile strip has two variations, residential and commercial. In this instance, the structures vary, but the formal street pattern is the same. Strips are usually found on the outskirts of other communities, leading away from or into their centers. Strip development has occurred along major transportation arteries near urban centers for as long as there have been urban centers. Originally, this spread merely reflected the expansion of a community; if the community grew, it grew along the main roads as well as the central, interior streets. In a sense, any portion of any street which has a certain homogeneity to it could be considered a strip, but the automobile strip as described here has several specific looks to it which make it different from the earlier, more organic, community spread.

The residential strip may appear, as noted above, in a pre-automobile form. This would consist of a set of older houses with irregular sizes and setbacks from the road, some of them affected, doubtlessly, by road widenings. The houses would be oriented to the road, have no driveways or very new, contrived driveways, and the lot sizes would vary as much as the setbacks and the styles of the houses. Usually the road is an ancient one, much older than the houses, though occasionally they are more nearly contemporary. The strip would develop because of the convenience of being located on a market or trade road and near a center of population. Most of these strips in Georgia have already been compromised by later developments; all have been impacted by the automobile. These are usually located so close to the center of a community that it makes sense to include them with the original configuration of, say, a courthouse town, than to identify them as separate entities. If considered as separate entities, they might be identified as "roadside residential communities" using the name of the road as the identifier.

The more common form of (residential) automobile strip is one formed since the automobile and planned for its use. These have much in common with the earlier roadside strips and some important differences. They also are found along important transportation arteries and also near (but not so near) population centers. The house styles and types are likely to be uniform, similar, or identical, and they are likely to have been planned and built at the same time (unlike the earlier residential strips). The houses usually have uniform setbacks from the main road, are oriented to their driveways, and the driveways extend from the house to the road, sometimes for a considerable distance. They are obvious and clear linear developments. Often these are found on state highways just outside cities and towns of varying sizes. The superhighway or freeway is built to preclude any such development, but the old two- (now four-) lane highways are full of these residential strips.

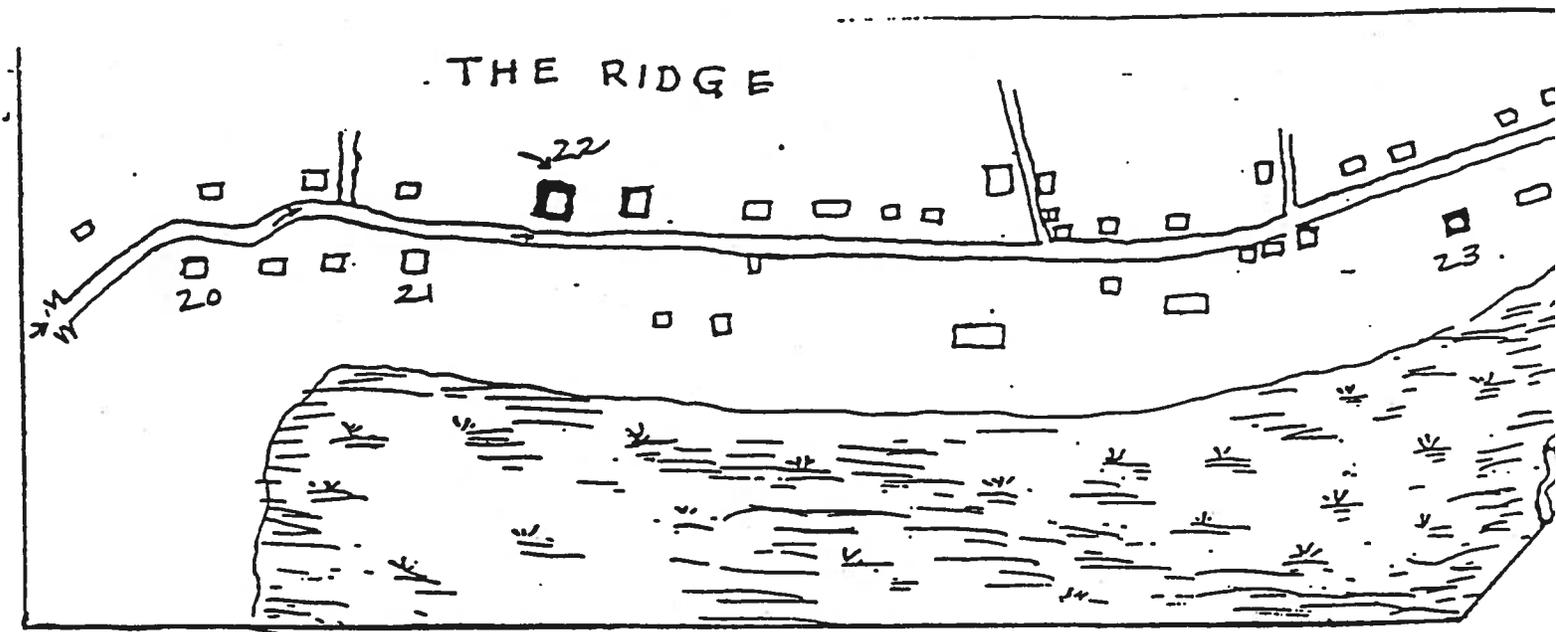
The most common form of automobile strip is the commercial strip. The form here described refers to a set of commercial structures built along a road or highway, which have diversity in their architecture, size, and function, but which relate to the road in the same consistent manner. The buildings are constructed with the automobile in mind, and thus they have driveways and parking spaces (and lots) attached to them. Because they service automobile traffic, they fall along the most highly used streets and roads. These too are an obvious and clear linear development with little or no secondary street systems attached to them, even though they may occur in densely populated urban areas. In densely populated urban areas, the commercial strip may function as a spine for other forms of development, especially subdivisions, industrial centers, and office parks. All of the residential strips--pre- and post-automobile--because of their proximity to urban/town/community centers and because of their accessibility on major roads, are vulnerable to redevelopment as commercial strips.

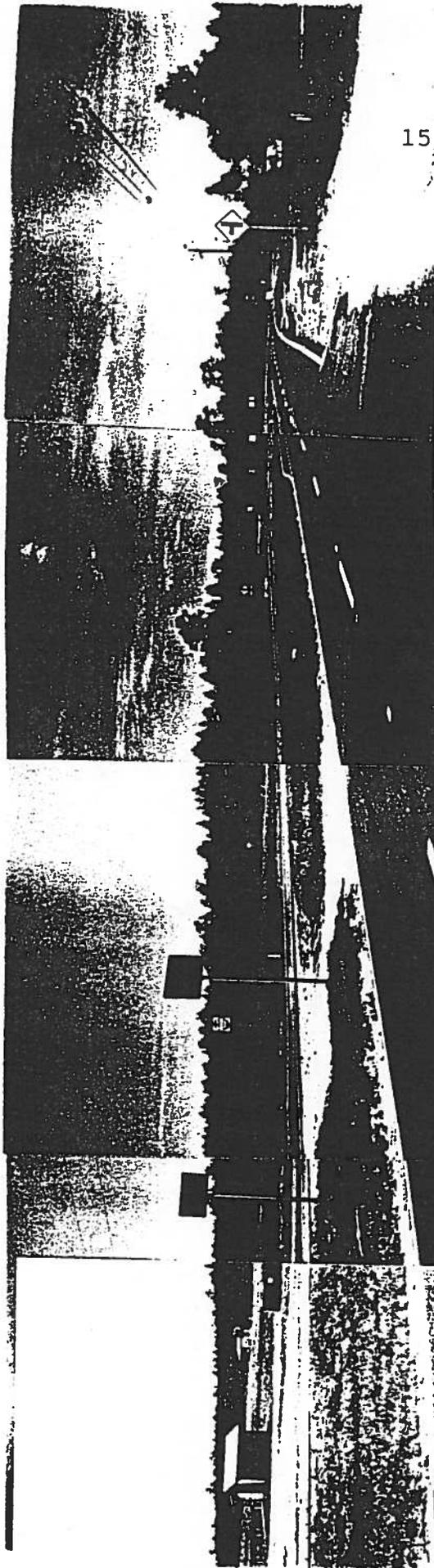
Examples: Vernon Road neighborhood in LaGrange; Bloomingdale (outside Savannah)

Vernon Road neighborhood in LaGrange is a good example of the pre-automobile strip. Now perched along both sides of a highly trafficked street, Vernon Road was once the location of the prestigious homes (a la Peachtree Street in Atlanta before the commercialization of it). Vernon Road has retained its elite flavor and its aesthetic beauty, but the road has already been widened once and could be widened again.

Bloomingdale is the quintessential residential automobile strip. Houses line both sides of a major highway with deep set backs and long driveways. There is also a commercial section to the strip of highway along with Bloomingdale has organized itself. The community has existed for some time, but the architecture along the strip (Highway 17) is relatively new--minimal traditional houses and brick ranches. All of it post dates World War II. Interestingly, the strip development incorporates both the old highway 17 and the new; they run side by side each other; the closer they get to Savannah, the more commercialized they become.

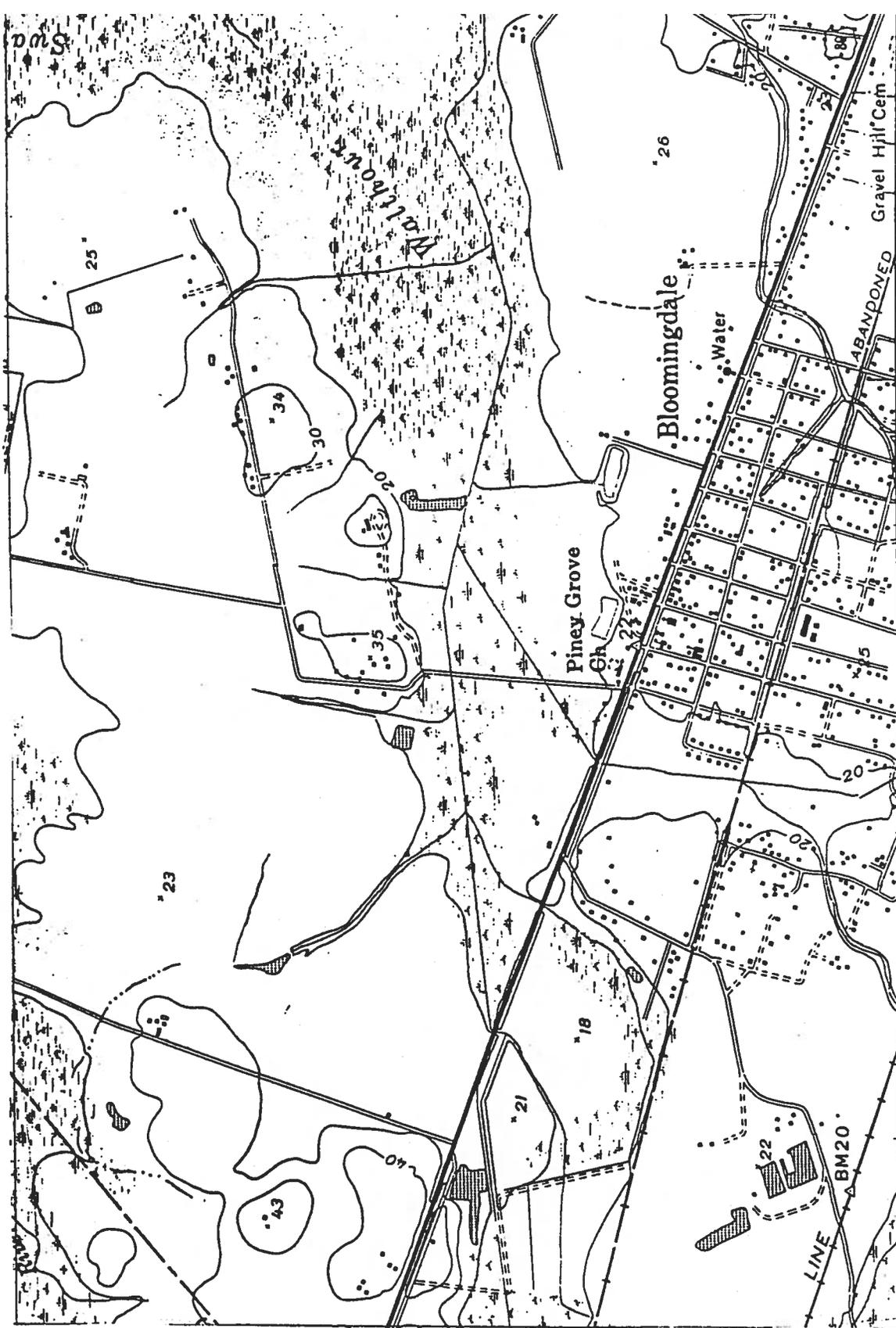
A pre-automobile residential strip outside Darien.





151

Automobile strip at Lulaton with incipient commercial development.

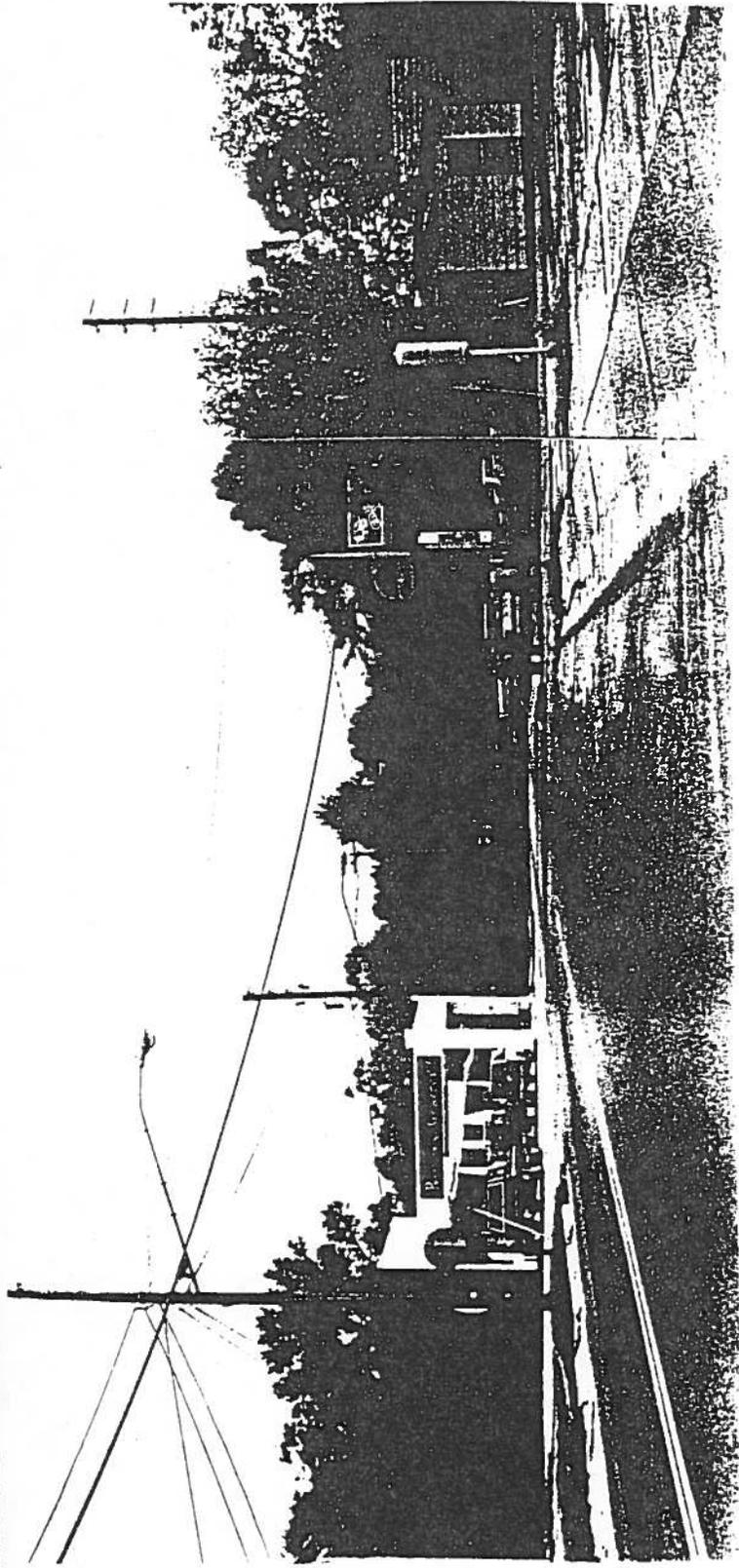
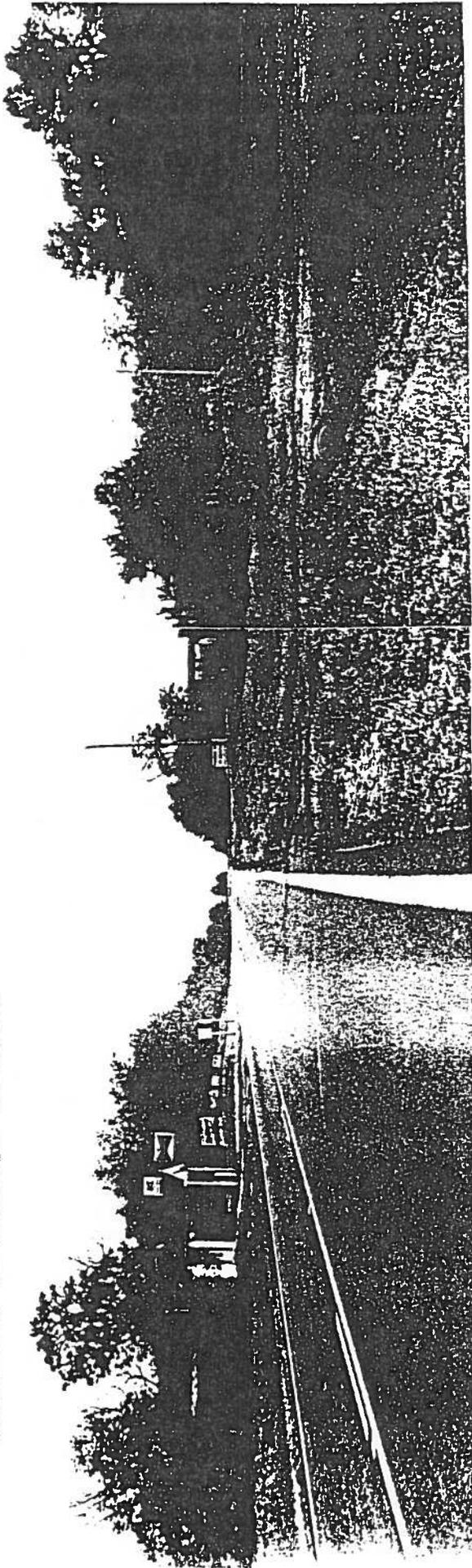


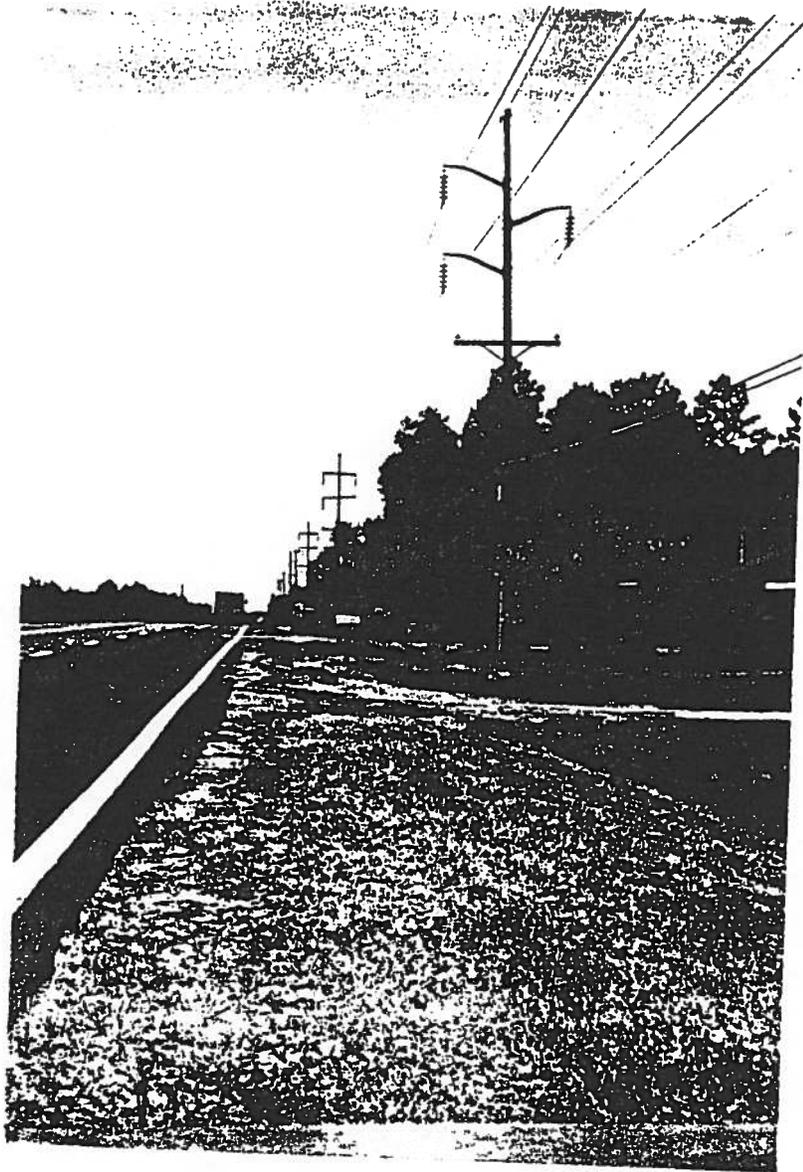
A picture-perfect automobile residential strip/subdivision outside Savannah.



Bloomingdale.

First signs of a commercial automobile strips. Gas stations on the outskirts of Wadley, Georgia.





A residential automobile strip on Hwy. 82 outside Waycross.

VII. Specialized land use areas

When a community of any kind or origin reaches a certain indeterminate size, big enough not to be comprehended in one viewing, it is perhaps easier to understand it in terms of its component parts, rather than merely its origin or primary developmental factors. These contribute to and define the community's basic character and form, but not exclusively so. The component parts are going to be all of the remnants of the original foundations of the community; all of the intact areas of commercial, industrial, and residential development; a downtown core of some kind; and all of the roadside, crossroad, railroad, and other smaller types of communities which may have been absorbed in the process of growth. The growth will occur in many forms at one time and in more than one direction, often obscuring the original remnants or altering them beyond recognition. Growth of this kind is "quantum" or exponential rather than linear or organic. Development occurs rapidly because it occurs, not on a building-by-building basis, but on a block-by-block, area-by-area, or subdivision-by-subdivision basis. The building blocks for making an urban center out of a small town are large pieces of territory added on all at once.

Whereas smaller communities will demonstrate heterogeneous character in a limited space, with multiple functions occurring cheek by jowl with each other (a bank next to a barn next to a church next to a house, etc.), larger communities (towns and cities) will tend toward increasing land use specializations and separation of functions, so that different land uses are located in different parts of the town or city. New growth will often incorporate older forms, so that a subdivision of new residences, for example, will fill out an area once known as a railroad stop. Both components--the subdivision and the old railroad stop--will be visible on the land, their origins and functions readable, but the one, the subdivision, is the product of increased land use specialization as much as of growth. It is not the product merely of expansion alone. These specialized areas create "communities," of their own, but they do not all include residential structures. Thus, it is possible to treat the central business district as a community, though in most places, the central business district is not a residential community any longer.

VII. A. Industrial/commercial and central business districts

These are common in small, medium, and large towns and occur now largely without residential dwellings, though the pattern of their development in the nineteenth century included residence as well as occupation. (See the mill/factory town below for this exception.) The central business district in the most

common and frequent form, creating a "community" of workers and businesses without residents. Industrial parks, suburban office parks, and suburban shopping centers are other recognizable forms of specialized districts. These can be further subdivided by their mode of access, whether related to railroad developments, water, trucking, or some combination of these, since the access to these areas affects their form. Since these areas are component parts of any sizable community, they are mentioned here, but since they also do not contain residences, they are not considered true communities by the definition used in this study. Examples abound and are not necessary to list. Any central business district, any industrial or commercial park, any shopping center will suffice to imply the forms of these districts.

Example: Any Main Street in Georgia.

VII. B. Subdivisions and suburbs

These are recognizable residential developments which are all of a piece, meaning they were conceived as whole entities, and developed as whole entities. They are easy to spot on maps from their street patterns--usually set blocks of rectangular or curvilinear streets with interlocking relationships and similar nomenclature. Access to and from the main road is usually limited to a few of the interlocked streets. These same community components are easy to spot on the ground from the street pattern, the overall landscape, and the architecture. The streets will intersect at predictable points or in predictable ways on square or rectangular grids, or along curvilinear (regular or random) relationships which are regularized if not predictable. Their width will be similar, setbacks of the houses regular, tree plantings uniform, and the orientation of the houses to the street will appear to be equally standardized. Usually the houses are similar in styles and sizes. They may, in fact, be quite repetitive in form.

Subdivisions are the building blocks of large towns, and dating them is an excellent way to track physical development. The term suburb is a relative one, referring to a location outside a city or town; a subdivision merely refers to an area divided into parts, in this case, lots. The two are almost interchangeable except that a suburb often has more identity than a subdivision, may have had a separate existence from the city it relates to (or is located in), and may have some non-residential components, such as a small retail center or service area. A suburb may also include some undeveloped land, whereas a subdivision will not. Some suburbs may have begun their life as strip, roadside, railroad, or crossroads communities; a subdivision will not have any such history. The history of these suburbs, especially ones which have been annexed to larger communities, is not always obvious from cursory examination. There will be clues, such as collections of older houses, a small and dated center, or a railroad depot, siding or station sign.

Both suburbs and subdivisions may originate out of train, trolley, or automobile connections. Now all of them will be accessed by automobile, but they were not all built for the car. There are some clear differences between the automobile suburbs and the pre-automobile suburbs, but the formal differences between train and trolley suburbs are subtle and may require knowledge of the local history. True train subdivisions and suburbs will occur in proximity to a railroad line; quite simply, they will be very close to the tracks. They may be built around the tracks and orient themselves to a depot building (or, more likely, the space where the depot was). Train suburbs and subdivisions are likely to be quite compact. They are not very numerous in Georgia, since the period of suburbanization in which they would occur overlaps

with the rise of streetcar transportation, and the trolley suburb is more common. A more common form of development around railroad tracks is the cross-rail or railroad stop development in which small clusters of residences (or even individual dwellings) were widely separated along the railroad tracks. These are discussed above under railroad communities. Unless it is certain that there was no other access to the subdivision except by railroad or foot, it cannot be certain that what appears to be a railroad subdivision is indeed one.

The trolley subdivision looks much like the railroad subdivision in that there are no driveways (originally) or garages associated with the houses, and the houses are accessed from the street rather than from a driveway. Pedestrian walkways and sidewalks (again, original, not added) are common but not essential to the form. Trolley subdivisions are oriented to the tramway and are difficult to identify without extant remnants of the trolley tracks. It often takes knowledge of the history of the area to identify the trolley subdivision without the presence of the tracks. There are often intricate relationships between the trolley tracks and the subdivision, with separated travel paths for trolley, buggy, and foot traffic. Trolley subdivisions and suburbs tend to be of two forms: linear and/or rectangular in their street patterns or curvilinear in their street patterns. They will usually have short grid systems coming off of the street with the trolley tracks, or fan out in grid, semi-circular, or curvilinear patterns at the end of the line. Much development around streetcar transportation occurred along the edges of the streets with the trolleys on them, so knowing the routes of the trolley lines helps to identify certain "communal" patterns as much as other signs do.

Automobile suburbs tend to be more spread out than trolley and train suburbs, except for the upper class versions of the earlier suburb types. The interior lots of automobile suburbs tend to be shallower than those of the earlier suburbs; lots may be wider in relation to the proportions of the house than with the earlier suburbs; certainly they will not be narrower than earlier lots. The chief differentials are the presence of garages and driveways and the reorientation of the house entryway to the driveway rather than to the street. Pre-automobile suburbs based on carriage traffic may have the same appearance as automobile suburbs, i.e., they will have driveways and carriage houses (rather than garages), but the identifiable feature here will be the age and class of the houses. They will tend to be older, larger homes than in the automobile suburbs. Automobile subdivisions are easy to spot on a map from their street patterns and names. The garden suburb, Olmstedian suburbs, and those based on curvilinear street patterns are especially easy to identify. Professionally planned communities will show certain other con-

nected amenities--such as golf courses, parks, open spaces, community club/recreation houses or centers, school buildings built in the style of the local architecture, etc.

Examples: No true train subdivisions have been identified in this project; trolley subdivisions are numerous, especially in and around the Atlanta area. These would include, for example, Inman Park; the Log Cabin neighborhood along the old Interurban line near Smyrna; Druid Hills with its park and parkway system paralleled by a streetcar line; any of the subdivisions in Decatur coming off Oakview Road or College Avenue. Automobile suburbs would include Ansley Park and Garden Hills in Atlanta. (These are mentioned, but this form was not studied).

It should be mentioned that while subdivisions and suburbs might be defined as communities physically, not all of them have a true community identity, something which requires intangible ingredients having to do with the degree to which local residents identify with the local areas. For purposes here, however, all are communities.⁴⁰

⁴⁰For the best and for all intents and purposes the only classical study on suburbanization in America, see Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985). Jackson includes suburbs developed in the south, but does not draw any regional comparisons or define regional differences in the patterns of suburbanization he discusses.

VII. C. Black sections

Specialized land use patterns have also reflected social segregation patterns. Consequently, in the South, every community and town of any size will have one or more black components: a separate town center and black residential areas. The separate town center may have commercial and market functions depending on the size of the community. It may have a commercial row of businesses or just one store. The black businesses will cluster in two areas, one which serves white customers and one which serves black only. The white service area tends to be located just off the main street, sometimes near the railroad. The black service area(s) will be hidden within the black community. Sometimes a church or school will be the focus of the community.

The residential areas will be separate from white residential areas and at least one of them will be contiguous with the black town center or primary social institution. The black sections of town (prior to post World War II suburbanization) will differ from the white sections in their general landscape: the street grid will probably be incomplete, the streets narrow, the lots and dwellings small. These communities will contain architecture which includes rural, folk, and undecorated vernacular forms--such as shotguns, pyramidal hipped roof "boxes," saddlebags, and others.

Residential areas of a city or town which were originally white and have become black will not be different architecturally from other areas of the town.

Examples: Bethlehem community in Augusta; Vine City in Atlanta; Standpipe Hill community in LaGrange [not studied for this project].

VIII. Education centers

This category pertains to a specific number of towns in Georgia planned to exist for educational purposes. Their original primary function was education, and their physical orientation reflects that role. The chief identifier is the separation of the commercial section of town from the educational section, though it is common for them to exist near each other and to bear coordinated street patterns (entrances to the educational facility from cross streets; primary educational buildings facing the main street separating the two components). The educational facility, as planned in Georgia, is modeled after the English campus idea, in which the facility is somewhat self-contained and removed from the urban center. This contrasts with the European model (the Sorbonne, for example, or the University of Heidelberg) in which the educational facility is simply intermixed with the other structures in an urban setting, without separation, and without any change in the landscape. Often in the American model (to which Georgia is no exception) the educational facility backs up to a section of residences designed as faculty housing, which is designed in the same style and scale as the school itself.

Examples: Oxford, Athens, Penfield (not studied)

Other subdivisions or residential sections may append themselves to the educational location, trading on it as an amenity. It is common in college towns to find the words "Heights" or "Gardens" after the word "College" in the names of just such developments.

Example: College Heights in Decatur; College Park near Atlanta (not studied)

IX. Military installations

IX. A. Settlement and colonial forts

These are (or were, as most are now archaeological sites or total reconstructions) regular or irregular rectangular shapes with outcroppings at the corners for defense and observations posts. The forms of the forts were imposed on topological features having the best strategic positions for defense, usually on hills, peninsulas, and high cliffs. The early forts were designed for defense rather than for occupation, and were commonly too small to house more than a very select, temporary population. Towns in Georgia, therefore, tended to develop near the forts but not around them. The towns and other settlements would be located in less formidable circumstances and with more room to grow. Therefore few towns in Georgia have incorporated the early forts into their physical structure, the forts being separate. Many have retained the name of the fort in their municipal appellations, but the form is missing, or if present, is some kind of historic site. Most Civil War fortifications, as their settlement and colonial predecessors, were temporary, impermanent structures.

Examples: Fort King George (not studied)

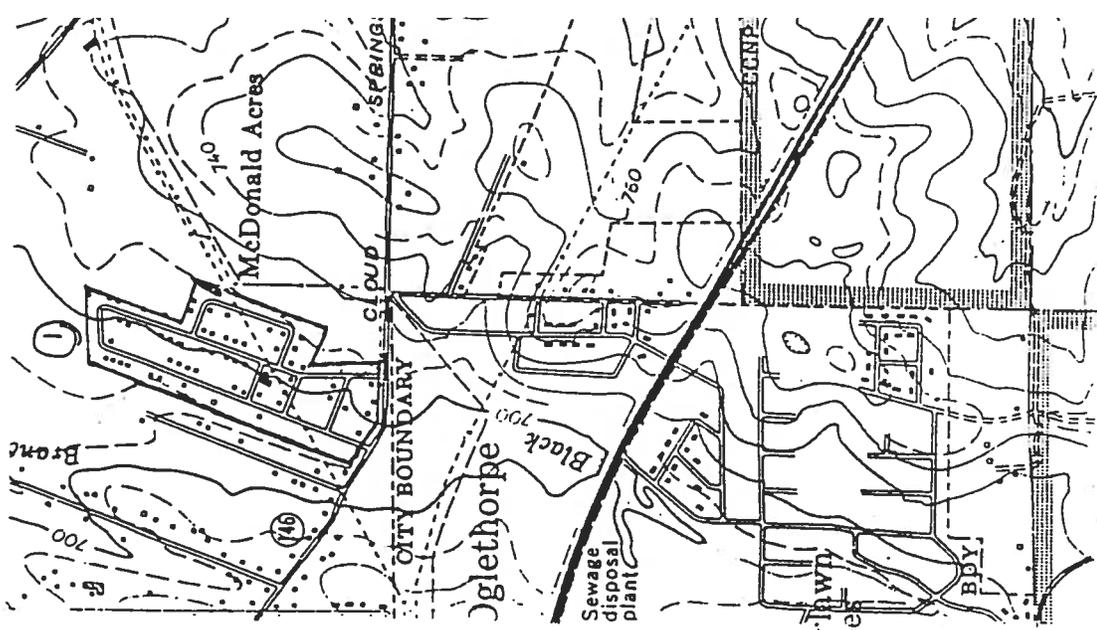
IX. B. Modern forts and military installations.

It was not until well after the Civil War that permanent forts were created in the United States, for defense and training purposes. These differed from the earlier versions in the very fact of their permanence. They were designed with a significant housing function and therefore qualify as separate communities. Built as permanent (or at least semi-permanent) quarters, these are sometimes as large as small towns and consist of all the concomitant heterogeneous resources.

The presence of these forts and military installations has generally resulted in associated or subsequent development in the immediately surrounding areas. Residential development and small commercial developments are likely to be found in the neighborhood of these military sites, usually planned consciously to relate physically to the military base. It is common, for instance, for the entrances of subdivisions opposite military bases to correspond to the entrances or driveways on to the military base.

The structures within the fort itself will reveal some standard building patterns for the service for which they were built. The U. S. Army, for instance, had universal basic house plans for their bases, which were carried out with an abundance of exterior variety. Barracks are an unmistakable feature of these military sites, though the configurations within the forts of both barracks and officer housing may vary. The housing stock of subdivisions not owned by the armed services but built to relate to a military base will vary, however, it is common to find relative small houses on compact lots in nearly uniform architectural styles. This is particularly true of such housing in the twentieth century.

Examples: Fort McPherson; Fort Oglethorpe



The former parade ground and officers' quarters are still evident on the map of Ft. Oglethorpe.

IX. C. Other forts and fortifications

Occasionally a few military features will be incorporated into a community, and the original shape of the military installation or feature kept intact over time. The most prominent and frequent such feature is the parade ground (which existed in most small towns during the early nineteenth century). The parade ground, and the houses which surrounded it, are often present in communities today, though their original function may not be immediately obvious. Usually the parade ground was placed on fairly level pasture or semi-graded land free of trees. Many have been converted to parks, some left vacant, some subdivided and rebuilt for other uses. This is another instance when the local history may be needed to identify a community component.

Examples: The parade ground in Kennesaw is still intact near the old center of town. In courthouse towns, the courthouse square served as the parade ground. The parade ground is merely a feature of a community, and it has never stood for the community itself.

X. Resort communities

These exist throughout Georgia in many shapes and on many different land forms. They will conform with one or more of the basic community styles already outlined above. The primary distinction between the resort communities and communities of any other kind is the very reason for the resort to be formed in the first place. What it has to offer the tourist or traveler--the seacoast, mineral springs, river or lakefront--provides a focus for the community to which it will partially or fully be oriented. The wealthier the resort, the likelier it is to conform with typical urban and other community patterns of development; the more restrained its wealth, the more typically it will be confined by topographic elements. It then will share characteristics or rural towns--broken grids, underdeveloped grid patterns, narrow or winding streets, as dictated by the topography. Resort communities generally give themselves away with their names, the first clue to the presence of their original function.

XI. Mill and other industry villages.

The mill village is a very common community form in Georgia and throughout the Southeast. Since the mill village consists primarily of residential structures, its form conforms most closely with other residential developments--subdivisions and suburbs. The difference lies in the presence of an industrial facility at the core of the village (usually, at its edge). Designed as residential sections around or near this industrial core, the mill village resembles a self-contained suburban town--one which has most but not all of the urban functions, and one which is located in proximity to an urban center, but not always (originally at least) inside the city limits. Some mill villages in Georgia were established as wholly separate, self-contained communities, and therefore have all the marks of a small town. Two characteristics always dominate the mill village: 1) the presence of an industrial plant to which the streets and other properties relate, and 2) a predictable homogeneity to the architectural styles and general landscape of the residential sections. In some mill villages as few as one or two house types predominate; in others a dozen or more house types will be found. In addition, the housing architecture will reflect prevailing vernacular patterns and styles, inexpensively constructed.

Examples: Mill villages in Augusta, LaGrange, and in Clarke County especially (not studied); Cabbagetown in Atlanta (not studied)

XII. Utopian communities

This category includes a select group of (unstudied) Georgia communities settled and created for religious or philosophical purposes. Their forms may reiterate the patterns of community already described or they may reflect forms which pertain to religious convictions or philosophical constructs. Georgia's utopian communities deserve to be studied individually or as a group to ascertain their formal arrangements on the land and to derive any commonalities or differences in their plans. As far as common wisdom goes, there is no Georgia community with as extraordinary community organization as exists at Winston-Salem where the Moravians settled or at the early Shaker communities in Ohio.

Examples: Kononoia; the monastery at Conyers (not studied)

XIII. Temporary communities

This category includes community types which are transient in nature, that is, they are conceived and planned to accommodate residents only for a short duration, either because their use is seasonal or their purposes temporary. These differ from resorts in that they will be completely unoccupied or abandoned once their purpose is served. Resorts will have a nuclear population throughout the year, which swells with seasonal use. Their forms also tend to reflect their intentions very clearly.

XIII. A. Campgrounds

This category refers to special summer retreats used by many religious denominations and social/philanthropic organizations. These usually occur in the highland areas of the state, or near water resources anywhere. Their forms were not studied for either commonalities or uniquenesses for this report, however, two possible distinguishing features exist. These include 1) a probable high degree of topographic respect in the way the streets, roads, and paths are formed which belong to the camp, and 2) the appearance throughout of "rustic" architecture--buildings constructed in simple styles out of native materials--wood, stone, clay.

Example: Methodist Campgrounds, such as Marietta Campground in Cobb County

The Methodist Campground is a standard and uniform throughout Georgia (and probably throughout the U.S. where such campgrounds occur). The community consists of a central tabernacle with open walls but a permanent roof. The tabernacle is the focal point of the community, and it is surrounded by a stand of buildings called "tents" but constructed out of wood and canvas, screening, and sometimes glass, which are semi-permanent wooden sleeping quarters. They surround the tabernacle in a U-shaped formation or a semi-circle. The Methodist campgrounds also contained communal eating areas and an associated school building. All were located near a natural water source, a spring or clear brook. Though built along guidelines prepared by the Methodist Church and used every summer, the campgrounds were (and are) still considered temporary constructions.

The Methodist Campground in Cobb county has occupied the same plot of land since the early 1830s. The date of the oldest structures is not known and hardly documentable, but portions of the tabernacle roof beaming are hand hewn. The school building cornerstone is dated 1912. The campground today is served with running water, but most of the roadways are paved only with loose gravel. The "tents" are tall, gabled, one- and two-room structures made of unfinished planks. Few have true windows, most

have only screens or shutters. Most now have floors, but originally would have had damped earth. The tabernacle is surrounded on three sides by the tents; the school building is off on the side by itself, on the path to the springs. The entire setting sits on Roswell Road just outside Marietta, and has an appealing anachronistic look to it, very much dated by its modern surroundings and the mammoth contemporary church across the street.

XIII. B. Construction camps and other.

These were not studied, but are included because they are known to have existed. They would have been built in association with railroad construction, mining, logging, sawmilling, and the development of utilities in the backcountry (such as dams and power lines). These were intended to be temporary, often mobile, and once the work was finished, they were demolished or moved. All would have been built prior to the availability of roadside hostelry--i.e., motels--and mobile homes. Today trailers are used on construction sites where once small frame structures were erected. It is not known if there are any remnants of such communities left in Georgia.

Examples: None known.

XIV. Aboriginal communities

More is surmised than is known about the communities which were occupied by the native Americans in what became Georgia. Extant structures, such as the Chief Vann House and the reconstructions at New Echota, are so influenced by European and American ideas about town planning, that they are not the best examples of what existed here before the non-natives arrived. It is difficult-to-impossible to determine about them what is original to the culture which produced them.

Many Georgia towns and cities, far more than is customarily credited, were built on the site of Indian villages, towns, encampments, and meeting grounds. While the Indian dwellings and other buildings were routinely demolished, their presence on the land obliterated, the road systems on which they were built would just as routinely retained by the white settlers. The original road patterns, trading routes, and hunting paths can still be traced in Georgia, especially in the less developed sections of the state. Local names also give clues to the original residents and their uses of the land. However, the evidence for these places is now archaeological rather than architectural. The architectural and landscape examples which do exist are very late, and influenced, as mentioned, by non-native ideas.

Early observers did make notations about the Creek and Cherokee civilizations who were living in the Georgia area at the time of European exploration and settlement. Some hint of the cultural differences appears in the text of Mr. Caleb Swan, a visitor to the Creek Indians in 1790 in Georgia, who

found the people living in small houses or cabins, but in clusters, each cluster being occupied by a part of a gens or clan. . . . these houses stand in clusters of four, five, six, seven, and eight together. Each cluster of houses contains a clan or family of relations who eat and live in common.⁴¹

Examples: New Echota

⁴¹Quoted in Lewis H. Morgan, *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines* (Chicago: Phoenix, 1965).

Observations and recommendations

1. First of all, there seems to be no such thing as an wholly unplanned or irrationally structured community, albeit many have been developed without the benefit of professional planners. Most have been laid out by surveyors in the employ of the state, the county, or the railroad systems. Geography, water courses, the original system of land survey, and transportation developments have largely shaped Georgia communities (and all communities) prior to the advent of formal city planning or the profession of city or regional planner.⁴² Because of this fact, more about the structures of Georgia communities could be ascertained if more were known about the profession of surveying--its reference systems, habits of mind, training requirements, and so on. Furthermore, more could be known by relating the earliest records of transportation patterns to local communities, and by attending to the relevancies of local geography (still so often disregarded in local history).

It is more than an interesting coincidence that so many Georgia towns are indicated on the maps as a circle with gridded streets laid out orthogonally to east, west, north, and south. This level of basic earthbound orientation, actually elemental human consciousness, is ancient. The oldest symbol for both a city and the profession of surveying was an icon made up of a circle with cross markings inside it indicating the compass (then celestial) directions.⁴³ Georgia's circle towns are as ancient a form as found in western civilization, though their circular nature is not reiterated either on the ground (in street patterns, walls, or other relationships) or in the architecture (no circular houses, no circular landscapes). It is a map form not a structural one, however ancient the knowledge which platted it.

Communities make sense otherwise. They have centers, foci, nodes. They teach expectations and conform to the same expectations, especially the courthouse towns and those communities formed around factories or recreation features. They adhere to rational solutions to topographic and transportation problems. Though many shapes often lack aesthetic appeal, their rationality is unmistakable.

⁴²See Gerald Danzer, *Public Places*, section on town plans, pp. 41ff.

⁴³See the symbols and illustrations, pp. 48-51 in Joseph Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town: The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988).

2. The importance of the railroad in shaping Georgia communities cannot be overstated. Most Georgia towns have been shaped to some extent by the presence of the railroads, the coming of the railroads, or the disappearance of the railroads. The role which the railroad companies played in laying out Georgia towns is a topic for further investigation. For example, the collections of the Central of Georgia Railroad at the Georgia Historical Society might be particularly valuable in reviewing the philosophy and effort behind the development of towns along its routes.

3. Transportation and construction technologies are primary keys to the physical location and basic orientation of most communities. The rise of transportation systems--trails and stage roads; water-bourne shipping; the railroads; the highway systems to service vehicular traffic--all have had their community shaping consequences. And all have had consequences beyond merely the largest urban centers. The loss of certain kinds of transportation dependencies has removed certain community types from the Georgia landscape. Chiefly these are the water-related towns, and the roadside communities which abandoned their original locations to be closer to the railroads.

Construction technologies have impacted Georgia communities as much as transportation modes because the one goes hand-in-hand with the other. Earth-moving equipment of the twentieth century has made it possible to lower mountains, raise valleys, and wrap roads in ways inconceivable to earlier populations. The power given the technologies have induced a certain dissociation of place from landscape. It is no longer necessary to regard the landscape to create a community; a whole town can be carved out of a mountainside with little or no regard for the mountain itself. This is subject for philosophical discussion about the environment more than for proposals pertinent to historic preservation, but the disorientation to place many people feel today may be due in part to the fact that so much of the "terra firma" has been rendered mobile by our building equipment. The changes in construction technologies are a fit subject for future considerations in preservation of historic landscapes, including old roads and routes through rural and small town communities.

4. Looking at communities as a whole leads one to the conclusion that all communities are parts of larger communities. The types included here may all be treated that way. All of these community types may be appended to other communities to make larger ones, or they may be deduced from larger ones to be seen as the building blocks they are. This is a useful idea in examining the contexts and structures of larger towns and cities especially. Breaking them up into component parts makes them more intelligible to the examiner, especially, as when, in the case of Atlanta, the

whole is too large to comprehend except very abstractly. Seeing the subdivisions, railroad stops and cross-rail communities, the roadside communities, strips, mill towns, and other components in Atlanta, makes the place comprehensible. Such tools to comprehensibility are useful in preservation, and the current emphasis on communities as types and whole which the HPS is undertaking, is laudable from this perspective. Identifying community types and historic boundaries ought to be more fully developed in the survey program as well.

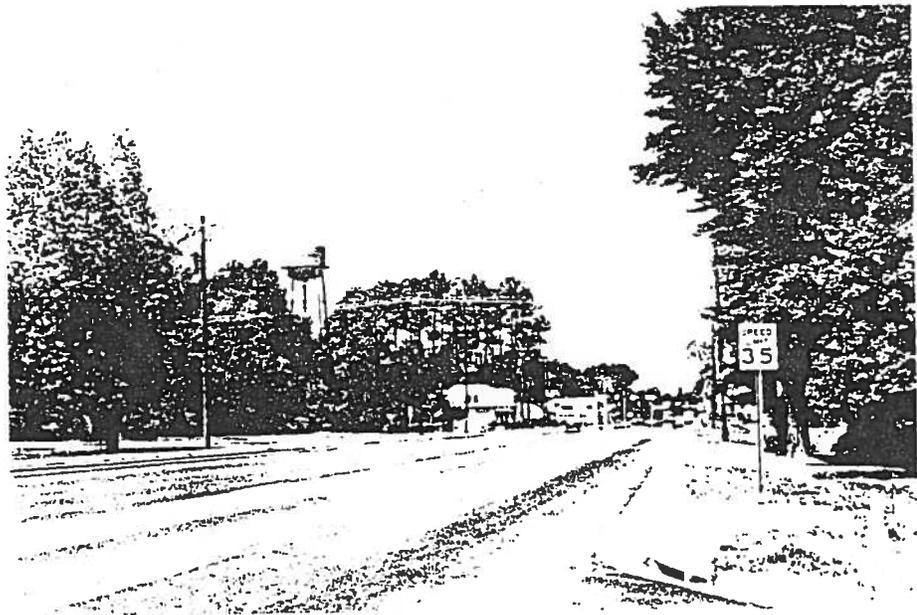
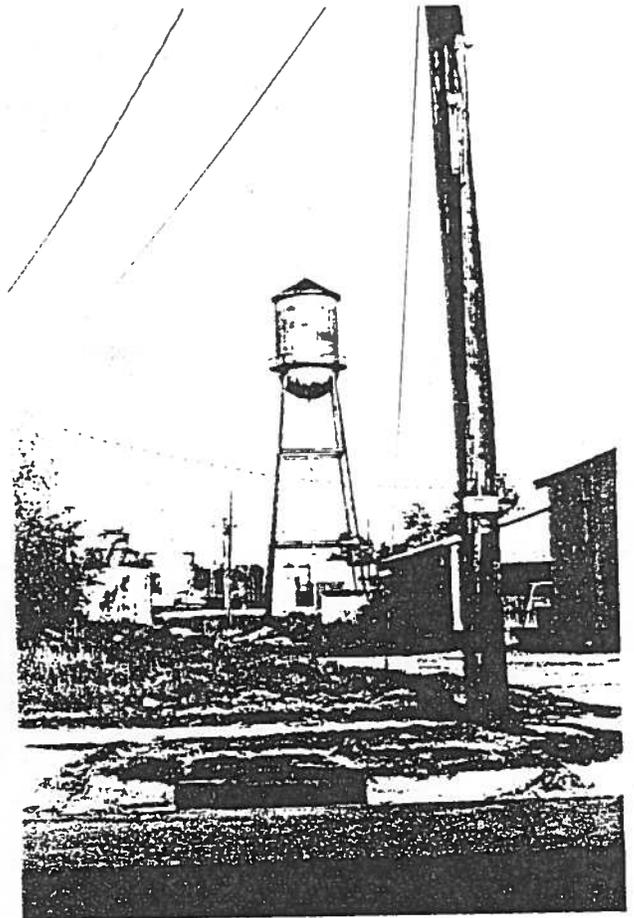
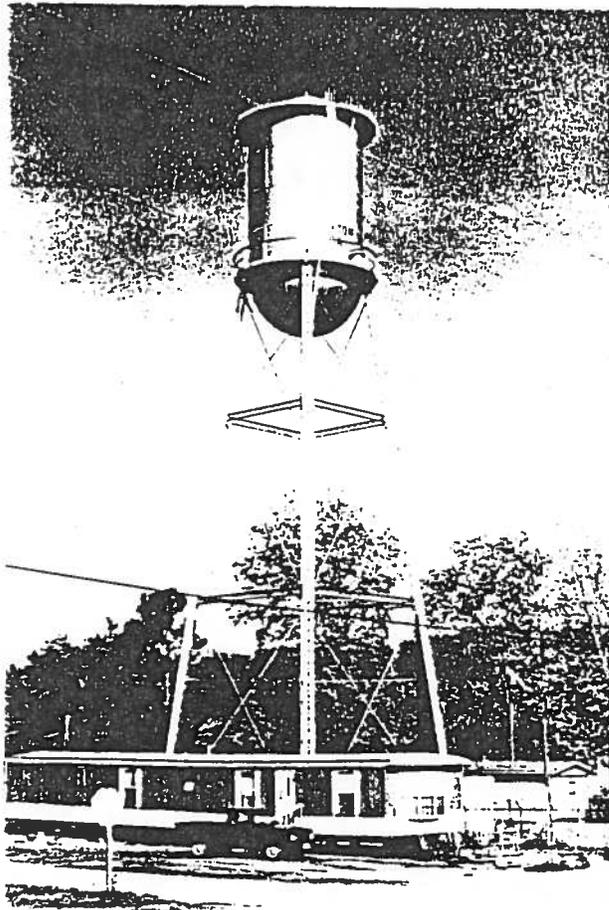
5. If this project could have been taken to a higher degree of intellectual endeavor, it could have made a greater contribution to community and urban studies in general. Its potential contribution lay simply in being able to take the Grady Clay/John Jakle approach to the landscape a step further. Both of these scholars have identified components or ingredients on the landscape--Clay in the city, Jakle on the landscape in general.⁴⁴ What this project could serve to say is that there are certain kinds of edges, nodes, and breaks (Clay) and certain kinds of vistas, clusters, and foci (Jakle) which have historical validity, which have, in a sense, their own periodization. These reappear in certain patterns, certain combinations, and certain (now) familiar townscapes with some regularity and some predictability (from historical information). This project combined background reading with map information, field observations and architectural information in order to make its categories, which required generalization without too much abstracting. The result was that certain nodes, breaks, and foci, could be said to have recurrent historical realities, not simply abstract theoretical value. An imagined article, entitled, "Why Some Georgia Towns All Look Alike," gets the idea across. There is a cultural specificity and unity at work which together are both greater than the abstractions and more imminently demonstrable. However, in this connection, this report is barely a beginning.

6. Some community types here deserve more attention, and some types should be re-thought. Two of the most obvious are the utopian communities, whose shapes were virtually unknown to this project, and the temporary communities, which appear to have interesting histories but may have little contemporary existence. The commercial, CBD, or Main Street centers of a larger community may be treated as a separate temporary community type, which probably fits the experience of these places better than not including them does. The fortified community centers and the

⁴⁴Grady Clay, *Close-up: How to Read the American City* (New York: Praeger, 1973) and John A. Jakle, *The Visual Elements of Landscape* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1987).

contemporary garrisons deserve more attention, though they have been studied elsewhere and the findings there might be incorporated. Sociological studies on the black communities might be utilized to better comprehend and describe those types, barely touched upon here. Nor were black communities as entities discussed in DNR's "Historic Black Resources" handbook. Furthermore, the state-planned market towns is a forced category when the physical evidence is examined more closely. Probably both Macon and Columbus could be classed as river towns because of their navigation histories, and Milledgeville might be classed with Louisville as a capitol town. Some newer community forms have not been considered which have viability and historical verity: low-income project housing; cluster and apartment communities, post World War II planned "new" towns, mobile home parks, and the now ubiquitous condominium community (frequently based on older models or adapted from older forms such as apartments. Other new and reworked classifications are inevitable.

7. The viability of one community over another is related to but not determined by the community's appearance. This is not stated to support the ideas of class, i.e., that the better looking a community is, the better it is to live in; rather it is a statement made to support the idea that the more identifiable a community is from its visible markings, the more likely people are to identify with it. It is as simple as that. Where there are no landmarks naturally, people will create them. In many Georgia towns the most visible landmark is a water tower with the name of the community emblazoned on its side in large letter, visible and legible for miles, virtually, around. This is not just a geographic place marker, it's both a deeper and more common symbol--without water, no life; without the sign, no identification. A broken, rusted water tower is a clear sign that a community has died, moved on, relocated. Just as the absence of traffic around a courthouse indicates that the focal point of the community has moved on, changed, or declined. When the look of a place is changed, the way it is conceived of in everyone's mind is changed, and therefore the relationship between the place and the people near it is changed. By the same token, when people begin "seeing" new possibilities for a place, their relationship with that place changes, and ultimately, the place itself is changed. It is an on-going dynamic. Places die or change when the visions around them die or change. Consequently, any work which builds symbolic constructs in the minds of the populace which are community-building constructs, keeps the dynamic between people and place a positive, growing one. Understanding what the identifiers are, what the communal types are, and what they look like, is one step in helping to create and support that positive relationship.



The ubiquitous water tower and community landmark, these in Guyton, Nahunta, and Wadley.

8. A regional assumption underlay this study, which is to say that it was presumed, from readings and direct observations, that the southern communal landscape which was being analyzed was different in many parts from its counterparts elsewhere in the nation. Georgia, as a part of the South, would therefore reveal some of these regional differences.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, this very interesting aspect of the study could only be hinted at, not absorbed and evaluated in any great detail. What follows is a set of observations which are stated as assertions:

a) All Georgia communities, from the smallest to the largest, lack the density in population and architecture which their northern counterparts contain. Atlanta may be the most nationally "compatible" or regionally indistinct locale in Georgia, but even it shares some of the qualities of a regional culture. It is more like Phoenix or Los Angeles than it is like Chicago or New York, yet it is unlike either Phoenix or Los Angeles because of its topography, and unlike Chicago or New York because of the absence of density. This low density feature reveals itself in several things, first of all in the amount of space surrounding individual structures, especially residential structures. It reveals itself as well in the frequency of undeveloped pieces of land within the town/city/community boundaries (see below) which simply lie fallow, never having been built upon. The average lot size is larger in Georgia communities than in communities in the northeast and the west, except for the most modern and recent subdivisions, where the lot size is more nearly similar across the country. "Urban" spaces in Georgia, as throughout the South, are small in population; even the largest metropolitan area (presumably Atlanta) is much smaller than any comparable urban area calculated to be a regional center in any other region of the country. In addition to space and population, the architecture reveals a preference for low-rise buildings, even contemporary ones, in all but the largest urban centers. Finally, the twentieth century phenomenon known as "suburban sprawl" characterizes most of modern-day development in Georgia cities and towns, keeping the low density quotient on a continuum with history.

⁴⁵See, for example, Pierce Lewis, "Reading the Landscape," in Thomas Schlereth, *Material Culture Studies in America*: "much of the South looks different than the rest of the country, not only because the climate is different, but also because some important parts of southern culture really are different from the rest of the country," and "many small southern towns look quite different from their northern counterparts. . . ." pp. 177ff.

b) Natural landscape elements (e.g., sharp drops in terrain, ravines, vacant lots, and sandy patches) are often retained within community landscapes, but uncultivated, unaltered, and normally undeveloped as part of the "cultural" landscape of the place. These elements are not "played up" as they might be in the western regions, nor are they diminished, as they might be in the northeast. The result is that frequently green spaces occur in communities which are not parks. They are merely open or empty spaces and enjoy, at most, a kind of benign neglect which preserves them without protecting them. It is not reverence for nature so much as indolence which is at play, and some long-held southern sense that land is cheap, not dear, and can be, at least where not readily amenable for settlement or crops, let alone. The result, in effect, is that many Georgia communities have a built-in aesthetic which exists without the apparent application of any visible aesthetic principles beyond which nature herself provides.

c) There is an implicit sense in the structure of Georgia communities which reveals a prejudice about "town" life. This prejudice says that a town (village, community, city, etc.) is a place in which to worship God and tend to business much more than it is a place to live. Amenities and recreation sites are missing as a general rule from the structure of Georgia communities. There is no public play space, not even space to "see and be seen", such as wide sidewalks. The single recurrent exception to this is the courthouse square, which tradition lasted a long time in Georgia town-development, but which was not retained in the later years of county seat planning. Southern communities are not, as a rule, centers of pageantry, celebration, or festival. And the single exception to this would have been the military parade ground which did exist in the early nineteenth century in many Georgia communities prior to the Civil War.

9. The historical concept for community in Georgia, that is as derived from descriptions of the physical and other tangible or measurable elements of community, could be summarized as follows: it is a small place, contains a limited assortment of commercial and gubernatorial facilities, a finite number of related residences, at least one convergence with a highway or other trafficked roadway, and an outlying "district" or social community with indeterminate and fluctuating geographic boundaries. It is recognizable because of its "node" and the relationship between that node or center and the roadway, highway--whatever the primary transportation artery. It may have a strong center, but it has very soft edges. (It is impossible, for example, judging from the habits of most gazetteers and local histories, to discuss the county seat in most counties without assuming its development and activities stand for those of the entire county.) What this implies about the compatibility of this historical concept with

contemporary kinds of growth may be that the need for containment and stronger limits on modern urban places (because of the nature of metropolitan growth and transportation especially) runs counter to what Georgians think a community is all about. The concept of a Georgia community, as read on the land, might be poor, for example, but it is slumless. Pursuing this kind of thinking is clearly a subject for some other discussion.

10. Finally, all but a few of the community types and elements discussed here are historic forms, that is to say, they are no longer being built. Automobile strips and subdivisions/suburbs, yes, small towns, county seats, river settlements, and the like, no. Whatever these communities as types have to say to the future depends on the understanding of what they have signified about Georgia culture in the past. They have stories to tell. They have vistas and realities to present to the viewer and participant in their lives. They are a rich backdrop against which to see the future of Georgians, and it is an interesting and challenging array of possibilities which they present to the preservationist, the developer, and the citizen. Whether as historic forms they are also anachronistic ones depends on the decisions which these very parties make about them. If the look back to the past of Georgia communities is fraught with negative associations (slavery, defeat in war, poverty, failure, etc.) then the preservers of their material culture will have a tall task to do to change the perceptions of their value. Because the consciousness making process is so important to the preservation of these places, the telling of their histories in positive, forgiving, comprehensible, and accessible ways is all-important. To quote a greater thinker on the processes of place identification,

We build a structure of consciousness by supporting the features of experience that we acknowledge. We make the obvious world by building it, and in constructing the world, we build ourselves, including our structure of consciousness. We build to support certain features of experience and to suppress others, and these decisions to acknowledge or deny them give form to the dominant structure of consciousness.⁴⁶

The dominant structure of Georgia and southern consciousness holds these places in very fragile sway. It is not simply the buildings and structures which much be confronted in preservation questions but the culture which created them. The consciousness which created them must be interpolated and in some ways changed in

⁴⁶E. V. Walter, *Placeways*, UNC Press, 1988, p. 13-14.

order for the community structures themselves to survive or prosper.

Bibliography

- Austin, George F. , One Hundred Years of Methodism in Tattnall County, Georgia, 1808-1908: A Centennial Volume, (Reidsville: Reidsville Journal, 1908).
- Averitt, Jack N., Georgia's Coastal Plain (N.Y. and West Palm Beach, Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1964), Vol. II.
- Roger Aycock, All Roads to Rome, (Rome: Rome Area Heritage Foundation, 1981).
- Battey, George M., Jr., A History of Rome and Floyd Counties, (Atlanta: Webb & Vary, 1922).
- Beaujeu-Garnier, J., and G. Chabot, Urban Geography (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1969 [1967 French edition]).
- Bell, Burton J., 1976 Bicentennial History of Gordon County (Calhoun: Gordon County Historical Society, 1976).
- Brannen, Dorothy, Life in Old Bulloch, The Story of a Wiregrass County in Georgia (Gainesville: Magnolia Press, 1987).
- Cain, Andrew W. History of Lumpkin County for the Last 100 Years, 1832-1932 (Atlanta: Stein Publishing Co., 1932).
- Candler, Allen D., and Evans, Clement A., et al., Georgia, Comprising Sketches of Counties, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form (Spartanburg and Atlanta: Reprint Co., 1972 [1906]).
- Church, Mary L., The Hills of Habersham (Clarkeville: the author, 1962).
- Clark, William H., History in Catoosa County (by the author, 1972).
- Cobb, James C. Industrialization and Southern Society, 1877-1984, (Lexington: The University of Kentucky, 1984).
- Cook, Anna Maria Green, History of Baldwin County, Georgia (Spartanburg: Reprint Co., 1978 [1925]).

- Coulter, E. Merton, Georgia Waters, Tallulah Falls, Madison Springs, Scull Shoals, and the Okefenokee Swamp (Athens: Georgia Historical Quarterly, 1965).
- Cunyus, Lucy J., The History of Bartow County (Bartow Co., 1933)
- Danzer, Gerald, Public Places: Exploring their History (Nashville: AASLH, 1987).
- Davidson, Victor, History of Wilkinson County (Macon: J.W. Burke Co., 1930).
- Dorsey, James, Footprints Along the Hoopee: A History of Emmanuel County, 1812-1900 (Spartanburg: Reprint Co., 1978).
- East, W. Gordon, The Geography behind History (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1965).
- Foster, Mark S., From Streetcar to Superhighway: American City Planners and Urban Transportation, 1900-1940 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979).
- Geldert, Louis N, and Georgia Chamber of Commerce, Facts About Georgia, A State Rich in Resources and OPulent in Opportunities (Atlanta: Foote & Davies Co., 1916).
- The Georgia Annual: A Compendium of Useful Information About Georgia (Atlanta; A. B. Caldwell, 1912).
- Georgia State Gazetteer, Business and Planters Directory, 1886-87 (Savannah: A. E. Sholes, Publisher, 1886).
- Goff, John H., Placenames of Georgia (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985)
- Gordon County Historical Society, Yesteryears: Pictorial History of Calhoun and Gordon Counties, Georgia (Calhoun: Gordon County Historical Society, 1977).
- Hart, Bertha Sheppard, The Official History of Laurens County, Georgia 1807-1941 (Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Co., 1941).
- Hatcher, George, Georgia Rivers: Articles from the Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine (Athens: University of Georgia Press), 1946.
- Heath, Milton, Constructive Liberalism, The Role of the State in the Economic Development in Goergia to 1860 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954).

- Hinson, Wayne D. Population Change in Georgia 1920-1950 (Master's thesis, London School of Economics, September 1982).
- Holder, Gerald, "State Planned Trading Centers in Pioneer Georgia," *Pioneer America*, 74 (1982), 115-124.
- Hollingsworth, Clyde, *Pioneer Days: A History of the Early Years in Screven County* (n.p., n.d.)
- Hull, E. F., *Early Records of Putnam County, Georgia, 1807-60: Wills, Marriages and Old Cemeteris* (published by the author).
- Jackson, Kenneth T., *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).
- Jordan, Margaret, et al., *Miscellany* (Wayne County: Jesup Sentinel, 1976)
- Kirby, Jack Temple, *Rural Worlds Lost: The American South 1920-1960* (Baton Rouge & London: Louisiana State University Press, 1987).
- Krakow, Kenneth, *Georgia Place-Names* (Macon: Winship Press, 1975).
- Luke and Tate, *A History of Pickens County* (Spartanburg: Reprint Co., 1978 [1935])
- Marlin, Lloyd G., *The History of Cherokee County* (Atlanta: W. W. Brown Publishing Co., 1932).
- McQueen, Alex S., *History of Charlton County* (Atlanta: Stein Printing, 1932).
- Morgan, Lewis H. *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines* (Chicago: Phoenix Books of the University of Chicago Press, 1965 [1881]).
- Nesbitt, R. T., *Georgia: Her Resources and Possibilities* (Atlanta: G. Harrison, 1896).
- Norwood, C. W., *Sholes Georgia State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1879-1880* (Atlanta: Sholes & Co., 1879).
- Phillips, Ulrich Bonnell, *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860* (New York: Octagon Books, Inc., 1968).
- Prince, Richard E., *Central of Georgia Rialway and Connecting Lines* (Millard, Nebraska: by the author, 1954).

Prunty, Merle, "The Renaissance of the Southern Plantation, The Geographical Review, XLV (October 1955) , 459-491.

Rabun, John P., A History of Tattnall County, 1801-1865, Mercer University Research Paper, 1954.

Reeve, Jewell, B., Climb the Hills of Gordon, (Calhoun: by the author, 1962).

Reps, John W., Town Planning in Frontier America (Princeton, N.J.: University Press, 1965, 1969).

Ritchie, Andrew V., Sketches of Rabun County History, 1819-1948, (by the author, 1948).

Sartais, Joseph A., History of Walker County Georgia, (Dalton: A. J. Showalter Co., 1932).

Thomas J. Schlereth, Material Culture Studies in America: An Anthology, Selected, Arranged, and Introduced by Thomas J. Schlereth, (Nashville: AASLH, 1982). Articles by Pierce Lewis, Fred Kniffen, and Henry Glassie.

Sherwood, Adiel, Gazetteer of the State of Georgia (v.p., v.d.)

Smith, Goerge, The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People, 1732-1860 (Macon: by the author, 1900).

Stanley, Lawrence, A Little Hsitory of Gilmer County (by the author, 1975).

Streets and Squares of Old Brunswick (n.p., n.d.)

Taylor, Carol, A Bicentennial Look at Dawson County, (n.p., 1976).

Thomas, L. V., History of Jefferson County (Macon: J. W. Burke Co., 1927).

Walkes, Laura, History of Ware County, Georgia (Macon: J. W. Burke, 1934).

Walter, E. V., Placeways: A Theory of the Human Environment (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

Ward, George Gordon, The Annals of Upper Georgia Centered in Gilmer County (Carrollton: Thomasson Printing, 1965).

Wells, Camille, Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986).

White County History Book Committee, A History of White County
1857-1980 (by the Committee, 1980).

White, George, Statistics of the State of Georgia (Savannah: W.
Thorne Williams, 1849).

-----, Historical Collections of Georgia (New York: Pudney
& Russell, 1855).

Whitfield County History Commission, Official History of
Whitfield County, Georgia (Dalton: A. J. Showalter Co., 1936).