

GEORGIA:
A Woman's Place
A Historic Context

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Table of Contents

- 1. Executive Summary of Findings** (Darlene Roth)
- 2. Project Background, Rationale, and Personnel** (Leslie Sharp)
- 3. Methodologies** (Darlene Roth)
- 4. Narrative** (Darlene Roth, Leslie Sharp)
 - 4.1. Becoming Visible (1732-1869)
 - 4.2. The New Woman: Gaining a Public Persona (1870-1919)
 - 4.3. Modernization: Moving Toward Equal Rights (1920-1969)
 - 4.4. Going Forward (1970-Today)
- 5. Findings** (Darlene Roth)
 - 5.1. Historiographic Review (Darlene Roth)
 - 5.2. Individual Women (Beth Gibson, Sarah Boykin, Bamby Ray)
 - 5.3. Special Studies – History of the Kitchen in Georgia (Lynn Speno)
 - 5.4. Special Studies – Women in the Georgia Landscape (Ced Dolder)
 - 5.5. Known Resources – Georgia's National Register Sites (Gail Dubrow, Darlene Roth)
 - 5.6. Known Resources – Resource Types (Darlene Roth, Leslie Sharp)
 - 5.7. Known Resources – Historical Markers in Georgia (Beth Gibson)
 - 5.8. Known Resources – Survey of Georgia Historic Sites and Museums (Beth Gibson, Bamby Ray)
 - 5.9. Identifying New Resources – Surveying the Surveys (Bamby Ray)
 - 5.10 Women and Synagogues (Steven Moffson)
- 6. New National Register Nominations: Selection and Rationale** (Darlene Roth)
 - 6.1 Ellamae Ellis League House (Bamby Ray, Ray & Associates)
 - 6.2 Wesleyan College Historic District (Lynn Speno, Ray & Associates)
 - 6.3 Swan House Amendment (Ced Dolder, Ray & Associates, Darlene Roth)
 - 6.4 Woman's Club Buildings in Georgia Multiple Property Nomination (Lynn Speno, Ray & Associates, Darlene Roth)
 - 6.5 Historic Resources Commemorating the Civil War in Georgia Multiple Property Nomination (Ced Dolder, Ray & Associates, Darlene Roth, Leslie Sharp)
 - 6.6 Mary Jane and Joseph League House (Leslie Sharp)
 - 6.7 The Architectural Designs of Henrietta Dozier, Leila Ross Wilburn, and Ellamae Ellis League in Georgia Multiple Property Nomination (Penny Luck)
- 7. Appendices**
 - 7.1 Bibliography (Beth Gibson, Penny Luck, Bamby Ray, Darlene Roth)
 - 7.2 Women's History Resources (Beth Gibson)
 - 7.3 A Note on Archaeology (Georgia Department of Natural Resources/Historic Preservation Division)

1. Executive Summary

Darlene Roth

Section 1. Executive Summary:

This summary briefly describes the various parts of the report and the team's findings, including important conclusions that may be drawn from this study. These are discussed at greater length during the course of the report, and suggest both the complexity of the subject matter and its challenges to the National Register process. The sections are as follows.

Section 2. Project Background and Rationale:

The project was undertaken as a pioneering effort to identify women's sites within the state that might associate themselves with women's history, to discover gender-related patterns of use, creation, and influence in buildings, landscape, and other structures in Georgia history associated with women; to outline the history of women in the state (in the absence of an available general history of women in Georgia), and to make some recommendations that would increase the possibilities of covering women's history in well-established historic preservation practices, procedures, and policies.

Section 3. Methodologies:

The project used a number of different approaches to get to the subject matter and undertook a variety of investigations to establish what was already being done, taught, and interpreted in women's history in the state. In addition to standard bibliographic research, the project utilized biographical information, information available from historic preservation sources, and new information garnered by surveying public institutions in the state. Some original research was also undertaken to support National Register nominations and several seminal studies that related to aspects of women's domestic lives – kitchens and gardens.

Section 4. Narrative History of Georgia Women:

The history of women in the State of Georgia is rich and varied and breaks neatly into three distinct historic periods (1732-1870, 1870-1920, 1920-1970) plus the modern day (1970 forward). The three historic periods fall largely within the scope of the National Register criteria, which are followed in

the narrative. The narrative follows two parallel stories: one dealing with what might be called the stereotypical woman's "domain" – her domestic and everyday life – and the other with her human development and her drive toward autonomous self-realization.

There are important architectural consequences associated with both components. The period between the Civil War and World War II gave rise to institution-building among women that produced the greatest number of female associated, gender-specific buildings in the state. Actually, there are no buildings within the state that are not in some way connected to women, but those buildings which pertain specifically to the story of the increasing evolution of women's self-expression, political influence, and economic value are key structures in Georgia women's history.

Section 5. Reports of Findings:

Included are some comments on historiography, two special studies, and analyses of known and as-yet unidentified resources and resource types.

Section 5.1. Historiography:

There is great unevenness in the coverage of women in Georgia history; certain types of women and certain periods have received a great deal of attention, others none at all. While individual white women may have risen to some prominence in the state's biographical consciousness, the condition of their lives is less well known than that of enslaved African American women in the antebellum period, who have been studied the most. The field of history, as evidenced by the publications of the Georgia Historical Society and the Atlanta Historical Society, the state's two largest local history organizations, indicate that the field is at best a late-bloomer among historical topics.

Section 5.2. Individual Women:

While the project sought to identify patterns of space/land/building use by women in the state and to outline the historic development of women as a whole, it also sought to identify individual women who had made contributions to the state in many different fields. Published compilations of biographies yielded several hundred names, but the quality of information on the women varied greatly. Some fields (such as architecture) were not represented in any of the listings; some additional historiographic problems revealed themselves in the process of identification, and these are discussed with the listings.

Section 5.3 and Section 5.4. Special Studies:

Two areas of common activity for women have been the house and the (kitchen and/or flower) garden. Domestic life dominates the bulk of Georgia female experience, and while the project team felt it could not cover every aspect of domesticity, two important arenas

were explored – the kitchen, and the garden. These studies constitute original work and important findings in fields generally overlooked.

Section 5.5, Section 5.6, Section 5.7 and Section 5.8. Known Resources:

The project team sought to identify historic properties already associated with women through various searches in an effort to see what possibilities might exist with known resources: National Register listings (properties already listed, and identified sites by generic description), historical markers, and public presentations by historical societies and house museums throughout the state were all examined. These searches are reported in this section.

Section 5.9 and Section 5.10. Identifying New Resources:

Two important studies sought to merge old information with new: a “survey of surveys” – that is, an assessment of the state’s survey program as it relates to identifying women’s sites – and a survey of the National Register itself. This last takes National Register sites associated with women and suggests what else might be found or searched for, what changes might be made in the National Register process itself to include more women’s history, and an assessment of Georgia’s pioneering efforts along these lines.

Section 6. National Register Nominations:

The project team selected five nominations, including one individual building (Ellamae Ellis League House), one district (Wesleyan College, second campus), one amendment to an individual property (Swan House), and two multiple property listings. The multiple property nominations include woman’s club buildings throughout the state and the prolific dispersal of monuments and other sites initiated and sponsored by women’s groups to commemorate the American Civil War. Two additional nominations were submitted as part of the second phase of the project. The home designed by Ellamae Ellis League for her son Joe and his wife and a multiple property nomination documenting the work of the first three professional women architects in Georgia completed this phase.

Section 7. Appendices:

The appendices consist of a bibliography for the entire study with all its component parts, a listing of agencies and other institutions of support for women’s history and historic preservation in the state and elsewhere and information about archeology supplied by the Georgia Department of Natural Resources/Historic Preservation Division.

2. Project Background and Rationale

Leslie N. Sharp

The Women's History Context study emanates directly from the Georgia Women's History Initiative, originated in 1995, and serves all three of the Initiative's goals:

- 1) to identify and document historic places associated with women - and resources that reflect broad themes associated with the roles of women in the state;
- 2) to reinterpret historic places already identified in Georgia based upon a better understanding of women's history in Georgia; and
- 3) to promote the awareness, appreciation, and preservation of historic places associated with women in Georgia.

Women have comprised half of Georgia's population, but not much is known about the historic places related to them and their organizations, nor about their association with commonly studied historic places – residential, commercial, industrial, and community landmark buildings. Of the more than 1600 National Register of Historic Places listings in Georgia, fewer than three percent are documented as women's sites. Of the nearly 2000 historical markers in the state, fewer than seventy pertain to women, and many of those are based in legend or merely mention the woman because of her husband's significance. The other 1500 National Register listings and the other 1900 markers may relate to women, but their association with women is not documented.

Though the need for studying women-related historic places may be apparent, the task is daunting. There is hardly a building in the state that has not got some relationship with a female personage, which creates a problem of sheer quantities. The women's history elements of any particular structure do not, as a rule, present themselves on the outside of that structure, on its facade, or even in its detailing, unless the words "women," "girls" or "ladies" appears somewhere in text on the surface. The National Register itself has not recognized "women's history" as an area of significance, now an admitted omission on the part of Register staff, thereby adding to the dilemmas presented in trying to identify women-related resources. And, to top it off, women's history itself has many components which refer to varying subject matter – feminism and its concomitant political history; women's achievements in all other fields, especially professional ones; women's experience in any field of endeavor as it differs from men's experience; and, finally, the domestic sphere in general, which has historically been regarded as

“woman’s place” in society and often therefore segregated or separated from other areas of activity. So, interpretive differences, sheer quantity of numbers, unsupportive preservation infrastructure, and invisibility – both societal and architectural – contribute to the problem.

Just how strong should an association be to establish the women’s history significance? Obvious examples of strong association would include the home and/or office someone like novelist Flannery O’Connor, the Athens YWCA, homes relating to Leila Ross Wilburn (Georgia’s first truly successful female architect), and the Rockmart Woman’s Club. These buildings have clear and direct associations with the story of women in the state. Other buildings would tend to have indirect associations with women. At the other extreme, even men’s clubs, where female attendance is restricted may have female wait staff or maintenance workers. But more important associations with women’s experience abound in existing National Register listings and potential listings. For example, many industrial complexes, especially those stemming from the textile industries, utilized hundreds of female workers, often segregated by race and by sex from other workers. Georgia women have been the backbone of other industries: candy making and commercial laundries, to name two, yet the National Register nominations for such buildings as the Block Candy Company and the Trio Laundry do not reflect their significance to women’s history. Another example: after the early years of public schooling, teaching staffs throughout the state consisted predominantly of women, especially at the lower grade levels, which fact would suggest these establishments might reflect women’s culture. Yet this is hardly mentioned unless the school is gender restricted and is for girls only. Yet again, stenography and secretarial skills created a whole new class of female workers, especially during the early twentieth century, which development also began to dictate certain interior office spatial relationships. But commercial structures listed in the National Register seldom reflect the presence of women on their premises. Political structures such as court houses constituted a predominantly male environment until the twentieth century, when women started lobbying more habitually, when women were first elected to legislative office, and finally, when women were allowed to serve on juries. It was not until that final assault on the male bastion, however, that women’s rest rooms became a customary element in courthouse architecture. Finally, residential buildings, the traditional home unit, have commonly been associated with women and defined by the “women’s sphere” and by the dictates of domestic life, yet few listings in the National Register reflect the fact that women have resided within their walls let alone the fact that women may have owned the buildings. The point is, even indirect associations – which is all other associations with buildings in Georgia except those that were built by and for women – may have importance in women’s history.

Could strong and weak, direct and indirect associations be more specifically clarified? Is there a distinct women's history category of subject matter that could justify buildings being listed on the National Register for their relationship to that subject alone? Is there distinct subject matter relating to women that would shed light on potential National Register properties in all resource categories, or, at least, in many categories? If the association with women is weak or indirect, should a property be considered significant in women's history at all? These are the types of questions that directed the founding of the women's history initiative and that also guided this study.

In order to establish more definition around women's experience in Georgia and the specific female relationship to certain types of buildings; in order to identify important themes in Georgia women's history, some geographical distinctions, and chronological periods, as well as to relate these to specific resource types, the Historic Preservation Division opted to create the opportunity for a historic context study to be conducted. After two years of effort, the Division obtained funding from the Georgia Legislature under the leadership of State Representative Doug Teper to support a study. In June of 1998 the Division hired a study team, headed by Dr. Darlene Roth, to conduct the appropriate evaluations, write a report of their findings, and also to prepare a set of nominations to the National Register.

As of this writing, the women's history context project is actually entering a second phase, in which the findings of the first phase are being prepared for possible publication, an additional National Register nomination is being prepared examining the work of Georgia's first women architects, and another nomination is under consideration. The project is also preparing materials for the Historic Preservation Division (such as a set of survey instructions that suggest how to include women's history in the conduct of county-wide and other surveys) that will directly affect the conduct of future historic preservation activities as they relate to women's history.

The project team consisted of the following personnel, whose biographies are appended to this section of the report: 1) Dr. Darlene R. Roth, head of Darlene Roth & Associates, Inc., 2) Bamby Ray, head of Ray & Associates, and two of her associates, "Ced" Dolder and Lynn Speno; 3) Beth Gibson, one of the founders of the Georgia Women's Initiative; 4) Sarah Boykin, a feminist architect; 5) Penny Luck, recent Georgia State University Heritage Preservation graduate and historic preservation consultant; and 6) Dr. Gail Lee Dubrow, Associate Professor at the University of Washington, and one of the leading lights nationally in the field of women's historic preservation. The team was ably assisted in all its efforts by Dr. Leslie Sharp, formerly National Register Coordinator at the Historic Preservation Division and currently Director of Special Projects, College of Architecture, Georgia Institute of Technology.

A preliminary draft was submitted in May 2001; National Register nominations were resubmitted in 2002 and 2003, and the second draft and additional National Register nominations were submitted in February 2005. The final version was submitted in September 2006.

Biographies

Sarah Boykin, AIA, formerly the Senior Educational Facilities Planner at the Georgia Institute of Technology (Georgia Tech), is now at the University of Georgia. She holds a Masters of Architecture from the University of Texas in Austin. Boykin has been involved in numerous preservation-oriented projects, including a survey of Civilian Conservation Corps work in 35 state parks in Texas, for which she received a Texas Award for Historic Preservation in 1987. Her on-going work on *The Leila Ross Wilburn Project* includes extensive research on Leila Ross Wilburn, one of Georgia's first female architects. Boykin has also been a guest lecturer at the University of Georgia, School of Environmental Design.

Cynthia E., "Ced," Dolder holds a Masters in Heritage Preservation from Georgia State University. She also has degrees from Bucknell University and the New York School of Interior Design. An experienced design consultant, and an expert in art, architecture, and landscape history, Dolder researched and developed a master plan for an antebellum garden restoration in Tennessee. Dolder has been a preservation consultant with Ray & Associates since 1994, and since August 2006 is employed as the Tax Incentives Specialist at the Georgia Historic Preservation division.

Gail Lee Dubrow, Ph.D., is Associate Professor of Architecture, Urban Design and Planning, Director of the Preservation Planning and Design Program, and Associate Dean of the College of Architecture and Urban Planning at the University of Washington in Seattle. She has degrees from the University of California and the University of Oregon. She has specialized in the history of women and other under-represented groups in both preservation planning and public interpretation. With Jennifer Goodman she co-edited *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, forthcoming), and chaired the 3rd annual conference on women and historic preservation, held in 2000. In addition she contributed to the Power of Place Project in Los Angeles, the National Women's History Landmark Project, and the Women's History Educational Initiative sponsored by the Organization of American Historians and the National Park Service.

Beth Gibson, a licensed architect, has been working in historic preservation since 1993. She worked for four years at the Historic Preservation Division and while there she introduced the statewide Women's History Initiative to identify, preserve, and document women's historic places around the state, making Georgia the first state to undertake such an effort. Gibson coordinated the first women's history and historic preservation conference with Leslie Sharp in March 1996. This conference "Telling Her Story" was another national first. Gibson was honored in March 2000 by the Georgia Women's History Month Committee for her achievements in historic preservation.

Penny Luck was born in Buffalo, New York. She holds a Bachelor of Science in Business Education and Master of Science in Education from State University of New York (SUNY), Albany; and a Masters in Heritage Preservation from Georgia State University, awarded in 2005. Luck has extensive experience in the fields of business management, finance and corporate communications. At present she is

consulting in historic preservation with Blue Sky Preservations, specializing in historic research, grant writing and National Register Nominations.

Bamby Ray, principal of Ray & Associates, holds a Master of Arts from George Washington University in American Studies, with a concentration in historic preservation. She has been actively involved in this field in Atlanta since 1991, and in 1993 created Ray & Associates, an independent preservation firm specializing in research, photographic documentation, and processes and certifications related to the National Register. Ray & Associates has been active in almost every major renovation project in the metropolitan area since the firm's founding.

Darlene R. Roth, principal of Darlene Roth & Associates, Inc., holds a Ph.D. in American Studies from George Washington University. Her article "Feminine Marks on the Landscape" was one of the earliest published works which identified places important in women's history. Her book *Matronage* is a rare study linking women's organizations, community building, and ideas of feminine identity. Roth functions as a heritage consultant working with communities and corporations to help them develop their sense of legacy and put their historical assets to work. She has worked with Delta Air Lines, the Atlanta History Center, the City of Atlanta, the City of Fitzgerald, many house museums and other historical societies. She has published seven books, the latest of which is *Greater Atlanta: A Shared Destiny*.

Leslie Sharp, Ph.D., is Director of Special Programs for the College of Architecture, Georgia Institute of Technology, and the manager for the Georgia Women's History Initiative. Sharp integrated Georgia women's history, technology, historic preservation, and gender studies in her dissertation, and received her doctorate from the Georgia Institute of Technology in 2004. Between 1993 and 1999, Sharp worked at the Historic Preservation Division of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources with special responsibilities for the state's National Register and Centennial Farms programs. She has served in official capacities on the Georgia Women's History Month Committee, written and published articles on women's history and historic preservation, spoken at state and national conferences, and has also testified before the President's Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History (1999).

Lynn Speno, an active consultant with Ray and Associates since 1995, has a Masters in Heritage Preservation from Georgia State University, and a Bachelor of Arts from the University of South Carolina. Prior to joining Ray & Associates, Speno acquired extensive training in architectural history, including research and a publication on Dade County, Florida. She has also designed historic exhibits related to the Tallulah Gorge State Park and Fulton Bag & Cotton Mills. At present she is a historian/archivist with Georgia Power.

3. Methodologies

Darlene Roth

The project team members began more than six years ago with expectations that they could accomplish something valuable but without any certainty about what they would find, either on the record or the landscape. As the team conducted its work to find resources relating to women, some physical women's resources were disappearing: the Leonard Street Orphanage at Spelman College has been replaced by a brand new classroom building; the Rebecca Latimer Felton house, home of America's first female United States Senator burned to the ground; and, the future of the last three women's club buildings in Atlanta became uncertain. The team's work seemed to increase in importance as these developments occurred, which added certain drama and rendered the work more daunting than ever to the members.

The approach to this work has been multi-faceted and multi-pronged, beginning with the team itself - which included one planner, one public historian, two architects, three preservationists and a new PhD whose dissertation focused on the technology of women's spaces, specifically the twentieth century house (she received her degree in 2004). The team assumed from the outset that its "survey" of women's historic places would have to begin with an intellectual survey of the history of women in Georgia. However, that search itself would have to be wide-ranging since there is no published volume entitled *History of Women in Georgia*, though there are some significant studies covering periods and pieces of the subject. The sense of the team was that field work would have to be utilized to confirm findings from other sources, as the buildings by themselves were not going to tell the team what they needed to know.

The team wished to investigate those segments of women's lives where they were most likely to encounter some physical record, some impact on the built environment. These special investigations were not entirely intuitive for they rested on the experience of the team members, chiefly Darlene Roth and Gail Dubrow, who had spent years in women's history and in preservation activities relative to women. There were three basic areas of investigation and three related but separate efforts of analysis: 1) a standard, classical, chronologically conceived literature search of published works – books and articles – on women's history in Georgia and the Southeast that has provided the backbone to the historic narrative; 2) special studies that picked certain themes, events, and categories of resources that the team sensed would have special relevance to Georgia women; and which ended up producing the National Register

nominations plus two highly original studies; and 3) analyses of the processes and products stemming from the National Register and presentations of women by historical agencies throughout the state, which netted some of the most critical thinking and productive recommendations from the project.

The team felt it could not cover everything in detail, so the members opted to focus on some special areas that looked (from the outside) like they could produce some important, suggestive, and relevant information. Since the chronological narrative would cover historical periods, that left themes, events, individuals and groups of people that could be explored. These field studies were set at first to cover certain topics; they evolved to create certain end-products. For example, women's education appeared to the team to represent both a mainstream historical subject and a promising source for buildings to identify for preservation. It did both, and it also led directly to the discovery that female school buildings constitute the largest cache of women-related buildings already listed on the National Register. This search, then, did not lead to a formal report, but instead led directly to a National Register nomination for Wesleyan College, which could take advantage of the expertise of one of the team members, Bamby Ray, in campus architecture. The nomination provided an opportunity to honor the oldest women's college in the world and simultaneously evaluate conservative architectural and planning trends in women's education in the twentieth century.

Two other research efforts led directly to multiple property nominations, one for women's club buildings in the state and the other to women-sponsored Civil War commemorations. In these two instances, two significant and wide-spread cultural phenomena in Georgia could be documented and the relevant material culture related to them identified. The team members concurred with the idea that the organization buildings would constitute the best likely example of woman-defined spaces in the state. It has also produced the greatest number of likely candidates for National Register status throughout the state. As for the Civil War sites, it is currently coming to light that the single most abundant icon of the Civil War (erected after the war) was the statue of the Confederate soldier, chiefly the work of women's groups dedicated to commemorating the war. While the politics of the "Lost Cause" have little currency in mainstream America today, the regional consequence of the work of these women is tantamount to the creation of a semiology that reads "small town, southern, white" culture.

The team members also concurred at the outset of the project that the lives and careers of individual women were worth documenting for their value in revealing a multitude of unrecognized contributions to the body politic as well as suggesting some potential associations under National Register criteria. So the team undertook the creation of a data file of important women in Georgia history, gleaned from national and state-based biographical dictionaries, several special Bicentennial publications (the

closest volumes to modern narrative histories of women in Georgia history), and assorted other sources (such as the files of the Georgia Women of Achievement project). Methodologically, this was the most demanding computer task of the project and took the efforts of three team members to complete – Beth Gibson, Sarah Boykin, and Bamby Ray. Even so, there are gaps and missing names. The work to identify individual women in Georgia history probably raised more questions than it answered, but it was well worth doing, and it is hoped that the listing will prove of interest to preservation-minded individuals around the state. This work, as well as the other special studies, also contributed important information and many examples of women's experience for the chronological narrative.

The contributions of Georgia's first women architects constituted an important but overlooked area of inquiry in the study. Despite the interests and best efforts of the team members, the work of Henrietta Dozier, Leila Ross Wilburn, and Ellamae Ellis League awaited the second phase of the project to get its proper due. A multiple property nomination of their work was prepared by Penny Luck as an Internship project to complete the requirements for her masters degree from Georgia State University. The personal home of Ellamae Ellis League, which exists today with its original kitchen intact and without significant alterations to its original plan, was put forward as a candidate for an individual National Register listing. A woman architect, the first southern woman designated a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects, designing her own residence – this seemed to represent the epitome of female defined spaces that this project was trying to capture.

Of all the special studies, the most original work came from the commitment of the team members to portray some aspect of women's historic domestic roles as part of the project. The team version of "House and Garden" netted two seminal works, the kitchen study prepared by Lynn Speno, and the landscape pieces prepared by Ced Dolder. The Georgia kitchen, historically a woman's domain, whether black or white, slave or free, has not only seldom been studied, it has even more rarely been preserved intact, since the kitchen (like the bathroom) is one of the first residential spaces to be updated, modernized, and changed. Women in vernacular gardening, in garden clubs, and as landscape architects were all areas of investigation hitherto unexamined by anyone in the state with the intention of providing some historical context for their meaning in women's lives.

The exploration of women's presence within the files of the historic preservation processes revealed some problems endemic to the National Register itself, chiefly but not solely, the omission of women's history from the National Register list of Areas of Significance. The historic preservation files actually revealed the level of women's historiography, as it has been practiced throughout the state since the inception of the field of women's history in the 1970s. Neither is very well developed. The analyses

revealed not only what is/is not being done, but what must be done to include women's resources in the process. Included in these efforts were survey analyses by Bamby Ray, National Register nomination analyses by Gail Dubrow, National Register category analysis by Darlene Roth, a survey of state museums and historic places by Beth Gibson, Bamby Ray, and Darlene Roth, and a brief questionnaire and letter sent to identify specifically African American women's sites. Several important factors contributed to the successful outcome of these particular studies. They included the computerized survey records in the state which have turned out to be a primary source with which to identify women's sites within the state. The survey program has already been changed to include women's history as a theme. The staff of the Historic Preservation Division have been completely supportive and have also made creative suggestions throughout the project. There are greater chances for the utility of this information in the future because of their wisdom and assistance.

The project team split the work among themselves, with each member pursuing several lines of inquiry, usually aligned with the member's individual expertise and experience. In this way the project intended to build its resources from the strength of its members. Most of the work was conducted in intellectual pursuit, in file checking, and in bibliographic research. Field work, per se, was restricted to checking specific sites as part of the National Register nominations and to confirming certain types of sites as part of the narrative history.

In sum, the team approached the project through a variety of historic topics, through standard bibliographic research, through content analyses of public interpretations, through sampling of survey information, through procedural and content evaluations of National Register processes and products, through information gathering and original research, and through data organization and interpretation.

Narrative History of Georgia Women 4.1 Becoming Visible (1732-1869)

Darlene Roth

From the founding of the colony of Georgia until after the Civil War, women – whether black, white, or Native American, were legal residents of Georgia, but not citizens. Enslaved, held in contempt, subordinated, or expelled, Georgia women lived under the laws of “femme couvert” by which the property (and the identity) of a woman, if married, was subsumed under that of her husband, and if unmarried, under that of her father, guardian, or closest male relative. Enslaved African-Americans and Native Americans found themselves wrapped into the domination of this definition of female status despite their own, often variant, cultural traditions. The American Revolution accomplished little for Georgia women except to invite them to become patriotic in the performance of their domestic duties, a role they played with gusto. The cult of true womanhood reigned, touched by resentment but barely by resistance, throughout antebellum Georgia. Even the dislocations of the Civil War did not dislodge it. While Georgia women actually lived far more complex and varied lives than this description suggests, often challenging their legal status or ignoring it altogether, they did not enjoy any official improvement in their rights of citizenship until after the Civil War – for black men and women this meant freedom; for white and black women this meant a new right to own property separate from husbands, guardians, and fathers. It was only with the passage of the 1867 Women’s Property Rights Acts that women in Georgia could finally and universally maintain an autonomous legal identity for themselves that was not subjected by fiat to the fortunes, whims, and rules of a male.

Rules Within the Colony

According to the first serious historian of Georgia women, **Eleanor Boatwright**,¹ the legal code for the women of Georgia was made up of the “canon laws of Rome [combined with] the common laws of England, . . . [and] seasoned with the blue laws of Puritanism.” Laws that made it illegal for married women to own property and difficult for all other women, married or no, to make a living, held sway throughout the colonial period and into the first half-century of the Republic. Initially, as a military outpost to protect the Carolinas and Virginia from both the Spanish and French, and also occasionally from the Indians, Georgia was seen as a man’s colony, where few women would reside. The first land grants passed from one owner to another on a *tail male* basis which meant that only males inherited and no woman could inherit any property or even own it jointly with her husband.² Controversy surrounded

¹The names of individual Georgia women are in bold throughout this study the first time they are mentioned - and if several pages have intervened after the first time they were mentioned. An asterisk indicates that the woman’s name appears in Section 5.2, “Individual Women,” Georgia women’s biographies included in this study. Sites with importance in Georgia women’s history are in both bold and italic; the sites may or may not still exist, or be listed in the National Register of Historic Places either individually or as part of a Historic District.

²Phinizy Spalding, *Women on the Colonial Frontier: A Study of Frederica and Early Georgia* (St. Simons Island,

this stance even before the colony was established, and the trustees of the colony gradually converted to a headright system of grants, that included women among the possible grantees. Under the headright system, the head of the family (male or female) received one hundred acres of land and fifty additional acres for each dependent whether that dependant be a child, indentured servant, or slave. With the addition of more dependents, a landowner could petition for more land.³ For a brief period – that is, between 1740, when the trustees allowed grants to women, until 1752, when the Crown took over the colony from the private ownership of the Trustees – women in Georgia experienced uncommon rights among their counterparts in the thirteen colonies, since for those twelve years they could hold, inherit, and convey (real) property at will, something that was unheard of in Great Britain or Europe.

After 1752, women continued to be able to receive property as heads of households (chiefly as widows), but their rights were otherwise severely restricted. Married women submerged legally into “coverture,” adopted by the British from the Napoleonic code of, “femme couvert,” in which a woman’s separate identity was absorbed into that of her husband’s, “to the point of invisibility.” By law, married women could not buy, sell, or own property, draft wills, or have rights to personal property (including their own clothing and jewels). A woman could not retain money earned personally, except where poverty made exceptions to the rule, or where certain professions were agreed to be women’s professions (specifically dressmaking and millinery).⁴ Nor could a woman make valid contracts, bring suit or be sued in court, execute a deed, or administer an estate, and she could only proceed with legal redress if her husband failed to do so. Divorce was not a viable option. Abandonment was common, and after five years the court would recognize an abandoned woman as legally “disabled” and therefore entitled to some public welfare. At his death a husband could bequeath personal property to his wife (including her clothes, jewels, and other items), but generally, and unless specifically stated in a will to the contrary, the wife inherited equally with the children. Otherwise stated, a wife only inherited a child’s portion of her husband’s estate.⁵ A woman’s dowry passed to her husband, and thereby became subject to the same laws of inheritance as his own individual property. The status of daughters and sisters, and other women within a household, varied with individual families. Generally speaking, daughters received smaller portions of a father’s inheritance than did sons, and older sons received larger portions than younger

Ga.: The Fort Frederica Association in cooperation with the Fort Frederica National Monument, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1995), p. ii.

³Lee Ann Caldwell, “Landgrants to Georgia Women, 1755-1775,” in Spalding, *Women*, p. 6.

⁴Anne Ewing, “The Rights of Women in Colonial Georgia, an Overview,” in Spalding, *Women*, pp. 2-3.

⁵Julia Cherry Spruill, *Women’s Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1972 [reprint]), p. 346.

sons.⁶ The estate of **Ann Moodie** is typical: Ann Moodie immigrated to Georgia and within eighteen months of her arrival was widowed, whereupon she petitioned for a grant of two hundred acres of land. At her death, her two hundred acres passed in their entirety to her eldest son along with a chestnut sorrel mare, four cows, three sows and pigs. Moodie's younger son received five head of cattle, a bay mare, three sows and pigs as his inheritance; Moodie's two daughters received only three head of cattle each.⁷ Since citizenship rested on property, property-less individuals had no influence, needless to say, and this un-propertied class included all indentured servants (male and female), all slaves (male and female), and all women, except heads of households, certain widows and others who were considered "extraordinary" cases in the colony.

The Georgia colony originated with a mixed populace: thirty-five English families came in 1733 with James Oglethorpe to settle in what became Savannah, including several families of Sephardic Jews from London (originally from Spain and Portugal); forty families of Salzburgers, German-speaking religious refugees (originally from several different locations in Europe), came soon thereafter, and settled Ebenezer in 1734; German and English arrived at Frederica in 1735; and Scots Highlanders at New Inverness (Darien) in 1736.⁸ Women may have constituted forty percent of the original settlers, but the first years were so harsh, their numbers dwindled seriously. For example, of the forty-five women who came from England on the *Ann* in 1733, which number included four female (indentured) servants and thirteen female children, one third of them died in the first two years, an additional ten were orphaned or widowed in the same period of time; eight more left the colony within two years (seven to return to England, one to South Carolina), and three more of the pioneer women died before a decade was out. The fate of the female servants was not recorded among these numbers.⁹ In Ebenezer, seven of the eleven children born the first year died, from scurvy or dysentery and seventeen of the adults, as well.¹⁰ By 1740, Oglethorpe was recruiting women to come to the colony, as were the Ebenezers, seeking any available women.¹¹ Because of the unstable conditions in the colony, not just at the outset, but for many years, widowed men re-married quickly and frequently; a woman, if she survived, stayed unmarried only

⁶Ibid., p. 43.

⁷Caldwell in Spalding, *Women*, p. 9.

⁸Spruill, *Women's Life*, p.15.

⁹Sarah Gober Temple and Kenneth Coleman, *Georgia Journeys: Being an Account of the Lives of Georgia's Original Settlers, etc.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1961), pp. 295-298; numbers derived from the tables printed in the book.

¹⁰George Fenwick Jones, *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans Along the Savannah* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), pp. 16, 25.

¹¹Spruill, *Women's Life*, p. 17; Jones, *Salzburger*, p. 55.

briefly. Sometimes only three months elapsed as a period of grieving; in one case, it was told that “the widower Gschwandel asked for the hand of Mrs. Resch even before her husband was legally dead.”¹² Frontier conditions enabled women to experience more freedom, perhaps, than might have been possible under more normal, civilized conditions; the frontier required certain flexibility and responsiveness, and a great deal of self-sufficiency that enabled women to break their social and economic bonds in many ways. A good example is **Penelope Fitzwalter**, who came to the colony with her first husband, John, as Mrs. Penelope Wright. Mrs. Wright inherited the public house owned by her first husband and managed it with Joseph Fitzwalter, her second husband. Mr. Fitzwalter obtained the appointment as wharfinger (basically, the harbor toll master), and when he died in 1742, Penelope assumed his duties as wharfinger, an unprecedented role for her to play. Unfortunately, after some years, the trustees eliminated the job of wharfinger, which left Mrs. Fitzwalter in dire circumstances. To survive she petitioned for public support and sold off some of her inherited properties. She managed, despite her poverty, to maintain two pieces of property until her death in 1765.¹³

When the English Crown took over the colony in 1752, there were about three thousand people residing in the colony, approximately one-third of them enslaved African-Americans.¹⁴ Among the whites, German-speaking peoples outnumbered English speakers,¹⁵ and Georgia women (that is, those who could receive grants from the King and the trustees of the colony) owned thousands of acres of land. It is no wonder that Georgia does not fit the ordinary scholarly colonial mode! The land-owning numbers among the colony's women increased under the headright system between 1755 and the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. In all, some 164 women (most of them widows) amassed 64,000 acres of land, including town lots, garden plots, and farm acreage, though most of the grants were for lands of fewer than five hundred acres and in town. As the colony expanded into the interior, the women moved, as landholders, with the other citizens. **Hannah Bradwell** received an original grant of five hundred acres to which she added another three hundred adjoining acres to accommodate the enslaved African-Americans for whom she had no land to work.¹⁶ **Elizabeth Butler**, as widow of William Butler, represents an even higher end of the economic scale. Elizabeth brought twenty slaves and twenty head of cattle to her marriage, a significant dowry, and inherited 3,350 acres at William's death. To this she added another two thousand acres, granted her on the claim of her having 112 dependents – one daughter

¹²Jones, *Salzburger*, p. 25.

¹³Caldwell in Spalding, *Women*, p. 7; Temple and Coleman, pp. 209-211.

¹⁴Kenneth Coleman, *Georgia History in Outline* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960), p. 11.

¹⁵Margaret Wayt deBolt, *Savannah* (Virginia Beach: The Donning Company, 1976), p. 16.

and 111 slaves. Over the years she added more land for a saw mill, a water reserve, and a house in Savannah. She accumulated more than 5,230 acres in all by 1772.¹⁷ Occasionally married women sued for land, usually acreage held by a previous husband, parent, or other relative. Thus, **Mary Arthur** (formerly Stevens) petitioned for two hundred acres promised to her by her first husband, who deceased before he could make the grant. Arthur's eldest son, renounced any claim to the land, so it could be granted to her.¹⁸

Mary Jane Camuse* offers a wholly different example. She was an Italian woman brought over with her family by the trustees to oversee the creation and management of silk production in the colony, Camuse developed a reputation as the strong minded, outspoken, "goddess" of the silkworms. The women at Ebenezer managed, even with Camuse's deliberate lack of cooperation, to create the most productive silk industry in the colony. However, since the industry survived only a short time, their factory as well as their uncommon destiny as producers of a cash crop terminated equally quickly.¹⁹ Camuse's property ownership was of far less consequence than her unusual economic role in the colony.

Undoubtedly, no one pushed the limits of the colonial world more than **Mary Musgrove (Mrs. Thomas) Bosomworth***. The daughter of a Creek woman and a white Indian trader, Mary Musgrove proved indispensable to Oglethorpe, when he founded the colony, as both a diplomat and interpreter. Called Coosaponakeesa in Creek, Mary Musgrove ran a *trading post* with her first husband on the Georgia side of Yamacraw Bluff above the Savannah River, and facilitated white-Indian relations.²⁰ She became the largest female land-holder in the colony (with 6,200 acres) and one of the largest landholders overall. With her third husband, Bosomworth, and a band of Creek chiefs, she accosted the local government in 1749, insisting on the settlement of a great deal of land to her title in payment for her services. Her petition reiterated her many roles of service, arguing her losses in the service of the English:

That from the time of settling the Southern Frontier aforementioned Mr. Oglethorpe was continually sending for Mrs. Bosomworth on all Affairs of Consequence with the Indians which expos'd her to many Dangers and Hardships the distance being Great & the Convenience for Passage being only in an open Boat, her own Affairs and Improvements on her land neglected & running to ruin, . .

¹⁶Caldwell in Spalding, *Women*, p. 9.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 10-11.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 11.

¹⁹Ewing in Spalding, *Women*, p. 2; Jones, *Salzburger*, pp. 93, 104; Temple and Coleman, *Georgia Journeys*, p. 258.

²⁰As of this writing, archaeologists have discovered what is believed to be the site of this trading post.

[and that 200 pounds] is the sum total Mrs. Bosomworth ever receiv'd of Mr. Oglethorpe or any other Commanding Officer in the Province ever paid Her for all personal Services, her Interest with the Indians so frequently and with unabating ardour manifested, Salary as Interpertress (In which Capacity she was always Employ'd by every Kings Commanding Officer in the Province) and all the various Losses sustain'd in her own Private Affairs.²¹

Had Mary not been female, her petition and demonstration might not have been so necessary to her cause, but that is historical speculation. She won most of what she petitioned for, and settled on the whole of St. Catherine's Island with Thomas Bosomworth, In her cowpens on the island, Musgrove-Bosomworth employed indentured English and Germans, at first, then enslaved African-American workers. She died in 1765. Her plantation operations had to have been among the more unusual in the colony.²²

The legal system put constraints around women, and the laws were hard on them, especially if, in breaking the laws, the women offended the sensibilities of the other colonists, most especially, their moral and religious sensibilities. So, when **Elizabeth Malpas** arrived in Savannah on the *James*, she was accused of being a "woman of the town," since she came in the company of a man not her husband. She was given sixty lashes and carted through the streets as an example. Her "husband" was made to put up a bond and released on his own recognizance.²³ A more peculiar example, revealing the complexities of woman's position in the colony, comes from **Hanah Willoughby**, whose husband died in 1734. Mrs. Willoughby accepted an offer of marriage from a fellow passenger en route to Savannah, who, it turned out, still had a wife alive in England. Mrs. Willoughby, now pregnant by this man, was persuaded by him to marry a third man in order to cover her pregnancy, who, in discovering the ruse, "sold" her to a fourth man, the highest bidder at a local pub. "She went for five pounds and left with her purchaser," appears in the records. Mrs. Willoughby received severe punishment – she was jailed. Her fellow passenger and paramour was whipped, then jailed. Her auctioneer received only a misdemeanor.²⁴ In another public offense, this time from Ebenezer, a **Mrs. Rhinelander** was excommunicated, expelled for misbehavior, then readmitted to her congregation and sent down to Savannah to be reprimanded by civil authorities for "injuring the character" of another Salzburger.²⁵ Her fate is not known, but another woman of her

²¹Thomas A. Scott, ed., *Cornerstones of Georgia History: Documents that formed the State* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), p. 20.

²²Ewing in Spalding, *Women*, p. 2; Caldwell in Spalding, *Women*, p. 10; Spruill, *Women's Life*, p. 242; Jones, *Salzburger*, p. 40.

²³Temple and Coleman, *Georgia Journeys*, p. 77.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 119.

²⁵Jones, *Salzburger*, p. 79.

congregation, a **Mrs. Helfenstein**, who found herself in similar circumstances with regard to the authorities,, who would not bow to the leader of the congregation, simply left the colony and moved to Pennsylvania.²⁶ A **Mrs. Ortmann** offended the pious Salzburgers, especially its undoubtedly envious women, by going to Charleston, South Carolina, where there was a large German-speaking population, against her husband's orders, in order to celebrate Christmas in a more festive fashion than was the solemn habit at Ebenezer. She returned to Ebenezer only to leave it again to "nurse" an "ill" Englishman.²⁷ Mrs. Ortmann broke all the rules.

Roles Within the Colony

Women were expected to marry, so as girls they faced an adulthood of relative subordination and powerlessness, based on the colony's (and later the state's) legal definitions. Women who did not marry became the dependents of their nearest male relative, be it brother, father, uncle, or cousin, and as dependents, often abandoned, they too tended to disappear from the record. The idea of patriarchy lay behind the practice of female coverture by which system the male was the official and legal head of the family, whose authority was absolute, legally if not always actually. "Wife, children, and servants were subject to his will, and he in turn was responsible for their physical, moral, and spiritual welfare."²⁸

Delegation of authority came from the head of the household, and the wife/mother, as mistress of the household, became the agent or second-in-command thereof. However, her authority varied with her class and economic status, her cultural association, her agreements with her husband, and the relative range of cultural permissions that specified what labor a woman might do and under what circumstances. In this respect, the English and the Germans differed from each other as did both the European groups differ from the Native Americans.

Lest the position of married women be misunderstood in its complexity, even its paradoxical position within the power structure, it should be remembered that the household, not the marketplace was the central focus of the southern economy at this time, and continued to be so until well into the nineteenth century.²⁹ As both the generator of its productivity, and the center of its consumption, the household was the primary definer of roles within the colony. The idealized woman of the Georgia

²⁶Ibid., p. 90.

²⁷Ibid., p. 36.

²⁸Spruill, *Women's Life*, p. 42.

²⁹Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), p. 7.

trustees, the first to bring women to the colony, was “expected to realize her proper place in the home.”³⁰ And although the position of women was subordinate to the men, their public influence restricted, and their economic contributions limited to household economies, their presence was desirable for the continuance of the colony, and their work was essential to its survival. Their place within the household permeated that household as unquestionably as if it were truly divinely inspired.

The work of the household broke down into sex-differentiated chores with the men supervising the raising of the cash crops, and the women managing the dairy, the garden, and the smokehouse.³¹ The work of the women in the colony, while not yet studied to the extent it ought to be, would have included some or all of the activities listed below, activities that would have been performed by both black and white women. The women worked in their own households, sometimes together in the same household; and sometimes, in the larger households, with the white women supervising the black women, and some black women supervising other black women. As a rule of thumb, in the larger households, more work would be done by the African-Americans; in the smaller households, more work would be done by the white mistress. Such duties included:

working in the herb and vegetable garden, harvesting crops, preserving foods, milking cows, preparing meals, making soap and candles, spinning yarn, and nursing the silk [plants];

[tailoring] homespun clothing after carding cotton and spinning [the] thread . . . ;

[bearing children, and bearing the] responsibility for the general well-being of their families.³²

Also: blending medicines, knitting socks, slaughtering pigs, processing and curing meat, plucking chickens, scouring utensils, churning butter, weaving rugs, making blankets.³³

Not to mention: cleaning house, maintaining clothes, caring for infants, tending sick, entertaining guests and rearing children.

These activities would definitely fill a day and a built structure or designated set of duties that was associated with each of these tasks. There was little time for work in the public realm, especially in the light of continuous child-bearing.

³⁰Ewing, in Spalding, *Women*, p.1.

³¹Clinton, *Plantation*, p. 7.

³²Ewing, in Spalding, *Women*, p.1.

³³Anne Frazer Rogers, “A Shadowy Presence: Women at Frederica,” in Spalding, *Women*, p. 17.

It was not unusual for women to be mothers at fifteen and grandmothers at thirty, to bear an average of ten children, and for mothers and daughters to be nursing children or caring for infants at the same time.³⁴ Infant mortality was high, and death in childbirth frequent.³⁵ Most births occurred at home with the attendance of a midwife (either black or white, as there were both in the colonial period). A physician would be called in only if there were complications. A male midwife was considered indecent and would not be called except in the direst of circumstances.³⁶ Unattended births were known, as were also chemical abortion and infanticide. For example, **Anna Elizabeth Depp** in Ebenezer stood accused of aborting her child by a man not her husband.³⁷ It is not known what her punishment was. There are surely more such women in the public records. No one knows the truth behind the story of **Elizabeth Riley**. Elizabeth, Irish and indentured, was hanged in 1734 for the murder of her master. Richard White, another indentured servant, was also convicted of the murder. Pregnant at the time of her conviction, Elizabeth was given time to bring the child to term. She gave birth to a son, and then she was hanged (the child only lived a few months).³⁸ Bastardy occurred with unknown frequency and required, especially if it occurred with a serving woman, some form of punishment. The father, if identified, was charged with the child's maintenance, though the child stayed with the mother. If a servant, the woman had to repay her master for the loss of service during pregnancy and lying-in, or her indenture was extended. Infanticide seemed an all too ready alternative to this punishment.³⁹

While child bearing was a "woman-only" function, it is most likely that the women had male assistance in the heaviest chores in the kitchen gardens and yards, and even for heavy lifting inside the house. Certain areas of female responsibilities, even with male assistance, were fairly well sacrosanct – the kitchen (and everything that adhered to it) and the children (and everything that they needed). How much responsibility the woman/mistress had for the household itself, beyond keeping it clean and running, would vary. It was customary for the man to purchase what his wife said was needed that she could not supply from her own garden or kitchen. Thus, the man made most of the household transactions with outside parties. Women were unable to make contracts on their own, often could not read or write, and if they could read and write, they could not reckon. It was customary for women in the

³⁴Spruill, *Women's Life*, pp. 47-48.

³⁵Ibid., p. 52.

³⁶Temple and Coleman, *Georgia Journeys*, p. 200, report the story of a Mrs. Stanley, midwife, who brought forth 128 children but would not trust herself in her own lying-in to any of the other midwives in the colony, so went to England instead.

³⁷Jones, *Salzburger*, p. 67.

³⁸Temple and Coleman, *Georgia Journeys*, p. 78.

colony to be home-schooled, and politely so, in a separate room in the house or, on the largest plantations, in a separate building designated the schoolhouse (for all the children, not just the females). They could learn reading and writing, but arithmetic was not universally taught to young women as it was thought to be outside a woman's capabilities.⁴⁰ Women were also taught some household skills – needlework, spinning, and sewing. There was little in the way of either culture or education in the early decades of the colony; the first schools were not established publicly until 1784.⁴¹ Therefore, *Bethesda*, the orphanage which not only accepted boys and girls, but taught both, stands as an exception during this time. It was founded by George Whitefield in 1739, located just south of Savannah and inspired by the orphanage at Ebenezer (itself modeled after the Weysenhaus in Halle). After Whitefield's death, the orphanage was run in absentia by Sophia Hastings, the Countess of Huntingdon, herself a Methodist Church lay leader in England. Neither orphanage ultimately survived after its initial success; the Ebenezer orphanage, run for many years by a German couple, Ruprecht and **Margaretha Kalcher**, died as the German settlement dissipated in vitality. Bethesda ultimately never recovered from a fire. Yet, in their heyday, the homes took care of orphans and drew children from sick and penniless parents, who boarded them there temporarily, students from as far away as Purysburg, widows, and ill adults without families to care for them. The German orphanage was noteworthy for the breadth of its outreach to its own community, and Bethesda was quite a remarkable institution for its day not the least because of its “equal” education for young males and females.⁴²

The work of men and women on a plantation over-lapped to some degree, with the women the the most flexible of the parties – men could not bear children, but women could work in the fields. Men would not work in the kitchen (except as enslaved or indentured servants), but the line between the garden, yards, barns and outbuildings was not rigid, as it depended on economic class, size of plantation, and number of people in the household. A “great house” was defined as much by the number of its outbuildings as by the size of the main residence. What seems to be clear is that the kitchen – usually a separate and detached building from the rest of the house – and its adjacencies, chiefly the kitchen gardens, poultry yard, and some outbuildings (the dairy, root cellar, springhouse, and smokehouse) were

³⁹Spruill, *Women's Life*, pp. 316, 325.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 190-193.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 193; Ewing in Spalding, *Women*, p. 3.

⁴²Jones, *Salzburger*, p. 42; *Georgia Historical Markers* (Valdosta: Bay Tree Grove Pub., 1973), pp. 102-103; Boyd Stanley Schlenther, “‘To Convert the Poor People in America’: The Bethesda Orphanage and the Thwarted Zeal of the Countess of Huntingdon,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, LXXVII, no. 2 (Summer 1994), pp. 225-256.

the domain of the slaves and the mistress,⁴³ while the barns, fields, stables, corn cribs, hay racks, and remaining outbuildings, were the domain of the master. The dovecotes, pig sties, and hen houses might be shared, but more often than not, the mistress had responsibility for the farm animals (as opposed to the field animals), the hogs, chickens, and cows in the dairy. The line between – moveable and permeable to a degree – was clear to the parties on either side, whatever their situation, and was not safely crossed without discussion and agreement, lest there be conflict.

The court records indicate that there was conflict aplenty. Ideally, the head of the household was to exercise his prerogatives without abuse, but abuse of his privileges did not absolve the other (female, indentured, employed, related) members of his house from their obligations for submission, respect and obedience.⁴⁴ Yet, there are many pages of court records revealing the recourse wives took to seek justice; the court was kept busy with domestic troubles, clear evidence that marriages were not always ideal. Another commonplace event that suggested all was not quiet on the home front was frequency of newspapers seeking runaway wives, denouncing spouses of both sexes, discrediting one or more marital parties, and announcing marital separations “by mutual consent.” Domestic violence was not unknown; in fact, it was probably quite frequent and seldom punished. In one case, a barber named John Frenz followed his former wife to her new lodging, asked her to go back home with him, and upon hearing her refusal, shot her dead.⁴⁵ Violence of a lesser sort more often went unrecorded.

It was not at all uncommon for the religious leaders to intervene in domestic matters to keep them out of the courts, especially in the smaller communities in the colony outside Savannah. In fact, in these locations, there was little separation between the home and the community, and between the community and the church – especially among the folks at Ebenezer and Frederica. And women, who were expected to foster the “devotion and piety” of their families and to “discreetly evangelize” their husbands, found themselves at the pivotal point for intervention. As the conduits for the spiritual life of their families, women were playing a role in support of the local ministries.⁴⁶ In the German-speaking sections of the colony, the whole community was subservient to the rule of God through his emissaries at the church, which subordinated all activities, not just that of the women, to religion. The Germans tended therefore to shun politics and leave all of their decision making to the duly elected representatives of their

⁴³See Lynn Speno, “Kitchens in Georgia,” Section 5.3 of this study, especially p. 2.

⁴⁴Spruill, *Women's Life*, p. 42.

⁴⁵⁴⁵Ibid., p. 178.

⁴⁶Carol Ebel, “Women and the Wesleys at Frederica, 1736-1777,” in Spalding, *Women*, p. 28.

congregation.⁴⁷ Thus, Johann Boltzius, the founder of their colony, took most of the colonists' personal problems to heart; for example, he joined the parents of one recalcitrant young woman in dissuading her from what he considered an unfit marriage.⁴⁸ However, none of the colony's religious leaders were as intrusive as were the Wesleys, John and Charles, at Frederica. John Wesley's ministry invented a new social paradox for the women of his parish: he treated them wholly individually and separately, spiritually – on a par with men in their need of pastoral care and their responsibility for their own salvation. This was a significant departure from Church of England theology, which declared (in keeping with the Napoleonic code) that a woman's spirituality was indivisible from that of her husband (or father, or other male protector). At great risk to himself, he even gave the women of his community the opportunity to serve as lay leaders in the church. Yet, at the same time, Wesley kept such a close tab on his parishioners (through something closely resembling Catholic confession), and held such uncompromising and rigid standards for their worship, that he became, in the eyes (and through the instigation) of several of the women in the community, *persona non grata*. Even the laundress would not serve him, in an extraordinary expression of her own authority over his.⁴⁹ At the center of the controversy was one **Beatre Hawkins**, called the “first lady” of the town, who had a reputation for forthrightness and her own brand of righteousness. Mrs. Hawkins and her co-conspirators succeeded in discrediting the Wesleys, most notably John, in dividing the community, and in forcing the two Wesleys to confront – back in safer, quieter circumstances in England – their own narrowness of heart. Both Wesleys ultimately converted to a much less legalistic theology after their “baptism” by womanhood in Frederica.⁵⁰

Perhaps the women of Frederica were not yet ready to assume leadership in their church, that may have been too great a stretch, but there were other roles, other “jobs” that colonial women more readily and eagerly filled. These, taken together, give a good picture of the scope of female experience and influence in the colony. In almost every instance, women who worked in the public realm were extending their social roles into broader economic ones. Many women, most as yet unidentified, ran boarding houses; **Penelope Fitzwalter** has already been mentioned. **Mary Somers** is known to have kept a boarding house in Savannah.⁵¹ Some women ran taverns, such as **Anne Bennet** in Frederica,⁵² **Abigail**

⁴⁷Jones, *Salzburger*, p. 116.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 67.

⁴⁹Ebel in Spalding, *Women*, pp. 32-33, 39.

⁴⁹Ebel in Spalding, *Women*, p. 39; J. T. Scott, “Success Yet Failure: Women in Early Frederica,” in Spalding, *Women*, p. 24.

⁵⁰Spruill, *Women's Life*, p. 294.

⁵¹Scott in Spalding, *Women*, p. 25.

Minis in Savannah,⁵³ and **Lucy Tondee** in Savannah (whose establishment played an important role in the Revolution).⁵⁴ **Mrs. Hodges**, who ran a tavern, complained against **Mrs. Penrose**, who sold rum and punch without a license. Mrs. Penrose had been accused of keeping a bawdy house, but after paying fines, nothing more is heard of her in the court records.⁵⁵ **Catherine Perkins**, also in Frederica, ran her family's prosperous store in her husband's absence.⁵⁶ Some women ran bakeries, grocery stores, and other stores; **Ann Cunningham** and her partner kept a shop where they sold "sugar, molasses, and spirituous liquors" in Savannah.⁵⁷ Some women combined the office of seamstress with the sales of dry goods; many were manufacturers of hats, gowns, cloaks, and accessories. A **Mrs. Parker** in Savannah made "sacks and coats, gowns, Brunswicks, Fiscuits, and Corsicans, Hats, and Bonnets."⁵⁸ Other women worked as midwives and nurses, laborers in the field, laundresses and maids, servants and farm hands, and needlework piece workers (if they were not accomplished seamstresses). None of them had much time for leisure activities.

In fact, there were not many diversions for the women of the colony outside of home and family, none institutionally outside of church, and none culturally outside of Savannah. In that city, a woman, if she were among the elites, could enjoy balls, races, lectures, theatre, and dining out, also some entertainment on the occasion of public celebrations (such as the King's birthday).⁵⁹ In other locations, and at home, offerings would include house parties, reading (for those who could read or be read to), visiting, and perhaps music.⁶⁰ In the back settlements, similar events might have been available with less fanfare; weddings surely brought levity, as did county and regional fairs (once established), quilting parties and family visits.⁶¹ In the back country, as far as Augusta and environs, the center of leisure activities, like the center of productivity, would inevitably have been the household.

American Revolutionary Period

⁵²DeBolt, *Savannah*, p. 24.

⁵⁴Spruill, *Women's Life*, p. 294.

⁵⁵Temple and Coleman, *Georgia Journeys*, p. 187.

⁵⁶Scott in Spalding, *Women*, p. 25.

⁵⁷Spruill, *Women's Life*, p. 277.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 285.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 99.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 104.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 109-111.

The relatively new colony of Georgia had as many reasons to remain loyal to the Crown as it did to rebel – it was the youngest colony in America and had the closest ties to England, but there were revolutionaries among the colonists. The first sign of revolt came with meetings held at *Tondee's Tavern* in Savannah on July 27 and August 10, 1774. It could have been that Lucy Tondee was in attendance at these meetings, as proprietress of the tavern, though not a participant in them. As the movement toward war, and the war itself ensued, Georgia became the scene of “military action, political takeovers, and reprisals from Savannah to the backcountry.”⁶² The consensus of historical opinion holds that the Revolution itself had no permanent effect on the status of women in Georgia, since the State, upon its formation, simply adopted verbatim the statutes from English law that forfeited a woman's rights to both personal and real property upon her marriage.⁶³ There were no new leniencies for white women with regard to divorce, wills, other contractual arrangements, or employment; and public opinion openly touted the ideals of women's character as a means to contain their influence. And though the price of slaves mounted after the war – due to a reduction in their numbers – this simply meant for black women that they were higher priced commodities after the war than before; they were not freed from slavery. Their fates were as tied to the disposition (political and geographic) of their masters as were their masters' mistresses.

At the beginning of hostilities, newspapers throughout the South, including Georgia, published articles (some by women, some written by men under female pseudonyms) which hailed both the absence of women's voice in public affairs and the need for them to remain in their protected sphere. One such article read as follows:

I would not willingly resign any of the privileges that properly belong to our sex; but, I hope I shall have all the sensible part of it on my side, when I affirm that the conduct and management of state affairs is a thing with which we have no concern. Perhaps our natural abilities are not equal to such an arduous task; at any rate, our education, as it is now conducted, is too slight and superficial to render us competent judges of these matters; and I have always thought it as ridiculous for a woman to put herself in a passion about political disputes, as it would be for a man to spend his time haranguing upon the colour of a silk, . . .⁶⁴

⁶²Coleman, *Georgia History*, pp. 17-19, 24-25.

⁶³Spruill, *Women's Life*, p. 244; Eleanor Miot Boatwright, *Status of Women In Georgia, 1783-1860* (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1994), p. 2.

⁶⁴Quotes in Spruill, *Women's Life*, p. 243.

However, times were changing, and the popular press began to welcome women's expressions of support for the cause of independence, especially after the boycott of English imports begun in 1774.⁶⁵ The boycott of tea especially focused feminine efforts, since it identified a single household item, the consumption of which women could control. So it was that women became prominent participants in the actions of the boycott. Alongside their efforts to end dependency on British products, women redoubled their own efforts at household production – making their own cloth instead of importing fabric, wearing homespun, eschewing luxuries in both household goods and personal wear.

During the actual days of the war, women in Georgia experienced the privations brought on by combat – shortages in food and other goods, inflation in prices for all purchased items, increased taxes on properties and retail purchases. Women ran businesses and farms in the absence of their husbands. In backcountry Georgia, those households now headed by women were particularly vulnerable where the English had turned the Indians against the colonists, and where they proselytized slaves as well. In Georgia, both the Creeks and the Cherokees fought with the British (a turn of events for which both tribes suffered afterwards in their relations with the states of both Georgia and South Carolina). During and after the war, women who were widowed by the war often could not retain their properties because they could not afford to pay the taxes. Many became homeless during the war as a result, not of damage to their homes, but because of their own legal and economic disabilities.

Georgia's loyalties were tested throughout the war. In Savannah, where royal rule was re-established after 1778 when the British captured the city, public entertainments and gatherings were severely restricted. In the backcountry, confrontations between civilians and soldiers were common, as were conflicts between local Whigs and Tories, since the loyalties on both sides ran high and deep. Backcountry women in Georgia and in other states perpetrated the conflict among the ranks of both partisans and Tory affiliates. Georgia boasts one of the most legendary figures of this kind, **Nancy Hart***, of Wilkes County, who “shot one loyalist, wounded another, and held their three associates at bay in her home until some Whig men arrived to finish off the intruders.”⁶⁶ A reconstructed version of her cabin today testifies to her fortitude and effectiveness for all visitors to the state historic site. Nancy Hart may have been somewhat singular in her success; other women served in less notorious capacities – as army cooks, laundresses, and prostitutes.

⁶⁵The section on the Revolutionary War period is indebted to the discussions of Cynthia A. Kierner, *Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Early South, 1700-1835* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp. 70-77.

⁶⁶Kierner, *Beyond*, p. 95.

The American Revolution offered slaves some new options through the British, who promised emancipation in return for military support. A mass exodus of sorts took place throughout most of the colonies. It is estimated that as many as ten thousand slaves escaped from the port cities of Savannah and Charleston. Of these, the majority was women and children, who never found the promised ease; most were transported to British Caribbean islands, exiled in Nova Scotia, or deported back to Africa.⁶⁷

When the war was over, Georgia women joined the hundreds of petitioners seeking restitution from the state for properties destroyed, for food fed to the troops, for livestock given to the soldiers, for their husbands' back pay, to secure pensions, recover debts, regain confiscated property, and to repatriate husbands or other relatives (largely in the case of former loyalists).⁶⁸ Many had difficulty collecting anything from the government, but they also often succeeded. In the process they learned about government processes and the impact of public decisions on their daily lives; they learned what they could do to defend themselves, and how to deal with authorities.⁶⁹ Even some wives of loyalists petitioned for restitution, sometimes to establish a separate status from husbands who were self-exiled into Florida, the Bahamas, Jamaica, or other parts of the West Indies.⁷⁰

In one twist of family loyalties, a wealthy woman, **Mrs. Hannah Gibbons**, purchased her Tory son-in-law's property, Morton Hall, from the Commission of Confiscated Properties and turned around and sold it to her patriot son, William.⁷¹ The petitions reflected with some precision the roles the women had played on their plantations. As a rule the women, except the wealthiest ones, knew little or nothing about the larger affairs of the family – businesses, land ownership, stock, even family finances. However, they knew, down to the last item, the household furniture, utensils, crockery, and dishes, which had been stolen or confiscated during the war. Abandoned by their fleeing husbands, in sometimes dire and helpless circumstances, these women often then bore the brunt of additional verbal and legal abuse themselves. Few of them received anything like full restitution for their losses.⁷²

In their many acts of supporting or counteracting the male decision-makers on both sides of the conflict, in taking up desperate arms, in showing their patriotism in the service of the political collective –

⁶⁷Catherine Clinton, *Tara Revisited: Women, War, and the Plantation Legend* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1995), p. 31.

⁶⁸Kierner, *Beyond*, pp. 97-99.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 100.

⁷⁰Coleman, *Georgia History*, p. 28.

⁷¹[Savannah Writers' Project], *Savannah River Plantations* (Savannah: The Georgia Historical Society, 1947; reprinted Spartanburg: the Reprint Company, 1983), p. 106.

Tory or Whig – the women of Georgia became more publicly open and expressive. They took their first small step toward visibility.

Native Americans

After the war, the state of Georgia instituted an aggressive land policy designed to eliminate the remainder of the Indian land holdings within the state's boundaries and at the same time settle the same lands with Georgia citizenry. The land lotteries that Georgia held for the benefit of war veterans and their families, also benefited the war's widows, who were the only women allowed to draw lots. This being the case, it did not change the terms or abilities of women to receive property from the state. The state of Georgia, as a colony and as part of the early Republic, was planted in the midst of an ancient group of cultures that differed strongly from the European cultures attempting to take root. Four of the key cultural differences centered on the place women held in Native American societies.⁷³

First of all, among Indians of the Southeastern region, women had all of the traditional responsibilities for the household and kitchen gardens, but they also had responsibility for the agricultural fields (especially food crops), for making the pottery and baskets, and for grinding meal (by hand). European settlers reserved pottery and stoneware manufacturing to males and ground their meal in water-powered mills, the first of which in Georgia was apparently built at Ebenezer. Indian women also gathered firewood, cured animal skins, and made the clothing. Indian men killed the animals for skins, skinned them, and performed other acts of hunting for food, while women assisted in dressing the skins and then used them in making clothes.

Second, the Indian women owned the tribal houses. No one truly owned the land, although rights to individual fields were recognized. The women worked hard but enjoyed security and economic independence. Their independence entitled them to sit on councils even though none could hold office. Chieftdom was reserved for the males. The third important difference stemmed from the fact that most of the Georgia Indians traced their ancestry through the female line. Matrilineality required that the children belong to the mother's tribe; husbands moved to the tribal home of their wives. There, their role as uncles to the tribal children was as important if not more so than their role as fathers. Furthermore, the children

⁷²Mary Beth Norton, "Eighteenth Century American Women in Peace and War: the Case of the Loyalists," in Nancy Cott and Elizabeth Pleck, *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women* (New York: Simon & Shuster, 1979), pp. 142-145.

⁷³This section owes its interpretations to the work of three southern scholars: Charles Hudson, *Southeastern Indians* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976), Michael D. Green, *The Creeks* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1990), and Theda Purdue, *The Cherokee* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989).

looked to the women of the tribe for upbringing and learning. Towns were, therefore, usually concentrations of several extended female-based agricultural households. Finally, the Green Corn ceremony, the most important ritual in the annual agricultural cycle, included important moments of female participation – the women extinguished the fires within the households, and re-lit them from the council fire as an indication of renewal. The houses were given a good cleaning and clearing out, and the women also presented the new corn to the tribal members.

When the Europeans settled in Georgia they began forcing the cession of lands from the Indians, in and of itself an act of aggression, but beyond that, the Europeans forced the assimilation of the Indians. This meant ending the hunting practices of the men, discounting the traditional religions, and switching gender roles among the tribes to make them match the European model. As early as the time of the direction of Indian affairs under Agent Benjamin Hawkins, hired by George Washington in 1796, the roles of the Indians began to reverse themselves. The men were put into the fields, and the women removed from the fields and sent back into their homes. Hawkins urged the women to learn to spin and weave, and to plant cotton for cloth.⁷⁴ Their cloth-making ultimately became more price-worthy than the skins the men hunted and traded (which trade played out after the large-scale settlements by whites). If men did not feel the effects of submission to the European changes, the women, who were rudely and severely deprived of their original corners of influence, certainly did; even as they continued to express themselves through their rituals, their homemaking, their crafts, and their ceremonial accessories. The traditional matrilineal associations were eliminated in all families which dared to intermarry with whites and in those families which assimilated to the fullest amount. The Creeks resisted full assimilation, but the Cherokees adopted more of the Anglo-European ways.

The elimination of the Creeks from Georgia through land cessions and the ultimate forced departure of the highly assimilated Cherokees are well known stories in Georgia history. By 1838, there were no more Native Americans in Georgia after the Trail of Tears removed the Cherokees and other tribes from the Southeast to Oklahoma. A few Indians stayed behind, passing into oblivion, joining others in the Carolina mountains. What is less well known is the role of women in assimilation and in peace-making with the whites prior to removal. According to some scholars, the changes in the women's lifestyles were ones which the women (at least some of them) wanted, perhaps because living like white

⁷⁴Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy: the Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986, 2nd ed.), p. 32-33.

women allowed the Indian women to perform less physical labor.⁷⁵ Two Cherokee women indicate some of the possible connections. **Nancy (Nanyih) Ward**, a niece of the great chief Attakullakulla, rose to prominence during the Battle of Taliwah in 1755, in which the Cherokee were victorious over the Creeks. Nanyih's husband, called Kingfisher, was killed in the battle, whereupon, it is said, she took up his gun and rallied the braves to victory. Nanyih married a trader (named Ward) who was fully accepted into the tribe, and as an elder, Nancy (from Nanyih) Ward sat at council with the men. On several occasions during hostilities, Ward warned white citizens of imminent Indian attacks. Nancy's words always supported peace, whether she was speaking to white or Indian. "I know that white people think that a woman is nothing," she is quoted as saying, at the Long Island Treaty of 1776 in which hostilities against the Cherokee were finally ended, "but we are your mothers . . . Our cry is for peace . . . Let your women's sons be ours and let our sons be yours." Ward even offered to become a United States citizen, probably the first female Indian to do so. Though Ward lived at Chota, in what is now Tennessee, she is forever connected to Georgia through the Battle of Taliwa which took place in or near present-day Ball Ground. **War Woman Road** and **War Woman Dell** near Clayton are named for Ward.⁷⁶

With a powerful voice in her own family, **Susanna Ridge**, represents, if she does not entirely typify, the changes in Cherokee female culture. She was a young woman when Nancy Ward was an elder. Susanna was the first to convert to Christianity among the Cherokees (in 1819),⁷⁷ the wife of Cherokee Chief Major (or "The") Ridge, and the mother of Chief John Ridge, who among other important acts, negotiated on behalf of the Creeks in their last land dealings with the State of Georgia. Susanna is said to have been the driving force behind her husband's leadership in assimilation, encouraging him to adopt white ways. Susanna and The Ridge were among the first to clear land and pursue agriculture like the whites. Their home at Oothcaloga Creek, near present-day Calhoun, became a "garden spot" for Cherokee Georgia. It is now the **Chieftain's Museum**, and will soon become part of National Park Service's "Trail of Tears," multi-state interpretation of the removal of the Cherokees to Oklahoma. Susanna bore her four children at home, attended in each case by four midwives, as was the custom.⁷⁸ Susanna was clearly an inspiration to those, like Elias Boudinot, who turned to Christianity and became

⁷⁵Alice Taylor Colbert, "Cherokee Women and Cultural Change," in Christie Anne Farnham, *Women of the American South: A Multicultural Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), pp. 43-55, esp. p. 51.

⁷⁶Vicki Rozema, *Footsteps of the Cherokees: A Guide to the Eastern Homelands of the Cherokee Nation* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1995), pp. 22-23, 32.

⁷⁷William G. McLoughlin, *Cherokees and Missionaries, 1789-1839* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), p. 146. She was followed by her son and other members of the Cherokee leadership into Christianity.

⁷⁸Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy*, p. 33-34; Rozema, *Footsteps*, pp. 37, 328.

instrumental in the affairs at New Echota, the new Cherokee capital in Georgia. Had the Cherokees not been removed from Georgia, Susanna would have stood to inherit the family property, since the Cherokees never denied a woman's right to property.⁷⁹

Few Native American women's names have survived in Georgia's historical record: and none of them from the Creek Indians. **Tralyta**'s grave marks a woman, said to be a Cherokee princess, who died tragically. Vickery Creek in Roswell is apparently named for **Charlotte Vickery**, a half-breed Cherokee, married to a white man named Cordery, who together with her husband, operated a ferry across the Chattahoochee River near Forsyth County. The town of Roswell was established to the south of their ferry landing along that very creek.⁸⁰

Antebellum Georgia

From the establishment of the state of Georgia in the newly formed United States, until the outbreak of the Civil War, women in Georgia experienced only very gradual changes from the life styles that had been grounded in the colonies. The household circumscribed all their lives; yet with increasing dependence on enslaved African-Americans to do the work, white women's lives, especially within the most prosperous households, became both more complex and more "leisurely." Advances in education marked the period's greatest increase in opportunity and self-expression for the state's white women, while employment in newly created textile industries gave them their first alternative to farm labor. The first hints of collective female activities that were not based in kinship or school appeared in Georgia's cities in the 1850s. Legal liberalism inched forward: the state legislature recused itself from the divorce business in the 1830s; enacted a separate estate law in 1847; and authorized the first university-level institution for women in the country. Throughout it all, the sexes remained heavily segregated – defined not only by role but also by the spaces each sex could (and did) occupy.

Antebellum Rules

As stated above, Georgia adopted British common law by which married white women lost their rights to sue and be sued; to enter into contracts; to act as administrators of estates and guardians of children; to hold, inherit, and/or purchase (real and personal) property; and to work and retain their earnings – rights which they could enjoy in "single blessedness," a term more than one woman used to

⁷⁹Colbert in Farnham, *Women*, p. 51.

⁸⁰Rozema, *Footsteps*, p. 307, 342.

describe her sense of girlhood privileges.⁸¹ Yet, even spinsters could not serve on juries or give testimony in any but criminal trial proceedings; no woman could serve on a jury, whether black, white, married or single.⁸² In any event, spinsterhood attracted no woman, as women were customarily coached from infancy to marry, bear children, and be God's own witness to their families. What scholars have called the "cult of true womanhood" reigned, whereby women were culturally encouraged to adopt the principles and realms of domesticity, submissiveness, piety, and family devotion as their reasons for being.

What is interesting in the face of this social dictate is the extent to which women got around the rules, or managed to get them bent in their favor. The true status of a white woman, as historian Boatwright suggested, "was far more commonly determined by her character, that of the man she married, their personal relations to each other, the use made of the law, and even by public opinion, than by the statutes themselves."⁸³ The statutes left an opening for the establishment of a separate estate for the wife, "for her own protection or her benefit, or for the preservation of public order." Nonetheless, the legal exception that this opening allowed required a third party as trustee. The arrangement often approached extreme complexity in its satisfactions of both law and society, and the statute opened doors only for the very elite who could manage the legal system to protect what were undoubtedly sizeable holdings to begin with. The *Jane Donalson Harrell House* serves as the single documented example among the listings in the National Register for Georgia that demonstrates this separate estate phenomenon. **Jane Donalson Harrell** received a four acre tract from her brother, retained the property and its accompanying house by contract during her marriage, and managed at her death to secure it for her daughter, although the legacy was, of course, issued in the name of her daughter's husband.⁸⁴ A marriage contract (entered into as a pre- or post-nuptial agreement) held many inheritances in trust from mother to daughter in the wealthiest families, especially where there were no male heirs.⁸⁵ Far more common were the personal arrangements between husband and wife, whereupon the husband left more than the dower share to his spouse. The married woman retained that one inviolate right – her dower right, so called – that entitled

⁸¹See, for example, Joan Cashin, "'Decidedly Opposed to the Union': Women's Culture, Marriage, and Politics in Antebellum South Carolina," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, LXXVIII, no. 4 (Winter 1994), p. 753.

⁸²Boatwright, *Status of Women*, pp. 47-48.

⁸³Ibid., p. 65.

⁸⁴"Jane Donalson Harrell House," National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form.

⁸⁵The work has not been done to trace this in Georgia, but examples from South Carolina suffice to demonstrate the pattern; see Marilyn Salmon, "Women and Property Rights in South Carolina: the Evidence from Marriage Settlements, 1730-1830," in Robert Blair St. George, ed., *Material Life in America, 1600-1860* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1995), pp. 291-309.

her to one-third of her husband's real property.⁸⁶ The remaining two-thirds would be divided between the children, and if there were no children, then it would be divided among the husband's other heirs and kinfolk. Any exceptions to this rule had to be explicitly devised in the testament of the will.⁸⁷ So, for example, John Bowen of Wilkes County, specifically bequeathed to his wife, "all that her father gave her, a slave boy Adam, the dun mare, and her bed and furniture."⁸⁸ Occasionally, a man bequeathed his wife the "sole and entire" control of his estate, "real and personal," as in the case of **Dolly Lunt Burge*** (her estate has been listed in the National Register as the *Burge Farm*), but, and this was true in her case, this deed usually precipitated countersuits by the children (especially those of former marriages), other kin and relatives.⁸⁹ As the husband, the head of the family and household, had almost unrestrained legal rights to do whatever he thought necessary to his business and prosperity, he could will "at will," so to say. For example, Stephen Griffith of Pickens County willed his entire estate to his daughter Amanda and her mother Lina, both formerly his "servants," i.e., his slaves.⁹⁰ By the same arrangement of rights, a wife could do whatever she had her husband's express consent to do, including owning and bequeathing property. Exceptions to the rules, whether through a separate estate agreement or through direct consent, remained just that – exceptions – until the expansion of women's legal rights began to catch up with some of the more cumbersome actual practices. In 1829, the legislature recognized the widow's right to be the sole heir of her husband's property, if he died intestate without children. Prior to that time, the estate would have been automatically divided between the widow and the deceased husband's other heirs. In 1847, the state legislature enacted a law entitling all married women the right to separate estates (not just those needing some legal or other "protection"). In an effort to increase the woman's right to wages, between 1851 and 1856, the legislature granted thirty white women the right to the fruits of their own labor and recognized them as "free traders" whose activities were regarded as legally separate from their husbands. None of these laws granted automatic license to the woman; the wife still had to petition for and declare her separate estate in order to claim it, and claiming it still obligated a third party as trustee.

⁸⁶This sum is variously referenced in the literature, sometimes as one-half the estate, one-third, or equal shares with the children. Dower rights referred only to real property.

⁸⁷Boatwright, *Status of Women*, chapter on "Civil and Political Status," pp. 45-67; Lawrence M. Friedman, *A History of American Law* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), pp. 184-186, 375-376.

⁸⁸Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 47.

⁸⁹Christine Jacobson Carter, ed., *The Diary of Dolly Lunt Burge, 1848-1879* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), pp. xxii-xxiii.

⁹⁰Kent Anderson Leslie, *Woman of Color, Daughter of Privilege: Amanda America Dickson, 1849-1893* (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1995), p. 10.

For a wife to retain her own wages still required an act of the legislature, and did not entitle her to escape her “share” of her husband’s debts, if he exhausted her wages as part of the family resources.⁹¹

It goes without saying that black women were not included in any of these legal understandings. Persons of African descent were presumed to be slaves unless they could prove, with proper documentation, that they were not, though there were the exceptions of those who were free, in name, when not fully, in actuality. **Dilsey Ruff**, a spinner and weaver in Taliaferro County, **Sarah James**, who had purchased her freedom in North Carolina and moved with her children to middle Georgia, and **Betsey Perry**, who owned twenty-seven slaves, are examples.⁹² These women led marginal lives full of legal obstacles to their survival let alone their success, economic or social. They were often illiterate, and they frequently needed “to conceal or camouflage all traces of their lives” either to avoid discovery or to pass the color line. So it was that **Althea Taylor**, a mulatto woman living in Augusta, secretly taught her children to read; and other women and children, “advised by their patriarchs” hid from the census takers.⁹³ Those of mixed parentage who came from non-elite families or from unions of marginalized persons (white women and black men) often faded entirely into obscurity. Those of mixed parentage whose paternity was acknowledged by their white fathers, and whose fathers then created exceptional conditions within which to live, were more fortunate, if not more acceptable to society at large. Such a woman was **Susan Hunt**, the daughter of a Cherokee woman and a mulatto man, whose life-long liaison with Nathan Sayre, a prominent white judge-legislator, led not only to a family legacy of accomplishments, but also to a unique domestic arrangement at *Pomegranate Hall* in Sparta, Hancock County, which both respected and reflected the unusual, but not unique, personal relationship between Hunt and Sayre. During her lifetime, Susan Hunt was never given the privileges and respect due to the mistress of the house, which she clearly was, but she was also not relegated with her offspring to some inferior, and exterior living quarters in back of the “big house.” She lived, in fact, in her own quarters inside the “big house.” When Sayre died, he made provisions for six of his slaves (including two former concubines) but none overtly for Susan, who was nonetheless provided for through a gentleman’s agreement with a member of the family she once served, which assured she was cared for until she died.⁹⁴

⁹¹Boatwright, *Status of Women*, pp. 50-51.

⁹²Adele Logan Alexander, *Ambiguous Lives: Free Women of Color in Rural Georgia, 1789-1879* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991), pp. 33-35.

⁹³Alexander, *Ambiguous*, pp. 6, 80-81.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 71-72, 83, 94.

Though they constituted a tiny minority of the population of Georgia – perhaps 2500 compared to a slave population of 240,000 prior to the Civil War – Free Persons of Color never constituted more than one to five percent of the total population, a figure said by some historians to have decreased with time.⁹⁵ Enslaved women were recognized neither as women nor as legal beings before the law, but in one way they were ironically granted a “right” no white woman was guaranteed, a “right” that could be rescinded at any moment. Custom dictated that the black children’s futures be defined by the matrilineal line and that they follow their mothers into slavery or freedom: a child born of a slave mother – no matter who the father – entered slavery; one born of a free mother stayed free. An infant born of a white father and a black female slave, who was unacknowledged by its father, automatically became the ward of the mother in a way no legitimate white child ever became the ward of a white woman.⁹⁶ However, such a child could also be snatched away from its slave mother at any time, sold, or turned over to others, usually at age seven or eight, when he or she was entered into household or field service.⁹⁷ Or rarely, by both, as in the case of **Amanda America Dickson**, a mulatto child could be acknowledged and even raised openly by her white father and slave mother.⁹⁸

Legitimation, while rare, increased in the years before the Civil War, to such an extent that the legislature turned the matter over to the county courts in 1855.⁹⁹ Though the slave trade never really ended in Georgia, except “officially,” Georgia plantations relied more on natural increase to expand their slave populations than on importation, an inclination that (literally) bore heavily on the black women. The domestic slave trade re-opened in 1824 after a cessation of several decades, which meant that many black Georgia families, who provided “increase” to their masters, also suffered excruciating separations from their own “increase.” The African trade continued illicitly until the eve of the Civil War, which meant that new Africans were being assimilated into the Georgia cultural system all the time, while at the same time bringing fresh impetus to the retention of African cultural traditions. Georgia adopted black codes modeled after the ones in South Carolina, so education and the free circulation of blacks were

⁹⁵Donald L. Grant, *The Way It Was in the South: the Black Experience in Georgia* (New York: A Birch Lane Book, 1993), p. 64.

⁹⁶Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 59. Illegitimate white children, if unacknowledged, stayed with the mother, but if legitimized, they too became wards of the father. The father’s offense lay in not providing for his offspring; siring them was not at issue.

⁹⁷Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 57; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), pp. 152, 157.

⁹⁸Leslie, *Woman of Color*, p. 1.

⁹⁹Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 88.

restricted by law, even though these particular laws were often disobeyed with impunity in the case of African-Americans in responsible positions, such as overseers on large plantations.¹⁰⁰

Laws restricting the activities and even the presence of free Negroes in Georgia became tighter and tighter with time. In 1818, the law required that all free blacks register with the state; unregistered blacks were subject to being sold into slavery or turned over to the American Colonization Society for repatriation to Africa. The same law required registered blacks to give twenty hours a week to public service, which black women in Savannah (where most of the free blacks lived) fulfilled by working in local hospitals.¹⁰¹ After 1835, free African-Americans were prohibited from entering the state at all in order to settle, so virtually all blacks in Georgia after that time (and until Emancipation) were already enslaved, were born into slavery, were manumitted into a limbo of freedom by well-intentioned owners, or were “free” before the law was enacted.¹⁰² Some further restrictions applied, prohibiting Free Persons of Color, judged to be “a class of people, equally dangerous to the safety of free citizens of this state and destructive to the comfort and happiness of the slave population thereof,” from working in any establishments involved in writing or printing, in operating houses of entertainment or alcoholic libations, from selling goods of many kinds, or to carry on “traffic” for gain.¹⁰³

Slavery became the cornerstone of the Georgia economy and of its social structures as the plantation system came into full flower between 1790 and 1860, dictating the habits and roles of all – slave and free. And following the Turner Rebellion of 1831 in South Carolina, the restrictions on persons of African descent increased, denying slaves the right to hire out their time or to live apart from their masters, a right many had enjoyed up to that time. At the same time Free Persons of Color were ruled to be residents, but, like women, not citizens of Georgia.¹⁰⁴

The Plantation Household

Slavery helped hold the plantation system together, and kept the southern economy based in agriculture more than industry, which was beginning to dominate the economies of the northern states. It had been a canon of southern history to recognize the plantation as the unit of economic production in the agricultural, cotton South and to draw distinctions between that plantation economy and a market

¹⁰⁰Coleman, *Georgia History*, p. 40.

¹⁰¹Grant, *The Way*, p. 68.

¹⁰²Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 88.

¹⁰³Alexander, *Ambiguous*, pp. 37-38.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, p. 47-48.

economy – one based in industry and free trade. For purposes of women's history, it is important to realize that the plantation was a household, and to understand that it was the household that was the unit of production in the South. Thus, distinctions between a market system and a plantation system become even more marked, and the importance of the women's roles in the household assumed more intelligible importance. The household was the source of industry, manufacture, agriculture, and human sustenance – a “community and business in one” – as **Katherine duPre Lumpkin** once characterized it.¹⁰⁵ The father was the head of the household as well as of the family, and the “family” meant everyone in the household, slaves, women, children; all were subject to his will.¹⁰⁶ The phrase, “my family, black and white,” held common currency in antebellum Georgia, and the phrase is utilized here, not for its literal but for its metaphorical truth and for its symbolic significance to the spatial distributions and economic functions of the female society under discussion.¹⁰⁷

The typical slaveholding antebellum household included the house, all the outbuildings, the fields, yards, and gardens, the slave quarters, and also the orchards, forests, and pastures that were part of the owner's holdings. It was common for separate functions to be housed individually, so there were separate buildings for the kitchen, storehouses, corn cribs, the stables, hen coops, kennels, dairy, the school house, nursery, and so on.¹⁰⁸ A large plantation could have as many as a hundred structures. About ten buildings, including house, kitchen, stables, cow barns, etc., would make up the establishment of an ordinary planter, with half a dozen slaves or fewer.¹⁰⁹ Those households which did not own slaves followed the same building pattern, with functions separated and perhaps not as many functions present, but always, always, with a kitchen separated from the house, sometimes with a connected breeze way, more often not.¹¹⁰ This “landscape of work” can still be read today in surviving plantations. An excellent description of it comes from writer/educator **Emily Burke***:

. . . there was a paling enclosing all the buildings belonging to the family and all the house servants. In the center of this enclosure stood the principal house . . . In this the father of the family and all the females lodged. The next house of importance was the one occupied by the steward of the plantation and where all the white boys belonging to the family had their sleeping apartments. The next after this was a school house,

¹⁰⁵Quoted in Fox-Genovese, *Within*, p. 103. Lumpkin, an important “biographer” of the South, was born in Georgia but did her important work elsewhere.

¹⁰⁶Clinton, *Plantation*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷Fox-Genovese, *Within*, p. 101.

¹⁰⁸*Ibid.*, p. 102.

¹⁰⁹Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 70.

¹¹⁰Speno, “Kitchens in Georgia,” pp. 4-6.

consisting of two rooms, one for a study, the other the master's dormitory. Then the cook, the washer-woman and the milk-maid had each their several houses, the children's nurses always sleeping upon the floor of their mistress's apartment. Then again there was the kitchen, the storehouse, corn-house, stable, hen-coop, the hound's kennel, the shed for the corn mill. All these were separate little buildings within the same enclosure. Even the milk-safe stood out under one great tree, while under another the old washer-woman had all her apparatus arranged. Even her kettle was there suspended from a cross-pole. Then, to increase the beauty of the scene, the whole establishment was completely shaded by ornamental trees, which grew at convenient distances among the buildings and towering far above them all. The huts of the field servants formed another little cluster of dwellings at considerable distance from the master's residence, yet not beyond the sight of his watchful and jealous eye. These latter huts were arranged with a good deal of order and here each slave had his small patch of ground adjacent to his own dwelling, which he assiduously cultivated after completing his daily task. In this way they often raised considerable crops of corn, tobacco and potatoes, besides various kinds of garden vegetables. Their object in doing this is to have something with which to purchase tea, coffee, sugar, flour and all such articles of diet as are not provided by their masters . . ."¹¹¹

Though examples of the antebellum house and detached kitchen can still be found in Georgia, few of them have any integrity left in their sites. One of the best examples of the detached kitchen arrangement can be seen at the Atlanta History Center where the re-created *Tullie Smith Farm* (rescued from highway construction and listed on the National Register since 1971) offers demonstrations of open hearth cooking, culinary and other plantation crafts in and around its kitchen building. The kitchen, which is original to the house, is believed to be the only surviving detached kitchen in the Atlanta area.¹¹² While the relationship of the house to the kitchen is clear from the arrangement at the History Center, a number of other relationships have been changed – the paling for one, and the exact number and kind of outbuildings which existed at the original site of the house.

The house was the domestic center of the plantation or farm, the heart (hearth) of the plantation community, and its symbolic administrative, spiritual, and biological head. Women, black and white, provided all of the domestic labor for the entire plantation or farm; that is, they performed all of the work intended to clothe, feed, nurture, clean, and sustain the members of the household community.¹¹³ In this work they were abetted by the financial brain of the head of the household and the muscular brawn of the male slaves and other men in the household, but the labor on behalf of the welfare of the household/

¹¹¹Mills Lane, ed., *Neither More Nor Less Than Men: Slavery in Georgia, A Documentary History* (Savannah: Beehive Press, 1993), p. 134.

¹¹²"Tullie Smith House," National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form.

¹¹³Clinton, *Plantation*, pp. 6-7.

plantation was theirs. In addition, women provided some of the non-domestic, field labor for the plantation. Geographically speaking, the further away the function lay from the house, the closer it lay in the masculine domain; the closer the function took place to the house, the closer it lay within the feminine realm. "Inside the paling," the women were in charge, and the white mistress was the deputy master and acknowledged superintendent of everything – the kitchen, pantry, spring house, poultry yard, the kitchen gardens, and so on, even though certain important female slaves could oversee any one of these individual areas, if the work were delegated to her.¹¹⁴ Dell Upton has drawn the conclusion that "all work areas other than the main house were the slaves' domain, a division of space made clear by the frequent juxtaposition of work buildings and slave houses,"¹¹⁵ a statement which is true but not complete, as it gives no recognition to the gender roles played by the slaves within those spaces nor to the role of the mistress in overseeing many of the functions. The literature of the state, in diaries, letters, and other manuscripts, while it has not been exhaustively studied for this particular theme, makes the point again and again, as for instance in this description of work:

The poultry yard is Cousin Matilda's specialty [Matilda was white], nothing but pure white fowls and cocks, buff turkies [sic], white ducks and geese. The number of each runs into hundreds. In the office, Matilda sits every morning, receiving eggs, marking each with its date and issuing orders to a squad of half grown-ups [presumably black] who compose her devoted working force. The poultry houses are large buildings and are under constant care.¹¹⁶

Sometimes the mistresses managed quite large plantations, in the short-term, temporary absence of their men (handling business ventures in town, away on buying, hunting, or trading trips, or later, away to war) or as widows. **Mrs. Robert MacKay** managed *Kensington* just outside Savannah. **Catherine Greene***, the widow of Nathanael Greene, and **Dolly Lunt Burge***, already mentioned, were two additional such women who ran sizeable Georgia plantations on their own. Sometimes, on yeoman plantations, the mistress was the only white female on the premises; sometimes, absent children, she was altogether the only female on the premises. As superintendent, the mistress acted in the stead of the master, but only with his permission (in fact or in absentia); she acted as his agent, his representative, and some times as his surrogate. As mistress, she kept the keys to the storerooms, which housed the family

¹¹³Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 92.

¹¹⁴Dell Upton, "White and Black Landscapes in Eighteenth Century Virginia," J. Ritchie Garrison and Ann Smart Martin, eds., *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field* (Winterthur: Winterthur Museum, 1997), p. 367.

¹¹⁶Lane, *Neither More*, p. 67.

¹¹⁷Clinton, *Plantation*, p. 20.

provisions, a role that had come down to her from the castle chatelaine of medieval times¹¹⁷ The smokehouse, a special, free-standing storehouse, the ice house (if there was one) and the cellars were all used for storage. The items kept under lock and key consisted of anything with value, such as candles, lamps, alcohol, extra food supplies, and preserves. The mistresses managed the household budget, dealt with merchants, and handled internal matters of finance. Some women kept their own household books; some depended on their husbands to keep the books.¹¹⁸

There is an on-going academic debate about who actually did what among the women, and especially what work the white mistresses would ever do in the presence of abundant black slave labor. **Fanny Kemble***, for example, numbered one cook, a dairywoman, a laundrywoman, a housemaid and two footmen among her personal slaves, not to mention the slave Jack who accompanied her on her many rambles through the Butler family plantations and its Negro settlements.¹¹⁹ The image of South Carolinian Eliza Lucas Pinckney comes to mind too, who in her old age, widowed and alone, kept six personal servants around her to satisfy her every need.¹²⁰ The question arises, particularly in the case of the largest plantations, where a white mistress would have access to the greatest amount of African-American support. The daily schedule, for example, of the mistress at *Maybank Plantation* in Liberty County might be typical. She spent the day in worship, breakfast, working in the garden, sewing and planning sewing tasks and their schedule of completion, taking a walk to inspect the yards, inspecting the house (work), checking the clothing needs of the servants, conversing with visiting friends, eating dinner and supper, reading, writing letters, interacting with the family, and more worship.¹²¹

The largest plantations required the least physical labor from the white women but the most management from them; furthermore, these households had expectations around the mistress that kept her supervising activities at home and in town (where the family undoubtedly had a second or third home), and holding social and familial entertainments that smaller households would likely not have undertaken. These larger plantations would also have given certain black female slaves the most managerial responsibilities; these were the women who would have overseen the kitchens (the house kitchen and the “field” kitchen), the laundry, and the nursery or nurseries (one for black children, one for white). In this

¹¹⁸Ibid., pp. 21, 23, 32.

¹¹⁹Frances Anne Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation, 1838-1839* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, Brown Thrasher Books, 1984), p. 60.

¹²⁰From a tour of Hampton Plantation State Park, South Carolina, May 1999.

¹²¹Robert M. Myers, *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 35-36.

case, the white mistress might never have had to set foot in any of these places – the kitchen, the laundry, or the nursery. Kemble describes a “small shed,” the cook’s “shop,” from which the “daily allowance of rice and corn grits . . . if boiled and distributed . . . by an old woman, whose special business this is,” and goes on to say that each slave village (called settlement or camp in her text) is outfitted with such a cook’s shop where the “oldest wife” of the village was the “officiating priestess.”¹²² The household cook tended to become an important and often formidable figure in the life of the plantation, for she usually knew more about her craft than her mistress did, and more also about preparing medicines and cures.¹²³ There were cooks for the master’s kitchen and for the servants’ kitchen; the chief cook did the planning, procuring, and oversaw preparation of the food for both kitchens.

An old black woman on the plantation was usually given the job of tending the youngest black children, and slightly older black children were given the responsibilities for tending the young white children. In this connection, former slave **Leah Garrett**, recalled the fate of the child of a cousin of hers, nurse to the master’s grandchild, who fell down the house steps with the grandchild. The master’s wife and daughter “hollered and went on turrible, . . . just lak de baby was dead or dyin,” and when the master came home, “he picked up a board an hit dis pore little chile ‘cross de head and kilt her right dar. Den he told his slaves to take her and throw her in de river.”¹²⁴ While this is an extreme example of plantation cruelty, it is also a clear indication of the marginal status of black, prepubescent female children within the plantation economy. The youngest black children, male and female became nurses at age eight or sometimes earlier and were also allowed/required to sleep at the foot of their charge’s bed. The daughters of specialized servants, such as cooks or laundresses, tended to be trained early at their mother’s side and enlisted for service in the house along with their mothers. Sometimes the younger ones went into service in the “missus” yard instead of the house.¹²⁵

It’s clear from the literature that white women on the largest installations (as opposed to those on the smallest homesteads and servant-less farms), never did their own laundry (washing and ironing) or their own dishwashing; they did little or none of their own house cleaning (except, perhaps, for some priceless items); they might have done food planning but not food preparation (except again on the

¹²²Kemble, *Journal*, p. 55.

¹²³The cooks were not always female, though male cooks seem to have been an exception. As a general rule gender specificity with relation to occupation and task was less strictly enforced among the enslaved peoples than among the masters, although no female blacksmiths or carpenters were encountered in the literature searched for this report.

¹²⁴Scott, ed., *Cornerstones*, p. 69.

¹²⁵Fox-Genovese, *Within*, pp. 135, 147, 152, 157.

smallest farms); and they never spun or wove wool or cotton fabric (as some of their predecessors did on the colonial frontier and their peers might still do in the backcountry). They did not often suckle or tend their own babies. While racially this suggests the hierarchy that did indeed exist, it does not change the stereotyped gender functioning. What is important to remember here is that women – black and white females – performed all the domestic labor and also managed it. The range of work responsibilities within the domestic sphere, black to white, depended on the size of the estate, the number of properties the estate contained, the size of its slave population and the number of black women and children available for household work, the particular interests and demands of/by the white mistress, the expectations of the master, and abilities of each these last two to manage their affairs. When white women wrote in their journals that they “sewed” or “gardened” or “cooked” or “provided,” they were more often than not blending their slaves’ efforts with their own. The “slaves did whatever their mistresses needed or wanted done, and rarely . . . did those mistresses acknowledge their efforts as work, much less as skill or craft.”¹²⁶ The mistresses executed the work through their slaves; they saw that it got done, but only rarely did they do the work themselves.

The mistresses supervised the work of the slaves tending to certain tasks as the seasons demanded; so hog butchering, which they supervised, occurred in the fall, and the planting of the gardens in the spring. Gardening seems to have been one area where white women took an active, physical part as well as close superintendence, although the hard, ground-breaking work would have been done by male slaves or “hoe-women,” slave women trained to work in the fields. Again references in the historical literature of Georgia bear this out, with gardens a particular point of pride, woman-to-woman. The example of “**Miss Heriot’s** garden” demonstrates this point, as described by her cousin, writing to her own mother:

Through the cedars runs a narrow . . . creek over which Heriot has had what she calls a rustic bridge thrown, which gives her a pathway to her beloved flower garden [with] Cape jessamine *Multicanlis*, rare violets all mixed in riotous profusion between dozens of Sago palms . . . The path goes on to the gardens, one a small flower [garden] . . . [and] the vegetable garden, which is not good and much inferior to your own.¹²⁷

Sewing seems to have been the one area where slave-owning white women appear universally to have retained skills, and to have participated actively, no matter what their class: “Fall and spring

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 135.

plantation mistresses cut out and sewed slaves' clothing for distribution in the winter and summer," though on larger plantations these tasks – except for the cutting – might be delegated.¹²⁸ Dolly Lunt Burge, in the midst of running a plantation, never failed to record her evening sewing sessions: "just finished a pair of pants for Thomas," written February 25, 1861; and "have done no sewing yet for servants" penned on March 21 of the same year.¹²⁹ Even Fanny Kemble, who otherwise participated little in the responsibilities of the household, found herself cutting out a dress for one of the slave women and making numerous baby layettes.¹³⁰ All white women were taught to sew as girls and so they came into their marriages with sewing skills, whereas most of them would not have been taught to cook or even to manage a household. Their mothers taught them what they knew, whether small farm life or large plantation, so female lore passed, one stitch at a time, from mother to daughter, whether black or white.¹³¹

One of the weaknesses of the southern plantation system stemmed from the very lack of preparation which white women were given for their plantation roles. Boatwright phrased it most cheekily: "a southern gentlemen," she wrote nearly a century after the fact, "expected a frivolous girl, kept ignorant in the name of innocence, trained under the theory of inferiority, and selected as a bride for the very qualifications that she must renounce, to become, on her wedding day, a Roman matriarch with the wisdom of Solomon."¹³² Between the end of the Revolution and the onset of the Civil War, Georgia began as a state with no greater educational offerings for its females than any of the other southern states. Common in most communities were small academies open to the children of the most elite, wealthiest families, but on the plantations, girls would have been home-schooled, taught reading, writing, sewing, and music; arithmetic only occasionally. The teaching at the plantation could be done by one of the household members (such as a dependent, maiden aunt), or an itinerant teacher or a visiting family member.¹³³ The boys of a household might be sent away to school, but the girls stayed home to learn. **Eliza Andrews Bowen***, later a teacher and writer, was educated by her mother.¹³⁴

¹²⁷Lane, *Neither More*, p. 66-67.

¹²⁸Jean E. Friedman, *The Enclosed Garden: Women and Community in the Evangelical South, 1830-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), p. 20.

¹²⁹Carter, *Burge*, p. 114.

¹³⁰Kemble, *Journal*, p. 142.

¹³¹See Fox Genovese, *Within*, pp. 111-116; Clinton, *Plantation*, pp. 26-35; Boatwright, *Status of Women*, pp. 91-96.

¹³²Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 68.

¹³³Margaret Ripley Wolfe, *Daughters of Canaan: A Saga of Southern Women* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995), pp. 37-39.

¹³⁴See Section 5.2, "Individual Women," for biographies included in this study.

¹³⁵Personal inventory of the holdings of the Smith Family library by the author during acquisition negotiations between the Smith Plantation and the Atlanta History Center in 1991-1992.

In those households where there were enlightened, ambitious parents, home-schooling could be an advantage rather than a draw-back. For example, the home library at the *Archibald Smith Plantation* in Roswell, where the Smith children in the pre-Civil War days were educated, contained books on every contemporary and historical subject – horticulture, grammar, geography, religion, history, French, Greek, Latin, chemistry and other sciences, mathematics, classical literature in translation, medicine, plus hymn books, novels, religious tracts, and magazines.¹³⁵ As time wore on and public education became more available, their library reflected a less extensive educational intention.

As a result of the haphazard nature of schooling, literacy rates among whites in Georgia were lower than in northern states and even in some southern states; it is estimated that in 1850 twenty percent of white adults in Georgia could not read. The percentage among women was probably higher. Figures from before the Civil War (1850) indicate that 34,650 women had enrolled in school (10,000 fewer than young men), but 24,548 females were illiterate. Progress came slowly; by 1860, 44,238 female pupils attended classes, but 26,784 females (nearly twice the male number), were still illiterate.¹³⁶ Enlightened attitudes toward female education came slowly, and in some ways not at all. One Georgia man reportedly said, “all that a woman needs to know is how to read the New Testament, and to spin and weave clothing for her family.”¹³⁷ His views sound strident but they were typical – women should only learn to read, and then, read only the Bible.

The private academy movement, began under the influence of the Revolution in order to train women so they would raise patriot sons, not just inspire their religious thinking, reached its peak in Georgia in the 1830s, when fifty-two percent of the state's reported academy enrollment was female.¹³⁸ Most of the teachers at that time came from the North, which had begun to invest more heavily in education; but as the abolitionist movement gained momentum, southern schools, including Georgia's, began preferring home-grown instruction. By 1853, Georgia was graduating 1,500 girls a year from its educational institutions.¹³⁹ The early interest in state-funded academies had waned by the turn of the nineteenth century, replaced by the so-called local “free schools,” designed to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic to the state's poor. Both the academies and the free schools were located in Georgia's towns and cities, so did little for isolated plantations well outside of commuting distance, a distance measured by

¹³⁶Coleman, *Georgia History*, p. 42; Boatwright, *Status of Women*, pp. 5-6.

¹³⁷Wolfe, *Daughters*, p. 59.

¹³⁸Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 15-16.

¹³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 11.

northern-born educator **Emily Burke*** to be four to five miles for a small girl.¹⁴⁰ State support of the free-school movement ended in 1840, leaving each county to fend for itself in terms of education. Nor was the state able to support universal public educational development again until after the Civil War.¹⁴¹

The early schools tended to offer girls an inferior version of the education boys received. Girls got the basic 3-R's plus some "ornamental" subjects such as painting on velvet, wax work, rice work, filigree, needle work, and music. None of the girls were taught Greek, but some Latin was available to them as were grammar, geography, chemistry, elocution, and history. At the *Misses Brown and Hamilton School*, taught out of the basement of the Central Presbyterian Church in Atlanta, there was no math offered higher than arithmetic, and no languages at all. Girls who wanted to learn Latin arranged a special early morning class with the instructor of the boy's school.¹⁴² The girls' learning took place in separate surroundings, everything was segregated by sex. The boys and girls had separate departments, often separate faculties, separate classrooms, and separate entrances to those schools where the pupils shared facilities. More common was the erection of entirely separate schools such as the *Monticello Female Academy*, the *Sparta Female Model School*, *Lawrenceville Female Seminary* (now the Gwinnett Museum), and a school called *Mount Salubrity* near Augusta.¹⁴³ **Sallie Clayton** gave a good description of one such school, the *Atlanta Female Institute* on Ellis Street in Atlanta (demolished during the Civil War):

[There was] nothing on the first floor but a very large chapel, [and] a hall across the front . . . [with] two beautiful walnut stair cases, . . . one on either side of the double door leading into the chapel, and under each stair case was a large cloak room. The chapel itself had the usual furniture of a stage, with its desk and chairs, a piano just below in front of it, and plenty of long movable seats. On the second floor was a broad hall and four spacious recitation rooms. In the third floor were eight music rooms, four on each side, separated by narrow halls from a large inner room, with a good sized library just back of it, and opening into it, fitted with nice walnut bookcases built in one end, a library table and comfortable seats. [The library] was the only room carpeted and . . . the windows curtained. [The large inner room] was a noticeable feature of the building in that it was without windows. In the third story, in the center, was a hall for the meetings of our literary society, the Isabella Society it was called, and lighted entirely from above . . . [The] music rooms, each furnished with a piano and chairs on each side of the society

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁴¹Coleman, *Georgia History*, pp. 42-43.

¹⁴²Robert Scott Davis, *Requiem for a Lost City: A Memoir of Civil War Atlanta and the Old South* ([by] Sarah "Sallie" Conley Clayton) (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1999), pp. 37, 57.

¹⁴³Boatwright, *Status of Women*, pp. 11-16.

hall and separated from it by passage ways five or six feet wide, with windows in the rear end.¹⁴⁴

Sex segregation continued on the upper levels. More girls than boys tended to go to “high schools” in Georgia before the Civil War, since adolescent boys were either sent away for their higher schooling or dropped out altogether to stay home and work. Girls who went on to high school only obtained additional “superficial” education, as most secondary education for females leaned toward “seminary” training – designed to cultivate the “amiability” of the young women more than their minds, and prepare them more for the parlor than the storeroom. “It is a fault in female education,” wrote one Georgia planter to his daughter, [that] “housekeeping is not made more a part of it.”¹⁴⁵ And from another: “the kitchen and the dairy need to be attended to as well as the drawing room.”¹⁴⁶ Sewing a sampler was no more preparation for constructing clothing than serving tea was preparation for feeding a hundred souls. But practical training was as little a part of a young Georgia woman’s education as was critical thinking. The school of public opinion lashed out perhaps strongest against training a woman for independent thinking, as seen by the *Columbus Enquirer* that issued a “Dictionary for Ladies” in which it advised the following:

avoid contradicting your husband; occupy yourself only with household affairs; never take upon yourself to be a censor of your husband’s morals, nor read lectures to him; never exact anything; appear always flattered by the little he does for you; never wound [his] vanity; a wife may have more sense than her husband but should never seem to know it.¹⁴⁷

It is no wonder, and probably not an excessive exaggeration, that Fanny Kemble could conclude that her white female counterparts in the American South were vacuous personalities; “I pity them,” she wrote:

for the stupid sameness of their most vapid existence, which would deaden any amount of intelligence, obliterate any amount of instruction, and render torpid and stagnant any amount of natural energy and vivacity. I would rather die – rather a thousand times – than live the lives of these Georgia planters’ wives and daughters.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴Davis, *Requiem*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁴⁵Clinton, *Tara*, p. 43.

¹⁴⁶Clinton, *Plantation*, p. 19.

¹⁴⁷Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 56.

¹⁴⁸Kemble, *Journal*, p. 192.

There were departures from this depressive, deflating norm, and there were exceptional people guiding those departures. **Charlotte DeBernier Scarborough*** from Savannah, for example, was educated in New York, and lived there and in New Jersey before returning to Savannah, where she began publishing scientific articles in the 1850s on her favorite subject, entomology.¹⁴⁹ **Emily Tubman***, as a widow ran her husband's plantation, amassed a fortune, and became an important philanthropist in the Augusta region. She went on after the Civil War to found *Tubman High School*, the first true high school for girls in the state, and considered from the time of its founding to be one of the best schools in Georgia overall.¹⁵⁰

The most significant departure in Georgia however, has to have been the establishment of *Wesleyan College* in 1839. The first institution in the state to bill itself as a college for women, the first institution in the country to grant a true college-level degree to a woman, Wesleyan sprang up "within a small town still in some frontier conditions, in a society committed to slavery and secured by a conservative view of southern womanhood."¹⁵¹ For its first few years as the *Georgia Female College*, the school had a hard time living up to its proposed reputation, accepting earlier admissions and lower academic records than its male counterparts, and failing to require Latin and Greek. In 1844, the school changed its name to emphasize its Methodist connections, and granted the first traditional Bachelor of Arts degree to a woman. Wesleyan vigorously pursued its academic goals and survived amidst an often critical and openly hostile environment of public opinion. It managed to stay open through most of the Civil War, persisted despite difficulties at the end of the nineteenth century, and in 1928 moved into a new campus, celebrating its pioneering traditions.¹⁵² Wesleyan College was quickly followed and imitated by *Greensboro Female College*, *Georgia Female College at Statesboro*, and *Madison Female College*, all established before the Civil War.¹⁵³

Since women were supposed to learn to read the Bible and little else, churches in Georgia (as elsewhere) undertook a polite form of education in their Sabbath Schools, where girls learned Bible verses and lessons, read them, and expounded upon their meaning before a Sabbath teacher, usually an adult woman. Boys too learned through Sabbath Schools, but again, in gender-segregated settings. Here, unlike public secular schools, the girls outnumbered the boys. It is estimated that females comprised sixty

¹⁴⁹See Section 5.2, "Individual Women."

¹⁵⁰"Individual Women;" Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. xix. Boatwright was a teacher at Tubman.

¹⁵¹Wolfe, *Daughters*, p. 60.

¹⁵²F. N. Boney, "'The Pioneer College for Women': Wesleyan Over a Century and a Half," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* LXXII, no. 3 (Fall 1988), pp. 519-532; Boatwright, *Status of Women*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁵³Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 19.

to sixty-five percent of all church memberships in the nineteenth century, with women outnumbering men in every region of the state (among both blacks and whites).¹⁵⁴ During the nineteenth century, the evangelizing congregations – the Methodists and Baptists – began to outnumber the more formal denominations – the Episcopalian, Lutheran, and Presbyterian. In 1860, all but a few hundred of Georgia's more than two thousand churches were either Baptist (1,141 congregations) or Methodist (1,035 congregations).¹⁵⁵ The Methodists especially nurtured their female followers. They had the most aggressive educational programs; they allowed women greater rights in the congregations that were established originally by John Wesley himself, rights and permissions which did not cease to exist even when the women remained passive or silent. The most "liberal" of the Protestant denominations for their stand on education and their denial of "class" differences, the Methodists were both altogether common and distinctly uncommon in their church arrangements. Wesleyan theology dictated that any repentant person (male or female) could find divine forgiveness; therefore, Methodist churches were free and open to all comers with no reserved seats for the elites. That is, the white men all sat on an equal basis, but caste distinctions did appear in the Methodist churches, which broke down along the lines of gender and race. The seating patterns reflected the equal superiority of white men, and the inferiority of blacks (male and female) and white women, a set of characteristic divisions the Methodists shared with their Baptist counterparts. Southern Methodists maintained sexual segregation during their services until after the Civil War (as did the Baptists). The churches had two front doors, one for the men and one for the women; the women sat to the right the men to the left. Blacks sat in the rear pews or in overhead galleries, also divided by gender, and they entered from a second of doors –one for the women and one for the men. These doors were usually located in the rear or side of the church. Blacks did not meet regularly as separate congregations until after the Civil War, at which time gender separation in all churches gradually gave way to family style seating, where all members of a family sat together in the same pew regardless of sex or age, much as is the (intended) practice Today. At that time the practice of racially separated whole congregations also emerged.¹⁵⁶

Both the schools, with their inadequacies in training, and the churches, with their emphases on personal piety, conspired to keep women in a subordinated position to the men of the plantation South – the schools and churches in Georgia were no exception. Yet the tiniest of windows opened up for the

¹⁵⁴Christopher H. Owen, "By Design: The Social Meaning of Methodist Church Architecture in Nineteenth Century Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, LXXV, no. 2 (Summer 1991), pp. 221-253, esp. 232.

¹⁵⁵Coleman, *Georgia History*, p. 44.

¹⁵⁶ Owen, "By Design," pp. 230-233.

women in each institution. Once a woman learned to read, she could read anything, not just the Bible. When a woman had the opportunity to teach in Sabbath School, she had the opportunity to preach her beliefs to others with impact. More importantly, the churches were congregating points for women to meet outside their plantation families and kinship networks, and to pursue collective activities outside the family. The institutions that sought to repress, contain, and subordinate the ladies of the society, also offered the opportunity for the women to liberate and express themselves in new (still small) ways. Anne Firor Scott was the first historian to uncover this paradox which breathed through every cell of the plantation system, and to point to both the resentments that built up around the limitations placed on white southern women in antebellum times, and the ways in which they “revolted” (in lady-like fashion, most of them) against their lack of liberty. What the white women shared with their black slaves, besides the space inside the compound, was a stylistic, personalized approach to their problem. They fought their respective enforced limitations on a one-to-one basis. Both female groups tended not to organize in rebellion, but to undertake individual acts of sabotage, revenge, spite, humiliation, and betrayal against the each other's personal authority.

Thus, tensions between the white and black women bubbled up into confrontations of will; slaves would disrespect the mistress in acts of insubordination, “sassing,” intentionally not hearing instructions, slowing down work, only half-hearing and half-doing what they were supposed to do. Slaves “liberated” small items or food, a custom which became known as “pan toting.” In desperation, they ran away, usually only temporarily. The mistress responded with threats of withholding supplies and worse, by demanding a whipping. A rare mistress did the beating herself. Sometimes for the slaves, the whipping was merely the price they paid to feel something like independence. The disrespect and its repercussions, while it did not harmonize relationships, made the black women strong.¹⁵⁷

The white women practiced similar acts of insolence. They could be benign, generous, or cruel intercessors with the master and with the patriarchal system. They could nag, plead, and trick their husbands and their slaves. They could, and often did, manipulate members of their families to their will; they pouted, prayed, primped, and overspent. They withdrew into silence and piety. Some procrastinated on the dirty jobs. Many complained about their slaves to their husbands and their family friends, and for those on the most intimate terms, they also complained about their husbands to their family members. Some went to visit relatives and stayed. Some escaped into disease and languished in lengthy recuperation at health spas and resorts. Some also ran away and disappeared, as the commonplace ads for

¹⁵⁷Fox-Genovese, *Within*, pp. 311-318.

runaway wives attested.¹⁵⁸ And as a last resort, a few sought divorce, even though marriage was inviolate by social standards and practically indissoluble by Georgia law.

Broken Rules

Georgia divorce laws were severe, as infidelity and cruelty were cause for separation only, not complete divorce. Most successful cases rested on the evidence of long-term non-support and desertion by the male, in which case it was apparent to the legislature (which deliberated these matters until 1833) that the man had broken his marital vows and abandoned his responsibilities as a functioning member of society by forcing other members of that society to be dependent for their welfare on it instead of him. The laws of the Georgian patriarchy pivoted their presentation in jurisprudence on the man's failure to provide for his wife and family (including his slaves), not his failure to honor them. The divorce of **Mary Wood** and William Ryan is a case in point. Married to Mary in 1817, Ryan's business faltered and he began to drink. She claimed that he "beat, calumniated, and in other ways ill-treated her," even though she had performed "all those domestic duties which religion and the regulations of society require." She had upheld her responsibilities under marriage; he was found not to have upheld them, and she was granted the divorce on those grounds.¹⁵⁹

So serious a step was divorce considered to be, that its approval required a two-thirds vote by both houses of the legislature. After 1833, the legislature left divorce to the courts. Only as the laws of Georgia began to be a little more sensitive to the state's women, could divorce be regarded as any kind of viable option to a troublesome marriage. That this was the case is evidenced by the "epidemic" increase in the number of divorces in the state after 1833; even so, the laws concerning divorce remained so confusing and restrictive that the legislature finally grandfathered all divorces in the state in 1849, including those that did not conform to then current legal requirements. The courts might be kind, but they were not necessarily generous to divorced women, who might receive alimony or the property they brought into a marriage, but rarely both. If the husband lost property that was formerly his wife's, through debts or mismanagement, such property would not be taken into account in the divorce settlement. The wife as well as the husband might be liable for their indebtedness, even if she had little

¹⁵⁸Clinton, *Tara*, pp. 41-43, where Clinton rejects Susan Dabney Smedes' assertion that the "mistress of a plantation was the most complete slave on it" as absurd, while recognizing the level of resentment that did exist; Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 64.

¹⁵⁹Timothy Lockley, "A Struggle for Survival: Non-Elite White Women in Lowcountry Georgia, 1790-1830," in Farnham, *Women*, p. 34.

way to repay it. If a woman had a pre-nuptial contract for a separate estate, she would be entitled to keep whatever was covered by the contract, but only for her lifetime. Real property was subject to far more complications than human property, i.e., the biological issue of the union. The father, no matter his state of sobriety, the size of his pocketbook, or the integrity of his personal habits, became the guardian of the children.¹⁶⁰ The wife could sue for guardianship, but seldom won, as even Fanny Kemble learned in her own divorce, in the face of her husband's own seriously compromised prosperity.¹⁶¹ Sometimes the misery is palpable, even across time: in one case, a white woman

swore that her husband subjected her to constant abuse – even tossing a chamber pot filled with urine on her – and regularly forced the slave women on their plantation to have sexual relations with him; yet she had to appeal her case all the way to the [state] Supreme Court to obtain a divorce. The black women whom he assaulted supported the wife's claims and testified readily in her behalf.¹⁶²

Miscegenation, though illegal, was not in and of itself a reason for divorce, though frequent and prolonged “sexual disarray” in the plantation system provoked some drastic, and sometimes incredible measures on the part of all parties concerned.¹⁶³ By and large the illicit sexual contact between white men and their female slaves went unacknowledged by either legal actions or familial responses. White women were expected to turn a blind eye to the sexual shenanigans of their men, though the presence of both a white wife and a black concubine on the same premises must have led to tension, and irreversible cruelties, usually perpetrated by the white mistress against the slave woman. Black women were rendered incredibly vulnerable in a situation where the “domestic intimacy” of slavery and the “authoritarian environment” of the patriarchy often encouraged interracial sexual relations; the disparity between the privileged status of the master and the powerlessness of the female slave meant that their sexual relationship by its very existence was exploitive.¹⁶⁴ In many instances the young men of the plantation were more prone to irresponsible indiscretions than their fathers, and for that reason were often farmed out to work at a distance, sent away to school, or housed separately from the rest of the family. In instances – especially in the case of bachelor land-owners and widowers – where there was some more

¹⁶⁰Boatwright, *Status of Women*, pp. 60-65

¹⁶¹The Kemble-Butler divorce was actually granted by the Court of Common Pleas of Pennsylvania, indicating no greater enlightenment in that northern state at the time; see Kemble, *Journal*, p. xlv.

¹⁶²Alexander, *Ambiguous*, p. 52.

¹⁶³Fox-Genovese, *Within*, p. 325, mentions infanticide performed by either mistresses and slave mothers as one such drastic and not unknown measure.

¹⁶⁴Alexander, *Ambiguous*, pp. 63-66.

open acknowledgment of liaison and/or paternity, the men often made special arrangements for their concubines. Amanda America Dickson and Susan Hunt have already been mentioned, as has Althea Taylor living on her own in a house in Augusta with her children. One Georgia judge is said to have had a mistress who lived in a cabin on his property, whose three daughters he educated, sending one to a northern woman's college.¹⁶⁵

A slave woman's maternity was never quite a guaranteed ticket to freedom, even under some of the exceptional circumstances mentioned above, but it could often bring her some extra provisions and a short break from work. According to Fanny Kemble, (and others) every pregnant woman was relieved of a certain portion of her work, given additional clothing and rations, as the increasing numbers of her progeny – increased assets for the plantation – provided her only claim upon the good will and consideration of her owners and overseers.¹⁶⁶ Yet maternity, which could begin with a girl as young as twelve, was fraught with stresses and fears. Kemble also reported the pride with which the slave women pointed to their broods, and the sadness with which they reported the statistics of their motherhood: Fanny with six children, all dead but one; Nanny with two dead out of three born; Leah with three dead of six born; Sophy with ten born, half of them dead; Sally with two miscarriages, one live birth, and one dead child; Charlotte with two miscarriages only; and Sarah, with seven born and living, five dead, and four miscarriages.¹⁶⁷

Despite the interventions of the masters – sexual and extralegal – slave families and marriages persisted, and on their own terms. If slave children were sold, they would likely be adopted into family settings at their new locations. The usual plantation preference was to keep the marriages at home, but many slaves married “abroad” to spouses at other plantations, which the owners had a right to terminate, by fiat, or through sale. Occasionally, a generous owner willed his slave families be kept together, but this was the exception.¹⁶⁸ According to the statistics of the Freedman's Bureau, at the time of emancipation, two-thirds of the slave marriages reported were more than five years old; only one in seven was more than fifteen years old.¹⁶⁹

The slave cabins clustered together and at a distance from the main house, offered shelter but not always family nurturing. The cabins were, in the best of situations, small and rudimentary; the remaining

¹⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 79-80, 83.

¹⁶⁶Kemble, *Journal*, p. 94.

¹⁶⁷Clinton, *Tara*, p. 34.

¹⁶⁸Judge Berrien and Jonathan Bryan, noted in [Savannah Writers' Project], *Savannah*, pp. 110, 403.

¹⁶⁹Clinton, *Tara*, pp. 32-33.

sheds and shelters, such as the kitchen, might also offer shelter for sleeping.¹⁷⁰ The associated cabin garden or yard might be used to supplement slave rations. Each week slaves were issued allowances of corn and pork, sweet potatoes and possibly other vegetables, occasionally salt, coffee, and molasses. Grits, hominy, and corn meal were also issued, mostly meal. Slave yards and gardens would vary in productivity depending on slaves' dependency on their own produce, and on the availability of time and energy to work the yard and/ or supplement their diet through hunting and fishing.¹⁷¹

There was some variability in this pattern. Where the so-called "task system" of work prevailed, largely in the rice-growing low-country, slave cabins and slave family life gained from greater opportunities for slave "investments" (and here Kemble is not the best authority). According to the task system, slaves were given a certain portion of work to do each day and when that was accomplished, the slaves were on their own time, and could spend that time in their own gardens and yards, and so on. The "task" was also associated with a certain sized plot of ground, so it came to mean not only a unit of labor but a unit of land measure. Under this system, slaves actually accumulated goods and property – property which later was "inherited" by their slave descendants. The other labor system, the "gang system," utilized segregated gangs of either men or women under the direction of a driver/overseer who decided when the day's work was done. The gang system (which was in effect on the Butler plantations that Fanny Kemble saw, in contrast to most of the Butler neighbors) was universally hated by the slaves, understandably, not only for its direct oppressiveness, but also for the additional restraints on slave activity.¹⁷² Ironically, when Sherman took property in the low country counties, he was confiscating slave property as well as masters' property, especially in the form of livestock and feed animals. Later, in those counties where the task system had prevailed, freedmen sometimes resisted the Freedmen Bureau's "work-by-day" organization in favor of the old task system, which they felt gave them more freedom. Some of these same freedmen even had to make claims to the Freedmen's Bureau for land they had already earned and "owned" under the task system.¹⁷³

New Roles in Antebellum Georgia

¹⁷⁰Fox-Genovese, *Within*, p. 149. In Georgia, a number of these cabins are listed in the National Register as part of the plantations with which they were associated.

¹⁷¹Sam B. Hilliard, "Hog Mean and Cornpone: Foodways in the Antebellum South," in St. George, ed., *Material Life*, p. 321.

¹⁷²Philip D. Morgan, "Work and Culture: The Task System and the World of Lowcountry Blacks, 1700-1880," in St. George, ed., *Material Life*, pp. 203-221. Morgan studied plantations in the Carolinas and in Georgia; many of his best examples are drawn from Chatham County.

Clearly the gang labor system held the most constrictions for all slave members of the plantation household. Under that system, slave women customarily were used in the fields, sometimes to do jobs that were reserved especially for them, such as rice winnowing. In addition to planting and harvesting food and cash crops, women of African descent also built roads, irrigated fields, hoed, cleaned cotton, and performed any and all other agricultural tasks as required. They appear not to have been trained in any trades other than domestic ones, so enslaved women did not do carpentry work or smithing, though they did the work to produce cloth – carding, spinning, weaving, and dyeing. Even black women were not allowed to do “man’s” work, unless absolutely necessary, and the reverse was also not encouraged. In fact, there is some indication that on the largest plantation having a man do a woman’s work – tote water, for example – actually constituted a form of punishment. On the smallest farms, black and white women worked side by side, in the kitchen and in the fields. In those households, the work of the enslaved women “supplemented but did not replace the work of the mistress,” who in those settings did more than the “usual” amount of textile production, cooking, and gardening.¹⁷⁴ The work tied both black and white women to the farms.

What areas of productivity either black or white women entered outside the household derived largely as an extension of their household duties – such as selling their extra produce (eggs, vegetables, wool), or household manufactures (butter, preserves, sewn articles).¹⁷⁵ These sales were often an easier, more natural economic course for the women to take, as for example, **Sarah Early**, who ran her own plantation and who produced only sixty-eight bales of cotton, but \$500 worth of home manufacturing in 1860. Truck farming could only occur near Georgia’s towns, and there, women were regular salesmen of their handmade wares and their produce.¹⁷⁶

The urgency for a widow to produce a saleable crop or other manufacture, did not always assure her success; some women stepped into their husband’s shoes with more understanding and capability than others. The woman who could not read, figure, or make decisions, by law, custom, and training was ill-equipped to run her deceased husband’s affairs.¹⁷⁷ Some relied on the male advice of other members of their families; others simply failed. Often it was their husbands’ mismanagement that left them in dire straits, as their homes and properties were sold out from under them to settle spousal debts. So, for

¹⁷³Morgan in St. George, ed., *Material Life*, pp. 222, 228

¹⁷⁴Fox-Genovese, *Within*, p. 166.

¹⁷⁵Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 93.

¹⁷⁶Boatwright, *Status of Women*, pp. 93-94, 96.

¹⁷⁷Clinton, *Plantation*, pp. 32-33.

instance, when a certain Dr. Haig died, his plantation was mortgaged to the hilt, so he could leave only the household furniture to his wife with the instructions that his real and personal property be sold to pay his debts. Dr. Haig's mortgage holder then became the executor of the deceased doctor's estate. Even the talented and intelligent **Catherine Greene*** could not save *Mulberry Grove* from ruin in the face of Nathanael Greene's heavy debts. Her own efforts to farm appear to have been half-hearted, and under her supervision the plantation was never fully cultivated. And a much beleaguered **Mrs. Ann Cuthbert**, after a long series of legal battles involving claims against her husband's property after his death, lost the property because she could not pay the annuities.¹⁷⁸

Opportunities for gainful employment, even low paying ones, were severely limited, especially for white women for whom work outside the home was considered a humiliation for her and a failure on the part of her spouse or family. Yet some of the same occupations found to have been held by women in colonial Savannah persisted through the 1800s. These occupations were only to be found in Georgia's towns and cities: mantua makers (makers of coats, cloaks, and other outer garments), milliners, dressmakers, and seamstresses; boarding house keepers; governesses, teachers, and instructors of music. Midwives were essential to the functioning of the society, and one of these seems to have been extremely successful. A **Mrs. Agnes Paschal** birthed children, kept a hotel that catered to the sick, performed minor operations, and made house calls to the sick. Mrs. Paschal moved to the gold country of north Georgia with her husband and worked through the years of the Georgia gold rush, remaining loyal to the Union through the Civil War. At ninety-four, Mrs. Paschal was still delivering babies.¹⁷⁹

Writing and publishing were not yet what they would become later among the women of Georgia, but **Sarah Hillhouse*** stands out as an important achiever. After taking over her deceased husband's print shop so as to continue publishing *The Monitor*, Mrs. Hillhouse went on to become a printer for the state.¹⁸⁰ **Mary E. Bryan*** published some poems and essays, and the wealthy **Octavia Walton LaVert*** published memoirs of her travels through Europe.¹⁸¹ Less well known are the early works of **Annie Blount**, who edited a newspaper and wrote under a pseudonym, and **Clara Belle Sinclaire**, who wrote verses and novels.¹⁸² Otherwise, Georgia seemed at this time to give birth to some literary talents who chose, probably of necessity, to go elsewhere to write. This included the very famous **Augusta Jane**

¹⁷⁸Examples all from [Savannah Writers' Project], *Savannah*, pp. 49, 73, 152-153.

¹⁷⁹Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 98.

¹⁸⁰Ibid., p. 100; see also Section 5.2, "Individual Women."

¹⁸¹See Section 5.2, "Individual Women."

¹⁸²Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 96.

Evans*, who was born in Columbus, Georgia, but did all of her writing in either Texas or Mobile, Alabama. Her post-Civil War novel, *St. Elmo*, was a national best-seller. Another Georgia ex-patriot was **Maria J. McIntosh**, who published stories written at her brother's home in New York. In historian Boatwright's assessment these names composed a "slender roster" of literary lights of "no real consequence for the state's history."¹⁸³

If there were women of "consequence," they resided in Georgia's cities and small towns, where there existed broader ranges of economic opportunity, better schooling, and new industrial enterprises which employed women in great numbers. There "accomplished" women could also enjoy gatherings of social, personal, and traditional female importance. And there in town, or just outside town, women of varying means could find work in newly forming textile factories.

The first industrial manufacturing in Georgia (of any scale above the plantation workshop) provided the most divergent forms of female employment. When the price of cotton fell in 1840, planters began to undertake cotton processing and production in order to keep the cash crop at home and thereby compete with northern textile manufacturers. The first cotton mill, located at Graniteville, South Carolina, set a pattern that was imitated throughout the Carolinas and Georgia. In Georgia, centers of manufacturing developed at Columbus, in Athens and throughout Clarke County, and in Savannah, Macon, and the Atlanta region. Young girls spun and wove the threads and swept up the lint; most of the employed females were white, but some black men and women were hired for menial labor at the mills. In truth, according to contemporary opinion, the enslaved people were more valuable on the plantations and in the fields. Although the mill villages offered housing, and sometimes schools, libraries, and churches, they did not always educate their employees much. Most of the workers remained illiterate. In 1850, Georgia had 1,399 women employed in mills, which number increased by 1860 to 1,682 women; half again as many women were employed by the mills as men. Cotton goods manufacturing employed the most women among the factories of the state. Other mills – tobacco, paper, flour, rice – and other factories, that is for manufacture of shoes and leather goods, metal wares, building products and turpentine, hired few if any women in their manufacturing enterprises.¹⁸⁴ It is not clear from the standard literature whether black male or female bondsmen provided the industrial maintenance, or if both did, in what numbers. Housing for mill workers in Georgia has not been subjected to the same scrutiny as the

¹⁸³Ibid., p. 96.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., pp. 104-109.

same institutions in New England, but *the Bricks* in Roswell, Georgia, may well be a singular example of the white female mill workers' housing.

White women who pursued work outside the home, for whatever reason and out of whatever need, subjected themselves to humiliation, even some social ostracism. "Respectable" women did not pursue a number of occupations; even teaching was not yet a truly acceptable female occupational choice and remained in low repute until the 1850s and even later. It was customary in Georgia for schools to utilize teachers from the North (witness Emily Burke* and Dolly Lunt Burge*, already quoted on page 32), but when the Abolitionist movement aroused concern in the minds of the locals about the sanctity of their values in the minds of their own progeny, their "cry for native teachers" was raised to a higher pitch in Georgia.¹⁸⁵ In 1855, *Wesleyan College*, the highest ranking women's school in the state, began to advertise teaching positions in which to place its graduates.¹⁸⁶

As a common practice, women's occupations outside the home actually constituted extensions of their roles within the home, and the variety of female occupations listed in Savannah demonstrate their customary enterprises; midwives have already been discussed; sixty-eight of one hundred fifty (white) employed Savannah women made a living as seamstresses, twelve as milliners, twenty-one as boarding house keepers, ten as teachers, six as grocers, four as retailers. In addition there were four principals of schools, one nurse, one baker, one confectioner, a matron of the orphan asylum, a barroom keeper, one nurse, and one doctor.¹⁸⁷ Most often, the women worked out of their houses, though occasionally, they owned or rented other properties for commercial use. Among the African-American women who were bakers, pastry cooks, mantua makers, shopkeepers, laundresses, and seamstresses in Savannah, several of them amassed enough capital by the early 1820s to work out of stores –either rented or owned.¹⁸⁸ The evidence for any of these property uses is not very firm, but deserves greater attention. Meanwhile, the Savannah market, which handled the nearby truck garden vegetables, local produce, hand-made household utensils and accessories, had served as a congregating point for women since colonial days. This was especially true for African-American women (free and enslaved), who customarily did the buying and selling for the households they served.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵Ibid., pp. 96-97.

¹⁸⁶Ibid., p. 97.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 99-100.

¹⁸⁸Betty Wood, *Gender, Race, and Rank in a Revolutionary Age: The Georgia Lowcountry, 1750-1820* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000), pp. 14-15.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., p. 11.

Of all the occupations, those having to do with the production of clothing were the most extensive and also revealed the greatest degree of specialization among the craftswomen. Mantua makers (whose occupation no longer exists) constructed outer garments, where tailoring, underlining, and special sizing were involved. Dressmakers did as their name suggests; they created dress garments but not outer wear, and they did not as a rule do tailoring. Seamstresses, the third category of needle-workers, altered garments, repaired them, and performed the tedious finish work for both mantua makers and dressmakers.¹⁹⁰ Several local dressmakers had broad reputations that extended throughout the state, and those in Savannah who undoubtedly set the mark for taste and handiwork, could be recognized by the use of “Madam” before their surnames, as in “**Madam Beaulard**, Congress Street,” who made the bride’s dress and two other wedding gowns for a cousin of **Mary Houston**.¹⁹¹ It would be interesting to know the geographic distribution of the seamstresses, dressmakers, and mantua makers in Georgia towns, especially Savannah, during the antebellum period to discern if there were such things as “districts” of these craftswomen, or if they were somehow equitably dispersed throughout the population.

Next in importance, in terms of numbers, were the boarding house keepers. Women also kept taverns, reputedly, the “best” ones; but the smaller hotels, inns, hostelries, and rooming houses were their special province. So typical was this function, that it was simply taken for granted by the society at large, a perception that has rendered boarding house keeping virtually invisible to history. In Savannah, circa 1860, at least three local hotels were run by women, the *Florida Hotel*, the *City Hotel*, and the *Screven House*.¹⁹² Restaurants, per se, did not yet exist outside the taverns and hotel dining rooms, but one unusual interpretation of that function stemmed from a woman named **Nancy Rumsey**, who had a mobile food service for people at the courthouse in Elbert County.¹⁹³ Again, the property ownership of the establishments would have been carried through the courts in the husband’s name, unless the wife had arranged a separate estate, and she could not claim that unless the property was a gift or inheritance. One woman, who ran a boarding house in Georgia, had a husband who did not participate in the enterprise but took her receipts, invested them in land, lost the land, rendering the couple virtually penniless and his wife powerless. She sued three times to regain her livelihood. Three times the case made it to the Supreme Court of Georgia, and three times the Supreme Court ruled against the woman.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁰Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 100.

¹⁹¹Mary Houston Letters, in Lane, ed., *Niether More Nor Less*, p. 65.

¹⁹²Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 102.

¹⁹³*Ibid.*, p. 103.

¹⁹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 49.

Even though some circumstances in Georgia's towns and cities gave women more latitude in their daily affairs, there was nothing comparable to the urban scene in places like Philadelphia or New York. In Georgia the urban population in 1800 was 3.2 percent of the whole; by 1860 that had increased to only 7.1 percent. At that time Georgia had only ten urban centers, four of which had populations of fewer than 5,000 persons. Atlanta, with a population of approximately 9,000 persons, was then the fourth largest city in the state. Compared to women in the North, Georgia women were excluded from the kinds of opportunities that gave women the inducements to work independently beyond the household and to develop sustained woman-to-woman networks through association and organization. Although women in the North suffered "domestic confinement" within households that were not the productive centers the plantation households tended to be in the South, the northern women had more relationships outside the house and beyond the overlapping communities of household, church, and extended family within which southern women lived out their lives.¹⁹⁵

Organizational activity did exist among women in Georgia before the Civil War, but such activity tended to follow a short-lived course. That is, the women's activities supported single causes, and when their objectives were fulfilled, their "organizations" disappeared, to be replaced by other, ad-hoc efforts. Few of the women's associations that existed in Savannah and a few of Georgia's other cities before the Civil War became institutionalized in the way they were slated to become in the late nineteenth century. Women usually bonded together to raise money for special activities, to pave the way for public welfare, first and foremost for others of their kind, unfortunate widows and orphans, homeless girls or women otherwise in trouble. So, for example, a home industrial society was organized in Augusta as a way to give some occupation to the lower classes, probably piece work and other sewing tasks the women had no other way of getting done. A needle women's relief society also formed in Augusta (date of founding not known) and continued until 1858.¹⁹⁶ The Mt. Vernon Ladies Society had "branches" in many places in the state, but representatives and/or members of the Society did nothing more than collect or contribute money for the saving of Mt. Vernon in Virginia. **Mrs. Loula Kendall Rogers** was appointed to manage the Mt. Vernon Association's fund-raising in her county, but very shortly afterwards was drawn into fund-raising for the war effort.¹⁹⁷ The *Savannah Female Asylum* was established in 1801 by elite women of the city, to take care of orphans, poor women, and female children in distress, who were

¹⁹⁵Fox-Genovese, *Within*, pp. 70, 80.

¹⁹⁶Boatwright, *Status of Women*, p. 101.

¹⁹⁷Matthew Page Andrews, *The Women of the South in War Times* (Baltimore: The Norman Remington Company, 1920), p. 286.

usually bound out or apprenticed in some way in order to learn an occupation. The Beaufort Female Benevolent Society offered to train young women in the millinery trade. The Savannah Free School Society supported the free school, which taught more than two hundred poor youngsters, at least half of them female.¹⁹⁸ Free Women of Color sometimes acted in concert with their white counterparts in benevolent activities, especially in charitable activities intended for slaves.¹⁹⁹

The economic choices of white women in poverty were severely limited; it was far easier for households and certain small businesses to use enslaved black women than free whites. The white women could only choose from a limited number of occupations, food preparation, domestic labor, and the new textile mills. Except in the mills they competed against slave labor, and with poor success. As a result, some chose other paths entirely, such as **Diana Kirkland**. When her father died, Diana was placed by her mother in a female asylum. Then, married again, and re-married for a third time, Diana's mother tried to have Diana removed from the asylum; and upon being rebuffed from her request, she kidnaped her daughter. Mother and daughter and a number of other women then opened a brothel, preferring the life of "abandoned women" to dependence on righteous benevolence. Diana died at the age of seventeen, followed barely two years later by her mother. These two lives illustrate the difficulties marginal women faced; social ostracism, poverty, widowhood or multiple marriages of convenience, low wages if employed, prostitution, abuse, and hand-outs from the elites.²⁰⁰

The question has arisen out of urban activities such as these, which signified woman-to-woman support and response, as to whether southern women created a true woman's culture before the Civil War, and the answer is mixed. Some, such as **Joan Cashin**, seem to believe that a southern women's culture not only existed in the cities, but also evidenced itself in forms of universal pietism (which dictated certain kinds of behavior) and gender separatism.²⁰¹ So far in the field of women's history, the idea of women's culture has only been accepted as having substance when it has led to proto-feminist activities or social reform. Historians do not expect to find much of either of these among southern women, especially before the Civil War, when abolitionism was anathema to most southern white women, and its associated movement for women's rights equally suspect as a saboteur of the family, the community, and even the rule of religion. It would appear that only in the rare, truly urban areas of the South, such as Savannah, was such a non-familial network possible; and even in urban places, the collaborations were

¹⁹⁸Lockley in Farnham, *Women*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁹⁹Wood, *Gender, Race*, p. 19.

²⁰⁰Lockley in Farnham, *Women*, p. 37.

²⁰¹Joan Cashin, "'Decidedly Opposed to the Union': Women's Culture, Marriage, and Politics in Antebellum South

often short-lived, ad-hoc, or restricted merely to fund-raising (usually from small entertainments) and no other active involvement. In the opinion of Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and others, such as Georgia historian **Jean Friedman**, southern women were simply too isolated geographically, too removed from each other, and socially too restricted in their possibilities for self-expression to conduct woman-to-woman activities outside their families. If that is the case, then the antebellum household is the true reflection of the antebellum Georgia woman's domain. Only as the South, and the state of Georgia within that region, turned gradually from a plantation economy to a market economy, whereby women's roles as consumers were accentuated above their earlier roles as producers, would this begin to change. Therefore, the realm of "reform" for Georgia women in the antebellum years may be based less in feminism per se and more in a woman's limited and tentative movement into commercial ventures, in seeking higher education, and in deviating from accepted social and legal norms.

Civil War Period

Accepted cultural norms experienced a far more dramatic assault from without than from within, as the South retreated further and further into distinctiveness from the national norms, and the federal government began to treat southern distinctions as increasingly alien. As political differences hardened, southern women, Georgia women included, found themselves facing the worst, namely a war that threatened to decimate everything they knew, whether positive or negative.

Georgia women actually knew three Civil Wars, the one they lived through, the one they wrote about, and the one they memorialized in monuments and personal testimonies. Of the three, the first was the most traumatic, the second the most evocative, and the third, the longest lived. The effects of the war flowed like lava through cracks in the patriarchy, dragging destruction, chaos, and change in its wake. The experience of the war no less than its effects, became the stuff of legend, a legend to be sure that was very much a part of women's making.

In the beginning, white women were called upon to support the war by lending their sons, husbands, brothers, fathers, cousins, uncles, and friends to its military actions; and in the process of making this sacrifice the women were judged by their neighbors and peers for their patriotism, generosity of spirit, and devotion to the cause of the war. In small town after small town during the months of 1861, women, young ones especially, gave their blessing with their presence at each local call to arms. They attended marches, muster calls, and parades; sang hymns, and presented flags to the departing soldiers,

and in the process gained the approval of their communities for comprehending the import of the occasion, if not the politics surrounding it. The local newspaper of a small town near Augusta noted that the flag presentation there in 1861, made by **Miss Cheeley**, the daughter of a rich planter, demonstrated that “the ladies fully understand and appreciate the government of the Confederate States of America.”²⁰² These occasions offered some Georgia women their first opportunity to speak in public. Time and again, local historians have recorded the same ritual, whereby some woman presented a flag or homemade pennant to the departing troops. In DeKalb County, where a “silk banner for the company” was presented, **Mollie G. Brown** is recorded to have given “the address” at the ceremony.²⁰³ It did not take long before the women were aware that war was “something more than a grand pageant or military display,” in the words of one (unidentified) Henry County white woman, whose story is typical. By 1862, the state was suffering from shortages of all forms of luxury as well as necessary items – including food and medicines:

Our ports were blockaded and our stores of necessaries for living were of necessity diminishing, the Confederate government was beginning to levy taxes upon our resources, and it required but little forethought to see the necessity for a heroic display of our energy, activity and devotion to the cause that we espoused. Our women began to provide themselves with the means for making cloth to clothe our families, and as rapidly as possible we procured cards, spinning wheels, and old fashioned hand looms for the manufacture of cloth, for the use of our families and for the boys at the front as well. As the war progressed, we found it necessary to supplement the amount furnished by the government by an annual contribution of clothing, socks, etc., to keep our boys from suffering, especially during the winter months; for the government with blockaded ports could not furnish everything that our soldiers needed in the way of food and clothing.²⁰⁴

She herself oversaw a small home factory, with two looms, four spinning wheels and cards running constantly, operated by six bondswomen who manufactured more than seven hundred yards of cloth annually. Supplied with thread by the local mill, to the extent it could, the women worked ceaselessly, and when the mill could not supply warp thread, they spun that as well. The woman had six brothers at the front, the youngest of whom died at seventeen at Antietam, so she was more than a little personally committed to these efforts. In Gwinnett County, the farm journal for Thomas Maguire, an Irish

²⁰²J. William Harris, *Plain Folk & Gentry in a Slave Society* (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), pp. 141-142.

²⁰³Caroline McKinney Clarke, *The Story of Decatur 1823-1899* (Atlanta: Higgins-McArthur-Longino and Porter, Inc., 1973), p. 327.

²⁰⁴Vessie Thrasher Rainer, *Henry County, Georgia: The Mother of Counties* ([McDonough?]Ga.: n.p., 1971), p. 280. The woman is not named in the text.

immigrant who settled near Rockbridge in 1830, recorded the names of the women who knitted socks for confederate soldiers in the summer of 1863. It is clear from the construction of their names that they were members of intermarried, interrelated families and that they worked alongside their servants:

Miss Sarah Brewer, Mrs. Mary Brewer, Mrs. Nancy Brewer, Mrs. Lucinda Watson, Mrs. Elizabeth Maguire, Miss Sarah Maguire, Mrs. Mary J. Weaver, Miss Mary Weaver, Miss Frances Rice, Miss Ann Rice, Miss Tabitha C. Rice, Mrs. Mary B. Hishaw, Mrs. Sarah Wesley (70 years old), Mrs. Edney Anderson, Miss Mary C. Anderson, Miss Amanda E. Anderson, Mrs. Emily H. Lee, Mary (colored), Miss Salina Johnson . . . and also Pansy (black woman), and . . . Mariah (colored).²⁰⁵

Working in the beginning to clothe their own kin, the women gradually took on responsibilities for others. In time, they were all “conscripted” to a larger or lesser degree by the needs of the Confederacy for materiel. The household factories worked alongside and in the employment of the confederate installations. The Atlanta depot, one of the largest uniform factories in the Confederacy, employed three thousand women doing piecework for it, not on its premises, but on their own. The quartermaster in Atlanta estimated that when he had the raw materials, he could produce annually 130,000 jackets, an equal number of trousers, and 175,000 drawers and shirts from their labor.²⁰⁶ In Augusta, the Georgia Soldiers’ Clothing Bureau employed five hundred women to sew who made six to twelve dollars a week.²⁰⁷ The women worked on their own or convened in their homes, schools, and churches (as safety dictated), and sewed and knitted together. They stitched uniforms and underwear; they knitted thousands of socks. **Mary Gay*** of Decatur described herself as a “veritable knitting machine,” producing “a sock a day . . . many days in succession.” Upon the completion of a pair she would send them off with neckties, gloves, handkerchiefs, other accessories, and letters of encouragement for the men – usually total strangers – who were to receive them. She and her companions intended the letters to encourage, edify, inspire, and amuse the soldiers. They often included poems, sayings, scripture, and religious reminders along with their personal greetings.²⁰⁸ The women themselves appreciated the speed and competence with which they could produce goods. In Cobb County, **Mrs. Ezekiel Harris**

²⁰⁵J. C. Flanigan, *The History of Gwinnett County 1818-1943 [1960]* (Hapeville, Ga.: Tyler & Company, 1943, republished 1959).

²⁰⁶Darlene R. Roth and Louise E. Shaw, *Atlanta Women From Myth to Modern Times* (Atlanta: Atlanta Historical Society, Inc., 1980), p. 15.

²⁰⁷Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), p. 89.

²⁰⁸Elizabeth Austin Ford and Austin McNeill Ford, eds., *Collections of the DeKalb Historical Society* (Decatur, Ga.: Bowen Press, 1952), p. 334.

boasted that when her husband needed fatigues, she had the wool sheared from sheep on their plantation, and then with her daughter and two female slaves, set about spinning and weaving the cloth, dyeing it, cutting it and making a complete uniform of coat, trousers and vest in one week's time.²⁰⁹ Skilled seamstresses like **Julia Davidson** were in constant demand to advise and assist others, teaching how to cut patterns or alter clothing. Davidson took in sewing to augment the family's income, but hers were not the same burdens as the lower class white women sewing in the military outlets, who often suffered verbal harassment from men, while they tried to both exercise their patriotic ardor and find a way to support themselves.²¹⁰

Sewing was not the single outlet for female patriotism; women were called to service in quite non-traditional ways. In the words of Anne Firor Scott, who was the first modern-day historian to analyze the southern white woman and her historical evolution:

. . . the visible and immediate consequences of the outbreak of war upon women's lives have been described again and again. The challenge of war called women almost at once into new kinds and new degrees of activity. They became planters, millers, merchants, manufacturers, managers . . . Demands cut across class lines; women became clerks in government offices, mills hired women operators; school teaching was taken over by women, and women sewed for money – almost any woman.²¹¹

The women surprised themselves with their own creativity in the face of need. They found substitutes for coffee, tea and sugar, using parched wheat and rye, even okra seeds and dried corn for coffee; blackberry, sassafras, and cassena leaves for tea; and sorghum and molasses for sugar. They saved lard and grease for candle making; they made buttons out of gourds, seeds, and thorns; wove grasses into sun bonnets; boiled sea water for salt or soaked the flooring of the smoke houses to secure it; used corn cob ashes for cooking soda; and saved woolen rags for the wicks in their candles. A needle was a precious thing, the loss of which could be a calamity for the women of the household. They dyed and re-dyed their dresses with homemade dyes. For a while they regarded homespun as more fashionable than silk, as they also turned silk dresses inside out to get more wear out of them, and made "cotton balls" the social events of the season.²¹² They did whatever was required of them, not always without complaint, not always without personal compromise or public embarrassment, and not always without

²⁰⁹Sarah Gober Temple, *The First Hundred Years: A Short History of Cobb County, in Georgia* (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown Publishing Company, 1935).

²¹⁰Faust, *Mothers*, p. 50.

²¹¹Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 81-82.

disagreement in principle. **Lila Chunn** of rural Georgia reveals many of her own prejudices and paradoxes in her journal on the matter of women serving in men's roles. "Ladies," she notes:

keep the stores now . . . their husbands having joined the army. It looks funny in Dixie to see a lady behind the counter, but it would be natural if we were in Yankeedom as it has always [been] the custom there, a custom I do not like. The idea of a lady having to face and transact business with any and every body. It is alone suited to the Northern women of brazen faces. But I say if it is necessary, our ladies ought to shopkeep and do everything else they can to aid in the great struggle for Liberty.²¹³

Newspapers instilled in the women a sense of their own importance in sustaining and conserving life at home that enabled the troops to stay in the field. Augusta's *Southern Field and Fireside* asked rhetorically, "can you imagine what would be the moral condition of the confederate Army in six months without woman's influence?"²¹⁴ Yet the rhetoric of the war, like the war itself was a two-edged sword that cut on both sides. While revving up the patriotic fervor of the female population, the newspapers also tried to hold tight to the gender division line, when they found it politically or philosophically expedient to do so. In an effort to keep plantation managers from being drafted, more than one Georgia newspaper questioned the competence of women to run the plantations, and manage the slaves themselves in the absence of their men. The *Macon Daily Telegraph* queried its readership:

. . . is it possible that Congress thinks . . . our women can control the slaves and oversee the farms? Do they suppose that our patriotic mothers, sisters and daughters can assume and discharge the active duties and drudgery of an overseer? Certainly not. They know better.²¹⁵

Thus women were pushed further and further out on the limb of sacrifice, with less and less holding them to the tree of the Confederacy except their will to survive and their personal attachment to their own sacrifice. As the war "matured," and especially, as its battles were waged closer and closer to their home fronts, the more the women were forced to suffer, give up, retreat into patriotic piety and confederated service. What was required of them extended far beyond anything for which they had ever been prepared, trained, educated or acculturated, far beyond anything perceived in the public imagination. The pressure on the women was enormous, as indicated by this grandmother's confession to her daughter:

²¹²Joseph Henry and Hightower Moore, *The History of Clayton County, Georgia 1821-1983* (Clayton: Ancestors Unlimited, Inc., 1983), p. 20; Andrews, *Women of the South*, p. 21.

²¹³Faust, *Mothers*, p. 82.

²¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 22.

. . . yesterday, my eyes and heart were gladdened by the return of my dear child [her grandson]. When he came, I was at the flower garden; he ran out to me, and for the first time since the harassments of this raid commenced, I broke down. I hugged him, kissed, him, and sobbed over him till I expect he thought I was crazy.²¹⁶

The burdens on the mothers passed on to the children, as revealed in the diary of **Carrie Berry**, a young Atlanta girl who spent her tenth birthday helping her mother with the ironing. In her diary, Berry wrote about her longings for normal life to return, for a nice dinner, for peace, for church and Sunday school, and for her friends at school; her diary is filled with the family obligations that she had to fulfill. Yet, undoubtedly like her mother, she also tried to remain both cheerful and dutiful.²¹⁷

Duty led women into extensions of very familiar roles, such as nursing, which now offered new tasks and experiences in their conduct. Providing household medicines to family members (slave or free) was not sufficient preparation for what women were to meet in the military hospitals, which almost to a person left the women feeling inadequate and handicapped by their gender and – where white – by their (previously) privileged status. Wartime nursing was so far different from traditional care. It appeared to the women as both traumatic and frightening, for the men and for themselves.²¹⁸ Both armies set up hospitals for their wounded wherever they could in Georgia, often in female seminaries and other schools. Tift's *Female College* was one of many such sites used as a Civil War hospital, but like many of those buildings; it survived the war only to be burned afterwards.²¹⁹ Even communities outside the main arena of battle felt the impact of the war. *Fort Gaines Female College* in South Georgia stored food and wool for confederate use.²²⁰ In Savannah, the Sisters of Mercy opened their convent and school, the *Convent and Academy of St. Vincent DePaul* on East Liberty Street, to nurse sick and wounded Confederates.²²¹ **Honora Sweeney**, who was one of Georgia's numerous civilian casualties of the war, died while attending the sick and wounded in Forsyth County.²²²

Early in the conflict, women sometimes left their homes to follow the soldiers, especially their soldier husbands, usually to bring them supplies and sustain a personal relationship under the threat of

²¹⁵Ibid., p. 55.

²¹⁶John Rozier, *The Granite Farm Letters: The Civil War Correspondence of Edgeworth & Sallie Bird* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1988), p. 221

²¹⁷Faust, *Mothers*, p. 130.

²¹⁸Ibid., p. 112.

²¹⁹Jim Miles, *Civil War Sites in Georgia* (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1996), p. 145.

²²⁰Ibid., p. 203.

²²¹Ibid., p. 187.

loss. **Sallie Bird** visited her husband Edgeworth in camp several times in 1862 and in 1864.²²³ **Cornelia Jones Pond's** husband was too old to be drafted, but joined the engineering corps. Cornelia made two visits to him in Savannah, leaving her children with their grandmother. "I found Savannah very much changed," she wrote home, "There was very little in the stores. I found it difficult to get shoes."²²⁴ When she returned home, she met a "scene of disorder and desolation . . . hen houses . . . emptied of poultry, the smoke house and store room[s] . . . and dairy . . . robbed of everything."²²⁵

The closer the armies came to Georgia's households, the more the pressure mounted for women to serve in unusual capacities, especially to meet the armies face-to-face. In a handful of cases, women in Georgia followed the Revolutionary example of **Nancy Hart*** and actually bore arms. Students at **Wesleyan College** organized themselves into military companies and held drills and parades. The "Nancy Harts" of LaGrange formed an actual military company, with its young members taking up marching and marksmanship. Under the captaincy of **Mrs. J. Brown Morgan**, the women stood their ground when a detachment of Wilson's raiders came through, but surrendered when the soldiers promised to spare the town from destruction.²²⁶ More than one woman shouldered a rifle to keep scavengers and marauders from her family's land, such as **Allie Crawford (Mrs.)** of Clayton County, who opened fire with buckshot, scaring away someone she thought might be a Yankee deserter.²²⁷ A widow with ten daughters and nieces living with her and staying in the **Swanton House** in Decatur, captured a Union soldier in her attic where she kept him prisoner until she could turn him over to confederate troops.²²⁸ Many more women were prepared to use arms, if necessary, than were called upon actually to do so, as indicated by **Frances Thomas Howard**, returning to her own home after having taken refuge at a neighbor's house:

We took with us two mattresses, and just enough household ware to meet our needs, also a shot gun, powder and shot. To save our horses from the thieves, who constantly passed in armed gangs, we put them in the smoke house, a strong log building, with only one heavy door, across which we laced chains with cow-bells attached, so that if the door were tampered with in the night the ringing of the bells would wake us.

²²²Ibid., p. 145.

²²³Rozier, *Granite Farm*, pp. x, xxxiii.

²²⁴Lucinda H. MacKethan, ed., *Recollections of a Southern Daughter: A Memoir by Cornelia Jones Pond* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), p. 63.

²²⁵Ibid., p. 73.

²²⁶Faust, *Mothers*, p. 203; T. Conn Bryan, *Confederate Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1953), p. 185.

²²⁷Henry and Moore, *Clayton County*, p. 198.

²²⁸Ford and Ford, eds., *DeKalb County*, p. 345.

The parlor served as a kitchen, dining-room, bedroom and parlor all in one, and from the back window the smoke-house door was visible, and as my pallet was laid under this window, I kept my little seven-shooter and the gun, the latter heavily loaded with buck-shot, close at hand, intending to kneel and shoot through the glass in case the chain was meddled with.²²⁹

That the war was close at hand was evident to every woman who lived in a house that happened to lie in the path of war's destruction. Looting was common; bands of soldiers, both Yankee and Rebel, both renegade and regulars, roamed the countryside scavenging food and supplies from local farms and plantations. One of the best descriptions of such an intrusion comes from Dolly Lunt Burge*:

But like Demons they [the Yankees] rush in. My yards are full. To my smoke house, my Dairy, Pantry, kitchen & cellar like famished wolves they come, breaking locks & whatever is in their way. The thousand pounds of meat in my smoke house is gone in a twinkling my flour my meal, my lard, butter, eggs, pickles of various kinds, both in vinegar & brine. Wine, jars, & jugs, are all gone. My eighteen fat turkeys, my hens, chickens & fowls. My young pigs are shot down in my yard & hunted s if they were the rebels themselves. Utterly powerless I came to appeal to the guard. I cannot help you Madam it is orders . . . [and then she describes the theft of her draft and buggy horses, her sheep, mules, and even her male slaves who were driven off to fight for the federals]²³⁰

“Sherman,” wrote Dolly, “with a greater portion of his army passed my house all day.”²³¹ After a skirmish at the McClatchey Farm in Cobb County, in which the southern troops were forced to retreat, an obviously numb **Minerva McClatchey** dispassionately reported the following in her diary:

July the 3rd . . . Firing ceased after a while – two were killed and buried near the house and several wounded carried to the rear. Their limbs were amputated in Mr. Goodman's yard.²³²

As the war became a total war, confederate women – Georgia women no exception – earned a reputation as “some of the most vicious defenders of the Confederacy,” whose bitter and vindictive invective and “fine art of rudeness and insolence” against their union conquerors hit the mark with as much accuracy as rebel minie balls.²³³ Bitterness, whether directed at invading union soldiers, or any authorities, was in no small part borne of the deprivations women and children were suffering, especially from 1863 until the

²²⁹Scott, ed., *Cornerstones*, p. 95.

²³⁰Carter, ed., *Diary . . . Burge*, pp. 159-160.

²³¹*Ibid.*, p. 161.

²³²Scott, ed., *Cornerstones*, p. 100.

²³³Nina Silber, “The Northern Myth of the Rebel Girl,” in Farnham, *Women*, pp. 122-124

end of the war, and from the fact that women and children themselves had become the objects of military encounter. Women were not safe as civilians, and in some locales, especially the cities where food and some supplies were harder to come by than on the land, they were both unsafe and hungry. Bread riots, for example, were not unknown in parts of the South, and they have been documented in Atlanta, when a “mob of hungry war widows rioted and looted Whitehall Street provisions stores.”²³⁴ In Cobb County, for example, in April 1863, a male Negro wagon driver was stopped by a gang of women who forcibly took bales of yarn from his possession. Such “woman seizures” were known elsewhere, because of the scarcity of goods, and the deep needs of the women, who felt ultimately that they should be able to supply their needs by any means necessary in wartime.²³⁵

Exigencies forced women to take audacious steps in their – and their country’s defense. Only the border states saw more military-induced trauma than did Georgia; only the border states and Washington, DC, produced more homegrown heroines and spies among their women. Spying in the context of the Civil War in no way equates with spying in the high tech, bureaucratic escapades of the twentieth century. Rather, it describes the kind of activity usually conducted to protect home and family against invaders and marauders of either side. Most often Georgia women acted on behalf of the Confederacy in the midst of union occupation, as when **Emma Sansom**, born in Social Circle, braved enemy fire to show Nathan B. Forrest a ford across a creek, enabling him to thwart Col. A. D. Streight’s cavalry raid into Georgia. She was a Georgia native, but an Alabama resident at the time of her heroism.²³⁶ The kind of infiltration the women could successfully carry out consisted in crossing military lines, carrying “innocent” packages to military intercessors; hiding goods, keeping their counsel – on the other side – as unionist sympathizers in confederate strongholds, lying to soldiers and other representatives of authorities, and using their feminine “innocence” to come and go as they pleased, wherever they pleased. Female unionists, **Emily Farnsworth** and **Cyrena Stone** in Atlanta, ran “risky missions of mercy” to aid union soldiers and even union spies. The conflicting loyalties of such women turned their every decision into a high, conscience-ridden drama: whether to side with husbands, friends, slaves, neighbors, nation, and/or their state.²³⁷ Their situation appeared to be far less clear cut and far more perilous potentially than that of the staunch confederate supporters, requiring inordinate patience, forbearance, and caution. **Louisa Warren Patch**

²³⁴James Michael Russell, *Atlanta 1847-1890: City Building in the Old South and the New* (Baton Rouge: State University Press, 1988), pp. 99-100.

²³⁵Temple, *Cobb County*, p. 258.

²³⁶Miles, *Civil War*, p. 101.

²³⁷Thomas G. Dyer, *Secret Yankees: The Union Circle in Confederate Atlanta* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), p. 74.

Fletcher of Marietta is a case in point. Her family donated the land for the federal cemetery in Marietta, her sister came and went through enemy lines to travel back and forth through Tennessee to the north, her son-in-law was imprisoned as a union sympathizer for nine months of the War which extended into the entire time the city was occupied by union troops. Fletcher's eldest daughter married a union soldier, and the second of her three daughters married a confederate veteran.²³⁸

Far less complicated, but no less courageous in following their own counsel were the confederate "spies," of whom **Mary Gay*** is a premier example. She carried provisions to her brother, encamped near Lovejoy's Station, back and forth across Union picket lines following the fall of Atlanta.²³⁹ "I thought not of personal danger," she later said, "and more than once found myself outside of the portals ready to rush into the conflict."²⁴⁰ Many mothers, wives, and sisters, as mentioned above, traveled by train to visit family-member soldiers encamped for the winter of 1863-64 in the state, especially in northwest Georgia. The trains they rode traveled slowly, filled as they were at this time with refugees and military personnel along with the hardy camp followers. The fate of refugees lay openly in the hands of the beleaguered communities to which they fled. Again, Mary Gay's words are instructive. She saw many refugees en route to her brother's encampment, "dumped out on the cold ground without shelter and without any of the comforts of home . . . driven from their homes . . . out upon the cold charity of the world."²⁴¹ Often the refugees gained no real refuge but wandered from place to place, keeping themselves alive by exercising "immense ingenuity and courage;" many petitioned the governor to muster out their husbands before their families starved.²⁴² When Mary Gay herself discovered that her neighbors were starving, she arranged, with the utmost difficulty, to piece together a wagon out of scraps, found a straggly steed hiding in a creek side, and managed to load the wagon and carry her neighbors to Social Circle from Decatur.²⁴³ Mary Gay's house still stands as testimony to Gay's bravery, stubborn persistence in the face of adversity, and by her own testimony, her devotion to a, "principle to be guarded."²⁴⁴

While most of this discussion has featured white women, it should be clear from some of it that African-American bondswomen were enlisted to assist the activities of the white women, whether is was

²³⁸Scott, ed., *Cornerstones*, pp. 102-105.

²³⁹Ford and Ford, eds., *DeKalb County*, p. 358; Henry and Moore, *Clayton County*, p. 198.

²⁴⁰Ford and Ford, eds., *DeKalb County*, p. 362.

²⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 362.

²⁴²Scott, *Southern Lady*, p. 90.

²⁴³Andrews, *Women of the South*, pp. 307-315; DeKalb County history, p. 315.

²⁴⁴DeKalb County, p. 316. The house is listed in the National Register. It has been moved in from its original

sewing, knitting, spinning, providing provisions for family, or suffering the privations of wartime. When troops came through the countryside seeking food and other supplies, it never mattered to them, confederate or federal, whether they were taking chickens and pigs from the blacks or from the whites, or that the food they acquired would have fed the slaves as much as the masters. Less has been written about the experience of African-Americans during the Civil War in Georgia, probably because the flux of black populations is so hard to document. What is clear is that, as the war waged on, slaves began to run away and to revolt in greater numbers, despite the “horror” stories told them about Yankees “eating” blacks and drowning, shooting, and burning them alive. The slave communities countered these stories with one dependable phenomenon: wherever union forces appeared in the state, slaves ran away in droves.²⁴⁵ In Hancock county, for example, a slave woman, “**Savannah**” by name, was the first “to go over to the Yankees.” Her departure was followed by the formation of a military unit among a small group of slaves. Ultimately, the ringleaders of the unit were arrested and jailed, and two others were hanged, but more slaves were spared on the testimony of petitioners who swore them to be among the best citizens of the county.²⁴⁶ Elsewhere, the courage of enslaved and free women of color evidenced itself in the assistance they rendered union soldiers, taking food, for example, to the prisoner-of-war stockade in Savannah where hundreds of captured union soldiers were being held without sufficient food and shelter. According to **Susie King Taylor**:

Many [of the hundreds who helped the soldiers] were punished for taking food to the prison stockade for prisoners. The colored women would take food there at night and pass it to them through the holes in the fence. The soldiers were starving, and these women did all they could toward relieving those men, although they knew the penalty, should they be caught giving them aid.²⁴⁷

Many of the white female diary keepers reported the absence of their slaves and their own gratitude for the ones who stayed behind with them. **Sallie Bird** wrote to her daughter:

Just imagine how we all are situated, not a Negro on the place but Nina. She still continues faithful and will do all she can for me. I am perfectly quiet and hope to get servants, but can't tell . . . A great many persons have no servants . . .²⁴⁸

location.

²⁴⁵Grant, *The Way it Was*, p. 83.

²⁴⁶Leslie, *Woman of Color*, pp. 53-54.

²⁴⁷Grant, *The Way It Was*, p. 83.

²⁴⁸Rozier, *Granite Farm*, p. 289.

Slave women with children were less likely to try to escape than were women without children and men of any age. The plantations in the old rice belt along the coast retained more of their slave populations as a rule because the slaves there had more invested in the land and other properties. So, for example, the master's family of the *Hermitage Plantation* near Savannah moved to that city permanently at the end the war, but the freedmen stayed on the plantation until much of its acreage was given over to a railroad right-of-way in 1889.²⁴⁹ Some slaves left during the war and then later returned; Mary Gay's former slave "Frances" returned to her after having escaped during the war. Widowed and the mother of two boys, she offered them to Mary Gay as a "gift" until they were old enough to fend for themselves. Gay declined the offer.²⁵⁰ Refugeeing itself loosened the bonds of slavery. In the post-war confusion and dislocation, it was easier for slaves to slip away; and in the absence of strong local authorities, all of which were compromised in their effectiveness by the war and there was little redress for owners to re-acquire their "property." Plus, slaves themselves were moved away from plantations that could not successfully employ them, as many plantations were no longer fully operative. Fully half of the slaves from the coastal areas were moved to the interior of the state, to southern cities such as Valdosta and middle cities like Macon, which fairly burst at the seams with a surplus of bondsmen. Slave families were often broken up in the process, and during this transition caused by the war, Georgia's slave population moved from being predominantly rural to predominantly urban. Slave labor now comprised the labor forces in all places in Georgia where white men were no longer available. Building the defenses around Atlanta was a particularly significant instance, in which slaves from all over the state were utilized.²⁵¹ The dislocations of the war were breaking up two of the strongest tenets which had been holding the society together: slavery and patriarchal protectionism.

Broken Systems

Recent historians of southern women have noted the importance of gender influences in the outcomes of the Civil War. Drew Gilpin Faust attributed the loss of will on the part of the Confederacy in large part, to the crippling of the women's abilities to cope with their circumstances. With almost every household mourning the loss of a husband father, son, or brother²⁵² the women suffered a war weariness, evident from their writings and from their petitions, not only to God, but to their respective officials from

²⁴⁹Savannah Writers' Project, *Savannah*, pp. 446-449. The slave cabins were dismantled and shipped to Dearborn, Michigan to the Henry Ford Museum, where they reside today.

²⁵⁰Andrews, *Women of the South*, p. 333.

²⁵¹Grant, *The Way it Was*, p. 85.

the Governor down. "When I see and hear the misery occasioned all over the land, my heart shudders and bleeds. What next? . . . [as] this cruel, this interminable, this ferocious war goes on," wrote **Sallie Bird**.²⁵³

One Atlanta woman reported the "haggard and wrinkled women bowed with care and trouble, sorrow an unusual toil . . . silently and apathetically" packing the churches.²⁵⁴ Many petitioned the Governor of the state to muster out their husbands before their families starved; and they wrote their husbands directly, asking them to desert. It did not take the worst of the war, federal occupation of the state in 1864, to get the women to this point. **Louisa Rice** wrote her husband Zachariah early in the war, in 1862, urging him to leave the Army for a post that would shield him from conscription.²⁵⁵ A kind of practical pacifism, or resignation, took hold, as **Julia Davidson** suggested with her plea, "If the Yankees are going to whip us I wish they would hurry about it."²⁵⁶ And something else, altogether new, emerged through the cracks in the antebellum society, interdependence among the women that extended beyond their families and heightened in intensity as the absence of males persisted.

Ad-hoc activities among the white women, assisted by their bondswomen, had hitherto consisted chiefly of welfare and fund-raising activities, and had been part of the women's experiences before and during the war, as noted earlier. To these were now added the many soldier relief activities that grew out of the women's domestic roles and their own "mother love" of their soldier sons. As the war wore on, and especially as it came home to the women, they became involved in large numbers in the care and nursing, and in some areas, in the burying of the soldiers. Soldiers Aid Societies and Ladies Aid Societies appeared in almost every community, whose wartime ad-hoc activities became, after the war, a network of related efforts to memorialize, support, and care for the veterans of the conflict. These activities, undertaken by white women only after the war, continued for practical reasons, as the cemeteries and battlefield burying grounds needed attention, and the Georgia veterans received little if any subsidy from the state government, and none at all from the federal government. This process of transformation has been described by historian LeeAnn Whites and can practically be clocked from the end of the war, in terms of the women's activities to first bury the soldiers, then honor them (living and dead), then memorialize them through monument construction in each town.²⁵⁷ In Atlanta, for example, the Ladies

²⁵²DeKalb County history, p. 340.

²⁵³Rozier, *Granite Farm*, p. 244.

²⁵⁴Quoted in Scott, *Southern Lady*, p. 86.

²⁵⁵Faust, *Mothers*, p. 241.

²⁵⁶Quotes in *Ibid.*, p. 238.

²⁵⁷Lee Ann Whites, "Stand by Your Man: The Ladies Memorial Association and the Reconstruction of Southern White Manhood," in Farnham, *Women*, p. 136.

Memorial Society was established in 1866, one of many established in the two years immediately after the end of the war. Under the leadership of **Mrs. W. F. Westmoreland**, the Society was involved in activities in *Oakland Cemetery*.²⁵⁸ The Jonesboro Ladies Memorial Association, established in 1869, organized the cemetery authority in Jonesboro, tended the cemetery, planted cedar and magnolia trees, and shrubbery there.²⁵⁹ **Miss Mary J. Green** organized the women of the Resaca area to move confederate dead from the Resaca battlefield to a cemetery; in this effort she was assisted by **Mrs. E. J. Simmons**, who is actually buried along with the soldiers in that *Confederate Cemetery*.²⁶⁰ Other cemeteries in Georgia which were initiated or received sustained support from the ladies societies include *Rose Hill Cemetery* in Macon, and *Oak Grove Cemetery* in Americus, and the *Confederate Cemetery* in Marietta. In a similar sense of duty but for the union side of the war, in 1879 the Woman's Relief Corps purchased the prison site at Andersonville, Georgia, where thousands of federal soldiers were buried, ultimately turning it over to the War Department (which in turn transferred it to the National Park Service, under whose authority it exists today).²⁶¹

In another frequent, women-devised public ritual, the Augusta Ladies Memorial Society organized hundreds of school children to decorate the graves of the confederate dead each year after the war.²⁶² This was done in accordance with an invitation from the Columbus, Georgia, Ladies Memorial Association, in 1866, that urged southern women to "set apart a certain day to be observed . . . as a religious custom of the South, to wreath the graves of our martyred dead with flowers," thus giving birth to Confederate Memorial Day, still celebrated on April 26 throughout the South.²⁶³ The work of these societies, birthed in the war, continued long after the war, and to this same momentum can be attributed the establishment of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1894, created to

honor the memory of those who served and those who fell in the service of the Confederate States, to protect, preserve and mark places made historical by Confederate valor, to collect and preserve the material for a Truthful History of the War Between the States; to record the part Southern Women played during the struggle and untiring efforts after the War during the construction of the South.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁸Darlene Rebecca Roth, *Matronage: Patterns in Women's Organizations, Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1940* (New York: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1994), p. 23.

²⁵⁹Clayton County history, p. 35

²⁶⁰Miles, *Civil War*, p. 39.

²⁶¹*Ibid.*, pp. 59, 140, 144, 145, 147. All four cemeteries are listed in the National Register.

²⁶²Whites, "Stand By Your Man," in Farnham, *Women*, p. 137.

²⁶³*Ibid.*, pp. 138-140.

²⁶⁴Various Authors, *The History of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*.

These female networks and their sense of public responsibilities set a precedent for action in sanctioned causes, which emerged out of the Civil War and a devotion to family and community, from which the women of Georgia have never retreated. The women of the 1860s created a kind of “doppelgänger” to the southern belle of the antebellum lady:

. . . fiercely loyal, outspoken, ready to act, angry when aroused, strong, aggressive (not passive), patriotic, impassioned, clever, and courageous, one who would stop at nothing to continue to defend what she had already defended during the war – home, family, birthright. This new woman became a model, like the pioneer woman of the West, for successive generations to follow . . . the woman of the sixties became not only the measure of what a woman could sacrifice, but also of what she could command.²⁶⁵

Historian Lee Ann Whites has convincingly argued that the new roles women played during the war – as slave managers and government workers, for instance – their inroads into autonomy (standing on their own, defending their turf, speaking in public), did not hold after the war, and that what the women in the South did instead was to construct a new version of the patriarchy, one in which they were chief among its spokesmen, and paramount among its supporters. Whites' arguments, since they are drawn from the history of Augusta, Georgia, are particularly relevant for this study. In her words, “the operative principle” after the war “may have been that half a ‘man,’ some kind of adult male provider, was better than none at all,” and so the (white) women continued to adhere to the original “cause” of their men.”²⁶⁶ The debilitation of the male population fostered the influence and advancement of the women, culturally speaking, if the women chose to use their influence and advancement in the support of the men's wartime cause, and to carry the values, images, ideology, and results of that cause into the future. The women chose by and large not to further the cause of their own sex, if autonomy is seen as their cause, but strove even more aggressively to support their husbands, families, and communities in some recognizable means.

The paradox that surrounded their efforts gives rise to even greater irony if this fact is considered: the state, again in the name of protecting families, finally granted women individual rights to property ownership, without question and unaffected by marriage. First, it should be observed that during the war the women had already developed a more visceral relationship to property, which they had defended with their personal efforts, and which they recognized after the fact – as when Dolly Burge* referred to “her”

²⁶⁵Roth, *Matronage*, p. 23.

²⁶⁶Lee Ann Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), pp. 6, 216.

turkeys, and “her” mules, even “her” boys, meaning her slaves. Further, they had earned title to more real estate through unprecedented widowhood brought about by the war. Georgia had more widows than other southern state, some 36,000 according to the 1870 census. Though these women were listed as “keeping house” in the census (there was barely any other language available to the census takers at the time), they were more accurately heads of their households.²⁶⁷ Finally, the state was willing to grant them title to real estate on their own merits as a protective measure against the very men who could not, who in fact did not, “protect” them under the social arrangements of antebellum society. “How queer the time,” said one women after the war, as quoted by Anne Firor Scott, “the women can’t count on the men at all to help them,” a fact that seemed no different to her from how it was in wartime.²⁶⁸ Partly to protect property from falling into the hands of creditors, partly to give women their due, and partly to protect both the women and the land from the projected post-war failures of men who were damaged, handicapped, injured, maimed, and wounded by the war; the Georgia Reconstruction legislature of 1867 granted married women unconditional property rights as part of the proposed state constitution. The first Reconstruction constitution was submitted for public referendum in 1868, so the right to own property, as a woman, went into effect with the constitution in 1869. The women of Georgia, if they were white, now possessed a firmer foundation for their own activities, and retreated behind the veils of the “lost cause” even as they advanced carefully within the system. If they were black, they pushed against a set of increasingly racist regulations which restricted their very living, even as they created new support structures for themselves within the realms of segregation.

²³⁷Scott, *Southern Lady*, p. 106.

²⁶⁸Ibid., p. 90. The same point is made in different language by both Faust and Whites.

Narrative History of Georgia Women

4.2 The New Woman: Gaining a Public Persona (1870-1919)

Darlene Roth

The fifty years following the decade of the Civil War were momentous ones for Georgia women in every way. Changes in access to education, in employment patterns, in technology, transportation, economics, demographics, and domestic arrangements all worked to expand, alter, and/or complicate feminine realms. Full of “firsts” and lasts, it was an era of “progress and paradox” for women.¹ Politically, the changes seemed to come abruptly, but actually only after a very long wait. From the end of the Civil War until the end of World War I, Georgia women retained, basically, the same legal status – more than dependent, but less than citizen. With the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1920, Georgia women, by federal mandate and over the objections of the Georgia legislature, could now vote. Racial segregation and Jim Crow might have kept most black women from the polls, they but also rendered African-American women strong leaders in their community – defining its nature, creating its institutions, and protecting its interests.

The woman's suffrage movement, so important nationally, made inroads into Georgia after 1890, but did not include black women in its efforts, and never constituted a major source of influence over white women's concerns in the state. Certainly, numerically, its membership never outranked the membership of the “lost cause” organizations among white women that also emerged during this time. Still, women of neither race could serve on juries nor run for political office; neither could they pursue the professions (beyond teaching) without leaving the state for education and preparation. Women made inroads into the public arena chiefly through their writings or through their organized activities, which because of segregation, created separate parallel systems of public service and community building. This era saw the greatest public segregation among the races and the sexes that has ever existed in American history.

Ironically, the sexual and racial segregation that dominated the decades after the Civil War raised the question “Who is woman?” to higher public consciousness and elicited many different, sometimes controversial, responses. Ironically too, and perhaps because of the notion of the “New Woman,” who had a public face and distinctive gender-based responsibilities, this era left the greatest number of identifiable places – buildings and sites – that can be attributed directly to the efforts of Georgia women of any period of the state's history.

The Long-Term Aftermath

After the Civil War, despite the best intentions of the victors and earnest desires of the survivors, “normal” never returned to Georgia. Though agriculture recovered enough by 1870 to produce the best cotton crop ever, the way of life it represented before the war had disappeared. The absence of “the familiar” showed up distinctly in the state's demographics in the years following Emancipation and the

¹“This era, which began with the end of black slavery and ended when woman's suffrage began . . . proved to be one of progress and paradox for southern women and their region.” Margaret Ripley Wolfe, *Daughters of*

decades following Reconstruction. Agriculture was now more successful in the northern and central parts of Georgia's Piedmont, where the farms were worked by owners, than on the lower lands and the coastal plains that had held the largest plantations before the war.² The population shifted most noticeably among black residents, who were pulled out of state to follow the railroads, to answer the call of the West, to seek freedom in the North.³ Some whites also left the state; they too went west, and it is said a handful went to South America.⁴

Chief among the geographic changes within Georgia were the redistribution of farm lands and the increase in the urban population across the state, notably in Atlanta and the cities that had become or were becoming industrialized. The large plantations were broken into smaller pieces, worked now by a combination of renters, wage laborers, and tenants. The workers dispersed, living now near the edges of the old plantations along roads and country lanes instead of in slave quarters near the big house or in slave villages adjacent to the outlying fields. Non land-owning whites joined the ranks of the tenants and renters. In 1900, sixty per cent of the state work force was still agricultural. Some 250,000 of those agricultural workers were African-Americans, 10,000 of whom actually owned land. Another 70,000 were tenants and renters, and the rest worked for wages. Black farm holdings were small, averaging 63 acres a farm; a third of the farms consisted of fewer than ten acres, and were worth less than \$100.00⁵ Black ownership of land was increasing; but not nearly in the percentage that population statistics would suggest. Most black farmers bought land from their former owners, and most black holdings were situated south of the Fall Line across the middle of the state in those areas where the habits of black task labor and slave land ownership had been long established. Actually, Georgia did not do as well with the development of its African-American farmers as did other nearby states; a smaller percentage of African-Americans owned land in Georgia than in any other former Confederate state. In 1874, land owned by blacks totaled 338,769 acres, most of it in the coastal counties. By 1920, this acreage had grown to 1,838,129 acres, but that still represented only 1.6% of all agricultural holdings, while the black population represented about forty per cent of the state's total population. Black ownership was then reduced by more than half after 1920 through the effects of the boll weevil, the Depression, and the

Canaan: A Saga of Southern Women (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), p. 110.

²Kenneth Coleman, *Georgia History in Outline* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960), p. 76.

³Ibid.

⁴Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Bonnet Brigades* (New York: Knopf, 1966), p. 309.

⁵John Dittmer, *Black Georgia in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1977), pp. 23, 27.

Great Migration north.⁶ Since increases in land ownership among African-Americans proved so slow and disappointingly small in rural Georgia, blacks migrated in greater numbers to the cities. By 1900, 160,000 Georgia blacks lived in cities, a number that nearly doubled by 1920. More African-American women than men moved to the cities. The rural black population remained largely male; the urban black population, however, constituted a black female majority.⁷ In the decade between 1860 and 1870, for example, the number of black persons in Atlanta increased almost a hundredfold, to forty-six per cent of the total population. Most of them were women, who took jobs as household workers once they arrived.⁸ Between 1870 and 1900 Georgia's urban population more than doubled in terms of actual numbers, an increase reflected in percentage terms as 15.6% of the total 1900 population.⁹ Impressive as this increase was, it left fully eighty-five per cent of the population in rural circumstances, on isolated farms and in towns too small to be characterized by the census takers as "urban."

There were great gaps between the circumstances of those women who lived urban lives and those who did not. The city seemed to hold certain attractions for women, even though "town" life, especially small town life, had been a male-dominated province for virtually the entire history of the state. One Georgia wit couched the difference between the city folk and the country folk as a generational one and undoubtedly, there was truth in that. "The Life and Death of Cousin Lucius," by author John Donald Wade, follows the changes in the life of a late-nineteenth century country farmer, "Cousin Lucius." Cousin Lucius had a wife, "Cousin Caroline," whose character "presented aspects of serenity and splendor that demanded, more appropriately than it did anything else, a sort of worship." Cousin Caroline, the epitome of southern womanhood and the legatee of the "Southern Lady" of old, knew how to sustain the "tradition of generous living" among folks from the town and the countryside, on almost nothing. Cousin Lucius' daughter, on the other hand, had no such talents and seemed to favor the town over the countryside. "She used the word 'city' as an adjective," Lucius was led to ruminate, "and as an adjective so commendatory . . . that whatever was the opposite of 'city' was inclusively culpable." Furthermore, "she reflected a judgment that was becoming dangerously general," according to Lucius, who went on to bemoan the passing of the agricultural life before the industrial giant coming

⁶Donald L. Grant, *The Way It Was in the South: the Black Experience in Georgia* (New York: A Birch Lane Book, 1993), p. 142.

⁷Grant, *The Way It Was*; Tera Hunter, *To 'Joy My Freedom: Black Women's Lives and Labors after the Civil War* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. viii.

⁸Hunter, *Joy*, p. 21.

⁹The total urban population in Georgia in 1870 was 100,053; in 1900 it was 346,382; figures from James C. Flanigan, *The History of Gwinnett County 1818-1943 [1960]*, Vol. II (Hapeville: Tyler & Company, 1943,

from the North, hoping “philosophically” that “farming would continue paramount in his Georgia.”¹⁰ Actually, Lucius and his creator had little to fear at that point, for the agricultural economy persisted in Georgia until the middle of the twentieth century even as individual farmers disappeared from the land and the differences between the world view of those on farm lands and those in urban neighborhoods grew more sharply divergent.

White women also migrated to the cities, in company with their families and also as single women – unmarried, never married and widowed – especially in the decades just after the Civil War. The 1870 census returns for counties including Atlanta, Rome, and Athens, show large numbers of (white) spinsters with “no occupation”¹¹ living with relatives in the days following the war, a time when the loss of males to battle made marriage and re-marriage less likely for white women.¹² The plight of widowed and single women was not improved much by the married woman’s property rights act, as witnessed by **Dolly Lunt Burge***, living in town after the death of her third husband:

Dec 25 [1873]

What a sad lonely Christmas this has been just such a one as I have never seen for my house is in disorder & every room but my own torn to pieces. My husband left me here at his Oxford home to stay in it if I chose two years but he neglected to say that I might have the use of his furniture so the *law* said it must be sold & consequently day before yesterday it was put up before the highest bidder. *How* my sad heart rebelled to see these home treasures go into stranger hands Many things I bought in order to keep them from unloved ones.¹³

Dolly’s farm lands were rented out, and while she herself was in town, she took in boarders. In 1875 she returned to her old farm and maintained it until her death in 1891. “Here I am at my old home,” she wrote, “alas how different from former times. Plantation all run down no stock no hands & nothing to

republished 1959), p. 138.

¹⁰John Donald Wade, “Life and Death of Cousin Lucius,” Hugh Ruppensburg, ed., *Georgia Voices*[nonfiction] (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1994), pp. 253-278. “Uncle Lucius” is the title character in a work of Georgia ethos, not Georgia biography.

¹¹This would have been the polite response, even if the spinsters took in sewing.

¹²Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 107-108.

¹³Dolly Lunt Burge, *The Diary of Dolly Lunt Burge, 1848-1879* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), p. 199. Also, the names of individual Georgia women are in bold throughout this study the first time they are mentioned - and if several pages have intervened after the first time they were mentioned. An asterisk indicates that the woman’s name appears in Section 5.2, “Individual Women,” the Georgia women’s biographies included in this study. Sites with importance in Georgia women’s history are in both bold and italic; the sites may or may not still exist, or be listed in the National Register of Historic Places either individually or as part of a Historic District. Bibliographical references are also repeated the first time a book is cited in each new chapter.

make a beginning with.”¹⁴ Money continued to be a problem, especially if the renters did not pay. The house, upon Dolly's death, passed first to a daughter then to absentee grandchildren, but was maintained until the 1920s by an African-American couple, George and Sidney Gunn, who had come to the plantation just before the death of Dolly's third husband.¹⁵ Dolly Burge's plantation house is listed in the National Register of Historic Places as the *Burge Farm*.¹⁶ Other National Register listed properties with a rural setting include the *Smith and Douglas Family Houses*, Cassville, Bartow County and the *Morgan Farm*, Smithville, Sumter County

The 1870 post-war census showed that at least 53,000 agricultural workers and 1,000 farm owners were white females, but these figures may be unreliable. For one thing, widows often retained their husband's name on the property they held, for their ownership was never in dispute unless they remarried. And just how many agricultural workers were white females remains something of a mystery. Few white women, in answering the census questions, would have considered farm work as an “occupation.” Many would have been reluctant to identify themselves as farm workers, especially on the family farm, even if they did work on it. If white, they would have barely been ready to admit that they had to labor in the fields. They would have preferred to count themselves as housewives to the enumerator, even if widowed, even if they owned the farm.¹⁷ The numbers, therefore, could have been much higher.

Crop failures, which occurred in the rural areas for several years after the war, left women destitute, especially those trying to work their farms alone. By some estimates as many as 40,000 (white) Georgians were completely poverty-stricken following the war; tens of thousands of these would have been women. Poverty, the result of lost assets in land, slaves, and confederate bonds, meant that many people lacked money for taxes, repairs, seed purchases, and wages for farm hands. Many acres of land passed into new hands. White women owners were particularly vulnerable to losing their land for lack of cash for taxes and interest payments, especially if widowed or serving as head of households with incapacitated husbands. The white planter class gave way to a mixed planter-merchant class that still owned land, but lived in town. The former planters, now absentee landlords, pursued other occupations and enterprises from town, and considered their farmlands a source of income but no longer a source of

¹⁴Ibid., p. 201.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 205-6.

¹⁶See Section 5.6, “Women's History Resources by National Register Category and Type,” part of this report.

¹⁷Marjorie Stratford Mendenhall, “Southern Women of a Lost Generation,” in Anne Firor Scott, ed., *Unheard Voices: The First Historians of Southern Women* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), p. 103.

social and economic identity.¹⁸ First the white men left the farms for the cities, then the black women, followed by white women, and finally, by black men. In 1900, there were counties in Georgia where the rural population was predominantly white/female and black/male; just as there were many towns which had a predominantly white/male and black/female population.

The removal to the cities left some farms without much help, and these farms often were simply abandoned altogether. The plantations along the Savannah River, many of which never resumed rice cultivation, were rented out to tenants, but most were gradually absorbed into industrial interests such as naval stores, lumber, and turpentine. In one instance, on Hutchinson's Island, the land was used, ultimately, solely for storage of supplies and shipping by the United States government.¹⁹ A long holdout, Whitehall plantation continued to be occupied by its owner, who planted few crops except vegetables for private consumption. By 1920, nothing remained of the antebellum array of the big houses, slave quarters, out buildings, and fields in their original uses and configuration. **Frances Butler Leigh*** watched the transition take place in the decade following the war: "Hundreds of acres of rice land, which yielded millions before the war," she observed, "are fast returning to the original swamp from which they were reclaimed with infinite pains and expense."²⁰ For the populations still on the land, there was no going back, no returning to the original. At the same time, visions of alternatives to the past and a different kind of future were seriously limited.

Perhaps no family represented the changes better than the Crafts. **Ellen Craft**, her husband William, and their children, settled in 1878 on **Woodville**, a Georgia plantation that was located eighteen miles south of Savannah. What is so notable about them is that Ellen and William started life at slaves in Georgia, escaped north to Canada before the Civil War, and lived in England until the war and Reconstruction were over. Their story was featured by abolitionists in America and Europe as the expression of courage that it represented. Back in Georgia, Ellen Craft ran a school for former slaves while her husband ran the plantation, using renters, just as everyone else did. They remained on the plantation until 1890, when they relocated to Charleston. Ellen Craft lived out her life in South Carolina, but requested that she be buried at Woodville. Her family carried out her request. Nothing is known to exist of the original Woodville plantation.²¹

¹⁸Coleman, *Georgia History*, p. 86; Massey, *Bonnet Brigades*, pp. 325-327.

¹⁹[Savannah Writers' Project], *Savannah River Plantations* (Savannah: The Georgia Historical Society, 1947; reprinted Spartanburg, S.C.: the Reprint Company, 1983), introduction and pp. 23, 89, 91, 253, 338.

²⁰Frances Butler Leigh, *Ten Years on a Georgia Plantation Since the War 1866-1876* (Savannah: A Beehive Press Book, 1992), p. 119.

²¹Dorothy Sterling, *Black Foremothers: Three Lives* (Old Westbury, N. Y.: The Feminist Press, 1979), pp. 2-59.

For those women who stayed on the farms, generation after generation, the distance between the realities of their lives and those of their urban sisters increased. It is hard to get a good documentary picture of the farm life of a Georgia woman, married or unmarried; what they did, how they spent their time, how and where their duties were allocated, how they managed in the face of dwindling field and household hands, how they entertained themselves, what they thought of farm life and their own futures within its realms. The women were largely an illiterate lot, and few personal accounts exist to tell their stories. Statistics can be found but they do not begin to give the important information; archaeological evidence is silent on gender without written documents or oral testimony to provide an appropriate context or actual ownership. One cannot tell from the shovel by itself whether it was used by a man or a woman. One trend, however, is clear; white women were working in the farm fields in larger numbers than before the Civil War, and starting at early ages. Some oral histories garnered from Cabbagetown, the mill village at the *Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills* in Atlanta, Georgia, tell of the life of the women before (and after) they became workers in the mill. By and large the (white) women at Fulton Bag came from farms in the mountain counties of Georgia to work in the mills when the farms gave out, or their ownership changed. Many of them had been tenants on farms owned by others. "We always went to work [in the fields] as soon as we was big enough [the interviewee was six when she started], pick up rocks or stumps or whatever, help clear the new grounds . . ." ²² As another woman, **Beatrice Dalton**, put it: "we couldn't work the farm like [Papa] did. Long as he lived, though, we owned our own farm. We had to hire out [after Papa died]. We had to break up and go to the cotton mill where mama could work." What the women's testimonies show is how hard farm work was, and how tedious; what Dalton's testimony also shows is how attached she and her family were to the fields:

"It's the best life in the world. Yeah, it's hard work but Lord who minds it when they're able to have plenty of good food to eat and fresh air to breathe and plenty of good neighbors and friends around. You don't mind working hard . . .

When I was old enough I'd help chop cotton in the summertime. We'd be there by daylight, work till after the sun went down. I've worked many a day all day long for 25 cents . . . [When we'd go home from the fields] we'd stop and gather wild stuff for supper. We'd gather wild lettuce, wild onions, take them home and clean them good . . . We had to churn [the buttermilk] when we went home from the field. We [had] a field down on our home place that there had been a dwelling house [on] and a big garden spot.

²²*Cabbagetown Families, Cabbagetown Food* (Atlanta: Patch Publications, 1976), from the testimony of Lila Brookshire, p 15.

We'd go down there and gather that Indian mustard, wild chicken lettuce, pepper grass.
You cook that, you sure got something good.²³

Dalton talks also about cooking on a wood stove, canning vegetables and keeping them from freezing by storing them under the cotton seed in the cotton house, raising onions under mounds of sawdust from the sawmill, storing sweet potatoes in sheds around the farm, and making homemade remedies for colds and flu; she also celebrates the presence of her extended family whose members all lived in nearby homesteads, and having other visitors come to the farm.²⁴

One very notable, uncommon document of Georgia farm woman history exists, namely *A Home-Concealed Woman: The Diaries of Magnolia Wynn Le Guin, 1901-1913*. The diaries, actually more scattered pages of journal writings, set forth not only the challenges of Le Guin's days and the outline of her life but her geographic attachment to the homestead on which she lived. Her life in brief was simple and by her own description, it consisted of these landmarks:

I, **Magnolia Wynn Le Guin**, have five times been a mother. When 25 years and 3 months old I first became a mother – of a sweet baby girl (who died in 3 or 5 days afterwards. I was *low* and health impaired ever since.

When 26 years and 6 months old I became mother of Askew.

When 29 years old I became mother of Fred.

When 31 years old became Travis' mother.

When 33 years and 3 months old became mother of another boy.²⁵

In all she had twelve pregnancies, bore ten children, nine of whom survived infancy, and four of whom bore her grandchildren. She lived in a rural county among other rural counties in an area of the state which had no communities defined as urban; that is, none with populations in 1900 that exceeded 5,000 people. She spent most of her time indoors, in the rooms where she did her work, bore her children, prepared family meals, mended family clothing, nursed family members, and hosted the family's many members and guests. By her own sense of it, the farm belonged to her husband, Ghu. It was "his," while the house was "hers." She simply took her home, as entirely her own space, for granted. Yet within its walls, she had no place that was hers by sacred right, nowhere that was private and allowed for personal intimacy. The kitchen might be hers as a kind of "special" place, but if she wanted privacy, she

²³*Cabbagetown*, the testimony of Beatrice Dalton, p. 6.

²⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

²⁵Charles A. Le Guin, ed., *A Home-Concealed Woman: The Diaries of Magnolia Wynn Le Guin, 1901-1913* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), p. 44.

fled to the woods, when she could get away. And when she wanted to express herself, she wrote in her journals. She wrote anywhere she could for she had no specific place to write, and she wrote on any paper she could find, mostly in account and ledger books, that were not hers originally and were often filled with records of farm transactions. The published journal contains only one photo showing her poised to write; she is sitting in a chair with a ledger on her lap. She often wrote in the midst of doing something else – mending or cooking, or with an infant on her lap. “I have had to write like fighting fire, in extreme haste – baby crying as hard as it could and now he is in my lap while I am finishing up this,” she wrote as if in a frenzy, more than once.²⁶ This notable absence of spatial and psychological privacy for the woman of the house was a phenomenon she shared with other women and one that continued well into the twentieth century, since the woman's “special rooms” such as the kitchen, remained public places associated with the care and maintenance of others.²⁷

The center of Magnolia Le Guin's social, biological, and cultural life was her family; outside of her family, her social life centered on her church, where her husband was one of the elders. According to her editors, who were also her grandchildren, “Magnolia's responsibilities were heavy and she took them seriously; her lot was wearisome, repetitive toil, work that seemed endless, never finished.”²⁸ As she aged, the work grew more difficult to handle. At her father's insistence, she nursed him in his final illness amidst a house of visiting relatives. “I feel cramped,” she wrote, “I need rest,” and again in the same entry, “I am so weak.”²⁹

Magnolia Le Guin's life reflected a world view constrained by circumstances, by remote location, by the onerous joys of motherhood (ten children and twelve pregnancies), and the cares of the matriarchy that were writ large inside her mind. She followed the latest ideas in parenting and familial education. “I am opposed to children having toy pistols,” she wrote in one fierce paragraph. “I've read from **Mrs. [Rebecca Latimer] Felton***, “and others who, “caution against [buying] toy pistols, guns etc.,” for the children, for fear of the “tendency being towards the desires for real fire arms.”³⁰ She was the dominant female in the household at any given moment; she was also often the only adult female in the household except when she was entertaining or had day help, which was seldom; and she was the ruling female in matters of health, hygiene, manners, morals, pre-school education, nutrition, medicine,

²⁶Ibid., p. 43.

²⁷Leslie Kanes Weisman, *Discrimination by Design: A Feminist Critique of the Man-Made Environment* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1994), p. 98.

²⁸Le Guin, *Woman*, p. xxviii.

²⁹Ibid., p. 222.

³⁰Ibid., p. 28.

clothing, and the proper care of personal possessions within the walls of the home. She may have been named Magnolia, but she was no fragile flower of the South. Hers was a view of the world that was constrained in its outer circumstances, but very full in its inner circumstances. She had an interior life of love, connection with her family, and the spiritual values. Hers was not an unhappy existence, but could be rendered meaningless by a society at large that prized other kinds of activities and masculine endeavors. Her life might have been more constrained on the inside as well, but in Magnolia's case, so attached to education and to reading was she and so in love with her children, that she kept her mind lively and alive with reading, writing, and the daily discipline of close observation of what went on immediately around her.

Le Guin's environment was like many others in the rural South, depicted most recently in a book by LuAnn Jones called *Mama Learned Us to Work: Farm Women in the New South*, based on oral histories with daughters of the South who grew up as part of a female majority within a population still making its living from the land well into the first half of the twentieth century. Jones' report on their livelihoods echoes note-for-note the activities of Magnolia Le Guin at the turn of the century, unremitting toil which, according to Jones' scholarship, was parceled out between work in the fields and work in the house, with no rest in between. The women stayed on the farms while their men went to the farm markets in nearby towns, trading crops for money and money for goods, and bringing back items required or desired by the women at home. Country stores, according to Jones, were male provinces, akin to small town bars, where women never darkened the doors. As an example, the city of Jonesboro reportedly had thirteen bars in 1879, in which women (not just ladies) were never present.³¹ In places not reached by railroads (which customarily would stop at individual farms, if located directly on the tracks), the women could buy and barter with traveling salesmen, wagon peddlers, and "rolling store" operators who wended their way along the farm roads, selling directly to their consumers. In places where the farms were located on main thoroughfares, women set up sheds to sell their wares directly to passers by: canned goods, milk, wild berries, butter, chicken and eggs, vegetable garden produce, pickled and candied items, flowers and ornamental stems.³² Jones also tells the story of the "women in the

³¹Joseph Henry and Hightower Moore, *The History of Clayton County, Georgia 1821-1983* (Clayton: Ancestors Unlimited, Inc., 1983), p. 42.

³²See, for example, h-net book review by Jeanette Keith; LuAnn Jones, *Mama Learned Us to Work: Farm Women in the New South*, Studies in Rural Culture Series (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). The University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill has pioneered in the study of rural southern women, work begun in the early 1980s by oral historian Jacquelyn Hall, who began exploring the impact of cotton mills, then already in decline, on the lives of the rural women who came to "man" them.

middle,” the female agents for the agricultural extension services who served both black and white women (in segregated efforts) in rural locations. Through them, southern farm women learned how to market their own wares and products and how to handle money. In other matters entirely, the extension agents were equally supportive: giving out birth control advice (and sometimes devices) to the women of the South, who had the highest birth rate, not only nationally, but historically in America. Rural women begged for assistance with birth control, even though its use was not condoned in their religious or political environment.³³ Agency efforts to support southern women's activities had many effects; ironically one resulted in the creation of an industry. What began as “mom's trade in eggs and chickens” became dad's egg factory.”³⁴ Though the shift to a male-dominated industry did not occur in the poultry business until World War II, the trend was set earlier in the century by the women on southern farms, who continued to do the actual work of “catching” the hens even after the men adopted it as man's work.

Black demonstration workers sent out by the agricultural extension services focused a great deal of their attention of matters of health issues; they, like the white agents, organized canning groups and gardens, but they also had to deal with greater problems of tenancy, bigotry, and illiteracy. Make good with what you had, make do with what you had – these were the female songs of poverty and uplift in the New South. As a symbol of both poverty and uplift, and as a vehicle of expression for women of both races, Jones ends her work with a paean to the feed sack and the many uses it could have. Because of the many garments that were made of it, the trade associations sponsored new designs and patterns for the women, often at their specific requests.³⁵

While demonstration agents for the county extensions were giving women, black and white, the best advice they could on how to run their kitchens and homes, and while no one was noticing, something important happened to the Georgia kitchen. That formerly detached cook house, which was the province of the chief cook, the mistress, and slave helpers during antebellum Georgia, ceased to be a separate building. Many were attached to the house via a breeze way or long hall; some were demolished and rebuilt closer to the house. The *Tullie Smith Farm* on the grounds of the Atlanta

³³See Andrea Tone, *Devices and Desires: A History of Contraceptives in America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2001) which discusses women writing for help and mentions Georgia. This study failed to find much published information about birth control practices and clinics in Georgia. It is speculated that midwives in Georgia would have offered their clientele information, advice on tonics and procedures, possibly even abortions, but specifics are hard to come by. Pessaries were undoubtedly common and, also, douches. Author Florence King is said to have written that Georgia women douched with Coca-Cola, but that comment may have been meant as cryptic local mythology; it is impossible to know. See Christie Anne Farnham, ed., *Women of the American South: A Multicultural Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 1997).

³⁴Jones, *Mama Learned Us*, p. 3.

History Center is a case in point. Built as a separate structure, the kitchen was attached to the house by a breeze-way some time in the late nineteenth century. But when the house and kitchen were salvaged by the Atlanta Historical Society, they were returned to their original state. Pictures of the kitchen extension, available in the archives of the Society, show the house as it looked at the time of its rescue from highway construction.

The *Emily Joyner House* in Thomasville, mentioned in another connection here, also reveals a detached kitchen that was connected to the main house. In this instance, the house in question is quite small, and the kitchen, which was very close to the main house, is today connected by the tiniest of hallways to the front room.

Ultimately, the kitchen moved inside the house altogether, and once inside, there it has stayed. The move was the direct consequence of two things: the end of slavery and the dispersion of the female work force on the family properties, and the introduction of the free-standing iron cook stove that replaced the hearth and/or open fire. Outdoors, the landscape of work also changed, though slowly. Even urban dwellers retained a cow and chickens in their yards, but few yards were large enough for a full sized barn inside the city limits. In rural areas, the patterns of the antebellum landscape of work lingered. Most noticeably gone was the laundry pot, even though it could still be found in some suburban side or back yards into the early twentieth century. Use of small pens and out buildings remained practical, as did the differentiation of activity areas, so that the kitchen yards, the small orchards, and the connecting pathways were rendered distinctive.³⁵ While the kitchen gardens remained in place as well, how much was planted there for home consumption depended on numerous factors – the farm's distance from markets, inclinations of the household, interests of the woman of the house, and available assistance in gardening. The southern farm in general persisted as a place of food production, and canning was an annual female activity that continued to the mid-mark of the twentieth century, revived as it was by the necessities of two world wars and the intervening national Depression.

Another development, more pronounced in the twentieth century than in the late nineteenth, and more widely manifested in the cities than in the countryside, was the development of the back porch into the back hall and utility room, where laundry and other functions could take place. During the long transition from dependence on black domestic service to household autonomy, black women continued to do laundry for white households. However, whether in the countryside or in the city, the practice

³⁵Ibid., p. 5.

³⁶See Georgia Department of Natural Resources, "Georgia's Living Places: Historic Houses in Their Landscaped

became that they would do the laundry on their own premises, which was always removed from the white households. They would pick up the clothing in large baskets and deliver it back to the homes on some set schedule of their own. In the cities, commercial laundries took over most of the work, and the black women who worked for them at least received regular wages for what was still back-breaking work. One laundry building remains from this era in Atlanta, *Trio Laundry*, which has been converted into apartments and listed in the National Register. The fact that working conditions were anything but pleasant is revealed by the strike in 1880 of the local laundresses in Atlanta, the largest employer of black laundresses. Nonetheless, the black female laundress was considered by some to be a mainstay of both black and white family life and the community at large, and one who played an important socio-economic role from the end of the Civil War until the outbreak of World War I.³⁷

Meanwhile, in the country black domestic assistance in white homes became less and less available because of the migration of black women to Georgia cities where they were largely employed in domestic labor, whether commercially or independently. White women like Magnolia Le Guin did all of their own domestic labor, with occasional help. Black women on farms did all of their own work as well, while occasionally helping white households also. For women on rural farms in the late nineteenth century, life was a world of work. Their chief reward, it would seem, was to be lifted up culturally, as the backbone of society – the southern Matriarch – whether she was “Mammy” or “Mamma.”

There are two important cultural expressions of the agricultural “backdrop” that lent context and identity to women’s lives in Georgia in the latter half of the nineteenth century and early years of the twentieth century, a context that the women had to engage as they sought to develop themselves into successful people. Women had to have meaningful home lives and be mothers of many children, but this cultural standard included more than motherhood. Georgia was an agricultural state; for women to define themselves appropriately within the local culture, they had to engage in some agricultural activity, have some agricultural association through family or occupation, or at least have agricultural roots – a home place in the country. They had to have **come** from the land even if they did not currently live on it. This was more than fact; this was the lyrical ritual of Georgia life, propounded by newspapers, magazines, and the pulpit. One of the strongest portrayals came from two North Georgia journalists, one male and one female. The man who wrote about Georgia farm life did so for the state’s largest

Settings,” 1991, I-39 and *ff.*

³⁷See Carter G. Woodson, “The Negro Washerwoman: A Vanishing Figure,” *Journal of Negro History*, 14 (1930), pp. 269-277; Tera Hunter’s work on washerwomen in Atlanta provides a context for the history of laundresses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

newspaper (the *Atlanta Constitution*), and lived most of his professional life in a small city in northwest Georgia. He never actually, metaphysically or financially, left the farm, a multiple acre plot of land that he owned in northwest Georgia for his entire life. Charles Henry Smith, humorist and essayist, immortalized the southern farm wife in the person of Mrs. "Bill Arp." "Bill Arp," homely philosopher and southern nostalgia-ist, was the pseudonym under which Smith wrote his columns, and Arp was read in more than 700 newspapers inside and outside the South. He was, according to his biographer, the most widely read writer from the South for the thirty years his column was published. The world of Arp sent out a kind of gospel of the New South, making change funny and palatable to his readers, and the old ways lovable through the gentle complexity of his characters and the nostalgia of his outlook. Faithful readers became familiar with the whole Arp family, modeled closely on Smith's own, especially Mrs. Arp and the three youngest children. "Mrs. Arp has been mighty busy, as usual," wrote Smith, "always a working, for the house will get dirty, and the children's clothes will wear out, and it's clean up and sew, and patch and darn, and sew on buttons; and it's the same old thing day after day, week after week . . ." ³⁸ He wrote about bread that would not rise, and children that needed bathing, making readers laugh until they cried, seeing the things that happened in his family, as if he had "been right here in [their] house when he wrote them." ³⁹ He wanted the South to be prosperous without losing its "goodly heritage," he lauded family, country living, the past, common people, hard work, honest farm work, and the traditional family; and mourned, openly and eloquently, the passing of the Old South. Today his ideas on race issues would be considered distasteful, to say the least, but it is his sense of the value and place of (white) womanhood in his kingdom of Arp that is of interest here. It was hardly the lady on the pedestal from times gone by so much as the hard-working, indefatigable, endless maternal figure who was lauded in his imagery, not the maiden any longer, not even the lady, and certainly not the innocent belle, but the country wife, wherever she happened to find herself.

It is interesting to note that the other strong voice for Georgia womanhood came from the exact same locus in the state as Charles Henry Smith. Rebecca Latimer Felton, in her influential adult years, lived in a farm house just outside Cartersville, Georgia, the town where "Bill Arp" was given life. Becky Felton is a far more complex purveyor of things female than Charles Henry Smith, but what is important to this particular discussion is that at the same time Smith was creating Arp, Felton was writing a column called "Country Life" for the *Journal*, the other Atlanta newspaper, into which she poured her feminine

³⁸David Parker, "Bill Arp: Cartersville's Homely Philosopher," *North Georgia Journal* (May/June 1998), pp. 20-25. Quoted from p. 22.

heart, her knowledge of the woman's sphere of domesticity, and remembrances from her childhood in DeKalb County, Georgia, where she grew up. She was never again so closely allied with the proverbial feminine sphere, for it is also at this time that she grew up intellectually as well, became interested in politics, began writing opinionated letters to the editors of other newspapers, served as her husband's chief political adviser and campaign manager when he was elected to the United States Congress as an Independent, and took up woman suffrage as a favorite cause and female education as a lifelong commitment. Felton attributed all of her interests, all of her life, to the good sense of her country upbringing, and she never stopped singing its praises. When she was 80 years old she wrote a piece celebrating horseback riding, which she did until she was in her 70s. Riding to her was the "opportunity for healthful recreation, and it never lost its charm for me even when I became a grandmother . . . I always had some sort of a horse to ride up to old age."⁴⁰ Nor did she ever stop working for women, to the limits of what she saw they needed and deserved. In 1922, at the age of 87, she became the first woman sworn in as a United States Senator. The interim appointment, for a few days only, was in recognition of her work on behalf of Georgia. Felton's DeKalb childhood farmhouse is not extant; her Cartersville house was listed in the National Register, but burned to the ground in 2002.

Education: "A New Mold Being Formed"⁴¹

Wherever visions of a different and greater future appeared to women and to those who would support their rights to an increased horizon, these visions were almost always attached to some form of educational effort. Education was seen as the way "up," the way "out," the way "to" – to succeed, to fit in, to survive. Without a doubt, the greatest changes for women of both races in the period between 1870 and 1920 came about through education, for females began to be educated in large numbers for the first time in Georgia history. During this important era, six changes occurred, educationally, to increase Georgia women's literacy and competencies:

- 1) the state established public schools for both male and female pupils, black and white;
- 2) women's collegiate education widened, becoming available to women of both races;
- 3) the University of Georgia accepted co-education on a limited basis, although the campus in Athens remained a predominantly white, male environment;

³⁹Ibid., p. 23.

⁴⁰Rebecca Latimer Felton, *Country Life in Georgia in the Days of My Youth* (Atlanta: Index Printing Company, 1919), p. 36.

⁴¹Coleman, *Georgia History*, p. 238.

- 4) teaching evolved into a predominantly female profession among both blacks and whites;
- 5) individual women made a small but important showing in the professions; and
- 6) through it all, women took increasing responsibility for their own education and for the education of their children.

All of this came about within a social system that kept the races, and therefore the schools, separated, and that justified the education of women primarily on the basis of their utility to the future (community, race, society) as mothers.

The state of Georgia emerged from the Civil War without a real system of public education. In 1866, the legislature passed a law granting education for whites only. Then the Reconstruction Convention amended this to foster education for all, regardless of race. In 1870, the education "for all" part of the law was amended by the state's first "separate but equal" language, fostering segregation to compromise the state's commitment to a fully educated citizenry. This language, in turn, was amended two years later to qualify further what was meant by "equal," i.e., education was to be "equal so far as practicable."⁴² What was actually available to citizens depended less on the law, as it turned out, than on local resources; school systems varied widely across the state. Most of the school terms were still only a few months long, although the state board of education mandated a four-month term and recommended a six-month term in 1890.⁴³ In agricultural communities, pupils were in session between harvesting and planting; often there were only temporary quarters and the local church served as the schoolhouse. The counties with well-established towns and cities, most especially Atlanta, were relatively well served. The rural and poorer counties suffered from the proliferation of institutions under segregation, as most were unable to support public, private, and denominational schools for blacks and whites; and, of course, compromises in facilities and salaries always reflected the values of a white supremacist culture. The mountain counties in the state, with tiny populations of African-Americans, seem to have been the least well served even among the whites, because of the poverty and remoteness of their geography. In Union County, for example, where subsistence agriculture persisted, the children had to leave the county to get a high school education until 1883, when the first secondary school was founded, although that high school was not accredited until 1906.⁴⁴ Gwinnett County might be more typical of the wealthier rural counties: in 1871 it established 36 white (elementary) schools and two "colored," "all mixed and

⁴²Coleman, *Georgia History*, p. 238.

⁴³*Ibid.*, p. 241.

⁴⁴Dale Elliott, "Union County, Georgia," unpaginated, undated typescript, Union County Historical Society.

ungraded,” meaning that none differentiated the pupils by age or gender. Even with the increases in the number of schools during the following decade, no more than three-fourths of eligible Gwinnett County children attended public elementary schools in the late 1800s.⁴⁵ It is entirely possible that there were as many or more female pupils in these rural schools as males, since girls’ work did not serve the exigencies of farming as closely or necessarily as boys’ work.

The freedmen hungered for education, and for a while immediately after the Civil War the establishment of black schools outpaced the creation of schools for whites, since the Freedmen’s Bureau actively set up schools in the state before the legislature mandated that the public school act be enforced. The American Missionary Association (AMA) and other missionary associations based in the north sent “holy warriors” into the battle against illiteracy among the freedmen, laying the groundwork for a righteous, morally sound education, and more than matched the efficacy of the Freeman’s Bureau as a change agent. The missionaries lasted longer than the Bureau as an educational force in Georgia.⁴⁶ The teachers for both the bureau and the mission schools were most frequently northern white women, who were women on a mission even if not attached to a religious body. Some of the bureau’s white female teachers served under the supervision of black educators, though this is a practice that was not long-lived within the Bureau. One such teacher was **Eliza Frances Andrews***.

The private black schools faced tremendous difficulties staying in business. The Connecticut Industrial School for Girls, founded in Quitman, Georgia in 1885, was torched by white citizens who did not want a black school in their town. The school managed to relocate, reopening in Thomasville two years later. Many of the Freedmen’s schools were absorbed into the public school systems where they were located, as were many other private black elementary schools founded in the 1880s. As an example, *Lamson Normal School*, founded in 1886 in Marshallville by **Anna Wade** (born a slave in 1862), became part of the Macon school system.⁴⁷

The black schools fed the education movement, not only by educating individual African-Americans but also by fostering the construction of more schools and offering the first employment opportunities for black teachers. Some of the greatest educational leadership in the state emanated from the schools that now form the *Atlanta University Center*, especially Atlanta University itself and *Spelman College*. Founded by the AMA in 1867, Atlanta University trained some famous black educators, perhaps the most important of whom for this study was **Lucy Craft Laney***, who went on

⁴⁵J. C. Flanigan, *The History of Gwinnett County 1818-1943 [1960]*, pp. 294-297.

⁴⁶Grant, *The Way It Was*, p. 224.

after graduation in 1873 to found *Haines Normal and Industrial Institution* in Augusta. Laney named the institute for Francine Haines, head of the Women's Missionary Auxiliary of the Presbyterian Church. Augusta's leading black school for many decades, Haines was forced to close in 1949. A high school named for Laney now stands on the site.⁴⁸

Atlanta University (AU) was an exceptional place even among black, missionary-instigated institutions; it was the only openly – racially and sexually – integrated collegiate institution in the nineteenth century in the state, a fact that cost AU its state subsidy, but only added to its reputation as a just environment. AU, like most private black schools, survived on black subscriptions and Yankee charity, especially the mission societies and the great philanthropists like the Rockefeller and Carnegie families. The *Atlanta University Center Historic District* contains many of the original buildings of Atlanta University (now *Morris Brown College*), Spelman College, and *Morehouse College*, built by Baptist missionaries for young African-American men. The AU Center is today the largest consortium of historically black colleges in the country, combining as it does, *Clark-Atlanta University*, Morris Brown College, Spelman College, Morehouse College, and the *Interdenominational Theological Seminary*. The oldest of the schools is old AU, dating from 1867. Clark is the youngest, dating from the turn of the last century. All of the schools have their origins in missionary activities, both black and white.

Despite its tendency to be gender-inclusive, black education was not free of the dominant cultural characterization of women as “special” creatures. Lucy Laney, who believed in teaching as a primary vehicle for black female professionals, originally established Haines Institute as a girls' school. Shortly after opening, she admitted boys in order to keep the school solvent, but Laney passed her personal devotion to the cause of women's education on to her protégé, **Mary McLeod Bethune**. Bethune, who went on to found a girls' school was perhaps African-America's most famous female educator. Laney believed it was “women's spiritual nature to serve humanity and to mold the character of children.” As for educating them, it was essential, for only women of character and culture could successfully uplift the race; in her words: “she who would mold character must herself possess it.”⁴⁹ One of the strongest black voices along these lines was raised by Virginian Anna Julia Cooper, whose 1892,

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 229.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 231; see also Section 5.2, “Individual Women,” for biographies included in this study.

⁴⁹Audrey Tomas McCluskey, “‘Most Sacrificing’ Service: The Educational Leadership of Lucy Craft Laney and Mary McLeod Bethune,” Farnham, ed., *Women of the American South*, pp. 193-194.

“A Voice from the South,” argued for the education of black women on the basis that “women, because of their moral superiority, have the responsibility and capacity to reform the human race.”⁵⁰

One school that seemed to capture this idea in consummate fashion was *Spelman Seminary*, now Spelman College, founded in 1881 by **Sophia Packard*** and **Harriet Giles***, two Baptist missionaries from New England. Their purpose in educating the students, who ranged in age from 15 to 52 in the first class, was to prepare them for useful lives as women in their communities, homes, and families. The early seminary prepared teachers and missionaries. To support its teacher-training, Spelman founded a model school where students could prepare to teach at the same time as other black pupils were learning. The school provided a normal elementary curriculum with mathematics, English, literature, and geography. After its first years in operation, Spelman expanded its classes with a college prep department, and sent students to Morehouse College for regular college work until Spelman itself was certified at the collegiate level in 1927. The industrial department assumed a high priority in the Spelman curriculum, with classes in cooking, sewing, housekeeping, laundering, and printing; for above all, the school founders wished its education to be practical and to prepare its graduates for useful lives.⁵¹ Giles expressed her philosophy of education in this way:

I consider industrial training more important in Negro schools than in white schools, . . . A large portion of our students, especially those over fifteen years of age, have been engaged in manual labor before entering school here. They have been engaged in housework at home, in domestic service, laundry work, farming and cotton-picking. They are like white students in expecting that their education will prepare them for some more remunerative employment . . .⁵²

And so the students were trained to perform their expected occupations with greater knowledge and efficiency, and therefore, it was presumed, with greater success. Yet underlying it all, the intention was to make better women of the Spelman girls. In some respects, the missionaries were reacting to a deep-seated cultural assumption, which held that black women were morally “weaker” than their white counterparts, stemming from the white master-slave owners’ exploitation of black women as concubines during slavery. While some Spelman students might have been the children of such “concubines,” they themselves were to become educated Christian women and mothers. More than that, Spelman graduates

⁵⁰Quoted in Beverly Guy-Sheftall, *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought* (New York: New Press, 1995), p. 43.

⁵¹Beverly Guy-Sheftall, *Spelman: A Centennial Celebration, 1881-1981* (Atlanta: Published by the College, 1981), pp. 10, 24-25

⁵²*Ibid.*, pp. 29, 31.

were to serve as a disputation of the past and a model for the future. **Clara Howard**, an 1887 graduate said it best:

From its beginning, Spelman stood first of all for intelligent Christian Character and womanhood, realizing that with the first two named qualities, better women, better mothers, better homes would be sure to follow.⁵³

The iteration of racial uplift combined with model motherhood was like a drumbeat beneath the march of black community and education. Hear **Margaret Murray Washington** (Mrs. Booker T.), the most important African-American woman of the day, on the same subject: "Over and over again scholars have told us that no people can rise above their source – mothers of the land – and there at the fountainhead must the work begin."⁵⁴ Educate for motherhood; it was a feminine mantra.

The same language was heard among the whites, but although the words were similar, the meaning was different. The truth is Georgia, like most of the southern states, had not advanced much after the Civil War in the area of white women's education. As far as the state was concerned, woman's place was still in the home. Women were to be educated for "usefulness" (which was in some cases was borne of actual necessity) and for their traditional roles, if they were educated at all.⁵⁵ Georgia still resisted broader, longer education generally, even though it seemed to accept the notion that at least in the early grades, girls were to be educated equally with the boys. All schools, through the collegiate level, were segregated by race, and among the whites by sex as well, from the teen years on. As has been mentioned, there were some exceptions among black schools.⁵⁶ The *Beulah Rucker School* had both male and female students.

Many communities reverted to their antebellum educational habits, as the old seminaries and academies were revived and new private schools were established after the war. Among these were both private, nondenominational schools and church-related schools. *Lucy Cobb Institute*, the pre-Civil War female seminary in Athens, resumed its work and undertook an expansion program for its campus. The institute gained momentum under **Millie Rutherford***, who began her association with the school in 1880. Rutherford served as teacher, principal, president, and director for the school in a career that

⁵³Ibid., p. 97.

⁵⁴Quoted in Sara Bertha Townsend, "The Addition of Women to the University of Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, no. 42 (June 1959), pp. 157-169.

⁵⁵Scott, *Southern Lady*, p. 132; Anne Firor Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), p. 310.

⁵⁶Coleman, *Georgia History*, p. 91; Massey, *Bonnet Brigades*, p. 348

lasted 48 years. It was she who organized the campaign to build *Seney-Stovall Chapel*, listed in the National Register, which nearly doubled the physical size of the original school. It was Rutherford too who set a high, conservative tone for her pupils, who established herself as a role model of “noble womanhood,” who personally and professionally revised southern history, who opposed woman suffrage, and who influenced education and women’s patriotic activities in Georgia far beyond the walls of her school. Lucy Cobb Institute closed in 1931; the building has recently been restored as part of the *University of Georgia* campus.⁵⁷

Shorter College, *Brenau* (Baptist, founded in 1878), *LaGrange*, and *Agnes Scott College* (Presbyterian, founded in 1889) joined educational ranks with *Wesleyan College* as all-girl schools with “Christian” environments. Wesleyan retained its Methodist affiliations and resumed classes after a hiatus during the Civil War. The greatest promise for the white women of the state issued from these new colleges and higher level academies that were springing up; at last there was to be a hint of women’s education preparing them for non-traditional roles, for personal achievement and true social contribution.⁵⁸ Following in the footsteps of their more famous and aggressive northern sisters, most of whom (except Vassar, founded in 1861) were also founded in the 1880s. These schools began to offer the most advanced and/or rigorous academic curriculum available to the state’s women. Brenau offered college preparation training as well as a music conservatory. Wesleyan moved gradually toward more secular training, a move indicated by the addition of a gymnasium to its campus in 1909. Otherwise, its offering constituted a full, standard liberal arts curriculum, heavily influenced by its Methodist ties. Wesleyan was accredited in 1919, a signal that its collegiate status now met national standards. Indicative of its particular strength, Agnes Scott College, originally named *Decatur Female Seminary* when it was founded in 1889, was the first Georgia institution of higher education to be accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, and the second college in the state to receive a Phi Beta Chapter. These points of recognition came in 1906 and 1922 respectively.⁵⁹ Beginning in the 1890s, Agnes Scott began dropping a lower grade and adding a higher grade until it had progressed to full

⁵⁷National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, “Lucy Cobb Institute Campus;” see also, “Women-Related Historic Sites in Georgia” (Historic Preservation Division: 1997), pp. 4-5; Fred Bailey, “Mildred Lewis Rutherford and the Patrician Cult of the Old South,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, LXXVII, No. 3 (Fall 1994), 509-534.

⁵⁸Scott, *Invisible Visible*, p. 310.

⁵⁹National Register of Historic Places Register Form, “South Candler Street-Agnes Scott College Historic District;” “Agnes Scott College” in David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Southern History* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1979), p. 8; National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, “Wesleyan College (prepared as part of this study);” National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, “Brenau College District.”

college level status in 1912. Then the name was changed to Agnes Scott College, and the campus expanded rapidly through the 1910s and 1920s. Agnes Scott is the only one of Georgia's original white female colleges to remain an all-women's school; the others, to a larger or lesser degree, either temporarily or permanently, have enrolled male students.⁶⁰

The expansion in women's collegiate education in Georgia made no significant inroads into the state's university system until 1889. The Morrill Act of 1865 had opened American land grant colleges to women, and accordingly, Georgia awarded its first female BA from a state-sponsored university at the North Georgia Agricultural College in Dahlonega in 1873.⁶¹ This, however, did not start a trend. The university system remained closed to women until 1889, when the state founded the *Normal and Industrial College* for girls in Milledgeville as a branch of the system. **Susan Cobb Milton Atkinson*** (Mrs. William Yates Atkinson), educated at Lucy Cobb Institute in Athens, had persuaded her husband, then speaker of the Georgia House of Representatives, to submit a bill proposing such a school where young women could learn industrial and domestic arts as well as teaching. His first attempt in 1888 was unsuccessful, but the next year, with hundreds of signatures on petitions provided by his wife, William Atkinson was successful, and the school, now *Georgia College*, was founded. In 1891, the state established a second branch in Athens, the *State Normal School*, for teaching preparation only, where it operated for two decades. Seven of the original buildings from the State Normal School still stand, as part of the United States Navy Supply Corps School in Athens. The Athens school closed in 1912 and another normal school opened up a year later in Atlanta, which trained Georgia teachers for decades, well into the twentieth century, and which continues today as part of Georgia State University. No original buildings from the State Normal School in Atlanta are known to be extant.

These branch schools have several important associations for women's history: it was in Athens that **Celeste Parrish*** introduced the Dewey System of progressive education, which influenced rural elementary education throughout the state. Parrish herself went on to become the state's first female Supervisor of Rural Education. Although women were not admitted to the regular university,⁶² the governor appointed a Board of Lady Visitors to serve the Industrial College in Milledgeville, and one

⁶⁰James Crutchfield, *The Georgia Almanac and Book of Facts* (Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 1988), pp. 207-215.

⁶¹Rebecca Felton, *The Romantic Story of Georgia Women* (Atlanta: Atlanta Georgian and Sunday American, 1930), p. 24.

⁶² See Franklin Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events*, 3 Vols. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1954), Vol. II, p. 901. Rosa Woodberry, who founded of Woodberry Academy in Atlanta in 1908 (the building is extant in Ansley Park), is said to have been the first woman admitted to the University of Georgia. This could not be proved or disproved.

woman from each congressional district in the state served on the board. This board was the most important (it was also the only) officially appointed, political body of women in the state of Georgia at the time of its organization in 1891, and it set a precedent for other female appointments to official committees and boards. Composed of educated, outspoken women like Rebecca Felton, the ladies did much more than “visit.”⁶³

Admission to the University of Georgia system became a cause célèbre among the women's organizations in the state. In 1889, **Sarah B. C. Morgan** of Savannah, speaking for the Colonial Dames of America and the Daughters of the American Revolution (which had as yet barely organized their chapters in Georgia), petitioned the board of trustees of the university for the admission of women. Her petitions, taken up by others, continued annually through 1896, when the university board had the matter of the petitions expunged from the record. Nonetheless, the women persisted. In 1897 William Felton (Rebecca's husband) took up the cause with some success; women were admitted to all the branches of the university, but not yet to its main campus. In 1903, the University of Georgia admitted women to summer school and to private instruction on the Athens campus, but still not into regular classes. Just before World War I, women were admitted to the graduate school, but not soon enough to train enough women to fill all the positions where they were needed during the war. Instead, Georgia had to depend on women who had been educated elsewhere. During the World War I, the agricultural school finally was fully opened to women, although the main university continued to remain officially closed. Male students, allowed to vote on the matter, expressed their hostility to the idea of permitting female enrollment almost unanimously.⁶⁴ Women were allowed to vote in regular elections in the state before they were allowed to attend the University of Georgia as regular students.

As teachers and as citizens, women of Georgia became interested in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth, in creating school opportunities in remote sections of Georgia and counties poorly served by public schools. Some of Georgia's most famous women made careers out of such service. The most distinguished was **Martha Berry*** (1866-1942), creator of the **Berry Schools**, a monument to innovative rural education that is listed in the National Register. Concerned about the illiteracy and poverty of north Georgia, Berry established a boys' school in 1902 and a girls' school in 1909 near her father's **Oak Hill** plantation in Floyd County. A born fund-

⁶³“Women Related Historic Sites in Georgia,” p. 4; Amanda Johnson, *Georgia as State and Colony* (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown, 1938), p. 679; Scott, *Southern Lady*, p. 116

⁶⁴Townsend, “Addition of Women,” pp. 157-165.

raiser, Berry was especially successful in attracting wealthy benefactors, including members of the Vanderbilt, Carnegie and Ford families.⁶⁵

Male-defined and male-oriented educational patterns combined with the losses of the Civil War to create another educational split that emerged in the late 1800s: women could participate, professionally, as teachers in the lower grades of education, but not in the more advanced ones. During the two decades following the Civil War, teaching in public schools and at the elementary levels became a woman's occupation, whereas before the Civil War it had been a predominantly male one. Now, women were needed to teach, and to teach teachers, and to teach teachers of teachers. Teaching was not only open to women; it was dependent on them. Regionally, the occupational statistics shifted: by 1870 45% of all southern teachers were female; by 1890, nearly 60% were female.⁶⁶ By and large they were unmarried, or if married, widowed. This was a statistic that held across racial lines, as black women also filled the ranks of teachers more and more, a trend that can be seen in the patterns of the Jeanes teachers. The Anna T. Jeanes Fund, named for a white Quaker from Philadelphia, supplemented state funds for the preparation of teachers among African-Americans in the state. Jeanes teachers went out to individual counties in the state, employed by the county school system to "improve the work of the schools and community life of the Negroes" in the state. They set up model schools, worked with individual teachers in the public system where they emphasized industrial arts; they did in-service training for teachers, and even taught in the churches if there were no school buildings available. The Jeanes teachers, Jeanes supervisors, and Jeanes supervising teachers (all names used interchangeably) were respected members of their communities. **Fort Gaines Normal and Industrial School** of Fort Valley, Georgia was the first school to receive Jeanes funds in 1908. By 1910, fifteen counties in Georgia, most of them heavily rural, had Jeanes supervisors; among those counties were Cherokee, Dougherty, Grady, Laurens and Putnam. **Mt. Olive School** in Lowndes County, **Rosenwald School** in Coffee County, **Ray's Bridge School** in Burke County, **Spring Creek School** in Early County, **Pleasant Hill School** also in Early County, and **Screven School** in Wayne County were all Jeanes schools. Among the Jeanes' teachers, the curriculum directors were all female; the state historians were all female, and the presidents of the statewide support

⁶⁵Kenneth Coleman and Charles Stephen Gurr, eds., *Dictionary of Georgia Biography* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1983), pp. 77-78; Edward T. James and Janet Wilson James, Paul S. Boyer, eds., *Notable American Women 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, 3 Vols. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 137-138; inductee to Georgia Women of Achievement, 1992. The **Berry Schools** and **Oak Hill** are listed in the National Register.

⁶⁶ Scott, *Unheard Voices*, p. 103.

organization, the Jeanes Association, were also all women. The teachers themselves were predominantly female, and many of the Jeanes workers had schools or other buildings named after them. These include:

Sarah F. Brown, Brown High School in Moreland,
Julia P Bryant, Bryant Elementary School in Statesboro,
Miss Tommie Calhoun, Calhoun Consolidated High School in Irwinton,
Mrs. Gladys H. Chappelle, Chappelle Elementary School in Thomasville,
Mrs. Lillie M. Cooper, Cooper Elementary School in Dawson,
Mrs. Annie Daniels, Daniels Elementary School in Sylvania,
Mrs. Ethel W. Kight, Kight High School in LaGrange,
Miss Lillian A. Price, Price Library in Hudson Elementary School in Bowden,
Miss Lillian E. Williams, Williams Elementary in Bainbridge, and
Mrs. Katherine G. Wilson, Katherine Gray Library in Dublin.⁶⁷

Teaching was the first widespread profession open to Georgia women, both white and black; it was also the first profession for which women were actually educated within the state, and college teaching was the first learned profession opened to women. No university teaching positions existed above the collegiate level, and women who wished to pursue advanced degrees still had to leave the state for all fields of study except education. The first 90 years of graduation classes at Wesleyan produced 329 teachers among its 3,000 alumnae. Of the others, 2,250 were homemakers, forty missionaries, ten librarians, ten journalists, two lawyers, and a dozen others who went beyond traditional education. By contrast, Vassar had produced among its first one thousand graduates twenty-five medical doctors, 47 writers of significance, twelve scientists, and 118 alumnae who went on for advanced degrees in other fields.⁶⁸ Though the contrast is notable, even a Vassar graduate could not hold a job in an intellectual field outside academia until after World War I, for example, no chemists, only teachers of chemistry. Throughout the country, women could become missionaries, but the ministry was closed to them. Not only in Georgia, but everywhere, women who taught at universities and university branches did so predominantly in the fields of education and home economics. A woman scientist in Georgia, one who practiced but did not teach, and who had actually trained in Georgia universities, was virtually unknown at this time. The situation was similar throughout the country not just in Georgia, as women's colleges everywhere discouraged women "from challenging accepted ideas about women" and "developing

⁶⁷Anon., *Jeanes Supervision in Georgia Schools: A Guiding Light in Education – A History of the Program from 1908-1975* (no city: The Georgia Association of Jeanes Curriculum Directors in Cooperation with the Southern Education Foundation, Inc., 1975), pp. 7, 16, 23, 29-31, 129, 236-237, and passim.

⁶⁸Scott, *Invisible Visible*, pp. 306, 309; missionaries were not included in this enumeration for Vassar.

strong motives for pursuing independent careers or trying to break into 'masculine' fields."⁶⁹ In Georgia, as well as in all the other states of the union, women had entered the worlds of the learned professions by 1920, but barely, and the few who had were the "brave spirits" that "remained a tiny minority in their chosen fields." They were both exceptional and, in all too many instances, singular. Nothing is known, for example of **Dr. Mary Susan Hicks**, the first female to practice medicine in Atlanta, who practiced there before 1925 (the year she died).⁷⁰ **Frances Sage Bradley***, who became a leading light in rural health care in Georgia in the 1910s, trained in the 1890s in the Medical College of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children.⁷¹ Ultimately, she moved to the western United States to work. **Sara Branham***, a Wesleyan graduate, pursued graduate work at the Universities of Colorado and Chicago, but became a medical researcher at the National Institutes of Health in Maryland, not in Georgia.⁷² **Stella Akin***, Georgia's first female lawyer, began her practice in 1918, having been educated in the Savannah public schools. Her law training had to be attained by apprenticeship, for schools were closed to her.⁷³ More is known of her practice as a lawyer than of her training and motivation to become one. Women gained a toehold in professions outside teaching in the half century after the Civil War, but education was the primary source of growth, development, and employment for any women deemed "professional."

Although architecture was not considered a woman's profession, there were a number of professional women architects in the United States. In Georgia, there were only two women architects during this time period, and their education and careers followed different paths, although neither ever married. **Henrietta Cuttino Dozier***, the first professional female architect, was known as "Harry" in honor of her father. Dozier was born in 1872, graduated from *Girls' High School* in Atlanta in 1891, attended Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, New York, and received her Bachelor of Science in Architecture from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in 1899. At that time, MIT was one of the few schools that graduated female architects; there were no schools in the southeast that offered professional architectural degrees to women. She began her practice in Atlanta in 1901 in the office of Walter T. Downing, a prominent Atlanta architect of the time. From 1903 to 1916, Dozier practiced her profession in Atlanta, designing a number of buildings in that city and around the state. Of those buildings, only

⁶⁹Barbara J. Harris, *Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), pp. 99, 110, 113, 121.

⁷⁰Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, Vol. II, p. 898.

⁷¹Coleman and Gurr, eds., *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 110-111.

⁷²Georgia Women of Achievement Inductee, 1992.

⁷³Coleman and Gurr, eds., *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 10-11.

two are known to have survived. Dozier was responsible for the 1903 remodeling of the ***Blackmar-Bulloch House*** in Columbus, Georgia from its original Victorian style into a classical dwelling with a spectacular two story circular portico. This house is listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Another Dozier house is located in Greenville, Georgia. Built in 1914, it is now the ***Georgian Inn Bed-and-Breakfast***, and is a contributing building in the ***Greenville Historic District***.

Henrietta Dozier was one of the six charter members of the first Georgia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA), and the only female member. She served as secretary/treasurer of the new organization before moving to Jacksonville, Florida in 1916. Dozier spent the rest of her career and life in Jacksonville. She died in 1947.⁷⁴ There were no more female members of the Georgia AIA until 1941, as the only other woman practicing in the profession in the state was not interested in AIA membership.⁷⁵

That woman was **Leila Ross Wilburn***, born in 1885, whose active career spanned the years from 1907 until 1962. Unlike Dozier, Wilburn received her architectural training in an architect's office. After two years with the Atlanta architectural firm Benjamin R. Padgett & Son, she opened her own office in 1909. Also unlike Dozier, Wilburn specialized exclusively in residential architecture, including houses, duplexes and apartment buildings. She designed and marketed her own product, producing one minor and nine major plan books. The first, *Southern Homes and Bungalows* was published in 1914, and contained photographs and plans; her later plan books included only drawings. These she marketed to individuals, developers and builders throughout Georgia and the southeast, as well as in her home base of Atlanta.⁷⁶

Wilburn's work has been divided into two periods: 1908-1920,⁷⁷ briefly covered here, and 1920-1967, which will be discussed in Chapter 4.3. During the early years of her practice, she designed numerous single-family homes, approximately twenty apartment houses and twenty-four duplexes, mostly in the rapidly growing suburbs of Atlanta. Her early work included several hipped-roof cottages, and bungalows. Most notable is ***Adams Street*** in Decatur, Georgia, just east of Atlanta, where she

⁷⁴Elizabeth P. Stanfield, "A Pioneering Spirit: Harry Dozier, Atlanta's First Woman Architect," *Southern Homes/Atlanta* (July-August 1986), pp. 102, 104, 106. See also National Register Multiple Property Documentation Form, "The Architectural Designs of Henrietta Dozier, Leila Ross Wilburn, and Ellamae Ellis League in Georgia."

⁷⁵Susan Hunter Smith, "Women Architects in Atlanta, 1895-1979," *The Atlanta Historical Journal*, vol. XXIII, no. 4 (Winter 1979-80), p. 93.

⁷⁶Jan Jennings, "Leila Ross Wilburn: Plan-Book Architect," *Woman's Art Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring/Summer 1989), pp. 10-16, contain a discussion of Wilburn's business practices.

designed a number of large homes. Adams Street, part of Decatur's first planned residential neighborhood, was developed between 1905 and 1912 by **Georgia Adams** who oversaw the construction on land owned by her father.⁷⁸ In 1920, when registration of architects was required by the state of Georgia, Wilburn was one of only two women architects who registered.⁷⁹

The Southern Association of College Women, founded in 1903, did much to help improve academic standards at the female colleges in Georgia and throughout the South, but it did little to advance professional opportunities.⁸⁰ In the 1920s, young female graduates, especially white ones, were still hearing the same career-prohibitive, gender-restrictive, culturally binding advice they had heard for a century, as indicated by this commencement speaker at Wesleyan:

You young women are soon to enter into the sphere of life's activities. No doubt all of you have thought of and discussed among yourselves the question of a *career*. In this modern work-a-day world of ours, women are more and more entering into every form of gainful occupation . . . This new dream is not without its dangers, for it is diverting the mind and thoughts of the young women from the greatest of all careers – Motherhood. This world-filling talk of the emancipation of woman and the equality of the sexes has brought our whole social structure into a crisis . . . the super career of earth is that of wife and mother. Men know this. Society rests upon it. History proclaims it. For God designed it so.⁸¹

A World of Work

Nursing, like teaching, was considered an appropriate occupation for a woman. While most professions in Georgia could boast of only a single female token or two in the early decades of the twentieth century; the nursing profession, by contrast, contained hundreds of practitioners. Fewer in number than the teachers, women serving as nurses had been active since the time of the Civil War. In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, women's colleges began to offer nurse training as one of the standard curriculum choices. By 1920, though there was not yet registration or licensing for the nurses, most women who practiced nursing had received some kind of formal education and practical training.

Georgia women's colleges had begun offering nurse education in the late nineteenth century;

⁷⁷Smith, "Women Architects," p. 90.

⁷⁸The web site www.oakhurstga.org tells the story. Adams Street was part of Oakhurst, which was incorporated in 1910 and annexed by Decatur in 1916.

⁷⁹"The Architectural Designs," p. 10.

⁸⁰Wolfe, *Daughters of Canaan*, p. 136.

⁸¹*Invisible Visible*, p. 306.

most programs were in place by the mid-1890s. During the World War I era, schools altered their admission restrictions regarding age and marital status of the students; the schools changed their residency requirements, and they modified their curricula to shorten the time needed to deliver graduates into service.⁸² Some of the school programs were affiliated with local hospitals. Charity Hospital in Savannah is said to have grown out of a training program for black nurses founded in 1896.⁸³ Graduates from the college programs went on to work in segregated wards in public hospitals, in private hospitals, in tuberculosis sanatoria, and, after World War I, as public health nurses in the schools.

During World War I, the nation experienced a dire shortage in nurses for both civilian and military uses. Most histories of nursing, in fact, acknowledge the importance of World War I as the single most important force in changing the nursing profession in the twentieth century.⁸⁴ Nurses were recruited for army and navy service and also for public health services, through the government, through the Red Cross, through local charities and through educational institutions. One of the more important functions the new nurses carried out fulfilled both public health and military needs; they tested for venereal disease among soldiers having casual sex while on leave or in training at local army bases.⁸⁵ Changes in the nursing profession, which took place in Georgia as well as the rest of the United States as a result of those World War I experiences, will be examined in Chapter 4.3.

God may have ordained that women become wives and mothers above all else, and society may have decided women could not climb the ladders of professional success, at least not very far in Georgia, but it was clear to anyone who wished to look that many women worked, and that they worked hard. In the last half of the nineteenth century, they also were increasingly employed to work and paid – not much, but something – for their labor. In 1900, the city of Atlanta had 9,000 working women; two-thirds of them were in domestic employment; another significant percentage was white and worked in the mills. For it was white women who filled the ranks of the New South's emerging textile mills after the Civil War; and black women who filled the ranks of the commercial and private laundries that cleaned the clothes of the emerging urban South. Neither of these work situations was anything near ideal. The mill work was “regular,” when positions could be gotten, but it did not have the same stability around it that

⁸²Virginia Shadron et al., “The Historical Perspective: A Bibliographic Essay,” Patricia Stringer and Irene Thompson, eds., *Stepping Off the Pedestal: Academic Women of the South* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1982), pp. 164-165

⁸³Grant, *The Way It Was*, p. 255.

⁸⁴Shadron et al., “Perspective,” Stringer and Thompson, eds., *Stepping Off*, pp. 164-165.

⁸⁵Clifford Kuhn et al., *Living Atlanta: An Oral History of the City 1914-1945* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), p. 360

owning a farm did. One woman and her children, for example, moved from mills in Aragon, to Douglasville, to Porterdale, to Atlanta before she and they “settled down.”⁸⁶ White women, especially those who worked in the mills and lived in the mill villages, had to overcome both the prejudice against “lint heads” (those who worked in the mills instead of on the farms) and the prejudice against women tinkering near the looms, trying to do “a man’s work.”⁸⁷ Black women also worked in some mills, though they were kept in the most menial positions. All work in the mills was segregated by race as well as gender; at no station did black and white women ever work side by side doing the same labor or receiving the same remuneration.

Both white and black women ran boarding houses, a staple of female economic support from the establishment of Georgia as a colony.⁸⁸ Before the Civil War, for example, Atlanta had eight boarding houses and 136 widows; it can easily be speculated that some of the widows also took in boarders.⁸⁹ Women operated most of the state’s lunch rooms and small eateries that existed separate from the hotels. In the hotels, black women constituted the largest portion of the serving, cleaning, and wait-staff. In fact, women have been the mainstays of the hospitality industry throughout the history of the state. In 1900, the largest city in the state, Atlanta, boasted 35 hotels and 18 restaurants; it also had 201 boarding houses. Many of those were run by widows for whom this employment was their only practical option after their spouse’s death.⁹⁰ So it was that **Emma Bell**, a widow with two children established one of Atlanta’s most distinguished boarding institutions – ***Bell House***, that required multiple references for admission, which housed only bachelors and widowers (many more of the former than the latter), maintained one of the best kitchens in the city, and lasted until 1950, even though it relocated many times. Of all its addresses in Atlanta, only the ***Cox Carlton*** remains standing, a hotel with which it was associated for a very short time.⁹¹ Other boarding establishments, listed in the National Register are known to have associations with Georgia women are these: ***Idlewilde Boarding House*** at Indian Springs (Butts County); the African-American ***Jackson Boarding House*** in the Covington Historic District (Newton); ***Traveler’s Rest*** (Stephens County); the ***Susie Agnes Hotel*** (Morgan County); the ***Julia Delegal Palmer Woodard House*** (Darien County); and the ***Oglethorpe Inn*** (also Darien County). Some

⁸⁶*Cabbagetown Families*, p. 10.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*

⁸⁸This paragraph owes a great deal to Harvey K. Newman, *Tourism and the Growth of Atlanta* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1999), pp. 61-62.

⁸⁹Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, Vol. I., p. 489.

⁹⁰Newman, *Tourism*, pp. 61-62.

⁹¹Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, Vol. I, p. 943. The recently renovated Cox Carleton is listed in the National

hospitality institutions of considerable size and importance in the state's history were also run by women; one notable example are the hotels in Thomasville, Georgia, two of which were run by the same woman. **Mrs. M. A. Bowers** was the proprietress of both the *Mitchell Hotel* and *Piney Woods Hotel* during the 1880s and 1890s, the height of the Yankee resort hotel era in Thomasville. Each hotel had accommodations for three hundred people, each had a complete kitchen and wine cellar with menus full of imported gourmet items, and the meals were always accompanied by live entertainment provided by a resident band of professional musicians.⁹²

In addition to their presence in the hospitality industry, women constituted virtually all of the seamstresses in Georgia, most of the state's makers of (women's) hats, and some of Georgia's tailors. In addition, women numbered among its many grocers, most of them working out of their living quarters, whether owned or rented. Racial differences among these types of businesswomen were not as acute in these domestic related areas (sewing and cooking) as in others (domestic labor, mill work). Although there were undoubtedly some exceptions, most women rented their facilities and did not own the buildings from which they served their lunches, breakfasts, and snacks, or plied their needles. If they did own the building, it was likely their own home. This was especially true of the boarding houses and lunch rooms; it was also true of the seamstresses. As far as is presently known, the boarding house industry as a source of female employment and income has never been studied, neither its architecture nor its geography. Nor have the locations of household sewing industries been documented, probably because they were at one time so numerous and especially since so many of them were ephemeral. However, there is a house in Thomasville on the grounds of the Thomas County Historical Museum that demonstrates the lifestyle and accommodations of a woman who sewed for a living. The *Emily Joyner House* is a basic two-room hall and parlor with a kitchen in the rear. The kitchen was detached when the house was built, but was later connected to the house by a small hall. The house was built in 1877 for **Emily Joyner**, a widow with one daughter. In 1893 the Ewart family came as winter visitors from New York to Thomasville and bought the property that presently constitutes the grounds for the Thomas County History Museum – except for the Joyner House, as Mrs. Joyner would not sell. After two years of negotiating, she accepted an offer of \$1000, a princely sum with which she built a larger house in town. The Ewart family continued to use the Joyner house as quarters for their children's nanny.

Register.

⁹²Information from the Thomas County History Museum; neither hotel stands today.

Although the daily work experience of black and white boarding house keepers and seamstresses might be comparable, the public images that surrounded them as female workers did not, for it differed along racial lines. It was still considered a source of embarrassment for a white woman to have to work. For a black woman, however, it was considered not only a necessity, but was condoned by the society at large as the expected course of events in her life. White women were expected to have a “polite” clientele in order to maintain respectable social status. Black women rarely believed that there were white women who had to work (except perhaps “poor white trash,” thus sharing the class/caste based social prejudice against working white women). By the same token, white women found it hard to believe there were black women who did not have to work (thus sharing the social prejudice which said all blacks were “lower” class). They shared cultures, collective expectations, prejudices, and world views, but the habits of segregation held their affairs apart, and nowhere was this more evident than in public policies and in politics.

Codes and Laws, Suffrage Rights and Wrongs

While the female landscape changed drastically in terms of work, world views, education, and demographics, the laws affecting women's lives changed only conservatively. And they changed, unarguably, to protect what was left of the status quo – racially and sexually. The various acts of legislation under the rule of Reconstruction left little permanent impact on the lives of Georgia women. The empowerment of African-Americans, early given by the Reconstruction government, later retreated into governmental recision, recanting, and on some fronts, violent race-baiting. Black women gained nothing from either the empowerment or the reversals. The Married Women's Property Rights Act remained in place, the single legal legacy for women drawn from controversial times. An 1882 law forbade women from holding civil office, but in 1896 that law was amended to make a woman eligible for the position of State Librarian, without also making her subject to either jury duty or militia service.⁹³

In a few years this position was filled by a woman, who served for more than a half-century, namely **Ella May Thornton***, the first woman with professional training to become the state librarian. She served from 1909 until her retirement in 1954. In 1897, a law was finally passed that allowed women to keep their own wages.⁹⁴ Undoubtedly, this was a response to the increasing number of white women working in the cotton mills. Even during the height of the suffrage movement, the laws of Georgia still

⁹³Johnson, *Georgia as State and Colony*, p. 625.

⁹⁴Felton, *Romantic Story*, p. 24.

allowed a man to beat his wife, provided the switch he used was no bigger than his thumb. “Glance down at your thumb, dear reader,” wrote women’s rights advocate **Rebecca Latimer Felton***, “and then we will proceed a little further.” Felton, who considered the women’s property rights law the only good thing the Reconstruction Constitution had done, also characterized it as the work of “calico pensioners” who, “hopelessly in debt” after the war, retained their homes and lifestyles by protecting them behind women’s skirts.⁹⁵ Women were prohibited from practicing law until 1917, when **Stella Akin*** was the first woman admitted to the Georgia bar. Women could earn law degrees and argue before the bench, but they could not serve on juries, a law that did not change until 1954.⁹⁶

The woman suffrage movement made no inroads in Georgia before the Civil War because that the movement was too closely tied to the Abolitionists, who were totally unwelcome in the state. After the war, the movement had to wait for population densities to increase in Georgia cities, and for women to become organized around other public activities, before it could take hold. There could be no movement without widespread organization. That meant there were no woman’s suffrage activities in the state until the decade of the 1890s, by which time there were separate black and white networks of multitudinous organizations – church groups, mission societies, sororities, Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) groups, reading and social clubs, patriotic and genealogical societies, general woman’s clubs, alumnae associations, and female-owned and -run philanthropies in the towns and cities of the state. Those were the groups into which the suffrage movement could tie. The movement took no hold in the black community, however, to whose members the racism of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) was apparent. Although NAWSA publicly decried the actions taken by southern states to disfranchise Negro citizens at the end of Reconstruction, the sentiments of the organization more strongly favored the white women who were held in inferior status to black men who could exercise their right to vote. The national organization, too, leaned toward social theories that favored “the intelligent” in running the affairs of state, another implicit white supremacist view shared by northern and southern factions of the association. Despite the opposition of southern women to the “taint” of having former abolitionists active inside the movement, the abolitionists who survived into the early twentieth century movement did not behave as civil rights activists for African-Americans. Instead they were tolerant of the organizational habit of using white supremacist arguments

⁹⁵Thomas A. Scott, ed., *Cornerstones of Georgia History: Documents that Formed the State* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), p. 163.

⁹⁶Women’s right to serve on juries was not established nationwide until 1975 and striking women from the jury pools because of their sex was not prohibited until the 1990s; see Linda K. Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to be*

to support the right of women to vote and silent on related issues. Slavery was dead; long live abolitionism.

In 1903 NAWSA adopted a “states’ rights” policy with regard to the relationship of state organizations and the national organization as well as any state organizations to each other. Thus, local groups could decide who could and could not join their ranks.⁹⁷ In the south this policy virtually assured a lily-white organization. By this time, the suffrage movement had a small footing in Georgia, where it was still barely acceptable in the white community. Anti-Yankee sentiments still lingered in the state, and the “virtues” of southern womanhood held Georgia white women in perpetual dependency on the patriarchy. Yet, in 1890, in the face of obvious opposition, the city of Columbus had given Georgia its first woman suffrage organization.

There, **H. Augusta Howard*** founded the Georgia Woman Suffrage Association, with her mother and sisters as its first members. It is worth noting that her mother was a widow and also a taxpayer. Ms. Howard issued a call for members of either sex, “who admit the justice of women’s demand to be raised [above] the political level of minors, lunatics, felons, and traitors.”⁹⁸ The organization met with ridicule and antagonism and enjoyed very limited success. It is estimated by historian A. Elizabeth Taylor that by mid-decade the group in Georgia had only twenty members, who devoted their organization time to educating the public, distributing literature and writing articles to the state presses. Adopting the slogans of the national organization, the Georgia group preached the battle cry of the Revolutionary War among others: “Taxation without representation is tyranny!” “Women are taxed!” “Governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed,” and “Women are governed!”⁹⁹ In 1895 Howard and her family convinced the NAWSA to hold its national convention in Atlanta, which it did in April of that year. Susan B. Anthony spoke, encouraging the women of the state to get directly involved in politics. At the time of her speech, the *Atlanta Constitution* asserted that women had influence on politics through their masculine connections, they could enter into business, and “they had all the rights they needed.” While it was true that married women could hold property, the law to allow women to keep their own wages was just being considered. And, it could not be forgotten, that at this

Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship (New York: Hill & Wang, 1999), pp. 124-220.

⁹⁷Aileen S. Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. 138-139.

⁹⁸A. Elizabeth Taylor, “The Origin of the Woman Suffrage Movement in Georgia,” *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 28 (June 1944), pp. 63-74, especially p.65.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 67.

time the father was still the legal and sole guardian of a family's children, and that the "age of protection" (consent) for girls remained set at the tender age of ten.¹⁰⁰

H. Augusta Howard was succeeded as president of the suffrage organization by **Frances Carter Swift** of Atlanta in 1895, and then by **Mary Latimer McLendon***, sister to Rebecca Felton and founder of the Atlanta Equal Suffrage League, whose membership at its founding already doubled that of the Georgia Woman Suffrage Association. Under McLendon's leadership and that of **Gertrude C. Thomas*** of Atlanta, the suffrage movement in Georgia expanded its roles to include political activism along with education. For instance, an 1899 convention, which met in the hall of the State House of Representatives, resolved that women should not be taxed as long as they were disfranchised; they voted for the suffrage amendment to be added to the United States Constitution, and they further demanded that the University of Georgia be opened to women and that women be appointed to boards of education throughout the state. The group was vocal if not strong in numbers; by 1902, the organization numbered approximately 50 members.¹⁰¹ One Atlanta newspaper endorsed woman suffrage at the time of the state suffrage convention, but it was not a daily newspaper, nor one of any media significance. Also in 1902, the organization began to seek municipal suffrage in Atlanta and to support the idea that women should serve not only on boards of education, but also on the boards for parks, hospitals, and health services – all to no avail.¹⁰² Mayor Livingston Mims, husband to an active Atlanta club woman,¹⁰³ endorsed the idea of letting women in Atlanta vote on an upcoming bond issue, but the measure did not pass the City Council.

In 1906, Mary McLendon was elected president again, and this time she stayed in office for the duration; she only quit in 1921, after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution giving women the right to vote. Her leadership brought in other individuals and organizations. **Frances Smith Whiteside**, sister of Hoke Smith and principal of Ivy Street School in Atlanta, organized the Georgia Woman Suffrage League, which promoted suffrage among school teachers and business women and sponsored essay contests in the schools. By 1914, their membership numbered 500, mostly from Atlanta. In addition, the most aggressive women's political organization in

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p.77.

¹⁰¹A. Elizabeth Taylor, "The Revival and Development of the Woman Suffrage Movement in Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 42 (December 1958), pp. 339-354; especially pp. 339, 341.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 343.

¹⁰³**Sue Livingston Mims**, aside from being a suffrage advocate, is credited with introducing Christian Science to Georgia. The location of the Christian Science Church on Peachtree Street at 15th Street is also said to be attributable to her. See Darlene Roth, "The Women's Tour," American Historical Association, 1978.

the state at the time, The Equal Suffrage Party, also had Atlanta connections. Organized in 1914 by **Emily MacDougald***, **Mary Wadley Raoul*** (Mrs. William G.), and **Mary Raoul***, the Party avowed it attained a membership of 2,000 in two years.¹⁰⁴ The most forceful national organization, the National Woman's Party, also had an affiliate in Georgia, with **Beatrice Castelton**, as the state chairman. The Woman's Party never gained much popularity in Georgia, but it added punch to the cause. Other organizations sprang up to support woman suffrage in other arenas, as the movement gained widespread, mainstream support in the 1910s. The Fulton/DeKalb Branch of the Atlanta Equal Suffrage Association was run by **Eleonore Raoul***, later to become the first head of the Central Committee of Women Citizens, predecessor of the League of Women Voters. The Georgia Young People's Suffrage Association was formed in 1915, along with the Business Peoples Suffrage Association, both designed to extend membership and participation opportunities in the movement, on the one hand to girls and on the other, to non-middle class women. Though the suffrage organizations never merged, they cooperated to stage demonstrations, parades, suffrage debates in the schools, and public speeches for the cause (e.g., Anna Howard Shaw, Carrie Chapman Catt, Jane Addams, and also Georgia's own, indomitable Becky Felton).¹⁰⁵

No Georgia newspaper of any consequence ever crusaded for woman suffrage, though the *Atlanta Constitution* did create a Woman Suffrage Department in 1913 and kept the column open to debate. On the other hand, most newspapers openly criticized and ridiculed the efforts of the suffragists. In Macon, the Georgia Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, published its own circulars, wrote letters to the editor of the various city newspapers, and spoke publicly against the measures (in itself an act of profound liberation). **Dolly Blount Lamar** and educator **Mildred Rutherford*** were among the most outspoken. They argued that suffrage would threaten the stability of the entire social order of the South. The suffrage movement failed to get endorsements from the two mainstream women's groups – either the Georgia Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) or the Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs. **Mrs. Z. I. Fitzpatrick**, the state president of the Federation, opposed the equal suffrage discussion in statewide meetings:

¹⁰⁴Taylor, "Revival," pp. 346-347.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 348, 350, 353.

¹⁰⁵A. Elizabeth Taylor, "The Last Phase of the Woman Suffrage Movement in Georgia," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 43 (March 1959), pp. 11-27; especially p. 11.

"I am against woman suffrage. Women's clubs in Georgia have had no difficulty in getting their measures passed by the legislature. I am opposed to bringing the question with its attendant train of politics into the Federation. Politics means division."¹⁰⁶

The Federation finally adopted woman suffrage in 1919, in the eleventh hour of the campaign, and Mrs. Fitzpatrick herself later became a statewide organizer for the League of Women Voters. In the cultural stretch to get the vote, the suffrage movement in Georgia was openly racist. "Everyone knows," wrote Becky Felton to the legislators in an appeal to their baser inclinations, "that the enfranchisement of the women of the South will enormously increase white supremacy," and then she went on to enumerate the available voters of either race. At the time (1915), the discrepancy favored whites by more than one hundred thousand women.¹⁰⁷ The movement could just as well have argued the case on its merits, since the Georgia legislature passed a disfranchisement amendment to the state constitution in 1908 that severely restricted the numbers of eligible black voters, and thereby decreasing the impact of black voters throughout the state until the civil rights era many decades later. Although several thousand black voters remained on the registers in Atlanta; and many in towns and counties with lenient registrars, the black vote in the rural areas of Georgia virtually disappeared.¹⁰⁸ It is not known what influence Rebecca Felton's letters in the Atlanta newspaper had at this time, but the suffragists gained some positive ground in Atlanta, where the city council granted municipal suffrage to women in 1919. In that year, through the efforts of the Central Committee of Women Citizens, female volunteers canvassed the city door to door and registered more than 4,000 women, who voted for the first time in September.¹⁰⁹ The Central Committee evolved into the Atlanta Woman Voters' League, and subsequently affiliated with the national League of Women Voters. The municipal ordinance did not cover federal or statewide elections, participation in which came about by the final ratification (by the State of Tennessee) of the Nineteenth Amendment on August 26, 1920. The Georgia legislature (the first state to reject the so-called Susan B. Anthony Amendment) did not ratify the Amendment in 1919 or change its mind about the matter until the Amendment's fiftieth anniversary in 1970, but in 1921 the state legislature did pass a redundant act granting women the right to vote and hold office in the state. State and local elections were protected therewith, if the federal legislation was not sufficient. There is no record suggesting that women went to the polls in droves. Many stayed away and chose not to vote, not simply out of protest

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 20.

¹⁰⁸Lorraine N. Spritzer and Jean B. Bergmark, *Grace Towns Hamilton and the Politics of Southern Change* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), p. 22.

¹⁰⁹Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, Vol. II, p. 757.

against “true femininity,” but because many of the polling places were perceived as masculine environments that were hostile to women. Even so, many women who did brave the twin dangers of the poll environment and the challenge to femininity were refused the opportunity to vote. Both blacks and whites were turned away from the polls in the elections of 1920.¹¹⁰ It seems to have taken the 1921 state law, safely passed after the national election, to convince local Georgia authorities that they had to abide by the federal legislation.

A Public Look at “The New Woman”

According to historian A. Elizabeth Taylor, custom and tradition lay at the heart of Georgia's resistance to woman suffrage. The movement never gained support in the agricultural sections of the state, and the suffragists themselves were openly hostile to rural women, referring to them as “ignorant” and “hopeless,” because they would not or did not support the suffragists' own progressive cause. By the same token, critics of the woman suffrage movement held the efforts of Georgia suffragists to deal with issues relative to the cotton economy as naive, and the efforts of Georgia club women in general to teach farm women the finer points of domestic work as “misplaced” benevolence.¹¹¹ Clearly there was a split between the operative female success mythologies in Georgia, just as there was political animosity between the main urban center, Atlanta, and the rest of the rural state. City women, from Columbus, Atlanta, Savannah, and Macon, did not aspire to become farm mothers, however much they might hold their own land-borne mothers and grandmothers in nostalgic esteem; and farm women, if they considered the city at all, might think of it as a den of male iniquity, unfit for the female sex. If the southern homebound matriarch was the runaway sentimental favorite among the “modern” views of women, its counterpart – the citified, politics-minded, vote-wanting, Yankee-influenced, cause-bearing, banner-waving “New Woman” was the exact opposite, and the hands-down winner for most popular whipping “girl” among Georgia newspapers.

First of all, her clothes were publicly discussed, that is, the length of her skirt was the subject of many an editorial. Women were becoming increasingly convinced that long skirts were not hygienic, acting as they did, as a form of street sweeper on public streets, and what their skirts picked up on the streets, their skirts carried into their homes. “I fail to see why woman who prizes the health and welfare of her home,” complained one female physician, should daily convey into it the possible means of

¹¹⁰Taylor, “Last Phase,” p. 28.

¹¹¹Darlene Roth, *Matronage: Patterns in Women's Organizations, Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1940*. (Brooklyn:

infecting the members of her family with tuberculosis, scarlet fever, diphtheria, etc.”¹¹² National campaigns for cleaner streets, for municipal housekeeping, led energetically by women across the country and in Georgia, went hand in hand with campaigns to raise the length of a woman's skirts. Hygienic dressing was one of the topics of public discussion at the Women's Health Conference, billed as the first in the country, and held during the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition, which took place in Atlanta's Piedmont Park. Other topics considered during the exposition were bicycling (highly controversial because it required women to wear either a split skirt or special, shorter cycling skirt), classroom sanitation, and health in the home.¹¹³ Nowadays it is hard to imagine what a stir bicycling caused, the pros and cons of which were hot topics in the Atlanta newspapers during the whole summer of 1895. Chief among the opponents to the new sport was the Reverend Dr. J. B. Hawthorne of the First Baptist Church, who summarily dismissed the “new woman talk” with impatience. “No man,” he raged, “who understands the physiology of woman, doubts that the most serious physical injuries will result from her use of the bicycle,” but these injuries pale, he continued, “in comparison with its moral effects upon the women of the world.”¹¹⁴ The indomitable Reverend Hawthorne lost the argument. Black and white women of all ages and socio-economic levels rode bicycles and wore short skirts to do so, with very little damage probably done to their immortal souls in the process. Furthermore, the length of women's skirts was raised after the turn of the century, not just in Georgia, but nationwide. The length was not raised by much, just a few inches off the floor, (except for formal wear) but that was enough to keep the skirts off the streets. This was the first step in another kind of emancipation, personal rather than political. Not only clothing, but all of the issues that confronted women in the last part of the nineteenth century received attention at the Cotton States and International Exposition of 1895, which stands as a watershed in women's affairs in the state, for the push it gave to their public face.

Getting Busy, Getting Organized¹¹⁵

When the doors of the *Woman's Building at the Cotton States and International Exposition* opened, they invited the world in to see the culmination of several decades of group activity by the

Carlson Publishing Co., 1994), p. 70.

¹¹²Quoted in Darlene Roth & Louise Shaw, *Atlanta Women From Myth to Modern Times*, exhibit catalog (Atlanta: Atlanta History Center, 1980), p. 31.

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵This section owes a great deal to Roth and Shaw, *Atlanta Women*, and Roth, *Matronage*.

women of Atlanta, of Georgia, and of the Southeast. The Board of Lady Managers (white only) of the Exposition mounted an impressive administrative effort, which had commissioned the design and construction of the Beaux Arts styled building on the banks of the lake at the fair, **Clara Meer**.¹¹⁶ The Board also filled the building with events, programs, lectures, entertainments, and conferences of women meeting either to convene an organization or create one. The Board of Lady Managers managed their building as well throughout the one hundred days of the fair, offering a “day nursery” for children, the only first-aid service to be had at the fair, and exhibits of everything from “lofty genius” to what they called “real old southern housewifery.” The ubiquitous Rebecca Felton served on the board, whose members profited from her experience just a few years earlier on the Board of lady Managers of Chicago’s Columbia Exposition of 1893. While African-American women did not participate in the Woman’s Building at the organizing level, they were equally as active in the Negro Building, a first among world’s fairs. In the Negro Building, women had displays from educational institutions, organizations, and individuals of achievement. The Cotton States Exposition was a boon to women’s organizational efforts and to the image of southern women at the time: it gave southern women, black and white, their first real chance to show the world what they could do, and to suggest that they had come a long way since the slave-ridden ante-“belle”-um days. The 1895 Exposition was the most visible event southern women had ever participated in, receiving as it did both national and international attention. However, if Georgia womanhood seemed to emerge full blown at the Exposition, it was an overnight success story that had actually taken at least twenty years to develop, and in some respects, longer than that. The efforts to create the Woman’s Building required women to act in concert, drawing upon resources from themselves, their friends, families, and other relationships, their communities, their alumnae institutions, their husbands’ businesses, and most importantly, from their own organizations.¹¹⁷

Women’s organizations had grown in northern cities in the middle years of the nineteenth century, expanding from church, abolition, charity, and suffrage interests to more specialized arenas, especially political ones. In the South, the path to organization followed a slightly different course. The roots of women’s clubs and other service organizations, so prominent in the 1890s and thereafter, lay in two different sources, activities undertaken during the Civil War to assist in soldier welfare, and

¹¹⁶It has only recently surfaced that Clara Meer in Piedmont Park was probably named for an actual female, **Clara Fritz**, the daughter of a German immigrant who owned land near the park and enthusiastically supported the presence of a fair in his back yard. See Darlene Roth and Jeff Kempf, *Piedmont Park: A Celebration of Atlanta’s Common Ground* (Athens: Hill Street Press, 2004).

¹¹⁷Ibid.

activities taken directly after the war to support community rebuilding efforts, especially among the churches. The reconstruction efforts found their chief support in two agencies, the soldier relief societies and the local parish, diocese, or denominational council. The former activities held the veterans at the center of their focus while the latter held the church community as the center of theirs, and both sets of female efforts had two characteristics in common, the short duration of the activity and a specific purpose to the activity. White and black women, if they organized for a purpose, still felt more comfortable organizing for others' benefit rather than their own. White women had come together during and after the Civil War in aid societies, which offered direct material assistance to soldiers and to their families, moral support for both soldiers and their families, and burial assistance when it was needed. The women's groups had done admirable service in the 1860s initiating and overseeing the reinterment of hundreds of soldiers fallen in the battles around the state, and creating cemeteries in many cities in Georgia especially dedicated to the Confederate dead. By and large these aid societies were the first truly organized female activities in the state, but the aid societies disbanded after their work was done. Their efforts functioned as a precedent, however, for many kinds of later female activities.¹¹⁸

Historian Jean Friedman describes women's efforts in the churches that were also organized for a specific purpose and then disbanded; not until several decades after the Civil War did the post-war religious societies become permanent fixtures in the churches.¹¹⁹ At first women worked to rebuild buildings and to improve the financial status of the war-torn churches; thus the women of the First Baptist Church of Gainesville contributed to their church building fund through sales of household items and clothing. From church improvement, they moved tentatively into woman-to-woman outreach in their community. After benefiting their church's building fund, a ladies' aid society at the First Baptist Church of Marietta, Georgia, turned to the local needy and poor women and children. Much later, this same group reorganized (in 1898) as the Ladies' Aid Society. Meanwhile, women from the Central Presbyterian Church of Atlanta held industrial classes to teach less fortunate women how to sew, an important move toward self-sufficiency that was much needed after the war.¹²⁰

The primary focus of women's church activities in the last half of the nineteenth century was missions. This work proceeded in the late 1860s and early 1870s despite frequent opposition from the

¹¹⁸Roth, *Matronage*.

¹¹⁹Jean Friedman, *The Enclosed Garden: Women and Community in the Evangelical South, 1830-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), p. 111.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 115-117.

church boards, especially among the Baptists. But the mission societies would not be stopped and most of them formally organized, now with church blessing, in the late 1870s and early 1880s.¹²¹ In turn, the foreign mission activity spawned home mission activities and a whole new spate of operations for Georgia's women. Many activities helped poor blacks in the state; some help went to new churches being formed in growing communities, homes for the aged, and much more. By the early 1900s the women's work in the churches looked further afield to find support for settlement house activities in some of the local textile mills. For example, in Atlanta, Methodist women supported the Community Service Center at Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills.

The one national organization with the single strongest impact on local Georgia women at this time has to have been the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the female arm of the prohibition movement. The WCTU made its first inroads in the region after the Civil War, though prohibition activities had been common in the South for decades. WCTU pledge groups sprang up everywhere in schools and churches in every state in the Southeast and could be found at Wesleyan and at Spelman College, at Agnes Scott and at Milledgeville. Georgia had a state-level administrative unit that did not organize chapters so much as it made sure that national programs and communications were available at the local levels. The state organization was racially segregated but black WCTU groups could belong directly to the national Union. The Georgia WCTU had at least one leader of national stature in the person of **Mary Harris Armor*** of Greensboro. A skilled orator and movement leader, Mary Armor advocated temperance to audiences at local, state, national, and world conventions.¹²² Stepping outside its usual bounds of activity in 1886, the Georgia WCTU, at the urging of Rebecca Felton, petitioned against the convict lease system in Georgia, an exploitive labor practice that brutalized imprisoned women and children, as well as incarcerated men. This was the first time women's political voices were heard in Georgia, and the die was cast. There was no retreating now from having a public persona.

Beginning in the 1870s, church women began to organize independent mission societies, first to foster support, women-to-women, in foreign countries, by sending foodstuffs, clothing, and Bibles to female recipients in the Far East and Africa. They supported the first female missionaries from the state, all of whom in the 1860s and 1870s were the wives of missionaries, or otherwise part of a male

¹²²Janette Barber, *Historic Georgia Mothers 1776-1976* (Atlanta: Stein Printing Co., 1976), pp. 16-17; see also Barbara B. Reitt, ed., *Georgia Women: A Celebration* (Atlanta: American Association of University Women, Atlanta Branch, 1976).

missionary's family (such as a sister or mother). After 1880, the women's groups began to sponsor their own female missionaries and then finally, their own independent, single, unattached women missionaries. **Laura Askew Haygood***, sister to the Methodist Bishop who founded Emory University, was the very first single-woman missionary to China from Georgia. She offered her services to the church in 1884, and was followed by many others. Mission work, in fact, was often considered a good alternative to teaching for an unmarried young woman, once the dangers of the adventure were accepted. When the women of the churches started forming home mission societies, localizing their efforts in their own communities, the way was paved for all kinds of beneficial female work. Charities followed – orphanages, widows' support groups, homes for unwed mothers, nurseries and private kindergartens, tuberculosis facilities and neighborhood clinics, poor houses, and emergency aid groups. The more the women of the churches organized, the more they, as women of the community, organized. In like manner, the churches fostered the work of the WCTU, and in turn, the WCTU fostered the development of the women who joined.

The WCTU represented a bridge between the other-directed charitable work and the organizations that offered women some personal benefits, since temperance was considered both a personal virtue and a public corrective. The Union's branches and chapters functioned both as a means for outreach and for "self-help." Under the guise of fighting the demon alcohol, women learned to form themselves into groups, take public stands, speak in public, and educate themselves about the ins and outs of state and local governments. Women even preached in the jails and prisons in the name of temperance, although they never referred to it as such. Both the individual and the community benefited, and organizations to serve one or the other or both sprang up across the state in the 1880s and 1890s.

Among the earliest of the member-oriented organizations to appear were study clubs and alumnae groups. After all, what were educated women to do except to band together with other educated women – African-Americans with other African-Americans, white elites with other white elites? They wanted to continue to enjoy the processes of education, so they took self-education to heart, read books, prepared reports, discussed current and historical events, and socialized a bit. Often they took up a collection to contribute to one or more of their favorite charities, which was usually something also of their instigation, such as the kindergarten movement that had active agents in both the black and white communities. Some of these early reading clubs, such as the Nineteenth Century History Class of Atlanta (white) and the Chautauqua Circle (black), also of Atlanta, are still in existence.¹²³

¹²³The material for this section comes primarily from Roth, *Matronage*.

The most comprehensive women's organization was the so-called "general" woman's club that combined civic, charitable, social, and educational activities. The Georgia Federation was founded in 1897 with more than a handful of members, including the Atlanta Woman's Club, founded at the 1895 Exposition, but still not the first woman's club in the state. Even if the Georgia Federation and its associated woman's clubs were not in the suffragists' pockets, their early efforts would have to be deemed progressive. They fought for legislation against child-labor, and they supported a network of traveling libraries in the state which became the founding institution for almost every local library in Georgia. They established a school at *Tallulah Falls* (National Register listed) and cooperated with the Department of Agriculture to promote Georgia crops and products. They connected themselves officially with state and county fair organizations, thereby reaching into the furthest corners of the state. The women of the Georgia Federation continued their involvement in local fairs, echoing both the grand fair of 1895 in Atlanta, and the extemporaneous fairs held prior to and during the Civil War. The Federation of Woman's Clubs was directly responsible for the woman's department of the Southeastern Fair, headquartered in Atlanta, until well into the twentieth century. A 1917 *City Builder* magazine from Atlanta, for example, cites their work for the Woman's Department at the fair that year. Their efforts retained a decidedly domestic flavor:

Women sent exhibits of beautiful handiwork in embroidery, knitting, crocheting, weaving, basketry, lace, painting, pottery, all kinds of good things in culinary, the most exquisite flowers . . . exhibits this year [are] not just by and about women, but feature portraits by Charles Frederic Naegele, samples of work being done for soldiers fighting in the World War.¹²⁴

In addition, the department sponsored a library exhibit, a model cottage, education, and fellowship among the women who participated.

For all their progressive activities, the woman's clubs of Georgia were creatures of their time. The founder-president of the Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs, **Rebecca Lowe**, went on to serve two terms as president of the national organization, the General Federation of Woman's Clubs, between 1898 and 1902. She was the first southern woman to hold the position of national president. It was during her presidency that the "color question" was raised and decided upon by the Federation government. Mrs. Lowe precipitated the question herself, unknowingly, when she admitted the New Era Club of Boston into the federation, unaware it was an African-American civic organization, founded by

¹²⁴*The [Atlanta]City Builder* (February 1917), p. 8.

Josephine St. Pierre Ruffin. The action taken by the national federation in response to this development hardened the segregation between "woman's clubs" and "colored woman's clubs," by empowering a special committee to determine membership eligibility of any applying organizations, and by requiring membership in a club's respective state federation, to which, of course no black organization could belong in Georgia.

That the Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs was racially segregated did not prevent black women from organizing on their own. A parallel system of black women's organizations evolved in Georgia, with its most extensive operations in Atlanta, where the densest black population resided (and also the largest cluster of wealthy blacks). The Atlanta Federation of Colored Women's Clubs (founded in 1910) affiliated with the National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, and comprised the same variety of components serving municipal interests, education, youth, and philanthropy, as its white counterpart. They too supported many of the causes supported by the white women: they organized kindergartens; they opposed the convict lease system; they took a stand against the low age of consent; they always worked for education for every one who was African-American regardless of sex or economic background. They worked for racial uplift, which was a positive stance for the blacks while the same pro-race stance by the whites was an expression of White Supremacy and had both different and negative connotations. Both groups of women tended to oppose intermarriage across racial lines; and both certainly supported temperance. Both groups fostered family and community health and hygiene, both groups tended to practice personal piety and attend church. Both preached high moral conduct, though for slightly different reasons and within a different context; white women were seen to be protecting an image while black women were seeking to establish an image. Suffrage was a race issue for black women, not a gender issue, and at this time, only the black women spoke against the incidents of lynching that had started to occur in the South.

The federation of black women's organizations contained almost as much variety as to type of organization as the white federation. There was one exception however: there were no African-American patriotic/genealogical societies, no "daughters" organizations. On the white side, there were the Daughters of the Founders and Patriots of America, the Daughters of the American Colonists, the Daughters of the Huguenots, the National Society of Colonial Dames of America, the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), which were stronger in the North than in the South, although the city of Atlanta did boast two chapters), and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). The Atlanta Chapter of the DAR is the second oldest in the nation, and the oldest among the southern states. The

DAR was very active during the 1895 Exposition and acted to assist in bringing the Liberty Bell to Atlanta during the fair, at a time when the bell still traveled around the country.

Of all these organizations, the UDC is most familiar in the former Confederate states. The UDC nationally was organized in 1894 in an effort to make Confederate-related philanthropic and memorial activities into a coordinated, interstate set of actions. The Georgia Division was organized at the 1895 Exposition. The organization as a whole was motivated by the increasing loss and deteriorating circumstances of veterans of the Civil War. Aging and ill veterans of the war, whose pensions depended on the inadequate coffers of the individual southern states, needed continual assistance. In addition, the memorial societies, of which there were many already in existence in Georgia and throughout the South, also needed greater coordination of their far flung efforts. The UDC augmented rather than supplanted the work of the older memorial societies, and ultimately far surpassed their early efforts. More than 60 *Confederate soldier monuments* have been identified in the state, which are directly attributable to individual UDC chapters throughout Georgia.¹²⁵ The idea for the carving on Stone Mountain originated in the Atlanta Chapter of the UDC under the leadership of **Mrs. C. Helen Plane**, who was the first President of the chapter. The first job of the organization had been to erect a hall at the 1895 Cotton States Exposition for the display of Confederate relics, and it also lent a hand during the celebration of Confederate Day at the Exposition on November 7, 1895. The origin of Confederate Memorial Day has roots in the Columbus, Georgia, chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The Stone Mountain Memorial was not only a dream of one of the founding daughters but an outgrowth of tremendous activity on behalf of Confederate memorials within the state.¹²⁶ The national UDC organization remained a sponsoring agency of the carving until the scandal-ridden project rejected additional assistance from the women in the early 1920s.

Taken together all of these organizing efforts – black, white, social, patriotic, philanthropic, educational, and political – represented a female version of city-building because the organizations also raised buildings. No other women's efforts before this time did that. Admittedly a home might be built “for” a wife, or daughter, or mistress; but in these instances the women were the originators, instigators, donors, and the overseers of their building efforts. Like the seamstresses, though, they often had to use what they could afford and what came their way, so many of their organizational structures were not

¹²⁵These and other sites have been documented in the National Register Multiple Property Nomination, “Historic Resources Commemorating the Civil War in Georgia, Sponsored by Women’s Organizations,” prepared as part of this study.

¹²⁶Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, Vol. II, p. 309-310; Roth, *Matronage*, p. 98.

originally organization buildings, but existing structures adapted into facilities that suited the charity, club, or association. During this period, roughly 1870 to World War II, women's work was considered different from that of men and female work spaces were physically separated from male work spaces. Women's work required its own space; life among whites was not only racially segregated, it was also segregated by gender. Gender segregation among African-Americans existed, but to a lesser extent. By and large all blacks were grouped together in the white public mind, so that areas designated "colored" were for both black men and black women. Gender separation continues to some degree today (restrooms are still separate), but the gender separation that existed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the most exaggerated in American history. Women's clothing departments in department stores are common enough, but at that time there were also special women's lobbies in department stores, as well as in banks and hotels. A special entrance allowed women to enter male commercial clubs, when they were given admittance at all. Most county courthouses did not have restrooms for women, as women were seen as having little need to come to the courthouse. They did not vote or serve on juries there; the courthouse remained one of the strong male-only provinces within the state. Meanwhile, the clubhouse became a woman's domain.

Several hundred women's clubs across the state affiliated with the two national federations; many of these had buildings that they identified as their headquarters, or preferably, their club "home." Undoubtedly the largest and most complete of these was the complex at the *Atlanta Woman's Club* building, located at 1150 Peachtree Road in Atlanta. The club bought the house in 1920 for \$47,000.00; it was originally the home of one of its members, **Mrs. C. A. Wimbish**. In 1921, the club added an institutional kitchen and an auditorium large enough to seat meetings of the Georgia Federation. The club also later added a swimming pool that provided neighborhood recreation; the pool survived the polio outbreaks in the 1950s but closed in the early 1960s, probably in response to both increased maintenance costs and the pressures of integration. The club still uses the main house as a headquarters, although the rear properties have been leased out to an assortment of enterprises over the decades, enabling them to maintain the club property intact. The organization and the facility have survived two destructive fires, but the continued survivability of the whole is always in question.

Many of these early clubhouses are still standing in Georgia; most of the original philanthropic organizations' buildings, the orphanages, nurseries, and clinics, are gone. While they are monuments to segregation of a certain kind, they are also testimonies to the efforts of women to define their own sphere and to build on it – metaphorically and actually. These buildings are intriguing treasures from a wholly

bygone era. They are relics, curiosities, and remnants of the “New Woman” in action, a woman who was defined by her age, marital status, and lineage (white) or by her age, marital status, and education (black).¹²⁷

While the clubhouses of the general federations are the most eloquent expression of feminine aspirations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, as measured by their own contemporary views of the feminine and not by the feminist views of today, other organizations also made major contributions to the Georgia community. Some Georgia women, in fact, gained national recognition through their organizations.

Take the Parent Teachers Association (PTA) as an example. Founded in 1897 by a Marietta woman **Alice McLellan Birney***, the PTA emerged from a Congress of Mothers, called together to support education and address local school needs. The organization was founded in Washington, DC, but Birney hailed from Georgia. Likewise, the colored PTA also had Georgia roots. In this case, **Selena Sloan Butler*** held the first “mothers” meetings in her Atlanta home, where she also ran a kindergarten. Her first PTA associated itself with the *Yonge Street (later H. R. Butler) School* in Atlanta. Both the home and the school have since been razed. In 1926, Butler’s organization went national with Mrs. Butler as its president. In 1970, the two congresses merged, and the national PTA elevated Selena Butler to founder status alongside Alice Birney.¹²⁸ A home associated with Birney still sits in Marietta and is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

Undoubtedly the most famous national organization with Georgia roots is the Girls Scouts of America. Founded by **Juliette Gordon Low*** (1860-1927) in Savannah, Georgia, in 1912, it was patterned after the English Girl Guide program. Low concentrated her efforts on building the organization throughout her life, and succeeded in creating something virtually millions of American girls have enjoyed and benefited from.¹²⁹ Her birth home, the *Juliette Gordon Low House*, is listed in the National Register and is a National Historic Monument. It currently functions as a house museum for the Girl Scouts. The home in which Low was living when she founded the organization serves as the headquarters for the Georgia Society, Colonial Dames of America, and so has been preserved by another women’s organization.

¹²⁷National Register Multiple Property nomination, “Woman’s Club Buildings in Georgia,” part of this study.

¹²⁸Roth & Shaw, *Atlanta Women: From Myth to Modern Time*, p. 44.

¹²⁹Coleman and Gurr, eds., *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 638-640; James and James, Boyer, eds., *Notable American Women*, Vol 2., pp. 432-434.

¹³⁰Coleman and Gurr, eds., *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp.643-644; see also, Reitt, *Georgia Women*.

Although it was not the foundation of a national organization, the Garden Club of America has honored the *Founders Memorial Garden* in Athens as a reminder that the first garden club in America was organized in that city in 1891. Called simply the Ladies' Garden Club, it was headed by **Mary Bryan Thomas Lumpkin***, known also as the "Iris Lady," who served as an officer in several iris societies and was known throughout the state for her iris garden.¹³⁰

While there are many stories that could be told of the significance of women's organizations in their local communities and in the state at large, since the entire state is richer – culturally, philanthropically, and actually – because of their activities, their greatest value perhaps lies in those times when, during a particular turn of events, the woman's organization made all the difference. Sometimes this happened with a symbolic act, sometimes as inspiration, sometimes with a small venture that opened a door to larger enterprise, sometimes when the women set precedents by being the first to respond to what was otherwise an ignored problem. The *Florence Crittenden Home* bravely addressed the needs of young unmarried, pregnant girls at a time when those girls bore the brunt of social stigma. **Kate Waller Barrett*** founded one in Atlanta in 1893 at a time when disgrace was the only option for a young woman in trouble. The Atlanta facility was the model for the work Barrett carried with her when she moved to Washington the year after the building was erected. The building is gone, but it is interesting to note that at the time, it could only be located in a completely undesirable area – next to the city trash dump and incinerator.¹³¹ The Young Woman's Christian Association (YWCA) offers another example; it was the first organization of any kind (male or female) to integrate racially and, beginning in the 1910s, also the first organization to attempt to address the needs (moral, economic, and social) of young women seeking jobs in the cities by establishing residences for them. Residences were known to have existed in Atlanta and in Savannah, but perhaps only one, an apartment house on Ponce de Leon Avenue in Atlanta (used by the YWCA in the 1920s), is still standing. The cooperative operation known as Churches Homes for Business Girls was established for a similar purpose at Spring Street and 11th in Atlanta, and serves today as a hotel. When the Uncle Remus Society saved the Joel Chandler Harris home in the early 1900s, it performed the first act of historic preservation in Atlanta, and perhaps in the state as well. When the Atlanta Woman's Club sponsored curbside produce stands in downtown Atlanta

¹³¹Barber, *Georgia Mothers*, pp. 18-19; see also Reitt, *Georgia Women*; and Roth, *Matronage*, p. 111.

in order to promote diversified farming in the neighboring counties, it laid the groundwork for what was to become the Atlanta Municipal Market (now the Auburn Avenue Market).¹³²

In one case, a local organization created an experimental administrative structure that became the prototype for other organizations. The Neighborhood Union, founded by a group of highly trained and motivated African-American women under the leadership of **Lugenia Burns Hope*** (Mrs. John), constituted the first neighborhood improvement association in the City of Atlanta. Mrs. Hope organized the group's activities on a city-wide, neighborhood-by-neighborhood, block-by-block basis. The Anti-Tuberculosis Association incorporated this structure into its activities in the 1910s, as did the Atlanta Urban League at a later date. Most significantly, the same organizational structure was adopted by the workers in the citizenship schools, one of which was founded by Mrs. Hope, that later developed into full-scale voter registration drives under the Atlanta Urban League. The Atlanta School of Social Work was another derivative of Mrs. Hope's social welfare efforts.¹³³

Georgia's Scribbling Women

As the foundations were laid for city-building by the women in their various clubs and philanthropic organizations, so were the foundations of an altogether new lifestyle for individual women laid in the same time period. While one of the favorite activities of women's clubs was to entertain themselves with readings, and especially readings of works by women writers, the authors of the works that entertained the club women were very seldom members of those same clubs. They constituted another kind of public voice for Georgia women; those who published their words rather than used them as a foundation for charity.

The large body of war literature – journals, diaries, and reminiscences – has been largely dismissed as inconsequential pieces. Of little merit in the grand sweep of literature, the hundreds of southern female voices that rose up to tell the world their story have mostly been lost to history. There were many of these, some of them memorable, who came to light by bringing their private memories of the Civil War into the public memory as war widows testified to their own endurance. Dolly Lunt Burge* has already been mentioned, but there were many others including **Eliza Frances Andrews*** and **Josephine Clay Habersham.**¹³⁴ **Mary Edwards Bryan*** (1842-1913), educated in Thomasville and

¹³²Roth, *Atlanta Women*, p.43. Joel Chandler Harris' home, the *Wren's Nest*, is on the National Register.

¹³³Ibid., p. 43-44; Jacqueline Anne Rouse, *Lugenia Burns Hope: Black Southern Reformer*, (Athens: UGA Press, 1992).

¹³⁴See Reitt, *Georgia Women*, p. 60.

Newnan, edited magazines and newspapers during the Civil War, and then began a magazine career that lasted into the 1890s.¹³⁵ She became the associate editor of *The Sunny South* in 1874, a newspaper which lived for a while as a supplement to the *Atlanta Constitution*, and was then incorporated into the *Uncle Remus Magazine* before it suspended publication in 1913.¹³⁶ Former slaves testified to their own survival but kept few written records; their stories were passed down in the oral tradition.

Early southern novelists created good reads for the insatiable (northern) market for war stories. And as a consequence of that presence in the reading public, another genre emerged. It is possible to draw a straight line between **Augusta Evans Wilson***'s 1866, *St. Elmo*, and **Margaret Mitchell***'s, *Gone with the Wind*, as the two brackets around a genre that continues even today. The plantation novel, the Civil War romance, whatever it is called, was born of the deprivations of war and continued generations later in the name of entitlement, or "glory for deprivation." In between Wilson and Mitchell were Georgia writers like **Emma L Moffit Tyng**, born in 1844 and raised in Columbus, Georgia, whose first novel, *Cragmont*, appeared in 1867. **Maria Jourdan Westmoreland** of LaGrange, born in 1842, wrote plays that were produced during the Civil War and had novels published in New York and London in 1873. And socially prominent **Isabella Kendrick Abbott**, born in Atlanta and married to an Atlanta attorney, published a novel in 1875 entitled, *Leah Mordecai*.¹³⁷ **Myrta Lockett Avary***, wrote a number of books about the South during and after the Civil War, and edited a number of journals before her death in 1946. Those who survived told their stories; those who came after retold them, and retold them, forcing the range of actual human experience into ever more stereotypical narrows, the confines of which seemed to be filled with happy slaves (from white authors), heroic slaves (from black), heroic mistresses (from white authors), or insipid mistresses (from black). Greater truths undoubtedly lay somewhere in the vast unexplored land in between, but those fields were not as popular. The point is that individual women from Georgia and the South and were certainly no exception, and began to earn a living through writing. If they did not wholly support themselves from their writings, they certainly profited from them. It is important to note that many of the "scribbling" women had connections with New York City and other locations in the North, all of which furthered their writing aspirations. Their books were published by New York publishing houses, and a small handful worked for Northern publications (journals and magazines) after the Civil War.

¹³⁵Atlanta Public Library, "Georgia, 1800-1900: a series of selections from the Georgiana Library," (Atlanta: Atlanta Public Library, 1954), passim.

¹³⁶Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, Vol. I, p. 905.

¹³⁷*Ibid.*, passim.

Most of them, black and white, turned back to where they all began – to the land, to their rural roots, whether real or imagined – and wrote about the favored place, the farms, the plantations, the rural settings and the rural traditions that so deeply characterized southern life. In this way, the female authors of Georgia identified themselves with the place itself, a trend in Georgia's female literature that has continued long into the twentieth century. The most successful of these scribbling women came later, but the antecedents lie in the period after the Civil War. **Corra Harris*** is a good example who bridges the two eras. The *Corra White Harris House, Study and Chapel* in Bartow County are all listed in the National Register.

These are divergent traditions – those of the female collective seen through the women's clubs, and those of the female literati, as seen through the writings of individual authors and journalists. The two worlds converged briefly at first, but the writers were by and large not joiners, and the joiners by and large did not write for public consumption. What is left, then, are two different traditions, two different historical media – the published works of Georgia authors and the buildings that the club women erected. They tell slightly different stories; one tends toward the explication of rural life, the other is clearly urban. Together they suggest strongly that in the decades after the Civil War, the life of Georgia women was becoming both, more complex and more challenging, full of greater choices than ever before and offering a much wider scope of personal experience.

Whatever the scope of a Georgia woman's personal experience during the years between 1870 and 1920, it was circumscribed by two physical manifestations of social type-casting in which women's roles, both black and white, were constricted and defined by their sex as were their physical spaces – by both race and sex.

An intricately devised system of racial etiquette guided men and women across race lines, which contained within its prescriptions some contradictory instructions and some now-humorous seeming customs. These became particularly problematic in the decades after World War I, when race relations worsened. At the same time Georgians made greater efforts to improve race relations, putting additional and new stress on social custom, especially by challenging restrictions on public meetings. The story of racial segregation is much better known than that of sexual segregation, and will not be dealt with here as it really lies outside the scope of this study. Also, the topic of segregation by sex deserves far more extensive treatment than it is possible to offer in this study, where only its basic outline and some examples are offered. Suffice it to say that sexual segregation rested on the presumption that men's spheres (basically everything in the public domain) and women's sphere's (basically everything in the

private or domestic domain), were not only different, but were located in different places. As women made inroads in the public sphere, through their organizations and individual activities, they created a kind of crisis in the perception of sexual differences, requiring that separation of the sexes be more urgently and dramatically protected.

How this affected architecture and city planning varied with the functions of the buildings being planned, but here are some examples. The separate entrances that existed in so many Georgia churches have already been noted, and plentiful examples of these still can be found throughout the state. The railroads also separated the sexes. The presence of ladies' cars on the railroads was a feature common throughout the South¹³⁸ (and other parts of the nation), as a travel option for women. Larger stations provided a separate ladies' waiting room as well. Women were given separate entrances to hotels,¹³⁹ and separate facilities in banks¹⁴⁰ and shops. There were separate departments for women in the general merchandise stores, separate facilities in schools and camps and recreational sites,¹⁴¹ and separate access to certain other aspects of the marketplace. A good example of this is found in the services provided by dressmakers (women's functionaries) as opposed to tailors (men's dressmakers) and hatters (who specialized in either men's or women's styles, but not both). Only mantua makers (a profession that did not long survive the nineteenth century) made both male and female outer garments. Women's organizations took it upon themselves to promote the provision of comfort stations¹⁴² in public places, and of restrooms in public service buildings such as courthouses and city halls. Wherever women were not expected to be, and were also not invited to be, there were few, if any, facilities to meet their basic human needs. The feminine emergence into the public arena, which occurred with increasing presence and pressures after the Civil War and prior to World War I, required, after the success of the Woman Suffrage Movement and the active participation of women during wartime activities, that the 1920s treat the public presence of women differently. The era of enforced physical sexual segregation rose and fell

¹³⁸Blueprints of the railroad station in Atlanta show separate facilities for men and women on the white side, but a sexually integrated waiting room on the black side. See the "Metropolitan Frontiers" exhibit on display at the Atlanta History Center (permanent exhibit).

¹³⁹Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, Vol. I, p. 789, Newspaper notice quoted reads, "the Constitution office is located on Alabama Street, next door to the Ladies' Entrance of the United States Hotel, first floor."

¹⁴⁰See Darlene Roth, "The Women's Tour," for the American Historical Association, 1978, manuscript in the author's hands. The present customer service area in the former C&S bank at Marietta and Forsyth Street in Atlanta is said to have been the woman's banking department. .

¹⁴¹See Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, Vol. I, p. 795. Spring Hill Cottage at Atlanta Mineral Spring had two "saloons" one for ladies and one for gentlemen, among its other recreational facilities.

¹⁴²See Roth and Kemp, *Piedmont Park*, illustrations, pp. 88, 89, 126, 150. One known survivor of this practice is the Visitor Center in Piedmont Park in Atlanta, which began life as the Woman's Comfort Station in 1926.

between the Civil War and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. And so did the era of the “woman’s building,” the “woman’s entrance,” and the notion, carried out by the women’s organizations particularly, that there could (and should) be a special location where “woman’s work” outside the home could take place.

Narrative History of Georgia Women

4.3 Modernization: Moving Toward Equal Rights (1920-1969)

Darlene Roth

The landmark Suffrage Amendment to the American constitution marked “neither a panacea for gender inequality nor a quick solution to the myriad problems that plagued the lives of southern women.”¹ Race relations were so poor in the 1920s that Georgia lost a significant percentage of its African- American population. Farming was so threatened by low cotton prices and by the devastation of the boll weevil, that the state’s proportion of agricultural workers shifted, and the population moved swiftly out of the countryside and into the state’s towns and cities. By 1970, while Georgia was still an agricultural state in that agriculture was, and is, the state’s number one industry. The majority population had become an urbanized one. Between 1920 and 1970 a series of regional and national crises produced circumstances that confounded the possibilities for an easy feminist evolution in the state or the region. Georgia women performed a kind of equity dance – two steps forward, one step back, turn, and sidestep. Nonetheless, each time the women stepped into the breach of crisis – to help out their families and communities during the agricultural problems of the 1920s, the Great Depression of the 1930s or to assist the world war efforts in the 1940s – they expanded their roles as citizens, whether they truly wished to or not. After the Second World War, women also expanded their domestic roles, participating more fully in the post-war transformation of America into the suburban nation it is today.

Gradually, and often grudgingly, the state offered its women more autonomy – educational advancement, jobs, and new careers, access to the professions, political office, and full citizenship (that included jury service) – everything except clear title to equal rights.

The national Civil Rights Act of 1964 and ancillary legislation opened the election booth to African-Americans and spelled promise for all Americans, including female ones, regardless of race. In 1970, the State of Georgia ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, on the occasion of its fiftieth anniversary, as the law of the land, but followed this nod to womanhood by soundly defeating the Lucretia Mott Amendment (Equal Rights Amendment) that had been first introduced in 1923 into the United States Congress. As either a symbolic gesture or an effort to bring closure to what had been the state’s resistance to feminist issues, the ratification actions appeared differently to legislators than to female citizens – as the end of something for the former, and as the beginning of something for the latter. Throughout this fifty-year period, even if no longer on the antebellum pedestal, Georgia women gained political improvement and economic momentum by maintaining their “special” feminine status in their own eyes and in the eyes of those around them.

Responses to Woman Suffrage

¹Margaret Ripley Wolfe, *Daughters of Canaan: A Saga of Southern Women* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky, 1995), p. 144; see Glenda Elizabeth Gilmore, *Gender and Jim Crow: Women and the Politics of White Supremacy in North Carolina, 1896-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966) for more on the complicated race relations among women in the pre- and post-suffrage South.

Women's participation in federal and statewide elections came about with the ratification (deciding vote by the State of Tennessee) of the Nineteenth Amendment on August 26, 1920. The Georgia legislature did not ratify the Amendment in 1919, but in 1921 the state legislature passed a redundant act granting women the right to vote and hold office in the state. It would be a gross overstatement to say that Georgia women ran to the polls in droves to vote, once they had their ballots in hand; their response to female suffrage was more complex than that. Some women stayed away in a feminine protestation that women still did not need the vote, even if they had it; some of them stayed away out of ignorance of the issues and fear of the strangeness of the event itself. Some did not vote because they could not see how "male" politics had anything much to do with them. Others did indeed rush to the polls and voted with great joy at the sense of liberation it created. Some like the black women who showed up at the polls to vote, made political statements about more than gender by their very appearance in election establishments.

The Results of Suffrage

Aside from the act of voting itself, there were three other long-term effects of the suffrage movement in Georgia:

- 1) the introduction of women into elected office;
- 2) the rise of special interest politics and of organizations for voter education, such as the League of Women Voters especially, and the voting rights organizations among African-Americans; and
- 3) the gradual institutionalization, politicization and marginalization of the old line women's clubs and general interest women's groups.

The first effect had a short-lived dramatic few moments in the 1920s before it subsided and lay dormant until the 1960s. Since that time, however, having women in elected office today is a commonplace in Georgia, and women are active in all areas of politics from getting out the vote to lobbying. The second effect continues to this day, although other organizations have become even more pro-active in voter education than the League and few are segregated by gender. And the third has had both positive and negative aspects to its expression.

Probably the most "feminist" and therefore the most notable political outcome of woman suffrage was the election of a sprinkling of white women to political office and the appointment of others to political positions in Georgia. In the former Confederate states, thirty-two women were elected to serve

as lawmakers of their respective states (none in Louisiana) immediately following the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. As a rule, all of these women served for a single term; none were re-elected; no political movement was launched.² In Georgia, there were not many who were elected, not even as many as the fingers on one hand, but it was enough to make a symbolic statement to the general public. **Bessie Kempton**, daughter of a prominent Atlanta family and a reporter for the *Atlanta Constitution*, was elected in the September primary of 1922 to serve as a Fulton County representative for one term in the state legislature.³ **Viola Ross Napier*** (widow of Hendley V.) was elected from Bibb County; she and Kempton were the only two women to serve the state legislature in the 1920s.⁴ However, county and municipal governments began to appoint women to public office and to perform civil functions, especially administrative ones in the clerks' offices. In 1921, a woman from Marietta, for example, became the tax receiver.⁵ Also in 1921, **Mrs. Charles C. Harrold** was named to the Macon City Council.⁶ In 1922, **Rebecca Latimer Felton*** was appointed to succeed United States Senator Tom Watson from Georgia, who had died in office. As a sop to the suffragists from an anti-suffrage governor, the temporary appointment offered Felton little but symbolic value, but she made the most of it. Despite the fact that a special election had already replaced her in office, she had herself sworn in and spent a day in her official position as the first woman ever to serve as a Senator. In a speech on the floor of the Senate, Felton thanked her colleagues for accepting "this remnant of the Old South," and predicted that future generations of women would serve the Senate with "integrity of purpose, exalted patriotism, and unstinted usefulness." She was not wrong about the qualities; it just took more decades to come about than she might have wished. Felton died in 1930, a remnant perhaps, but never a quiet one.⁷

²Wolfe, *Daughters of Canaan*, pp. 152-153.

³Franklin Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, 3 Vols. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1969 [1954]), Vol. II, p. 788. Also, the names of individual Georgia women are in bold throughout this study the first time they are mentioned - and if several pages have intervened after the first time they were mentioned. An asterisk indicates that the woman's name appears in Section 5.2, "Individual Women," the Georgia women's biographies included in this study. Sites with importance in Georgia women's history are in both bold and italic; the sites may or may not still exist, or be listed in the National Register of Historic Places either individually or as part of a Historic District. Bibliographical references are also repeated the first time a book is cited in each new chapter.

⁴Ida Young, *History of Macon, Georgia*, (Macon: Lyon Marshall & Brooks, 1950), p. 528.

⁵Sarah Gober Temple, *The First Hundred Years: A Short History of Cobb County* (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown Publishing Company, 1935), p.462.

⁶Young, *History of Macon*, p. 528.

⁷Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, *New Women of the New South: the Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp.190-192. Felton's home in Bartow County was listed in the National Register; it burned down in 2002.

The local suffrage organizations combined in Georgia, as they did nationally, to form the League of Women Voters, a group committed to non-partisan political education. The Atlanta League of Women Voters was the first local chapter in the nation to be formed after the suffrage amendment was passed.⁸ The League's first responsibilities lay in getting women registered and to the polls. Decades later, the League became a launch pad for prominent, activist women. Throughout this period, the League maintained an office in the *Henry Grady Hotel* (demolished) on Peachtree Street in downtown Atlanta, where many of the state legislators stayed when the legislature was in session. Some of its members assumed a highly visible role in the Georgia political scene, such as **Sara Mitchell Parsons**, elected to the school board in 1961, and who had served as president of the League immediately after it integrated in 1956.⁹ **Mamie K. Taylor**, who was active from the 1940s through the 1960s, made her presence felt politically by walking a fine line between expressions of educational instruction and statements of political opinion, and used the League for progressive education of the electorate.

The women's clubs walked a similar polemical line: on the one hand, the club women "got busy" with citizenship issues in their social societies, and at the same time, tried to stay out of politics. They held citizenship classes for their members and for pupils in the local schools, but most of all they kept themselves abreast of "current events" in chapter meetings. Margaret Ripley Wolfe describes the situation throughout the South in the 1920s, as one marked by an emergent feminist philosophy that "neither enthusiastically embraced nor successfully practiced mainstream male politics," which while disdaining traditional politics, embraced grass roots organizing, and achieved success in "recognizing and responding to the particular needs of southern women." Wolfe calls this southern feminism "at its best."¹⁰ For southern black women, this focus inevitably meant working to improve and uplift the Black race. For white women, the focus varied from strengthening their social positions, to stretching individual expression, to moving into issues that had particular relevance to white women (eugenics, lynching, integration and racial matters). The racial issues divided the women not only along racial lines, but along political lines among the whites. Some of the most courageous departures from southern custom and some of the most outrageous expressions of southern stereotypes occurred among white women who were divided on racial issues.

⁸Sarah Mitchell Parsons, *From Southern Wrongs to Civil Rights: the Memoir of a White Civil Rights Activist* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000), p. 21.

⁹Ibid., Foreword, p. xii.

¹⁰Wolfe, *Daughters of Canaan*, p. 158.

As a group, Georgia women did not gain much for themselves in this 50-year period, politically, that made it onto the books of law. Although Georgia women could speak with more authority now that they had the vote, little changed in the rest of their political realms: women could not yet serve on juries, they could not become police officers, most forms of professional education were still closed to them, and their secondary economic status in marriage was still rigidly held by law and cultural habit. Even such an activist as Sara Parsons, whose political career blossomed in the 1960s, felt economic structures in her marriage:

Any money at our house was always "his" money (referring to Ray, her husband). During the first twenty years of our marriage, I never had access to a checking account – mine, ours, or even his. Ray gave me a household "allowance," like a child. Every time I wanted . . . anything . . . I had to make a special request – humiliating . . .¹¹

Divorce may have increased in frequency, but it did not gain social acceptance. In 1923, the Equal Rights Amendment, called Lucretia Mott Amendment after its instigator, was introduced into Congress; the Amendment's introduction was barely noticed as an event in Georgia, except that the Georgia Legislature voted immediately against its ratification.

What motivated white women in the 1920s to educate for citizenship rippled through black society and bloomed in the 1940s, when black women began setting up citizenship schools in an effort to register and educate black voters. **Lugenia Burns Hope*** (Mrs. John) led the way in Atlanta, where her Neighborhood Union founded in 1909 and organized on a block-by-block basis, provided the quickest networking solution to community outreach for almost every form of welfare support – surveys to locate tuberculosis sufferers, canvasses in support of education bonds, and, ultimately, voter registration. These organizations and their networks became the foundation stones for the civil rights movement, which took wings beginning in the 1950s, which is discussed separately below.

Woman suffrage wreaked its most challenging and complex effects on women's organizations, especially the ones founded in the nineteenth century. First came the institutionalization of the old organizations, especially the general woman's clubs, by which the clubs asserted their presence more materially than ever; then their politicalization by which the clubs had to take sides in political argument or lose vitality by staying out of the arguments altogether; and then, finally, their marginalization as effective and vital community organizations. During the last phase, many of the organizations, which had led the way for civil welfare and early community philanthropies, lost their functions to professional

agencies. Many lost their potential memberships to other types of organizations: athletics, professional, and special interest groups of all kinds. Others, confronted by the new gender issues raised by the Women's Liberation Movement, retreated into traditional roles and simply disappeared.

The issue of feminine "emancipation" which lay at the heart of female suffrage offered women a two-edged sword to wield once the vote was in place: they could emulate the masculine pattern in their culture (at some disadvantage) or they could accentuate their (stereotypical) cultural differences (and suffer a different kind of disadvantage).¹² In Georgia, as elsewhere in the South, inertia led in the direction of female "distinctiveness." While women of influence tried to find their way into the mainstream, they worked even harder to expand the female sphere; i.e., to support women's "special" interests (home, family, beauty, children) and illuminate the special qualities women were supposed to possess (passivity/peacefulness and compassion/justice). Other special interest organizations focused on women's issues, which usually centered on some aspect of child bearing and rearing, from eugenics and birth control, to birth control and (at the very end of this period) abortion.

Nowhere was this more evident than in the women's club movement to establish club "homes," buildings which could house the administrative records of the organizations, accommodate meetings and lunches, and serve as a community focal point for activities and education. Women's organizations in the nineteenth century had supported the establishment and construction of buildings for philanthropic uses, orphanages, homes for unwed mothers and folks with incurable diseases, clinics, schools, hospitals, and libraries, all of them facilities for people in need of services. Now, the focus was on their own organizational homes. Buildings such as chapter houses and headquarters facilities began appearing about 1910 and increased in the frequency of their appearance in the 1920s.¹³ The movement spread across the country, and in Georgia the 1920s saw the creation of many clubhouses in small towns and cities as well as in Atlanta. The *Rockmart Woman's Club* building (1922) is an example, which had a Craftsman styled "bungalow" built for its purposes, with a meeting room, kitchen, and restrooms. The club, chartered in 1906, was active in community beautification and education, and founded the local library in 1941.¹⁴

¹¹Parsons, *Southern Wrongs*, p. 35.

¹²Rhoda Unger and Florence Denmark, *Woman: Dependent or Independent Variable?* (New York: Psychological Dimensions, Inc., 1975), pp. 22-24.

¹³Darlene Roth, *Matronage: Patterns of Women's Organizations in Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1940* (New York: Carlson Publishing Co., 1994), p. 109. Roth's work was the first scholarly identification of the contributions of women's clubs to the urban built-environment.

¹⁴National Register of Historic Places Nomination form, "Rockmart Woman's Club," filed May 11, 1995.

Rockmart Woman's Club was federated with both the Georgia and the General (national) Federation of Woman's Clubs. One of the largest club facilities in Georgia was the *Atlanta Woman's Club* (AWC) complex. In 1919 the AWC took over a home built for the Wimbish family on Peachtree Street in Atlanta, and opened it as a clubhouse in 1920. As stated earlier, in 1921, the club added a banquet hall and kitchen to the original house large enough to service state federation meetings; the auditorium was added in 1922. The club also ran a public swimming pool (1925) and maintained (for a while) a few rooms where out-of-town women who were visiting Atlanta could "loungue" during their visit.¹⁵ Also constructed in 1922 was the *Tennille Woman's Club* home, this one built as a log cabin. The cabin has been home to school improvement projects, city clean ups, plays, family reunions, dances, and public hearings; it served as the first home of the local library as well.¹⁶ The movement to build clubhouses began before World War I, but it peaked during the 1920s, could have been set back more in the 1930s than it was, but the woman's clubs offered their services to the United States government and, therefore, received some funding for community centers that funneled through their organizations. Some clubhouses were created after World War II, such as the *Demorest Women's Club* which converted a church into their meeting house in 1954. The maintenance of clubhouses has now become so costly and the membership of the organizations has shrunk so much; that many of the woman's clubs have abandoned their homes and some have ceased to operate altogether. The Atlanta Women's Club rented out its theatrical facilities to professional acting groups and then sold its auditorium to a nightclub, retaining title to the original house. The swimming pool closed some time in the late 1950s or early 1960s.

The general woman's clubs were joined by other women's organizations in the clubhouse movement. Patriotic organizations were particularly active in creating homes for themselves, for example, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). The *Agnes Lee Chapter House of the UDC* in Decatur exemplifies the former, and *Habersham Hall* in Atlanta exemplifies the latter. Both were designed specifically for their organizations; both buildings are sited in residential neighborhoods in their respective cities.¹⁷ The Decatur organization

¹⁵National Register of Historic Places Nomination form, "Atlanta Woman's Club," filed November 16, 1978.

¹⁶National Register of Historic Places Nomination form, "Tennille Woman's Clubhouse," filed May 29, 1998.

¹⁷ National Register of Historic Places Nomination forms for Agnes Lee Chapter House of the UDC (DeKalb County), and Habersham Hall (Fulton County), filed June 11, 1985, and June 19, 1973, respectively.

apparently still meets in its building and lets it out for other events, but the Joseph Habersham Chapter of the DAR put its hall up for sale in the late 1990s.¹⁸

Until suffrage, women's organizations (except suffrage support groups) remained largely free of political divisions, not because they were above the fray, so much as because they lay in the backwater of civic activities. As long as the women could talk about issues without having to vote on them, they were freer to discuss anything in current events that came to their attention. After they gained the vote, they tended to become much more circumspect about their discussions, openly allied with special interests, or avoided political controversies altogether. Many groups took the safest course and avoided the controversial in their affairs with the result that between 1920 and 1970, the general interest women's clubs and all-purpose female organizations that had been so popular in Georgia moved from occupying central stages in their communities to the backwater of gender-separated activity and increasing marginality in public affairs. However, much they continued to persist in their old patterns and to follow their own traditions, they ceased to have the public voice they had developed in the 1890s and early 1900s. A story about the *Bartow Woman's Club* serves to illustrate the point:

The hub of the town's social activity was the Bartow Woman's Club. Its members were constantly involved in raising money for some worthwhile cause . . . usually for something the school needed. The monthly meetings were a combination of business and entertainment. But best of all, each meeting served as a showcase for a member's hostess skills. The minutes of their meetings are a history (of sorts) of the town, from the 1920s into the 1950s when the Club's last meeting was held.¹⁹

It took many decades for this marginalization to be accomplished, and there were other contributing factors (such as the professionalization of social welfare work), but the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment was the point of demarcation between the way it was for women before 1920 and the way it was afterwards; between their choices for public participation pre-suffrage, and those that were available post-suffrage. Feminism and the federated woman's clubs, never very close companions in Georgia, walked separate paths after 1920. Feminism, such as it existed in the South, bubbled up occasionally in individual writers, in organizations concerned with women's issues, and in patriotic

¹⁸National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Nomination form, "Woman's Club Buildings in Georgia." The *Rockmart Woman's Club*, *Atlanta Woman's Club* and *Tennille Woman's Club* buildings are individually listed in the National Register. This project identified nearly one hundred buildings in Georgia that could be identified as club-related places, although their current status as structures is largely unknown.

¹⁹Charles Josey, "How Speir Turned Out: an Entertainment Based on the Lives and Times of the People of Bartow, Georgia," script for a community play held April 15, 1999 at the Bartow Community Center, Story Teller #4, p. 13.

gestures during World War II. Even though the Georgia and southern versions of the woman suffrage movement were never as feminist in their intentions as were their counterparts in the North, there were some who thought that the pinnacle of feminine citizenship was now reached because women had the vote. In reality, southern female suffrage had focused on a twist of racial "equity," whereby white women could gain what black men had – the vote – and the emphasis never shifted to a more general push for egalitarianism. As a consequence, feminism never "died" here in Georgia in the 1920s in the same way it did in northern states, because it had never awakened to its potential.²⁰ In the midst of new citizen responsibilities women and others made post-suffrage efforts to advance Georgia women along more stereotypical paths. Exceptional women remained truly exceptional. And racism resumed its paramount role in public life.

For black women, the point of demarcation in 1920 cut more sharply; for, although they were women, they were denied the female vote in Georgia because they were black. One of the by-products of the woman suffrage movement was the disfranchisement of blacks in general. Black men lost their vote as white women were gaining theirs. As a consequence, the weight of black women's public interest shifted even more strongly toward race as their central focus for political action. They were not to have greater access to public resources through the feminist channels, only through the racial ones. Within that racial context women's affairs faded as a priority, even in their own discussions, except as a means to uplift the race. Salvation achieved through black womanhood – a mantra to justify education, training, employment, and improved home life for all African-Americans – echoed through black literature, black politics, black manifestos for help and support. As more blacks moved out of the south; the language of racial justice slurred through jazz from Chicago and poetry from Harlem, no longer bound to the cotton sack of the old South states. In this connection, Georgia has a singular offering from its black women: the career of **Gertrude Pridgett**, known as "**Ma**" **Rainey***. Rainey incorporated blues, jazz, and country musical expression in her performances before African-American audiences in segregated theaters in the South. She sang before both black and white audiences, and she recorded her songs for Paramount Records in the 1920s and 1930s, when her career peaked. One Georgia place in which Rainey performed was the *Morton Theater* in Athens, listed in the National Register, which hosted other greats such as classical pianist Alice Carter Simmons and blues singer Bessie Smith. She was one of the artists who

²⁰The death of feminism after suffrage has been a common theme of American women's history writers since the 1970s, but the differences between the North and the South have not been considered in very compassionate terms. See, for example, the seminal work by Judith Hole and Ellen Levine, *The Rebirth of Feminism* (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971), p. 14.

made Paramount Records a major record label. Unlike many artists of the era of the Harlem Renaissance, Rainey never dissociated herself from her southern roots. When she retired from singing, she returned to her home in Columbus, Georgia, where she died in 1939.²¹ Her unique style influenced legendary singers; e.g., Billie Holiday, Ethel Waters, and Bessie Smith, who enjoyed far greater celebrity and whose fame and fortune extended across the nation.²²

No significant shift in this range of African-American civic priorities between race and gender occurred before 1970. In fact, not until after the Women's Liberation Movement had subsided and blacks became a majority voice in Georgia urban politics would the questions of black women's issues regain public interest on their own merits.²³ At that time feminism could re-emerge as a concern of both racial groups.

Municipal Housekeeping

Early feminist, **Rebecca Latimer Felton*** (white) represented both the traditional and radically modern aspects of women's lives in Georgia and the South. She maintained personal connections with political and business leaders and exercised her own personal power when she did not have direct political power over any activities in her town or state. She was rare and exceptional, but her pattern of "power by association" held for many other women throughout the state. According to the leader of the Women's Division of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, speaking in 1926, "woman, having become a citizen, immediately concerned herself with the municipal housekeeping."²⁴ She continues by reporting that a number of chambers of commerce throughout the state have women's divisions, or departments of women's affairs, women's committees, but only Atlanta had created a separate chamber of commerce for women. The Atlanta Women's Chamber of Commerce operated as an independent (subordinate) unit of the regular chamber in much the same basis as the Junior Chamber of Commerce functioned. It focused its efforts entirely on civic affairs and during the 1920s maintained space for the office of the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs. Membership in the organization was broad, but limited to white women

²¹Sara Hines Martin, *More Than Petticoats: Remarkable Georgia Women* (Guilford, Conn.: Globe Pequot Press, 2003), pp. 122-132.

²²National Register of Historic Places, the "**Ma**" *Rainey House*; which today is operated as a house museum in Columbus, Georgia; see also Georgia African-American Historic Preservation Network Newsletter, *Reflections* (December 2000), p.1.

²³Documents from the Library of Congress, American Memory project including, but not limited to, Alexander Crummel, *The Black Woman of the South* (Washington, DC: n.d.), are available on line.

²⁴[*Atlanta*] *City Builder* (March 1926), p. 25; each month the *City Builder*, magazine of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, reported the affairs of the women's division of the chamber.

who worked in every line of business and/or who were prominent in local women's clubs. Some indication of the variety in membership can be obtained from a list of the woman's division of the Atlanta Chamber in 1932 (one year before the Women's Chamber was officially established). The members included, for example, **Mildred Seydel**, a writer for the *Atlanta Georgian*; **Nellie Nix Edwards**, president of the state forestry department; **Mrs. John L. Harper**, florist; **Margarite Arends**, director of the Dickinson Secretarial School; **Mrs. C. V. Hohenstein**, club woman and private secretary; **Mary Z. Stubbs**, owner and operator of the Sunbeam Cottage Day and Boarding School for Little Children; **Ruth K. Morh**, president of the A.G. Scott Company; **Marie V. Smith** from the medical department of the Veterans Administration; **Sue Suttles** of the standards department at Retail Credit Company; **Mrs. A. W. Richard**, a buyer for Davison-Paxon Company (now Macy's); and **Mrs. Wilber Colvin**, who worked full-time as executive director of the Women's Division of the Chamber of Commerce.²⁵

These women shared a vision that their "main business in life was home-making," but they saw that "home can no longer disregard the conditions that exist outside its four walls."²⁶ In other words, women's civic activity was justified as an effort to protect and improve home life. The programs of the women's chamber iterated women's "special" interests: public hygiene, public clean-ups and city beautification (which included everything from planting dogwood trees to petitioning for more street lighting and improved sidewalks), classes in home nursing and other subjects of household utility, public arts activities and other cultural events, special education activities, focuses on educational issues (e.g., the deficiency of day nurseries), and the creation of special municipal observances. Chief among the accomplishments of the women's chamber was the creation in 1936 of the Atlanta Dogwood Festival, the oldest, continuously running public festival in the city.²⁷ The Women's Chamber continued the same kind of work for many decades, founding Atlanta Beautiful (1922), instituting a dogwood tree planting program at Piedmont Park, and continuing its interests in ensuring a clean and quiet city. Their efforts can still be seen in the dogwoods that dot the area in and around Piedmont Park. Civic activities throughout the state mimicked the Atlanta pattern of involvements – city beautification, cleanliness, education, and celebration. An example is **Brown Park** in Canton, a town just north of Atlanta, where the Canton Woman's Club was largely responsible for the development of the park in the 1920s on land that

²⁵Ibid. (April 1932), pp. 12-13.

²⁶Ibid. (March 1926), p. 25.

²⁷Women's Chamber of Commerce circular, in the papers of C E Woolman, Archives, Delta Air Lines; Women's Chamber of Commerce, *The Civic Leader*, XLIX (November 1957), p. 2, in the Piedmont Park archives.

had been donated in 1906. The park was established to commemorate Civil War and World War I veterans.²⁸

Yet even these areas were not given over to the women without question, as is evidenced by the continued subordination of the women's chamber to the regular chamber, and by sometimes subtle comments by the women concerning their status. In 1957, **Maymie Jones**, president of the women's chamber, reported to the Capital City Club that the women's chamber had only half the number of businesses supporting it that it needed, and proposed the creation of community councils to organize a "pipeline" from the citizens to city authorities as a medium of information for zoning and other planning issues.²⁹ She could have echoed her predecessor of 1926 about the effectiveness of women-led civic activities; not all women were eager to assume public roles. Women's activities were subjected to criticism, some of it from other women, and to close scrutiny from the men. Nonetheless, she and her cohorts sustained an optimism about what they were doing, vowing that "women have earned their 'place in the sun' of civic life and will go on to greater achievement and an increasing field of usefulness."³⁰ (She must have heard Rebecca Felton on the floor of the United States Senate.)

Lynching Becomes a (White) Woman's Issue

While Rebecca Felton was a vigorous proponent of women's rights, her views were restricted to the rights of white women only. Felton's views on African-Americans reflected the dominant consensus cultural views upholding white supremacy, and her views were openly racist. She even publicly supported lynching, undoubtedly the most volatile issue in southern politics from the end of the Civil War until World War II. Between 1889 and 1930, 3724 lynchings took place in the United States, most of them in the South, where by 1930, Georgia was leading in lynching statistics.³¹ Of twenty-one lynchings nationwide that year, six took place in Georgia, the greatest number of any southern state.³² By some measurements, Georgia had the worst record of lynchings of any southern state, having previously had the most lynchings in 1911 (eleven). Almost by itself, Georgia made lynching a southern

²⁸See "Surveying the Surveys," Chapter 5.9 of this study.

²⁹Maymie M. Jones, "The Women's Chamber of Commerce – Past and Future," from a talk at the Capital City Club, December 4, 1957, MS in possession of author. It is interesting that the city came along just a dozen years later to create the neighborhood planning unit system for planning and review at the citizenship level.

³⁰*City Builder* (March 1926), p. 25.

³¹Arthur Raper, *The Tragedy of Lynching* (New York: Dover, 1935 [1970]), p. 1. One of the lynchings occurred in Becky Felton's home county, Bartow.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 3.

phenomenon. Georgia mobs, many of them in the poorer counties, had conducted lynchings for decades, each individual lynching occasioned by a different offense, but each one always defended on a perversion of the politics of gender – to defend white womanhood. Investigations of lynching usually revealed other causes, other rationales, and other underlying tensions between classes, races, and individuals; but the predominant theme was still the same. And lynching became a national disgrace for the region.

Because of the public pressure of pro-lynching sentiments, white women and children often played a role in the outbreak of lynching. Middle-aged women, especially, were often later cited as having egged on the crowds; spewing fear and hatred; inciting the men to riot. Often the “best people” in small towns took action as part of the mobs. The lynchers went unpunished, in fact, they were often upheld as paragons of southern virtue. Regardless of the motivation for a particular lynching, there were always those who rationalized the action as a defense of southern womanhood. No white woman was safe, they would cry, unless Negroes were kept in their place, despite the fact that fewer than one sixth of those lynched had actually been accused of rape in the first place. The Ku Klux Klan receives much of the blame, but the Klan per se, was not responsible for all of the lynchings that occurred in Georgia and elsewhere in the Southeast. However, its members were clearly supportive of lynching (and other measures) as a means of social (racial) control.³³

Women were not excluded from the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), far from it. They were members of the Klan, appearing in white hooded uniforms at the rallies and parades in Georgia towns and cities, and at its annual assemblies atop Stone Mountain. They advocated white supremacy, racial purity, and the protection of white womanhood. They sewed the uniforms (often) that they and their husbands and other male relatives wore, and they encouraged Klan activity as a corrective for abusive or errant spouses. One of Georgia's chief spokespersons for the Klan was **Mary Elizabeth Tyler***, who was particularly effective in increasing the membership of the Klan as its publicist. In 1919, Tyler and Edward Young Clarke formed the Southern Publicity Association, the chief propaganda agency for the KKK. During the decade of the 1920s, the Klan was headquartered in Atlanta in the *Flatiron Building*, located in the National Register *Fairlie-Poplar Historic District* of downtown Atlanta, where the Southern Publicity Association also had their offices. Tyler is credited with being the “genius” behind the effective recruitment campaign of the 1920s when the Southern Publicity Association spent thousands of dollars advertising the Ku Klux Klan in newspapers and magazines throughout the country. Tyler and her

³³In the Jim Crow South, the correct places for African-American women were considered the back door, service porch, kitchen, laundry, fields, segregated housing, churches, schools, and businesses.

partner received a commission of \$2.50 for each \$10 membership they recruited, and KKK membership totaled more than three million people by 1923. In 1921, Tyler used some of her money to build a large Classical-Revival house on twenty acres in an Atlanta suburb.³⁴ She left Atlanta in 1923 because of bad health, and died in California the following year.

While the Klan was a national organization in the 1920s, with highly active chapters in most cities, it was especially virulent in the Northwest and the Southeast.³⁵ Georgia, as the headquarters of the organization, provided a particularly dangerous environment for race relations. The intimidation caused by the white supremacist organizations and lynchings induced fear in the hearts and minds of African-Americans in Georgia, as well as in other states of the union where racism was virulent. The leaders of the African-American population were afraid to speak out; their newspapers, if not silent, were restrained on the subject. Those who did speak were severely punished. The black head of the Republican Party in Alabama, for example, was taken from his home by masked men, who informed him he was “entirely too busy” in political affairs. He died the next day from the beating he had received.³⁶ African-Americans were in the greatest danger where they constituted the smallest numbers of the population; they were safest in black belt counties in Georgia and throughout the Southeast. Where the smallest police presence existed, chiefly in sparsely settled sections of the state, and specifically in the wiregrass regions of the Southeast section of the state, lynchings occurred with more frequency. Five of the six 1930 lynchings in Georgia occurred within seventy-five miles of each other in that part of Georgia, the same section that had also seen the majority of the 1911 lynchings.³⁷ The first 1930 lynching in the United States happened near Ocilla in Irwin County, where there was neither a tradition of slavery (and thus an inherited relationship between some black families and their former owners) nor had blacks historically constituted an indispensable part of the economic fabric of the community.³⁸

White women felt the stress of lynching; black women, the threat of it; conscience-ridden people of both races felt the shame of it. The *Thomasville Woman's Club* had its own kind of direct experience with lynching, since a 1930 lynching in that town occurred in *Magnolia Park*, on property that belonged to the club. The women were greatly disturbed by this event and discussed the advisability of closing the

³⁴The *Mary Elizabeth Tyler House* was nominated with national significance to the National Register of Historic Places in 2003. The nomination form contains more information about Tyler's life and career, as well as the story of the house's transition to social respectability as the Trinity Church in 1951. Today it is a private residence.

³⁵Wolfe, *Daughters of Canaan*, pp. 160-161.

³⁶Raper, *Tragedy*, pp. 172-175. What mobs did not accomplish in intimidation, the Atlanta-headquartered KKK often could and did.

³⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 21, 27-28, 139.

park entirely as a measure of prevention. They discussed the problem with the members' respective missionary societies and church groups. One of their members advised the others to give all possible information to the grand jury investigating the matter.³⁹ The local pro-lynching forces continued to put pressure on the anti-lynching few, but it was an opening.

It gradually occurred to the white women that lynching "on their behalf" was a fraud. The actions and the defenses of lynching not only betrayed southern white women; they did so doubly: first, by exaggerating their helplessness; and second, by undermining the true protectors of society, the police and the courts.⁴⁰ With very little fanfare, tiny groups of individuals, women throughout the South, through their church mission groups and through the YMCA and YWCA began to meet across the race divide to discuss the possibilities for cooperation between the races, not just abstractly, but actually. Meeting often in secret, they convened at Montreat, the Methodist Church retreat in North Carolina. Some met outside the South at conferences and agency offices (e.g., the New York YWCA), and some at black institutions and schools (e.g., the *Butler Street YMCA* in Atlanta and the schools of the *Atlanta University* complex), where it was acceptable for white persons to appear, when the reverse, blacks showing up at white institutions would have raised eyebrows if not tempers. The meetings started out awkwardly, but the attendees usually succeeded in affirming some mutual commitment to racial cooperation through an appeal to the Almighty. Throughout the first decade of the twentieth century small enclaves had managed to cause a crack in the dam of white supremacy.

In one such meeting, a handful of white and black women met in Tennessee in 1920. The black women, suspicious and guarded, thought the white women had called them in to complain about problems with domestic labor. The white women, intent on making a Christian impression if nothing more, nevertheless found themselves nonplused at the idea of meeting black women, who were total strangers, as equals. Nothing happened at first. No one knew what to say. It seemed rude or domineering if a member of either race spoke first. There was silence in the chapel, the white women on one side and the black women on the other side of the aisle, until **Belle Bennett**, (white), a long-time Methodist church leader started singing "Blessed Be the Tie That Binds." It was a song everyone knew and it broke the ice. The meeting accomplished far more than the women might have expected, though less than some wanted. They drew up a list of points, which would support racial harmony among the women, then returned to their respective homes to prepare to support their position paper through their church groups. Women of

³⁸Ibid., pp. 141-145, 165.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 237-245.

both races were appointed to working committees for the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC), headquartered in Atlanta, and ostensibly, the meeting of minds among the congregants in the chapel in Tennessee had led the way. There was a powerful symbolic document, but it fell short on one count. The white women were not fully prepared to publicly oppose lynching.

The Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching

One of the attendees, **Lugenia Burns Hope***, wife of the president of Atlanta University John Hope, and an energetic community leader in her own right, wrote Belle Bennett a letter about the reluctance of the black women to give their full support to the document unless there was a statement in it about lynching. She made her point with acute clarity: if lynching was conducted under the guise of protecting white women, then white women would have to expose the lie. Hope was never one to mince words, far more outspoken than her peers, she was often the first and the last voice on a subject she considered of utmost importance in the exposure of prejudice and deceit. "Undaunted activism" is how her commitment was described by her biographer.⁴¹ "It's your job," Hope said, "We're doing ours."

White women were, in fact, the only parties who could expose the cultural hook on which lynching was based. A kind of compromise was reached in the 1920s, which allowed some pioneering inter-racial work to continue, but it was a full decade before the question of lynching got the kind of attention it clearly deserved. Meanwhile, in the churches and in the YWCAs, very quietly, women met, sometimes across racial lines, and carried out acts of supportive work that helped people without threatening the status quo. In 1930, **Jesse Daniel Ames***, a Texan by birth, organized the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL), headquartered in Atlanta at the offices of the CIC and a direct outgrowth of Belle Bennett's earlier work in the CIC's women's department. Ironically, the Commission's work to eradicate lynching through the ASWPL became a cause célèbre among white women, and white women exclusively, who adopted Mrs. Hope's very argument and made it personal. The stand they took, in their churches, towns, and communities, was simple: "not in my name you don't!" In the fourteen years during which Ames ran the women's division of the CIC and the ASWPL, she acquired the signatures of 60,000 women in the South who pledged to oppose lynching. The women even acted as vigilantes in their own communities, sometimes exposing the names of those who lynched,

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 2, 3, 12, 20.

⁴¹See "Lugenia Burns Hope," in Martin, *More than Petticoats*, pp. 97-111; Jacqueline Rouse, *Lugenia Burns Hope: Black Southern Reformer* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989).

confronting lynchers they personally knew, in one case actually standing down a lynching in progress, and more often than not joining political opposition to the sheriffs who allowed a lynching to occur. Part of the success and impact of Ames' movement stemmed from the fact that she worked through women's organizations that had been institutionalized in southern churches, synagogues, and federations. Church women responded to the movement in greater numbers than the membership of the Federation of Woman's Clubs, which felt the bite of controversy. Jesse Ames managed to get support from every Protestant denomination, from Catholic women's groups, and Jewish groups, in an innovative amalgam of spiritual intention that crossed religious lines if not racial ones. The ASWPL, despite its inter-racial shortcomings, demonstrated powerful, organized, effective grass-roots action on the part of the female citizenry throughout the South, and in Georgia in particular, where Ames' office was located in the Standard Building in downtown Atlanta.⁴² Her movement perfectly suited feminism, southern style. By supporting the anti-lynching cause, southern women served the betterment of their communities through work that could be justified in female terms, that appeared to the public-at-large to be both inspired and righteous, but that did not appear to be self-serving. Furthermore, they served a cause that appealed equally to women in the cities and in the countryside.

Urban and Rural Differences

The women's efforts in the ASWPL to reach across geographic lines was notable, since the cultural "divide" between city and country in Georgia had continued to increase. The more modernized and mechanized the cities became, especially Atlanta, the further they seemed to draw away from the rural countryside. Women's domestic experiences differed acutely between the two regions – city and country. According to Margaret Ripley Wolfe, city dwellers had more mobility, more access to money, more freedom from household chores, more choices, more possibilities for work and self-expression. Their country counterparts on the other hand, especially before rural electrification, "carried water, chopped wood, cooked, canned, did the washing with a tub and a board, and ironed (with real 'irons' that had to be heated on wood stoves)."⁴³ The more problems encountered by the rural economy, the more it lost population to the city. Atlanta was a particular thorn in the side of rural flesh as it emerged during this time (1920-1970) as the second largest city in the southeastern region. Atlanta was second only to

⁴²At this time, it is not known whether Ames worked in the 1923 Standard Building designed by G. Lloyd Preacher or the Grant Building (that was once known as the Standard Building and designed by Thomas H. Morgan) in the *Fairlie-Poplar Historic District*.

⁴³Wolfe, *Daughters of Canaan*, p. 169.

New Orleans and ahead of Birmingham, Alabama, despite that city's recent boom in steel manufacture. Georgia's urban population comprised 25% of the total state population, and the City of Atlanta was large enough to rank thirty-eighth among the nation's fifty most populous metropolitan areas.⁴⁴ One interesting response to the flocks of Georgia residents moving to the city led local churches and welfare-conscious women to create living spaces for young, unmarried women who had no kin folk in Atlanta (or presumably, other cities where they might have migrated). Young women who were searching for jobs or attending business schools were the preferred clients, and, in many cases, references helped ***Churches Homes for Business Girls*** (white only) and the two branches of the YWCA in Atlanta (the one for white women and the ***Phyllis Wheatley YWCA*** for black women) were particularly active in this undertaking. Both YWCAs had residences for young women, not as large as the famous "hotel" in New York, but large enough to provide inexpensive, safe, and temporary quarters for a dozen or more young women. Lugenia Burns Hope was influential in getting the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA built in what was then considered the ghetto, right next door to ***Spelman College*** and the Atlanta University complex.⁴⁵ It is still there, and is currently used as a community center.

Meanwhile, thousands of Georgia farmers were abandoning their farms. In the early years of the 1920s, the state's farm population dropped by more than 375,000 people. Those who stayed on the farm turned away from cotton to other crops, such as livestock, tobacco, and peanuts. One who stayed was African-American Lewis Clark of Thomas County, who raised cotton, corn, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, and garden vegetables. Clark passed his farm to his daughter, who passed the farm on to her daughter ***Essie Allen Spruel*** in 1987. The farmlands continue to be worked, but are now leased out and Spruel lives in town.⁴⁶

Cotton production fell to 725,000 bales in 1922 from a high during World War I of two million bales. Small country merchants suffered from the outflow of population, and some of Georgia's smallest towns began to wither. The median per capita annual income in Georgia dropped and remained low. Compared to an income of \$852 in places like New York and Illinois, the average Georgian took home

⁴⁴Harvey K. Newman, *Tourism and the Growth of Atlanta* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1999), pp. 61, 89.

⁴⁵Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America* (New York: Perennial, 1984), p. 156; *Reflections*, (December 2000), p. 1; A recent obituary for architect Bill Clark in the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* cited locations for ***Churches Homes for Business Girls*** near the State Capitol, on Peachtree Street in Midtown and at West Peachtree and 11th Street (now the Residence Inn). The last of the homes ceased operations around 1990.

⁴⁶Georgia African-American Historic Preservation Network, *Reflections*, December 2000, p. 1.

⁴⁷Lawrence R. Hepburn, ed., *Contemporary Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia, Carl Vinson Institute of

little more than a fourth of that, \$244.00⁴⁷ The state had been in economic trouble for nearly a decade before the stock market crashed in 1929 and the nation plunged into the long darkness of the Great Depression.

Domestic Service and Other Work for Women

More blacks than whites left Georgia for the North, but both blacks and whites left Georgia farmlands for Georgia cities. The increase in the numbers of women living in Georgia cities meant that more women were seeking occupation and employment. White women found employment chiefly in white and pink collar occupations, both of which were growing occupational fields. Black women found employment chiefly in domestic service in both institutional and residential settings. There was also employment available in the textile mills for women of both races, although never at the same status or pay. In a setting such as the *Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills* in Atlanta, black women had separate working quarters, and a poorer environment within which to work, were assigned more menial jobs, and received less pay than did the white women, who were lower in the hierarchy than white males.⁴⁸ Other employers of women of both races included commercial laundries (such as the *Trio Laundry* and *Troy-Peerless Laundry* in Atlanta), small manufacturers (such as the *Block Candy Company* in Atlanta), service industries (restaurants and hotels), retail establishments, and, increasingly, business offices.⁴⁹ More than half of the black female population worked, and although the reported statistics vary, more than half of them worked in domestic service. The increase in the number of commercial establishments of all kinds increased the need for maintenance services in business buildings, which offered black women and men higher paying alternatives to domestic service in residential settings. The presence of commercial competition for female domestic assistance put pressure on household employers to hire servants who lived "out" and worked only five days a week. The live-in servant, who was always at the beck and call

Government, 1992, second edition), pp. 25-26.

⁴⁸See the National Register nomination for Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills, prepared by Ray and Associates, for descriptions of the rooms within which the white and black women worked.

⁴⁹The Trio Laundry Troy-Peerless Laundry and the Block Candy Company are all listed in the National Register, as is the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills. See Leslie Sharp, "Finding Her Place: Integrating Women's History into Historic Preservation in Georgia," in Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman, eds., *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2003), pp. 263-280. For information on the differences in conditions job assignments, treatment, and pay for white and black women, see Arwen Mohun, *Steam Laundries: Gender, Technology, and Work in the United States and Great Britain, 1880-1940* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins

of the mistress of the house, disappeared as a fixture in Georgia and southern homes. Black women who went north frequently found that they could only find domestic employment, and in the 1920s the African-American maid replaced the Irish maid in cities like New York and Chicago. This national trend worked its way toward a situation in which fewer women were available for domestic service, but those who were available were almost universally African-Americans.⁵⁰ Female employment in general in Georgia (as elsewhere in the South) lagged behind employment practices in the North and West, so the percentage of working women in Georgia during the 1920s and 1930s, though it grew, did not grow as fast as it did in other places in the nation. More than half of Atlanta's black female population worked, 90% of those in domestic service, while only 20% of Atlanta's white females worked. Still, by 1930, Atlanta, which offered the most opportunities for female employment in the state, had 9,000 working white women. White women in Georgia and the South, especially wealthy women, had more access to domestic service than women in other parts of the country until the end of World War II. However, the availability was declining overall, a trend that accelerated in the 1950s and 1960s.⁵¹ However, the so-called "maid routes" still exist in Atlanta where MARTA (the Atlanta public transportation system) busses still drive through the upper-income neighborhoods twice a day to transport household laborers to and from their houses to the homes of the wealthy.⁵²

The presence of more females in commercial working establishments, especially in the downtown areas, increased the attention civic leaders and businessmen placed on providing "necessaries" such as women's restrooms, and "amenities" such as outdoor lighting, in public places. Women's groups and organizations like the Atlanta Women's Chamber of Commerce had been advocating just such steps for at least a decade. Once in place, ladies' restrooms became another cause among women's groups, this time to fight for their cleanliness.⁵³

A unique example of (white) women's employment comes from the area around Dalton, where the technique of making chenille bedspreads was revived by a young girl named **Catherine Evans Whitener**. She began selling her bedspreads in 1900, and her spreads became so popular that she taught other women how to make them; thus a cottage industry was born. By the 1920s this cottage industry had grown into a legitimate manufacturing concern with commercial companies paying women "tufters" to

University Press, 1999).

⁵⁰Elizabeth O'Leary, *At Beck and Call* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Press, 1999), p. 260.

⁵¹Cliff Kuhn et al., *Living Atlanta* (Athens: University of Georgia, 1990), pp. 111-116.

⁵²*Ibid.*, pp. 111-116.

⁵³[Atlanta] Women's Chamber of Commerce, *The Civic Leader*, XLIX (November 1957), p. 2.

make the spreads. On the eve of World War II, 90 firms were operating in Dalton and its environs, with 7000 workers, many of them female. The firms produced bedspreads, rugs, draperies, slippers, and bathrobes. After the war, new technology enabled the companies to manufacture larger and larger rugs, and Georgia's carpet industry was born, all from the revival by a young woman of a local handcraft tradition. A section of the highway US 41 was once nicknamed Peacock Alley or Bedspread Alley for the brightly colored bedspreads for sale that at one time lined both sides of the road.⁵⁴

Business and Professional Women

Among employed women in Georgia between the world wars, there were now both professional women and business owners. The boarding house, which had served for almost two centuries as an officially sanctioned woman-owned business, disappeared in the 1920s, as apartment houses and residential hotels replaced the need for their services.⁵⁵ White women who gained professional status still tended to work in women-related areas of their fields, or within women-dominated environments, and teaching was still the leading choice among women who wanted to work.

There were teachers in the public and private schools, and teaching was now a predominantly female profession at the grammar school level. In 1920, the state passed a law requiring compulsory attendance at grammar school, which added some security to the job of teacher, wherever it occurred. Even so, married women could not teach, and female teachers were paid less than male teachers.⁵⁶ The lowest paid teacher in any Georgia town would have been a black female teacher in a grammar school, where not just salary could be affected by racism. **Sallie Ellis Davis** provides us with an example of the experiences of black female teachers. She taught for nearly fifty years after having been educated at the **Eddy School** in Milledgeville and Atlanta University in Atlanta. She returned to the Eddy School to teach where her teaching job survived two school burnings, one in 1925 and one in 1946. The 1946 fire turned out to have been the work of arsonists; the 1925 fire also began under suspicious conditions.⁵⁷ Another teaching example comes from **Beulah Rucker Oliver**, whose school in Gainesville, Georgia, established in 1914, survived to serve local African-Americans until her death in 1963. **Rucker School** offered the only high school classes for the county's black children and it supplemented that education

⁵⁴Randall L. Patton, "E. T. Barwick and the Rise of Northwest Georgia's Carpet Industry," *Atlanta History*, XLII no. 4 (Winter 1999), pp. 5-18; plus author's personal notes.

⁵⁵Newman, *Tourism*, p. 88.

⁵⁶Kuhn et al., *Living Atlanta*, pp. 123-130, 144.

⁵⁷African-American Historic Preservation Network, *Reflections* (March 2003), p. 6.

with industrial and agricultural skills, which in turn supplemented the school's operating costs. Students grew crops, made and sold bricks, hats, and woven rugs as part of their education.⁵⁸

Among whites, a typical teaching career might be represented by the experience of **Moina Michael**, who taught for fifty-four years. Coming from rural Walton County, Michael attended *Martin Institute* but never graduated. She had enough education to be accepted as a teacher, and began her occupation, by her own words, in "immaturity, ignorance, and guilelessness." Michael taught at one-room county schools, town schools, church schools, state schools, and at *Bessie Tift College*. When she started, she made eight cents a day tending sixteen pupils. "I began work to educate my sisters," she later told workers in the Federal Writers Project, "I helped support my parents . . . I moved them into town when I taught school at Monroe." Both of her brothers had died, her father was in ill health, and being the oldest, she had to support her family. One of her sisters, not she, had the privilege of graduating from college.⁵⁹

Nursing ran a close second to teaching as a viable career choice, and as the state's medical facilities were expanding so were educational paths for women. While most professions in Georgia could boast of only a single token female or two in the early decades of the twentieth century, the nursing profession contained hundreds of practitioners, and had been an accepted occupation for women since the time of the Civil War. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, women's colleges began to offer nurse training as one of their standard curriculum choices. Although there was no registration or licensing required for nurses in 1920, most women nurses had received some kind of formal education and practical training. The severe shortage of nurses during World War I and its immediate aftermath resulted in an increase in the number of nurses and in the range of practice, fostered new training programs, and spurred standardization of the field that was carried out during the decade of the 1920s. In a word, nursing modernized; the changes that the field underwent in the 1920s have, more or less, remained in effect until the present day.

Some of the school programs were affiliated with local hospitals. Graduates from the college programs went on to work in segregated wards in public hospitals, in private hospitals, in tuberculosis sanitariums and as public health nurses in the schools. Gradually, after World War I the burden of training nurses shifted from women's colleges to public hospitals and to Georgia universities, another trend augmented by the needs of World War I. *Grady Hospital* in Atlanta trained white nurses, and,

⁵⁸Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, "Women-Related Historic Sites in Georgia," booklet published by the department, 1997), p. 9.

beginning in 1917, black nurses as well. The first class of black nurses graduated from Grady in 1920. Grady was, at the time, the largest employer of black nurses in the state, but, even so, black nurses were circumscribed in their professional choices and development. As trainees, they had to wear pink and white uniforms, while the white trainees wore crisp blue and white.⁶⁰ Spelman College terminated its nurses' training program in 1927, probably because of the success and size of the competition from Grady.⁶¹ By 1930, there were 595 black nurses in the state. Founded in 1902 by Dr. and Mrs. A.S. Clark, the *Gillespie-Selden Institute* was the only black hospital and school to serve African-Americans in Cordele or Crisp County. Many African-American women received their nurses training at the Institute. In 1936, when a devastating tornado hit the area, the doctors and nurses treated over fifty of the county's badly wounded since it was the only treatment center. In the 1950s, it was the first licensed school of practical nursing to admit blacks and housed the only day care center in the area for working mothers.⁶²

Emory University in Atlanta started training nurses, too, in the 1920s. *Emory College* moved its main campus to Atlanta from Oxford, Georgia, in 1919, a move that had been in process for three years. By the end of the decade of the 1920s, Emory had equipped itself with professional schools. The medical school, which was already more than 50 years old, was joined by the *Nell Hodgson Woodruff School of Nursing* in 1920 and by the *Florence Candler Home for Nurses* in 1929. Although Emory had a hospital on campus, it also affiliated its medical school with local hospitals throughout Atlanta and soon became the largest medical training facility in the state.⁶³ Ironically, the nurses constituted the first female population at Emory; they were there on the campus decades before women were admitted to any of Emory's regular schools – collegiate or graduate.

Georgia hospitals tended to have wards for both blacks and whites, segregated by race, with the black wards offering probably one quarter of the space available for white patients. The hospitals, therefore, needed some black nurses to tend the black patients. Since there was an income ceiling for black patients in the public hospitals, not much in the way of hospital treatment was available for African-Americans of means. In cities like Atlanta, the need was acute, and prompted the creation of private black hospitals to serve the needs of the black clientele. Such institutions were usually small, with fewer

⁵⁹Federal Writers Project, "The Poppy Lady" [Moina Michael], MS, un-paginated.

⁶⁰Kuhn et al., *Living Atlanta*, pp. 238-240.

⁶¹Virginia Shadron et al., "The Historical Perspective: A Bibliographic Essay," Patricia String and Irene Thompson, eds., *Stepping Off the Pedestal: Academic Women of the South* (N. Y.: Modern Language Association, 1982), p. 165.

⁶²Grant, *The Way It Was*, p. 255; **Gillespie-Selden Institute** and the surrounding African-American neighborhood are listed in the National Register of Historic Places within the **Gillespie-Selden Historic District** (1998).

⁶³Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, vol.2, p. 645.

than a dozen beds available⁶⁴ They had the reputation, however, for giving some of the finest care in the black communities.

Neither black nor white colleges, and certainly not the hospitals, challenged the social expectations for women. Women could tend only members of their own races. In terms of careers, unmarried women could follow traditional paths and become teachers, missionaries, or nurses. Two of Georgia's most important historical nursing leaders emerged during this time – **Ludie Andrews**, black, and **Jane Van de Vrede**, white.

While Van de Vrede was educated out of state, Ludie Andrews was a graduate of the program at Spelman College, which program she managed later in her career. Andrews organized the first class of black nurses for Grady Hospital, and was the first registered black nurse in the state. She finished her career as a nurse for Spelman and Morehouse Colleges at *McVicar Hospital*⁶⁵ Van de Vrede gained a national reputation as a nurse leader primarily through her work as director of nursing for the Southern Division of the American Red Cross, work related to the recruitment of nurses for World War I. She went on to serve as executive secretary of the Georgia State Board of Nursing between 1925 and 1933. There she oversaw the creation of procedures for standardizing training throughout the state, a process that closed a number of substandard nursing programs. In addition, under her leadership the Board of Nursing instigated the statewide licensing and registration programs for all practicing nurses in Georgia, no matter what their work circumstances, and also set in place the requirements for the annual renewal of their licenses to practice.⁶⁶ For a while, nursing became a stepping-stone to other careers for women, as they developed; e.g., medical researchers, flight attendants, and workers in missionary hospitals.

During the 1920s the state also instituted a certification program for midwives, upgrading their training requirements in the process. Most midwives received their training not in schools but at the shoulders of other midwives they assisted. As a result of the certification program, the number of midwives in the state declined, especially in the cities where fewer midwife-assisted births occurred than in the countryside. Whereas the great preponderance of births had occurred at home throughout the centuries prior to 1900, by mid-twentieth-century the number of midwife-assisted (home) births had dwindled to barely a quarter of the total number. Black midwives received acceptance in both the black and white communities, so the greater number of midwives continued to be black, a fact that did not

⁶⁴Kuhn et al., *Living Atlanta*, p. 240; as an example.

⁶⁵Herman "Skip" Mason, Jr., *Black Atlanta in the Roaring Twenties* (Charleston, S.C.: Acadia, 1997), p. 65.

change until the upsurge of midwifery during the women's liberation movement of the 1970s.⁶⁷

Women served as college professors at the women's colleges and the *State Normal School*. There were also educated women who served as field agents for the county extensions, for the state agricultural department, and for various businesses, whose responsibilities were largely limited to training female consumers and producers. This pattern greatly expanded during the Depression, a development that is discussed below. At the Atlanta Gas Light Company, there existed one unique example of this type of professional woman. **Henrietta Dull** ran a demonstration kitchen for the gas company, where her job was to convince Georgia housewives that gas cooking was not only possible, it was safe, convenient, and time-saving. Hired in 1915, Dull became one of Georgia's most popular public figures during the 1930s. She considered herself a domestic science consultant, served as food editor for the *Atlanta Journal* for many years, and wrote a cookbook, *Southern Cooking*, which married old southern recipes with new household technologies. By writing a cookbook, Dull joined the ranks of other southern writers dating back to Mary Randolph in the 1920s, who published "The Virginia Housewife," one of the very first American cookbooks. Dull's own career began out of necessity. She first sold home-made cakes and pies to fellow members of the First Baptist Church of Atlanta; this led to catering, and then, in 1915, to the gas company. Henrietta Dull became the ultimate authority on things domestic, the Martha Stewart of her day. Her cookbook, according to culinary historians, served as a bridge between the country and the city, the old and the modern kitchens of the South, combining as it did recipes for a chi-chi tomato sherbet and instructions on dealing with a real possum. Dull's book became very popular within the state and the southern region, selling more than 150,000 copies in its first decade – a coveted gift for generations of brides. *Southern Cooking* went out of print after her death in 1964 (at age 100), but copies of it are still available today.⁶⁸

Women began showing up in a variety of occupations formerly considered as male-only, but they were likely the only representative⁶⁹ of their sex in that occupation. In the 1920s in Atlanta, for example, there was one female corporate executive, one insurance saleswoman, one embalmer, one optometrist, one architect, one interior decorator, and one septic tank maker.⁷⁰ Even professional women tended to work in traditional areas: if a lawyer, a woman likely worked in family law; and if she was a doctor, she

⁶⁶Shadron et al., "Perspective," pp. 166-167.

⁶⁷Kuhn et al., *Living Atlanta*, pp. 238, 240.

⁶⁸Roth and Shaw, *Atlanta Women*, pp. 55-56; "Tasting the South: Mrs. Dull," by Jim Auchmutey, *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, January 3, 1999, Section M1, p. 2.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 55.

worked in obstetrics, gynecology or pediatrics. **Dr. Leila Denmark**, who practiced medicine into her 90s and served three generations of children, has to have had the longest pediatric career in the state. Right after graduating from *Bessie Tift*, Denmark taught school, but longed to be a doctor. Her chance came in a few years, when her fiancé, Eustace Denmark, took a position abroad. While he was away, she studied medicine. Denmark enrolled in *Georgia Medical College* beginning in 1924, the only woman in her class. Her first patients were the African-Americans in the segregated black wards at *Grady Hospital* in Atlanta; soon afterwards she interned at *Henrietta Eggleston Hospital for Children*, which had just been built. A pioneer in finding and using a vaccine for whooping cough, Denmark worked either out of her house or out of an office built nearby. She believed that women should stay home to raise their children, and arranged her own professional environment so she could do just that.⁷¹

Denmark was an exception to what was more often the rule. Professional women in Georgia, especially lawyers and doctors, had to go out of state to be educated as no graduate professional degrees were yet offered to women within Georgia's boundaries. **Minnie Hale Daniel** was the first woman to graduate from a state law school; she specialized in real estate and divorce cases.⁷² **Dr. Ida Mae Hiram***, the first licensed African-American dentist in Georgia, began her practice sometime in the 1910s, probably in 1918, when she moved to a house on Hancock Street in Athens, Georgia, that she later purchased (1934). She was educated out of state, at Knox Institute, and Meharry Medical College.⁷³ Hiram's office was located in downtown Athens in the *Morton Building* (on the National Register), which also housed the Morton Theater.

Women architects entering the field after 1920 had more success than did **Henrietta Dozier***, Georgia's first female architect, who struggled before she moved to Jacksonville, Florida where she spent most of her career working for the federal government. **Leila Ross Wilburn*** was the second, and proved to be a canny businesswomen. Wilburn was especially successful, enjoying a spectacular career using plan books to get to her customers, and working with developers who constructed whole subdivisions at a time. It has been speculated by many that there are more houses derived from Wilburn's plans among the pre-World War II housing stock in and around Atlanta than from any other local architect. In 1924, Frank Daniel wrote in the Atlanta newspaper, the startling news that you could get a house in Atlanta designed by a woman. He meant Wilburn, who described, in the article, the many years

⁷¹Martin, *Petticoats*, 146-158.

⁷²Roth and Shaw, *Atlanta Women*, p. 56.

⁷³Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, "Athens Women and Their Places," booklet published by the department, 1997, p. 2.

it took her to get established. The work was so demanding, and the time required to acquire a reputation so long, that she advised young women to study something else, unless they had the required staying power. Determined to succeed, Wilburn registered as an independent architect in 1920, one of only two women to do so in Georgia. Wilburn spent her time designing homes with great appeal to the woman of the house, paying attention to climatic conditions and space requirements for family members. She designed her houses to have an airy, natural flow to the rooms and hallways; they frequently featured built-in cupboards, large kitchens, detailed finishes, and all modern conveniences (of the day).⁷⁴ Wilburn restricted her professional output to residential buildings, including houses, duplexes and apartment buildings - although she did an occasional other building type and some landscaping.

Ellamae Ellis League*, the third of Georgia's pioneer women architects, had a more varied career. Registered in 1934, League opened her own independent practice. At that time no more than two percent of all registered American architects were women, most of whom, like Wilburn, concentrated their efforts on residential designs. League tackled the whole range of architectural design – new homes, residential remodeling, churches, schools, public housing, office buildings, parking garages, hospitals, even a bomb shelter. League had to go to work out of necessity; she was divorced in 1922 and simply followed in the footsteps of six generations of family members who had been architects. She apprenticed herself to a local Macon firm and took correspondence courses from a Beaux Arts modeled school in New York. She then went to France to study at the Ecole des Beaux Arts at Fontainebleau, leaving her children in the United States with their grandparents. After returning to the United States, League again joined a Macon firm, establishing her own practice in 1934 as Ellamae Ellis League, Architect. In 1944 League applied to the American Institute of Architects (AIA) and was selected, only the second woman from Georgia to be so honored (after **Henrietta C. Dozier*** who was elected in 1905). League became very active in the Atlanta Chapter of the AIA, and also held offices at the state and regional levels of the organization. In 1968 League was honored again by being named a Fellow of the AIA. Unlike Wilburn, whose designs to this day are identifiable, League never adopted a style in her firm but followed the Beaux Arts philosophy of designing for the owner, for the function involved, and for the beauty of the thing itself.⁷⁵ Her daughter **Jean League Newton** graduated with a degree in architecture from Harvard

⁷⁴Martin, *Petticoats*, pp. 112-121.; Susan Hunter Smith, "Women Architects in Atlanta, 1895-1979," *The Atlanta Historical Journal*, vol. XXIII, no. 4 (Winter 1979-80), especially pp. 90-94; Jan Jennings, "Leila Ross Wilburn: Plan-Book Architect," *Woman's Art Journal*, vol. 10, no. 1 (Spring/Summer 1989), pp. 10-16.

⁷⁵National Register of Historic Places Nomination for the *Ellamae Ellis League House*, listed February 15, 2005.

University in one of the first classes to have female participants, and practiced with her mother from the late 1940s until League closed her practice in the 1970s.⁷⁶

Women journalists were expected to write about women's affairs or take a "woman's angle" on the news, something journalist **Margaret Mitchell (Marsh)***, best known as the author of *Gone with the Wind*, fought against when she worked at the *Atlanta Constitution*. Columnist **Mildred Seydell**, who wrote for the Hearst paper, *Georgian-American*, never quarreled with her employer about this particular aspect of her work, but took her woman's page and wrote about any news that interested her, no matter what its female-related content, challenging but skirting the gender issue each time.⁷⁷ An exception to the rule was **Emmeline Scott**, who as co-owner with her husband of the African-American newspaper *The Atlanta Daily World*, could write about anything she chose to have an interest in or an opinion about.⁷⁸

More women were becoming business owners. Although boarding houses were no longer viable options for women to run; restaurants, snack shops, and cafes as well as some other businesses seen as extensions of women's work, appeared to provide natural growth patterns for female investment and ownership. One of the largest florists in the state, for example, was **Adele (?) Harper** of Atlanta. The first woman to own a dry-cleaning business in Atlanta, **Louise Chandler**, became the first dry-cleaner to advertise for business and to use African-American employees at the counter. "If a woman wants to go into business and make a success," she later philosophized, "she has to go into something and be willing to take slights and slurs, because after all, this is a man's world." What were her words of advice to others? "Just smile [at the men], pay no attention to them, and go on and make a fortune."⁷⁹

Paternalistic views of women's participation in the work force permeated Georgia society and persisted late into the twentieth century. **Catherine FitzGerald**, treasurer for Delta Air Lines and undoubtedly the highest ranking female executive in the state before and after World War II, began her career as secretary to the crop dusting operations in Monroe, Louisiana, from which Delta Air Lines was born. FitzGerald's loyalty was as much to the man who led Delta as to the airline itself. She worked for Collet Everman Woolman who believed deeply in service, safety, and economy of operations. He also followed industry-wide policies against having married women as flight attendants, a policy he defended for "psychological and physiological aspects." According to Woolman's convictions, women playing dual roles jeopardized a successful marriage. In a personal answer to one customer's question, he wrote:

⁷⁶"Ellamae Ellis League House," p. 18.

⁷⁷Seydell papers, Special Collections, Emory University, for copies of her many articles and editorials.

⁷⁸Roth and Shaw, *Atlanta Women*, p. 56.

⁷⁹Cliff Kuhn et al., *Living Atlanta*, p. 124.

“We do not want to tempt these people by encouraging one of them to continue in a job that which would prevent a normal home-life relationship.” With that, Woolman pronounced his own decision “sound.”⁸⁰ Delta Air Lines hired its first female flight attendant in 1940, ten years after Boeing broke that ground in 1930. Flight attendance held no long-term career opportunities; women who wished to continue with the airlines once they were married had to move to another department to work, pending job availability. Flight attendant uniforms have reflected the various public images held by aviation corporations as they morphed from pilot-like flight uniforms to haute-couture business styled fashions to sexy cocktail waitress outfits, to gender-free customer service outfits.⁸¹

If women were to hold responsible leadership positions, it was much easier for them to hold such positions in their own organizations or in organizations working in domestic-related areas. These were now paying jobs, and what is important in this discussion is to emphasize the point that women did indeed head up organizations and agencies. Jane van de Vrede, executive director of the Georgia Nurses Association, enjoyed a national reputation in the nursing field, and was picked by Harry Hopkins to head up the women's division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in Georgia during Franklin Roosevelt's presidency.⁸² The professionalization of welfare social work cut into charity as an area of endeavor, but increased the outflow of goods and services to the needy.

In churches throughout the state, where women had formed their own organizations years earlier (beginning with mission societies in the 1870s), the women's organizations became not only institutionalized as a regular part of the organizational structure of the denominations, they proliferated. The foreign mission societies were joined by home mission societies in the early 1900s. Around the time of World War I, the foreign and home mission societies began to re-combine to form a single women's organization, usually called an Auxiliary, at first. The home mission society usually doubled as a fund-raising arm for the church by which women raised money for church improvements, Sunday school materials, and special activities for the congregation. Depending on the political organization of the denomination, the Women's Auxiliary became the official and formal political organization for all

⁸⁰Letter from C. E. Woolman to Mrs. Benedict L. Lancisi, October 25, 1961, in Collet Everman Woolman Papers, Delta Air Line (DAL) Archives; Catherine FitzGerald's papers are also on file at DAL Archives, but had not been processed as of this writing. Former flight attendants who had to quit upon marriage created an alumnae organization named “Clipped Wings.”

⁸¹Information gathered from collections in the Delta Archives in preparation for the exhibition “Delta Goes Jet,” at the T-Gates Gallery, Hartsfield-Jackson International Airport, 2000. Delta was always more conservative in its dress code than other airlines, including Western, which it acquired in 1970.

⁸²Martha Swain, “A New Deal for Southern Women: Gender and Race in Women's Work Relief,” Christie Anne Farnham, ed., *Women of the American South: A Multicultural Reader* (New York: New York University Press,

women's activities within the church. One church, the *First Presbyterian Church of Marietta*, founded in 1835, will serve to illustrate the pattern. The original ante-bellum (1850s) church building is on the National Register and is still used for the early Sunday morning church service. In the 1920s, the Women's Auxiliary turned to serving the spiritual needs of the youth of the church and revived the Christian Endeavor Society for them, with one of the Auxiliary's members as advisor. In addition, they supported the work of the *Rabun Gap Nacoochee School*, the *Thornwell Orphanage*, and raised money for scholarship funds for students. In addition, the women were called upon to do housekeeping chores and clean the church before Presbytery meetings. The Auxiliary continued its mission work to China and other areas "in distress" where the Presbyterians had mission stations, although mission work waned in mid-decade. When an associate pastor was hired, the Auxiliary's responsibility for youth leadership was relieved and passed to him. During the Depression, the Auxiliary ran a soup kitchen and supported a Jeanes teacher. In 1936, the Auxiliary organized a business women's circle, so that women who had jobs could continue to work with the women of the church. During World War II, because of the Bell bomber plant in Marietta, the congregation at Marietta Presbyterian boomed with new members, and the Women's Auxiliary responded to the war efforts in new ways. They organized nursery and kindergarten facilities for the children of working mothers and patriotic volunteers. These facilities served both black and white children. The women sponsored Red Cross First Aid classes, and their medical enterprise continued after the war in "well baby" clinics, staffed by auxiliary members and local doctors. In the 1950s, the Auxiliary turned to interracial work, with an interracial committee that helped fund conference participants at the Negro Women's Conferences throughout the decade. In 1948, the Women's Auxiliary changed its name to Women of the Church, but continued most of the same activities, including those of providing clothes and handmade items for charity missions and local shut-ins, maintaining a food pantry, and a donation center for local needy families. In 1965, the Women of the Church adopted a new constitution, and in 1970 they reorganized again, this time choosing a business model for their operations.⁸³

The architectural consequences of women's activities on their local church structures have never been analyzed extensively. For a while, although the actual dates will vary from denomination and from church to church, church buildings included a "ladies parlor," where the women's missionary society

1997), p. 244.

⁸³Flora Corley and Jim Corley, *God At Work: A History of the First Presbyterian Church of Marietta, Georgia, 1835-2000* (Marietta: Church History Committee, 2000), pp .259-270.

could hold their meetings. What is now known as the church parlor, a room found commonly in larger church buildings, is very likely a holdover from the original ladies parlor. If the Marietta church can serve as an example again, the women there created a Flower Guild in 1965, the latest of the women's special organizations. Called an Altar Guild in some denominations, this Guild has the responsibility of providing flowers or arranging for their provision, for worship services in the sanctuary, for special services at holidays, and for other special occasions wherever they occur in the church. The Guild also has jurisdiction over the storage facilities for the vases, tools, and other floral supplies. Usually this area is close to the altar but behind a sanctuary wall. The Guild may also maintain the schedules for funerals and weddings, although the largest churches often have a separate wedding coordinator who keeps the schedule and acts as liaison with the bride and her representatives and vendors. The bride's room, where a bride may dress and remain hidden until the wedding ceremony starts, is now a commonplace in large churches, although the origination of this room has not been properly documented. Whatever its origins, its use is particularly restricted, so it exists only where a large congregation has ample facilities for all its functions. The only other known segregated facilities in Georgia churches, aside from restrooms, of course, occur in Sunday School classes, some of which are gender segregated (by choice), and the kitchen. The church kitchen is not generally restricted to women, only at those times, for example, when communion or a church meal is being served, or when the kitchen needs a general cleaning. At those times, the appropriate service crews, usually drawn from the membership of the women's organization, have unencumbered access to the kitchen.⁸⁴

The first dedicated church secretaries, who served the church pastors, appeared during this time period, 1920-1970. Again, from the Marietta First Presbyterian Church: the congregation hired its first church secretary in 1945.⁸⁵ Another church position reserved for a woman at Marietta First Presbyterian, was that of church hostess, a post held consecutively by women, between 1948 and 1972. The hostess had the responsibility for overseeing the opening and closing of church buildings; she also planned church meals, and for her service was provided an apartment owned by the church. In 1972, the position was changed, and the gender association terminated.⁸⁶

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 269 and passim; personal knowledge from the project team.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 95.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 95. This book has been utilized extensively in this section, because its information about the women's activities at the church is so extensive and appears to be complete. Professor Flora Corley, retired from the history department at Kennesaw State University, served on the church's history committee that prepared the book, and her interest in women's history is reflected by the book's contents.

Women and the Depression of the 1930s

Female occupation did not come to a screeching halt during the Depression of the 1930s, but women's circumstances throughout the state were compromised by the poor economic situation. One desperate Georgia woman from Sandersville wrote directly to President Herbert Hoover's wife, pleading for assistance, asking for some money to buy food and shoes for her children.⁸⁷ President Hoover responded to the problem by setting up relief efforts that relied on voluntary assistance and cooperation from local municipalities. The network of Georgia woman's clubs thus became a delivery system for government services. Relief work among women of this state and other southern states, during the late 1920s and early 1930s, could not have been accomplished without the role of the women's organizations. The local woman's club often sponsored various federal projects, raising the monies for supplies and non-labor costs. The burden of need was so great, however, that private charity could not begin to meet it, and the clubs along with the state and local governments were themselves hamstrung by lack of resources and the ingrained habits of classism and racism, which restrained generosity toward those in the lower classes, especially African-Americans. Hard hit among the victims of the declining economy were families headed by widows of either color, or wives whose husbands had left them in search of employment themselves.⁸⁸

Scenes of southern country life during the Depression became national symbols of deprivation, poverty, and failure of the American way. In 1938, President Franklin Roosevelt called the South the nation's number one problem, because illiteracy, rural penury, farming disasters, and disease had persisted there for decades. Out of all the dire national circumstances, those in the South most needed drastic relief and immediate national attention. Agencies like the Farm Security Administration sent their representatives to address problems of erosion, crop diversity, and irrigation, and ended up emblazoning the national imagination with pictures of white and black share-croppers that continue to haunt the American self-image. Paramount among them were depictions of gaunt, toothless women with underfed children, female workers in the cotton fields, and broken-down farmsteads with no heavy equipment other than the hands of their (largely young, largely female) laborers. Roosevelt had direct personal acquaintance with southerners and southern conditions through his stays at Warm Springs, Georgia. There he saw how folks were living in rural Georgia counties and could project how things were going

⁸⁷Swain, "New Deal," in Farnham, *Women*, p. 244.

⁸⁸Ibid.

for others across the region; he knew the circumstances of both black and white southerners first hand.⁸⁹ The Roosevelts had black domestic help at Warm Springs, **Daisy Bonner** his cook, and **Eliza**, maid and the wife of Roosevelt's personal valet.

The first efforts to implement change in the lives of Georgia women during the Depression came under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) with its all-female national and state staffs that provided "make work" jobs for women between 1933 and 1943. During this time questions arose both as to how women's work could be defined, and what skills women had. Some state officials across the South made the felonious assumption that all women could either type or sew; of course neither turned out to be true. Illiteracy rates were very high among the southern female populations including Georgia's, and sewing skills had been lost among a large percentage of the population that had not needed to produce hand-made items for a generation or more. According to some accounts, sewing rooms were set up for women to use, but they usually failed to serve adequately because many women could not leave home to work. The work, if it was to come at all, had to come to them, and women ended up doing piece-work in their homes or unskilled manual labor in urban locations to which they had access. Although women in Georgia were still "prohibited" by law from doing road work, female crews did clean up on federal highways, and other crews, chiefly African-American, constituted the entire work force for government sponsored public works projects involving gardening skills (not construction skills). Landscape architect **Clermont Lee***, who pioneered in that field for Georgia women, used black workers on her projects in Savannah.⁹⁰ The Works Progress Administration (WPA), which had a broader base of operations and somewhat wider authority, established special additional programs for women, one of which later led to the School Lunch Act of 1946.⁹¹ For a while, the Georgia WPA was headed by a woman, **Gay Shepperson**, whose progressive racial views offended some political parties and sponsors. When she set up an integrated sewing center, she had to back down and curtail the program. None of the sewing centers, integrated or segregated, have as yet been specifically identified or located in the state. The WPA also supported public canning projects, and it is known that public canning facilities existed throughout the state, although it is not known if they were constructed through federal mandate and

⁸⁹There is more women's history to be understood at Warm Springs than the casual visitor would ever get from the brochure, which only mentions Daisy Bonner, the "faithful cook." Aside from Roosevelt's and his wife and daughter's time spent there, the Roosevelt household owed the existence of the farm itself to the goodness of **Georgia Mustian Elkins** of Columbus and Warm Springs, on whose land the polio treatment center was built.

⁹⁰Ced Dolder, "Women in Landscape Design" Chapter 5.4 of this study. From an interview, Clermont Lee with Ced Dolder and James Cothran, Savannah, Georgia, October 22, 1998.

⁹¹Swain, "New Deal," pp. 244-248.

monies or through local initiative. One such building was identified in tiny Heardmont, Georgia, during the environmental review work for the Richard Russell Recreation Area. Another is known to have existed in DeKalb County, but its location and present status are unknown.⁹²

Some unusual approaches to the problems of rural penury appeared in the state, such as the work of **Mary Hambidge***, who combined the aesthetics of her [common law] husband with her own artistic expression to provide employment for women in the mountains of northeast Georgia. Hambidge taught the women to weave the colorful silk and woolen fabrics she designed, and provided them with supplies and equipment for their work. The women could then weave at home and were paid by the piece. Hambidge had many celebrity clients, such as the movie star Greta Garbo, and she sold pieces to presidents from both Roosevelts to Truman. She sold her textiles in design shops in New York, which was becoming a sales outlet for many traditional southern artists and crafts people.⁹³ The set-up replicated the arrangement of women's work during the Civil War, and the economic dependency on markets in New York reiterated the region's dependency on the rest of the nation.

Women also worked on projects within their normal "sphere." Women trained as nurses carried out immunization programs in the state. Writers, artists, teachers, and other educated personnel of both sexes worked on writing and artistic projects within the state. Others worked in vital statistics. Local librarians and archivists worked on historic records' surveys; such work, for example, took place at the Georgia Historical Society. Many women wrote local histories under the aegis of programs under the WPA. Library services expanded throughout the state. Already an initiative of women's organizations, library extensions became a natural outreach program for the women's clubs who founded them. On another front entirely, there is no doubt that the urban sewer and rural electrification programs touched as many women's lives as all of the other programs combined, upgrading household technologies and hygiene in ways that were improbable or impossible to imagine a decade earlier.⁹⁴

Yet, although little of what was done in the way of relief work for women took architectural form, there were some notable exceptions. Architect Ellamae Ellis League* took commissions from local governments to build schools that were funded by the WPA and a closely related organization, the Public

⁹²These examples come from personal knowledge of the author who worked on the historical context for the Russell project and whose neighbor remembered going with her mother to a special canning facility in DeKalb County during the Depression, but could not remember where the building was.

⁹³Atlanta History Center, "In Three Worlds: the Weavings of Mary Hambidge," exhibit at the center, June 27, 1998 to January 3, 1999. The *Hambidge Center* is listed in the National Register and is now an active arts center with retreat facilities for artists from anywhere in the nation.

⁹⁴Swain, "New Deal," pp. 252-253.

Works Administration (PWA). League designed the Jones County High School in Gray in 1936. The school, which was built with PWA funds, is listed in the National Register. Gay Shepperson undoubtedly had influence through her leadership; and countless local women took advantage of federal dollars to fund projects like the *Redbone Community Club*, which also served as the local woman's club building. Federally supported relief for women was pervasive throughout the region, yet its effects were mostly intangible (non-physical) or had impact on the women only secondarily. The women worked to help others, and in helping others they helped themselves – the age-old pattern of feminization. If there was a monument to women's work during the Depression, it was exactly that.

World War II Breaks the Mold

The byword on women's work, until the participation of the United States in World War II, was that women could not do men's work because they were biologically and emotionally incapable of doing so. Furthermore, during the Depression, women were not supposed to take jobs from men, so on moral grounds, they should not perform men's work. When the war finally involved the United States and women took over industrial, governmental, agricultural, and commercial work that the men had been doing, the byword shifted. The word became that women could and should take care of everything while the men were gone to war. Women not only could do men's work, they were doing it en masse everywhere, including Georgia. The women simply dropped into the male work machines, performing physical tasks previously prohibited them in an emergency employment situation considered essential in war, but temporary and culturally non-binding.

The most impressive war-related example of an industrial operation in Georgia that used a great deal of female labor came from Marietta, where the Bell bomber plant employed thousands of women to build airplanes used by the United States Army Air Corps. Women worked on the assembly lines, wearing trousers and work shirts in public for the first time. Pants had not been accepted for public (unless you were Greta Garbo or Gloria Swanson), but now they were considered "patriotic" dress and marked any woman who wore them as a sacrificial female and model citizen. Women drove trucks, buses, and trolleys; women operated tractors and other heavy machinery and they filled the ranks of government workers and managerial positions in businesses. The need for women in the work force seemed insatiable; in 1943, officials in Atlanta announced that 15,000 more women workers were needed

in that city alone. The Business and Professional Women's organizations got behind the effort and publicized the need, making appeals to women who had never before dreamed of working. The jobs were plentiful, if not always glamorous: hotel and restaurant work; railroad, telephone, and telegraph operations and service; laundry and plumbing; technical and sales jobs; carpentering, tailoring, and, of course, commercial sewing and clerical work. Because of the lack of male workers, landscape architect Clermont Lee* employed black women crews for her projects around Savannah and Sea Island.⁹⁵

Many women's activities during World War II mimicked those of World War I, both on the home front and in the theaters of battle. Women sustained the United Service Organizations (USO) which provided assistance and entertainment for the troops across the state. Like their mothers, they served as nurses on the European and Asian fronts, and they drove ambulances there as well. In World War I, a woman with a driver's license was uncommon; during World War II, women drivers constituted the larger portion of the driving public. **Eliza Paschal**, later a statewide and national leader in the women's liberation movement drove ambulances in Europe during World War II, following in the footsteps of **Wilhelmina Drummond**, who drove for the American Women's Hospital in France between 1918 and 1920.⁹⁶ Moina Michael, who initiated a program during World War I to acknowledge gifts to the war effort, was still alive at the outbreak of World War II and saw her "poppy" program continued. Americans who wore a poppy to show that they had given money to support the American troops raised more than \$70 million for the soldiers. A tragic irony, Michael herself died penniless, living in one room in an Atlanta hotel.⁹⁷

The boldest Georgia women, a handful of them, actually joined the armed forces. Not one saw "active duty" in a battle; all were restricted to administrative and other support functions, but they wore military uniforms and held military ranks. One of the most outstanding Georgia women in the United States armed forces has to have been **Evelyn G. Howren**, who was numbered among the first squadron of Women's Air Force Service Pilots (WASPs) led by **Jacqueline Cochran**, who later joined the board of directors of Delta Air Lines. Howren ferried aircraft of every description to and from airfields around the world. When she returned to Georgia, she ran a flight school in Atlanta with her husband; the two Howrens trained the great majority of all commercial pilots flying out of Hartsfield International during the 1950s and beyond.

⁹⁵Roth and Shaw, *Atlanta Women*, pp. 58-59; Ced Dolder, interview with Clermont Lee.

⁹⁶Roth and Shaw, *Atlanta Women*, p. 47; Eliza Paschall's papers at Emory University contain a reminiscence of her war service.

⁹⁷Federal Writers Project, interview with Miss Moina Michael, MS, Georgia Department of Archives and History.

The Rise of the Housewife and the Return Home

One of the most important effects of the fifty-year period spanning 1920 to 1970 led to the emergence in Georgia of the modern housewife. Housewifery had been the province of Georgia women from the inception of the colony, but as the house changed from a center of production to a center of consumption, the roles of the housewife changed accordingly. It is important to note here that the effects of the Civil War slowed changes in the rural areas of the state throughout the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, it was not until the rural electrification and other modernization programs of the New Deal that the rural areas began to see more rapid changes. Even in the late twentieth century, there were still outlying places that had little or no modern conveniences (indoor plumbing, electricity, paved roads), but the state had become predominantly an urban state in terms of its population by the 1970s and that meant that the preponderance of women were living in modern conditions.

The changes that occurred in the two generations of women between 1920 and 1970 can be seen in the story of **Erin Goseer Mitchell**, whose personal memoir, *Born Colored*, illuminates the work her mother did to support her family compared to her own housework. Mitchell, like many African-Americans from Georgia, left the South before World War II, but maintained close ties with her family, who lived in Ben Hill County in south Georgia, where her parents were both educators. Her mother taught second grade in the local primary school. In addition to her teaching job (nine months of the year), Mitchell's mother (**Mabel Alieze Blevins Goseer**) cooked all the family meals, made the clothes she and her children wore, and kept the house tidy as well. Goseer cooked on a wood burning stove, raised her own produce and canned the produce each year. Says Mitchell of the work, "looking back, it seems that we spent a lot of time in summer and fall growing, gathering, and preparing food . . . By the end of the summer Mamam proudly showed off her pantry shelves filled from top to bottom . . ." ⁹⁸ Her mother's pattern of food preparation did not significantly alter until the 1950s when the family garden was reduced to a few rows, and fresh produce could be purchased directly from the local grocery stores. As for her clothes, Mitchell grew up in one-of-a-kind garments designed and constructed from magazine pictures, pattern pieces combined from several different garment patterns, and copies of department store pieces. Fabric sources included family, friends, and several churches, not to mention local farms from which feed sacks could be obtained. Mitchell's mother used her utmost creativity in giving her daughter a wardrobe

⁹⁸Erin Goseer Mitchell, *Born Colored: Life Before Bloody Sunday* (Chicago: Amp&rsand, Inc., 2005), p. 31.

she could be proud of, although none of the items were ever store-bought, and she passed her sewing skills on to her daughter in the bargain.⁹⁹

Technology offered the first major wave of changes. Mabel Goseer was sewing her daughter's clothes for sure, but not by hand; she had a sewing machine. Foot-operated sewing machines had been around since the 1860s, but in the first half of the twentieth century, other new appliances appeared with clockwork regularity on the household scene. Most of them incorporated the newest forms of energy, e.g., the heat source for the cook stove changed from wood to coal to gas to electricity. Washing machines replaced the proverbial washtub outside in the yard (still seen in rural areas of Atlanta's metropolitan counties in the twentieth century) and the large boiler pan inside on the stove that took two burners when it cooked laundry. Washing machines were first situated on the (outside) porch then moved indoors (in the back hall) near the kitchen. Larger homes provided the laundry with its own facility, the washroom or laundry room, often separated from the rest of the living spaces. In the South, it was common for the laundry room to be located near the servants' quarters. For example, the *Swan House*, a 1920s mansion in Atlanta, originally had the laundry facilities located adjacent to the garage building, where the cars were kept downstairs and the servants' quarters upstairs. (Unfortunately, the garage building has been completely renovated to serve as a lunch room and retail center for the Arts Alliance, a woman's organization that raises money for the Atlanta Symphony and other local charities.)

New ideologies accompanied the new technologies, erecting a new cultural pedestal for the female sex to perch upon – only with the utmost agility, commitment, and single-mindedness. Some of the ideas were born in Hollywood, which emerged in the 1920s as the newest purveyor of national fashions, family ideals, past time trends, standards of beauty and masculinity, and youthful (adolescent) behavior. When television became popular in the post World War II era and the media darling of the American home, exposure to popular culture was inescapable for the average American or Southern family. TV programs “instructed” Americans by example and demonstration, and TV influenced every aspect of life – public and private. Ads on television broadcast the roles women were to play in society – now no longer the weaver of cloth but the servant of the aspirations of each family member. The woman of the house was the chief nutritionist, medical advisor, historian, cook, cleaner, decorator, chauffeur, counselor/psychologist, educator, culture bearer, domestic communicator, family standard bearer, and full-time cheer leader. The house came to be seen as the center for sleeping and dreaming, for individual and group activities, for study, for family togetherness, for entertainment, and for self-expression. Putting

⁹⁹Ibid., pp. 32-35.

up produce became a choice for the woman of the house, and an expression of culinary commitment and talents, rather than a necessity of every day life. Sewing, likewise, became an optional craft, not a household necessity. Cooking, while still necessary, became more artful and more challenging, because more options were now available – packaged, frozen, canned, and fresh varieties of consumables. Along with improved packaging of food came international cuisines available for home usage and the popularization of culinary “secrets” through women’s magazines and cooking shows on television. Good, common cookery and housekeeping became complicated by new gadgets, artistic challenges proposed by popular media, and the personal aspirations of individual housewives who aimed to be “the best” they could be at everything. The housewife could participate in all of the activities of the house; or she could spend her time managing the affairs of the other members of her family and making sure that each of them had the benefit of her best efforts to support them in their chosen endeavors; or she could try to do both. The housekeeping frenzy that culminated in the 1950s has been dubbed the “domestic revolution” by one historian, and as the “feminine mystique,” by feminist and activist writer Betty Friedan. The changes in household technology and ideology were accompanied by still other physical and economic changes. Domestic service, long absent in middle class homes in the northern states, ceased to be so widely obtainable in the southern states as other employment opportunities for women became more available. However, the southern region of the United States, including Georgia, would still have the greatest numbers of paid household labor—cooks, maids, and laundresses—throughout the twentieth century.¹⁰⁰ As families used less and less paid labor, women wanted their kitchen and laundry to be modern and more convenient. With the advent of electricity and indoor plumbing, it was possible for women, who could afford the new technologies, to have an up-to-date house. Dreaming of the day when electricity would be available in her rural Georgia home, **Mrs. A.B. Winters** proceeded to get her house wired and bought all new appliances. She then designed and constructed a “bright, cheerful kitchen,” which she converted from her back porch. Being handy, Winters built walls, windows, doors, and cabinets so that she could get the kitchen she wanted. Her design included placing the hot water heater on the wall opposite the bathroom so that she could also have hot water in the bathroom.¹⁰¹ **Mrs. G. F.**

¹⁰⁰David M. Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 275.

¹⁰¹“Mrs. A.B. Winters of Bradley Proud of Her New All-Electric Kitchen,” *Round the Home*, November 1936, 3, Georgia Power Archives, as cited in Leslie N. Sharp, *Women Shaping Shelter: Technology, Consumption, and the Twentieth-Century House* (Doctoral Dissertation, Georgia Institute of Technology, 2004), p. 218, 219.

Snyder of Hapeville wrote to Georgia Power, "I'm glad I had the help of your kitchen planners in getting the most convenient arrangement of equipment in my all-electric kitchen."¹⁰²

Suburbanization and the Domestic Revolution

Not only were the interior of houses being defined by changing technologies, so were too the locations and styles of the houses. The meteoric rise of the automobile as the preferred means of travel allowed for the development of neighborhoods, shopping centers, and recreational activities further and further away from the city center. In an attempt to characterize American suburbanization, Kenneth T. Jackson, in his classic work *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, writes that affluent and middle-class Americans live in suburban areas that are far from their work places, in homes

that they own and in the center of yards that by urban standards elsewhere are enormous."¹⁰³ Georgia has participated fully in the suburbanization of the United States. During the mid-twentieth century, Georgia's automobile suburbs, like others around the country, can be linked to post-war housing shortages and a continued tradition of racial segregation and white flight. As expected, suburbanization first occurred in the larger cities of Atlanta, Savannah, Macon, and Albany. By the end of the 1960s, most cities in Georgia had suburban-type developments complete with garages, ranch houses, and large yards. Georgia women's lives were changing. They were driving to work, driving to pick up children, and driving to the stores.

The "mom and pop" store quickly became a thing of the past as retail shopping centers popped up along the major roads heading away from downtown. The Belk's and A&P's were no longer in the center of downtown, but were now located in large boxes that had surface parking lots in front. Downtowns languished as women chose national or regional chains for their shopping. When *Lenox Square Mall* opened in 1959, it was a regional shopping mall that women from all over Georgia and the South visited.¹⁰⁴ Many Georgia women remember the special days when their mother took them to Lenox to shop, get their hair cut, and eat lunch. While Lenox Mall is one of the better known malls, smaller scale shopping centers appeared all over post-war Georgia. Some of these included the aptly named *Suburban*

¹⁰²"Plan Your Kitchen to Save Steps," *Round the Home*, September 1937, pp. 4-5; Georgia Power Archives, as cited in Sharp, *Women Shaping Shelter*, p. 217-218.

¹⁰³Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 6.

¹⁰⁴Darlene Roth and Andy Ambrose, *Metropolitan Frontiers: A Short History of Atlanta* (Atlanta: Longstreet Press,

Plaza in Decatur, *Alps Plaza* in Athens, and *Belair Plaza Shopping Center* in Americus. While men undoubtedly shopped too, the shopping centers were designed for the convenience, safety, and enjoyment of women. Not only did these places provide sites of consumption for women, they also provided employment for a majority female work force. Historian Lizabeth Cohen argues that the suburban shopping malls, as opposed to downtown shopping areas, segregated women by race and class, fostered standardization of goods, and while they served the needs of women they also pigeonholed women as consumers and part-time workers.¹⁰⁵

Schools - Segregation and Desegregation

The population boom in Georgia and the rest of the United States following the end of World War II necessitated the construction of new school buildings. As returning soldiers settled down, married and had families in great numbers, extensive new suburbs opened up on the outskirts of every major city and the need for more schools grew. A huge school building program, started by Governor Talmadge, in the 1950s, added 13,000 new classrooms in 1,200 new buildings or additions to buildings. This \$200 million building program was one of the most notable programs ever carried out in the state public school system. Atlanta schools underwent a number of changes after the end of World War II. The junior high school buildings were converted to high schools, and the boys' and girls' high schools became co-educational.

Minorities continued to struggle to achieve equal educational opportunities. The struggle accelerated due to the strong role they played in World War II, fueling their hopes for better futures. Likewise, the democratic rhetoric and patriotism of the war years further fed their dreams. They saw education as the key to economic and social mobility for their race. In 1954, the Supreme Court, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, decreed that separate was not equal and ordered the desegregation of the nation's public school systems. Opposition in the South, including Georgia was strong. The Georgia State Attorney General declared that the Supreme Court ruling did not apply to Georgia, and it was a decade or more before schools in the state were completely integrated. In 1961, the Atlanta City School

Inc., 1996), p. 198.

¹⁰⁵Lizabeth Cohen, "From Town Center to Shopping Center: The Reconfiguration of Community Marketplaces in Postwar America," Jennifer Scanlon, ed., *The Gender and Consumer Culture Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), p. 258.

system was one of the first to integrate when it sent several black children to *Murphy, Grady, Brown* and *Northside High Schools*.

One of the consequences of legislation of the 1960s was an increased federal role in local school systems. Legislation such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed segregation in public places. In 1965 almost every rural school system in the South began a desegregation plan in order to comply with the federal law, but in 1967 more than 100 school districts in Georgia still remained segregated. Then in 1968 the Supreme Court ruled that the “freedom to choose” which many southern states had enacted was not enough. The result of the ruling was a plan that allowed African-American students to transfer to a white school if they chose. In the late 1960s, when schools began to integrate in earnest, many school systems in Georgia closed African-American schools and transferred the students to white schools because the facilities were better. In others, such as *Main High School* in Rome, officials expanded the campus in an effort to upgrade the school as a means of keeping black children separated from the whites.

In 1971, the Supreme Court reached a unanimous conclusion in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*. The case proved to be a milestone in the school desegregation movement. In this case, the Court established busing as an acceptable means of integration, but drew the line at excessively long rides. The court also ruled that as a means for achieving racial balance, racial quotas had to be flexible. And the court stated that if a school remained in the balance of one race, the school district had to prove that the population mix did not result from discrimination. The ruling also gave courts leeway in creating school attendance zones. By 1971 all of the school districts in Georgia had been integrated, thus closing the chapter on segregation of schools at that time.¹⁰⁶

Historic Preservation

While the shopping centers, automobiles, and more employment opportunities offered women opportunities outside of the home, women around the state continued to work together to improve their communities. One of the by-products of the “return” to the home as the natural domain of women resulted in efforts to save homes for future generations as historic sites; these efforts coalesced for the first time in Georgia beginning in the early 1950s. Some examples include “*The Crescent*,” in Valdosta, saved from demolition by the Valdosta Garden Club in 1951 and restored as a garden center; the *Juliette*

¹⁰⁶Ray & Associates (Lynn Speno), National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form, “Georgia Public Elementary and Secondary Schools,” pp. 17-20.

Gordon Low House, rendered a national Girl Scout shrine in 1953. The home of Owen Thomas passed to the *Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences*, itself an earlier gift by a woman to her community.¹⁰⁷

Women were also instrumental in developing the historic preservation movement in Georgia. **Mary Gregory Jewett** headed the Georgia Historical Commission from 1960 to 1973, when it was reorganized into the Historic Preservation Section of the Office of Planning and Research of the Department of Natural Resources. The purpose of the original commission, established in 1951, was to promote Georgia history, preserve and mark historic sites important to Georgia's history, and coordinate its activities with other state and federal agencies. Under Jewett's leadership, the State acquired a number of historic properties including *Fort Jackson* in Savannah; the *CSS Muscogee*, a Confederate ironclad steam ship; and the *CSS Chattahoochee*; a Confederate gunboat, in Columbus; and the *Dahlonaga Courthouse Gold Museum*. She also led Georgia through the transition following the 1966 passage of the National Historic Preservation Act, which provided the framework for public historic preservation activities throughout the state and country. In her role as director of the commission and then head of the Historic Preservation Section, Jewett became the State Historic Preservation Officer for Georgia. While Jewett was at the helm, the Georgia Historical Commission held its first statewide preservation conference in Athens in 1969. This conference started the tradition of holding an annual statewide conference sponsored jointly by the state historic preservation office, now the Historic Preservation Division of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, and the statewide nonprofit Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation, authorized by the state in 1973, and founded in part by Jewett, who became its president.¹⁰⁸ Women would continue to lead historic preservation in Georgia through the twentieth century. **Dr. Elizabeth Lyon, Carole Griffith, Beth Reiter, and Marguerite Williams** are just a few of the women who began their careers in the 1960s and shepherded Georgia to its leadership role in the field.

Modernization Seeks New Justice: the Civil Rights Movement

Atlanta served as the headquarters for the national civil rights movement and the home of its primary leader, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; yet, Georgia is eclipsed in the history of the movement because the main centers of activity (i.e., newsworthy events) lay elsewhere – Birmingham, Alabama;

¹⁰⁷Georgia Department of Community Development, *Georgia Historic Homes* (Atlanta: Georgia Department of Community Affairs, n.d.).

¹⁰⁸Jann Haynes Gilmore, "Georgia's Historic Preservation Beginning: The Georgia Historical Commission (1951-1973)," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, LXIII, no. 1 (Spring 1979), p. 9-21; Minnette Bickel, "The Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, LXIII, no. 1 (Spring 1979), p. 22-23.

Little Rock, Arkansas; Greensboro, North Carolina, and Orangeburg, South Carolina. Histories of the civil rights movement have accentuated the maleness of the movement, and the leadership was almost exclusively male. Movement metaphors referenced the importance of “coming to manhood,” and there was a higher percentage of male activists at the more confrontational events – sit-ins and demonstrations – than of female ones. However, it is also conceded by the historians of the movement, that if “men led, women organized” the movement.¹⁰⁹ Women’s work in civil rights extended out from their earlier club and organizational work and all that work entailed: campaigns for voter registration, agitation over school conditions, and the promotion of social welfare in black communities. At the height of the civil rights movement, roughly between 1955 and 1968, women in Georgia, and especially in Atlanta, were actively supporting civil rights by providing food and shelter for movement workers, staffing movement offices, signing and circulating petitions, canvassing neighborhoods, registering voters, showing up at meetings, leading prayer sessions, and traveling across the country to demonstrate and to march.

At least two Atlanta women would be recognized as local leaders, even though neither of them held offices in the national movement associations. **Ruby Blackburn**, a member of the NAACP, formed the League of Negro Women Voters, which quickly extended its influence. **Grace Towns Hamilton**, who later became the first black woman to be elected to the Georgia legislature, used her position as head of the Atlanta Urban League to lend the weight of that organization to the campaigns to register African-American voters. The 1946 drive, a massive effort, signed up 50,000 voters in a single day. During the 1950s and 1960s, each town in Georgia had its own story of desegregation. Georgia teachers often demonstrated their commitment to both families and education, when they kept the schools open in the face of civil disturbances. A group called HOPE (Help Our Public Education), working across racial lines in Atlanta, made sure even the poorest of neighborhoods had a say in the process of community development and education.¹¹⁰

One of the women who helped found HOPE was **Frances Freeborn Pauley**, who began her activist career trying to obtain healthcare for the poor during the 1940s. Pauley would spend her life fighting for the rights of Georgians. Her work in fighting the county-unit system did not go unnoticed when Governor Herman Talmadge, proponent of an anti-urban, anti-democratic apportionment plan,

¹⁰⁹Charles Payne, “Men Led, but Women Organized: Movement Participation of Women in the Mississippi Delta,” Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse, and Barbara Woods, eds., *Women in the Civil Rights Movement; Trailblazers & Torchbearers, 1941 – 1965* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1993), pp. 1-12.

¹¹⁰This section owes a great deal to Darlene Roth and Angela Winand, “Atlanta Women: Historic Roots and Legacies,” *Women’s Resource Guide* (City of Atlanta, 1996), pp. 13015.

complained, "I could have won that thing, if it hadn't been for that god-damned Frances Pauley."¹¹¹ Pauley became the executive director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations in 1961. The council was the state arm of the Southern Regional Council, which fostered interracial efforts to support the Civil Rights movement and fight for school desegregation. Although based in Atlanta, Pauley worked all over the state assisting victims of violence, discrimination, and harassment. As a white woman, her participation in rallies and marches, her involvement in African-American vote drives, and arrests demonstrate on an individual level the commitment of some middle-class white women to moving Georgia forward during one of the most volatile times in Georgia's history. Women, more often than men, were motivated by their religious beliefs to join or support the movement. Women working with other women continued to make room for inter-racial interaction, even when the primary movement organizations were moving toward a "blacks-only" practice in both their leadership and group participation.¹¹²

Foundations of the Women's Liberation Movement

The "women's lib" movement followed closely on the heels of the civil rights movement, sustained and led by some of the same practitioners. **Eliza Paschal**, for example, who was an active supporter of black civil rights and worked for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) for years, was one of the five founders, along with Betty Friedan, of the National Organization for Women (NOW). She and Friedan and three other women in an informal shoes off, drinks in hand, after-session convocation in Friedan's hotel room in Washington DC, during women's rights gathering, decided that education of women was not enough. Voting was not enough. Consciousness-raising was not enough. What was needed was a national group, which could lobby for women's rights, now. Thus, NOW was born. Under Paschal's inspiration, the NOW chapter in Atlanta was formed, which enjoyed the reputation of being one of the largest and oldest chapters in the Southeast. Atlanta NOW also maintained very close relations with the national NOW office, and the Atlanta president, **Judy Lightfoot**,

¹¹¹ As quoted in Kathryn L. Nasstrom, "Frances Freeborn Pauley: A White Woman's Activist Identity," Gail S. Murray, ed., *Throwing off the Cloak of Privilege: White Southern Women Activists in the Civil Rights Era* (Tallahassee: University of Florida Press, 2004), p. 80.

¹¹²Ibid., pp. 77-100.

served on the national board for many years. Atlanta NOW proselytized and energized chapters in other Georgia locales in the 1970s. Members of the League of Women Voters, black and white, and of the Georgia chapters of the National Organization for Women met together to create the Georgia Women's Political Caucus, which held as its mandate the successful election of women to public office in the state. By the 1970s, activities in Georgia for and about women in politics had come full circle.

4.4 Going Forward (1970-Today)

Leslie N. Sharp

Introduction by Darlene Roth

*Conservatism has reigned after the activism of the 1960s and early 1970s. To some observers, the conservatism constitutes a backlash against feminism, backlash or reaction, the failure of the Equal Rights Amendment rested solidly on the “solid South,” which to a state refused to ratify it. The model for action and reform seems now to be taken from the pages of southern womanhood, where some attention was paid to motherhood, domesticity, and celebration. Atlanta became the location for a national bicentennial symposium called “Women and the Constitution” in 1988, 140 years after the Seneca Falls convention of 1848. Former first ladies Lady Bird Johnson and **Rosalynn Carter**, both southerners, hosted the conference with representatives attending from all fifty states. A “heady” experience, according to one of its attendees, the conference offered no effective political or social agenda.¹ The South in general, and Georgia in particular, has always rejected the more extreme measures of feminism—lesbianism, forced military service, unisex facilities, even full reproductive freedom—and so confronts these issues with caution at best, rejection at worst. This would not change as the twentieth century ends and the twentieth-first century begins. Anti-abortion forces remain strong in the state, and the remnants of the women’s liberation movement continue to wane.*

Women now constitute more than half of the graduates of Georgia high schools, and over half of the enrollments at state colleges and universities (with the exception of the Georgia Institute of Technology where women make up less than one-third of its student bodies), and half of the enrollment at state law schools. More than half of all Georgia women work outside the home. The state, now heavily urbanized and suburbanized, is beginning to reflect a diverse population that resembles more than ever the mix of groups present in the original colony, including Native American groups, who have begun to return to the state to reclaim connection with their ancient, sacred sites.

Women today are both more present in all aspects of Georgia life as individuals, and also more invisible as women. They constitute less of a self-conscious group now than at any time in the state’s history, yet their old aspirations for equality, equity, and autonomy remain resolutely unresolved. Racial and cultural differences have almost fully occluded the commonalities that women share. It remains for the future to decide how successful gender integration has been and to find a way to multiply rather than decrease the number of identities each individual can claim. A woman then could add gender identification to the others she already carries relating to social class, ethnic and racial background, race, nationality, and even “regionality.” Gender is not the ultimate definer of a woman, but it is, as woman herself “a sometime thing” that can, sometimes, make all the difference. Perhaps it is not after all who women are, but what they can bring to the table, if they are conscious of the feminine aspects of

¹Margaret Ripley Wolfe, *Daughters of Canaan: A Saga of Southern Women* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995), p. 199. Also, the names of individual Georgia women are in bold throughout this study the first time they are mentioned - and if several pages have intervened after the first time they were mentioned. An asterisk indicates that the woman’s name appears in Section 5.2, “Individual Women,” the Georgia women’s biographies included in this study. Sites with importance in Georgia women’s history are in both bold and italic; the sites may or may not still exist, or be listed in the National Register of Historic Places either individually or as part of a Historic District. Bibliographical references are also repeated the first time a book is cited in each new chapter.

their existence. It is the feminine, and not in women only, that has been missing from public life, the feminine that the South has held on to, and the feminine, as Goethe once said, that might lead the way for the salvation of all of us.

The beginning of the twenty-first century finds Georgia women in places only imagined by those a few generations earlier. Secretary of State **Cathy Cox** was a viable candidate in the 2006 democratic primary race for governor. A Bainbridge native, Secretary Cox became the first female elected to a statewide office in 1999. Under her leadership, Georgia became a model for its successful conversion to computerized voting.²

In 2001 Atlanta elected its first female mayor and the South's first African-American woman mayor. **Shirley Franklin** took over the corrupt and financially strapped capitol city's head office in 2002 and immediately began addressing Atlanta's dilapidated water and sewer systems, its shady reputation for political patronage, and its contentious relationships with other Georgia cities and counties. Re-elected in 2005, Mayor Franklin's leadership has been recognized nation-wide through various honors. In 2005, she was named as one of the world's best mayors, *Esquire* magazine's "best and brightest," and as a Profile in Courage by the John F. Kennedy Foundation.³ Interestingly enough, Mayor Franklin's public service began when Maynard Jackson, the first black mayor of Atlanta, named her Commissioner of Cultural Affairs for the City of Atlanta in 1978. One of Jackson's 1971 campaign pledges was to appoint more women and minorities to positions of authority.⁴ Thus, the beginning of the modern period of Georgia's history promised greater participation of women in public life.

This presence of women in public roles is not new to the modern period. Georgia women have historically been active in politics, community activism, and social welfare. What may be different is that while females can be found in most places and in larger numbers, it is harder to truly identify a "woman's place," or rather a woman's place that is significant in terms of women's history. The last chapter of this study "Going Forward" differs from the previous chapters in that it is more of an essay designed to

² Cathy Cox Governor website, <http://www.cathycox.com/about>, INTERNET, accessed December 8, 2005; While touted for its quick response to the vote-counting crisis in the Florida Presidential Election, Georgia's system is now in need of upgrades; Cox lost the democratic primary against Lieutenant Governor Mark Taylor in what was arguably one of the most bitter campaigns in Georgia history.

³ "Franklin Makes World List," *Atlanta Journal Constitution* (December 8, 2005); Shirley Franklin 2005 website, <http://shirleyfranklin.com/aboutus.php>, INTERNET, accessed December 8, 2005.

⁴ Jackson's promise to get more women and African-Americans within positions of authority was fulfilled with hires like that of Pearl Cleage (b.1948) as his press secretary and speech writer. Cleage has since become a well-respected writer, playwright, and activist; "Pearl Cleage," *New Georgia Encyclopedia* website, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org>, INTERNET, accessed 11 February 2005.

provoke further thinking as opposed to a historical narrative. The purpose of the chapter is to suggest subjects for future study into the places associated with Georgia women of today. Major historical themes such as politics, suburbanization, education, wage work, art, health, medicine, and domesticity remain essential to understanding the modern history of Georgia women. Other areas such as computer technology, athletics, reproductive rights, re-urbanization, and finance have gained or continue to gain importance, as well as becoming familiar to the public discourse about women. How these emerging themes manifest themselves in women-centered places remains to be seen.

From looking at the careers of Cathy Cox and Shirley Franklin, it would appear that the women's movement that began in the 1960s was a success. Women now have access to equal employment and educational opportunities and recourse when they face harassment or discrimination. However, while legislation and court cases opened doors to places women had not yet been, barriers would remain. One of the greatest challenges for Georgia women has been the conservative backlash to the progress made in the 1960s that has characterized the political and social realm for the past thirty years. As journalist **Susan Faludi** argued in 1991

The truth is that the last decade has seen a powerful counterassault on women's rights, a backlash, an attempt to retract the handful of small and hard-won victories that the feminist movement did manage to win for women. This counterassault is largely insidious: in a kind of pop-culture version of the Big Lie, it stands the truth boldly on its head and proclaims that the very steps that have elevated women's position have actually led to their downfall.⁵

As active participants in and proponents of this move toward the right, women of all ages, races, and educational levels have turned away from a feminine consciousness. Thus, their participation remains circumscribed by a culture that still defines white and male as dominant.

While the last three decades of the twentieth century saw women at all levels of the working world, the highest levels remain dominated by men. Whether in the pursuit of full professorships, board membership in corporations, judgeships, or specialized medicine, Georgia women encountered ceilings and blatant discrimination. When **Mary Scott Stewart** was named to the board of directors of First Newton Bank in Covington in the mid-1990s, she was heralded as the first woman board member and the bank basked in the glory of its own forward thinking. What the bank did not count on was the fact that

⁵ Susan Faludi, *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women* (New York: Crown Publishers Inc., 1991), p. xvii.

Stewart, a retired bank vice-president, would question the staff's recommendations and vote independently. Cognizant of her position as the first woman board member and no stranger to controversy, Stewart ultimately resigned frustrated and very much aware that although she was highly qualified to be a board member, the bank had chosen her as the "token woman" with no expectations that she would become fully engaged in her duties.⁶

The activity of the 1960s continued during the early decades of the 1970s with legislation passed and court rulings handed down that favored women and their civil rights. The constitutionality of a woman's right to abortion was upheld in 1973 through *Roe v. Wade* and the lesser-known Georgia case *Doe v. Bolton*, which struck down a Georgia law that criminalized most abortions. Preceding *Roe v. Wade*, the Georgia ruling emphasized the professional judgment of the physician who could authorize an abortion "in the light of all factors—physical, emotional, psychological, familial, and the woman's age—relevant to the well-being of the patient."⁷ Reproductive rights have remained a sensitive and politically charged issue throughout the country. Like elsewhere, Georgia women stand on both sides of the issue. The Pro-choice contingent argues for women's right to have control over their own bodies and choose whether they want to be a parent. The Anti-abortionists or Pro-lifers argue that life begins with conception and abortion is akin to murder. Churches, politicians, doctors, and activists have gotten involved in the debate. Since the 1970s, different states and courts have both limited the scope of abortions and upheld the legality of abortion. These battles continue.

The legalization of abortions led to a new property type: the abortion clinic. Similar to many other types of medical facility, abortion clinics in Georgia, as in other states, are generally located in larger cities. These specialized treatment centers can be part of a larger medical facility or freestanding. With the increasing harassment of, and violence toward, the medical practitioners and their patients, abortion clinics differ from other types of medical facilities in that their signage is limited or nonexistent; they have secured entrances that can include bars, speakers, door bells, bullet-proof glass, and armed personnel - as well as counseling rooms to meet the requirement that the patient must receive pregnancy counseling and wait 24 hours before having the procedure.

As a target for violence from radical anti-abortionists and protesters, this new property type adds to another complexity of the current built environment, domestic terrorism. In January 1997, radical anti-

⁶ Mary Scott Stewart (1922-2005) was the author's maternal grandmother and this information was gathered through many discussions about the subject.

⁷ Janet Benshoof, "Roe v. Wade" in *The Reader's Companion to U.S. Women's History*, Wilma Mankiller et al, eds. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), p. 517.

abortionist Eric Rudolph bombed a Sandy Springs abortion clinic. Later he would bomb an Atlanta lesbian nightclub, and then a Birmingham abortion clinic. In his confession, he justified his bombing of the clinics and his earlier bombing of the 1996 Olympics in Atlanta as a protest to the murder of innocent children, and as a way to embarrass the United States government into criminalizing abortion. Even with the 1994 passage of the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act, these acts of violence and others across the country have led to the closing of clinics and to many physicians refusal to provide the service because of fear of reprisal. Thus, the legal and emotional battle regarding a woman's right to an abortion continues and the "legal" abortion clinic may once again be relegated to the back alley.

With the sponsorship of feminist congressional members Edith Green and Patsy Mink, Congress passed Title IX of the Education Act Amendments in 1972. This act gave women a legal avenue to fight discrimination in education in the arenas of athletics, admissions, financial aid, extracurricular activities, and other academic programs. Its existence is still seen as controversial, especially in athletics where colleges and universities must provide funding for women's sports equal to that provided for men's. For women in Georgia, Title IX has been a positive development. Whereas, locker rooms, stadiums, fields, and courts were once dominated by males, and females had sub-standard and fewer, if any at all, sports facilities; now there is some equality in resources and access. An excellent example of this can be found at the Georgia Institute of Technology (Georgia Tech), which prior to the 1970s had only intramural women's athletics but had added varsity athletics by the 1970s. Between 1972 and 1976, the female student population at Georgia Tech doubled, and then doubled again by 1980. This increase was the result of a change in school policy from merely accepting women students to actively recruiting them. However, women currently make up less than one-third of the student population at Georgia Tech.⁸ Although more women than men are enrolled in state colleges and universities across Georgia, women still remain a minority within the upper levels of college administrations and academic departments.

The modern period also has witnessed setbacks for Georgia women. The push for an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) failed in a large part due to the opposition of the "solid South" that included Georgia. This bitter fight has remained omnipresent in the minds of Georgia feminists who carry on the battle against sexual harassment, discrimination based on sex, and violence against women.⁹ However, it is not surprising that Georgia voted against the ERA (Senate in 1975 and again 1980; House in 1982),

⁸Robert C. McMath, Jr., et al, *Engineering the New South: Georgia Tech, 1885-1985* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1985), p. 390, 427; Georgia Institute of Technology website, http://www.admiss.gatech.edu/images/pdf/quick_facts_print.pdf, INTERNET, accessed on October 12, 2005.

⁹Wolfe, *Daughters of Canaan* p. 198.

since it took until 1970 for the Georgia Legislature to approve the Nineteenth Amendment giving women the right to vote (a formality). While this fact may seem outrageous, women's right to serve on juries was not established nationwide until 1975, and striking women from jury pools because of their sex was not prohibited till the 1990s.¹⁰ It was not until 1980 that **Dorothy Robinson** became the first woman judge of a Georgia court when she became a Cobb County Superior Court Judge.¹¹ With a law degree from Emory University and an undergraduate degree from Cornell University, African-American **Leah Ward Sears** became the first woman and youngest person ever to sit on the state Supreme Court when Governor Zell Miller appointed her in 1992.¹² And just twenty-five years after she became the first female judge in Georgia, Leah Ward Sears was elected by her peers as the first female Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court. These firsts are notable as historically gendered-male spaces such as law schools and offices, courtrooms, and judges' quarters become truly gendered neutral.

As in other periods of its history, Georgia continues to produce creative women. Nationally recognized female writers, actors, musicians, and artists can be found throughout Georgia. **Julia Roberts** from Cobb County, Conyers natives **Holly Hunter**, and child actress **Dakota Fanning** demand big money for their roles in major motion pictures. Named twice as Female Country Music Vocalist of the Year, **Trisha Yearwood** from Monticello has multiple Grammy Awards and several platinum records. Georgia has also spawned one of the most popular and long-lasting Las Vegas performers in **Gladys Knight**, who began her rhythm and blues career in the 1950s. Knight's soulful voice, multiple albums, and longevity have won her a place in the Georgia Music Hall of Fame. As an entrepreneur, she has financed and lent her name to a chain of restaurants called "Gladys Night and Ron Winan's Chicken and Waffles" with locations in Lithonia, Atlanta, and Washington, DC. **Kate Pierson** and **Cindy Wilson** of the punk rock band B52s hailed from Athens, where they and several others started playing together in 1976, marking the beginning of Athens now-nationally famous alternative music scene. More recently, the Indigo Girls **Amy Ray** and **Emily Saliers** of Decatur have achieved fame for their folk rock hits.

A native of Baxley in South Georgia, naturalist and author **Janisse Ray** writes about her state's changing landscape

¹⁰Linda K. Kerber, *No Constitutional Right to Be Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 136.

¹¹Georgia State University Special Collection, website at <http://www.library.gsu.edu/spcoll/women/erah3.htm>, INTERNET, accessed September 13, 2005.

¹²Bill Rankin, "Sears Elected Chief Justice of Georgia Supreme Court," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* (3 March 2005).

Everybody tells me I feel too deeply, especially about wildness, but often I can't tell where my body ends and the earth begins. What became painfully clear was how much wildness we had already lost in Georgia. As the forests dwindled, so did my spirit. How can a place produce a person that it cannot sustain?"¹³

Whether protesting the closing of community schools, documenting the long tradition of syrup boiling in South Georgia, or advocating buying local products from local people, Ray provides hope for a better and more meaningful world. She represents one of many Georgia women who are now advocating sustainable development. Her writings center around the rapidly disappearing ecosystem of the Southeast that relies on the Long Leaf Pine. Ray innately understands how important the past is in creating a better a future for individuals, communities, and regions. Through her work, we see the power of place and the power of love of ones self, family, and region.

Other Georgia writers **Celestine Sibley** (1914-1999), **Alice Walker** (b. 1944), **Bettie Sellers** (b. 1926), **Mary Hood** (b. 1946), **Anne Rivers Siddons** (b. 1936), and **Bailey White** (b. 1950) have achieved great recognition for their depiction of southern culture and their focus on the importance of family and community ties. Perhaps the best known of these women is Alice Walker whose *Color Purple* became a Pulitzer Prize and National Book Award winner in 1983, and more recently an acclaimed movie starring Oprah Winfrey. Macon-born **Melissa Fay Green** (b. 1952) has made a name for herself in nonfiction writing about injustices within southern society. Centered on Georgia places, her books *Praying for Sheetrock* (1991) and *The Temple Bombing* (1996) both received praise for her honest and moving accounts of events related to civil rights and racism in McIntosh County and Atlanta, respectively.¹⁴

Property ownership by women seems to have come a long way since the colonial days when a woman's right to own property was legally constrained; however, women in Georgia are still less likely to own their own houses and more likely to live in subsidized housing.¹⁵ This relates directly to the fact that a woman earns roughly seventy cents to each dollar a man earns. Unfortunately for women and children, a frightening economic trend—the feminization of poverty—continues during the modern period. This trend is linked to single motherhood and to post-divorce financial strife, as well as to the lower earning

¹³Janisse Ray, *Wild Card Quilt: The Ecology of Home* (Minneapolis: Milkweed Editions, 2003), p. 180.

¹⁴Melissa Fay Greene, *Praying for Sheetrock* (1991); Melissa Fay Green, *The Temple Bombing* (1996).

¹⁵Julia Cherry Spruill, *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938), p. 11.

rates of women.¹⁶ In Georgia, the feminization of poverty continues, with a rate of 28.5% of female-headed households living below the poverty level in 1999 compared to 13% of all Georgia households. In 2004, 56.4% of Georgia women worked, and black women (59.6%) continue to work at higher rates than white women (54.9%).¹⁷ Longtime social and political activist **Frances Freeborn Pauley** (1905-2003) is only one of the many Georgia women who actively fought for the rights of the poor. In 1975, after a long involvement in civil rights and school desegregation, Pauley founded the Georgia Poverty Rights Organization, which advocated social and legal justice for the poor.¹⁸

As more women enter and remain in the workforce, the need for childcare increases. Thus, with either both parents or the single mom working, the proliferation of daycare facilities is apparent throughout the state. These facilities employ mostly women, and have offered women entrepreneurs the opportunity to start a business both inside the home and out. Carefully regulated by the state, childcare facilities offer varying levels of care from “Mothers’ Morning Out” to twenty-four hours a day services. Trained as a school teacher, **Maggie Lynch** began her daycare facility in Conyers during the late 1970s. She hired other female former school teachers and high school students to help care for the children in a structured environment that included classrooms, a kitchen, offices, a fenced-in playground, a swimming pool, and a drive-through drop-off area. When she sold the business after more than twenty years, she could retire knowing that she had given the highest quality of care to thousands of local children.

A native of Plains, like her husband James Earl (Jimmy) Carter, **Rosalynn Smith Carter** was the First Lady of Georgia from 1966 through 1974. She became the First Lady of the United States in 1977 and remained through 1980 when Ronald Regan was elected President. Carter was referred to as the “Iron Magnolia” during her time as First Lady. In 1988, she and fellow former First Lady Lady Bird Johnson sponsored a conference in Atlanta titled “Women and the Constitution: A Bicentennial Perspective.” Exciting and uplifting, the conference was an affirmation of feminist ideals and a celebration of the gains women had made. Although the women signed a petition to have the Equal Rights Amendment reintroduced, there were no lasting consequences of this gathering. Carter’s commitment to improving the lives of people with mental illness was recognized when she was inducted

¹⁶Wolfe, *Daughters of Caanan*, p. 202; Claudia Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 212.

¹⁷The University of Georgia College of Family and Consumer Services website, <http://www.fcs.uga.edu/hace/gafacts/index.html>, INTERNET, accessed September 10, 2005; Bureau of Labor Statistics for 2004, accessed online; percentage of Latino women that work is 58.4%.

¹⁸New Georgia Encyclopedia website <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org>, INTERNET, accessed February 11, 2005.

into the National Women's Hall of Fame in 2001. She is only the third First Lady to receive the honor. Rosalynn Carter, along with President Carter, has been deeply involved in Habitat for Humanity and the **Carter Center**, a nonprofit organization that works for global peace and world health. Together, they have written about their experiences in *Everything to Gain: Making the Most of the Rest of Your Life* (1987).¹⁹

In terms of the built environment, more women have entered the fields of architecture and construction and the older women practitioners have begun to receive the much-deserved recognition for their work. In 1968, architect **Ellamae Ellis League*** was elected by her peers to the College of Fellows of the American Institute of Architects (AIA). After receiving so many letters of support for her nomination, the National AIA instituted a new policy that limited the number of letters allowed. At the time of her election, League was only the eighth woman out of 800 Fellows. A testament to her popularity among her peers and her exceptional career, League was the first woman from Georgia and the South to be admitted. Twenty years later, **Ivanue Stanley-Love**, an Atlanta architect with the firm of Stanley Love-Stanley became the second woman and the first African-American woman to be named to the College of Fellows from Georgia. There are still only a small number of women who have been honored at this level within the AIA.

In 1975, at the age of seventy-six, League retired and closed her practice. In recognition for her long and dedicated service to architecture, she received the Bronze Medal, the highest state award given by the AIA. After her retirement, League continued receiving recognition for her work. In 1982, she was named the first recipient of the Bernard B. Rothschild Award presented by the Georgia Association of the AIA. This award was established to recognize the "most distinguished service to the profession of architecture in Georgia." League was specifically commended for her "long-term contributions to improvement of the overall quality of life" in Georgia.²⁰

League represented the pioneering women in her field. However, during the 1960s and 1970s, women challenged the structures within the architectural profession at the national level as a result of the feminist awakening associated with the second women's movement and the national emphasis on civil and human rights. These challenges came in the form of raising the consciousness of women architects through the formation of female architectural alliances, the formal survey of the profession by the various groups, and exhibits, publications, and conferences celebrating and documenting women's designs and

¹⁹ Wolfe, *Daughters of Caanan*, p. 198, 199; New Georgia Encyclopedia website.

²⁰Debbie Piland, "Mrs. League is Honored by Architects," *Macon Telegraph and News*, October 17, 1982.

their involvement in the profession. Although there was little or no feminist activism within the Georgia architectural profession, women began to enter the field in greater numbers, especially after the Georgia Institute of Technology (Georgia Tech) began admitting women students in the 1950s.

Shirley Mewborn (1935-2003) is an example of a pioneering woman in a male-dominated field. An electrical engineer, Mewborn, was one of the first two women to graduate Georgia Tech in 1956. She had a long career with Southern Engineering Company of Atlanta, serving as vice president and treasurer before retiring in 1998. Mewborn was also the first woman to serve as chair of the Georgia Tech Alumni Association. She was awarded the 2003 Joseph Mayo Pettit Alumni Distinguished Service Award, the highest award given by the Alumni Association. Principal of Richard + Wittschiebe Architects, **Janice Nease Wittschiebe** is the fiscal year 2007 and second woman chair of the Georgia Tech Alumni Association.²¹

Today in architectural schools around the country, women students are better represented than ever. According to a study conducted by Georgia Tech in 1999, on average women represent roughly forty percent of the students enrolled in architecture schools. The University of California at Berkeley has the highest percentage with 55.7% women students. With less than twenty-five percent, University of Texas at Austin had the lowest percentage of female students.²² Georgia Tech has made great progress during a ten-year time span to attract women students to their College of Architecture (which includes architecture, building construction, industrial design, and city planning). Undergraduate enrollment of women increased from roughly a third to a half. Graduate enrollment during the same period increased from roughly a third to 44.5%. The percentage of women within the College of Architecture is greater than the percentage of women on Georgia Tech's campus as a whole.²³

²¹ "Shirley Mewborn: Embodiment of Tech Education," in Georgia Tech Alumni Association, "*Tech Topics*" available online at <http://gtalumni.org/news/ttoopics/fall03/190Nave.html>, accessed July 1, 2006; ISyE, Georgia Institute of Technology, *Engineering Enterprise*, available online at <http://www.lionhrtpub.com/ee/fall03/n-mewborn.html>, accessed July 1, 2006; "Taking the Wheel: Janice Wittschiebe Chairs Alumni Association for Fiscal Year," *Tech Topics* (Fall 2006): 15.

²² Please note that the total for the whole architectural school is lower than for architecture by itself because of the undergraduate building construction major; Data compiled from the 1999 College of Architecture Strategic Plan Update, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, Georgia; available online at http://www.coa.gatech.edu/fs_resources/reports/99StratPlanUpdateApp7.htm, accessed December 2, 2003.

²³ Georgia Institute of Technology, *2002 Georgia Tech Fact Book*, Atlanta, Georgia, 74, available online at <http://www.irp.gatech.edu/factbooks>, accessed on December 2, 2003; Georgia Institute of Technology, *1994 Georgia Tech Fact Book*, Atlanta, Georgia, available online at http://www.irp.gatech.edu/factbooks/1994_factbook/94student_profiles, accessed on December 2, 2003.

While the biggest gain has been in the numbers of women entering the educational pipeline, there is still a deplorably low percentage of women teaching architecture to these students. Even in schools where women students averaged 40% of the student population, only 15.3% of the professors were women. Architecture is still being taught primarily by men. Recruiting and hiring more women to teach architecture at all levels will be key to positive and sustained change within the architectural profession.

The Georgia Tech College of Architecture continues to try and increase its numbers of women and minorities in the classroom and in leadership positions. For example, the directors of the planning program, architecture program, and the Center for Quality Growth and Regional Development within the College are women: **Ellen Dunham-Jones**, **Dr. Cheryl Contant**, and **Dr. Catherine Ross**, respectively. The increasing numbers of women entering and achieving in all professions, including architecture, should forecast changes in the ways buildings are being designed, built, and used. However, this will not necessarily be the result if there is no corresponding feminine consciousness or desire to re-think the built environment so that it serves all people's needs.

From the late-twentieth century through the first decade of the twenty-first century, Georgia continues to grow at an alarmingly fast pace, in terms of population, development, and diversity. No longer a solely a biracial state, Georgia today boasts a variety of ethnic and cultural communities, including Hispanic, Asian, Eastern European, African, and Middle Eastern. These groups have enriched the culture of the state with different religions, cultural traditions, foods, values, and economic practices. This influx of immigrants provides opportunities and obstacles for the women of Georgia. There are greater economic opportunities for the women who come here from impoverished countries, which creates competition for those who are already here and struggling to survive in low-wage jobs. For those escaping persecution in their home country, Georgia offers freedom that they may have never known; however, this same freedom may also threaten long-held cultural beliefs about appropriate roles for women. Georgia may provide a safe and healthy place to start over, but it may also lead to isolation and separation from extended family and social networks. Whatever the situation, the increasing diversity of the state has already led to political battles over immigration laws, access for immigrants (legal and undocumented) to state-funded programs, and even the official language of the state.

How the changes and growth in Georgia affect the way women work, live, and play has not been thoroughly explored in terms of what are the emerging and significant women-related places. However, a majority of Georgia women work outside the home, interact with their friends, family, and co-workers via computer, and spend a significant part of their day driving. Do these changes correlate to a loss of

community or just different communities that are centered on technologies rather than locations? How this shapes our understanding of place and women in these places is as yet unknown. If history does repeat itself, then future historians will look back on our era as both a time of progress and a time of conservatism for women.

Final Note

While no means exhaustive, this essay highlights some points of departure for studying women and place in Georgia's modern era.

5.0 Findings

Darlene Roth

Several conclusions can be drawn from the work of this project:

1) No buildings exist in the state that are not in some way connected to women. The on-going discovery of sites related to women's history in the state has required and does require intensive library and archival research, even public records searches, before confirming field work can be undertaken. Buildings and structures do not betray their association to women's history from observation alone, or necessarily from their architectural details. Unless the word "ladies" or "women" appears in a title on the building, it cannot be immediately associated with women's history. The historiography of Georgia women is uneven, and most of what has been written has been narrated in such a way that little, if any of it, establishes relationships to the land and/or the built environment,

2) Many Georgia women who have made significant contributions have not been identified in the state's biographical works. Until recently there was a bias toward acknowledging wealthy, socially prominent women, and those who filled "traditional" roles. Many black women who left the state in the exodus of the early twentieth century made their mark in other locations, and not in the state of their birth. Other women have chosen to live their adult lives in Georgia, and have contributed to the state's culture, largely in the fields of education, philanthropy, literature, and public service. Biographical records, like the historiographical ones, are inconsistent and uneven in their coverage.

3) Despite the fact that all buildings are somehow connected to women, the interior usage of the buildings may be the only source of truly informative reference to those women's relationship to the structures. Sometimes context or location is suggestive. For example, the detached kitchen on farms and plantations defined not only a woman's space, but more often than not, a black woman's work space. There are also some buildings which pertain specifically to the story of the increasing evolution of women's self expression – particularly schools and clubhouses – and, for the state, these are key structures in the history of women.

4) As women moved from being producers in their economic setting to consumers, their relationship with the land changed. This is shown in the transition from kitchen gardening to suburban householding, where gardening became a pastime, a hobby, and lifetime pursuit, but not, as a rule, the source of survival or livelihood. The types of places associated with women also changed as women

began frequenting department stores, beauty shops, gas stations, train depots and other public places associated with shopping, consumption and travel.

5) While there are few previously identified resources in the state – markers, National Register sites, and such – that relate to women, there is considerable potential to denote women's history through these forms. The surprising amount, the diversity and the depth of the interpretation relating to women at historic houses and other sites across the state indicates that there is growing interest not only in hearing about the subject of women's lives, but also in developing their stories.

6) The survey process in Georgia, because of this project, has begun to target the collection of information about women-related resources as part of its process. This is a pioneering step forward, and reflects the possibilities that exist with the survey process. Despite the earlier limitations of the process, when it did not focus on women's buildings, the survey records revealed a large number of women-related resources. This is undoubtedly the best tool for future resources identification, and will improve as surveyors become more accustomed to looking for the women of Georgia and their history.

7) The processes of the National Register, as they are followed and practiced in Georgia, suffer from the same absence of women that marks the entire National Register system. Many of Georgia's National Register sites, however, reveal just how much story is locked up in the resources that do exist. This project was instituted to encourage researchers and staff to look for and include women's presence and history in future National Register nominations.

5.1 Historiographic Review

Darlene Roth

Women's history, as an accepted field within academic history, dates back to approximately 1970. It arose as a clarion response to the Women's Liberation Movement, which asserted that women constituted more than half the population of the country, and therefore at least half the story of the nation. Women's history broke the surface of historical consciousness with such seminal works as Eleanor Flexner's *Century of Struggle*, the first reliable, critical, and now classical study of the women's suffrage movement and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. It was written, however, by a woman with no academic connections. Julia Spruill's *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies*, A. Elizabeth Taylor's pieces on the suffrage movement in Georgia, and Mary Elizabeth Massey's *Bonnet Brigades* also predated the formation of a formal network among the professional women in the three major historical associations. Again, Taylor and Spruill were not academic historians.¹ In the beginning, Gerda Lerner, a professor of history at Sarah Lawrence, led the movement, ably assisted by a small group of professionals, who included Anne Firor Scott of Duke University. Scott authored a path-breaking study of southern women, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930*. This book, although superseded in some interpretations, especially those of Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, still stands as the pioneering work it was in 1970. Scott also represented the professional interests of southern women, that is, the interests of both the historical figures and new scholars in a new field, and she made sure that southern states, schools, historians, and historical figures were all represented in the emerging field.

The early leaders had already undertaken two important initiatives in the late 1960s as a beginning point to undergird the field: the first resulted in the publication of a guide to historical collections pertaining to women in libraries and archives around the country, namely *Women's History Sources (1971)*, edited by Andrea Hindig, then archivist at the University of Minnesota library. The second initiative produced a multi-volume set of biographies of women who had made significant

¹These works appeared as follows: Flexner, 1968; Massey 1966; Taylor's articles on Georgia appeared in 1957, 1958, and 1959, though her works on Tennessee and Texas predated these; and Spruill's work is even older – 1938. In 1970 Lerner had published her study of the Grimke sisters of South Carolina, but not yet her more seminal and provocative articles and books. Complete citations for these and the other works mentioned in this essay are included in Section 7.1, "Bibliography."

contributions to American life, called *Notable American Women*, (1971,1980) and covering women who lived between 1607 and 1975. Georgia women and Georgia collections were included in both works. Darlene Roth canvassed the state for women's manuscripts for Hindig's volume, and she and others identified by Scott wrote entries for *Notable American Women*. The movement spawned conferences, among which the most important was the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians, which adopted women's history as its chief theme after 1970. Academic and feminist journals, bibliographies, teaching guides, microfilm collections, and ancillary organizations to parallel the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, and the Southern Association of Historians also sprang up. In 1978 the Association of Black Women Historians was formed, and the impetus for studying African-American women's history resulted in such things as the publication of *Black Women in America*, two volumes of biography edited by Darlene Clark-Hine.

The Southern Association of Women Historians, probably because of the strength of the southern academic patriarchy, became one of the most active of these organizations. The Southern Association of Women Historians was formed in 1973 or 1974, and conducted a study under the direction of Mollie Davis of the University of North Carolina at Charlotte to identify and quantify the female faculty members at southern universities. The results reflected the entrenchment of the white patriarchy in southern universities; at that time, not one university in Georgia had a female professor of history. In most of the universities in Georgia, it took the efforts of a second generation of scholars to "infiltrate" the ranks and occupy positions both as female historians and as historians of women's history in college history departments, or as heads of women's studies centers with inter-disciplinary programs that included history. Today, there is an active association of women professors who support women's history in the state, and nearly all the universities and colleges have some form of instruction in the subject – be it feminist studies, women's studies, or women's history. What distinguishes women's history from other topics in history – such as slavery or the antebellum South, Civil Rights or the development of industry – is that it is both subject and approach. "The time will come," wrote two of southern women's most eminent scholars, "when no scholar of any subject will consider his or her task complete without careful examination of the differences in the ways men and women have participated in the phenomenon under study" – whatever that phenomenon is.²

²Jacquelyn Dowd Hall and Anne Firor Scott, "Women in the South," in *Interpreting Southern History: Historiographical Essays in Honor of Sanford W. Higginbotham*, John B. Boles and Evelyn Thomas Nolen, eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University 1987), p. 457. The Boles and Nolen volume was an update of the first

By the late 1970s the work of women historians on the topic of women's history found its way into local vehicles around the country – with Georgia no exception. In 1978 the Georgia Department of Archives and History published “*Women's Records: A Preliminary Guide*” “to begin to pinpoint the contributions of Georgia women in all phases of American life,”³ an effort that continues today in the archives. The Georgia Women's Records Project, propitiously begun during the Bicentennial year, promoted the collection and description of women's papers – individuals' and organizations' – throughout the state. Founded by an organization leader, an archivist, and a historian, the project succeeded in fostering growth in the holdings of women's papers at a number of institutions, chiefly in the Atlanta area.⁴ By 1982 both the Atlanta Historical Society and the Georgia Historical Society had published special issues on local women's history, a “first” in each case, which unfortunately has not been repeated by either organization. The exhibit called “Atlanta Women: From Myth to Modern Time” at the Atlanta Historical Society in 1980 produced a volume by the same title, which stands today as the only history of Atlanta women.

When Eleanor Boatwright's unpublished dissertation on Georgia women was published by the Carlson firm in 1993 at Ann Firor Scott's urging, it was the closest thing to a history of Georgia women the state had ever seen, although it covered white women only for the period before the Civil War. The word has spread, but spread more slowly than might have been the case. In 1986, James L. Hill published a sourcebook for Georgia teachers, which included two articles on women, one of them by the inveterate suffrage scholar A. Elizabeth Taylor. It is the only reference guide to local history that does contain information about the women's part of the Georgia story. Since the mid 1990s, Georgia Women of Achievement has put out a well-researched monthly biographical sketch of an important Georgia woman; however these have yet to be compiled into a book.

However strong the start in women's history studies nationwide, the academic movement has until very recently been completely dominated by professors of history in the Northeast, who worked at universities and libraries in the Northeast, and supplied the field with theories emanating from the experiences of the Northeast. The first generation of feminist scholarship, then, tended to reflect the experience of the Northeast with its industrialized, urbanized, politicized, and immigrant-heavy social contexts. The Southern experience, despite its prevalence in American popular culture, constituted an “also-ran” or a short reference in the spate of 1970s and early 1980s feminist works that purported to

historiographical guide to southern history, which contained no essay on women whatsoever.

³Boles and Nolen, *Interpreting Southern History*, from the “publisher's note,” p. vii.

⁴By name these were Kay Hamner, Ann Pederson, and Darlene Roth.

represent the national female experience. These works focused on domestic technology, female laborers, birth control, political action, professional development, education, and more. While the South today truly shares equanimity in the national culture, its history remains peculiar, and the female versions of that history are still playing “catch up” in the professional historical imagination.

The two areas where the greatest coverage has been accomplished consist of African-American women's history (before, during, and after the Civil War) and the study of antebellum plantation life. Both have been buoyed along by the convergence of two academic developments – the emergence of Black History and African-American scholarship as a serious and burgeoning field of study, and the equally important rise of social history and its push to reinterpret the history of slavery. Georgia has been fortunate to be included in many of these studies and to be the focus in some particularly successful studies in this area – such as Tera Hunter's recently released *To 'Joy My Freedom*. According to Scott and Hall, “no one has done for the New South what Anne Scott, Catherine Clinton, and others have done for the plantation patriarchy, that is, a thoroughgoing study of how the ideology of women's roles meshed with other cultural themes.”⁵ With few exceptions, other areas of women's history in the South, especially since the Civil War, remain to be fully conceptualized and developed – the experience of rural women, the rural-industrial transition that described modernization, and the move from farm to factory for many women, especially in the early 20th century. Despite its cultural importance, religion as a factor of women's lives in the South has received little note beyond Jean Friedman's *The Enclosed Garden*, which, brilliant as it is, drew no followers.

Study of the effects of urbanization and industrialization on domestic life, different and slower in the South than the rest of the nation due to the presence of a large African-American class of domestic service workers and regional poverty, cannot be applied slap-dash to southern homes without careful attention to the specifics of race and place, income and relative *Weltanschauung* of the participants. The notion (which this present study follows) that there exists in the South a popular women's culture, that is distinctive from purely feminist culture, that sometimes converges with feminism and sometimes does not, is an important element in understanding the South. This female culture, contrary to examples from Chicago, New York and California, supports the expansion of female roles “without necessarily challenging male power.”⁶ Radical only in its feminine-ism, not in its feminism, this view of womanhood rested solidly, historically, on the idea of woman as a force in culture – chiefly through her mothering and her “female” example. The view was shared across race lines, as it depended on the separation and

⁵Hall and Scott, “Women in the South,” p. 490.

differentiation of the races, and was not shared woman-to-woman across race lines until well into the twentieth century, when the notions of both race and womanhood were changing tumultuously. In this particular study, Georgia's story is seen not so much as the story of women's expanding political experience that found a home in buildings around the state, as it is a story of homes that have found historical significance because they represent, in physical form, the female social patterning.

This present study covers black and white women in their historical, environmental contexts, and also early ethnic differences where they occur. If the study were to bring the story up to date, it would include the diverse populations that have begun to inhabit Georgia since World War II. The illumination of humanity that can come from inter-racial (and inter-ethnic!) studies begs to be accomplished in southern history, where racial relations are still seen as more antagonistic than co-dependent, more co-dependent than inter-dependent, and where similarities are anathema to separatist scholars, be they black or white. One work, which pertains closely to the study at hand, called for an integrated approach to southern women's history, because "the histories of black and white southern women . . . have been separate histories Yet the similarities between their public records are too numerous and the differences too striking (and too socially significant) not to take advantage of direct comparisons."⁷ And so they are.

While there is less published scholarship on Georgia women's history than there might be to support a project of this scope and intent, there is much more than there was in 1970 – biographies, group studies, organizational histories, labor studies, and more. Little of the work done relates the histories that are told to the places within which these histories happen, so that may be the most important contribution of this particular study, published or unpublished.

This study seeks to do an integrative history that shows women of all classes and races, at least to some degree, in their places in Georgia – their metaphorical and actual places. There is much in this study that breaks new ground (pun intended), not only in relating women to the built environment on a statewide basis, but also in presenting their story as a part of a whole. Georgia is a state where the story of women is not so much a story of political triumph as it is of changing personal domains. It is a difficult history to deal with: the political triumph that netted white women the vote in 1920 came at the cost of selling out to racism. It was gained, when all was said and done, over the heads of the local government, which did not ratify the Nineteenth Amendment until 1970 – and never ratified the Equal

⁶Hall and Scott, "Women in the South," p. 491.

⁷Darlene Roth, *Matronage: Patterns in Women's Organizations, Atlanta, Georgia 1890-1940* (New York: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1994), p. 49.

Rights Amendment. Civil Rights, which is one of the most fertile grounds for women's history in the state, because it is so recent, lies almost entirely outside the scope of our study – not entirely, but almost.

The historical narrative, the special studies, the individual biographies, and the National Register nominations are all featured as related approaches to the same over-arching story. Whether black or white, rich or poor, women of the state lived their lives in specific locales performing specific roles, which were largely determined by their gender and the personal aspirations they held for their own success within the identities they had – racially, socially, economically, spiritually, intellectually, and physically – as members of the female sex.

5.2 Individual Women

Beth Gibson, Sarah Boykin, Bamby Ray

Introduction

This section is comprised of brief biographies of notable Georgia women whose contributions have been documented in published sources and state files. These sources recognize and describe the public roles of women who made important contributions at the state and national levels. The primary sources used were the well-known biographical dictionaries, *Notable American Women* (Volumes 1, 2, 3 and "The Modern Period"), *Black Women in America* and *The Dictionary of Georgia Biography*. Additional sources included the archival files of the Historic Preservation Division (HPD) part of Georgia's Department of Natural Resources; the biographical statements from Georgia Women of Achievement files; the American Association of University Women's Bicentennial publication, *Georgia Women: A Celebration*; and the multi-volume *Women's History Sources*, the indexes to manuscript holdings pertaining to women in the state of Georgia.

Other women included in this list were taken from *Historic Georgia Mothers*, another Bicentennial publication which celebrated the public/private roles of influential Georgia women who were also mothers. In addition to their family responsibilities, most of these women were involved in a number of civic, church and volunteer organizations. Many of them were community leaders.

Using these sources, the following criteria were used for selecting women to include in this biographical listing:

- Women whose significant career contributions in Georgia were made inside the state before or by the year 1960
- Women whose contributions were of state/national significance
- Women who were deceased before the end of December 1999

Observations/Findings

While it is not the intent of this section to offer an in-depth analysis of these women and their contributions, it is worth making some initial observations. First (and not surprisingly), the great majority of the women were born in the latter part of the nineteenth century or early part of the twentieth century.

They lived long lives (usually more than sixty years), were educated beyond elementary school and came from middle and upper-middle class backgrounds. They shared an extraordinary ability to endure a variety of hardships, overcome obstacles, and ultimately succeed in their efforts to better themselves and elevate the lives of others.

In a world where women faced formidable legal, social and cultural obstacles, formal education and a middle class background did offer them some advantages in creating independent and productive lives. However, such notable women as **Martha Berry, Dorothy Tilly, Lugenia Hope** and **Grace Towns Hamilton** were in no way content to live comfortably in the worlds into which they were born. Instead they dedicated themselves to public service. If they were women of privilege, they were also women of determination, strong character and moral strength. In their struggles against ignorance, illiteracy, poverty and racism, these women prevailed and furthered the causes of education, equal opportunity and racial justice in profound ways.

As leaders in traditionally female-dominated professions, other Georgia women such as **Lucy Laney, Mary Ann Lipscomb, Alice Birney, Selena Butler** and **Carrie Logan** founded schools, parent-teacher associations and orphanages. Others were civil rights activists, abolitionists, church leaders and community organizers. They fought for social justice, political rights and racial equality. They formed neighborhood groups, labor unions and kindergartens. They were leaders in woman's clubs and garden clubs, and they were politically active in temperance and suffrage movements. They were missionaries, politicians and teachers.

Harriett High, Lettie Pate Evans and **Emily Tubman** were influential philanthropists. **Stella Akin, Frances Bradley, Ellamae Ellis League** and **Ruth Moseley** were among the women pioneers who excelled in the male-dominated professions of law, medicine, architecture and business. **Carson McCullers, Flannery O'Connor, Julia Harris** and **Annie Blackshear** were among the many successful women writers, journalists and artists. And the contributions of **Juliette Gordon Low** (founder of the Girl Scouts), **Ma Rainey** (blues singer) and **Margaret Mitchell** (author of *Gone With the Wind*) are well-known nationally.

The biographical list which follows summarizes the contributions of these remarkable Georgia women, and many others who were equally remarkable, but are not as well known. They represent great talents, triumphant spirits and diverse lives – women who led extraordinary lives and gave women's voices to history.

Elements of these women's lives which are included in the biographical listings are, if known, name, birth date and place, death date and place, education, vocation/profession, lifetime achievements, marriage/family, a list of the sources used to compile the information, and identification of sites (such as Georgia Historical Markers) that commemorate their lives. Biographical information was, in many cases, condensed so as to make the entries of similar length and permit the inclusion of as many women as possible.

Conclusions

Future opportunities for analyzing and interpreting the careers and contributions of the women listed here abound. The list should be considered a beginning rather than an ending – a list always in need of revision. Besides the need to update the list to include the contributions of more contemporary women, there is also a need to identify and recognize “forgotten” Georgia women. These would include those whose contributions have not yet been recognized in published sources, or whose stories remain as yet unknown to us.

And, finally, in the context of historic preservation, this biographical list is intended to support future research and fieldwork to identify historic sites associated with these women. If one of the goals of the women's history initiative is to make women more visible, designating historic places associated with them should be one of the highest priorities. A focused initiative to identify places associated with these notable Georgia women is long overdue in order to rectify the continued absence of places associated with them in our historic preservation programs. The identification and preservation of these cultural landscapes will offer new opportunities for meaningful interpretation of the physical environment and material culture associated with these women. It is an obvious next step in our efforts to understand and illuminate their legacies.

Short Biographies of Notable Georgia Women

Akin, Stella (b. Dec. 25, 1897; d. Oct. 8, 1972)

Education. Savannah public schools; read law

Vocation/Profession. Attorney, judge

Lifetime Achievements. Stella Akin began her law practice in Savannah in 1918, and was the first woman in Georgia admitted to the bar. She was a highly accomplished attorney who achieved many “firsts” as a woman, including being the first woman to argue a case before the Georgia Supreme Court.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 10—11; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 50

Ames, Jessie Daniel (b. Palestine, Tex., Nov. 2, 1883; d. Feb. 12, 1972)

Education. Southwestern College (Georgetown, Tex.), B.A., 1902

Vocation/Profession. Organization leader in Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching, headquartered in Atlanta

Lifetime Achievements. An influential leader in promoting racial justice, Jessie Daniel Ames was a Texas businesswoman and suffragist who led the formation of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL) in 1930. This influential group was organized as an initiative undertaken by the Women's Council of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC). The ASWPL was instrumental in repudiating the myth that lynchings were carried out in defense of white womanhood. These white women investigated the accusations against black men, including attending courtroom hearings, and their efforts are credited with the decline in lynching of black people.

Marriage/Family. m. Roger Post Ames, June 1905; 3 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 22—24; *Women's History Sources*

Andrews, Eliza Frances (b. Washington, Ga., Aug. 10, 1840; d. Jan. 21, 1931)

Education. Washington (Ga.) Seminary for Girls; LaGrange Female College, A.B., 1857 (first graduating class)

Vocation/Profession. Writer, educator, botanist

Lifetime Achievements. Eliza Frances Andrews was born on Haywood Plantation near Washington. At the age of thirty-three, she began a thirty year career as a teacher and principal in several schools, including Wesleyan College from 1885—1896. She continued to write and publish articles, stories and novels. She is best known for *War-Time Journal of a Georgia Girl 1864—1865*, a travel diary published in 1908. After retiring from teaching, she studied botany and published two botany textbooks.

Marriage/Family. Single

Burial. Rest Haven Cemetery, Washington, Ga.

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 29—31; *Notable American Women*, pp. 45—46; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp.79—80; *Women's History Sources*

Armor, Mary Harris (b. Penfield, Ga., March 9, 1863; d. Nov. 6, 1950)

Education. Private schools, Greensboro, Ga.; Wesleyan College, honorary LL.D.

Vocation/Profession. Georgia Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) leader; Evangelistic Director and Organizer of the National WCTU

Lifetime Achievements. A skilled orator and temperance movement leader, Mary Armor was well known for her public speaking, including speeches made at world conventions of the Christian Women's Temperance Union (WCTU) advocating the prohibition of buying and selling liquor. She also served on denominational boards and was a member of several women's organizations, including the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), and Woman's Club. She was named a "Historic Georgia Mother" in 1976.

Marriage/Family. m. Walter Florence Armor, 1883; 5 children

Sources. *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 24—25; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 16—17

Atkinson, Susan Cobb Milton (b. Florida, 1860; d. 1942)

Education. Lucy Cobb Institute, Athens

Vocation/Profession. Educator, businesswoman, postmaster

Lifetime Achievements. Susan Atkinson was instrumental in the establishment of Georgia Normal and Industrial School, the first state supported women's college in Georgia. The Milledgeville school later became Georgia Sate College for Women, and is now Georgia College. When her husband was Speaker

of the Georgia House of Representatives, she persuaded him to introduce a bill to support a school where women could learn industrial and domestic arts as well as receive teacher training. His first attempt in 1888 was unsuccessful. The following year, with hundreds of signatures from petitions his wife had sent out, William Atkinson presented the bill, and it passed. Later she managed her husband's campaign for Governor. Widowed at the age of forty-one, Susan Atkinson started an insurance business in Newnan. A few years later she became Postmaster of Newnan, a position she held until 1928.

Marriage/Family. m. William Yates Atkinson; 6 children

Sources. Georgia Women of Achievement, 1996 Inductee

Sites. A dormitory at Georgia College was named for the Atkinsons. The Atkinson Building is now the School of Business on the campus.

Avary, Myrta Harper Lockett (b. Halifax Co., Va., 1857(?); d. Feb. 14, 1946)

Education. Home instruction

Vocation/Profession. Writer, journalist

Lifetime Achievements. Myrta Avary was on the editorial staff of several publications during her early working years in New York City, before moving to Atlanta (the home of her physician husband). She wrote a number of books about the South during and after the Civil War, including *The Rebel General's Loyal Bride* (1873) and *A Virginia Girl in the Civil War* (1903). In her long and successful career as an author and journalist she was also the editor of a number of publications about the South, including *A Diary from Dixie* (1905) by Mary Boykin Chestnut and the prison journal of Confederate Vice-President, A. H. Stephens, *Letters and Recollections of A. H. Stephens* (1910).

Marriage/Family. m. James C. Avary, 1844; 1 child

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, p. 41; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 67; *Women's History Sources*

Bandy, Dicksie Bradley (b. Bartow Co., Ga., 1890; d. 1971)

Education. Attended Reinhart Normal College, Waleska; Georgia State College for Women

Vocation/Profession. Textile entrepreneur, Indian rights advocate

Lifetime Achievements. Dicksie Bandy and her husband ran a country store in Sugar Valley, which operated primarily on credit to farm families. During the Depression, a debt of \$22,000 to suppliers prompted the Bandys to begin making tufted (chenille) bedspreads. They traveled to the North to market the bedspreads, which developed into a successful cottage industry that was instrumental in the economic recovery of northwest Georgia. The Bandys developed industries in Dalton, Rome, Cartersville and Ellijay, and soon owned several textile companies. The Bandys shared their financial success in generous donations to the Dalton Hospital, Dalton Salvation Army, and Dalton Regional Library System. Her main charity, however, was to the Cherokee Indians, and she was outspoken in her apologies to the Cherokee Nation for the treatment they received from the State of Georgia and the U. S. Government. She led the efforts to restore the home of Chief Joseph Vann, near Dalton, an important site for the Cherokee Nation. In 1958 it was dedicated and given to the State as a monument to the Cherokees.

Marriage/Family. m. Burl J. Bandy; children

Sources. Georgia Women of Achievement, 1993 inductee

Barker, Mary Cornelia (b. Atlanta, Ga., Jan. 20, 1879; d. Sept. 15, 1963)

Education. Agnes Scott College, diploma, 1900

Vocation/Profession. Educator, labor leader

Lifetime Achievements. Barker was a founding member of the Atlanta Public School Teachers' Association (APSTA) in 1905. By the mid 1920s, ASPTA had become the largest local union affiliated

with the national teachers union American Federation of Teachers (AFT). Worker education, tenure, and academic freedom were among her particular interests. Barker was also an early leader in Atlanta's bi-racial movement, promoting better educational opportunities for black students and equal pay for black teachers. She was an outspoken advocate for southern women workers and a strong leader in progressive organizations dedicated to workers' rights, social change, and racial justice throughout her life.

Marriage/Family. Single; sister of **Tommie Dora Barker**

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 53—55; *Notable American Women*, pp. 50—51; *Women's History Sources*

Barker, Tommie Dora (b. Rockmart, Ga., Nov. 15, 1888; d. Feb. 6, 1978)

Education. Agnes Scott College; Carnegie Library School, Atlanta, certificate; Emory University, honorary degree, LL.D., 1930.

Vocation/Profession. Librarian

Lifetime Achievements. Helped to build the library profession, establish standards for education of librarians, and to promote and develop library services throughout the South; a founder and officer in numerous professional library associations; first woman to receive an honorary degree from Emory University. In 1936 she became dean of Emory University Library School.

Marriage/Family. Single; sister of **Mary Cornelia Barker**

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 55—56; *Women's History Sources*

Barrett, Kate Waller (b. Virginia, Jan. 24, 1857; d. Feb. 23, 1925)

Education. Educated at home; Women's Medical College of Georgia, graduate

Vocation/Profession. Social reformer

Lifetime Achievements. Kate Barrett Walker founded and directed the Florence Crittenton Missions. Before moving with her family to Atlanta in 1886, Kate Barrett had already begun a social ministry to unwed mothers. In Atlanta she obtained a medical degree at the age of thirty-five, and secured financial assistance from Charles N. Crittenton to found a home for unwed mothers. With additional money and land on Simpson Street donated by the city, Barrett built the first "Florence Crittenton Home," a thirty-five room residence completed in 1893. The next year the Barretts moved to Washington, D. C. where she continued her work, assisting with the establishment and supervision of over fifty similar residences throughout the country. When Mr. Crittenton died in 1909, Kate Barrett became the President of the National Florence Crittenton Missions and served until her death in 1925. In 1976 she was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. The Rev. Robert South Barrett, an Episcopal priest who became dean of St. Luke's Cathedral, Atlanta, 1886; at least one child

Sources. *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp.14—15; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 18—19; *Women's History Sources*

Beasley, Mathilda (b. New Orleans, 1833; d. 1903)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Teacher, founder of religious community and orphanage

Lifetime Achievements. A free woman of color, Mathilda Beasley taught slaves. After her husband's death, she went to England to become a Franciscan nun, returning in the 1880s to start a religious community and orphanage in Savannah. In 1885 she started a community of Black Sisters, following Franciscan rule (although never officially affiliated) in Georgia, which eventually settled in Savannah and included an orphanage for young black girls. The venture was unsuccessful, and in 1898 the orphanage was taken over by a group of Franciscan sisters.

Marriage/Family. m. Abraham Beasley, businessman, restaurant owner, slave dealer, 1850s; widowed, 1878.

Sources. *Black Women in America*, pp. 99—100

Berry, Martha McChesney (b Floyd Co., Ga., Oct. 7, 1866; d. Feb. 27, 1942)

Education. Private tutor; Edgeworth School, Boston, 1882—1883; eight honorary doctoral degrees

Vocation/Profession. Educator

Lifetime Achievements. As a young woman living at Oak Hill, her family's cotton plantation, Martha Berry witnessed the poverty and illiteracy of north Georgia. Her concern for the plight of the rural children of this area led her to establish the Berry Schools near Rome to further their education. A successful fund raiser, she had, in addition to her own substantial inheritance, the financial support of many wealthy benefactors, including Emily Vanderbilt Hammond, Andrew Carnegie and Henry Ford. In 1902 a boys' school was established, and in 1909 a girls' school was added to the campus. In 1926 Berry Junior College was established, and in 1932 Berry College began to offer a four-year undergraduate degree. Berry College is a thriving liberal arts college today with a campus of 30,000 acres, including acreage from the Oak Hill Plantation where she grew up. Martha Berry's legacy is preserved in the College's ongoing commitment to provide financial assistance for those in need and work opportunities for all students.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 77—78; *Notable American Women*, pp. 137—138; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 43—45; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1992 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. On US 27, the Martha Berry Highway, near Berry University in Rome is a Georgia Historical Marker commemorating her birthplace.

Birney, Alice Josephine McLellan (b. Marietta, Ga., Oct. 19, 1853; d. Dec. 20, 1907)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Child welfare worker

Lifetime Achievements. Alice Birney grew up in Georgia. In 1897 Alice Birney, then living in Maryland and the mother of three children, convened the "National Congress of Mothers" in Washington, D.C. It was conceived as a national organization of mothers who would work as volunteers to educate other mothers about child rearing. In 1925 the organization became the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the prototype for the Parent Teacher Association or PTA, an organization that today has over nine million members. In 1976 she was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. Alonzo J. White, Jr., 1879; 1 daughter; widowed, 1880; m. Theodore W. Birney, 1892; 2 children; widowed 1897

Burial. Oak Hill Cemetery, Washington, D.C.

Sources. *Notable American Women*, pp. 147—148; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 10—12; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 20—21; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. A Georgia Historical Marker on Church Street, Marietta, identifies the house where Alice Birney lived from 1872—1884 (not open to the public).

Black, Mary Ellen (Nellie) Peters (b. Atlanta, Ga., Feb. 9, 1851; d. Aug. 4, 1919)

Education. Brooke Hall, Medial, Pa., graduate, 1870.

Vocation/Profession. Clubwoman, religious leader, educational reformer, farm manager

Lifetime Achievements. A member of the prominent Peters family of Atlanta, Nellie Black donated land for the construction of an Episcopal mission at Juniper and Ponce de Leon Avenue in 1872. She was

involved in numerous charitable causes, including the founding of the King's Daughters Hospital, the first free hospital in Atlanta, and Grady Hospital. Her work for educational reforms included organizing the Free Kindergarten Association in 1893, and appealing (unsuccessfully) to the Georgia Assembly to establish kindergartens throughout the state. She fought illiteracy, went before the legislature to argue for compulsory education laws, advocated that women be admitted to the University of Georgia as well as to the practice of law. In 1896 she helped found the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs. Nellie Black was also a leading member of numerous civic organizations and charitable causes, including the Atlanta Women's Club, the Episcopal Church; and was an early advocate of educational rights for women. In 1976 she was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. George Robison Black, 1877; 3 children; 4 stepchildren

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 82—84; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 28–29; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 22—23; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1998 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. A church is named for her in northeast Georgia.

Blackshear, Annie Laura Eve (b. Augusta, Ga., Oct. 30, 1875; d. Feb. 17, 1967)

Education. Lucy Cobb Institute; New York School of Art; Women's Art School; Cooper Union; Art Students League; Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts; University of Georgia

Vocation/Profession. Painter, illustrator, lecturer, educator, writer

Lifetime Achievements. Well-known as a portrait and landscape painter, Annie Blackshear taught art in a number of Georgia schools before become the illustrator for the Georgia Agricultural Extension Service. For twenty-eight years she provided illustrations for educational initiatives and exhibits; and her charts, posters, and bulletins earned her a reputation as an outstanding illustrator and artist. She also wrote, directed and staged pageants for educational conferences and produced exhibits for state, county and regional fairs. She was active in numerous arts organizations, the Presbyterian Church, Ladies' Garden Club, University of Georgia Woman's Club, American Association of University Women (AAUW), League of Women Voters, and other civic and social organizations.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 84—85

Blair, Ruth (b. Douglas Co., Ga., March 17, 1889; d. July 24, 1974)

Education: Cox College; Oglethorpe University, honorary degree, 1935

Vocation/Profession. Archivist

Lifetime Achievements. Ruth Blair was recognized as an effective administrator of historic organizations and promoted the preservation of historic collections in Georgia. She was the second director of the Georgia Department of Archives and History before becoming the first Executive Secretary of Atlanta Historical Society in 1937. At the Atlanta Historical Society, Ruth Blair was responsible for the collection, identification, and cataloguing of over thirty thousand archival photographs and prints of Atlanta's past.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 87—88; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 53; *Women's History Sources*

Bosomworth, Mary Musgrove (b. Coweta, Ga., c1700; d. c1766)

Education. Elementary

Vocation/Profession. Indian leader, interpreter, diplomat, adviser

Lifetime Achievements. The daughter of a Creek Indian woman and a white trader, Mary Musgrove was taken to South Carolina to be baptized and educated when she was ten years old. She returned to Georgia several years later to live with the Creeks. In 1732 Mary and her husband, John Musgrove, had a large trading post on the Savannah River near the Yamacraw Indian tribe. When General Oglethorpe and other English settlers landed near there in 1733, Mary was instrumental in mediating between the Yamacraws and the English. As an interpreter and diplomat, Mary Musgrove was influential in facilitating friendly relations between the early English colonists in Georgia and the American Indians from 1733 until her death c1766. However, she claimed that the English did not give her all that they had promised. After years of protest and persistence, the British gave Mary Musgrove and her third husband, Thomas Bosomworth, a cash settlement and title to St. Catherine's Island in 1760. They built a home and large plantation on St. Catherine's, where Mary lived until her death c1766. In 1976 Mary Musgrove Bosomworth was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. John Musgrove, 1716; m. Jacob Matthews, c1737; m. Thomas Bosomworth, 1744; no known children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 96—97; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 3—4; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 54—55; *Notable American Women, Vol. 2*, pp. 605—606; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1993 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. There is a Georgia Historical Marker on US 17 in Chatham County near the site of the Musgrove's trading post.

Bowen, Eliza Andrews (b. Columbia Co., Ga., April 22, 1828; d. May 10, 1898)

Education. By her mother

Vocation/Profession. Writer, teacher

Lifetime Achievements. A science and math teacher for a number of years, Eliza Bowen also wrote a book on the teaching of elementary astronomy, as well as historical articles on Wilkes County for the *Washington (Georgia) Gazette and Chronicle* that were later published as a county history.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 99—100

Bradley, Frances Sage (b. Fort Gaines, Ga., Aug. 28, 1862; d. Feb. 11, 1949)

Education. Medical College of New York Infirmary for Women and Children, 1896—98; Cornell University, M.D., 1899

Vocation/Profession. Physician

Lifetime Achievements. After the death of her husband in 1896, she trained as a physician, returning to Atlanta in 1899 after obtaining her medical degree. Until her retirement in 1926 she was a leader in rural health care, working for the U. S. Children's Bureau to deliver medical services to underserved areas in the South and later, in western states. She also was well known for her articles about health, hygiene, and social issues which were published in various journals.

Marriage/Family. m. Horace James Bradley, 1885; 4 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 110—111; *Women's History Sources*

Bramblett, Agnes Cochran (b. Rivoli, Bibb Co., Ga., Oct. 3, 1886; d. April 3, 1979)

Education. Common schools; Tift College, honorary degree, D.Litt., 1971

Vocation/Profession. Poet

Lifetime Achievements. Agnes Bramblett received numerous awards and honors for her writings, which included nine books of poetry and one novel. Governor Carl Sanders appointed her Georgia's fifth Poet

Laureate in 1963. She was the first woman to be given this honor, an appointment she retained for a decade.

Marriage/Family. m. August W. Bramblett, 1908; 2 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 112—113; *Women's History Sources*

Branham Sara (b. Oxford, Ga., 1888; d. 1962)

Education. Wesleyan College, graduate, 1907; University of Colorado, B.S.; University of Chicago, Ph.D. and M.D.; University of Colorado, honorary degree

Vocation/Profession. Teacher, professor, medical researcher

Lifetime Achievements. After receiving her medical degree from the University of Chicago, Sara Branham was appointed to the National Institute of Health in Bethesda, Maryland. Her greatest achievements there were isolating the microorganism that causes spinal meningitis, and identifying drugs that were instrumental in developing a cure for this disease. She developed anti-toxins for a number of ailments and classified a number of toxic microorganisms. Sara Branham received numerous awards and honors throughout her career and represented the United States in international microbiology conferences during the 1930s.

Marriage/Family. m. Philip S. Matthews

Burial. Covington, Ga.

Sources. Georgia Women of Achievement, 1992 inductee

Brooks, Hallie Beachem (b. West Baden, Ind., Oct. 9, 1907; d. 1985)

Education. Butler University, A.B.; Columbia University School of Library Service, B.L.S.; Univ. of Chicago, master's degree

Vocation/Profession. Librarian, educator

Lifetime Achievements. Hallie Brooks worked for Atlanta University in numerous capacities from Library Science Professor to Acting Dean, and chaired numerous university committees from 1930-1977. She had an outstanding career in the library science profession and university community, including the publication of an important text on bookmaking and a number of professional articles.

Marriage/Family. m. Frederic Victor Brooks, 1936

Sources. *Black Women in America*, pp. 169—170; *Women's History Sources*

Brown, Elizabeth Grisham (b. Pendleton, S.C., July 13, 1826; d. Dec. 26, 1896)

Education. Attended boarding school in Greenville, S.C., 1839

Vocation/Profession. Secretary

Lifetime Achievements. Elizabeth Brown served her husband Joseph Brown as his private secretary, during his years in political office in Georgia. From the time Brown was elected Governor (serving for four terms), until his retirement as Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court, Elizabeth Brown kept handwritten records of his official papers and opinions from the bench. She also assembled scrapbooks of his political career, which have proved invaluable to state historians. She and her husband were living in the executive mansion in Milledgeville when Sherman's march forced the evacuation of the city. She and other Milledgeville women supplied an entire company of men from Fannin County with uniforms. These soldiers were known as "Mrs. Joe Brown's Boys." In 1976 she was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. Joseph E. Brown, 1847; 8 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 24—25; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. A statue of Elizabeth and Joseph Brown is on the Capitol grounds in Atlanta.

Bryan, Mary Edwards (b. Lloyd, Jefferson Co., Fla., May 17, 1838[?]; d. June 15, 1913)

Education. Fletcher Institute, Thomasville, Ga.; College Temple, Newnan, Ga., M.A.

Vocation/Profession. Author, journalist, editor

Lifetime Achievements. Mary Bryan wrote articles for numerous periodicals and newspapers and was editor of several magazines during a career that began in 1858 and continued into the 1890s.

Marriage/Family. M. Iredell E. Bryan, 1854; 5 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 130—131; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 39—40

Bryan, Mary Givens (b. LaGrange, Ga., Sept. 3, 1910; d. July 28, 1964)

Education. Mount de Sales Academy, Macon; Georgia State College for Women, Milledgeville; Emory University; American University, diplomas

Vocation/Profession. Archivist

Lifetime Achievements. In 1951 Mary Bryan became the fourth director of the Georgia Department of Archives and History. Under her leadership and as a result of her persistence and hard work, a new repository for Georgia's historical records was built in 1964. Highly regarded in her field, Mary Bryan edited several professional publications and produced works examining archives in Georgia.

Marriage/Family. m. Thomas C. Bryan, 1948; no children; divorced 1951

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 132—133; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 53; *Women's History Sources*

Bullock, Sarah Irvin (b. Anniston, Ala., July 1, 1911; d. not known)

Education. University of Alabama, graduate, 1931; University of Tennessee, M.S.; University of Chicago, Mercer University, University of Georgia, graduate studies; University of North Carolina, post-graduate study

Vocation/Profession. Teacher, guidance counselor, church leader

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year in 1973, Sarah Bullock was a leader in education in Georgia. She was influential in the establishment and development of numerous programs, including summer day camp, dropout prevention, and vocational occupational studies.

Marriage/Family. m. Cary G. Bullock, 1937; 4 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 124—125

Burke, Emily Pillsbury (b. Boscawen, N. H., Sept. 26, 1814; d. Sept. 6, 1887)

Education. Unknown

Vocation/Profession. Teacher, author

Lifetime Achievements. From 1840—1849 Emily Burke was a teacher in Georgia, first at the Female Orphan Asylum in Savannah and later at academies, plantation schools, Macon Female College, and the Female Seminary in Alexandria, Georgia. In 1849 she went to Oberlin College where she wrote *Reminiscences of Georgia* which was published the following year. Its descriptions of southern culture offered rare portrayals of the early nineteenth century plantation culture in Georgia.

Marriage/Family. m. A. B. Burke, 1848; m. David F. Kimball 1859; no children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, p. 140

Butler, Frances Kemble (see **Frances Kemble**)

Butler, Selena Sloan (b. Thomasville, Ga., Jan. 4, 1872[?]; d. Oct. 7, 1964)

Education. Spelman Seminary (Baptist Home Mission School for black women), certificate, 1888; Emerson School, Boston

Vocation/Profession. Schoolteacher, community service and child welfare leader

Lifetime Achievements. Selena Sloan's father was white; her mother was Indian and Negro. Like her white counterpart, **Alice Birney**, Selena Sloan Butler saw the need for a group of volunteer parents to assist each other in a support group for rearing and educating children. In 1920 Selena Butler organized the "Parent-Teacher Association of Negroes," and in 1926 she was the founder of the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, the first black parent-teacher association. She served as the first national President of this organization, and was instrumental in developing an interracial dialogue/network with the white National Congress organization - with which it merged years later. At that time she was named a national founder (posthumously), along with **Alice Birney** and Phoebe Hearst, two white women leaders of the organization. Selena Butler was also the founder of Atlanta's Phyllis Wheatley YWCA, and is also credited with organizing the first night school for blacks in Atlanta.

Marriage/Family. m. Henry Rutherford Butler, M.D., 1893; 1 child

Burial. Oakland Cemetery, Atlanta

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 142—143; *Notable American Women*, pp. 127—128; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 11—12; *Black Women in America*, pp. 210—211; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1995 inductee

Sites. Yonge Street School in Atlanta, which her son attended and where Butler founded the first PTA, was renamed Henry Rutherford Butler Elementary School. A park adjacent to the school was named for her.

Cabaniss, Louise Conger Carmichael (b. Carnesville, Ga., August 31, 1906; d. not known)

Education. University of Georgia, B.A.

Vocation/Profession. Clubwoman, community leader

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year in 1963, Louise Cabaniss was active in numerous civic, church and community organizations, including Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs, State Board of the Woman's Christian Fellowship, and the Oglethorpe Board of Education. She lived with her family on her husband's family farm in Maxeys, Georgia, known as "Green Acres."

Marriage/Family. m. Emmet Overton Cabaniss, 1930; 5 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 104—105

Calhoun, Marion Crompton Peel (b. Feb. 26, 1866; d. not known)

Education. Attended Agnes Scott Institute; Lucy Cobb Institute, Athens; other women's colleges

Vocation/Profession. Garden club, Atlanta social leader

Lifetime Achievements. Marion Calhoun served in leadership positions in numerous clubs and volunteer organizations from the Peachtree Garden Club to the Red Cross and DAR. She was one of the first presidents of the Peachtree Garden Club 1923—27, and she helped to establish the Garden Club of Georgia, Inc., serving as its first President. She was known for her expertise in the cultivation of roses and camellias. In 1976 Marion Calhoun was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. Dr. Ferdinand P. Calhoun; 3 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 26—27

Callaway, Virginia Hand (b. Pelham, Ga., Feb. 21, 1900; d. Feb 11, 1995)

Education. Lucy Cobb School, Athens

Vocation/Profession. Conservationist, garden club leader

Lifetime Achievements. Leader of opposition to the proposed route of Interstate I-85 through the town of Pine Mountain. Garden Club board member-at-large on the national level. Chaired LadyBird Johnson's State Highway Beautification Committee for Georgia. Named a "Historic Georgia Mother" in 1976

Marriage/Family. m. Cason J. Callaway, Sr., 1920; 3 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 28—29

Sites. The Visitors' Center at Callaway Gardens, completed in 2000, was named for Virginia Hand Callaway. It was dedicated posthumously on her 100th birthday, February 21, 2000.

Camuse, Jane Mary (b. Italy, c1710; d. after 1748)

Education. Unknown

Vocation/Profession. Seri-culturist (the art of silk winding)

Lifetime Achievements. Jane Camuse and her husband were put in charge of silk production in the Georgia Colony in 1736. Although it is not known what happened to her husband, Mary Camuse became the principal overseer for the Georgia Trustees in the production of silk. Mary Camuse was considered to be the only person in Georgia who knew the craft. Because she refused to teach seri-culture to others, she is blamed for the failure of silk production in colonial Georgia.

Marriage/Family. m. Jacob Camuse, c1730; 6 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 161—162

Cate, Margaret Davis (b. Brunswick, Ga., Nov. 24, 1888; d. Nov. 29, 1961)

Education. Glynn Academy, graduate, 1905; Univ. of Tenn., Summer Normal School; Oglethorpe University, honorary degree, M.A., 1956

Vocation/Profession. Historian, schoolteacher, author, poultry farmer

Lifetime Achievements. Margaret Cate lived in Glynn County her entire life, which she devoted to researching, preserving and protecting Georgia's coastal heritage. She was a leader in the effort to purchase Fort Frederica, which was given to the National Park Service and dedicated as a national monument in 1947. Through her DAR and UDC memberships, Cate led the efforts to place historical markers in the area and to identify Revolutionary and Confederate grave sites. She served on numerous boards at the state and local levels, and was the author of a number of historical publications. In Brunswick she owned and operated a poultry farm from 1918—1943, and in 1928 she was named one of twenty-five outstanding women farmers in America.

Marriage/Family. m. Gustavus Vassa Cate, 1917; no children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 180—181; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. Margaret Davis Cate Memorial Library, an annex to the museum at Fort Frederica

Chambers, Willie M. (b. 1850s; d. early twentieth century)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Seamstress, artist

Lifetime Achievements. Willie Chambers is considered one of the most important nineteenth century naïve painters in the South.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. Historic Preservation Division (HPD) files

Cochran, Margaret Thompson (b. Farmington, N. Mex., July 18, 1911; d. not known)

Education. Asbury College, Kentucky

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, church leader, community volunteer

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia State Mother, 1967.

Marriage/Family. m. Charles Cochran, Methodist minister; 5 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 112—113

Colley, Mary Fort (b. Americus, Ga., Sept. 13, 1894; d. not known)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Clubwoman, church and community leader

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year in 1945, Mary Colley was active in the Methodist Church and numerous civic and community organizations, including Grantville Garden Club, DAR, Grantville Woman's Club, Coweta County Board of Education, and Grantville PTA.

Marriage/Family. m. Charles Stuart Colley, 1916; 3 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 70—71

Collins, Necie Wooddall (b. Fairburn, Ga., Sept. 10, 1879; d. July 13, 1963)

Education. Fairburn schools, training as a milliner in Atlanta

Vocation/Profession. Bookkeeper, clubwoman, church and community leader

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year in 1952, Necie Collins was active in the Acworth PTA, Acworth Woman's Club, and the Acworth Baptist Church. With her husband she was a partner in the business, J.F. Collins' Son, Furniture Store and Funeral Home.

Marriage/Family. m. Ernest Lemon Collins, 1906; 4 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 82—83

Craft, Ellen Laney Smith (b. Clinton, Ga., 1826; d. 1891)

Education. Agricultural school in Ockham, Surrey, England

Vocation/Profession. Seamstress, abolitionist, anti-slavery lecturer in England, teacher, writer, farmer

Lifetime Achievements. Daughter of James Smith, cotton planter and his house slave Maria, Ellen Laney married William Craft, another slave in 1846. Ellen Craft and her husband escaped from slavery to Boston in 1848, where they were popular on the abolitionist lecture circuit and Ellen worked as a seamstress. They moved to England in 1850 when their freedom was threatened by the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. There they continued to lecture and demonstrate against American slavery. In 1852 they enrolled in an agricultural school in Surrey. Several years later, while Ellen continued to work as a seamstress, her husband William started an import-export business and traveled to Africa. They bought a house in London which became an important meeting place for abolitionists. In 1870 they decided to return to Georgia with the intention of buying farmland in order to provide opportunities for freed slaves. In 1873 they purchased Woodville Plantation in Bryan County (Ways Station) and soon afterward started their own school. After years of struggle the school was forced to close due to lack of funds; and William lost the plantation soon after Ellen's death in 1891, as farm prices continued to drop.

Marriage/Family. m. William Craft, 1846; legally married 1850; 5 children.

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 226—228; *Notable American Women*, pp. 396—398; *Black Women in America*, p. 290; *Black Women in White America*, pp. 65—72; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1996 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. Woodville Plantation, Bryan County (Ways Station)

Creswell, Mary Ethel (b. Ansenville, Pa., Oct. 15, 1879; d. Aug. 7, 1960)

Education. State Normal School, Athens, Ga., diploma, 1902; University of Chicago, summer schools, 1903—1910; University of Georgia, 1910-1911; Columbia University, summer schools, 1913—1936; University of Georgia, B.S.H.E., 1919

Vocation/Profession. Educator

Lifetime Achievements. Mary Creswell was a nationally prominent educator in the field of home economics. In Georgia she was a leader in the development of curriculum and programs in home

economics and did extensive service work. She served on a number of committees at both the state and national levels.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 232—233; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 26; *Women's History Sources*

Crim, Martha Jane (Matt) (b. Union Parish, La., Dec. 15, 1858[?]; d. Sept. 27, 1899)

Education. Private schools

Vocation/Profession. Author

Lifetime Achievements. Having moved with her family to Atlanta after the Civil War, Martha Crim lived in Atlanta from 1874—1894. As a Georgia author, Martha Crim is best known for her local-color stories, many of which were set in Gilmer County and depicted local mountain people. In 1890 she moved to New York, and in 1894 she moved to Germany, married Friedrich Bolling, a German engineer, and abandoned her literary career.

Marriage/Family. m. Friedrich Bolling 1899; 1 child

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 233—234; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 67

David, Nellie Boyce (b. Columbus, Ga.; d. not known)

Education. Columbus public schools; Chase Conservator; Traylor School of Expression; Brenau College; University of Georgia; Auburn University, B. S. degree, 1954

Vocation/Profession. Educator, teacher, community and church leader

Lifetime Achievements. Named a Georgia Mother of the Year, Nellie David served on numerous education boards and committees, including the State Board of the Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers. She was also active in the Methodist Church in Columbus, as well as the DAR, Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs, AAUW, American Legion Auxiliary, and Marguerite Garden Club. In 1976 Nellie David was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. Frank C. David; 2 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 30—31

Davidson, Grace Gillam (b. Kingston Ga., April 7, 1873; d. Nov. 3, 1940)

Education. Martin Institute, Jefferson, Ga., 1890?

Vocation/Profession. Genealogist

Lifetime Achievements. As a life-long resident of Quitman, Georgia from 1901, Grace Davidson became interested in genealogy and county records through her work in the DAR. She was a charter member of the Hannah Clark Chapter of the DAR, organized in 1908 in Quitman. Grace Davidson served the state DAR as historian from 1926—1932, and as chair of genealogical research from 1928—1932. With a growing clientele, she began to research county records throughout Georgia, and was the editor of three volumes of the series, *Collections of the Georgia Chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution*. She then started her own series, *Early Records of Georgia*, which recorded the information contained in Georgia's county records. Her books have made important contributions to genealogical research and county records in Georgia, serving as popular references as well as models for later publications. With deteriorating health in the 1930s, Grace Davidson finally had to abandon her work, and she died in Quitman in 1940.

Marriage/Family. m. John Lee Davidson, 1893; 2 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, 242—243

De Graffenreid, Mary Clare (b. Macon, Ga., May 19, 1849; d. April 26, 1921)

Education. Wesleyan Female College, B. A., 1865

Vocation/Profession. Schoolteacher, labor investigator, social activist, writer

Lifetime Achievements. De Graffenreid was known for her strong and often unpopular positions. When she graduated from Wesleyan in 1865, she delivered the valedictory address, which was a tribute to the Southern Army, and harshly denounced the Union soldiers who then occupied Macon. Soon afterward she moved to Washington, D.C. where she taught school for ten years before accepting an appointment as a special investigator for the Bureau of Labor. De Graffenreid wrote and published a number of articles that exposed poor working conditions and substandard housing, with particular concern for the plights of working class women and children. Her best known article was probably "The Georgia Cracker in the Cotton Mills," published in the *Century Magazine* in 1891. Her articles, based on her field inquiries and statistical findings, advocated stricter child labor laws, compulsory education, better housing, factory inspections, and industrial safety. Her work was instrumental in bringing about much needed reforms in these areas.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 248—249; *Notable American Women*, pp. 452—454; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 18—19

Dickson, Amanda America (Eubanks, Toomer) (b.1849; d. 1893)

Education. Attended the Normal School of Atlanta University, 1876—1878

Vocation/Profession. Wealthy landowner

Lifetime Achievements. The daughter of plantation owner, David Dickson of Hancock County and a twelve year old slave Julia Frances Lewis-Dickson, Amanda Dickson grew up in the home of Elizabeth Dickson, her white grandmother and owner. There she learned to read, write, and play the piano. When her father died in 1885, he left most of his estate, including over \$300,000 and 17,000 acres of land to Amanda and her children. His white relatives contested the will, and the Dickson Will Case, as it became known, eventually went to the Georgia State Supreme Court, which upheld a lower court ruling in favor of Amanda and her sons. Amanda Dickson purchased a large house in an affluent neighborhood of Augusta and became one of the wealthiest women in the city.

Marriage/Family. m. Charles Eubank, 1866, 2 sons; m. Nathan Toomer, 1892

Sources. *Black Women in America*, pp. 336—337

Dozier, Henrietta (Harry) Cuttino (b. Atlanta, Ga., April 22, 1872; d. April 17, 1947)

Education. Pratt Institute; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, S.B., 1899

Vocation/Profession. Architect

Lifetime Achievements. Henrietta Dozier was the first woman architect in Georgia. After graduating from architecture school, she returned to Atlanta to open her own practice. In 1905 Dozier was admitted to the American Institute of Architects (AIA), the third woman member and the first woman from the South. During her ten years as an Atlanta architect (1906—1916), Dozier was active in the AIA, and was involved in the 1915 decision to require registration of architects in the state. In 1916 she moved to Jacksonville, Florida to become the associate architect for the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta's Jacksonville branch. She continued to practice there until 1928, designing residential and institutional structures.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 269—270

Drawdy, Allifair (Fairy) Hester (b. Florida, Aug. 6, 1906; d. not known)

Education. Leesburg High School, Florida; Univ. of Florida

Vocation/Profession. Clubwoman

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year in 1966, Fairy Hester worked as a book keeper and bank teller before her marriage to Sherman Drawdy, a prominent banker. She was an active member of the First Baptist Church, Augusta, Augusta Country Club, Augusta Woman's Club, Woman's Board of the University Hospital, and other community and civic organizations. She also served as director of the Juliette Lowe Region of the Girl Scouts of America.

Marriage/Family. m. Sherman Drawdy; 2 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 110—111

Dull, Henrietta (b. Laurens Co., Ga., c1864; d. 1964)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Author, cook

Lifetime Achievements. Henrietta Dull was the head of the Atlanta Gas Company's demonstration kitchens. She also was the author of a well-known cookbook.

Marriage/Family. (Husband not known); 6 children

Sources. *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 25—26

Durham, Cassandra Pickett (b. 1824; d. 1885)

Education. Reform Medical College (later the Georgia Eclectic Medical College), Macon, graduate, 1870

Vocation/Profession. Physician, suffragist

Lifetime Achievements. The first woman doctor in Georgia, Cassandra Durham practiced for ten years in Americus, until her death in 1885. She was also a campaigner for women's suffrage.

Marriage/Family. (Husband not known); 4 children

Sources. Georgia Women of Achievement, 1993 inductee

Evans, Lettie Pate (b. Virginia, 1872; d. 1953)

Education. Virginia private schools

Vocation/Profession. Businesswoman, philanthropist

Lifetime Achievements. After her husband and business partner was given exclusive rights to bottle Coca-Cola in Atlanta, Lettie Whitehead moved with her family from Chattanooga, where the business venture developed. Widowed at thirty-four, Lettie Pate Whitehead took over her husband's business interests in the Coca-Cola bottling company in 1906. As director of the Coca-Cola Company in 1934, Lettie Evans was the first woman to serve on the board of a major American corporation, a position she held for almost twenty years. She served on numerous boards and donated millions of dollars to over one hundred charities. Most of her estate was left to the Lettie Pate Evans Foundation, which she established in 1945 to promote charity, religion, and education.

Marriage/Family. m. Joseph Brown Whitehead, 1894; 2 sons; widowed 1906; m. Arthur Kelly Evans, 1913

Sources. Georgia Women of Achievement, 1998 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Everhart, Adelaide Chloe (b. Charlotte, N. C., 1873; d. 1956)

Education. Cincinnati Art Institute; studied with William Merritt Chase in New York

Vocation/Profession. Artist

Lifetime Achievements. Adelaide Everhart moved to Decatur, Georgia in 1889, where she became a well-known artist, most notably for her commissioned oil portraits. She also was known for making tapestries and illustrating children's books.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. HPD Files

Felton, Rebecca Latimer (b. Decatur, Ga., June 10, 1835; d. Jan. 24, 1930)

Education. Madison Female College, graduate, 1852; University of Georgia, honorary degree, Litt.D., 1922

Vocation/Profession. Journalist, suffragist, social activist and reformer, U. S. Senator

Lifetime Achievements. Rebecca Felton dedicated her life to providing greater opportunities for Georgians in education, prison reform, women's suffrage and equal educational opportunities for women. She was influential in having the convict-leasing system abolished in 1908. She advocated a compulsory school law and vocational training for underprivileged white girls, and argued for admission of women to the University of Georgia. She was instrumental in the establishment of Georgia Training School for Girls in Atlanta in 1915, and was an outspoken advocate for women's suffrage. In 1922 at the age of eighty-seven, Rebecca Felton was the first woman sworn in as a U. S. Senator, an interim appointment that lasted only days, but was symbolic in its recognition of her work on behalf of Georgia. In 1976 Rebecca Felton was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. William Harrell Felton, physician, Methodist clergyman, and farmer, 1853; 5 children. Sister of **Mary Latimer McLendon**.

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 302—303; *Notable American Women*, pp. 606—607; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 17—18; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 32—33; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1997 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. Georgia Historical Marker on US 278, GA 12 at Wellborne Road in DeKalb County marks Rebecca Felton's birthplace. Georgia Historical Marker in Cartersville, on US 411 north of Cartersville, designates the Feltons home from 1853 to 1905, and describes her accomplishments and those of her husband, Dr. Felton, a Georgia Congressman.

Flisch, Julia Anna (b. 1861; d. 1941)

Education. Lucy Cobb Institute, graduate; University of Wisconsin, B.A., M.A.; University of Georgia, honorary degree, 1899

Vocation/Profession. Teacher, women's rights advocate

Lifetime Achievements. After being denied admission to the University of Georgia, Julia Flisch wrote numerous articles and letters supporting higher education opportunities for women. She taught at Georgia Normal and Industrial College, and Tubman School for Girls in Augusta.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. Georgia Women of Achievement, 1994 inductee

Francisco, Margaret Kapps (b. Albany, New York, Sept. 12, 1890; d. not known)

Education. National College of Education, Chicago, graduate (now affiliated with Northwestern University); Columbia University, graduate work

Vocation/Profession. Teacher, club organizer

Lifetime Achievements. In 1943 Margaret Francisco and her husband moved from Oak Park, Illinois to Columbus, Georgia, where her husband was Executive Director of Armed Services YMCA-USO. Georgia Mother of the Year in 1964, Margaret Francisco was an active volunteer for the Armed Services

YMCA where she organized a number of clubs, including an Army Wives' Club, Daughters of the Orient, and an International Club for military wives.

Marriage/Family. m. Floyd Francisco, 1921; 3 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 106—107

Fraser, Alexa Stirling (b. Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 7, 1897; d. April 15, 1977)

Education. Private schools

Vocation/Profession. Amateur golfer

Lifetime Achievements. Alexa Stirling Frasier grew up playing golf with Atlanta golfer, Bobbie Jones, at the East Lake Country Club in Atlanta, and later served as his touring partner. She won numerous national amateur tournaments, and toured North America playing the golf circuits from 1915—1925, when she moved to Canada after her marriage. She was posthumously elected to the Georgia Athletic Hall of Fame in 1978.

Marriage/Family. m. Dr. Wilbert G. Fraser, 1925; 3 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 326—327; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 36—37

Gay, Mary Ann Harris (b. Jones Co., near Milledgeville, Ga., 1829; d. 1918)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Writer

Lifetime Achievements. A southern sympathizer during the Civil War, Mary Gay authored several works. One of her best known books, *Life in Dixie During the War*, is one of the few eyewitness accounts of the Civil War written by women of the Atlanta area.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. Georgia Women of Achievement, 1997 inductee

Sites. Mary Gay House, Decatur (National Register of Historic Places)

Giles, Harriet (b. not known; d. 1909)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Missionary, teacher

Lifetime Achievements. Commissioned in 1879 by the Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society of New England, Harriet Giles and her friend and fellow missionary **Sophia Packard** were sent to the South to study the living conditions of newly freed blacks. Appalled by the lack of educational opportunities for black women, they moved from Boston to Atlanta in 1881 to establish a school for black girls. This school grew to become Spelman College, considered today to be one of the outstanding woman's colleges in the nation.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 48; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. Giles Hall, Spelman College, Atlanta

Glover, Frances Virginia Jones (b. Hogansville, Ga., May 4, 1876; d. not known)

Education. Newnan Public Schools, graduate; Peabody College, Nashville, Tn.

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1953. Frances Glover was a member of a number of women's organizations, including UDC and DAR.

Marriage/Family. m. Howard C. Glover 1898; 9 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 84—85

Gordon, Nora Antonia (b. Columbus, Aug. 25, 1866; d. 1901)

Education. Spelman Seminary, graduate, 1888; Missionary Training Institute, London

Vocation/Profession. African missionary

Lifetime Achievements. The daughter of former slaves, Nora Gordon was the first Spelman graduate to go to Africa as a Christian missionary. The college supported a then prevalent notion that it was the duty of African-Americans to civilize their ancestral homeland and convert the people to Christianity. Her letters describing her missionary efforts kept this idea alive in the minds of students. She worked at the Palabala mission and Lukunga mission in the Congo Free State (now Zaire) from 1889—1893. She returned to the United States in 1893, married S. C. Gordon in 1895, and returned with him to the Congo. Five years later she came back to the United States in poor health, and died at the age of thirty-four in Atlanta.

Marriage/Family. m. S. C. Gordon of Jamaica, 1895

Sources. *Black Women in America*, pp. 493—494

Greene, Catherine (Caty or Kitty) (b. not known; d. not known)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Plantation owner

Lifetime Achievements. Catherine “Caty” or “Kitty” Greene is credited with helping Eli Whitney, a friend of hers, to invent the cotton gin. Orphaned as a child, Kitty Greene was adopted by her aunt, the wife of the governor of Rhode Island. She married Gen. Nathaniel Greene, commander-in-chief of the American Revolutionary Army. She lived with her husband at “Mulberry Grove,” a plantation given to the Greens by Georgia after the Revolutionary War. After she was widowed in 1786, she married Phineas Miller and they continued to operate Mulberry Grove Plantation. Kitty Green hired Eli Whitney to work at Mulberry Grove, where she encouraged him to develop a machine that would separate the seeds from the cotton bolls. She is credited with helping him to finalize the design for the cotton gin, which was to be one of the most important inventions in the production and harvesting of cotton, and a great boon to the cotton industry in the South.

Marriage/Family. m. Gen. Nathaniel Greene; widowed 1786; m. Phineas Miller

Sources. *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 13—14; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. Georgia Historical Marker on US 17 (GA 25) in Port Wentworth near Savannah, marking the site of “Mulberry Grove”

Gregory, Mary Bland Rogers (b. Appalachicola, Fla., c1839; d. 1917)

Education. Pennsylvania Academy

Vocation/Profession. Art teacher and artist

Lifetime Achievements. Mary Gregory was one of Atlanta's earliest prominent female artists. Working in Atlanta from the 1870s, she was well known for her portraits in oil and crayon.

Sources. HPD Files

Hagood, Margaret (Marney) Loyd Jarman (b. Newton Co., Ga., Oct. 26, 1907; d. Aug. 13, 1963)

Education. Emory at Oxford; Agnes Scott College; Queen's College, Charlotte, N. C., graduate, 1929; Emory, A.M., 1930; Univ. of North Carolina, Ph.D., 1937; Univ. of North Carolina, graduate fellowship, 1935

Vocation/Profession. Sociologist, statistician, demographer

Lifetime Achievements. Margaret Hagood's pioneering work in documenting and analyzing living conditions of white tenant farmers in the rural South was an important contribution to several fields of study. As a statistician her numerous reports and publications influenced sociology as a discipline and

illuminated the issues and challenges related to farm populations, labor force concepts, and rural studies. Publications she authored include *Mothers of the South*, a book about southern tenant life during the Depression that includes interviews with over two hundred forty tenant wives. She also worked with another sociologist and two Farm Security Administration photographers (including Dorothea Lange) to compile a photographic record of agricultural patterns of life on southern farms.

Marriage/Family. m. Middleton Howard Hagood 1926; 1 daughter

Sources. *Notable American Women: The Modern Period*, pp. 297—298

Hambidge, Mary Crovatt (b. Brunswick, Ga., 1885; d. 1973)

Education. Cambridge, Mass.

Vocation/Profession. Weaver, benefactor

Lifetime Achievements. With the financial support of her friend Eleanor Steel Reece, Mary Hambidge bought 800 acres in north Georgia and established the Hambidge Center for Creative Arts and Sciences, a residential retreat center for artists.

Marriage/Family. m. Jay Hambidge

Sources. *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 77; HPD Files

Hamilton, Grace Towns (b. Atlanta, Feb. 10, 1907; d. July 17, 1992)

Education. American University, 1927; Ohio State University, M.A., 1929

Vocation/Profession. Teacher, state legislator, civil rights activist

Lifetime Achievements. After her marriage to Henry Hamilton, Grace Towns Hamilton taught psychology at LeMoyne College, worked in the Works Progress Administration, and developed interracial programs as a YMCA employee. In 1943 she and her husband moved to Atlanta where he was a professor at Morehouse College, and Grace Hamilton became the Executive Director of the Atlanta Urban League, serving from 1943—1961. During her tenure, she created better educational opportunities for black children and led voter registration drives. In 1954—1955 she took a leave of absence to serve as the Associate Director of the Southern Regional Council. She also served on the Executive Council of the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee, and was considered one of its most effective leaders. Elected the first black woman legislator in Georgia in 1966, Grace Hamilton represented the Vine City area of Atlanta until 1984. She authored a bill to create the Atlanta Charter Commission and, as vice-chair, led the initiative to abolish at-large voting and create twelve local voting districts. This dramatically reduced the ability of white voters to maintain control of the legislature and enabled predominantly black communities to elect black candidates to public office. Her other accomplishments as a legislator included providing greater job opportunities for black workers; integrating Atlanta's (public) Grady Memorial Hospital; and supporting fair housing practices. In 1976 Grace Hamilton was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. Henry Cooke Hamilton, Dean and Professor of Education at LeMoyne College, Memphis, 1930; one daughter

Sources. *Black Women in America*, pp. 520—521; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 88; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 34—35; *Women's History Sources*

Harbin, Edith Lester (b. Rome, Ga., Sept. 24, 1876; d. Sept. 9, 1960)

Education. Rome Female College; The Southern Conservatory of Music; Shorter College; studies in Berlin, Germany

Vocation/Profession. Musician

Lifetime Achievements. After completing music studies in Berlin, Germany in 1899, Edith Harbin taught piano at Agnes Scott Institute. She returned to Rome, Georgia in 1901 and opened her own music studio.

She established a local music club and was a strong leader in creating and directing state and local musical organizations, which included the first Junior Orchestra of Georgia (1919) and the Rome Symphony Orchestra (1922), the first symphony orchestra in the South. In 1976 Edith Harbin was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. Dr. William Pickens Harbin, physician, 1905; 4 children

Sources. *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 74; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 36—37

Hardy, Madolon Moore (b. Liberty, S.C., April 29, 1887; d. not known)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, civic and church leader

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1948, Madolon Hardy lived most of her adult life in Augusta, Georgia, and was active in the Augusta Woman's Club, Augusta Garden Club, and Women's Missionary Society of the First Baptist Church.

Marriage/Family. m. Eric W. Hardy, 1911; 4 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 74—75

Harman, Kate Strickland (b. Carroll Co., Feb. 1, 1890; d. not known)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, quilt maker

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1955.

Marriage/Family. m. William V. Harman, 1907; 5 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 88—89

Harris, Corra Mae White (b. Elbert Co., near Middleton, Ga., May 17, 1869; d. Feb. 7, 1935)

Education. Private schools and Elberton Female Academy

Vocation/Profession. Writer

Lifetime Achievements. A writer and author of novels, articles, short stories, newspaper columns, Corra Harris is best known for her novels which were published as serials in the *Saturday Evening Post*. During her husband's illness in 1898 Corra Harris started writing to provide needed income for her family. In 1899 her articles, letters, and stories began appearing in journals such as the *Independent*, a New York magazine. In 1909 *The Circuit-Rider's Wife*, her first novel, was published as a serial in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Her work for the magazine enabled her to support herself financially for a number of years, and to build a house in Bartow County where she lived the rest of her life. In 1976 Corra Harris was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. Lundy Howard Harris a Methodist circuit rider, 1887; 3 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography* pp. 397—398; *Notable American Women, Vol. 2*, pp. 142—143; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 69—70; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 38—39; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1996 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. Burial site/memorial chapel erected by family members near her cabin in Cartersville was designed by Ralph Adams Cram (National Register of Historic Places).

Harris, Julia Florida Collier (b. Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 11, 1875; d. Jan. 21, 1967)

Education. Washington Seminary (Atlanta), graduate; attended Cowles Art School, Boston, Mass.

Vocation/Profession. Journalist, author, civil rights activist

Lifetime Achievements. Early in her career Julia Harris wrote for the *Atlanta Constitution*, and she and her husband started a publication called the *Uncle Remus Home Magazine*. When Julian Harris became Sunday editor of the *New York Herald* in 1914, Julia wrote for the Herald Syndicate under a pen name.

They returned to Georgia in 1920, after purchasing the local newspaper in Columbus. In 1926 Julia and Julian Harris' newspaper, the Columbus *Enquirer-Sun* was awarded the Pulitzer Prize, the first given to southerners, for their moral leadership in speaking out against the Ku Klux Klan and against the enactment of a law to prohibit the teaching of evolution. Their newspaper was one of the first in Georgia to identify politicians in the Ku Klux Klan and to publish news of the black community. As an editor, Julia spoke out against racial injustice, the convict lease system, lynching and all forms of violence. Julia Harris also published several books, including the first biography of her famous father-in-law, Joel Chandler Harris. In 1976 Julia Harris was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. Julian LaRose Harris, managing editor, *The Atlanta Constitution*, 1897; 2 children
Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 402—403; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 42; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 40—41; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1998 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Hart, Nancy Morgan (b. [Penn. or N. C.] c1735; d. c1830)

Education. Unknown

Vocation/Profession. Revolutionary War patriot

Lifetime Achievements. Nancy Hart is a legendary figure made famous by her courage, pioneering spirit, and patriotic exploits against the British in the "Hornet's Nest," an area of intense fighting between settlers and the British in colonial Georgia. In 1771 Nancy Hart and her husband moved to Elbert County, Georgia, near the Broad River. Her resistance to the Tories was made famous years later in "Nancy Hart stories." Her patriotic activities were chronicled in nineteenth century publications, as well as in Edna A. Copeland's *Nancy Hart, The War Woman* (Elberton, 1950). During the Civil War a group of militia women called themselves the "Nancy Harts." Many places in Georgia have been named for her, and she is the only Georgia woman to have a county named for her. In 1976 Nancy Hart was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. Benjamin Hart; 8 children

Sources. *Notable American Women*, pp. 150-151; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 4—7; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 42—43; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1997 inductee

Sites. Georgia Historical Marker on GA 17

Haygood, Laura Askew (b. Watkinsville, Ga., Oct. 14, 1845; d. April 29, 1900)

Education. Wesleyan College, A.B., 1864

Vocation/Profession. Teacher, missionary educator in China

Lifetime Achievements. A devout Methodist, Laura Haygood founded a girls' school in Atlanta, and taught there for a number of years before moving to China in 1884 to become a Methodist missionary. She was active in the Methodist Home Missions and continued her education vocation as a missionary in China. Among her many achievements, she organized day schools and supervised the Clopton School, a girls' boarding school run by the Woman's Board (of the Methodist Church). She also led planning and fund-raising efforts to establish a home and training schools for missionaries. The McTyeire School opened in 1892 and became a top ranking girls' private high school in Shanghai.

Marriage/Family. Single

Burial. Foreign cemetery of Shanghai's International Settlement

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 426—427; *Notable American Women, Vol. 2*, pp. 167—169; *Women's History Sources*

Hayes, Louise Caroline Frederick (b. Marshallville, Ga., April 18, 1881; d. Oct. 15, 1951)

Education. Wesleyan College, A.B., 1900; University of Georgia, honorary degree, Litt.D., 1924

Vocation/Profession. Archivist, clubwoman, peach farmer

Lifetime Achievements. Louise Hayes was active in a number of Georgia women's clubs, including UDC, DAR, Colonial Dames of America, and the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs. In 1929, after her husband's death, Louise Hayes managed their peach farm. In 1937 she was appointed the State Historian and Director of the Georgia Department of Archives and History, a position she held for fourteen years. She is credited with initiating numerous programs to improve the preservation of Georgia's historical records, and she also expanded public education programs. As archivist she had the opportunity to author several historic publications.

Marriage/Family. m. James Elijah Hayes, 1902; 2 children; widowed 1929

Burial. Felton Cemetery, Montezuma, Ga.

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 429—431

Head, Nina McClure (b. Jan. 9, 1885; d. Jan. 21, 1975)

Education. Attended North Georgia College, 1901

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, civic leader

Lifetime Achievements. Nina Head is credited with being the major influence behind gold-plating the dome of the Georgia State Capitol, as well as heading the Dahlonga Club's fourteen year project to gild the steep of Price Memorial Hall on the campus of North Georgia College. In 1976 she was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. Homer Head, M.D., 1909; at least one child

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 44—45

Herndon, Adrienne Elizabeth McNeil (b. Augusta, Ga., July 22, 1869; d. April 6, 1910)

Education. Boston School of Expression, 1904; New York School of Dramatic Arts, 1908

Vocation/Profession. Teacher of dramatics, actress

Lifetime Achievements. Herndon taught drama and elocution at Atlanta University from 1895 until her death in 1910. She was one of the first black faculty members at the university. Performances of her students, including Shakespearean dramas as well as dramatic readings, recitals, and theatrical productions, filled an important void in the cultural life of African-Americans in Atlanta. At the time, blacks were barred from similar public events because of Jim Crow laws.

Marriage/Family. m. Alonzo Franklin Herndon, 1893; 1 child

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 439—440

Sites. Herndon Home, Atlanta (open to the public)

High, Harriett (Hattie) Harwell Wilson (b. Campbell [now Fulton] Co., Ga., Nov. 30, 1862; d. March 21, 1932)

Education. Mrs. Ballard's Select School for Girls, Atlanta, 1881; Oglethorpe University, honorary degree, Litt.D., 1929

Vocation/Profession. Philanthropist

Lifetime Achievements. Hattie High was involved in numerous social activities in Atlanta, and was known as an outstanding hostess. She gave to many charities, including orphanages, libraries, and hospitals. She was involved in women's groups and served on art and music committees. In 1926 she donated her house on Peachtree Street to be used as an art museum. After her death in 1932 the museum continued to expand, and in 1963 the house was demolished, and the High Museum of Art and the Atlanta College of Art were built on the site. These important cultural institutions survive as living legacies of Hattie High's generosity and commitment to the arts.

Marriage/Family. m. Joseph M. High, 1882; 4 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 447—448; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 75
Site. Woodruff Arts Center (High Museum)

Hillhouse, Sarah Porter (b. Massachusetts, May 29, 1763; d. March 26, 1831)

Education. Unknown

Vocation/Profession. Newspaper editor and publisher

Lifetime Achievements. When her husband died in 1804, Sarah Hillhouse became the editor of the Washington, Georgia *Monitor and Impartial Observer*, a weekly newspaper, and the first woman editor and publisher in Georgia. In 1976 Sarah Hillhouse was named a “Historic Georgia Mother.”

Marriage/Family. m. David Hillhouse, 1781; 5 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 455—457; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 39; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 46—47

Hoffman, Irene Roach (b. Rolla, Mo., Aug. 13, 1903; d. June 3, 1973)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, child advocate, church leader

Lifetime Achievements. Named Albany Woman of the Year in 1958 and Georgia State Mother in 1965, Irene Hoffman was known for her dedication to and success in improving the conditions of disadvantaged children and young people. She founded the Big Sister Board of the Albany Civic League and served for many years on the Board of Directors of the Georgia Mental Health Association.

Marriage/Family. m. Ross Marion Hoffman; 2 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 108—109

Hope, Lugenia D. Burns (b. St. Louis, Mo., Feb. 19, 1871; d. Aug. 14, 1947)

Education. University of Chicago; Chicago School of Design; Chicago Business School; Chicago Art Institute

Vocation/Profession. Social reformer, civil rights advocate, community leader

Lifetime Achievements. Lugenia Hope lived on the Morehouse College campus in Atlanta for over 35 years with her husband, John Hope, a faculty member and later President of the college. Hope's most important legacy was her neighborhood organizing activities that led to the founding of the Neighborhood Union, an international model for community building and race/gender activism. She was also instrumental in eliminating discriminatory practices in the black YWCAs, and was involved in the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL), an interracial effort based in Atlanta.

Marriage/Family. m. John Hope, 1897; 2 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 474—476; *Black Women in America*, pp. 573—574; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1996 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Howard, H. Augusta (b. not known; d. not known)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Women's suffrage advocate

Lifetime Achievements. A pioneer in the women's suffrage movement, she organized the first association in Georgia to advocate for voting rights for women in Columbus in 1890.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 20

Howard, Clara A. (b. Greenville, Ga., Jan. 23, 1866; d. May 3, 1935)

Education. Spelman Seminary, first graduating class valedictorian, 1887

Vocation/Profession. Missionary, educator

Lifetime Achievements. Clara Howard worked as a missionary in the French Congo from 1890 to 1895 and in Panama from 1896 to 1897. Besides her international service, she is remembered at Spelman College for her outstanding career as a teacher, advisor, and friend to young people.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. *Black Women in America*, pp. 586—587

Sites. Howard-Harrelld Dormitory at Spelman College was dedicated in 1969 to commemorate Clara A. Howard, first seminary graduate and Claudia White Harrelld, first college graduate

Hunter, Anna Colquitt (b. 1892; d. 1985)

Education. Attended Agnes Scott College

Vocation/Profession. Newspaper journalist, self-taught artist, historic preservationist

Lifetime Achievements. When her husband died in 1936, Anna Hunter went to work for Savannah newspapers to support herself and her children. During World War II she directed rest and recovery stations as the Red Cross Field Director in North Africa and Italy. After the war, she returned to Savannah, where she reported on the arts and taught herself to paint. In 1955 after the demolition of the historic City Market for a parking lot, Anna Hunter established the Historic Savannah Foundation with a group of ladies who were dedicated to the preservation of historic sites in the city. She is credited with saving over a thousand Savannah buildings and promoting awareness of the significance of the city squares and public spaces, which comprise one of the largest national historic districts in the nation.

Marriage/Family. m. George Hunter; 3 children

Sources. Georgia Women of Achievement, 1995 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Jarrell, Helen Ira (b. July 27, 1896; d. Aug. 27, 1973)

Education. Oglethorpe University, A.B., 1928; Oglethorpe University, A.M., 1931

Vocation/Profession. Educator

Lifetime Achievements. As a teacher, Ira Jarrell was active in Atlanta Public School Teachers Association (APSTA); a teachers' union affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers, and was elected President in 1936. In 1944 she was elected Superintendent of the Atlanta Public Schools, the first woman to hold the position in Atlanta, and one of the first women in the United States to run a large metropolitan school system. She retired in 1960 before the school system was fully engaged in addressing specific civil rights issues, such as equal pay, equal facilities, and integration.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. *Notable American Women: The Modern Period*, pp. 375—377; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 49

Jemison, Margaret Malone (b. Talladega, Ala., April 7, 1892; d. Feb. 8, 1976)

Education. Talladega public and private schools; Alabama Synodical College for Women, A.B., 1910; Hollins College, 1911—1912; Atlanta Library School, graduate, 1914; University of Chicago, 1936

Vocation/Profession. Librarian

Lifetime Achievements. Margaret Jemison became Emory University's librarian in 1921, a position she held until 1954. She was involved in the planning and construction of the Asa Griggs Candler Memorial Library, completed on campus in 1926. Margaret Jemison is credited with developing it into a valuable research library, and expanding its collection from forty thousand to nearly half a million volumes. She established the Special Collections, and was instrumental in acquiring many of its important collections.

Throughout her career Jemison contributed to university as well as professional library publications, and was active in a number of professional organizations.

Marriage/Family. Single

Burial. Sunnyside Family Cemetery, Talladega, Ala.

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, p. 529

Jewett, Mary Gregory (b. Owensboro, Ky., Dec. 5, 1908; d. Jan. 16, 1976)

Education. Agnes Scott College, 1926-1928; University of Georgia, B.A., 1930

Vocation/Profession. Journalist, historian, public official

Lifetime Achievements. Mary Jewett was one of Georgia's most influential leaders in historic preservation. After a free-lance writing career, she became Staff Historian of the Georgia Historical Commission in 1955; in 1960 she became Executive Secretary (director) of the commission. She was appointed to numerous state positions in the field of historic preservation, from Georgia State Historic Preservation Officer to the Georgia Heritage Trust Commission. She was also a charter member and first President of the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation, formed in 1974, the year she retired from state office.

Marriage/Family. m. Sidney B. Jewett, 1936; 1 child

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 531—532; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 54—55; *Women's History Sources*

Johnson, Carrie Parks (b. Cuthbert, Ga., Sept. 16, 1866; d. Dec. 2, 1929)

Education. LaGrange Female College, A. B., 1883

Vocation/Profession. Methodist women's leader

Lifetime Achievements. After her children were grown, Carrie Johnson became an active leader in the Methodist Church in Georgia. A charter member of the Women's Missionary Council (WMC) of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, formed in 1910, she chaired the WMC Laity Committee from 1910—1918 and was instrumental in obtaining laity rights for women within the church. She wrote the resolution for women's laity rights, which was adopted by the General Conference in 1918. In 1920 she was asked by the WMC to head the Commission on Race Relationships and, for the rest of her life, was an influential leader in encouraging interracial cooperation. In this regard, she served in numerous capacities, including the development of a program in which white Methodist churchwomen met with black women, and studied black life and community conditions.

Marriage/Family. m. Luke G. Johnson, Methodist minister, 1888; 2 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 532—533

Johnson, Elizabeth Barksdale (b. Washington, Ga., April 3, 1897; d. not known)

Education. Attended Converse College

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, clubwoman, church leader, community volunteer

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia State Mother, 1968

Marriage/Family. m. Raymond R. Johnson, 1919; 3 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 114—115

Johnson, Georgia Douglas Camp (b. Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 10, 1886; d. May 1966)

Education. Atlanta University's Normal School, graduate, 1893; Oberlin Conservatory, 1902-1903;

Atlanta University, honorary degree

Vocation/Profession. Poet, playwright, novelist

Lifetime Achievements. Daughter of Laura Jackson, of Indian and Black ancestry, and George Camp, the son of a wealthy, musical Englishman, Georgia Johnson was a significant and prolific black woman poet of the Harlem Renaissance, and one of the state's most significant black female literary figures in the early part of the century. Although she studied to become a composer at Oberlin, her race and gender prohibited her from accomplishing this dream, and she later chose teaching as a profession. In 1909 she moved with her husband to Washington, D. C., and pursued a teaching career until his death in 1925, when she obtained a job with the federal government. She contributed to the New Negro Renaissance by opening her home in Washington as a salon where writers such as Langston Hughes, Angelina Grimke, and Jean Toomer gathered weekly. During this time, she wrote poetry short stories, and plays, publishing three volumes of poetry between 1918 and 1928. In 1926 she began producing plays and later wrote several short stories. Although she struggled financially after her husband's death in 1925, she continued to write and publish prize-winning works. Most of her papers were destroyed after her death, and little of her work remains.

Marriage/Family. m. Henry Lincoln "Link" Johnson, attorney, 1903; 2 children; widowed 1925

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 533—534; *Black Women in America*, pp. 640—641; *Women's History Sources*

Johnson, Lucy Keen (b. Oglethorpe, Ga., March 23, 1876; d. Dec. 1, 1958)

Education. Wesleyan Conservatory, Macon, graduate

Vocation/Profession. College administrator, community and Methodist church leader

Lifetime Achievements. Dean of Women, Wesleyan College; first American "Mother of the Year," 1935

Marriage/Family. m. Fletcher M. Johnson, attorney; 6 children; widowed at age 38 (1914); raised a grandchild when her daughter died in childbirth.

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 68—69

Jones, Nell Choate (b. Hawkinsville, Ga., 1879; d. 1981)

Education. Fontainebleau School of Fine Arts, Fontainebleau, France; Hamilton State University, honorary doctorate, 1972

Vocation/Profession. Artist

Lifetime Achievements. Nell Jones attended the Fontainebleau School of Fine Arts for a year with her cousin **Ellamae Ellis League**. She was known for her paintings depicting Georgia scenes.

Marriage/Family. m. Eugene Jones

Sources. HPD Files

Jones, Sophia Bethene (b. Ontario, Canada, 1857; d. 1932)

Education. Attended Univ. of Toronto, 1879; Univ. of Michigan, graduate [M.D.?], 1885

Vocation/Profession. Teacher

Lifetime Achievements. Sophia Jones was the first black woman to teach at Spelman. She taught nurses' training and ran the college infirmary from 1885 to 1888. She also practiced in other states before retiring in 1917 to California.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. *Black Women in America*, p. 655

Kaufman, Rhoda (b. Columbus, Ga., 1888; d. 1956)

Education. Vanderbilt University, graduate

Vocation/Profession. Social reformer

Lifetime Achievements. Rhoda Kaufman was an influential leader in developing and improving social service programs in Georgia. As President of the Atlanta Chapter of University Women (1913—1915), she led the campaign to fund a state training school for girls. As Executive Secretary of the Georgia Board of Public Welfare in the 1920s, Kaufman guided the Board in undertaking a number of progressive reform efforts. Years later, as executive of the Atlanta Family Welfare Society and the Social Planning Council of Atlanta, she initiated plans for coordinated programs in public recreation, care for the chronically ill, day care, and mental health.

Marriage/Family. not known

Sources. Georgia Women of Achievement, 1998 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Kay, Lena Adair (b. Feb. 14, 1894; d. not known)

Education. Winthrop College; Grady Hospital, Atlanta, R.N.

Vocation/Profession. Nurse, civic and church leader

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia State Mother, 1962, Lena Kay worked with her husband as a professional team, dedicated to improving the health and living conditions of their patients and the community. Among other notable accomplishments, they established and conducted preschool clinics in Byron, Georgia (their hometown), and were instrumental in establishing government programs to eradicate malaria and hookworm in several Georgia counties.

Marriage/Family. m. James B. Kay, M.D., 1919; 6 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 102—104

Kemble, Frances Anne (Fanny) (b. London, England, Nov. 27, 1809; d. Jan. 15, 1893)

Education. Private boarding schools

Vocation/Profession. Actress, author

Lifetime Achievements. Educated in English boarding schools, Frances Kemble became a famous British actress, although she was much more interested in writing and a literary career. The daughter of distinguished English actors, she came to the United States in 1832 on a theatrical tour, where she met her future husband. Soon after her marriage, her husband inherited two plantations in Sea Islands, Georgia, where they lived briefly from 1838—39, and Frances Kemble recorded her experiences in a private diary. An ardent abolitionist, she disagreed with her husband's conservatism, and she soon divorced Butler and returned to England. In 1863 she published accounts from her diary in *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation*, a dramatic account of the degradation of slaves, including the destruction of family life, brutality and inhumane conditions. She published her observations and experiences with the intention of fueling support for the abolitionist cause, although it is not known if the book was a persuasive factor in convincing England to support the Union. Regardless of its influence at the time, her diary remains an important resource in understanding the institution of slavery. In particular, Kemble was interested in the plight of women slaves and their children. She described her attempts to teach the women good hygiene and nursing practices and to instruct the older children in caring for their younger siblings (while their mothers worked the fields). Her diary is one of the most extensive records documenting the lives of women and children under slavery.

Marriage/Family. m. Pierce Butler, 1834; 2 children, daughter **Frances Butler Leigh**; divorced, 1849

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 569—570; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 7—10; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. Georgia Historical Marker, US 17 (GA 25) at the Butler River, a half mile south of Darien, near the Butler plantations

Laney, Lucy Craft (b. Macon Ga., April 13, 1854; d. Oct. 23, 1933)

Education. Atlanta University, graduate of its first class, 1873

Vocation/Profession. Teacher, educator

Lifetime Achievements. The daughter of former slaves who had bought their freedom, Lucy Laney was taught to read and allowed to use the library of the Campbell family, for whom her parents worked. She graduated from Atlanta University in 1873, and taught in public schools in Savannah for ten years, before opening her own school in 1883. The school, housed in the basement of Christ Presbyterian Church in Augusta, was organized to educate Negro children. In 1886 the school became a normal and industrial school for black children. In spite of numerous hardships, the school survived. One benefactor, Francine E. H. Haines, corresponding secretary of the Women's Executive Committee of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, was very influential. Lucy Laney named the school Haines Normal and Industrial Institute in honor of Francine Haines. It had an educational mission to provide high academic standards to prepare black youth for colleges, and to educate them to become good teachers. In the 1890s the school offered the first kindergarten in Augusta and a nurses' training department. By the 1930s the elementary school curriculum had been dropped, and they offered a four-year high school with one year of college-level courses. In 1949, due to lack of financial support, the Haines Normal and Industrial School in Augusta was closed. On its site today stands a high school named for Lucy Laney, who is buried on its campus.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 599—600; *Notable American Women, Vol. 2*, pp. 365—367; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 45—47; *Black Women in America*, pp. 693—694; *Black Women in White America*, pp. 122—123; Georgia Women of Achievement 1992 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Burial. Grounds of Laney High School

Site. Laney High School, Augusta, Ga.

Lanford, Lucile Almand (b. Sept. 13, 1905; d. not known)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Public school music teacher, private piano tutor, church and community leader

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia State Mother, 1974

Marriage/Family. m. Laudis A. Lanford; 4 children; widowed at 35

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 126—127

League, Ellamae Ellis (b. Macon, Ga., July 9, 1899; d. March 1991)

Education. Wesleyan College, 1 year; New York Beaux Arts Institute of Design (via correspondence courses); Fountainsbleau School of Fine Arts, France, 1927

Vocation/Profession. Architect

Lifetime Achievements. Ellamae Ellis League was a well-known, successful architect in Macon. She practiced architecture for 53 years, 41 in her own firm. She was accepted into the American Institute of Architects (AIA) in 1944, only the second women from Georgia; and she was named a Fellow in the AIA (FAIA) in 1968, the first woman FAIA from Georgia and only the second nationwide at that time. Her daughter **Jean League Newton**, who also became an architect, joined her mother's practice after studying under Gropius at Harvard.

Marriage/Family. M. 1917; 2 children; divorced 1922

Sources. *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 76; HPD Files

Leigh, Frances Butler (b. Philadelphia, Pa., May 28, 1838; d. Dec. 18, 1910)

Education. Private schools

Vocation/Profession. Diarist

Lifetime Achievements. The daughter of **Frances Kemble**, noted British actress and abolitionist, Frances Leigh remained with her father after her parents' divorce. She returned to her family's plantations in Sea Island after the Civil War, and hired former slaves as farm laborers in an attempt to offer them a viable living. Her efforts are recorded in her published diary, *Ten Years on a Georgia Plantation*.

Marriage/Family. m. James W. Leigh, 1871; 2 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 614—615; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 9—10; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. Georgia Historical Marker, US 17 (GA 25) at the Butler River, a half-mile south of Darien

LeVert, Octavia Walton (b. Augusta, Ga., August 11, 1811; d. March 12, 1877)

Education. Privately tutored

Vocation/Profession. Society leader

Lifetime Achievements. From a prominent Georgia family that included important political leaders, Octavia Walton was well educated, well traveled, and socially connected to some of the most influential and successful individuals of her day. She spent much of her adult life in Mobile, Alabama as the wife of her physician husband, Henry LeVert.

Marriage/Family. m. Henry LeVert, 1836; 3 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 616—617; *Notable American Women, Vol. 2*, pp. 394—395; *Women's History Sources*

Lipscomb, Mary Ann Rutherford (b. Athens, Ga., Dec. 23, 1848; d. Sept. 13, 1918)

Education. Lucy Cobb Institute, Athens, graduate, 1868

Vocation/Profession. Educator, advocate for better rural schools in Georgia

Lifetime Achievements. Widowed at twenty-six (four years after her marriage), Mary Ann Lipscomb went to Washington, D.C. to teach at Waverly Seminary, a well-known private school. In 1880 she returned to Athens to teach at the Lucy Cobb Institute and served as principal there from 1895—1907. When she was President of the Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs she succeeded in obtaining a grant for two thousand dollars to fund the Tallulah Falls School in north Georgia, near her summer home. This rural school's mission was to educate mountain children, which was a lifelong concern of Mary Ann Lipscomb. Opening in 1909 with twenty-one students and one teacher on five acres, the school currently has over two hundred students and a campus of 600 acres, including Lipscomb's Tallulah Falls property. She became a statewide advocate for better rural schools, and was known as a civic leader in numerous organizations, as well as an outstanding speaker during her lifetime.

Marriage/Family. m. Francis A. Lipscomb, 1869; 3 children; widowed, 1873

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 625—626

Sites. Tallulah Falls School

Logan, Carrie Steele (b. 1829; d. 1900)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Social reformer

Lifetime Achievements. Carrie Logan was known for her lifelong commitment to helping Atlanta's black children. Born into slavery and orphaned as a child, Logan worked as a maid in Atlanta's Union Station, where she found abandoned children and took them in. When her home on Auburn Avenue became too small for her growing family, she sold copies of her autobiography in order to raise money to fund the

purchase of property for a larger home. The nonprofit Carrie Steel Orphan Home was built in 1888 on four acres on the outskirts of Atlanta, and later was purchased by the city. When it celebrated its centennial in 1988, it had housed and cared for over 20,000 children. It survives today as the oldest African-American orphanage in the nation.

Family/Marriage. m. Josehia Logan, 1890; children not known

Burial. Oakland Cemetery, Atlanta

Sources. Georgia Women of Achievement, 1998 inductee

Sites. Carrie Steele-Pitts Home, Atlanta (3rd location)

Longstreet, Helen Dorch (b. Carnesville, Ga., April 20, 1863; d. May 3, 1962)

Education. Brenau College, Gainesville, Ga.; Notre Dame Convent, Baltimore, Md.

Vocation/Profession. Author, political activist

Lifetime Achievements. As assistant state librarian from 1894—1897, Helen Dorch is considered the first woman to hold state office in Georgia. Appointed postmistress in Gainesville in 1904, Helen Longstreet is also considered the first postmistress in Georgia (a position she held until 1913). From 1911 to 1913, Helen Longstreet led the effort to stop Georgia Power Company from building a dam at Tallulah Falls. She organized a Tallulah Falls Conservation Association, which was instrumental in engaging public support for the fight; although the Georgia Supreme Court ultimately ruled in favor of the Georgia Power Company, and the dam was built. For the next fifty years she wrote numerous articles and lectured frequently on numerous issues, including conservation, women's rights, and civil rights. She was a member of the American Association of Pen Women, which gave her an award in 1948 for a brochure she wrote on race relations.

Marriage/Family. m. James Longstreet, 1896; no children; widowed 1904

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 633—634; *Women's History Sources*

Low, Juliette Magill Gordon (b. Savannah, Ga., Oct. 31, 1860; d. Jan. 17, 1927)

Education. Mesdemoiselles Charbonniers' School, New York, diploma, 1880

Vocation/Profession. Founder, Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.

Lifetime Achievements. Living in the British Isles during the early 1900s, Juliette Low was inspired by Sir Robert Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts organization. In 1911 she organized a girl's troop in her home in Scotland, and started new troops in London before returning to the United States to establish similar troops for American girls. On March 12, 1912 the first "Girl Guide" group, based on its English prototype, was organized in Savannah. From 1912 until her death in 1927 she concentrated her efforts on building the Girl Scout organization, now a nation-wide organization enjoyed by millions of American girls.

Marriage/Family. m. William Mackay Low, 1886; no children; widowed

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 638—640, *Notable American Women, Vol. 2*, pp. 432—434; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 12—13; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1992 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. A Georgia Historical Marker is located on Bull Street, Savannah, on the Oglethorpe Avenue green. Across the street is Juliette Low's birth home, a National Historic Monument, and an active Girl Scout program center open to the public. The Colonial Dames Home, also in Savannah, was Juliette Low's home when she founded the Girl Scouts.

Lumpkin, Grace (b. Milledgeville, Ga., c1892; d. March 23, 1980)

Education. Brenau College, graduate, 1911; Columbia University

Vocation/Profession. Educator, social reformer, novelist

Lifetime Achievements. Grace Lumpkin wrote three successful and influential novels during the 1930s which established her reputation as a distinctive southern writer.

Marriage/Family. m. Michael Intrator, 1933; no children; divorced

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 640—642

Lumpkin, Mary (Mamie) Bryan Thomas (b. Milledgeville, Ga., Nov. 8, 1857; d. May 14, 1932)

Education. Unknown

Vocation/Profession. Garden Club pioneer, civic leader

Lifetime Achievements. Mary Thomas Lumpkin was the daughter of John G. Thomas, one of the largest planters in Milledgeville, Georgia. “Mamie” Lumpkin was a leader and founding member of the Ladies’ Garden Club, organized in 1891, and recognized as the first of its kind in the nation. Known as the “Iris Lady,” Mamie Lumpkin was an officer in several iris societies and was known throughout the state for her iris garden. She was also an Episcopalian known for her civic and charity work. In 1941 the Founders Memorial Garden, a joint venture of the Garden Club of America and the University of Georgia, was dedicated on the campus of the University of Georgia, Athens, in honor of the twelve women founders of the Ladies’ Garden Club.

Family. m. Edwin King Lumpkin, 1877 [1876 in *GW*]; 11 children [13 children in *GW*]

Burial. She is buried in Oconee Hill Cemetery, Athens.

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 643—644; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 15—16

Sites. In 1963 the Georgia Historical Commission placed a marker in front of her residence at 973 Prince Avenue, Athens, to recognize the place where the nation’s first garden club was founded. The Founders’ Memorial Garden on the campus of the University of Georgia, Athens, also honors Mary Lumpkin as one of the founders of the first garden club in America.

Lyndon, Mary Dorothy (b. Newnan, Ga., Aug. 13, 1877; d. April 5, 1924)

Education. Wesleyan College, B.A., 1896, dramatic arts degree, 1897; State Normal School, diploma, 1901; Columbia University; University of Georgia, M.A., 1914

Vocation/Profession. Educator

Lifetime Achievements. After graduating from Wesleyan, Mary Lyndon continued to study and teach in several different schools, including history courses at the Lucy Cobb Institute, a private school in Athens, from 1911—1917. She attended the University of Georgia during the summer, and in 1914 became the first woman to graduate from the University of Georgia. (Women were not admitted officially to the University until 1918.) Mary Lyndon was elected Associate Professor of Education and Dean of Women by the University of Georgia trustees in 1919, at the age of forty-three. For the next five years she was a strong leader and advocate for women students, promoting academic excellence, scholastic achievement, women’s sports, and sororities. Mary Lyndon started the Pioneer Club, originally a club for women who did not take home economics. (It later became an honorary society.) She also was active in social and civic organizations outside the University, and was a member of the DAR, YWCA, and First Methodist Church. She died in 1924 after contracting pneumonia on a visit to cousins in Washington, Georgia.

Marriage/Family. Single

Burial. Oconee Hill Cemetery, Athens, Ga.

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 645--646

Sites. A dormitory on the University of Georgia campus in Athens has been named in her honor.

MacDougald, Emily C. (b. not known; d. not known)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Not known

Lifetime Achievements. One of the founding members of the Equal Suffrage Party in 1914 in Georgia.
(See **Mrs. W. G. Raoul, Mrs. Mary Raoul, Eleonore Raoul**)

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 20; HPD files

Malone, Josephine Kirkup (b. Cincinnati, Ohio, Nov. 30, 1891; d. May 3, 1967)

Education. University of Cincinnati

Vocation/Profession. Church leader, active in many charitable and community organizations

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1947, she helped establish the pre-school system in Atlanta schools, and was one of the board members instrumental in establishing The Westminster Schools. She was active in the Druid Hills Garden Club, PTA, Camp Fire Girls, Emory University Hospital Auxiliary, and numerous other community organizations and charities in Atlanta

Marriage/Family. m. James Comer Malone, 1914; 5 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 72—73

Sites. The Malone Dining Hall at The Westminster Schools is named in her honor.

Mankin, Helen Douglas (b. Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 11, 1894; d. July 25, 1956)

Education. Washington Seminary, 1913; Rockford College, A.B., 1917; Atlanta Law School, LL.B., 1920

Vocation/Profession. Lawyer, state legislator, congresswoman

Lifetime Achievements. After a brief career as an attorney with her own office in Atlanta, Helen Mankin was elected a State Representative from Fulton County in 1936, serving until 1946. The fifth woman elected to the Georgia legislature, Mankin worked for electoral reform, child welfare, women's rights, labor causes, educational improvements, and prison reform. In 1946 she was elected a U. S. Congresswoman from the Fifth District and served a two year term. When she failed to win re-election, she resumed her law practice, and also lectured frequently on Zionist causes.

Marriage/Family. m. Guy Mark Mankin, 1927

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 679—681; *Notable American Women*, pp. 454—455; *Women's History Sources*

Mann, Allie B. (b. Toccoa, Ga., July 31, 1881; d. August 4, 1966)

Education. Goucher College, A.B. 1903; Emory University, M.S., 1928

Vocation/Profession. Educator

Lifetime Achievements. Allie Mann was known as a pragmatic organizational leader in teacher organizations at the local, state and national levels. A science teacher and department head at Girls' High School in Atlanta from 1903—1946, she was active in the Atlanta Public School Teachers' Association (APSTA) and Local 89 of the American Federation of Teachers. She was instrumental in improving the salaries, benefits and working conditions of Georgia teachers; and she helped to establish the local and state retired teachers' associations. She was the longtime rival of **Mary Barker**, and a close friend of **Ira Jarrell**, who were also active leaders in the APSTA.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 681—682

Mason, Lucy Randolph (b. Clarens, Va., July 26, 1882; d. May 6, 1959)

Education. Unknown

Vocation/Profession. Social reformer, labor activist, union organizer

Lifetime Achievements. Born and reared in Virginia, Lucy Mason spent the early years of her career in the Richmond area, involved in progressive social organizations. She was particularly concerned about the working conditions of children, women and industrial workers, promoting union activities and supporting legislation that addressed child labor and greater economic opportunities for workers. She moved to Atlanta in 1937 as an organizer for the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and was instrumental in organizing textile mill workers, copper miners and promoting economic justice for southern workers. She wrote *To Win These Rights: A Personal Story of the CIO in the South* (1952), considered one of the best autobiographies of a labor activist of this era.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 698—699; *Women's History Sources*

Mathis, Essie Lee Cook (Cookie) (b. June 6, 1908; d. not known)

Education. Cherokee County schools

Vocation/Profession. Church and community leader in DeKalb County

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year in 1970, Cookie Mathis was active in the Mount Carmel Christian Church, PTA, and served as a volunteer in a number of charitable organizations in DeKalb County, including the Red Cross. She was a charter member of the Glenwood Hills Garden Club, and worked to found a bookmobile service in DeKalb County around 1933.

Marriage/Family. m. dairyman Robert L. Mathis; 4 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 118—119

Maxwell, Winifred Smith (b. Lexington, Ga., June 21, 1899; d. March 28, 1975)

Education. Georgia State College for Women, Milledgeville, 1918

Vocation/Profession. Civic leader, flower shop owner

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1957, Winifred Maxwell owned and operated the Rosemary Flower Shop for thirty years. She was known locally for her sewing, cooking and gardening, as well as involvement in her church, local clubs, and organizations.

Marriage/Family. m. Edgar J. Maxwell; 7 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 92—93

McCrorey, Mary Jackson (b. Athens, Ga.[?]; 1869, d. 1944)

Education. Atlanta University, graduate; attended Harvard University; Univ. of Chicago; Bennett College, Columbia, S.C., honorary degree, 1941

Vocation/Profession. Educator, civic leader, political activist

Lifetime Achievements. The daughter of slaves to a University of Georgia professor who had taught her parents to read and write, she was the first child born a free person in her family. She dedicated herself to promoting African-American education, and served in numerous positions, including Assistant Principal at Haines Institute in Augusta, Georgia before her marriage in 1916. Afterwards, in Charlotte, North Carolina, she became involved in numerous civic, charitable and political organizations and served on several denominational and government boards. She ran for a seat on the Charlotte School Board in 1937, one of the first African-American women to run for public office in the South.

Marriage/Family. m. Henry L. McCrorey, president of Biddle University (later Johnson C. Smith University), Charlotte, N.C., 1916

Sources. *Black Women in America*, pp. 767—768

McCullar, Bernice Brown (b. Richland, Ga., March 9, 1905; d. May 31, 1975)

Education. Georgia State College for Women, A.B., 1924; Mercer University, M.A., 1944; Columbia University, graduate study, 1950

Vocation/Profession. Educator, journalist, author, lecturer

Lifetime Achievements. With coaching from her husband, a Washington, D.C. attorney, Bernice McCullar passed the Georgia bar exam. In 1925 they moved to Milledgeville where they practiced law together. They also edited and published the *Milledgeville Times* and the *Milledgeville News*. She began teaching at the Georgia State College for Women in the 1930s, and held several positions there until 1951, when she became Supervisor of Information for home economics in the Georgia Department of Education. She held this position until her retirement in 1966. She also wrote several books, including *Building Your Home Life* (1960), a home economics textbook (with Inez Wallace Tumlin) and *This is Your Georgia* (1967), based on material she had collected for a television program for the Department of Education.

Marriage/Family. m. Claudius B. McCullar, 1924; 2 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 652—654; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 53; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 50—51

McCullers, Lula Carson Smith (b. Columbus, Ga., Feb. 19, 1917; d. Sept. 29, 1967)

Education. Columbia University, 1934; New York University, 1935—36

Vocation/Profession. Author (novelist, playwright, short story writer)

Lifetime Achievements. With the publication of *The Heart is a Lonely Hunter* in 1940, Carson McCullers gained recognition as a successful writer at the age of twenty-three. She continued to write and publish novels and short stories, including “The Ballad of the Sad Café,” and *The Member of the Wedding*. In 1950, *The Member of the Wedding* was adapted by Tennessee Williams into a play that had a long run on Broadway and won several awards. Throughout her career McCullers struggled with a difficult marriage which ended with her husband’s suicide in 1952. She also suffered from poor health, including a mild stroke in 1941, and two more in 1947. Her fiction portrayed the difficult struggles of human existence, even as it reaffirmed the capacity of the human spirit to prevail.

Marriage/Family. m. Reeves McCullers, 1937; no children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 654—655; *Notable American Women*, pp. 442—445; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 61—62; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1994 inductee; *Women’s History Sources*

McEachern, Lula Cordelia Dobbs (b. Cherokee Co., Ga., May 16, 1874; d. April 24, 1949)

Education. Young Harris College

Vocation/Profession. Clubwoman, religious leader

Lifetime Achievements. Lula McEachern was active in a number of charitable institutions and championed many causes throughout her lifetime. After marrying John McEachern, co-founder and President of the company now known as Life Insurance Company of Georgia, she dedicated much of her time to charitable causes and women’s organizations, including the Atlanta Woman’s Club. For over thirty-five years she served on the Executive Board of the Woman’s Missionary Society (now United Methodist Women) of the North Georgia Methodist Conference. When her husband died in 1928, she was elected Chairman of the Board of his insurance company, and served in executive positions until just before her death in 1949.

Marriage/Family. m. John Newton McEachern, Sr., 1896; 3 children; widowed 1928

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 660—662

McGarity, May Belle Hitchcock (b. near Dallas, Ga., Dec. 4, 1891; d. not known)

Education. Dallas High School; Georgia Normal and Industrial College; Oglethorpe University

Vocation/Profession. Teacher, clubwoman, civic leader

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1959, May McGarity was active in politics, community affairs, and educational issues throughout her life. She was a trustee of the Tallulah Falls School, a charter member of the Paulding County Library Board, a member of the League of Women Voters, and a delegate to the Georgia Democratic Convention in 1924.

Marriage/Family. m. Charles B. McGarity, 1916; 4 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 96—97

McIntire, Lucy Barrow (b. Athens, 1886; d. 1967)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Civic leader, political leader, civil rights advocate, social reformer

Lifetime Achievements. Savannah resident Lucy McIntire was a founding member of the local chapters of the League of Women Voters, Junior League of Savannah, and the Poetry Society of Georgia. She was active in the suffragist movement, a supporter of civil rights, and an influential advocate for a number of community and school social programs. In recognition of her significant contributions to Savannah, Lucy McIntire was awarded the city's highest civic award, the Oglethorpe Trophy, in 1958.

Marriage/Family. m. Francis P. McIntire; 6 children

Burial. Laurel Grove Cemetery, Savannah

Sources. Georgia Women of Achievement, 1997 inductee

McLendon, Mary Latimer (b. DeKalb Co., June 24, 1840; d. Nov. 20, 1921)

Education. Southern Masonic Female College (Covington, Ga.), graduate, 1856

Vocation/Profession. Temperance and women's suffrage leader

Lifetime Achievements. Often referred to as the "Mother of Suffrage Work in Georgia," Mary McLendon was an influential leader in the Georgia suffrage movement for almost thirty years. In the 1880s she became involved in the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), and in the 1890s she became a leader in the Georgia Women's Suffrage Association (GWSA). Although the Nineteenth Amendment was passed in 1920, Georgia women were told they could not vote in the September state primaries as they had not registered the previous spring. Mary McLendon confronted the governor and other authorities, but it was not until the state legislature passed a law in August 1921, that Georgia women could vote and hold office. Mary McLendon died three months later at the age of eighty-one.

Marriage/Family. m. Nicholas A. McLendon, 1860; 3 children. Younger sister of **Rebecca Latimer Felton**.

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 673-675

Sites. In 1923 a marble fountain in the state capitol building was erected by Georgia women (active in the suffrage and temperance movements), commemorating Mary McLendon.

McMinn, Lessie Vastine Thomason (b. July 31, 1891; d. 1970)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Church and community leader in Toccoa

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1958

Marriage/Family. m. Ira McMinn; 5 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 94—95

Michael, Moina Belle (b. Good Hope, Walton Co., Ga., Aug. 15, 1869; d. May 10, 1944)

Education. Lucy Cobb Institute; Georgia State Teachers College; Columbia University, 1912—13

Vocation/Profession. Educator, humanitarian

Lifetime Achievements. Moina Michael established the red poppy of Flanders fields as a universal symbol of tribute and support for veterans and the men who died in World War I. Through her efforts the red poppy eventually became a universal symbol of tribute to war veterans in over fifty countries. Moina Michael also began a campaign to hire disabled veterans to make the silk poppies and to use the proceeds to support veterans' rehabilitation and relief for their families. Approximately \$200 million had been raised in United States and England by the time of her death in 1944. She received numerous awards for her efforts, and recognition that included a liberty ship named the Moina Michael and a memorial marker.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 711—712; *Georgia Women of Achievement*, 1999 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Millis, Mary Raoul (see **Eleonore Raoul** and **Mrs. W. G. [Mary Wadley] Raoul**)

Minter, Bernice Ivey (b. Toccoa, Ga., July 31, 1891; d. 1970)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, church leader and active member of community organizations in Toccoa

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1958

Marriage/Family. m.

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 128—129

Mitchell, Margaret Munnerlyn (b. Atlanta, Ga., Nov. 8, 1900; d. Aug. 16, 1949)

Education. Smith College, 1918—1919

Vocation/Profession. Author, journalist

Lifetime Achievements. Beginning in the mid 1920s Margaret Mitchell was employed as a journalist and feature writer for the *Atlanta Journal*, an Atlanta daily newspaper. After an editor read her manuscript of *Gone with the Wind* (which she had written years earlier), he contracted with Mitchell to prepare it for publication. The novel portrays the Old South during the Civil War and Reconstruction in a highly romanticized, mythic vision of southern plantation life and culture. When the book was published in 1936, it became an immediate best seller and won the Pulitzer Prize that same year. Its success has known few equals, with 30 million copies sold (as of 1983) in twenty-seven languages and countries throughout the world. In 1939, the book was made into a film which was even more popular than the novel, and brought added fame to both Atlanta and Margaret Mitchell.

Marriage/Family. m. Berien K. Upshaw, 1922; divorced 1924; m. John R. Marsh, 1925; no children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 723—725; *Notable American Women, Vol. 2*, pp. 552—554; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 71—72; *Georgia Women of Achievement*, 1994 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Moore, Martha McDonald (b. Waycross, Sept. 13, 1884; d. Aug. 17, 1964)

Education. LaGrange College, Doctor of Laws

Vocation/Profession. Church leader

Lifetime Achievements. Considered an accomplished church speaker, Martha Moore, wife of Methodist Bishop Arthur Moore received numerous honors, including the naming of The Martha McDonald Moore

Memorial Chapel at Magnolia Manors, Americus, in her honor. In 1976 she was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. Arthur Moore, 1906; at least one child

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 52—53

Sites. Martha McDonald Moore Memorial Chapel at Magnolia Manors, Augusta

Morgan, Mrs. J. Brown (Nannie) (b. LaGrange, Ga., Nov. 8, 1836; d. June 28, 1884)

Education. Unknown

Vocation/Profession. Militia officer

Lifetime Achievements. In 1863 Nannie Morgan organized the "Nancy Harts," a militia unit of forty women soldiers, to defend the city of LaGrange while the local men were serving with the Confederate forces. Meeting weekly for drill and target practice, these women provided a security service and street patrols for the city until the war ended.

Marriage/Family. m. J. Brown Morgan, date unknown; 3 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, p. 726

Mosley, Ruth Hartley (b. Savannah, 1886; d. 1975)

Education. Savannah public schools; Providence Hospital, Chicago

Vocation/Profession. Nurse, businesswoman, civil rights activist

Lifetime Achievements. After completing nurse's training in Chicago, she returned to Georgia to work at the Georgia State Sanitarium (now Central State Hospital) in Milledgeville. In 1910 she became the first African-American woman appointed as a head nurse in the hospital, in charge of the "Colored Females Department." After her marriage to Richard Hartley, she worked in the Bibb County health department and schools, and became a licensed mortician in her husband's funeral home business. By investing in real estate and other business ventures, Ruth Mosley built a fortune and rose to a position of prominence in Macon. She was active in a number of local organizations, including the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and participated in civil rights sit-ins in the 1950s. In her will, she provided for her considerable estate to be divided into two trust funds - one to fund nursing student loans and another to establish a women's center in Macon.

Marriage/Family. m. Richard Hartley, 1917; widowed 1931; m. Fisher Mosley, 1937

Sources. Georgia Women of Achievement, 1994 inductee

Sites. The Ruth Hartley Mosley Memorial Women's Center, funded by her will, located in her Spring Street home, Macon.

Murphy, Lucile Desbouillons (b. 1873; d. 1956)

Education. Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences; Paris

Vocation/Profession. Artist

Lifetime Achievements. Lucile Murphy was a well-known painter in Savannah.

Marriage/Family. m. Christopher P. H. Murphy, 1900; 2 children

Sources. HPD Files

Murphy, Sarah McLendon (b. 1894; d. 1954)

Education. Industrial school for Blacks in Rome; Spelman College, graduate

Vocation/Profession. Schoolteacher

Lifetime Achievements. After the death of her daughter, Sarah Murphy and her husband began to provide a home for neglected and orphaned children, which at one time totaled forty-two children. As individuals and organizations heard about her work, she began to receive contributions, and eventually acquired

enough money to build an adequate home for the children. She and her husband both died before it was completed, and church groups took over the operations of the home.

Marriage/Family. Married; 1 child

Sources. *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 29—30

Napier, Viola Ross (b. Macon, Ga., Feb. 14, 1881; d. June 27, 1962)

Education. Wesleyan College, 1898; Elam Alexander Normal School, graduate, 1901; studied law in Judge E. W. Maynard's classes, 1919—20

Vocation/Profession. Schoolteacher, lawyer, legislator

Lifetime Achievements. After her husband's death in 1919, Viola Napier studied law in a local judge's night school. She passed the bar in 1920, and opened her own practice after being refused appointment as an associate in any of the city's established law firms. In 1922, the first year Georgia women could vote, she spent \$48 on campaign expenses and won a seat in the General Assembly. She was the first woman to hold elective office in Georgia, and the first woman to be sworn into the State House of Representatives. She was also the first woman attorney to argue a case before the Georgia Court of Appeals and the Georgia Supreme Court. As a legislator she authored bills which addressed children's needs, including health, education and safety.

Marriage/Family. m. Hendley Varner Napier, Jr., 1907; 4 children; widowed, 1919

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 737—738; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 88; Georgia Woman of Achievement, 1993 inductee

Neel, Isa-Beall Williams (b. Cartersville, Ga., June 2, 1861; d. Aug. 7, 1953)

Education. Mary Sharpe College, A.B., 1882; Berlitz College of Languages, Dresden, Germany, 1890; Mercer University, honorary degree, LL.D., 1931

Vocation/Profession. Religious leader in the Baptist Church, most notably in the Baptist Woman's Missionary Union

Lifetime Achievements. Isa-Beall Neel was a leading churchwoman in Rome and Cartersville. She was also active in the temperance movement and was a regional chairman of the Georgia Council for the Prevention of Lynching (1932). She was the first woman to receive an honorary degree from Mercer University. In 1939 she wrote *His Story in Georgia: WMU History*, a history of the Woman's Missionary Union.

Marriage/Family. m. William J. Neel, 1892

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 739—740

Newman, Frances (b. Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 13, 1883; d. Oct. 22, 1928)

Education. Agnes Scott Institute, 1900—1901; University of Tennessee; Carnegie Library, Atlanta, library science

Vocation/Profession. Novelist, librarian

Lifetime Achievements. Frances Newman worked in several libraries, including the Atlanta Carnegie Library 1913—1923 and the Georgia Institute of Technology library from 1924. Her first novel, *The Hard-Boiled Virgin*, was published in 1926. She published another novel, *Dead Lovers are Faithful*, in 1928 before her early death at the age of forty-five.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Burial. West View Cemetery, Atlanta

Sources. *Notable American Women, Vol.2*, pp. 622—623; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 67; *Women's History Sources*

Nix, Lucile (b. Commerce, Ga., March 4, 1903; d. Dec. 1, 1968)

Education. Greenville Woman's College, A.B., 1925; Emory University, B.S.L.S., 1930

Vocation/Profession. Librarian

Lifetime Achievements. From 1936—1940, Lucile Nix worked in Koxville, Tennessee's Lawson McGhee Library as School Library Supervisor and later as Head of Circulation and Adult Education. From 1940—1945, she served Tennessee as Regional Librarian, and was instrumental in securing the first state aid for regional public libraries in Tennessee. In 1945 when the Georgia Department of Education secured state funds for the improvement of the state's public libraries, she became the Chief Library Consultant for Public Libraries, a position she held until her retirement in 1968. Under her leadership, the Georgia library system grew from 6 regional public libraries serving 14 counties to 36 regional libraries serving 134 counties. Dedicated to improving public library resources and services, Lucile Nix promoted library programs, facilities planning and a broad range of educational activities. She served on numerous boards at both state and national levels, and was a recognized leader in other areas of public service, including adult education, public health, education, and child welfare.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 746—747

O'Connor, Mary Flannery (b. Savannah, Ga., March 25, 1925; d. Aug. 3, 1964)

Education. Georgia State College for Women, B.A., 1945; State University of Iowa, M.F.A., 1947

Vocation/Profession. Author

Lifetime Achievements. By 1946, soon after she graduated from college Flannery O'Connor was beginning to have success in getting her short stories published. In 1950 she came down with lupus, a debilitating and incurable disease, which claimed her life fourteen years later. From 1950 until her death in 1964, she lived with her mother at Andalusia, a five hundred acre family farm in Milledgeville. She was known and respected by her contemporaries, and corresponded frequently with literary colleagues, including Robert Lowell, Elizabeth Bishop, and Caroline Gordon. Known for her sharp wit, religious insight, and disciplined writing style, Flannery O'Connor received numerous grants and awards for her work, and is recognized as one of America's foremost short story writers.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 757—759; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 62—64; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1992 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Burial. Memory Hill Cemetery, Milledgeville

Sites. Andalusia (privately owned)

Oemler, Marie Conway (b. Savannah, Ga., May 29, 1879; d. June 6, 1932)

Education. Convent of St. Vincent; Savannah public schools; private tutors

Vocation/Profession. Author

Lifetime Achievements. Marie Oemler was already a wife and mother in her thirties when she published her first novel and best-known work, *Slippy McGee* (1917). Her second novel, *A Woman Named Smith* (1919), was also successful and was widely read in Europe. She was a frequent contributor to a number of magazines, including the *Ladies' Home Journal* and the *Christian Herald*. In 1927 she wrote *The Holy Lover*, a fictionalized biography of John Wesley.

Marriage/Family. m. John N. Oemler, 1901; 2 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 759—760

Orr, Dorothy (b. Atlanta, Ga., Jan. 10, 1887; d. Jan. 13, 1975)

Education. Emory University, PhD., 1930, M.A., 1932

Vocation/Profession. Educator, author

Lifetime Achievements. Dorothy Orr wrote *A History of Education in Georgia*, an influential book that was published in 1950 by the University of North Carolina Press.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 765—76; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 48; *Women's History Sources*

Packard, Sophia B. (b. not known; d. 1891)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Missionary, teacher

Lifetime Achievements. Commissioned in 1879 by the Women's American Baptist Home Mission Society of New England, Sophia Packard and her friend and fellow missionary **Harriet Giles** were sent to the South to study the living conditions of newly freed Blacks. Appalled by the lack of educational opportunities for black women, they moved from Boston to Atlanta in 1881 to establish a school for freed-women. The school grew to become Spelman College, considered today to be one of the most outstanding woman's colleges in the nation.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 48; *Women's History Sources*

Parrish, Celeste (b. near Swansonville, Va., Sept. 12, 1853; d. Sept. 7, 1918)

Education. Roanoke Female Institute, diploma, 1876

Vocation/Profession. Educator

Lifetime Achievements. Considered a pioneer in higher education for Georgia women and a progressive educator in public schools in the South, Celeste Parrish promoted John Dewey's methods while she was a professor at Georgia State Normal School, Athens, 1902—1911. From 1911 to 1918 (when she died), she was State Supervisor of Rural Schools in the North Georgia District, a position she used to strengthen the education of teachers as well as students in this rural area.

Marriage/Family. Single; one adopted daughter

Burial. Clayton Baptist Church, Clayton, Ga.

Sources. *Notable American Women*, pp.18—20; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 48

Perkerson, Medora Field (b. near Lindale, Ga., Sept. 18, 1892; d. June 6, 1960)

Education. Public school

Vocation/Profession. Writer

Lifetime Achievements. A freelance magazine writer, Medora Field was hired by her future husband in 1920 as a feature writer and assistant editor for the *Atlanta Journal Magazine*, a position she held for more than twenty years. She also wrote a popular advice column for the same newspaper magazine for a number of years. Medora Perkerson was the author of two mystery novels, which became best-sellers and were later made into movies. Her third book, *White Columns in Georgia* was published in 1952, and remained in print for over thirty years. This book describes over three hundred of the state's finest houses, and includes stories about their owners. Medora Perkerson was also involved in a number of Atlanta civic organizations, was State President of the National League of American Pen Women, and President of the Atlanta Woman's Press Club.

Marriage/Family. m. Angus Perkerson, founder and editor of *Atlanta Journal Magazine*, now *Atlanta Weekly*, 1922; no children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 788—790; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 37, 41, 67; *Women's History Sources*

Powers, Harriet (b. October 29, 1837; d. 1911)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Fabric artist (quilter)

Lifetime Achievements. Born a Georgia slave, Harriet Powers and her husband were able to make a living farming, acquiring several acres of land with livestock and tools after the Civil War. Nationally known as the creator of rare story quilts, Powers fabricated two quilts that are now in the Smithsonian Institution and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Marriage/Family. m. Armstead Powers; 3 children

Sources. *Black Women in America*, pp. 937—938

Prather, Ida Allen (b. Elberton, Ga., 1885; d. not known)

Education. Paine College, Augusta (high school); Howard University, A.B.; Columbia University; Wayne University; University of Chicago; Atlanta University, graduate work

Vocation/Profession. Educator, YWCA summer camp founder

Lifetime Achievements. A schoolteacher until her retirement in 1953, Ida Prather also served as Principal and Assistant Principal in several Georgia public schools. She was active in a number of religious organizations, and a member of West Mitchell Methodist Episcopal Church. When she was Chairman of the Camp Committee of the Phyllis Wheatley YWCA, she was instrumental in the founding of a summer camp for girls, which was named for her. In 1976, Ida Prather was named a “Historic Georgia Mother.”

Marriage/Family. m. Joseph B. F. Prather, 1913; 3 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 56—57

Prophet, Nancy Elizabeth (b. Providence, R.I., March 19, 1890; d. not known)

Education. Rhode Island School of Design, graduate; l’Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts, student, 1922—1925

Vocation/Profession. Sculptor

Lifetime Achievements. A well-respected sculptor, Prophet’s subjects were exclusively African-American. Her most productive years as a sculptor were from 1920—1930 when she won several prizes, including the Harmon Foundation prize for best sculpture (1930), and her work was exhibited in the United States and Europe. From 1932—1945 she taught in the art departments at Spelman College and Atlanta University. Although talented and well educated, when she left teaching to become a full-time sculptor, she earned her living as a domestic in Providence, Rhode Island. Few of her works survive, and she died relatively unknown and poor.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. *Black Women in America*, pp. 947—948; HPD Files; *Women’s History Sources*

Raines, Hazel (b. Waynesboro, 1916; d. 1956)

Education. Wesleyan Conservatory, graduate, 1936

Vocation/Profession. Pilot

Lifetime Achievements. Hazel Raines was the first woman in Georgia to earn both private and commercial pilot’s licenses. Early in her career she was known as an outstanding stunt flyer and often flew with air shows around Macon in the 1930s. After obtaining a commercial license with Eastern Airlines, she joined the Civilian Pilot Training Program to train pilots for the Army and Navy Air Corps. When the United States entered World War II, she was one of twenty-five American women pilots recruited for service. Returning to the United States in 1943, she joined the Women’s Air Service Pilots (WASPS), serving as a test pilot, and training other pilots after the war.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. Georgia Women of Achievement, 1995 inductee

Rainey, Gertrude Pridgett (Ma) (b. Columbus, Ga., April 26, 1886; d. 1939)

Education. Professional training in southern minstrel shows

Vocation/Profession. Blues singer, songwriter

Lifetime Achievements. Ma Rainey was a successful performer and popular recording artist who had a tremendous influence on other black artists, most notably women blues singers. Despite numerous accomplishments from song writing to stage management, she is probably best known as a popular blues singer. Often referred to as “Mother of the Blues,” Ma Rainey was one of the first professional woman blues singers and one of the last great minstrel artists.

Marriage/Family. m. “Pa” Rainey, 1904

Sources. *Black Women in America*, pp. 958—960; *Notable American Women*, pp. 110-111; *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 820—821; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1993 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Randolph, Martha Evelyn Patrick

Education.

Vocation/Profession.

Lifetime Achievements.

Marriage/Family.

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 122—123

Rankin, Jeannette (b. Missoula, Mont., June 11, 1880; d. May 23, 1973)

Education. University of Montana, B.S., 1902; New York School of Philanthropy; Columbia University; University of Washington, M.A.; Montana State College, honorary degree, LL.D., 1961

Vocation/Profession. Suffragist, pacifist, congresswoman

Lifetime Achievements. In 1911, Jeannette Rankin began lobbying for female suffrage, becoming the Field Secretary for the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1913. In 1917, she ran a successful campaign in her native state of Montana, and became the first woman elected to the House of Representatives. An outspoken pacifist, she was the only member of Congress to oppose United States involvement in both world wars. Beginning in 1924, she spent most winters in Georgia, at her second home in Athens. She founded the Georgia Peace Society in 1928, an organization which became the home base of her pacifist operations until its financial demise on the eve of World War II. In 1929, Rankin became a Washington lobbyist and field organizer for the National Council for the Prevention of War (NCPW), a position she held for ten years. She served as a Congresswoman from Montana again in 1940. After her defeat for reelection in 1942, Jeannette Rankin traveled throughout the world to study the pacifist methods of other countries, and was particularly interested in Gandhi's teachings in India. An outspoken opponent of United States involvement in Vietnam, she ran again for Congress in 1968 (at the age of 88). Throughout her life she was a strong and influential leader, who made important contributions to the suffrage and peace movements.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 822—823, *Notable American Women: The Modern Period*, pp. 566—568; *Women's History Sources*

Raoul, Eleonore (b. New York, Nov. 13, 1888; d. not known)

Education. Private schools in Atlanta, New York, Baltimore; Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy; Emory University Law School, 1920

Lifetime Achievements. Daughter of **Mary Wadley Raoul (Mrs. W. G.)**. In 1915 she was active in suffragette activities and, five years later, she became the first woman to graduate from Emory University Law School and one of the first woman lawyers in Georgia. Her work centered on the education and registration of voters. She organized the Central Committee of Women Voters, a forerunner of the League of Women Voters. In 1926 she was elected State President of the League of Women Voters. In 1974, at age 85, she led the Equal Rights Amendment Parade in Atlanta.

Marriage/Family. m. Harry L. Greene (but refused to change her name). Younger sister of **Mary Raoul Millis**

Sources. *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 20—22; *Women's History Sources*

Raoul, Mary Wadley (Mrs. W. G. Raoul) (b. 1848; d. 1936) and **Mary Raoul Millis** (b. not known; d. not known)

Education. Not known

Lifetime Achievements. With **Emily C. MacDougald** they formed the Equal Suffrage Party in 1914 to promote the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. By 1915 they had 2,000 members advocating for their cause.

Marriage/Family. m. W. G. Raoul; at least 2 children

Sources. *Georgia Woman: A Celebration*, p. 20; HPD Files; *Women's History Sources*

Rivers, Rosetta Raulston (b. not known; d. not known)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Artist and educator

Lifetime Achievements. Rosetta Rivers was active in the arts in Georgia from 1899 to 1936. She was a teacher and Principal of the Art Department at Wesleyan College in Macon. She was known for her watercolor paintings, textile block prints, and wallpaper designs.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. HPD Files

Russell, Ina Dillard (b. Oglethorpe Co., Feb. 18, 1908; d. Aug. 30, 1953)

Education. Attended Lucy Cobb Institute

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, church leader, clubwoman

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1951

Marriage/Family. m. Richard B. Russell, 1891; at least one child

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 78—79; *Women's History Sources*

Rutherford, Mildred Lewis (b. Athens, Ga., July 16, 1851; d. Aug. 15, 1928)

Education. Lucy Cobb Institute, 1868; University of Georgia, honorary degree, Litt.D., 1923

Vocation/Profession. Educator, writer

Lifetime Achievements. Principal of Lucy Cobb Institute, Athens, 1880—1928, she was known to her students as a strong academic and moral leader. She published many books on southern history and literature and campaigned against women's suffrage.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 863—864; *Notable American Women*, pp.; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 20, 48, 55; *Women's History Sources*

Saussy, Hattie (b. Savannah, Ga., 1890; d. 1978)

Education. Telfair Academy; New York School of Fine and Applied Art (now Parsons School of Design); the National Academy of Design; the Art Students League

Vocation/Profession. Artist

Lifetime Achievements. Hattie Saussy was an artist in Savannah, well known for her landscapes, portraits, and still life paintings.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. HPD Files

Smith, Lillian Eugenia (b. Jasper, Fla., Dec. 12, 1897; d. Sept. 9, 1966)

Education. Piedmont College, Demorest, 1915—1916; Peabody Conservatory, Baltimore, Md., 1917, 1919

Vocation/Profession. Teacher, author, girls' camp director, civil rights activist

Lifetime Achievements. In 1915 her family moved to their summer cottage in Clayton, Georgia where they owned and operated a girls' summer camp. Lillian, an aspiring musician, studied music and was the Music Director for an American Methodist school in China from 1922—1925. When her parents became ill, she returned to Clayton to manage their camp and provide for them. She remained in north Georgia for the rest of her life, establishing a national reputation as a controversial, outspoken advocate for economic, racial and gender equality. In 1936 she and Paula Snelling founded *Pseudopodia* (later *The North Georgia Review*, then renamed *South Today*), a southern literary journal that was the first white southern publication to publish the work of black writers. *South Today* was known for encouraging aspiring women writers, and had become a substantial journal with a circulation of 10,000 when it ceased publication in 1945. During this period, Lillian Smith was also writing books, pursuing independent studies, and traveling throughout the world. Her first novel, *Strange Fruit*, a story of interracial love published in 1944, was banned in Massachusetts as an obscene book. Later the United States Post Office imposed a wider ban, which was lifted after Eleanor Roosevelt intervened. In 1949 another of her books, *Killers of the Dream*, denounced segregation and the moral character of racist individuals. Although she was nationally recognized as an important writer, received numerous awards, and was a popular lecturer and contributor to numerous publications, she was also widely criticized and endured the hostility of those who disagreed with her. Thousands of letters, private papers, manuscripts, files, and other important texts were destroyed in several arson attacks from 1944—1958. In 1964 Lillian Smith published her final book, *Our Faces Our Words*, about the nonviolent civil rights movement. As a civil rights activist she was a member of the executive board of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), received honors from several black universities (Howard, Fisk, and Atlanta), and was a valued friend of many black civil rights leaders. (She resigned from CORE when they disavowed nonviolence.) Lillian Smith was the first southern white woman writer to denounce racism and segregation, and her literary achievements were significant contributions to the causes of racial justice and interracial cooperation in the South.

Marriage/Family. Life partner, Paula Snelling

Burial. On "Old Screamer," the mountain where Laurel Falls Girls' Camp is located

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 903—904; *Notable American Women*, pp. 652—654; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 64—65; Georgia Women of Achievement, 1999 inductee; *Women's History Sources*

Sites. Laurel Falls Girls' Camp, Clayton

Smith-Robinson, Rubye Doris (b. Atlanta, Ga., April 25, 1942; d. Oct. 7, 1967)

Education. Atlanta public schools; Spelman College

Vocation/Profession. Civil rights leader and organizer

Lifetime Achievements. From her college days at Spelman, Rubye Smith was an active participant in numerous civil rights struggles and demonstrations, including lunch counter sit-ins, voter registration projects, and the freedom rides which challenged the legality of state-mandated segregation in interstate travel. She was a recognized leader and organizer in the civil rights movement, most notably as a key figure in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), one of the most influential civil rights organizations of the 1960s. SNCC was a black-dominated organization, whose leadership was almost exclusively male (except for Smith), even though the majority of its participants were women. Smith joined other SNCC women in a sit-in demonstration, confronting the sexism of its male leaders and demanding more responsible field assignments for women. She was active in the civil rights movement until months before her death from lymphoma (1967) at the age of twenty-five.

Marriage/Family. m. Clifford Robinson, 1964; 1 son

Sources. *Notable American Women: The Modern Period*, pp. 584—587

Stanton, Lucy May (b. Atlanta, Ga., May 22, 1875; d. March 19, 1931)

Education. Southern Female Seminary, LaGrange, Ga., 1888—89; Cox College, College Park, Ga., A.B., 1895; art study in Paris, 1896—98

Vocation/Profession. Visual Artist

Lifetime Achievements. Lucy Stanton was an accomplished artist, working in oils, watercolor, pastels, and clay. From 1898—1926, she traveled extensively, living in numerous places from Atlanta and Athens to Boston and Paris, and teaching art in many of those places. As an artist she is best known for her unique style of working in broad washes, painting miniatures on ivory. Collections of her work are found at Emory University; Berea College, Concord Art Association, Museum of American China Trade, Metropolitan Museum, National Portrait Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution and the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Marriage/Family. Single

Burial. Oconee Hill Cemetery, Athens

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 919—920; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 75; *Women's History Sources*

Sterne, Sue Brown (b. Meridian, Ms., Jan. 6, 1881; d. not known)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Religious and civic leader

Lifetime Achievements. After moving with her husband to Atlanta in 1914, Sue Sterne became involved in numerous organizations and charitable causes throughout the city. Her particular concerns were juvenile delinquency and civil rights. A leading member of All Saints' Episcopal Church, she held numerous lay positions in the church. In 1922 she was a founding member of Georgia Federation of Church Women, which became Church Women United, an ecumenical organization dedicated to charitable causes. She received several honors and awards for her leadership and volunteer service. In 1976 she was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. Adolphus H. Sterne, 1902; 5 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 58—59

Strickland, Eugenia Sexta Eavenson (b. July 2, 1868; d. May 1, 1971)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Writer, civic and religious leader

Lifetime Achievements. Among her contributions as a writer, Eugenia Strickland wrote the pledge to the Georgia flag, which was adopted in 1935, and the Georgians' Creed adopted in 1939. She was involved in a number of civic organizations and was an active member of the Second Ponce de Leon Baptist Church in Atlanta. In 1976 she was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. Alexander H. Strickland, 1889; 5 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 60—61

Talmadge, Mattie Thurmond (b. Edgefield, S.C., Nov. 7, 1882; d. not known)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, farm manager

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1951

Marriage/Family. m. John Peterson, 1900; no children; widowed; m. Eugene Talmadge, 1910; 3 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 80—81

Sites. "Sugar Creek," 1,400 acre farm in Telfair County, her home from 1910 when she married Eugene Talmadge.

Taylor, Charlotte DeBernier Scarbrough (b. Savannah, Ga., Aug. 4, 1806; d. Nov. 26, 1861[?])

Education. Madame Binze's School, New York

Vocation/Profession. Entomologist, author

Lifetime Achievements. Charlotte Scarbrough was born a daughter of privilege, growing up in a distinguished, wealthy family in Savannah that suffered economic misfortune in the 1820s. She and her husband, a merchant from Scotland, lived in New York and New Jersey before returning to Savannah in 1839, after he declared bankruptcy. Her interest in the natural world led her to publish scientific articles beginning in the 1850s. Self-trained as an entomologist, Charlotte Taylor was known for her scientific studies of insects of the southern seaboard associated with staple crops (such as wheat). In 1976 she was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. James Taylor, 1829; 5 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 963—964; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 78; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 62—63

Telfair, Mary (b. Savannah, Ga., 1971; d. 1875)

Vocation/Profession. Art philanthropist

Lifetime Achievements. Mary Telfair used her wealth to make lasting contributions to the visual arts in Savannah and Georgia, most notably in her endowment of the Telfair Museum of Arts and Sciences in Savannah.

Marriage/Family. Not known

Sources. *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 75; HPD Files

Thomas, Ella Gertrude Clanton (b. [Augusta, Ga.?], 1834; d. May 11, 1907)

Education. Private schools; Wesleyan College, A.B., 1851

Vocation/Profession. Diarist, suffragist

Lifetime Achievements. Daughter of a wealthy planter, Ella Gertrude Clanton enjoyed a life of leisure until her husband's poor management of their property led to financial misfortune in the 1870s. She began teaching and became active in numerous women's causes, including Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), literary societies, the UDC, and the Wesleyan Alumnae Association. Through her association with the WCTU, she met and worked with **Rebecca Latimer Felton**, the noted

Georgia suffragist. Felton was influential in Thomas's decision to join the newly formed Georgia Woman Suffrage Association in 1893. Thomas argued for equal rights at the state convention in 1899, where she was elected President. She later joined the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Her diary offers a rare and insightful story which documents the changes in the public and private life of a nineteenth century southern woman.

Marriage/Family. m. Jefferson Thomas, 1852; 10 children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 969—970; *Women's History Sources*

Thomas, Gene Barksdale (b. Washington, Ga., Oct. 18, 1903; d. not known)

Education. Washington High School; Converse College, Bachelor of Music, and an artist's diploma (for outstanding accomplishments in music)

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, active clubwoman, church leader, community volunteer

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1961

Marriage/Family. m. Frank W. Thomas; 3 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 100—101

Thornton, Cornelia Turner (b. Millen, Ga., July 14, 1909; d. not known)

Education. Wesleyan College

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, church leader, community volunteer, clubwoman

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1971

Marriage/Family. m. Benjamin I. Thornton, Jr.; 4 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 120—121

Thornton, Ella May (b. Atlanta, Ga., April 28, 1885; d. Oct. 11, 1971)

Education. Walnut Hill School, Natick, Mass., 1900—1903; Carnegie Library of Atlanta, Library School, certificate, 1909

Vocation/Profession. Librarian

Lifetime Achievements. When she began her career in Atlanta in 1909, Ella May Thornton was the first person with professional training to be appointed State Librarian in Georgia. Except for a year's leave of absence in 1918—1919, she was an influential leader in library development in Georgia until her retirement in 1954. She served on a number of boards, was a member of many professional organizations, and received numerous awards. Considered an authority on Georgia history, Ella Thornton authored a number of publications and guides for librarians and other professionals researching the state's history.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 978—979; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p. 56; *Women's History Sources*

Tilly, Dorothy Eugenia Rogers (b. Hampton, Ga., June 30, 1883; d. March 16, 1970)

Education. Reinhardt Junior College, A.A., 1899; Wesleyan College, A.B., 1901

Vocation/Profession. Civil rights leader, human rights advocate, Methodist Church leader

Lifetime Achievements. One of Georgia's most prominent civil rights leaders, Dorothy Tilly worked through the Methodist Church and networked with churchwomen in other denominations to advocate for equal treatment of blacks. Daughter of a Methodist minister, she was an influential leader in the Methodist Episcopal Church, a national leader of the Methodist Women's Society of Christian Services, a prominent member of its Women's Missionary Society (North Georgia Conference), and a teacher at Lake Junaluska, North Carolina. In 1929 she became Director of a summer school that taught community

leadership to African-American Methodist women at Paine College in Augusta, Georgia. Dorothy Tilly was committed to racial justice, and in 1931 she joined the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC) and the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching (ASWPL), serving on the national executive committee of the ASWPL and as an officer in the Georgia chapter. With **Jessie Daniel Ames**, ASWPL founder, Dorothy Tilly investigated lynchings and crusaded for better treatment of African-Americans. In 1949 she founded an interfaith and interracial organization called the Fellowship of the Concerned, intended to continue some of the work of the ASWPL, which had dissolved in 1942. Religiously motivated women from twelve southern states (more than 4,000 by 1950) sat in courtrooms and polling places to insure that injustices were not committed against African-Americans. She also helped to found the Southern Regional Council which succeeded the CIC in 1944, and was a director of women's work for many years. In 1946 she helped to establish the Georgia Training School for Delinquent Negro Girls. In addition she served on numerous national commissions, including President Truman's Commission of Civil Rights in 1945, the National Commission on Children and Youth, and also received numerous honors and awards for her human rights and welfare work. In 1976 she was named a "Historic Georgia Mother."

Marriage/Family. m. Milton E. Tilly, 1903; 1 child

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 984—986; *Notable American Women*, pp. 691—693; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, pp. 22—23; *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 64—65; *Women's History Sources*

Tolbert, Love Alexander McDuffie (b. Raleigh, N.C., Jun 3, 1885; d. not known)

Education. Columbus High School, 1902; Converse College, 1905, 1906

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, teacher, newspaper reporter, clubwoman

Lifetime Achievements. She was elected to Georgia House of Representatives in 1933, and named Georgia Mother of the Year, 1954;

Marriage/Family. m. Wheeler H. Tolbert; 6 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 86—87

Tubman, Emily Harvie Thomas (b. Ashland, Va., March 21, 1794; d. June 9, 1885)

Education. Unknown

Vocation/Profession. Educator, philanthropist

Lifetime Achievements. Reared in Kentucky, Emily Thomas met her future husband, Richard Tubman, a successful entrepreneur, while visiting in Augusta. After their marriage in 1818, they enjoyed an aristocratic life, traveling frequently, entertaining, and spending their summers in Kentucky, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Her husband died in 1836, leaving her the bulk of his estate and \$10,000 to free his slaves. Since it was illegal for "free men of color" to reside in Georgia, Emily Tubman made provisions for forty-two slaves to return to Liberia, where they were successful in building a new life and community they named Mount Tubman. Emily Tubman was a generous supporter of the Disciples of Christ Church, funding the construction of the first Christian Church in Augusta in 1842, as well as supporting the construction and development of numerous other churches and Christian colleges in Georgia and Kentucky. In 1873 she donated the building for the first girls' high school in Augusta. Emily Tubman also supported several charitable institutions for women, including the Widows House Society, a housing project for indigent, older women (later renamed the Tubman House) in Augusta and the Female Orphan School of Midway, Kentucky.

Marriage/Family. m. Richard Tubman, 1818; no children; widowed 1836

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 1005—1006; *Georgia Women of Achievement*, 1994 inductee

Tyler, Mary Elizabeth Cornett (b. Fulton Co., Ga., July 10, 1887; d. Sept. 10, 1924)

Education. Unknown

Vocation/Profession. Businesswoman, Ku Klux Klan organizer

Lifetime Achievements. Elizabeth Tyler is credited with being the “genius” and mastermind behind the extensive publicity and recruitment campaign of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. Allied with Edward Young Clarke, Elizabeth Tyler became the silent partner in a contract with William Joseph Simmons (the Imperial Wizard of the Klan who had re-established the ‘Invisible Empire’ on Stone Mountain in 1915) to build Klan membership. Although it is not known how much Clark and Tyler profited from this venture, they received a percentage of the membership fee as a commission, and enrollment soared. At the time of her death in 1924 it was estimated that her personal worth exceeded \$500,000.

Marriage/Family. m. Tyler, c1901; 1 child; m. Stephen W. Grow, 1922

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 1012—1014

Whatley, Mary Monk (b. Butler, Ga., April 7, 1900; d. Dec. 1971)

Education. LaGrange College

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, clubwoman, civic and church leader

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1969

Marriage/Family. m. Dr. C. E. Whatley; 5 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 116—117

Whitehead, Floy Landrum (b. Oglethorpe Co., Ga., Dec. 25, 1888; d. July 20, 1973)

Education. Oglethorpe County public schools; Athens Business College

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, church and civic leader

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1949

Marriage/Family. m. James F. Whitehead, 1910; 8 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 76—77

Whiting, Helen Adele (b. Washington, D.C., Feb. 13, 1885; d. Nov. 11, 1959)

Education. Iowa University, 1920; Howard University, normal diploma, 1905, B.S. and special diploma, 1926, M.A. and special diploma, 1927; University of Chicago, 1928, 1942; Columbia University, 1939—1940, 1944; New York University, 1941.

Vocation/Profession. Educator

Lifetime Achievements. In 1931 Helen Whiting moved to Georgia where she worked until her retirement in 1954, improving teaching training and education, and expanding research opportunities for students in the field of education. Positions she held include State Supervisor of Negro Elementary Schools (1935—1942) and Atlanta University Professor of Education. She also served as area coordinator in teacher education for the Department of Education in Georgia. She received numerous honors and citations for her work, and wrote about her educational philosophy and principles in many published articles.

Marriage/Family. m. Joseph Whiting; no children

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 1063—1064

Whiting, Kathleen Acree (b. Sept. 3, 1896; d. not known)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Farm manager for 800 acre farm in Camilla, Ga. (following her husband's death in 1947)

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1960, Kathleen Whiting was an active member of the Avalon Methodist Church in Albany, in addition to running the family farm and supervising as many as 78 workers in the production of pecans, peanuts, cotton, corn, and tobacco.

Marriage/Family. m. Julian D. Whiting; 9 children; widowed, 1947

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 98—99

Whitman, Louise Durham (b. Comanche, Okla., Oct. 26, 1913; d. not known)

Education. Master's degree in Education, school not known

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, Food Service Director for Dougherty County schools, clubwoman

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1976

Marriage/Family. m. Charles L. Whitman, Jr.; 6 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 130—131

Wilburn, Leila Ross (b. Macon, Ga., 1885; d. 1967)

Education. Agnes Scott Institute, graduate, 1906[?]

Vocation/Profession. Architect, plan book publisher

Lifetime Achievements. A resident of Decatur, Georgia, Leila Ross Wilburn was one of the most influential architects in Georgia during the first half of the twentieth century. Beginning her practice in 1907, she designed hundreds of residences, apartment buildings and other structures during a career that lasted until her death in 1967. Known primarily for her residential designs, which were also published in plan books, she offered house designs to the public at a cost considerably lower than a custom designed residence. She published at least seven plan books, each containing approximately eighty designs, and also several pamphlets of her designs. By offering affordable, efficient, well-designed houses (from bungalows to ranch houses), Wilburn facilitated home ownership for the middle class. Her houses are found throughout the historic neighborhoods of Atlanta and other Georgia towns and cities. They have been documented in six states and over forty towns throughout the Southeast.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. HPD Files

Wilder, Ruth Bowers (b. Royston, Ga., May 8, 1896; d. not known)

Education. Not known

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker, clubwoman, church leader

Lifetime Achievements. Georgia Mother of the Year, 1956

Marriage/Family. m. Garnett L. Wilder, 1917; 4 children

Sources. *Historic Georgia Mothers*, pp. 90—91

Wilson, Ellen Axson (b. Savannah, Ga., May 15, 1860; d. Aug. 6, 1914)

Education. Rome, Ga. Female College, 1876; attended Art Students' League, New York City, 1882, 1884—1885

Vocation/Profession. Homemaker

Lifetime Achievements. Ellen Wilson took an active role in her husband's political campaigns and, once he was elected President of the United States, she was a quiet but strong advocate for better housing for Negroes and other humanitarian causes. She also toured government buildings and had women's rest rooms installed where there were none.

Marriage/Family. m. Woodrow Wilson, 1885; 3 children

Burial. Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Rome, Georgia

Sources. *Notable American Women*, pp. 626—628; *Women's History Sources*

Wilson, Augusta Jane Evans (b. Columbus, Ga., May 8, 1835; d. May 9, 1909)

Education. Taught primarily by her mother

Vocation/Profession. Novelist

Lifetime Achievements. Augusta Evans was born and reared around Columbus, Georgia, and spent her childhood in the wealthy homes of her mother's prominent relatives (the Howard family). The Evans family moved away from the Columbus area in 1845, finally settling in Mobile in 1849. Augusta lived there the rest of her life. She wrote several successful novels and was outspoken in her support of the Confederacy. In 1868 she married a wealthy banker, Lorenzo Wilson, and lived with him at "Ashland" until his death in 1891. Augusta Wilson's nine novels identify her as one of the nineteenth century female writers known as "domestic sentimentalists." *Beulah* (1859) and *St. Elmo* (1866) were both national bestsellers, and made Augusta Wilson one of the most popular female writers of her day.

Marriage/Family. m. Lorenzo Madison Wilson, 1868; no children; widowed 1891

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 1073—1074; *Notable American Women*, pp. 625—626; *Women's History Sources*

Woodward, Emily Barnelia (b. Vienna, Ga., May 2, 1885; d. March 23, 1970)

Education. Vienna public schools; Gordon Institute, Barnesville, Ga., 1910; University of Georgia, La Grange Female College, honorary degrees, 1929

Vocation/Profession. Educator, journalist, newspaper editor and owner

Lifetime Achievements. In 1918 Emily Woodward became the editor of the *Vienna News*, a local newspaper. Ten years later she became the first woman President of the Georgia Press Association, during which time she founded the Georgia Press Institute, an organization for newspaper editors.

Marriage/Family. Single

Sources. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, pp. 1088—1089; *Georgia Women: A Celebration*, p.42; *Women's History Sources*

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“Women-Related Historic Sites in Georgia.”

Index to Notable Georgia Women

Chapter 5.2

Name	Page Number
Akin, Stella	2, 3
Ames, Jessie Daniel	4, 50
Andrews, Eliza Frances	4
Armor, Mary Harris	4
Atkinson, Susan Cobb Milton	4-5
Avary, Myrta Harper Lockett	5
Bandy, Dicksie Bradley	5
Barker, Mary Cornelia	5-6
Barker, Tommie Dora	6
Barrett, Kate Waller	6
Beasley, Mathilda	6-7
Berry, Martha McChesney	2, 7
Birney, Alice Josephine McLellan	2, 7, 12
Black, Mary Ellen (Nellie) Peters	7-8
Blackshear, Annie Laura Eve	2, 8
Blair, Ruth	8
Bosomworth, Mary Musgrove	8-9
Bowen, Eliza Andrews	9
Bradley, Frances Sage	2, 9
Bramblett, Agnes Cochran	9-10
Branham Sara	10
Brooks, Hallie Beachem	10
Brown, Elizabeth Grisham	10
Bryan, Mary Edwards	11
Bryan, Mary Givens	11
Bullock, Sarah Irvin	11
Burke, Emily Pillsbury	11
Butler, Frances Kemble (see Frances Kemble)	11, 29, 31
Butler, Selena Sloan	2, 11-12
Cabaniss, Louise Conger Carmichael	12
Calhoun, Marion Crompton Peel	12
Callaway, Virginia Hand	12-13
Camuse, Jane Mary	13
Cate, Margaret Davis	13
Chambers, Willie M.	13

Name	Page Number
Cochran, Margaret Thompson	13
Colley, Mary Fort	14
Collins, Necie Wooddall	14
Craft, Ellen Laney Smith	14
Creswell, Mary Ethel	14-15
Crim, Martha Jane (Matt)	15
David, Nellie Boyce	15
Davidson, Grace Gillam	15
De Graffenreid, Mary Clare	16
Dickson, Amanda America (Eubanks, Toomer)	16
Dozier, Henrietta (Harry) Cuttino	16
Drawdy, Allifair (Fairy) Hester	17
Dull, Henrietta	17
Durham, Cassandra Pickett	17
Evans, Lettie Pate	2, 17
Everhart, Adelaide Chloe	17-18
Felton, Rebecca Latimer	18, 37, 48
Flisch, Julia Anna	18
Francisco, Margaret Kapps	18-19
Fraser, Alexa Stirling	19
Gay, Mary Ann Harris	19
Giles, Harriet	19, 42
Glover, Frances Virginia Jones	19
Gordon, Nora Antonia	20
Greene, Catherine (Caty or Kitty)	20
Gregory, Mary Bland Rogers	20
Hagood, Margaret (Marney) Loyd Jarman	20-21
Hambidge, Mary Crovatt	21
Hamilton, Grace Towns	2, 21
Harbin, Edith Lester	21-22
Hardy, Madolon Moore	22
Harman, Kate Strickland	22
Harris, Corra Mae White	22
Harris, Julia Florida Collier	2, 22-23
Hart, Nancy Morgan	23
Haygood, Laura Askew	23
Hayes, Louise Caroline Frederick	23-24
Head, Nina McClure	24
Herndon, Adrienne Elizabeth McNeil	24
High, Harriett (Hattie) Harwell Wilson	2, 24-25
Hillhouse, Sarah Porter	25
Hoffman, Irene Roach	25
Hope, Lugenia D. Burns	2, 25
Howard, H. Augusta	25
Howard, Clara A.	26
Hunter, Anna Colquitt	26

Name	Page Number
Jarrell, Helen Ira	26
Jemison, Margaret Malone	26-27
Jewett, Mary Gregory	27
Johnson, Carrie Parks	27
Johnson, Elizabeth Barksdale	27
Johnson, Georgia Douglas Camp	27-28
Johnson, Lucy Keen	28
Jones, Nell Choate	28
Jones, Sophia Bethene	28
Kaufman, Rhoda	28-29
Kay, Lena Adair	29
Kemble, Frances Anne (Fanny)	11, 29, 31
Laney, Lucy Craft	2, 30
Lanford, Lucile Almand	30
League, Ellamae Ellis	2, 30
Leigh, Frances Butler	29, 31
LeVert, Octavia Walton	31
Lipscomb, Mary Ann Rutherford	2, 31
Logan, Carrie Steele	2, 31-32
Longstreet, Helen Dorch	32
Low, Juliette Magill Gordon	2, 32
Lumpkin, Grace	32-33
Lumpkin, Mary (Mamie) Bryan Thomas	33
Lyndon, Mary Dorothy	33
MacDougald, Emily C.	33-34, 45
Malone, Josephine Kirkup	34
Mankin, Helen Douglas	34
Mann, Allie B.	34
Mason, Lucy Randolph	34-35
Mathis, Essie Lee Cook (Cookie)	35
Maxwell, Winifred Smith	35
McCrorey, Mary Jackson	35
McCullar, Bernice Brown	36
McCullers, Lula Carson Smith	2, 36
McEachern, Lula Cordelia Dobbs	36
McGarity, May Belle Hitchcock	37
McIntire, Lucy Barrow	37
McLendon, Mary Latimer	18, 37
McMinn, Lessie Vastine Thomason	37
Michael, Moina Belle	38
Millis, Mary Raoul	38, 45, 45-46
Minter, Bernice Ivey	38
Mitchell, Margaret Munnerlyn	2, 38
Moore, Martha McDonald	38-39
Morgan, Mrs. J. Brown (Nannie)	39
Mosley, Ruth Hartley	2, 39

Name	Page Number
Murphy, Lucile Desbouillons	39
Murphy, Sarah McLendon	39-40
Napier, Viola Ross	40
Neel, Isa-Beall Williams	40
Newman, Frances	40
Nix, Lucile	41
O'Connor, Mary Flannery	2, 41
Oemler, Marie Conway	41
Orr, Dorothy	41-42
Packard, Sophia B.	19, 42
Parrish, Celeste	42
Perkerson, Medora Field	42
Powers, Harriet	43
Prather, Ida Allen	43
Prophet, Nancy Elizabeth	43
Raines, Hazel	43-44
Rainey, Gertrude Pridgett (Ma)	2, 44
Randolph, Martha Evelyn Patrick	44
Rankin, Jeannette	44
Raoul, Eleonore	34, 38, 45
Raoul, Mrs. W. G. (Mary Wadley) and Mary Raoul Millis	34, 38, 45
Rivers, Rosetta Raulston	45
Russell, Ina Dillard	45
Rutherford, Mildred Lewis	45
Saussy, Hattie	46
Smith, Lillian Eugenia	46
Smith-Robinson, Rubye Doris	47
Stanton, Lucy May	47
Sterne, Sue Brown	47
Strickland, Eugenia Sexta Eavenson	47-48
Talmadge, Mattie Thurmond	48
Taylor, Charlotte DeBernier Scarbrough	48
Telfair, Mary	48
Thomas, Ella Gertrude Clanton	48-49
Thomas, Gene Barksdale	49
Thornton, Cornelia Turner	49
Thornton, Ella May	49
Tilly, Dorothy Eugenia Rogers	2, 49-50
Tolbert, Love Alexander McDuffie	50
Tubman, Emily Harvie Thomas	2, 50
Tyler, Mary Elizabeth Cornett	51
Whatley, Mary Monk	51
Whitehead, Floy Landrum	51
Whiting, Helen Adele	51
Whiting, Kathleen Acree	51-52
Whitman, Louise Durham	52

Name	Page Number
Wilburn, Leila Ross	52
Wilder, Ruth Bowers	52
Wilson, Ellen Axson	52
Wilson, Augusta Jane Evans	53
Woodward, Emily Barnelia	53
Bibliography	53-54

Note:

Because compilation of this list was begun in 1999, there are a number of women who are not included, but who should be. They are those who were not mentioned in any of the sources used in compiling the original list, or women who have recently died. The list should be regularly updated to include these and other notable Georgia women.

5.3 History of the Kitchen in Georgia

Lynn Speno

Women's place in the home and kitchen has been taken for granted throughout history. It is important to take a look at what that meant for women, both for the homemaker and her servants. Additionally both the size and location of the kitchen provide valuable insight into the history of racial and class differences. There is no one good source of information about the history of kitchens in Georgia; rather material was gleaned from a variety of sources.

From the earliest of times throughout the world, women's work has included the processing of food. The Europeans brought to the American colonies their traditional division of labor and the European idea of patriarchy. In the new world they encountered native cultures in which women cooked, but also farmed, and carried on certain productive traditions, e.g., basket making.¹ Colonial women's tasks, whether urban or rural, Northern or Southern, included work in the home, nearby gardens and barnyards. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, new technology, the Industrial Revolution, and increased population in the cities gave rise to a better standard of living that altered women's lives dramatically.² In the United States, during the one hundred-year time span between 1860 and 1960, nearly every household became industrialized, which changed the look, the location, and the division of labor in the kitchen.³ While the South, including Georgia, lagged behind the rest of the country in industrialization, it caught up by the middle of the twentieth century.

The Colonies

In colonial Georgia, women were vital to establishing permanent homes as soon as the first colonists arrived in Savannah in 1733. According to one historian, without women in attendance, men were not as eager to work, nor as willing to stay and make a home.⁴ Although women had few legal

¹Theda Perdue, *The Cherokee* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989). Complete citations for all works quoted in this essay are also included in Section 7.1, "Bibliography."

²Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), p. 1.

³Ruth S. Cowan, *More Work for Mother* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1983), p. 3.

⁴Julia Cherry Spruill, *Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies* (N. Y.: Norton & Company, 1972), p. 19.

rights and were regarded as property during colonial times, they were important in guaranteeing the success of a colony. In Georgia, married soldiers in 1741 were noted as the most industrious.⁵

Throughout the American colonies, the homes built on the frontier by these early settlers usually consisted of one large room, called a hall, with a sleeping loft above. Meals were cooked at the single fireplace with the aid of iron kettles, frying pans and wooden bowls. The early coastal homes at Fort Frederica, Georgia were small tabby houses, with the kitchen located on the main floor of the house.⁶

In Georgia, as colonists became more prosperous and built larger homes, these earlier cabins often became the kitchen, either attached to the main house by a breezeway or separated from the house by as much as twenty to one-hundred yards to remove the heat, smoke, and servants from the "big house." The southern kitchen, unlike its northern counterpart, was sparsely furnished. Its main function was operational, rather than as space for family gathering.⁷ In contrast, the northern kitchen was almost always part of the house; the need to retain the heat for warmth helped make it a main gathering place in the home.

The southern detached kitchen became associated with the yard and gardens rather than with the house itself, an association which would continue until well after the Civil War. Examples from the colonial period include a Savannah home advertised for sale in 1764 that included a separate washhouse and kitchen. A grander Savannah home at the same time boasted a two-story home with balcony, adjoining kitchen, cellar and several outbuildings; in this case, the yard was fenced off for a garden and separate poultry yard.⁸

In the larger households, auxiliary buildings and yards, necessary for household maintenance and food preparation, usually included a kitchen garden adjacent to the kitchen, a poultry yard, smokehouse, root cellar, springhouse, well and dairy room. The dairy room, used for butter and cheese making, was either located off of the kitchen or was a separate structure. The number of outbuildings was relative to the size and self-sufficiency of the plantation.⁹ Even small farms had several outbuildings. As homes became larger in the latter part of the 1700s, small cellars underneath the kitchen were added, replacing nearby hillside cellars. Before the invention of ice manufacturing, a stone springhouse was the most common means of food preservation in the South. The gardens, including a nearby kitchen garden, were given much attention by wealthy colonists. Those who could afford to do so often imported gardeners

⁵Spruill, *Women's Life*, p. 18.

⁶Margaret Cate, *Early Days of Coastal Georgia* (St. Simons: Fort Frederica Association Publishers, 1955), p. 23.

⁷Elisabeth D. Garrett, *At Home - The American Family 1750-1870* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1990), p. 95.

⁸Spruill, *Women's Life*, p. 39.

and seeds from their homelands.¹⁰ In the Trustee's Garden in Savannah, parts of the gardens were devoted to testing various plants for use here in the New World.

In the South, the yard served as an extension of the kitchen. The yard was often used to perform household chores such as laundry, candle making, cleaning up and other tasks which required large numbers of people and considerable space. The yard was generally defined by the location of the outbuildings, and in some cases the yard was enclosed by a wall.¹¹ The yards of a Liberty County plantation, *Montevideo*, were described as: "attached to the house lot was a brick kitchen, brick dairy, smokehouse, washing and weaving rooms, two servants houses, a new stable and carriage house, wagon shed, poultry houses and yards, a well and a never failing spring."¹²

By the time of the Revolution in the South, domestic servants were commonly enslaved Africans.¹³ Those women who were less well off might only have a slave or two; daughters, or extended family, such as unmarried aunts also helped with the kitchen work and household tasks.¹⁴ Women of greater means, including plantation mistresses, had many slaves to perform daily chores. While the white mistress of the largest homes may have done little of the physical work herself, she had to oversee every detail of running the household. Her day probably began around sun-up with the cook's work in the kitchen. Among the black slaves, cook (always a woman) was believed to be accorded the most power among the servants.¹⁵

The Nineteenth Century

In the early nineteenth century there was very little urban population in Georgia other than in the cities of Savannah and Augusta. In southern urban centers, the kitchen was placed at the rear of the house or in the basement, if it was not located in a separate outbuilding.¹⁶ Examples of basement kitchens in Georgia include *Montrose*, an 1849 home in Augusta, and the 1855-60 *Hay House* in Macon.¹⁷ In *The Early Architecture of Georgia*, author Nichols notes that basement kitchens were typical of Savannah

⁹John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), p. 77.

¹⁰Spruill, *Women's Life*, p. 67.

¹¹Vlach, *Big House*, p. 34.

¹²Van Jones Martin and William R. Mitchell, Jr., *Landmark Homes of Georgia 1733-1983* (Savannah: Golden Coast Publishing Company, 1982), p. 36.

¹³Spruill, *Women's Life*, p.76.

¹⁴Spruill, *Women's Life*, p. 80.

¹⁵Anne Firor Scott, *Unheard Voices: The First Histories of Southern Women* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), p. 143.

¹⁶Ellen M. Plante, *The American Kitchen* (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1995), p. 37.

¹⁷David K. Gleason, *Antebellum Homes of Georgia* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1987), p. 21.

homes. Savannah examples include the 1816-19 *Telfair Academy*, the 1841 *Francis Sorrell House*,¹⁸ the 1819 *Richard Richardson House*, a c.1805 home at 503 East President Street, and the 1820 *Isaiah Davenport House*.¹⁹ Not all Savannah homes had basement kitchens, however. The 1850s *Green-Meldrim House* had a detached kitchen along with stable and servants' quarters. In those urban centers with kitchens in raised basements, a common arrangement was a twelve by sixteen foot kitchen space, with separate rooms for the pantry, scullery, storage, receiving room and servants' room.²⁰

In rural areas the kitchen was usually larger, often twenty-four by sixteen feet.²¹ At this time Georgia was largely a rural state dominated by small yeoman farmers. Few farms were large enough to be called plantations. Until the Civil War the plantation plain style of house (a two-story home with shed porch on front, rear addition and detached kitchen) predominated. The c.1845 *Tullie Smith House*, originally located in DeKalb County and now in Fulton County on the grounds of the Atlanta History Center, is a prime example. *Traveler's Rest*, c.1811, located in northeast Georgia near Toccoa, was used as an inn. A kitchen, in a c.1820 addition, was added to the basement along with an adjacent wine cellar. (See Illustration #4.) The smokehouse and slave quarters were located in the side yard.²²

Grady County, located west of Thomasville in the southwest part of the state, was settled around 1820.²³ The kitchens of these small homes were built separately and to the rear of the houses, sometimes connected by a breezeway.²⁴ As the settler grew more prosperous, a larger main house (either dog-trot or hall-and-parlor) was constructed with a shed addition for the kitchen. An open porch next to the kitchen would serve as the washing up area for bathing children and food preparation. In the latter part of the nineteenth century it was common to built an ell to house the kitchen and dining room. (See Illustrations #12, 13.) Domestic help was rare, and few slaves were owned in this part of Georgia.²⁵

On a large southern plantation, the detached kitchen was usually the largest room on the premises, with the exception of the ballroom. Windows and ceilings were high to admit fresh air and vent heat and odors. Sometimes the kitchen had a loft or quarters for the cook.²⁶ The kitchen was used for

¹⁸Frederick D. Nichols, *The Early Architecture of Georgia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), p. 58.

¹⁹William R. Mitchell, *Classic Savannah* (Savannah: Golden Coast Publishing, 1987), p. 65.

²⁰Plante, *Kitchen*, p. 38.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 39.

²²Medora F. Perkerson, *White Columns in Georgia* (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1952), p. 181.

²³Yvonne Brunton, *Grady County Georgia: Some of its History, Folk Architecture and Families* (Jackson: Quality Printers, 1979), p. 3.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 76.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 138.

²⁶Molly Harrison, *The Kitchen in History* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1972), p. 62.

cooking as well as washing and bathing, and water was usually brought to the kitchen in large wooden buckets from the nearby well for these purposes.²⁷

There are numerous examples of nineteenth century homes with detached kitchens in Georgia. Some examples include the *Thomas Carr House* in McDuffie County. The 1803-06 house had a detached kitchen which was located on the side of the house near the dining room. None of the dependencies are standing today. The 1807 *Hofwyl-Broadfield Plantation* located on the Altamaha River has a detached kitchen. At the Couper family home at *Cannon's Point*, the food was carried from the separate kitchen to the butler's pantry, which was located next to the dining room. For a time prior to the Civil War, this household, in a break from tradition, had a male African-American cook, named Cupidon. The actress Fanny Kemble's 1838 family home on Butler's Island also had a detached kitchen.²⁸ Along the coast on Sapelo Island, the 1810 home of Thomas Spalding had a kitchen located in one of the two flanking wings of the house, connected to the main house by a glass conservatory.²⁹ In the city of Thomasville, the *Hardy Bryan House* c.1833 had a detached kitchen wing.³⁰ Other examples include the c.1795 *Harris-MacKay House* in Augusta and *Bonar Hall*, an 1832 home in Madison. (See Illustration #5.) The 1850 *Nathan Bennett House* in Madison had a kitchen located to the rear of the house connected by a breezeway. Other times the kitchen was located on the ground floor, such as the c.1847 *Robert A. Lewis Home* and the 1840 *Bulloch Hall* in Roswell.³¹

The kitchen garden remained an essential part of domestic life, except for those Americans in northern cities where farmers' markets offered the opportunity to purchase fresh vegetables.³² In the South, the garden was common, even in cities, well into the twentieth century. Yards were deep to accommodate vegetable gardens; even the governor kept a cow at his Ansley Park home in Atlanta in the 1910s. Residents of the Newnan Cotton Mill village, due to the small size of their lots, had to keep their animals on a common yard nearby, provided by the mill.

Other Georgia cities such as Milledgeville and Athens had homes with detached kitchens. Georgia's antebellum capital, Milledgeville, retains many of its fine Federal style homes built in the 1820s. These homes, including the c.1818 *Williams-Ferguson-Lewis House*, the c.1830 *Marlor Home* and the c.1820 *Flemister-Roberts-Littleton-Hobbs Home*, were constructed with detached kitchens.

²⁷Plante, *Kitchen*, p. 10.

²⁸Cate, *Early Days*, p. 57.

²⁹Nichols, *Architecture*, pp. 30-44.

³⁰William R. Mitchell, *Landmarks: The Architecture of Thomasville and Thomas County, Georgia, 1820-1980* (Tallahassee: Rose Printing Company, 1980), p. 36.

³¹Perkerson, *White Columns*, p.177.

Unlike the Savannah homes built at the same time, the houses in Milledgeville do not have basements. Other examples include *Casulon Plantation* near Athens, a c.1825 home with detached kitchen behind the house, and *Oakton* located in Cobb County, a pre-1852 home with detached kitchen.³³

By the middle of the eighteenth century, public and private spaces in the home had become clearly defined. By the mid-nineteenth century, the separation of the two spheres had become the norm, and a back staircase or entrance kept the servants out of sight.³⁴ In the South, this separateness further divided whites from blacks. The three grand antebellum houses in Roswell – *Mimosa*, *Bulloch*, *Barrington* – all have separate staircases for the black servants.³⁵

There were distinct differences between northern and southern domestic help at this time. In the early part of the nineteenth century, young rural girls moved to the northern cities to find work. However, by the 1840s immigrants began to fill these household jobs. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries over forty million immigrants came to the United States, and only a few, primarily northwestern Europeans, settled in the South.³⁶ The South depended upon enslaved Africans, men and women, to provide household help. Except in remote rural southern areas, household help was plentiful in the years before the Civil War.³⁷

The years from 1840 until the beginning of the Civil War in 1861 were a time of prosperity for this country. While most families were still living on farms, many urban areas in the North were growing as industries began to prosper.³⁸ A ready source of servants and the move toward an industrialized society in the North, changed the course of domesticity.³⁹ Industrialization meant a growing share of ready produced goods to ease the burden of running a household, and to provide novelties such as canned goods for consumption. Industrialization meant labor-saving devices including the cookstove, which was introduced in the 1850s. The cook stove altered American cooking methods and relieved the housewife or her servant of backbreaking work at the hearth. But the South lagged far behind the North in the area of industrialization, so the prosperity and goods fueled by industrialization were not available in the South until decades after the Civil War.

³²Plante, *Kitchen*, p. 40.

³³Lorraine M. Cooney, *Garden History of Georgia, 1733-1933* (Atlanta: Peachtree Garden Club, 1933), p.124.

³⁴Clifford E. Clark, Jr., *The American Family Home* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), p. 42.

³⁵Nichols, *Architecture*, p. 60.

³⁶Carl N. Degler, *Place Over Time* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1977), p. 18.

³⁷Plante, *Kitchen*, p. 59.

³⁸*Ibid.*, p. 66.

³⁹*Ibid.*, p. 21.

Post Civil War

Industrialization in the North was accompanied by changes in kitchen philosophy and use. The post Civil War era was a transition time for the kitchen, as widespread use of servants declined and the kitchen was relocated to a more convenient place in the house. The increased trend toward housewives' self-reliance was led by reformers such as Catharine E. Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe in an attempt to help women deal with these changes to domestic life. In their 1869 publication, *The American Woman's Home*, they sought to suggest changes to the kitchen that would help simplify women's lives. These changes included locating the kitchen on the first floor, and including a separate room for the cookstove.⁴⁰ The design of their ideal kitchen was a nine by nine foot room with a built-in counter, a locked closet, a sink and shelves. The laundry, ice closet and storage were to be located in the basement. Another manual produced in 1869 by Joseph B. and Laura E. Lyman, *The Philosophy of Housekeeping*, included several kitchen plans designed to save time and energy.⁴¹ These changes and the reformers' plans gradually spilled down into southern cities after the end of Reconstruction.

The Civil War and the Industrial Revolution altered American lives, both in the North and in the South. According to one historian, many white southern women, who voiced their opinions only after the War, felt relieved of the burden of caring for slaves.⁴² In some instances, freed slaves remained on the plantation where they had lived, providing a source of domestic labor. Many moved to the cities providing urban women, both Northern and Southern, a ready source of domestic help, but the availability of household help was forever changed. Newly arriving immigrants in the North often chose factory work over domestic service, and many households had to simplify their lifestyles.⁴³ Because help was difficult to find, many housewives had to perform a greater share of the daily tasks involved in running the household.⁴⁴ In the South, domestic service became a mainstay of black female employment, but a source of friction between black and white women that was not eased until the 1960s.

The Victorian Era

By the end of the 1870s, in northern urban areas, basement townhouse kitchens had gone out of favor and kitchens were located on the first floor. Gas lines for lights and cookstoves, and indoor

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 45.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 27.

⁴²Anne Firor Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 213.

⁴³Plante, *Kitchen*, p. 45.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 90.

plumbing changed the way kitchens operated, freeing up more time for the housewife.⁴⁵ (Illustration #10) New opportunities for women in industry and the new service professions, decimated the servant population. In those households which before the Civil War had two or three servants, there was now commonly one. In the South, domestic service was more readily available than in the North because there were no alternatives for black women except for institutional cleaning jobs.⁴⁶ Even southern white housewives were more likely to do all of their household tasks, including kitchen and laundry chores themselves. By 1900 seven out of ten housewives performed all of their domestic tasks.⁴⁷ With no servants to supervise, and the children away at school all day, the housewife became increasingly isolated.⁴⁸

Many Victorian households, which often included aging parents or boarders, had large homes with multiple entrances, separate staircases and large kitchens. Numerous entrances and separate staircases kept the servants out of sight. The kitchen was large to provide space for meal preparation and to allow dissipation of the heat from the stove. Several windows and doors helped provide ventilation. Southern homes built during this time period often had a summer kitchen which was located behind the main kitchen. In the winter it held the wood or coal for heating. These large homes demanded servants; both live-in and day help was used. Since most of the food was prepared at home, large quantities of staples such as flour and sugar were stored. Pantries and cellar areas were common. All of the washing and ironing was commonly done in the kitchen after the water had been heated on the stove.⁴⁹ Fine examples of this style of home exist in Atlanta's Inman Park, the city's first streetcar suburb.

For those women of modest means, particularly the urban African-American woman, the kitchen was located at the rear of her small shotgun home. This type of home was also commonly used in mill villages, lumber and mining camps, or as tenant homes from 1880-1930. While this house type is found throughout the country, its point of entrance to the United States was a southern port – New Orleans.⁵⁰ The shotgun is African in origin and came to be associated with that culture here in the United States. (See Illustration #11.)

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 85.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 110.

⁴⁷Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981), p. 21.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 13.

⁴⁹Clark, *Family Home*, p. 62.

⁵⁰Dell Upton, ed., *America's Architectural Roots* (Washington: Preservation Press, 1986), p. 43.

The practice of separating the kitchen from the main house continued until late in the nineteenth century, in parts of Georgia, particularly the rural areas.⁵¹ One notable example is *West End* or *Nacoochee*, the Hardman family home in the Nacoochee Valley, which dates from 1867-69. The large (fifteen by twenty-two feet) frame building has a stone foundation with cellar accessible from the outside. Today the one-story kitchen is connected to the main house by a covered walkway, which was built in 1908 to shelter the black servants while they transported the food. It was the sole kitchen until a new kitchen was installed in the main house in the 1960s.⁵² (See Illustration #7.) In southwest Georgia, a description by a winter visitor to Thomasville in 1878 noted that a one-story home he visited was being built up on piers with no cellar and the kitchen was located at a distance from the house. There was no lawn, only flower beds in the front yard.⁵³ The 1869 *Veazey Plantation* in Greene County also was built with a detached kitchen located on the side of the house.⁵⁴ (See Illustration #9.)

Women's lives were centered around their families and households, roles which were deemed suitable for them by society. Those who did not marry or were widowed might choose an appropriate outside occupation including nurse, teacher, seamstress or servant. In an effort to help the housewife become a better consumer in the increasingly industrialized nation, the General Federation of Woman's Clubs was organized in 1892. A Georgia chapter was organized in 1896. Another training tool for housewives was the newly created home economics department within schools and colleges beginning in 1893. Originally designed to focus on training servants, the emphasis shifted to helping the housewife operate her home and kitchen more efficiently.⁵⁵ The University of Georgia offered home economics courses just after the turn of the century. The first courses were taught by Agnes Ellen Harris.

Early Twentieth Century

By the turn of the century, kitchens throughout the country, including Georgia, were primarily located within the house.⁵⁶ In Georgia and throughout the country, a shift in the design of homes resulted in a simpler, neater appearance that was reflected in the Prairie, Bungalow or Colonial Revival style of home. A living room on the front of the house replaced the Victorian entrance hall and parlors. The kitchen was located to the rear of the home. As a move toward a cleaner, more sanitary laboratory-like

⁵¹Middle Georgia Area Planning and Development Commission, *The Architectural Heritage of Middle Georgia: the Nineteenth Century* (Macon, 1976), p. 21.

⁵²Nichols, *Architecture*, p. 65.

⁵³Mitchell, *Landmarks*, p. 37.

⁵⁴Cooney, *Garden History*, p. 127.

⁵⁵Clark, *Family Home*, pp. 159-161.

atmosphere permeated kitchens from the 1890s through the 1920s, the reformers of the period focused on the cleanliness of the kitchen and baths.⁵⁷ The ideal kitchen would include the latest technological innovations combined with the best in sanitation. Non-absorbent linoleum flooring could be easily cleaned; electric stoves did not emit soot; walls should be easily washable; lack of window moldings prevented dust from accumulating.⁵⁸

Generally located at the back of the first floor, the urban kitchen was often square in shape in the early 1900s, about nine by ten or ten by twelve feet. An adjacent space often held a seating nook. Direct access to the front door meant that the housewife herself could answer the door; a service entrance located off of the kitchen provided egress for service people. No servants were needed to operate such a house, so no back staircase was needed either.⁵⁹

Kitchens in rural areas were larger to accommodate a wood or coal stove and the wood supply. In some rural areas, tradition prevailed over modern ways. In the c. 1910-15 *Nolan Plantation* in Morgan County, the Colonial Revival style house mimicked its predecessor in design by placing the kitchen in an ell off the back of the house. Rural kitchens often had pantries at this time, while large urban homes had a butler's pantry. There was no eating in the kitchen, only food preparation. The floors were usually wood or tile, and the walls light in color. The laundry room was located in the basement, in a separate room on the first floor, in an outbuilding or in the garage.⁶⁰

Kitchen design in 1920 might include space for the icebox, Hoosier cabinet, broom closet, drop down ironing board, and a few built-in cupboards in addition to the sink, range and hot water tank.⁶¹ The freestanding Hoosier cabinets were a refinement of the baking cupboards, which were popular from 1896-1910. Manufacturers of the Hoosiers sold women on the idea that no servant was needed in the kitchen if the housewife had one of these.⁶² (See Illustration #14.) These Hoosiers were the forerunners of the streamlined kitchen with built-ins that became common in the 1930s.⁶³ Color also came into the kitchen in the late 1920s as appliance manufacturers began producing appliances in a number of colors other than white. Walls, floors and cabinets soon boasted colors of their own.⁶⁴

⁵⁶*The Georgia Catalog: Historic American Buildings Survey* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982), p. 214.

⁵⁷Plante, *Kitchen*, p. 97.

⁵⁸Clark, *Family Home*, p. 156.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁶⁰Plante, *Kitchen*, p. 161.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 172.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 208.

⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁶⁴Earl Lifshey, *A History of the American Housewares Industry* (Chicago: National Housewares Manufacturers

On a grand scale, the kitchen of the *Swan House* in Atlanta is a fine example dating from this time period. The kitchen is located off to the side on the first floor next to the dining room. There is a separate servants' entrance from the outside into the kitchen. A large butler's pantry provided serving and cleaning up space. *Glenridge Hall* in north Fulton County, which dates from 1930, is another fine example of a grand kitchen. The kitchen is entered via an outside porch door or via the butler's pantry. Separate rooms were built for silver storage, glassware, cooling, a pantry and a servants' dining room. The breakfast room is connected directly to the butler's pantry for ease of service. Black household help ran the kitchen from the time of its original occupancy by the Glenn family until 1951 when the family moved out. Mrs. Glenn never set foot in the kitchen.

Electricity was available to only a small number of homes in the first years of its existence; early appliances consisted of toasters, irons and fans. In 1905 a National Kitchen Modernization Bureau was organized to promote the modernization of kitchens. Kitchen displays, radio programs and other efforts were used to help the housewife modernize electrically.⁶⁵ In Georgia, the Georgia Power Company had its own such programs to help women overcome their fear of electricity and learn how to operate their own kitchens more efficiently. The electric companies had originally operated on a dusk to dawn schedule since the only things being powered were light bulbs. By the 1920s, other appliances such as mixers, heaters, coffee makers, washing machines, dishwashers, refrigerators, ranges and vacuum cleaners were being manufactured. The iron was the most popular appliance and found in nearly every home. Next in popularity was the vacuum cleaner.

By the 1930s electric appliances had become essential for a modern urban household. Electric ranges and refrigerators had gained widespread acceptance. For those homes in Georgia and the rest of the lower South, the advent of electric stoves reduced the threat of fire from open fireplaces and wood cook stoves, as well as reducing the heat generated from these methods of cooking. By the end of the decade, food freezers, room air conditioners, electric blankets and garbage disposers had been perfected. All helped ease the housewife's burden. Rural areas lagged behind the cities in availability of electricity. It was not until the 1930s and '40s that most of Georgia was served by electricity.

The lure of better paying jobs in factories, mills, offices or department stores in the cities left only one-fifth of all working women employed as domestics by the early part of the twentieth century.⁶⁶ In rural southern locations, domestic service was supplanted by the tenant system on the farms. From the

Association, 1973), p. 142.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 132.

⁶⁶Clark, *Family Home*, p. 167.

1890s on, black men often stayed on the farm and the women moved to the city to hire out as domestic servants. Most domestic work was shunned by non-immigrant white Americans. It was considered a low-status occupation, in which those seeking upward mobility were not likely to engage. Blacks migrating to the North around the turn of the century began to fill those domestic jobs once occupied by immigrants. By 1910 blacks were the dominant servants in all cities.⁶⁷ Some Works Progress Administration (WPA) programs of the 1930s trained cooks. Those trained in the South were taught the essential task of biscuit making among other things.⁶⁸

For those employed in domestic work, a gradual shift from live-in help to live-out took place in the years around World War I. By the 1920s, servants predominately lived away from their employer's home.⁶⁹ In Atlanta in 1920 only ten percent of servants were live-ins, and ninety-five percent of the servants were black.⁷⁰ In homes built around this time, servants' quarters were often located in the basement or in a separate building, sometimes above the garage. This type of servants' quarters was found in Atlanta in Midtown, Druid Hills and Ansley Park. For other black women who did not live with their employer, this meant long days – commuting and caring for two houses, one being their own. For those women with no domestic help, their work hours increased. Despite labor-saving devices, the housewife's work was never done. No outside service had replaced the daily tasks of cooking, cleaning and childcare.⁷¹

By World War II live-in domestic servants almost ceased to exist due to the availability of other jobs.⁷² Atlanta had a high ratio of servants per family, almost four times higher than the rest of Georgia. This urban pattern of employing live-out domestics in the South, also held true for the North, however rural Northerners were more likely than their counterparts in the South to hire a domestic.⁷³ Foreign-born servants in the South continued to be almost non-existent.⁷⁴ Those employing domestics were likely to be white, middle and upper-class urban families, however in the South some elite black families also employed servants.⁷⁵

⁶⁷David M. Katzman, *Seven Days A Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York: Oxford Press, 1978), p.72.

⁶⁸Phyllis Palmer, *Domesticity and Dirt: Housewives and Domestic Servants in the United States, 1920-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), p. 79.

⁶⁹Katzman, *Seven Days*, p. 44.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 88.

⁷¹Hayden, *Revolution*, p. 26.

⁷²Palmer, *Domesticity*, p. 153.

⁷³Katzman, *Seven Days*, p. 60.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 66.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 58.

Washwomen filled a particular need for the housewife. Many married black women preferred such work because they could control the number of days they worked, unlike the cook who worked all week. They could still run their own household while having a part-time job. These “off-site” washwomen were the forerunners of what would become the “cleaning woman” of today.⁷⁶ In Atlanta, many washwomen had their own businesses from the 1880s on. With the invention of an agitator-type washing machine in 1926, washwomen began to disappear from the North. By 1920, sixty-six percent of all laundresses were employed in the South. This preference of southern women for hiring help to do their laundry retarded the development of commercial laundries in the South to as late as the 1940s. It was common in the South for washwomen to pick up the laundry at their employer’s house and carry it home on their heads. After the automobile became commonplace, white women would deliver their dirty laundry to the home of the washwoman.⁷⁷ Often done on Mondays, and referred to as “Blue Monday” for the bluing liquid used to whiten white fabric, this practice endured until World War II.

Post World War II

As black and white soldiers returned from the war and began to marry and set up housekeeping, a building boom to accommodate these veterans ensued. One result was the increase in black home ownership. The rush to create a model for ideal family life led to the creation of tract housing in the sometimes distant suburbs, both North and South, which left many women feeling isolated in their brand new dream kitchens. While convenient, dinner which could be prepared from a box and a can provided no sense of achievement. Boredom and loneliness, combined with few opportunities for feeling a sense of accomplishment led many women to seek outside employment.⁷⁸

The ranch home constructed in the 1950s became a popular style of house throughout the country. National trends in home design were reflected in the South more than at any previous point in history. The ranch home was separated into three areas: the housework center, the living area and the private area. A utility core of kitchen, laundry and baths at the center of the house was a model of efficiency and convenience.⁷⁹ The kitchen became a focus for decorator colors as it became a visible part of the living portion of the home.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 85.

⁷⁷Susan Tucker, *Southern Women* (New York: Schocken Books, Inc., 1988), p. 90.

⁷⁸Plante, *Kitchen*, p. 282.

⁷⁹Clark, *Family Home*, p. 215.

Daily domestic help or “day work” was especially popular at this time. Black women favored this kind of work which allowed them time for their own families and social life. Day help usually cleaned, cooked or laundered. Time spent on household tasks did not vary much from urban to rural settings. A national comparison showed that rural households spent fifteen hours per week cooking, while urban households spent ten hours.⁸⁰ While cleaning and some cooking were generally routine tasks for most households with help, other jobs were assigned as needed. It was not uncommon for southern cooks to bake for all of the day's meals. From the 1950s onward some black women wore a uniform while working in the white household as a sign of permanent occupancy on the job. The uniform also allowed the black woman to feel a sense of separation of her work life from her personal life. For the most part, this kind of help disappeared in the 1960s as legal segregation ended throughout the country and better paying job opportunities arose. However, today in the South it is still possible to find this type of situation existing especially among older white women and their older black help.

The single most revolutionary appliance to ease women's cooking tasks in the past fifty years was the microwave, which by the 1980s could be found in the majority of homes in the United States. Originally developed as a response to the energy crisis in the 1970s, it ultimately became a convenience and time saver for the housewife.⁸¹

By the 1960s and 70s, the American kitchen was no longer a separate room. Kitchens were often placed in the front of the home, accessible from the garage. The U-shaped kitchen was separated from the adjoining living area by a low counter.⁸² The housewife could prepare food while entertaining guests, or supervise young children while sorting laundry. There were no servants on a daily basis in this kitchen. This idea of a multi-purpose all-electric kitchen was essential to the many roles and tasks women were expected to play in their daily lives – chauffeur, cook, cleaner, homemaker, child psychologist.⁸³ No longer confined to food preparation, the kitchen became the breakfast and lunch counter, the laundry area, and sewing room.⁸⁴ Larger to allow for socializing and family gathering, it led to the 1980s style of home which was built with large kitchen/dining/family combination rooms.

Today the kitchen has come full circle. Originally the fireside hearth in the one-room cabin throughout the American frontier, and the heart of the New England home, the kitchen today is the where the family gathers to visit, eat, do homework, play games, surf the net or watch television – once again it is the “hearth” of the home.

⁸⁰Palmer, *Domesticity*, p. 76.

⁸¹Plante, *Kitchen*, p. 276.

⁸²Clark, *Family Home*, p. 213.

⁸³*Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 204.

5.4 Women in the Georgia Landscape

Ced Dolder

This special study consists of three separate, but related, parts: 1) Women and Vernacular Gardens, 2) Women's Garden Clubs, and 3) Female Landscape Architects. As with garden history research itself, women's landscape history is not easily documented. Women's works were not considered important enough to record, describe or quantify. Often a woman worked under the name of a male family member, or her descendants destroyed her "old papers and things." Professionally she was dismissed if not sponsored by a male colleague, and she often disparaged her own contribution to the professional world of landscape architecture. The traditional roles of wife and mother always carried precedence over a professional life.

In this context study we need to explore the influence of women on the built environment, so it is realized that several distinctions must be made. What part of the environment is "built?" What can be recognized as distinctly feminine? And, is it possible to have regional differences in these categories? It is not possible to be completely comprehensive in these queries; however, certain aspects can be investigated.

Women have traditionally been considered the stewards of the garden, the nurturers of the seed and the land it is planted upon. In the first pioneer days of taming the Georgian frontier women's and men's work was probably divided by the amount of body strength required to accomplish the job. As the fields were cleared and the main crops tilled in, and the house was finished, the men retreated to hunt and gather. Remaining to carry out the tasks of home and hearth were the women. When the basics of food and shelter were procured, the pioneers began to seek comfort, security, and a measure of refinement. The necessities were improved upon with herbs, plant stuffs for dyes, medicinals, and scent. Field, forest, and garden provided much more than food and pleasant flowers.¹

Later, as the population's level of refinement and comfort increased, the "lady of the house" was often schooled in botany, a course acceptable in feminine scholastic pursuits. She was encouraged to

¹Kay Moss, "A Vertue (sic) of Necessity," in *The Influence of Women on the Southern Landscape*, proceedings of the Tenth Conference on Restoring Southern Gardens and Landscapes, October 5-7, 1995, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, p. 39. Complete citations for all works quoted in this essay are also included in Section 7.1, "Bibliography."

paint floral watercolors, or to accomplish a beautifully arranged flower vase. But many of these southern women, who were born to wealth and later married a planter, were required to manage a huge household. However, their lives were not always glamorous, pain and suffering, wars and infant deaths were part of their daily existence. Gardening for them perhaps provided a soothing antidote, a point of tranquility. It was a pleasure that transcended the difficulties of their lives, of bearing many children, or of chronic illness. Even though gardens are easily lost to neglect, many historic plantation landscapes have the spirit of these women still apparent. For example, Hills and Dales in LaGrange is the 160-year-old product of three wealthy women caretakers.

Professional landscape architects were not even licensed until the early decades of the twentieth century. Many women became garden writers, or garden artists. Plant nurseries, usually taken over from an incapacitated male family member/owner, were often managed by women.

Women and Vernacular Gardens

The definitive landscape or ground works around a historic site was most often contributed to by the women of the locale, unless industrial in nature. So, a farmyard was often tended by the farm woman. She would plant her vegetable and flower garden near the kitchen door, her fruit trees near the beehives around the perimeter, and have her supporting outbuildings, i.e. a spring house, or a root cellar in close proximity. These gardens are vernacular in nature, and supported a cultural landscape of differences. The vernacular garden, more than any other type, reflects the dynamics of regional, ethnic, religious, and racial influences. None of these women were gardening professionals; some often not educated in the formal sense. They gardened out of necessity, for sustenance, and, perhaps for beauty as well. The placement of the various elements of the garden was often determined from folk practices. Their farmyards and gardens looked like everyone else's. This, however, could lead to a particularly noteworthy investigation of the Southern experience in a vernacular garden.

Women's Garden Clubs

Just as the agricultural nature of America gave way to a more industrialized society, the women of the Southern landscape also became less isolated. By the turn-of-the-century, Georgia was a leader in the formation of women's clubs, particularly Garden Clubs. The first Ladies' Garden Club was formed in Athens, Georgia in 1891, a forerunner of the influential Garden Club of America. The garden clubs offered a forum for women to come together; exchange gardening ideas, form flower arranging competitions, and create community beautification programs. The influence of the Southern garden clubs

of the 1910s and 1920s grew twenty years later to encompass statewide surveys and historic garden documentation and preservation efforts. No other region in America provided such a comprehensive survey system, with published works to document these gardens, as the southern Garden Clubs accomplished between the wars. Some of these books, with historic garden narrations and detailed “modern” garden descriptions as references of important seventy-year-old landscapes and lost historic gardens, demand huge prices on the antique book market today.

The legacies left by the “Garden Club Ladies” on the built environment can be seen in every community, from the beautiful parks around the local courthouse, to the installation of sidewalks along Peachtree Street in Atlanta. These dynamic, energetic women were able to cross more than a few barriers in local government bureaucracy, thus leaving behind an example of civic duty to be imitated by later generations.

Female Landscape Architects

Women in need of supporting themselves in a professional manner before 1900 were often relegated to the educational, nursing, or boarding house trades. As educational opportunities increased for women, other professions slowly became a possibility. Education in landscape architecture did not become available until the opening of the Lowthorpe School of Landscape Architecture in 1901 in Massachusetts. For the next forty years, with the Cambridge School, founded in 1915, the majority of female landscape architects in America graduated only from these two schools. Before the turn-of-the-century, women were self-educated in landscape design or apprenticed to estate gardeners. The first well-known female landscape architect was Beatrix Jones Farrand, a charter member of the American Society of Landscape Architects. She was truly a pioneer in the field. However, in the 1920s and 1930s, the era of the country estate created a need for landscape architects, a profession seen later as particularly suitable for women. Women could allow themselves the emotional connection with “... the fine art of creating and preserving beauty in the surroundings of human habitations.”² The connection with the earth, and the health and comfort of the population was a nurturing feminine aspect of the profession.

²As said by Charles Eliot, an early landscape architect and partner of Frederick Law Olmsted. Quoted by Sherold D. Hollingsworth, “Women Landscape Architects and Their Influence on Southern Gardening,” in *The Influence of Women on the Southern Landscape*, proceedings of the Tenth Conference on Restoring Southern Gardens and Landscapes, October 5-7, 1995, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, p. 140.

Summary

These three aspects of women's influence in the landscape will be explored separately, however, women governed these areas of garden development. Their mark is left currently in a resurgence of garden interest in all aspects of residential and commercial landscapes. Skyscrapers and apartment complexes have highly developed, integrated landscapes surrounding the buildings, often designed by a female landscape architect. Women now outnumber men in the University of Georgia's School of Environmental Design student enrollment, one of the largest in the country. Seminars and lectures provided by garden clubs and botanic gardens are fully attended by men and women, young and old. Public media provides garden information at the touch of a control button. Historic preservation curricula in universities provide courses in historic gardens and landscapes.

Garden Clubs are still active in roadside beautification, and in providing a forum for educational opportunities. The historic landscapes documented and photographed by the efforts of garden clubs throughout Georgia, and the country, are a source of great interest to landscape historians today. The mid-twentieth century gardens of the club members should be researched and documented, rejuvenated and restored, as well. These women had access to some of the most informed, most forward-thinking horticulturists of the day. Their gardens would have portrayed the avant-garde styles of the first half of the twentieth century.

The present over-development of the rural landscape is cause for rapid preservation efforts to save vernacular representations of gardens and outbuildings. The loss of a need for outbuildings, and the easy access to fresh foods has caused the loss of a culture commonplace only decades ago. Documentation of women's influence on vernacular landscapes should be a priority for all State Historic Preservation Offices, not only Georgia's or the South's.

1) Women and Vernacular Gardens

The vernacular garden, by definition, means the garden of the everyday idiom of the ordinary people. The term *vernacular* has been already applied to buildings of the common man, or "traditional rural buildings of the pre-industrial era" and the associated vernacular gardens are then "of a regional or localized, ethnic or folk creation."³ The vernacular garden is not the garden of the professional, the elite,

³John Dixon Hunt and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, "Introduction: Discovering the Vernacular Garden," in *The*

or the literary. This is the landscape planted, designed and nurtured to answer other needs, the needs of the common people. Because mostly planted by women, this landscape can provide information about feminine aesthetics and their intrinsic values toward the land.

Women of all races and cultures shaped vernacular gardens. Before European settlement of Georgia and the entire Southeast, the landscape had been tended by Indians for centuries. Entire civilizations had evolved in Georgia from the coastal flats of the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean, to the mountainous regions of the Appalachians. Women were mentioned in travelers' writings as responsible for planting and maintaining crops in fields that had been prepared by the men. Many Indian prehistoric foodstuffs have been lost to modern taste; however, corn, beans, squash, gourds, sunflowers, and tobacco are legacies of their gardening expertise.

Women were admired for their wide range of talents, from fishing to leather tanning. In fact, often Europeans saw the Indian male as idle, and the women as ever active in all aspects of everyday culture. Indeed, the woman was revered in many Native American cultures. An Earth-Mother or Earth-Goddess, often identified as Old Woman or Grandmother, is a common theme in the methodology of eastern North American Indian groups. She is thought to be the mythological mother of all humans and vegetation. She was seen as the cycle of life, symbolically connected to all types of fertility, man and plant, water, rain and the moon.⁴

From the earliest days of European presence in Georgia, essentially Anglo-Saxon and African-American pioneers settled the state, and those women and their gardening traditions influenced their own patch of land. The traditional feminine role in the rural landscape rested on women as the ones who plant, tend, define and utilize the "kitchen" gardens and yards, as distinguished from the masculine "farm" fields.

Anglo-European Vernacular Gardens

The European origins of the white farmer's wife, who began a homestead on a rural plot of land, influenced what types of plants she put in the ground and where she planted them. Seeds, carefully protected and toted from other, long-lost memorable homesites, were planted near the door of the house.

Vernacular Garden, the Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, held in 1990 (Washington, D.C.: Trustees for Harvard University, 1993), p. 3.

⁴Gail E. Wagner, "Their Women and Children do Continually Keepe it with Weeding – Late Prehistoric Women and Horticulture in Eastern North America," in *The Influence of Women on the Southern Landscape : Proceedings of the Tenth Conference, Restoring Southern Gardens and Landscapes*, October 5-7, 1995, Old Salem, N.C., pp. 12–13.

Hardy cuttings of shrubs and trees were also brought and planted at new homesteads. Plants were scouted from the wilderness surrounding their clearing. Women were seen as nurturers, the caretakers of the seedlings. The maternal stewardship of young plantings was the feminine role while the men cared for the large acreage of crops and numerous animals, thus shaping the accepted division of labor. The women of the family were also responsible for harvesting the fruit and vegetables and preserving them for food. Canning, making juice, or preserves, and even culturing the seeds for next year was under her direction. The children and the extended family all joined in the process of canning. First done in the home, food was "put up" in boiled jars and stored for winter. In the first half of the 20th century, before it was possible to freeze, the family would take the cleaned, prepared and partially cooked food to a local processing plant, or "cannery" to seal it in the provided cans.⁵ Shirley Clegg, an African-American native of Vidalia, Georgia remembers, "If you didn't have fruit, others in the community with an orchard would share their harvest. You had anything you ever wanted to eat."⁶

A General Homestead Plan

A rural homestead begins to reveal clues as to the aesthetics, patterns and practices of traditional gardens. These homesteads, with today's Southern farm still based on this plan, looked like they were **supposed** to look, with such prescripts as folkways, the zodiac, the weather, and the almanac guiding the placement of outbuildings. The farms were never based on any scientific or formal plan, but some generalities can be assumed. Early accounts of farmyards emphasize the functional rather than aesthetic design, for example, siting the house on a rise where there is good drainage, and yet, be near a source of water. The outbuildings were placed on a functional level as well, including a kitchen, a springhouse, a root cellar and a corn crib.⁷ The corn crib was usually on piers, built of wood sides and flooring widely spaced, allowing for air circulation. The small shed would hold the harvest of dried corn for animal feed. The root cellar built half underground and half above ground was walled with brick or stone, and earth

⁵Canneries were most likely an outgrowth of the population's move from the farm to the more urban locations during the early years of the 20th century. A family could still grow vegetables in the backyard garden in an urban setting, but take the produce to a "factory," for processing. Most urban kitchens were smaller than rural kitchens. During interviews with both Blanche Farley, raised on a 300 acre farm in Wrightsville, Georgia and Emma Hardman Thomson, daughter of late Gov. L.G. Hardman of Nacoochee, Georgia, they fondly remembered joining the outings to the local cannery with the families associated with the farm. "The work was hard, but the smells were wonderful." Blanche's family found the cannery more convenient than doing the work at home.

⁶Sue Ann Ware, "The Sisterhood of Gardens," in *The Influence of Women on the Southern Landscape: Proceedings of the Tenth Conference, Restoring Southern Gardens and Landscapes*, October 5-7, 1995, Old Salem, N.C., p. 161.

⁷In the South, regional differences of farm layout were often dictated by weather, the origin country of the settler, and his ethnic background. No set Georgian pattern can be discerned, other than regionally, i.e. coastal vs. mountains.

was heaped around it, thus maintaining the proper humidity and temperature for the preservation of fruit and root crops. Bins and shelves held canned fruits and vegetables and jars of preserves.⁸ The root cellar in the South was also often called the “potato bin” or the “sweet potato bin.”

The outbuildings were most often placed in a convenient balanced manner to create an open space between the house and outbuilding, referred to as a dooryard.⁹ This dooryard was the center for performing the household chores, i.e., clothes washing and drying, horse shodding, etc. In the rolling hills of North Georgia, paths were often lined in privet hedges to prevent erosion, and in the lower regions of the state the yard was traditionally swept bare, to prevent “hiding snakes or other varmints.” In the 20th century and with the advent of the lawn mower, the dooryard evolved into a grass lawn.

No description of a southern rural farmhouse can omit the fundamental porch. The porch in a hot southern climate provided a spot for shady work and rest, as well as supplying a cooling method for the interior of the house. The porch railings very often sported containers of house plants or colorful annuals. The containers for these plants could be any convenient vessels no longer needed in the household, e.g., enameled chamber pots, rusted iron cooking pots, stoneware crocks no longer waterproof. Front pathways to the porch were often lined with white painted river rocks, lighting the way in the moonlight.

In the 1900s foraging animals, such as chickens and hogs were allowed in wooded areas to live on the wild. Prized animals, needed for work on the farm, such as horses, mules, and milk cows were housed and fenced. John B. Jackson, a landscape historian speaking at Dumbarton Oaks on vernacular gardens, noted the change brought about by local fence laws. Until these laws were enacted, fences around gardens were designed to protect the plants from stray farm animals that were left to forage. Later 20th century fence regulations required penning all animals in an enclosed space or field. This development encouraged the creation of the open front lawn, and the planting of roadside trees.¹⁰ Oftentimes a thicket of trees and shrubs was desired to screen some of the homestead property from the road. The planting of shrubs and flowers also tended to echo the fence lines, bordering the open spaces, forming a reverse enclosure. Colorful flowers were grown either in containers on the porch or in a fenced plot sown in “lines,” (known as lining out a bed), near the side or rear of the home.

Scuppernong or muscadine grapes were grown, to be used for juice, preserves and, in a few

See appendices for a typical Northern Georgia farm layout, the Caldwell-Hutchison Farm.

⁸Hunt and Bulmahn, p. 77.

⁹Rudy and Joy Favretti, *Landscapes and Gardens for Historic Buildings* (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1991), p. 8.

¹⁰John B. Jackson, “The Past and Present of the Vernacular Garden,” in *The Vernacular Garden*, the Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture, held in 1990 (Washington, D.C.: Trustees for Harvard

liberal homes, wine. Most Georgian rural homesteads had some type of arbor for the greenish-red scuppernong or the blue-black muscadine grape. The arbor, built very high, was in the sun, at the side of the home or barn, to provide a screen for some of the less attractive outbuildings. Today, the grape arbor is one of the most prevalent clues for identifying a folk garden of the rural South.

Orchards, with a variety of fruit types, were planted close to the home, as well. Pears, peaches, figs, pomegranates and Damson plums, otherwise known as "bullace," were pollinated by bees, usually kept in hives along the fence, which bordered the orchard.

The African-American Vernacular Garden

For the predominant white rural settler, a practical and utilitarian demeanor probably dictated the appearance of their gardens. An occasional whirligig or gourd birdhouse would be evident in the neatly clipped yards. However, the African-American women brought to their homesteads an exuberant aesthetic suggestive of their origins. Various descriptions of slave quarters and plantation life document garden plots in which the slaves raised produce to supplement their diets.¹¹ Most often tended by women, who could not depend on men to be available, the garden provided an area of self-reliance.¹² This independence was carried on when the women were freed. The garden practices and traditions learned in slavery were orally handed down to the next generations.

According to Richard Westmacott, the author of *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South*, three major functions of black rural gardens were their contribution to subsistence; their utility as a kitchen extension for household chores; and their use for entertainment, recreation and display. He mentions the creative use of found objects for edging, plant containers and stands, and for yard art. Bricks, bottles, tires, pots, even washing machines were not lost to a black woman's gardening eye. Also, seen as distinctly African-American was a sensitivity to the spirituality and religious symbolism of their garden. Oftentimes, plants were used to commemorate a lost loved one, or to establish a visual memorial. Another difference found in African-American gardens is a love of riotous color, and mixing vegetables and ornamentals in the same bed. The beds are not normally "lined out," or planted in straight rows, but planted in groupings where they best support the landscape needs.

University 1993), p. 13.

¹¹Ware, "Sisterhood," p.156.

¹²Oftentimes in the world of slavery, the traditional family make-up was not possible. Either the men were sold off to other owners, or were only temporarily available as the "man of the house." Women were functioning on an much more independent basis than their white counterparts.

Conclusion

The descriptions of a handed down culture of gardening in the rural south, both Euro- and African-American can be variously characterized as feminine. These cultural rural gardening traditions were the farmer's basis for adapting and viewing the spatial functioning of a dooryard from the last century continuing up to the present. Architectural outcomes of these functions can be read by the location of the garden near the kitchen, and the outbuildings related to the kitchen. The barn, the smokehouse, the springhouse, the corn crib, the root cellar will all be within an easy walk from the kitchen door. This landscape represents numerous functions of rural life, for example: laundry washing and fabric dyeing, soap and candle making, animal butchering, herb harvesting and bundling for drying, produce preparation before canning. These functions were historically and traditionally under the directorship of Georgian rural women.

Identifying a Vernacular Garden

To aid in recognition of a vernacular garden based on rural sensibilities and folk traditions still found in rural Georgia, a positive survey can be applied:

- Is the main house surrounded by a bit of acreage and a few outbuildings? How are they arranged?
- Are fences evident? What kinds of fences, mostly wire? What do they enclose: a garden, animals, or the entire homestead?
- Where are the ornamental shrubs and flowers planted? "Lined out" in rows? As borders around the land lot? Along the fence lines?
- Are shrubs singularly planted, standing alone in the yard? Is there an unusual specimen plant, often with huge foliage?
- Is there a porch? Are plants on the porch in found containers?
- Is there a grape arbor or vine support system? A beehive?
- What type of flowers and shrubs are growing in the garden? Older variety "passalong" plants, not found in local nurseries?
- Are rocks, painted white, placed methodically down pathways? Are bottles and jars of colorful glass placed near the flower beds? Are tires used as planters?
- Are gourd birdhouses and whirligigs prominent in the yard?
- If not swept bare, are the yards and grounds extensively mowed grass?

2) Women's Garden Clubs

Throughout nineteenth century America, an increasing awareness of the beauty of nature and its beneficial effects on the health and vitality of the population was realized. It was as if the pioneers and settlers of the land had finally taken the opportunity to enjoy their surroundings rather than try to combat and tame them. Also, as a response to increasing urbanization, industrialization and suburbanization of the previously agricultural population, forces conspired to elevate an interest in nature and gardening.¹³ Painters depicted romanticized landscapes and sweeping panoramas, women's magazines pushed the country ideal, nurseries proliferated with plants from around the world. Books featured articles on gardening and landscape design, including A. J. Downing's *The Horticulturist*, a how-to guide of the mid-nineteenth century taken to heart in every upper middle class reader's home. He was the "Martha Stewart" of the era, describing the artful way of beautifying the home and its gardens. Books also appeared illustrating the best way to plant and plan a home garden often authored by women. Among some of the most popular authors were Gertrude Jekyll, and later Helena Ely, Louise Beebe Wilder and Mrs. Francis King, who all wrote regarding their personal garden experiences and offered advice on planting, pruning and soil preparation for others. Written for the South, albeit later than the above, *Blossom Circle of the Year in Southern Gardens*, is one of the earliest books on gardening. It was written in 1922, by **Julia Lester Dillon**, a native of Augusta, Georgia. A garden designer by study, she had developed a large clientele among the owners of the winter estates in Augusta in the 1910s.¹⁴ Her writing, not drafted in a scientific way but in the prose of the era, does describe the special gardening abilities needed to combat the peculiar requirements of the southern garden for the first time.

The need and desire for this type of advice was explicit. Particularly for women in the Victorian era, the garden provided a sense of freedom from social, economic, and political restrictions.¹⁵ A woman could be master of her own domain, free from the demands of husband and children and free to make her own decisions. Oftentimes, in the more affluent industrialized areas of the North, a woman had a manservant to assist her, and she probably had a much smaller land lot to garden, as well. However, in the post-Civil War South, a white woman could no longer depend on a huge coterie of slaves to maintain

¹³Mac Griswold and Eleanor Weller, *The Golden Age of American Gardens* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1991), p. 15.

¹⁴Davyd Foard Hood, "To Gather Up the Fragments that Remain," in *The Influence of Women on the Southern Landscape : Proceedings of the Tenth Conference, Restoring Southern Gardens and Landscapes*, October 5-7, 1995, Old Salem, N.C., p. 181.

¹⁵Dianne Harris, "Cultivating Poser: the Language of Feminism in Women's Garden Literature, 1870-1920," *Landscape Journal* 13:2 (Fall 1994), p. 113.

a formal parterred garden, and in any case, many had no means to support such a labor intensive landscape. With fallow acres of land, the undertaking could seem daunting. Once fabulous houses and gardens laid in ruin, awaiting the next generation to reevaluate their surroundings and restore them.

One of the ironies of southern history is that every historical development lagged behind the North except the development of garden clubs. Possibly this was the result of the South's need of immediate repair of a war-torn land, or the social outlet provided by an organized club activity. They could meet regularly, present information about their own gardens, and entertain speakers. They would structure their clubs to include constitutions, missions, and by-laws. For example, the purpose of the Peachtree Garden Club was "...The study and culture of flowers, and the study of landscape gardening and allied subjects." Even more intriguing was their qualifications for membership: "Persons eligible for membership shall be those who are deemed by the Board of Directors to have a love for, and an abiding interest in flowers and a garden that shows evidence of interest and labor."¹⁶

In 1891 twelve women met in the home of **Mrs. E. K. Lumpkin** in Athens, Georgia to organize the Ladies' Garden Club of Athens. It is believed to be the first garden club in the United States and was the forerunner of the influential Garden Club of America. The Athens garden club set up a constitution and by-laws, and in their third year, with the help of nurseryman and horticulturist P. J. Berkman, owner of Fruitlands in Augusta, had designed a premium list for flower shows, including rules for judging and exhibiting arrangements.

The garden clubs also created a horticultural outlet for amateur gardeners; they learned from the best professional speakers in the region. Encouraged to show their premium gardening efforts at flower arranging competitions organized by the clubs, the amateurs improved their skills. They also began to develop special quality flowers, for example, roses with stronger stems for flower arrangements, or chrysanthemums with huge flower heads for specimen judging. This influence created many of today's hybrid plants and was instrumental in the horticultural and nursery trade, allowing the nurseries to offer new and improved varieties of species. The garden clubs of the south advocated planting of masses of azaleas and camellias after the mid-1940s that characterize many of the older public landscapes of today.

Beginning at the turn-of-the-century, garden clubs were formed in almost every city in America. Women who did not work outside the home or do their own household chores had begun to find their lives increasingly limited. Much of their pent-up energy, for which these women could find no other

¹⁶Peachtree Garden Club Scrapbook, #MSS 681, Atlanta History Center Archives (AHC), Atlanta, Georgia.

acceptable outlet, was directed into gardening, or social causes to adopt and reform.¹⁷ The women were often from influential circles of society and were connected to various avenues of persuasion. For example, the 1923 formation of the Peachtree Garden Club created a forum for president, **Mary Guy Calhoun**, to invite Richardson Wright, editor of *House and Garden*, to be one of their first speakers. The roster of impressive speakers visiting Atlanta in the 1920s lecturing to the Peachtree Garden Club include Mrs. Francis King, noted garden writer; Fletcher Steele, a renowned landscape architect from Boston; and Bertrand Farr, owner of an innovative nursery in Pennsylvania. This was an imposing caliber of speakers for the first decade of only one garden club in Atlanta.

The Garden Club of America was founded in 1913 in Germantown, Pennsylvania. By 1938, more than 2,000 garden clubs with various affiliations had been organized throughout the country. Members organized and participated in their own garden and flower shows, but also undertook many civic, educational, and horticultural projects. The women regularly belonged to other clubs and thus, combined interests. The "City Beautiful" movement, arising from the Chicago World's Fair, created an interest in planting the city streets and cleaning up the appearance of the community. The garden clubs would adopt city parks or highways to beautify. For example, Mrs. W.L. Lawton, of New York City, was a representative of the American Nature Association in the 1930s. She became the National Chairman of Roadside Improvement for the General Federation of Women Clubs. In a lecture to the Peachtree Garden Club, she discussed her work in surveying states in the South. She had logged thousands of miles and had taken hundreds of photographs of both good and bad roadside scenes, and presented them to garden clubs.¹⁸ This way, the Women's Clubs and the Garden Clubs could work together for civic beautification. They lobbied successfully against billboards and for conservation of landscapes. Most often the club ladies were the wives of men with the political clout and means to affect real change in a community's beautification efforts. They could offer professional caliber services to the city by counting the best of the intellectual gentry in their ranks of membership. The garden clubs offered a society of like minds; they were often upper-class women, who could enjoy mutual interests and personal growth, outside the realm of men. Black women also formed their own clubs, including garden clubs, that were segregated from the white clubs, but also active in community service and beautification.

¹⁷Griswold and Weller, *Golden Age*, p. 16.

¹⁸Peachtree Garden Club Scrapbook, #MSS 681, AHC

Garden Clubs and Historic Preservation

As the years continued the clubs looked toward and adopted preservation issues that needed to be addressed. **Catherine Howett**, noted Georgian landscape historian, in a recent symposium in New York, spoke to the issues and motivations by which the “garden club ladies” were influenced in this era. Certainly, the patriotism of saving the homes and gardens of great men in American history and their families was the most influential. However, Howett also commented on the perseverance and determination of these women creating a “corpus of work exemplary for its ambition, originality, and consistently high standards.” Howett said “these women left a legacy of action aimed at the protection, recording, and recovery of historic landscapes” that would be exemplary for today’s preservationists.

As an example, in 1928 twenty-nine garden clubs gathered in Atlanta to form the Garden Club of Georgia. After being informed of such work being done in other states, the newly formed club sought to join in saving threatened properties by requesting information on gardens that had been established in Georgia prior to 1840. By 1933, *The Garden History of Georgia* was published under the auspices of the Peachtree Garden Club of Atlanta, with **Mrs. Robert L. (Loraine) Cooney** as chairman, and **Hattie C. Rainwater** as editor.

Part I of the book was an account and survey of the state’s early gardens dating to 1865. Some of the listings include the Sarah Ferrell Gardens (Hills and Dales) of La Grange, (See photo in appendices), Esquiline Hill near Columbus, and gardens that were already compromised, for example, Rose Hill Plantation in Elbert County. Beautiful drawings by noted Atlanta architect P. Thornton Marye documented the manner in which these gardens complimented the siting of the house, the location of the outbuildings, the surrounding fields and roads, providing an invaluable tool for later garden historians.

Part II of the book portrayed modern, early twentieth-century gardens in Georgia. Sketches, plans, and photographs of estates, many of them Peachtree Garden Club member’s homes, reveal the Georgia work of early, nationally known landscape architects in an era of garden renaissance, the last great age of country manors in the South.¹⁹ Also, the book shows the homes of women of means, the garden club women themselves.

The Garden Club of Georgia was also instrumental in organizing the memorial gardens commemorating the Ladies’ Garden Club of Athens. Dr. Hubert Owens, head of the (then titled) Landscape Architecture Department at the University of Georgia, in Athens, proposed a ***Founders’ Memorial Garden*** on the grounds of the university. Staff and students of the School of Landscape

¹⁹Hood, “To Gather Up” pp. 182-185.

Architecture would be responsible for the design of the gardens and would supervise the actual construction and installation of plant material, including the responsibility of perpetual care of the gardens. The Garden Club of Georgia would provide the funding. The proposal was adopted. Today the ca. 1857 house in the center of the garden, once a faculty residence, is now the home of the Garden Club of Georgia, Inc.²⁰

One of the legacies of the early organizers of the Garden Club of America is the cache of glass lantern slides used to illustrate the early garden histories written in the 1930s. Many of the slides were part of garden slide presentations of the members own gardens, not annotated carefully, or at all. Each glass slide was hand painted by a specialist who worked on a black-and-white original, sometimes without ever seeing the location. Over 30,000 glass and 35mm slides are now housed in the Archives of American Gardens at the Office of Horticulture of the Smithsonian Institution, thanks to the industry of a dedicated group of garden historians and the Garden Club of America. The archives show a still-growing history, not just of design, art or horticulture, but of the people who made the gardens. For women's history and landscape history, the archive will prove an invaluable resource.²¹

Also one of the legacies of the garden club movement is the formation of the Cherokee Garden Library, in 1975 in Atlanta. This major horticultural library specializes in southern gardening literature and is considered the finest repository of historic books on gardens and horticulture in the South. It was the brainchild of **Anne Carr** of the Cherokee Garden Club, who galvanized her club to canvass the South for book collections of important gardens and gardeners. Their principal adviser for the procurement of antiquarian horticultural books was Elizabeth Woodburn, an expert in the field until her death in 1985. The Cherokee Garden Club, who is responsible for the management of the library and its endowment, raised \$25,000 to buy Woodburn's private collection of rare books dating back to 1634.²² The library has stewardship of over 5,000 volumes and is still growing. They are continuing this tradition of gardening and historic preservation.

Identification of Plant and Garden Types

Some Typical Examples of Georgia Planned and Historic Gardens:

²⁰Laura C. Martin, *Southern Garden* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1993), p. 174.

²¹Griswold and Weller, p. 8.

²²Starr Ockenga, "In Praise of Tradition," *Earth on Her Hands* (New York: Clarkson Potter Publishers, 1998), p. 75.

Hills and Dales, La Grange

Extensive boxwood parterres, with fountains and statuary. Owned and maintained for over 150 years by three women, Sarah Ferrell, Mrs. Fuller Callaway, Sr. and Mrs. Fuller Callaway, Jr. Now maintained by the Callaway Foundation.

Swan House, Atlanta

Formal boxwood parterre, with Italianate cascading fountains originally. As part of the Atlanta Historical Society grounds were cared for by an association of 32 Garden Clubs in Atlanta. Additional gardens and plantings as a result of AHS ownership, Quarry Garden, with native plantings of Georgia and Tullie Smith House Restoration, with typical plantings of rural homestead.

Owens-Thomas House, Savannah

Enclosed urban garden, parterred, with flagstone walks and iron topped fence. Garden re-designed by Clermont Lee, female Savannah landscape architect in 1954

Andrew Low House, Savannah

Long, narrow "Trust Lot" with parterres on either side of ballast stone central walk. Now home to Georgia Colonial Dames

Fruitlands, Augusta

The home of P. J. Berkman, founder of the first commercial nursery in Georgia. Park-like grounds with many rare specimen plants and trees, i.e. Japanese persimmons, Peen-to Peach. Now home of the Augusta National Golf Club.

Greenwood Plantation, Thomasville

1835 Greek Revival mansion, with park-like setting. Once had patterned flower beds, now remains of old camellia and azaleas. Specimen rose side bed. Now a house museum.

Some Typical Plant Types Found in Georgia Gardens:

Roses	<i>Rosa</i>
Mimosa	<i>Albizia jullibrison</i>
Boxwood	<i>Buxus sempervirens</i>
Camellia	<i>Camellia</i>
Trumpet Creeper Vine	<i>Campsis radicans</i>
Crinum Lily	<i>Crinum</i>
Mayhaw	<i>Crataegus opaca</i>
Gardenia	<i>Gardenia thunbergia</i>
Iris	<i>Iris x germanica</i>
Jasmine	<i>Jasminum</i>
Crape Myrtle	<i>Lagerstroemia indica</i>

Typical Projects of Garden Clubs in Georgia

Athens, Georgia

Creation of Founders Garden, Athens

Atlanta, Georgia

Created and maintained for over 10 years in conjunction with 32 other Atlanta Garden Clubs, Swan Woods, Quarry Garden, Boxwood garden, Tullie Smith House Restoration Gardens. Swan House.

Planted several Atlanta Botanical Garden specialty gardens.

Reclaimed tons of glass and aluminum bottles and cans, including placement of recycling barrels in public places.

Planted flower beds at Eggleston Hospital, Druid Hills Parkway, High Museum

Improved grounds at Old Medical College Building, Emory University

Augusta, Georgia

Built nature trail on Tobacco Road, near Augusta

Planted Touch and Smell Garden in Pendleton King Park, Augusta

Savannah, Georgia

Created gardens in historic district in concert with Historic Savannah Foundation

Restored fourteen block "commons land" of original Georgia Colony in Savannah, including brick walls, iron fencing and planting of almost 14,000 bulbs

Restoration of Colonial Park Cemetery, Savannah

Restoration of Columbia Square, Savannah

Criteria for Recognition of Garden Club Properties

Is the property owned or designed by a garden club, and is indicative of the mission of the garden club?

Is the property designed by a prominent member of a garden club, and is/was often included in garden club tours?

Is the property a part of a community park or roadside area that was set aside by a garden club as being planned, planted and maintained by them?

Gardens, by their very nature, are ephemeral and easily lost to neglect. Is this a historic property that has the remnants of a garden, or a planned and designed park-like setting? This should be recognized and surveyed.

Remnants of gardens or tree-lined central drives should be mentioned. The primary care-giver of these properties should also be mentioned in any statement of significance, especially if a woman.

Gardens attached to estates, owned at one time by members of garden clubs, should be examined to see if original plantings and hardscapes still exist. Mention should be made if a landscape architect was known to have designed the grounds, especially if female, i.e. "Mayfair" on Habersham Way in Atlanta was designed by Ellen Biddle Shipman, one of the first licensed female landscape architects in America.

Garden clubs began in Georgia as early as 1900, the influence of the knowledge gained by the study of landscape gardening could still be existent.

3) Female Landscape Architects

Until the turn-of-the-twentieth-century, women were not offered schooling opportunities to become professional landscape architects. However, some women found themselves able to be proficient garden designers by taking advantage of rarely offered apprenticeships or through self-study. This study was primarily accomplished through use of how-to books, available from Britain. Upper class women ventured to design and execute gardens for themselves or the estates of friends, and this social framework created further opportunities for them. The practice of designing through the use of social position gradually expanded to include landscaping as a profession for women.²³ During the period of separate educational opportunities, there were no formal courses of study for women in landscape architecture. Outside the South, educational opportunities increased when the Lowthorpe School of Landscape Architecture, Gardening and Horticulture for Women was founded in 1901 in Groton, Massachusetts, by Judith Motley Low. The school was based on "training women for taking an active and professional part in gardening, horticulture, and landscape architecture."²⁴ The Cambridge School was founded in 1915 in Cambridge, Massachusetts; and became affiliated with Smith College for the granting of advanced degrees in 1932-1938. Cambridge later combined with Harvard University in 1942. By the time Lowthorpe, which by 1928 affiliated with Simmons College, was absorbed by Rhode Island School of Design in 1945, more than 400 women could be counted among the school's alumnae. These two schools graduated nearly every significant woman landscape architect for forty years.²⁵

A number of notable Southern women who graduated in the 1930s and 1940s from Cambridge in landscape architecture include Cary Millholland (Parker), Alice Orme Smith, Rose Greely, all of whom practiced in Washington, D.C. **Clermont "Monty" Huger Lee** of Savannah, Georgia, Anne Bruce Haldeman of Louisville, Kentucky, Ruth Smith (Bruckman) of Mobile, Alabama are also notable Cambridge graduates. **Edith Harrison Henderson** of Atlanta and Ellen Biddle Shipman are connected to Lowthorpe, later Simmons College, Henderson as a 1934 graduate, Shipman as a teacher there. **Helen**

²³Catherine R. Brown and Celia Newton Maddox, "Women and the Land: A Suitable Profession," *Landscape Architecture*, (May 1982), p. 65.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid., p. 66.

Hawkins Clarke, a relatively unknown practitioner in Atlanta, Georgia attended the University of Georgia and Harvard University.

Not many female Georgian landscape architects and garden designers have been adequately credited for their contributions to Georgian landscapes and garden designs. The first woman landscape architect in Georgia, beginning work in 1934 is **Edith H. Henderson** of Augusta and Atlanta, who practiced professionally for more than fifty years. She became the vice-president of the American Society of Landscape Architects in the mid-1950s; President of the Georgia Chapter in 1970. She wrote a weekly newspaper column and had her work frequently published in *Southern Living* magazine. **Agnes R. Hornbeck** (1908-1979), who received her degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1932, worked for the New York Parks Department, had landscape offices with A. D. Taylor and Cary Parker, and was also an instructor at the University of Georgia. **Helen Hawkins Clarke** and **Constance Draper** were effective landscape designers in Atlanta, and their articles were often published in local garden club bulletins of the 1930s and 1940s.

Women practitioners in the first half of the 20th century upheld their traditional female roles, often denigrating their own contributions by not wanting to appear professionally aggressive. Atlantan **Helen Hawkins Clarke** returned to school after raising a family, studied landscape architecture at the University of Georgia, became the horticultural chairman for the Garden Club of Georgia, and worked in the offices of Newberry and Johnson of Atlanta. Clarke's hesitance showed her personal dilemma in an Atlanta Junior League profile of her career:

In my day the main object girls pursued was a husband. Now their chief aim is to get a job with possibly a husband thrown in. It's the viewpoint of men which worries me. When a man knows he must support his family, he will work to do it, but if he thinks his wife is perfectly able to bring home the bacon, he will let down.

I believe that girls and married women should have hobbies. Certainly. They are entertaining, instructive, and youth renewing. When you let your hobby become an occupation, you find yourself struggling madly to fulfill two positions, and that is impossible. But cling to your hobby.²⁶

When someone observed that she herself was combining family and professional life, Clarke replied that she was not doing either job as perfectly as she should and was constantly torn between two duties. This is a dilemma still being confronted by professional women sixty years later. However, the

²⁶Florence Bryan Ansley, "Helen Hawkins Clarke," *Scribblers Page, The Cotton Blossom*, Newsletter of the Atlanta Junior Urban League, November 1937, p. 6.

Junior League's description of Clarke's landscape work elevated her "hobby" into professional caliber actions. (See photos in Appendices.)

Clermont "Monty" Huger Lee, (1914 -)

(The following section is derived from a four hour interview with Clermont Lee in Savannah on October 22, 1998, conducted by Ced Dolder and James Cothran of Atlanta.) **Clermont "Monty" Huger Lee** was born in Savannah, Georgia in 1914. Her father was a physician and her mother, an avid gardener, was active in the local garden club. Lee, first schooled in Savannah, graduated from Ashley Hall in Charleston, South Carolina at fifteen. She attended Barnard College in New York City for two years where, captivated with science, she took every undergraduate course ending in "ology." She transferred to Smith College, eventually deciding to major in landscape architecture. After completing her undergraduate degree, she then went to the Smith College Graduate School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture (formerly the Cambridge School,) near Harvard, obtaining her MLA in 1939. Though Harvard was, at this time, the center for forward thinking "Bauhaus" architecture, Lee always preferred the traditional, less severe landscape styles.

During the Great Depression, Lee returned to Savannah, looking for employment. It became obvious to her that government work would be the only possibility, because government contracts specified degreed personnel. The U. S. Housing Authority, (later the Federal Housing Authority,) employed architects that could select their own landscape architects. Talmadge "Bummy" Baumgardner was a landscape architect associated with the Sea Island Company, who had many federal housing projects in Savannah and Brunswick. Lee assisted him during the war years after his male assistant was drafted into military service. She continued in the Sea Island Company office until 1949, when she went into private practice. During her work there, she planned landscape designs and supervised planting operations. Because of wartime labor shortages, she noted on one occasion during WWII that she had a work crew consisting of fifty black women and one male tractor driver.

Her interest in historic gardens was begun in 1943 when she was requested by a family friend to develop a planting plan for a small garden at her plantation, Hofwyl-Broadfield, in Brunswick Georgia, using ca. 1910 photos as a guide. In 1944, Lee also measured and made drawings of ten Victorian gardens in Savannah for Mrs. Laura Bell and the Georgia Historical Society.

At the end of the war Lee was asked by the Georgia Chapter of the Colonial Dames of America to devise a planting plan for the formal garden of the Andrew Low home, that the Dames had purchased in

Savannah. She researched antebellum plantings, and also used the Garden Club of Georgia's 1933 book, *Garden History of Georgia*, as reference in developing the planting plans. She later donated both front and rear garden plans to the library of the Colonial Dames for future reference. By 1949 Clermont Lee was the first professional landscape architect in private practice in Savannah.

In 1954 Lee was asked to design a typical formal period landscape for the Owens-Thomas House on Oglethorpe Square in Savannah. She did extensive research of formal English and American gardens of the 1820s. Reproducing 150-year-old gardens was not popular at this time; rather, a simplified Colonial Revival viewpoint was favored. Lee read more than thirty books, ultimately creating a historically accurate garden for both the front and rear of the house. She supervised the maintenance of the grounds for the next fourteen years. In the late 1980s, the committee overseeing the grounds greatly altered the gardens, installing a fountain and pool in the center, having trees cut and moved, and installing inappropriate plants. Later, Lee was asked for rejuvenation advice, and then donated her files and plans for future reference.

New design and planting plans appropriate for historic buildings in Savannah executed by Lee include also the Juliette Gordon Low Birthplace as well as the Owens-Thomas house. These two jobs began Clermont Lee's continuing involvement in historic landscapes and stimulated more extensive research in planning period grounds.

Other restoration projects on which Lee researched, designed or consulted include: The Juliette Gordon Low Girl Scout National Center in Savannah, new period planting plans for existing front parterres of the Andrew Low House, and the Green-Meldrim mansion. Outside of Savannah, for the Georgia Historical Commission, she consulted on the Chief Vann residence and the New Echota Cherokee Capital in north Georgia.

From 1951 to 1972 Lee assisted with Mr. Mills B. Lane, then-retired president of the Citizens & Southern Bank, who with his wife returned to their native Savannah. They were very interested in historic preservation and bought and renovated homes in the northeast section of the city. Lee developed landscapes and renderings for these homes. She also worked with the Lanes to develop plans for renovation of five Savannah squares. Her designs to preserve the sanctity of the squares brought her into conflict with the city. The city wanted drive through lanes, crossing the middle of all squares, installed for emergency crews and buses. Lee, ever the crusader, found the companies that controlled the bus lines were at the base of the complaints. The turning radius of the squares was too tight for the length of the

buses to turn. Lee suggested rounding the curves of entry into the squares, rather than destroying the squares with drive through lanes. This was adopted by the city and today the squares are still intact.

Clermont Lee was responsible for the renovation of five Savannah squares: Warren, Washington, Houston, Troup, and Madison. Efforts were made to eliminate unattractive structures, such as utility poles and concrete walks from the squares. Strong, simple designs were then introduced. To avoid monotony, a variation in materials and ground forms made each square have a special character.²⁷ Additional details of the plans are in the appendices.

Clermont Lee, one of the few women active in the field of landscape architecture in Georgia, was anxious to have her profession legitimately recognized locally. The relatively new field of landscape architecture had a professional organization founded in 1899, the American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA), with only one woman among its founding members, New England's Beatrix Farrand. Clermont Lee joined the ASLA in 1950, Edith H. Henderson in 1952. Although encouraging registration, the ASLA does not license landscape architects, which is done by state legislatures. In 1958, Clermont Lee worked in conjunction with Dr. Herbert Owens, then dean of the Department of Landscape Architecture at the University of Georgia, to establish the Georgia Board for Registration (licensing) of Landscape Architects. The first four landscape architects to be registered included both Dr. Owens as the first and Clermont Lee, the first woman, as the fourth. Interestingly the next 125 were male civil engineers, alarmed that certified landscape architects could take their work! Lee served on the Georgia board for three years.

Clermont Lee and other women landscape architects achieved remarkable success given the obstacles they faced. In Georgia both male and female landscape architects were pioneering in their profession. Traditionally the few jobs available were awarded to the male landscape architects. For many years the members of the ASLA were not allowed to advertise, creating a professional handicap. The fast growth of garden clubs and their need for programs helped female landscape professionals get the publicity and notice that they sorely lacked. This helped establish many women in a highly competitive area that was particularly difficult in a time of social, political, and economic upheaval in the United States.²⁸

²⁷Direct from notes sent to Ced Dolder by Clermont Lee in August 1999.

²⁸Leslie Rose Close, "A History of Women in Landscape Architecture," Introduction to Judith B. Tankard, *The Gardens of Ellen Biddle Shipman*, (New York: Sagapress, Inc., 1996), p. xix.

Appendix 1: List of Clermont Lee's Historic Landscape Projects

- 1943: ***Hofwyl-Broadfield Plantation***, Brunswick, Georgia
Developed planting plan for small fenced, cut flower garden
Owner had family photos, ca.1910, of plantation, later donated to
GA State Museum
- 1944: Georgia Historical Society Collection, Mrs. Laura Palmer Bell
Measured drawings of remaining parts of more than 10 old Savannah downtown gardens
Donated plans copies to Georgia Historical Society
(See GA Historical Quarterly 9/1944, pp 196-212)
- 1946: Colonial Dames of America, Georgia Chapter Headquarters.
Andrew Low House, 329 Abercorn Street, Savannah
Designed front garden planting plan
- 1951: Prepared landscape construction plan, rear courtyard
Donated plans and files to Colonial Dames, 4/1989
- 1954: ***Juliette Gordon Low National Girl Scout Center***
Plans for design and planting for a new formal period garden
- 1978: Revised planting plan
- 1998: Inventoried existing plants
- 1954: ***Owens-Thomas House***, 124 Abercorn Street, Savannah
Formal garden created in 1820 English-American style, supervised maintenance of garden for
fourteen years
- 1994: Consulted with curator and supervisor regarding garden's research and establishment.
Donated plans and files to Museum
- 1955: ***New Echota Cherokee National Capitol***, Georgia Historical Commission
Consulted with archaeologist on-site
Prepared reports and correspondence
- 1957: ***Chief Vann Residence***, Spring Place, Murray County, Georgia Historical Commission
Consulted with archaeologist
Developed landscape planning and landscape construction plans
- 1957: ***Isaiah Davenport House***, State Street, Savannah, Georgia
Prepared landscape plan and wall detail, revised by others
- 1957: ***Midway Congregational Church***, Midway Georgia, ca. 1792
Proposed landscape plan for grounds, not executed

- 1958: **Fort McAllister**, Ogeechee River, Bryan County, Georgia Historical Commission
Consultation and correspondence with Colonel Julian, regarding volunteer live oaks on site
- 1961: Mills B. Lane, Jr., (CEO of C & S Savings and Trust, Savannah)
Property renovations in NE quadrant of old Savannah
Provided numerous plans and supervision of landscape installations
- 1970 i.e. at 24 Habersham St., 417-423 and 502-510 E St. Julian St., 425 E. Bay St., 12, 14, 17
Price St., 418 and 500 block East Bryan St., 21-23, 31 Houston St., 535 East Congress St.
(All in Savannah)
- 1960: **St. Johns Episcopal Church Mall**, (former Macon Street,) Savannah
Developed planting plan for mall
- 1976-78 Prepared period planting plan for 1855-1861 parterre garden; installed Rector substituted with
non-period plantings
- 1963-4: **Ft. Pulaski National Monument**, Cockspur Island
Correspondence and consultation for planting new visitors center
- 1963: **Savannah Squares**, Park and Tree Commission, Savannah
Renovated five squares in old Savannah, incl. sprinkler systems
Work subsidized by Mills B. Lane Foundation or Lane Enterprises
- 1972 Donated all plans to Commission, 1985, GA Historical Society Library
- 1963: **Warren Square**, Habersham Street, Savannah
Replaced sand square with plantings, added walks, benches, lighting and plantings, installed
barriers to prevent drive through for fire lane
- 1964: **Washington Square**, Houston Street, Savannah
Fire lane closed, used North Carolina bluestone for paving, initiated the use of different
paving materials, all city squares have water and cisterns installed. Installed new walks,
benches, lighting, plantings.
- 1967-8: **Greene Square**, Houston Street, Savannah
Original huge cistern caved-in, designed and installed shoring. Fire lane closed; installed
new walks, benches, lighting and planting.
- 1969-70: **Troup Square**, Habersham Street, Savannah
Removed central vandalized playground, closed fire lane, installed armillary sundial, new
walls, benches, lighting, plantings
- 1971-72: **Madison Square**, Bull Street, Savannah
New walk pattern with offset sitting areas and connecting walks at curbs, new benches,
lighting and planting.

- 1970: *Chieftains Museum*, Major John Ridge Home, Rome Georgia
Consultation and written report to Rome Junior Service League for grounds treatment of historic site
- 1971: *Battersby-Hartridge House*, 119 East Charlton Street, Savannah
Ca. 1852 garden, consulted with owners, Mr. & Mrs. Donald Livingston, Plans for retention of garden, including trees
- 1972: Mills B. Lane IV, 321 Barnard St., Savannah
Prepared utility and planting plan for renovation of property
- 1974: *Ships of the Sea Museum*, (former **Waring** residence,) 3 West Perry Street, Savannah
Prepared plans for Waring Memorial Garden, tenant courtyards and off-street parking area
- 1979-81: *Savannah Victorian District* Design Guidelines
NPS, GaDNR, & Savannah Landmark Rehabilitation Project, Inc.
Developed and wrote above guidelines suggested vernacular yard plans
Compiled "Landscaping" and "Plant Materials" for guideline's appendices
- 1980: Olin Smith Fraser, Sr., 208 Court St., Hinesville, Georgia, client
Designed planting plan for residence area of historic **Bacon-Fraser Residence**, ca. 1839
- 1983-4: *Wild Heron*, Grove Point Road, Savannah
Consultation regarding appropriate boundary plantings for the 17th century residence of Dr. & Mrs. J. Erich Schweistris, current owners
- 1989: *Champion-Harper Fowlkes House*, 230 Barnard Street, Savannah
Provided grounds consultation and report for the ca.1844 building, now headquarters of the Society of the Cincinnati in the State of Georgia

5.5 Georgia's National Register Sites

Gail Dubrow

Introduction by Darlene Roth

Introduction

The following National Register sites have been identified as sites important in women's history in Georgia. These were identified through title, secondary information, and a search of the Historic Preservation Division's National Register files. Only about a quarter of Georgia's counties have identified sites celebrating individual women and/or women's organizations and their accomplishments. Many counties have identified family homesteads that would be useful in women's history, but the pertinent content is not obvious enough from the title to include them. In other words, the elements of women's history lie hidden in the content of the nominations. Some of the sites listed here are located within historic districts, but many sites that are located within historic districts are not listed, because they do not have individual listings in the National Register and therefore could not be identified from the names in the Register.

Note: This information was current in October 1999, and may not reflect properties added to the National Register since that time.

Bartow County

Rebecca Latimer Felton House (Cartersville)
Corra White Harris House, Study, and Chapel (Rydal)

Bibb County

Springer Opera House [Restoration] (Macon)

Chatham County

Juliette Gordon Lowe Birthplace (Savannah)
Mrs. Wilkes Boarding House (Savannah)
Mary Telfair Museum (Savannah)
Colonial Dames House (Savannah)
[Alice and Cornelius] McCain Hospital (Savannah)
Little Sisters of the Poor (Savannah)
YWCA (Savannah)
Jewish Education Alliance (Savannah)
Telfair Women's Hospital (Savannah)

Chatooga County

Camp Juliette Lowe (Cloudland)

Clarke County

Garden Club of Georgia Museum, Headquarters House, and Founders Memorial Garden (Athens)

Lucy Cobb Institute (Athens)

YWCA (Athens)

Susan Medical Building (Athens)

Morton Theater [Offices of Dr. Ida Mae Hiram]

Ida Mae Hiram House (Athens)

Lumpkin House (Athens)

State Normal School (Athens)

Milledge Avenue District [sorority row] (Athens)

Colquitt County

Mother Easter Baptist Church and Parsonage (Moultrie)

DeKalb County

Mary Gay House (Decatur)

Cora Beck Hampton Schoolhouse and House (Decatur)

Agnes Lee Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy (Decatur)

The Seminary (Lithonia)

South Candler Street-Agnes Scott College Historic District (Decatur)

Druid Hills Historic District [Alpha Delta Pi National HQ] (Atlanta)

Early County

Jane Donalson Harrell House (Jakin)

Floyd County

[Martha] Berry Schools (Rome)

Cave Spring Female Academy (Cave Spring)

Fulton County

Atlanta Woman's Club (Atlanta)

Tullie Smith House (Atlanta)

[Geneva] Haugabrooks Funeral Home (Atlanta)

Bulloch Hall (Roswell)

Crescent Avenue Apartments [Margaret Mitchell home] (Atlanta)

Spelman College (Atlanta)

Craigie House [DAR HQ] (Atlanta)

Joseph Habersham Chapter House [DAR] (Atlanta)

Gwinnett County

Old Seminary Building (Lawrenceville)

Habersham County

Tallulah Falls School

Hall County

Beulah Rucker House and School (Gainesville)
Brenau College [Baptist Female Seminary] (Gainesville)

Hancock County

Mary Glen [House] (Sparta)

Hart County

Pearl J. Jones House (Hartwell)

Morgan County

Susie Agnes Hotel (Bostwick)
Tubman Museum (Madison)

Muscogee County

"Ma" Rainey (Gertrude Pridgett) House (Columbus)

Polk County

Rockmart Woman's Club (Rockmart)

Rabun County

[Mary] Hambidge Center Historic District (Dillard)

Richmond County

Gertrude Herbert Art Institute (Augusta)
[Emily] Tubman School (Augusta)

Terrell County

Dawson Woman's Club (Dawson)

Thomas County

Martha Poe Dogtrot House (Metcalf)

Toombs County

Lyons Woman's Club (Lyons)

Troup County

Hawkes Children's Library of West Point (West Point)
Hills and Dales (LaGrange)

Washington County

Tennille Woman's Clubhouse (Tennille)

Wilkes County

Mary Willis Library (Washington)

Improving the Coverage of Women's History in Georgia's National Register Program

For the purposes of this study, a review of properties already listed on the National Register in Georgia was undertaken to shed light on the current status of women's history in the state's historic preservation programs. More than forty properties having some association with women's history were identified in a review of the National Register in Georgia. The goals of this review were to identify areas of strength in the coverage and treatment of women's history in the National Register of Historic Places and to identify gaps in the existing coverage. Recommendations were developed with the intention of improving the quantity, quality, and scope of women's history represented in Georgia's National Register Program, as well as the variety of historic property types that are preserved.

The quality of documentation varies greatly within this group of forty or more cultural resources associated with women's history in Georgia because they came to be listed on the National Register over a period spanning more than two decades. Like all state historic preservation programs, the quality of architectural and historical documentation has improved over time, including great strides in the coverage of women's history and the history of ethnic communities of color. The State of Georgia, however, has played a leadership role among its peers in advancing the preservation and interpretation of cultural resources associated with African-American's and women's history. Georgia is also favorably distinguished among State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPOs) by virtue of its protective approach to generating new National Register nominations, which provides it with opportunities for focus on cultural resources associated with women, while other states merely process nominations that come to them.

As a result, Georgia is well-positioned to serve as a model for other states who share a commitment to incorporating women's history into their historic preservation programs. Nevertheless, an overall review of properties listed on the National Register in Georgia suggests the need for greater attention to women's history in the planning, documentation and review processes associated with the National Register program. These observations and suggestions are broken down into several areas that are well-represented in the National Register program, as well as some underrepresented themes and property types significant in the history of women in Georgia.

The forty or more properties reviewed for this study clustered into a narrow range of historical themes and property types including (1) domestic/residential; (2) educational; and (3) civic/social; along with a limited number of miscellaneous subjects. Most existing individual National Register listings suffer for the lack of a theme study or context document that would offer more background on their significance in the history of women, more comparative information on related resources, and provide

National Register staff in the state office with a means of assessing the relative significance of individual properties.

For that reason, one of the key findings of this study is the need for preparing a variety of new thematic studies and multiple property nominations that will provide a developmental and comparative context for cultural resources associated with key subthemes significant in Georgia women's history. This phase of the Georgia Women's History Project has developed background material on a number of subthemes important in women's history, including kitchens in historic houses, landscapes associated with the garden club movement, the work of women landscape architects, elements of the vernacular built environment, Civil War monuments, and buildings erected by women's organizations, among other themes. Future subtheme studies might profitably be focused on cultural resources associated with women architects, women's health, women's work, and even women's beauty culture (a powerful theme in the American South).¹

Furthermore, this study recommends launching new statewide preservation planning initiatives to identify previously neglected property types such as commercial, industrial, and engineering structures, which rarely appear on the National Register in Georgia in connection with women. Such an approach will diversify the range of property types that mark women's history beyond the houses, schools and club buildings that currently constitute the prime interpretive venues. A wider range of property types is likely to break down stereotypes about women's sphere that are lodged in the public imagination and will help to increase awareness of the diversity of female historical experience along lines of class and race by illustrating women's presence in such varied settings as plantations, factories, laboratories, studios, and athletic facilities, among other cultural resources.

Domestic/Residential

Domestic or residential properties generally have secured listing on the National Register for one of two reasons: they were selected for either their architectural or historical significance (and in rare cases for both reasons). Properties that were selected for their architectural significance generally have tremendous untapped potential for interpreting women's history; on the other hand, women tend to be relatively well-represented at residential properties that were designated on the basis of their historical significance. In fact, because the lives of notable Georgia women tend to be marked at houses, as

¹On women and beauty culture see *The Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, edited by Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), pp. 600-603.

opposed to other possible property types, some efforts are warranted to seek out a wider range of property types as sites for interpreting women's history.

Domestic/Residential Properties Principally Selected for their Architectural Significance -

Selected Properties Reviewed

Tullie Smith House, Atlanta
Druid Hills Historic District, Atlanta
Gertrude Herbert Art Institute/Nicholas Ware House, Augusta
Susie Agnes Hotel, Bostwick
J. Pearl Jones House, Hartwell
The Seminary, Lithonia
Martha Poe Dogtrot House, Metcalf
Bulloch Hall, Roswell
Glen Mary, Sparta

The State of Georgia's National Register Program includes a wide array of domestic/residential properties, ranging from vernacular types such as the *Tullie Smith House*, which offers an important example of the "plantation plain;" and the *Martha Poe Dogtrot House*; to academic styles such as *Bullock Hall* in Roswell, which is a striking example of the Greek Revival movement in Georgia. Nominations for houses such as these generally exhibit careful documentation of architectural style, building materials, construction technology, and other formal elements, which suggests a past emphasis on securing architectural expertise among staff in the SHPO's office. In nearly every case, however, the existing documentation has missed critical opportunities for interpreting the house as a site of labor in the domestic sphere – a matter of particular importance for women as housewives, slaves, and domestic servants.²

To increase the utility of these nominations for addressing women's history in Georgia, new initiatives are needed to document residential features associated with ideals of family life, the gender division of labor, and concrete practices associated with women's work in the home. Kitchens, bathrooms, washing and cleaning facilities, as well as the spaces associated with childcare all remain to

²Preservation organizations that manage a significant number of historic houses, such as the National Trust for Historic Preservation (NTHP), have made concerted efforts to improve the interpretation of domestic labor in recent years. One key NTHP meeting was "The View from the Kitchen: Interpreting the Lives of Domestic Workers," a one-day conference for historic site staff held in Boston (Fall 1994). A brief report on this conference by Barbara A. Levy and Susan Schreiber, "The View from the Kitchen," appeared in *History News* 50:2 (March 1995), pp. 16-20. Cassette tapes of the conference and a fourteen page annotated bibliography are available from the National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036.

be documented as elements historically associated with domestic labor. Surviving interior elements, as well as outbuildings and landscape features, potentially would be included in documentation that is attentive to the evolution of domestic technology and the changing conditions of women's work in the home, on farmsteads, and in related venues, whether as domestic servants, housewives, slaves, or even in the form of mechanical devices that were supposed to lighten the workload for women and reduce domestic conflicts over the division of labor. This proposed approach would constitute a profound transformation in the way that domestic/ residential properties are treated in Georgia's National Register program, but it is certain to enhance their utility for interpreting major themes in women's history. Work to bolster the interpretation of women's history associated with the *Swan House* amendment, prepared as part of this phase of the Georgia Women's History Project, provides a valuable model that could be applied to other historic properties.

National Register nominations such as the one prepared for the *Susie Agnes Hotel*, in Bostwick, Georgia, hint at the rich possibilities for interpreting women's work, in this case because of its past function as a boarding house. Yet given the significance of boarding as an occupation for women, boarding houses probably should be better represented among the properties listed on the National Register in Georgia and more thoroughly interpreted at residential properties where this activity occurred. Hotels and boarding houses once run by women for tourists, such as the surviving example in Indian Springs State Park, in Butts County, are potential sites interpreting women's history. Single family dwellings and apartment houses also have been significant locations for women's work in the home. So too, historic districts such as Druid Hills in Atlanta might be understood not only in terms of formal design elements, but also the ideas about men and women's proper spheres that they enshrined, the racial and gender division of labor that they enforced, and ideas about family life that were embodied in suburban as well as urban planning.

State Historic Preservation Office staff should encourage those preparing National Register nominations for historic houses of various types to refer to the scholarly literature that documents and interprets the home as a site of women's paid and unpaid labor. A rich body of feminist scholarship provides a solid foundation for reconceptualizing house and home in this new light. Relevant literature includes Susan Strasser, *Never Done: A History of American Housework*; Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution and Redesigning the American Dream*; Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Modern Home* and *Building the Dream*; as well as work by Annmarie Adams and other social historians

of housing who are attentive to social relations of gender in the domestic sphere.³ While surprisingly little of the scholarly work on this subject focuses directly on the American South or on Georgia resources in particular,⁴ a sufficiently robust literature exists to make it possible to begin to address the social as well as architectural history of housing, which surely will improve the coverage of women's history in National Register nominations related to domestic architecture. The study of kitchens, prepared for the first phase of the Georgia Women's History Project, demonstrates the power of specific elements of domestic architecture to illuminate core themes in women's history. Where gaps remain in the existing literature, oral histories can help those preparing nominations to gain a clearer understanding of elements of the built environment and landscape associated with women's work. This is especially important in light of the long use of black domestic workers in white homes. So too, the periodical literature, including the advertisements, can be powerful sources for documenting the history of women in relation to evolving domestic technology.

State Historic Preservation Office guidance to those preparing National Register forms can help to set a new and more inclusive standard that makes information about social, family, and women's

³Susan Strasser, *Never Done: A History of American Housework* (New York: Pantheon, 1982) and *Waste and Want: A Social History of American Trash* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1999); Ruth Schwartz Cowen, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from an Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York: Basic Books, 1983) and *A Social History of American Technology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981) and *Redesigning the American Dream: The Future of Housing, Work and Family Life* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984); Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) and *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (New York: Pantheon, 1981); Alice T. Friedman, *Women and the Making of the Modern House: A Social and Architectural History* (New York: Abrams, 1998); Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women* (Montreal and Buffalo: McGill-Queens University Press, 1996) and "The Eichler Home: Intention and Experience in Postwar Suburbia," in *Gender, Class, and Shelter: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture V*, ed. Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins (University of Tennessee Press, 1995), pp. 164-78; Faye Dudden, *Serving Women: Household Service in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1983); David M. Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Linda Martin and Kerry Segrave, *The Servant Problem: Domestic Workers in North America* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1985); and Phyllis Palmer, *Domesticity and Dirt: Housewives and Domestic Servants in the United States, 1920-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989).

⁴See, for example, Adele Logan Alexander, *Ambiguous Lives: Free Women of Color in Rural Georgia, 1789-1879* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1991); Betty Wood, *Women's Work, Men's Work: The Informal Slave Economies of Lowcountry Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995); Elizabeth Fox Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Jacqueline Jones, *Labor of Love, Labor of Sorrow: Black Women, Work and the Family from Slavery to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1985), and Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Women's World in the Old South* (New York: Pantheon, 1982), among others.

history required elements in National Register nominations for residential/domestic properties, whether they are individual properties, nominations for larger groups of properties in historic districts, or typologically oriented Multiple Property Nominations (e.g., dogtrot houses). Future preservation planning efforts might profitably be devoted to identifying outstanding representative examples of houses that illustrate the history of domestic labor in the state, addressing the subject coherently and comprehensively from a developmental and comparative perspective. New efforts also might be focused on identifying historic properties that mark the contributions of women architects and landscape architects, whose contributions to the built environment and landscape tend to lie within the realm of domestic architecture due to gender-based constraints in the scope of their careers and focus of their professional practice.

Domestic/Residential Properties Principally Selected for their Historical Significance (i.e., the Homes of Notable Women in Georgia) - Selected Properties Reviewed

Crescent Apartments, Atlanta
Rebecca Latimer Felton House, Cartersville
Gertrude "Ma" Pridgett Rainey House, Columbus
Mary Gay House, Decatur
Corra White Harris House, Study, and Chapel, Rydal
Juliette Low Birthplace, Savannah

In Georgia as well as the rest of the United States, historic house museums are the main venues where the public has the opportunity to learn about the activities and accomplishments of notable women.⁵ Several women significant in Georgia history are honored through National Register nominations for their houses from the Savannah birthplace of **Juliette Gordon Low**, founder of the Girl Scouts, to **Ma Rainey**, the mother of the blues. The homes of women writers are particularly well-represented among National Register listings. Since the homes of writers often were their workplaces, historic houses can be apt locations for marking women's history. However, the abundance of historic houses associated with notable women may also be a cause for concern since it reflects an earlier conception of women's history.

⁵Page Putnam Miller, "Introduction," *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992); Gail Dubrow, *Preserving Her Heritage: American Landmarks of Women's History* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Urban Planning Program, UCLA, 1991); and Patricia West, "Uncovering and Interpreting the History of Women at Male Focused Historic House Museums," in *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation*, Gail Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman, eds. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

First and foremost, it reflects a conception of women's history that focused exclusively on notable individuals: women of exceptional accomplishment, female "firsts," and the activities of an elite. While there actually were exceptional women throughout history, the individual approach often fails to capture shared and ordinary aspects of female historical experience, though sometimes this approach can highlight it. As a result, the homes of notable individuals have overshadowed more representative sites and places associated with women's collective activity. So too, the idea that "women's place is in the home" has a long and problematic history. On one hand, the concept is critical to understanding southern women's history because the home served for such a long time as the center of production. On the other hand, the concept tends to obscure the wider domain in which most women operated. The homes of a leisured elite cannot speak for all women's history.⁶ Last but not least, historic house museums generally have not been at the forefront of presenting a feminist interpretation of women's history, and they only recently have begun to incorporate new insights and perspectives from recent scholarship in the field. For all of these reasons, the abundance of historic houses associated with Georgia women is a sign of early success in terms of the coverage of women's history in the National Register Program and it clearly signals the necessary work ahead to improve the quantity, quality, and diversity of properties that mark women's history on a statewide basis.

A careful review of existing National Register nominations suggests the need for greater attention to female historical agency in narratives documenting the contributions of notable Georgia women. In some cases, the nature of women's contributions were not fully documented; or their agency was diminished in the construction of the historical narrative for the National Register nomination. For example, at one historic house, the woman's impetus for becoming a writer was attributed to her minister-husband's need to be out at night, as opposed to her own creative drive. The National Register nominations could do more to credit women with their own creative accomplishments, while explaining constraints in light of the social expectations that were associated with women's proper sphere. In some cases the problem may be gaps in the historical record or poor writing (especially appearing in the form passive constructions that drain agency from historical actors). However, the greater part of the problem is attributable to an outmoded acceptance of women as subordinate to men and dependent on them for direction, which has worked its way into National Register documentation. Review of future nominations by staff with expertise in women's history is the surest remedy for improving the quality of interpretation

⁶On the problematic ideological construction of women's separate sphere, Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 75 (June 1988): pp. 9-39.

in future nominations, though all staff will benefit from the information on women's history that is contained in this study.

The ubiquity of houses as sites for marking the accomplishments of individual women suggest that great gaps remain in identifying, interpreting, and preserving other types of properties more directly associated with women's creative accomplishments – that is to say, the studios, workshops, and landscapes that are the female equivalent of Edison's laboratory. A first step in widening the array of property types used to mark women's history is to identify wide range of organizational and institutional buildings beyond the home that were associated with notable individuals, such as workplaces, club buildings or chapter houses.

In some cases, such as the nomination for **Rebecca Latimer Felton's** house in Cartersville, Georgia (which has been destroyed by fire), or the *Crescent Apartments* that were home to **Margaret Mitchell** in Atlanta, alternative sites potentially available for marking their lives were carefully studied and the domestic environment was determined to be the best possible property through a rational process of elimination. Unfortunately, Felton's house has since burned down and the Crescent Apartments have undergone significant alterations that diminish the integrity of the historic resource (not of Margaret Mitchell's apartment, however).

However, in many cases the association of notable women with the home appears to have been an ideological reflex, rather than a reasoned choice, that may have obscured more creative possibilities for commemorating women's history. So too, the close association of women with the home has led to an emphasis on the homes of women writers among the notables, such as the Decatur home of local historian and writer **Mary Gay**, and a corresponding lack of properties associated with other sorts of accomplishments. For these reasons, those preparing nominations for properties associated with notable Georgia women should be encouraged to seek out non-domestic settings – where appropriate – as new sites for interpreting women's history. The same could be said for notable men, who are too often commemorated only at house museums as opposed to sites associated with their professional accomplishments and activities.

Still, a review of existing nominations on the National Register suggests that houses *can* be powerful places for marking the history of notable women. *Corra White Harris's Study*, for example, is significant as a place she built in 1915 to provide space to write. The Study was documented for the National Register. It has a high degree of integrity, since it looks like the day she left it. The house, however, was not documented on the interior. In this case, the owner wouldn't consent to access. But

more often, the lack of interior documentation appears to stem from the lack of sensitivity or awareness on the part of those preparing National Register nominations, or the widely held belief that it is an optional element in National Register documentation. For that reason, the State Historic Preservation Office may wish to offer new training opportunities to those preparing National Register nominations on how to read and interpret historic houses, particularly interiors, in ways that illuminate social, family, and women's history.

The incremental process of preparing National Register nominations has produced a collection of places associated with Georgia women that are reflective of earlier trends in women's history scholarship and which are uneven in their historical significance. Some individuals whose acclaim was exclusively local are commemorated through National Register listings, while properties associated with more accomplished individuals have not even been surveyed, much less designated as landmarks. Clearly the incremental process of preparing individual National Register nominations is a poor substitute for systematic preservation planning devoted to identifying women of overarching significance in Georgia history and assessing the opportunities for marking their contributions at historic sites and buildings. For that reason, a theme study on Notable Georgia Women and related multiple property nomination is warranted.

The lack of a historic context has made it difficult to assess which if any properties associated with notable Georgia women merit recognition at a high level of designation, especially as National Historic Landmarks. For that reason, it is critical that future initiatives include a reassessment of whether any properties associated with women that currently are listed on the National Register in Georgia might possess a high degree of physical integrity and "overarching national significance," making them eligible for consideration as National Historic Landmarks. **Juliette Low**'s Savannah home clearly merited National Historic Landmark designation as the *First Girl Scout Headquarters*. The *Gertrude "Ma" Pridgett Rainey House*, located in Columbus, Georgia, also merits careful evaluation since she gained national recognition as the "mother of the blues." The rich development of context statements for this property, in relation to black and women's history, makes it a strong candidate for National Historic Landmark listing. Still, a more extensive program of work is needed to evaluate the eligibility of other properties associated with notable Georgia women that have untapped potential as National Historic Landmarks.

Educational Institutions - Selected Properties Reviewed

Lucy Cobb Institute Campus, Athens
Milledge Avenue Historic District, Athens
State Normal School, Athens (Determination of Eligibility)
Atlanta University Center District, Atlanta
Tubman High School, Augusta
Cora Beck Hampton Schoolhouse and House, Decatur
South Candler Street – Agnes Scott College Historic District, Decatur
Beulah Rucker House/School, Gainesville
Brenau College District, Gainesville
The Berry Schools, Mount Berry
Tallulah Falls School, Tallulah Falls

Schools and colleges are well represented in the Georgia National Register program. The nominations generally would benefit from the presence of more contextual and comparative information about Georgia educational institutions. They potentially provide opportunities for tracing the development of educational opportunities by race and gender; understanding how gender norms were both enforced and transcended by means of the educational system, and how these ideologies of race and gender were reflected in the planning and architectural design of educational institutions.

Nominations for educational institutions such as the *Brenau College District* in Gainesville, Georgia, would benefit from more careful attention to ideologies of gender reflected in the planning of the campus and design of the architecture. The National Register Nomination for *Wesleyan College*, prepared in this phase of the Georgia Women's History Project, provides a model of incorporating new scholarship on women and education into research on historic properties. There is now a substantial scholarly literature on the subject that can provide a richer context for individual nominations. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz' pioneering work, *Alma Mater*, which analyzes the architectural design of women's colleges, is a vital interpretive model.⁷ Page Miller's book, *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's*

⁷Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984). Other key scholarly works on this theme include: Barbara Miller Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Roberta Frankfort, *Collegiate Women: Domesticity and Career in Turn-of-the-Century America* (New York: NYU Press, 1977); Lynn D. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); and Elizabeth Seymour Eschbach, *The Higher Education of Women in England and America, 1865-1920* (New York: Garland, 1993). Many scholars rely heavily on Thomas Woody, *A History of Women's Education in the United States* (New York, N. Y., and Lancaster, Pa., The Science Press, 1929). Studies focusing on aspects of education in Georgia include Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992) and Dorothy Orr, *A History of Education in Georgia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950).

History, contains a chapter by Horowitz that directly deals with the tangible remains of women's educational history.⁸ As new work emerges on the educational experiences of women of color, it may be possible to revisit National Register nominations that were prepared decades earlier to address vital issues of race and gender at historically black colleges that were overlooked previously.

In the meantime, the SHPO can use the National Register review process to ensure that new nominations prepared for individual colleges or schools include more comparative information than was incorporated previously. Gender differences in educational expectations might be more effectively revealed when architectural features associated with women's colleges and girls' schools are compared with those for men and boys. The long history of racial segregation makes it imperative to know how institutions for whites compared with those for blacks in a given locality and period. These sorts of comparative assessments are likely to improve the general quality of National Register nominations, while making them more useful for illuminating the theme of women and education.

So too, more detail on surviving interior features would make it possible to interpret various themes in women's history at educational institutions. *Tubman High School*, for example, located in Augusta, Georgia, was reputed to be one of the most modern schools in the South and originally contained three domestic rooms. This is significant in terms of broader themes in women's history in part because the home economics movement left its imprint on the schools throughout the nation in the form of domestic science laboratories and teaching kitchens. Currently it is impossible to discern whether elements such as these survive in historic schools due to inadequate documentation of interior features, but with proper guidance this can be remedied in future nominations.

Additional State Historic Preservation Office guidance would alert those preparing National Register forms to document architectural features that reflect gender ideologies, particularly in educational institutions where the "hidden curriculum" included turning out proper men and women, boys and girls. For example, some historic interior features, such as the dormitory parlors that were designed for supervised interactions between young men and women have untapped potential for illuminating issues of gender and sexuality in the history of higher education. The lack of documentation of these features has hindered their protection when colleges seek to demolish historic buildings such as dormitories in the effort to modernize their facilities. In the process, it is possible to unintentionally lose elements critical for interpreting women's history. Some buildings closely associated with ideals about

⁸See Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, "Women and Education," in *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History*, Page Putnam Miller, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 119-140.

women's proper behavior, such as dormitories and sorority houses, merit closer examination in typological studies, particularly framed in comparative contexts by race and gender. In some cases, such as the National Register nomination for the *Milledge Avenue Historic District*, women-related educational properties such as sororities are under-interpreted in the National Register documentation. Greater awareness of women's history is likely to foreground features such as these in future National Register nominations.

In other cases, such as the National Register nomination for the *Agnes Scott College Historic District*, the facilities are so extensive (91 contributing buildings) that the women's history associated with particular buildings has been given short shrift in the documentation. Likewise, the existing nomination for the *Atlanta University Center District* (including Spelman College), prepared in 1975, provides only cursory treatment of historic properties of great significance in African-American educational history. It merits revisiting in light of the wealth of scholarship on women and ethnic communities of color in higher education that has emerged in recent years. So too, changes in the built environment during the past quarter-century (including new construction and demolition) suggest the need for periodic revisions to the National Register nominations for major educational facilities.

A thematic study of women's educational institutions might allow researchers to capture in greater detail the elements of the built environment critical for understanding women's history, and it would provide the State Historic Preservation Office with a comparative context for evaluating the relative significance of particular properties. Current nominations fail to distinguish between the local and national significance of particular campus features, yet some elements such as the *Sisters Chapel at Spelman College* may be eligible for National Historic Landmark listing. A thematic study would provide the comparative assessment needed to identify potentially eligible properties that have a high degree of integrity and overarching national significance.

A first step in improving the documentation of women's history at educational institutions is a shift in emphasis from documenting architectural style and building materials to instead gain a greater understanding of the building program, plan, and functions. These elements hold greater potential to illuminate men and women's proscribed and actual behavior in the built environment.

The popularity of teaching as an occupation for women also suggests the need to remember that schools are critical sites for interpreting women's labor as well as educational history. Some National Register nominations, such as the *Cora Beck Hampton Schoolhouse and House* in Decatur, rightly recognize the overlapping themes of women's educational and labor history. However, this remains the

exception rather than the rule among properties associated with the theme of education. The State Historic Preservation Office could provide more guidance, particularly in the form of bibliographic resources, to help those preparing National Register forms for educational institutions to recognize the vital labor histories inherent in these properties.

Civic/Social: Women's Organizations - Selected Properties Reviewed

Garden Club of Georgia Museum, Headquarters House, Founder's Memorial Garden, Athens
YWCA, Athens
Atlanta Woman's Club, Community Playhouse, Lucille King Thomas Auditorium, Atlanta
Habersham Memorial Hall, Atlanta
Camp Juliette Low, Cloudland
Dawson Woman's Clubhouse, Dawson
Agnes Lee Chapter House of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Decatur
Juliette Low Birthplace, Savannah
Tennille Woman's Clubhouse, Tennille
Hawkes Children's Library of West Point, West Point

As a result of the wealth of community-building activities undertaken by women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, civic and social history potentially constitute one of the richest National Register themes for interpreting women's history.⁹ Woman's clubs and associations produced an extraordinary number of club buildings and chapter houses, preserved historic places and erected memorials, engaged in civic beautification efforts from street cleaning to tree planting initiatives, and founded many of the civic institutions such as libraries and playgrounds that later would be regarded as essential public services.¹⁰ Taken together, these properties represent a rich and diverse collection of buildings and landscapes associated with women. The Clubhouses of Georgia's Woman's Clubs Multiple

⁹Useful starting points for thinking about historic resources associated with woman's clubs and associations include: Darlene Roth, "Feminine Marks on the Landscape: An Atlanta Inventory" *Journal of American Culture* 3 (Winter 1980) and *Matronage: Patterns in Women's Organizations, Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1940* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Pub., 1994); Gail Dubrow, "Women and Community," in *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History*, Page Putnam Miller, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 83-118; and Gail Dubrow, *Preserving Her Heritage: American Landmarks of Women's History* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Urban Planning Program, UCLA, 1991).

¹⁰A reinterpretation of the history of Carnegie libraries that is sensitive to gender can be found in Abigail Van Slyck, *Free to All: Carnegie Libraries and American Culture, 1890-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) as well as a related article by the same author, see "The Lady and the Library Loafer: Gender and Public Space in Victorian America," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31:4 (Winter 1996): pp. 221-242. A more direct treatment of the gender issues that pertain to preserving and interpreting libraries appears in Abigail Van Slyck, "Architecture and the Gender Politics of American Librarianship," in *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation*, Gail Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman, eds. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

Resource Nomination that was prepared in the present phase of the Georgia Women's History Project provides a valuable context for assessing the significance and integrity of particular properties.

Many individual properties associated with woman's clubs and associations have found their way onto the National Register in Georgia. These include properties significant at the state level, such as the powerful *Atlanta Woman's Club* or the *Garden Club of Georgia Museum* in Athens, as well as properties such as *Habersham Memorial Hall*, associated with a local Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) chapter in the Ansley Park neighborhood of Atlanta. However, because these nominations were accrued through an incremental process, there is no guarantee that the most significant properties have been listed on the National Register in Georgia.

The likely existence of numerous undocumented properties associated with women's community-building activities that potentially are eligible for National Register listing points to the need for a systematic study and related multiple property nomination on this theme. They would provide the needed historic context for this theme of overarching significance in Georgia women's history and provide State Historic Preservation Office staff with the information needed to ensure that future nominations on this theme incorporate insights from the scholarly literature on the woman's club movement, thus providing a richer and more informed historic context for individual National Register nominations.

Such a study also would provide staff in the State Historic Preservation Office with the developmental and comparative context needed to effectively evaluate the significance of National Register listings. A piecemeal approach has made it difficult to assess which if any have national or statewide significance, or to understand the significance of particular building types chosen to serve as club or organizational headquarters. A case in point is the *Agnes Lee Chapter House of the United Daughters of the Confederacy* (UDC), located in Decatur, which adopts a residential character to blend into its neighborhood context. A theme study and multiple property nomination could draw on Darlene Roth's *Matronage* to answer the question of whether the choice of a residential location and style was typical of UDC chapter houses, thus providing a stronger context for interpreting individual properties and evaluating their significance.

So too, the past focus on buildings alone obscures the diversity of property types potentially associated with this theme. Woman's club buildings already listed on the National Register in Georgia are cases in point. The club buildings are only the most obvious tangible remains of organized women's activities. Because their work programs extended to civic improvement and beautification, historic

preservation, conservation, commemoration, and many other activities, a wide range of other property types potentially merit listing under the theme of women's civic and social history. So too, some properties such as the *Hawkes Children's Library* that are listed as significant under other themes, such as education, merit cross-listing under the civic/social category on account of the leading role woman's clubs played in their establishment.

The *Dawson Woman's Clubhouse* exemplifies many of the issues that pertain to women-related resources listed on the National Register under this theme. The nomination, which notes it is a log cabin-type structure, potentially would benefit from a broader historic context document that identifies the range of building types, styles, and construction methods associated with woman's club buildings. In its absence, the nomination cannot fully interpret the significance and meaning of this choice of building form as club headquarters. So too, the impact of the Dawson Woman's Club on the local built environment was felt far beyond the walls of the club building, since they "were involved with various landscaping projects" around the city, including "landscaping Cedar Hill Cemetery, establishing gardens at the Georgia Power Company and at the library, landscaping the grounds around the Terrell County Hospital and planting trees throughout the city." A broader approach to preservation planning would be more likely to capture these sorts of related properties.

Similarly the **Agnes Lee Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy** supported numerous civic projects beyond the construction of their Chapter House, including the Stone Mountain Memorial Carving, Camp Gordon Ward No. 2 in World War I, and other patriotic and commemorative activities. These properties might be interpreted in ways that account for women's philanthropic activities. Preservation agencies in other jurisdictions have designated these sorts of civic improvements undertaken by woman's clubs as landmarks, including street trees planted by a local woman's club in Los Angeles. A theme study and multiple property nomination on the tangible remains of woman's clubs and associations necessarily would diversify the range of property types associated with this aspect of Georgia women's history.

Finally, the long history of racial segregation and difficult history of integration makes it imperative that the properties associated with organized women's activities be analyzed along racial as well as gender lines. The National Register nomination for the YWCA of Athens, Georgia, makes brief mention of its deaffiliation with the national organization in 1968 over integration, but makes no mention of what facilities existed for women of color in that city. Part of establishing a "comparative context" for

historic properties is understanding the racialized as well as gendered climate in which social, cultural and recreational institutions were developed and operated.

The scholarly literature on organized women's activities is richer now than when many nominations for local clubs and associations were prepared in the 1970s. There is now an abundant literature on the activities and accomplishments of organized women, from works at the national level, such as Karen Blair's *The Clubwoman as Feminist* and Ann Scott's *Natural Allies*, which focuses on women's voluntary associations, to Darlene Roth's *Matronage*, which focuses on Atlanta women's organizations.¹¹ The combined availability of scholarly literature, abundant primary sources, and a high probability of finding many tangible remains suggests that the time is ripe for a thematic study at the state level as well as the preparation of a multiple property nomination on the theme of woman's clubs and organizations. Such an approach also would provide a wider context for understanding and evaluating the significance of particular National Register listings in Georgia, such as the *Tennille Woman's Clubhouse*. Like many existing nominations, it drew only upon local sources related to the particular building without benefitting from access to the wider scholarly literature on the subject. The authors of future nominations would benefit from the bibliographic resources generated in this phase of the Georgia Women's History Project, which will help them to think about particular properties in a broader context.

So too, the need exists for a clearer category in the Georgia National Register Program that addresses the themes of politics, the law, and social reform in relation to the changing status of women and people of color. There is no existing category that adequately captures the tangible remains of social inequality in the built environment and cultural landscape or sites that marked important gains in the social and legal status of women and people of color. In this regard, the *Jane Donalson Harrell House* in Kakin, Georgia, stands out as a rare case where a woman retained independent ownership and control of a property throughout her marriage, but this fact is incidental to the statement of significance for the property. However it suggests the need for a systematic study of the broader theme of properties that

¹¹Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1980), *The Torchbearers: Women and their Amateur Arts Associations in America, 1890-1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), and *The History of American Women's Voluntary Organizations, 1810-1960: A Guide to Sources* (Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall, 1989); Anne Ruggles Gere, *Intimate Practices: Literacy and Cultural Work in U.S. Women's Clubs, 1880-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); Anne Firor Scott, *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984) and *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); and Darlene R. Roth, *Matronage: Patterns in Women's Organizations, Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1940* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Pub., 1994).

illustrate women's changing legal and political status throughout Georgia history; and those which were touchstones in the struggle to improve the status of women.

A Summary of Underrepresented Property Types and Themes

The preceding review of National Register nominations related to women in the State of Georgia suggests a clear pattern of gaps in the coverage of women's history in the National Register Program both thematically and typologically. Women's history is relatively well-covered at domestic/residential, civic/social, and educational properties, but the need remains for new initiatives aimed at increasing the quality, quantity and diversity of properties listed on the National Register that mark women's history. This can only be accomplished with a clear view of what is missing, what sorts of nominations might fill gaps in coverage, and how existing listings under these categories might be revisited in ways that tease out more information on aspects of women's history that previously were overlooked.

Several property types where women's history barely appears on in the National Register program in Georgia are recommended for future study, including commercial, agricultural, and industrial properties; religious institutions; transportation, government and public facilities; entertainment, recreational, and cultural properties; health care; the military; and landscape features. It also may be important to identify new themes that are of particularly significance in the history of women. This report proposed one new theme that otherwise might be overlooked within the existing thematic framework -- women and beauty culture -- but it is only offered as an example of how issues significant in women's history may be diminished by existing categories. Some brief observations and recommendations are offered in the sections which follow, in the hope that future surveys and National Register nominations can contribute to developing a more accurate and complete picture of the lives of Georgia women.

Commercial

Existing National Register nominations merit review and possibly reinterpretation to tease out the women's history associated with commercial properties such as beauty parlors and department stores that have untapped potential to illuminate women's history as entrepreneurs, proprietors, managers, workers, and customers.

The *Morton Building*, in Athens, is an example of a commercial property listed on the National Register in Georgia that has great potential for interpreting African-American history, since it was located

at the core of the downtown black business district. However it would benefit from additional efforts to address elements of African-American women's history associated with the property since it was associated with **Dr. Ida Mae Johnson Hiram**, an early black woman dentist, as well as with beauticians and female theatrical performers.

A broad thematic study of women and work, accompanied by the preparation of a multiple property nomination, would begin to address women's history at a range of commercial properties from shops and stores to office buildings. The scholarly literature on this subject is now quite strong and can provide support for new preservation planning initiatives designed to identify historic resources associated with women's working lives.¹²

To date, schools have been the primary locations for interpreting the history of women and work in Georgia. Commercial, industrial and other sites of women's paid labor are needed to provide a more accurate and complete view of women's contributions to the state's economic development.

Agriculture/Food Processing

Background research is needed to provide a historic context for identifying, documenting, evaluating, and interpreting cultural resources associated with women's work generally, as well in subfields of labor, industrial, and consumer history such as agriculture and food processing. The development of historic context documents focusing on the property types associated with these themes will provide support and guidance for conducting surveys and the preparing new National Register nominations of related landscapes, buildings, structures, districts and objects that shed light on women's work in this field. Obviously the plantation economy and associated enterprise of slavery are central to the history of agriculture in Georgia, linking this theme to a relatively well-studied category of Georgia historic resources, historic plantations, which are a distinctive regional resource. More contemporary

¹²As a starting point, see Lynn Y. Weiner, "Women and Work," in *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History*, Page Putnam Miller, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 199-223. Examples of scholarly publications related to the theme of women and work include: Margery W. Davies, *Woman's Place is at the Typewriter: Office Work and Office Workers, 1870-1930* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982); Sharon Hartman Strom, *Beyond the Typewriter: Gender, Class, and the Origins of Modern American Office Work, 1900-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992); Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business: Men and Women in the Corporate Office, 1870-1930* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994); Dorothy Sue Cobble, *Dishing It Out: Waitresses and their Unions in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Wendy Gamber, *The Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997); and numerous other monographs.

themes are ripe for oral history research – along the lines of “If Georgia Walls Could Talk,” that focuses on women’s memories of historic places, including those associated with work in agriculture and food processing. Property types that merit further investigation in relation to this theme include the community canning facilities that arose during the Great Depression.

Industrial/Engineering

Since women were not even admitted to training as engineers at Georgia Tech until 1971, they rarely appear in the historical engineering record in a professional capacity. However women do appear in the historical record as workers at industrial and engineering concerns. Fortunately, some factories and mills that were important employers of women workers still survive in Georgia and are listed on the National Register, including the *Block Candy Company* and *Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills* in Fulton County. Fulton County also has two surviving buildings that served as commercial laundries which were employers of women: the *Trio Steam Laundry* and *Troy Peerless Laundry*, both of which are listed on the National Register. Background research drawing on the burgeoning literature in Southern labor history and women’s history is needed to identify key industrial settings where women have worked in Georgia history, such as the textile industry. Field work is needed to document the physical integrity of remaining historic resources. Some currently designated properties might benefit from reinterpretation to account for the previously overlooked aspects of women’s history associated with them.

Religious

Georgia religious institutions listed on the National Register merit reinterpretation in light of recent scholarship that illuminates women’s contributions to religious history. In particular, the organized activity of church women merits reconsideration, given that many National Register nominations have focused exclusively on men’s formal leadership of religious institutions. One striking example is the National Register nomination for the *Mother Easter Baptist Church and Parsonage* in Moultrie, Georgia, which was named for the woman who opened her home for the first meeting of the local Baptist church. Though SHPO staff tried to find more information about her none was available, which points to a basic problem researching the lives of women, particular African-Americans. Most churches have an unexplored history of women’s voluntary activity that merits documentation on the NRHP registration form. Recent developments in the scholarly literature suggest that both black and white women played

vital roles in religious institutions, through often stopping short of formal leadership roles.¹³ SHPO guidance and leadership are needed to insure that women's involvement in church history is well-documented in National Register nominations for religious institutions.

Transportation

Most public accommodations – such as the waiting rooms in train stations – were designed to segregate men from women, people of color from whites. Additional efforts might be made to identify those architectural features that contributed to defining separate facilities, by race and gender. Though it is unclear to what extent it is desirable to preserve the architectural features associated with the practices of racial segregation and gender separation, this topic might profitably be the focus of debate and discussion once historic resources with intact features have been identified.

Government/Public

Courthouses built in Georgia during the Great Depression and New Deal, such as the Cook County Courthouse in South Georgia, routinely omitted women's restrooms, suggesting women's marginal place in law, government, and public life in the 1930-45 period. By raising questions in the review process, SHPO staff can help to insure that National Register nominations for government and public facilities once the near-exclusive domain of men address questions about gender. The nominations for facilities such as police stations, fire stations, and military bases can explain how these places helped to shape ideals of masculinity and in what ways they were modified to accommodate women when they won right to work in male-dominated areas of public service.

Entertainment/Recreation/Cultural Activities

1) Sites associated with female philanthropy in cultural facilities. 2) Participation in the garden club movement. 3) Traces of sex segregation and the marks of integration in sporting facilities. 4) Women's involvement in preservation and commemorative activities (See discussion, below, of Military properties). 5) Gender-norms in ideas of recreation and leisure. The State of Georgia has listed several important properties associated with women's recreation, including Girl Scout Camps, and there

¹³As a starting point, see Jean Soderlund, "Women and Religion," in *Reclaiming the Past: Landmarks of Women's History*, Page Putnam Miller, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), pp. 176-198. Key sources on this theme include *Women and Religion in America*, Rosemary Radford Ruether and Rosemary Skinner Keller, eds. (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981), among others.

are likely other camps for girls that ought to be documented. The above list suggests more could be done to improve the interpretation of women's history among themes and property types relatively well-represented in Georgia's National Register Program.

The theme of arts and crafts might also be included under entertainment/ recreation and cultural activities and it has strong potential for addressing themes significant in women's history. In particular, the *Hambidge Center Historic District* in Dillard, Georgia, is a unique and important property associated with Mary Hambidge's efforts to revive folk traditions such as mountain weaving.

Health Care

Hospitals, clinics, nursing homes and sanatoriums are critical sites for addressing health care as a key occupation for women (as nurses, midwives, etc.) as well as their gendered status as patients. So too, they are important for the ways that ideas about health (and beauty) historically have been bound up with racial and gender norms. Recent scholarly literature has identified several property types with rich potential for interpreting women's history, including Annmarie Adams' research on nurses' housing attached to hospitals.¹⁴

Parks Canada's efforts to improve the coverage of women's history at historic sites has included a major thematic study of properties associated with nursing. Recent scholarship on black women's experience in health care in general and nursing in particular provides a welcome context for interpreting the meaning and evaluating the historical significance of related historic properties.¹⁵ Some historic properties associated with this theme survive in Georgia, though others have been lost to demolition or major alterations. A tour guide to women's history sites in Athens points to a hospital in the Hancock Street Historic District that served black women.¹⁶ Similarly, midwives' homes and birth clinics are

¹⁴Dianne Dodd, "Nurses' Residences: Commemoration of Canadian Nursing," Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Agenda Paper; Karen Kingsley, "The Architecture of Nursing," in *Images of Nurses: Perspectives from History, Art, and Literature*, Anne Hudson Jones, ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), pp. 63-94; and Annmarie Adams, "Rooms of Their Own: The Nurses' Residences at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital," in *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation*, Gail Dubrow and Jennifer Goodman, eds. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

¹⁵See *Black Women in the Nursing Profession: A Documentary History*, edited with an introduction by Darlene Clark Hine (New York: Garland, 1985); Darlene Clark Hine, *Black Women in White: Racial Conflict and Cooperation in the Nursing Profession, 1890-1950* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989); and Mary Elizabeth Carnegie, *The Path We Tread: Blacks in Nursing, 1854-1984* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1986).

¹⁶Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division, "Athens Women and Their Places, a Tour of Historically Significant Women-Related Sites in Athens, Georgia." Georgia Historic Preservation Conference and Annual Conference of the Southern State Historic Preservation Offices, November 25, 1997.

critical for addressing female-specific aspects of historical experience. Yet these are underrepresented in the Georgia National Register Program.

Notions of health might be regarded as integrally related to ideals of beauty, which may merit independent recognition as an important theme in women's history. Beauty parlors and barber shops have been critical sites for defining and enforcing racial and gender norms. They could be captured here, under the theme of health (and beauty) or under the category of commercial properties. Fashion, mass media, cotillions, beauty pageants, the culture of the beautiful bride, and similar themes in popular culture certainly are relevant for understanding social relations between the sexes and changing gender norms in American history. These subjects and the sites associated with them have special resonance for southern women, though they also have great relevance as an unexplored theme in surveys of historic properties across the country. In recent years, full-length works addressing the subject of women and beauty have entered the scholarly literature, providing contextual material to guide and support future surveys.¹⁷ The Georgia State Historic Preservation Office might wish to develop new theme studies of special relevance in women's history, such as women and beauty culture, and launch related surveys of historic properties, since a coherent treatment of the subject is unlikely to emerge out of studies organized under the rubric of standard categories (such as health or commercial architecture).

Military

This theme, and the property types associated with it, offer a reminder that recent scholarship has emphasized not only women's history but also the social relations that created distinct gender roles for women as well as men throughout history. For that reason, the history of women in Georgia requires a parallel account of the institutions that have played a critical role in defining masculinity at least in part through the process of excluding women. Women's historical exclusion from mandatory military service has played a key role in defining the boundaries of their rights and responsibilities as citizens. Likewise, the training of men for war, and their participation in battle, has been bound up with ideals of heroic masculinity.

These notions suggest the need for reexamining Georgia's military sites in light of new

¹⁷See, for example, Lois W. Banner, *American Beauty* (New York: Knopf, 1983); Kathy Lee Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998); Kate Mulvey and Melissa Richards, *Decades of Beauty: The Changing Image of Women, 1890s-1990s* (New York: Facts On File, 1998); and Noliwe M. Rooks, *Hair Raising: Beauty, Culture, and African American Women* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1996).

scholarship on the history of gender. So too, the new scholarship has redefined military history in ways that are more inclusive of women by expanding the story to include not only formal combatants but also the impact on camp followers, nurses, as well as affected civilians. While military forts and bases once were conceptualized as exclusively male domains, recent work offers a reminder that women usually were there, whether as officer's wives, domestic servants, or prostitutes. In Georgia, the abundance of properties on the National Register associated with the Civil War, and the wealth of new scholarship on women related to this event of overarching significance,¹⁸ suggest the need for a reinterpretation of existing sites to illuminate women's history at Civil War properties. The Civil War Memorials Multiple Property Resource Nomination being prepared in this phase of the Georgia Women's History Project will provide an expanded knowledge base for understanding women's association with Civil War era landmarks. In addition to properties directly associated with military engagement, women's organizations such as the United Daughters of the Confederacy erected numerous monuments in the years that followed the war, such as the *Confederate Monument* located in the Covington Historic District in Newton County. Future initiatives might address the themes of gender and women's history at properties associated with World War I and World War II in Georgia.

Landscape

Some individual nominations have hinted at the importance of women's participation in the garden club movement, yet no systematic investigation of this theme was undertaken prior to the present study. Activities and accomplishments of women landscape architects, as well as amateur practitioners, are also relevant. The State's long list of historic houses can be protected more effectively when the plans for preservation include the landscapes associated with them. In the process, women's association with the home and surrounding landscape can be documented more fully in both settings. The subject of women's work is part and parcel of the "landscape of work" included in the Georgia Living Places program. So too, the broader theme of vernacular landscapes, addressed in this study, as well as

¹⁸On women and social relations of gender in the context of the Civil War, see LeeAnn Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995); *Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War*, Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); Laura F. Edwards, *Scarlett Doesn't Live Here Anymore: Southern Women in the Civil War Era* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000); George C. Rable, *Civil Wars: Women and the Crisis of Southern Nationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Catherine Clinton, *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984), and Clinton, *Tara Revisited: Women, War & the Plantation Legend* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1995), among others.

traditional cultural landscapes suggest that these property types have the potential to illuminate ordinary and everyday aspects of female historical experience.

5.6 Resource Types

Women's History Resources by National Register Category and Type

Darlene Roth, Leslie Sharp

The following list of resource types draws together information from several sources: 1) the National Park Service's own list for function and uses of a resource that is found in the *National Register Bulletin 16A: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form* (the National Park Service list was used as the base for describing women's generic resources types), 2) the National Register of Historic Places listings in Georgia, 3) evidence from the investigations of this project, including, especially, the work for the "Survey of Surveys" and the preparation of several National Register of Historic Places nominations, and 4) the personal knowledge of Georgia's historic places among the project team members and the staff at the Historic Preservation Division.

While being an on-going project, the list is intended to be suggestive and as comprehensive as possible. It includes property types of all kinds: 1) those that are extant and listed in the National Register; 2) examples of properties that are extant but are not listed in the National Register, which may or may not be eligible for listing, 3) properties which were listed in the National Register but are no longer extant, and 4) properties which were not in the National Register and might have been eligible for listing, if they had survived. In general, properties that are no longer extant will include the word *site*. There is no presumption of eligibility in any case, as all the properties included were chosen as illustrations, not as models of significance.

The team felt committed to the idea it was more important to demonstrate the wide array of property types and the often great, often subtle variations between what the National Register has defined as property types and what seems actually to fit women's experiences. In many ways, the list offers new ways to look at any property in Georgia, since there are very few buildings and structures in the state that do not have some (historical or potential) association with the female sex.

The historic places found in the list that are listed in the National Register of Historic Places are highlighted with bold letters. There are probably more listed properties than are designated as such because some properties may be in historic districts or listed by a different name than the National Register listing. This list should be used as a planning tool only in conjunction with the Georgia/National Register of Historic Places, the Georgia Historic Resources Survey database, fieldwork, and other state and local lists of historic places.

Domestic Resources			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
single dwelling	row house, mansion, residence, rock shelter, cave	<p>a) house associated with Georgia woman of note with local, state or national reputation;</p> <p>b) house designed by a Georgia woman;</p> <p>c) house reflecting patterns of female lifestyle or work functions; those interior aspects of residential structures associated with domestic labor (kitchens, laundries, service porches) and other female activities (e.g., sewing rooms, "parlor" schools);</p> <p>d) house where events or activities occurred in relation to movements, groups, or individuals significant in women's history, e.g. women's suffrage, club or organizational meetings, civil rights, etc;</p> <p>e) house named for a female occupant.</p>	<p>a) Ridge House/Chieftain's Museum?? Jane Donalson Harrell House?? Minnie F. Corbitt House, now museum (Atkinson) Andalusia, Flannery O'Conner (Baldwin) Sanford-McComb House (Baldwin) Corra White Harris House (Bartow) Rose Cottage (Bartow) Roselawn, now museum (Bartow) Ellamae Ellis League House (Bibb) Dungeness Historic District (Camden) Biddenbach House (Chatham) Champion-Harper-Fowlkes House (Chatham) Elizabeth Fowler Row Houses (Chatham) Eliza Ann Jewett House (Chatham) Eliza Ann Jewett Row (Chatham) Juliette Gordon Lowe Birthplace (Chatham) Rosa Barnes House (Chatham) Ida Mae Hiram House (Clarke) Birthplace of Mary Lewis Rutherford (Clarke) (name??) Virginia Crosby House (Cobb) Newton House (Cobb) T.E. & Mary Lou Cook Atkinson House (Coweta) Freeman House (Coweta) Cora Beck House (DeKalb) Mary Gay House (DeKalb) Jane Donalson Harrell House (Early) Oakhill, Martha Berry House (Floyd) Bulloch Hall (Fulton) Griffith School of Music (Fulton) The Herndon House (Fulton) Archibald Smith Plantation (Fulton) Swan House (Fulton) Strickland House (Gwinnett) Beulah Rucker House (Hall) Mary Glen House (Hancock) Pearl J. Jones House (Hart) Thomas J. Smith House (Jasper) Jarrell Plantation (Jones) Nancy Cleland Mitchell House (Jones) Harnsberger House (Lincoln) Mattie Everson House (McIntosh) Ms. Johnson House (McIntosh) Auntie Jane Lewis House (McIntosh) Miss Willie Young House (McIntosh) Bulloch Family House (Meriwether) Blackmar-Bulloch House (Muscogee) Carson McCullough House (Muscogee) Gertrude "Ma" Rainey House (Muscogee) Kitty's Cottage (Newton) Burge Farm (Newton) Amanda America Dickson House (Richmond) Lucy Laney House (Richmond) Mitchell-Stephenson House (Stephens) Hills and Dales (Troup) Cherry Cottage (Wilkes)</p>

Domestic Resources			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
			<p>Sarah Hillhouse House (Wilkes) Mercer-Wiley-Heard-Callen-Lee-Anderson-Kearnes House (Wilkes)</p> <p>b) Ellamae Ellis League House (Bibb)</p> <p>c) Hurt-Rives Plantation (Hancock)</p> <p>d) Lumpkin House (Clarke)</p> <p>e) Simeon & Jane Rucker Log House (Fulton) Allie M. Best House (Hart) Pearl J. Jones (Hart) Fisher (Reba Vaughn) House (Franklin) Mrs. George Arthur Howell, Jr. House (Katherine Mitchell Howell 1882-1980) (Fulton) Dr. Bob and Sarah Alberta Smith House (Coweta)</p>
multiple dwelling	duplex, apartment building, pueblo, rock shelter, cave	same as above a) - e)	<p>a) Crescent Avenue Apartments and home of Margaret Mitchell (Fulton) Alexander ??</p> <p>b) 24 Lelia Ross Wilburn designed apartments, i.e., Ragland Apartments (DeKalb) Chatham Court Apartments (Fulton), some are listed within districts</p> <p>c) Apartments/Edwards House (Stephens)</p>
secondary structure	dairy, smokehouse, storage pit, storage shed, kitchen, garage, other dependencies	out buildings such as detached kitchen, dairy, smoke house, spring house, wash house, root cellar, or other structure associated with female domestic labor and work patterns; structure designed by a woman	<p>Henry Ford House laundry (Bryan) Albert Neal Durden House washhouse (Emanuel) Tullie Smith Farm kitchen (Fulton) The Webb Family Farms wash house (Sumter) Birdwood Plantation laundry (Thomas) Ritch-Carter-Martin House smokehouse to laundry (Wayne)</p>
hotel	inn, hotel, motel, way station	boarding house; inn, hotel, motel, way station owned and operated by woman or women, especially one with special facilities for women, designed by a woman, or with significant other associations; hotel designed by a woman	<p>Traveler's Rest (Bartow) Idlewilde Boarding House at Indian Springs (Butts) Indian Springs Hotel (Butts) Mrs. Wilkes Boarding House (Chatham) Cox-Carlton Hotel (Fulton) Jefferson Inn (Newton) Loudermilk Boarding House (Habersham) Oglethorpe Inn (McIntosh) Julia Delegal Palmer Woodard House (McIntosh) Susie Agnes Hotel (Morgan) Traveler's Rest (Stephens) Thomason-Farmer-Tilley House (Stephens) Smith-Nelson Hotel (Tattnall)</p>

Domestic Resources			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
institutional housing	military quarters, staff housing, poor house, orphanage	prison facilities for women; halfway houses for women; female dormitories not associated with education; military quarters for women; orphanages founded owned, and/or operated by women; girls homes; homes for poor, sick, pregnant, and/or unmarried women; housing for working girls; houses of prostitution (if under official local protection); housing designed by a woman	Florence Crittendon Home for Unwed Mothers (??) Fresh Air Home (Chatham) Louisa Porter Home (Chatham) Savannah Female Orphanage Asylum (Chatham) Little Sisters of the Poor (Chatham) Scottish Rite Nurses Dorm (DeKalb) Alms House (Fulton) Carrie Steele Pitts orphanage (Fulton) Churches Homes for Business Girls (Fulton) Hillside Homes (Fulton) YWCA housing (Fulton) Shiloh Orphanage (Richmond) Shiloh Orphanage Girls Dormitory (Richmond) Widow's Home (Richmond)
camp	hunting campsite, fishing camp, summer camp, forestry camp, seasonal residence, temporary habitation site, tipi rings	any such sites with identifiable women or gender specific associations	
village site			

Commercial/Trade Resources			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic examples	Georgia Examples
business	office building	businesses owned by women; office buildings designed by women; office buildings used predominantly for women businesses or catering to women businesses; service industry??	Haugabrooks Funeral Home (Fulton) My Favorite Mechanic is a Woman (DeKalb) Garage owned by Lucy White (Newton)
professional	architect's studio, engineering office, law office	professional studio or office associated with important women professional; same resource designed by a woman	Ellamae Ellis League design studio (Bibb)
organizational	trade union, labor union, professional association	facilities associated with women in trade unions; women unions (e.g., domestic workers; laundresses); facilities designed by a woman	Auburn Avenue site?
financial institution	savings and loan association, bank, stock exchange	special facilities associated with women at financial institutions (such as women's waiting rooms, lounges, bank rooms); institutional building designed by a woman	C & S Bank (Fulton) Women's Credit Union??
specialty store	auto showroom, bakery, clothing store, blacksmith shop, hardware store	stores owned and operated by women for women; by women for general clientele; by others for women only; retail facilities run by women located within or adjacent to their homes and/or farms (produce stands, convenience stores in residential areas); store designed by a woman	
department store	general store, department store, marketplace, trading post	department/general stores owned and operated by women; special facilities within department/general stores set aside for women (lounges, waiting rooms) women's departments and gender defined areas of the store; department store designed by a woman	Macy's mezzanine lounge (Fulton) Hand Department Store (Pelham??)
restaurant	café bar, roadhouse, tavern	such facilities owned and operated by women; special facilities within such resources associated with women B such as separate dining rooms or entrances; restaurant designed by a woman	Restaurant built by Jane Williams (Decatur)
warehouse	warehouse, commercial storage	facilities used for gender specific products, e.g., women's clothing; warehouse designed by a woman	
trade (archeology)			

Social Resources			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
meeting hall	grange, union hall, pioneer hall, hall of other fraternal, patriotic, or political organization	meeting places associated with Woman Suffrage and/or other women's movement activities; facilities created by women for general use (such as community centers)facilities used predominantly or solely by women's sororal, patriotic, or political organizations; hall designed by a woman	Eastern Star ?? WRC meeting hall (Ben Hill) Colonial Dames House (Chatham) Agnes Lee Chapter, UDC (DeKalb) Alpha Delta Pi Sorority HQ (DeKalb) D.A.R. Adam Brinson Chapter (Emanuel) Craigie House DAR HQ (Fulton) Joseph Habersham Chapter House DAR (Fulton) UDC HQ house in Atlanta (Fulton)
club house	facility of literary, social, or garden club	a) woman's club buidings associated with Georgia Federation of Woman's Club; b) African-American woman's club buildings; c) organization buildings associated with other women's organizations; or d) buildings associated with organizations for women and children e) club building designed by a woman	a) Canton Woman's Club (Cherokee) Hiram Woman's Club (Columbia) Lithonia Woman's Club (DeKalb) Stone Mountain Woman's Club (DeKalb) Eastman Woman's Club (Dodge) Ellijay Woman's Club (Gilmer) Atlanta Woman's Club (Fulton) College Park Woman's Club (Fulton) Demorest Woman's Club (Habersham) Chiplew Woman's Club (Harris) Redbone Community Club (Lamar County) Lincolnton's Woman's Club (Lincoln) Dahlonega Woman's Club (Lumpkin) Comer Woman's Club (Madison) Covington Woman's Club (Newton) Rockmart Woman's Club (Polk) Cedartown Woman's Building (Polk) Toccoa Woman's House (Stephens) Dawson Woman's Club (Terrell) Lyon's Woman's Club (Toombs) Vidalia Woman's Club (Toombs) West Point Woman's Club (Troup) Tennille Woman's Club (Washington) Tunnel Hill Woman's Club (Whitfield) b) site of Atlanta Federation of Negro Woman's Clubs c) Garden Club of Georgia Museum, HQ, and Founder's Memorial Garden (Clarke) Sorority Row in Milledge Avenue Historic District (Clarke) HQ for Alpha Delta Pi sorority in Druid Hills (DeKalb) Officers Wives Club House at Fort McPherson (Fulton) Sunnyside Home Demonstration Club (Harris) Dawnville Homemakers Club (Whitfield) d) Savannah YWCA (Chatham) Athens YWCA (Clarke) Girls Club (Fulton, now owned by the Salvation Army as a boys and girls club)

Social Resources			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
civic	facility of volunteer or public service organizations such as the American Red Cross	facilities associated with civic organizations founded and /or dominated by women (e.g., the League of Women Voters); facilities developed by women's organizations for civic and charitable purposes; facility designed by a woman	
other		facilities originated by women's groups and turned over to professionals; other facility designed by a woman	Auburn Avenue Municipal Market (Fulton) almost any local library

Government Resources			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
capitol	statehouse, assembly building	any portion designed by a woman; offices associated with first female governor, senators, etc.; portions ever restricted to men or women only; activities within the capitol (such as the museum) spearheaded, operated, or otherwise inspired by female efforts; sites associated with women's causes or lobbying efforts	Restoration of Georgia State Capitol
city hall	city hall, town hall, city offices	same as above	
correctional facility	police station, jail, prison	first such facilities for women; gender specific areas of general facilities; facility designed by a woman	Women's prison in Atlanta (Fulton) Webster County Jails, woman's cell (Webster)
fire station	firehouse	gender specific areas; fire station designed by a woman	
government office	municipal building or other government administrative building	as in capitol above	
diplomatic building	embassy, consulate	gender specific areas, especially any that have restricted entrances or dining facilities; building designed by a woman	
custom house	custom house	any areas historically restricted by gender; custom house designed by a woman	
post office	post office	historic post offices set up and/or run by female postal officers, especially the first such officers in any Georgia counties; post office designed by a woman	murals painted by woman, South Georgia Flint Dev. Area (??)
public works	electric generating plant, sewer system	any such works designed by a woman	
courthouse	county courthouse, federal or district courthouses	gender-specific facilities; sites related to historical women's causes and/or special lobbying efforts; designed by a woman	
other			

Education Resources: beauty and finishing schools			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
school	schoolhouse, academy, secondary school, grammar school, trade or technical school	school of any grade level or type of education set aside for young women and/or girls; school facilities (“parlor schools”) located at or adjacent to owner’s home; schools founded and/or operated by a women or group of women in association or operated predominantly by women; resources associated with the feminization of the teaching profession; school designed by a woman	Rosenwald Schools (ask Jeanne??) Jeanes Schools (??) Lucy Cobb Institute (Clarke) Archibald Howell House (Cobb) College Temple Arcade Hall (Coweta) Gillespie-Selden Institute (Crisp) Cora Beck Schoolhouse (DeKalb) Mary Linn Elementary (DeKalb) Berry Schools (Floyd) Cave Spring Female Academy (Floyd) Galloway School (Fulton) Georgia Training School for Girls (Fulton) Girls High School (Fulton) Griffith School of Music (Fulton) Kindergarten room at Hammonds House (Fulton) Tallulah Falls School (Habersham) Buelah Rucker House/School (Hall) Monticello Female Academy (Jasper) Mann School (McIntosh) Montpelier Female Academy (Monroe) Haynes School (Richmond) Tubman High School (Richmond) Lucas-Ramsey-Paschall-Gaines House (Wilkes) Sumner High School (Worth)
college	university, college, junior college	colleges for women; special facilities for women at other institutions of higher learning; colleges that were founded or funded by women; teachers’ colleges; college designed by a woman	Georgia College (Baldwin) Wesleyan College (Bibb) State Normal School (Clarke) Agnes Scott College (DeKalb) Berry College (Floyd) Shorter College (Floyd) Spelman College (Fulton) Brenau College (Hall) Valdosta State College (Lowndes) Tift College (Monroe) Fort Valley College (Peach) LaGrange College (Troup)
library	library	library founded, owned, operated by women; library designed by a woman; library of women’s titles and subjects; branches of libraries named for female librarians and/or other females of note	Libraries attached to the Georgia Federation of Woman’s Clubs and the UDC Margaret Mitchell Library (Fayette) Anne Wallace Branch Carnegie Library (Fulton) Ida Hilton Library (McIntosh) Nancy Gwin Library (Rockdale) Hawkes Children’s Library of West Point (Troup) Mary Willis Library (Wilkes)
research facility	laboratory, observatory, planetarium	facilities in state associated with higher learning; facility designed by a woman	Planetarium at Agnes Scott College (DeKalb)

Education Resources: beauty and finishing schools			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
education-related	college dormitory, housing at boarding schools	nurseries, kindergartens, especially those set up in special facilities or attached to women's residences; dormitories for women at women's or co-ed schools; special boarding houses for women students; dormitory or other facility designed by a woman	Head Mistresses Quarters (??) Housemother's Quarters (??) Anderson Hall (Bulloch) Bonner House (Carroll) Jewish Education Alliance (Chatham) Sorority houses at UGA (Clarke) Lucy Cobb Chapel (Clarke) Snelling Dining Hall (Clarke) Soule Hall (Clarke) Girl's Industrial Building (Floyd) Georgia Teachers & Education Association Building (Fulton) Georgia Institute of Technology President's House (Fulton) Collis P. Huntington Memorial Hall (Peach) Peabody Hall (Peach)
other			

Religion Resources			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
religious facility	church, temple, synagogue, cathedral, mission, temple, mound, sweathouse, kiva, dance court, shrine	special women's areas, rooms, or work spaces set aside at religious facilities for women's use (those belonging to altar guilds, organization meeting rooms, women's Sunday School classrooms, etc.) separate entrances for women; separate seating areas for women; religious facility designed by a woman	Sallie M. Davis Chapel (Baldwin) Seney-Stovall Chapel (Clarke) Mother Easter Baptist Church (Colquitt) Spelman Chapel (Fulton) Midway Church (Liberty) Bethany Church (Lincoln) Memory Park Christis Chapel (McIntosh) B'Nai Israel Temple (Thomas)
ceremonial site	astronomical observation post, intaglio, petroglyph site	any set aside for female pupils, named or dedicated to female communicants; church school designed by a woman	Jewish Educational Alliance Building Chatham) St. Vincent's Academy/Sister's of Mercy Convent (Chatham) The Seminary (DeKalb) Old Seminary Building (Gwinnett)
church school	religious academy or schools	female convents and their related religious buildings; residence designed by a woman	Little Sisters of the Poor (Chatham) St. Vincent's Academy/Sister's of Mercy Convent (Chatham) Mother Easter Baptist Church Parsonage (Colquitt)
church related residences	parsonage, convent, rectory	bride's rooms, wedding chapels (especially if owned and operated by women); facility designed by a woman	The Wedding Chapel (Catoosa)
other	wedding related facilities		

Funerary Resources			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
cemetery	burying ground, burial site, cemetery, ossuary	special grounds for women (e.g., Moravian grave yards by choirs)cemeteries created by women (e.g., confederate soldier burial grounds) cemetery designed by a woman	Rose Hill Cemetery (Bibb) Confederate Cemetery (Cobb) Oakland Cemetery (Fulton) Andersonville Cemetery (Sumter) Oak Grove Cemetery (Sumter)
graves/burials	burial cache, burial mound, grave	associated with famous Georgia women; burial elements designed by a woman	Corra Harris Chapel (Bartow) Williamson Mausoleum (Dodge)
mortuary	mortuary site, funeral home, cremation area, crematorium	women- owned funeral homes; and other mortuary-related services; designed by a woman	Haugabrooks Funeral Home (Fulton)
other	memorials	see statues under Recreation and Culture Resources	

Recreation and Culture Resources			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
theater	cinema, movie theater, playhouse	women owned, founded, and/or operated such facilities; gender-specific facilities within such buildings; special aspects (e.g., displays, exhibits, programs devoted to women), theater designed by a woman	Douglas Theater (Bibb) Morton Theater (Clarke) Fox Theater women's lounges (Fulton) Liberty Theater (Sumter) Chitlin Circuit Sites (ask Jeanne??)
auditorium	hall, auditorium	Multi-use facilities associated as above, and others associated with women's organizations or schools; any gender-specific areas within such facilities; auditorium designed by a woman	Sisters' Chapel at Spelman College (Fulton)
museum	museum, art gallery, exhibition hall	such facilities that reflect the charity and/or philanthropy of women; such facilities dedicated to exhibiting and/or interpreting women's history, art, and life; museum designed by a woman	Tubman Museum (Bibb) Mary Telfair Academy (Chatham) Herndon Home Museum (Fulton) High Museum of Art (Fulton) Wren's Nest (Fulton) African American Museum (Morgan) Lucy Laney Museum (Richmond)
music facility	concert-hall, opera house, bandstand, dance hall	facility designed by a woman	displays at Springer Opera House, Columbus (Muscogee) restoration of opera house by E E League, Macon (Bibb) Top Hat/Royal Peacock Club (Fulton)
sports facility	gymnasium, swimming pool, tennis court, playing field, stadium	special women's facilities in public owned and/or operated parks, stadiums, playing fields; facility designed by a woman	Phyllis Wheatley gymnasium (Fulton) Roosevelt High School Gym (Fulton)
outdoor recreation	park, campground, picnic area, hiking trail	women-only, or special women's facilities; girls' facilities; camps for girls and specified areas for girls at boys camps; areas named for Georgia women of note; area designed by a woman	Camp Civitania (??) Laura S. Walker State Park (Brantley) Camp Timberidge (Cobb) Camp Juliette Gordon Lowe (Chattooga) Brown Park (Cherokee) Bobbin Mill Park (Clarke) Hart State Park (Elbert)
fair	amusement park, county fairground	buildings associated with women's activities; special women's buildings; fair space designed by a woman	site of the Woman's Building at the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition in Piedmont Park (Fulton)
monument/marker	commemorative marker, commemorative monument	markers to women; monuments to women; monuments and markers erected by women and women's groups; monument designed by a woman	Confederate soldier statues in at least 65 counties in Georgia erected by various chapters of the United Daughters of the Confederacy DAR Plaque in Contentment Cemetery (McIntosh) Covington Confederate Memorial (Newton) Roanoke Chapter DAR monument (Stewart County)
work of art	sculpture, carving, statue, mural, rock art	works of famous women artists located in Georgia, whether the artists were from Georgia or not	Louise Nevelson sculpture in Georgia Pacific lobby (Fulton)
other		building designed by a woman	Chastain Arts Center, black and white facilities?? (Fulton) Mary Hambidge Center Historic District (Rabun) Gertrude Herbert Art Institute (Richmond)

Agricultural/Subsistence Resources			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
processing	meat-packing plant, cannery, smokehouse, brewery, winery, food processing site, gathering site, tobacco barn	special processing areas/facilities set aside for women or used primarily by women; community canning facilities; processing facility designed by a woman	Canning facility (DeKalb) Community canning building, Heardmont (Elbert)
storage	granary, silo, wine cellar, storage site, tobacco warehouse, cotton warehouse	any associated with particular women agriculturists of significance; facility designed by a woman	
agricultural field	pasture, vineyard, orchard, wheatfield, crop marks, stone alignments, terrace, hedgerow	any documented as associated with women agriculturists of significance	
animal facility	hunting & kill site, stockyard, barn, chicken coop, hunting corral, hunting run, apiary	those associated with regular female activities and documented in their use/development by a particular woman; or representing a particular pattern of use, ornament, or folk more that is gender based (e.g., often, chicken coops and hog pens, quarters for farm animals used for food); facility designed by a woman	
fishing facility or site	fish hatchery, fishing grounds	site designed by a woman	
horticultural facility	greenhouse, plant observatory, garden	those associated with regular female activities (such as tool sheds for kitchen gardens); facility designed by a woman	
agricultural outbuilding	well house, wagon shed, tool shed, barn	those associated with regular female, especially domestic, activities; outbuilding designed by a woman	
irrigation facility	irrigation system, canals, stone alignments, headgates, check dams	facility designed by a woman	
other		roadside stands owned/operated/built by women	

Industry/Processing/Extraction			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
manufacturing facility	mill, factory, refinery, processing plant, pottery kiln	gender designated work areas; separate facilities for women; facility designed by a woman	Block Candy Company (Fulton) Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill segregated white women's and black women's work rooms (Fulton) Lullaby Laundry Building (Fulton) Trio Steam Laundry (Fulton) Troy Peerless Laundry (Fulton) Mary Lelia Cotton Mill & Village (Greene)
extractive facility	coal mine, oil derrick, gold dredge, quarry, salt mine	any associated food service operations run by women; facility designed by a woman	
waterworks	reservoir, water tower, canal, dam	waterworks designed by a woman	
energy facility	windmill, power plant, hydroelectric dam	facility designed by a woman; power or gas companies' home demonstration buses, show rooms, or model houses.	
communications facility	telegraph cable station, printing plant, television station, telephone company facility, satellite tracking station	women-run facilities; gender-specific spaces within such facilities; "permanent" equipment used by women in such facilities (e.g., telephone operator switchboards); facility designed by a woman	Southern Bell Telephone Company (Fulton)
processing site	shell processing site, toolmaking site, copper mining and processing site		
industrial storage	warehouse	warehouse designed by a woman	
other			

Healthcare			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
hospital	veteran's medical center, mental hospital, private or public hospital, medical research facility	hospital facilities or whole hospitals set aside for women or for women and children; birthing hospitals, birthing rooms; separate women's wings/ rooms; hospital designed by a woman	Milledgeville facilities for women (Baldwin) McKane Hospital for Women and Children (Chatham) Telfair Women's Hospital (Chatham) Susan Medical Building (Clarke) Gillespie-Selden Institute (Crisp)
clinic	dispensary, doctor's office	abortion, birth control, and other clinics devoted to feminine hygiene; historically significant Ob-Gyn clinics; nurse practitioner clinics; clinic designed by a woman	Municipal Health Center (Chatham) Ida Mae Hiram's office in the Morton Theater Building (Clarke) Woman's Health Center (Dougherty) Abortion Clinic (Fulton)
sanitarium	nursing home, rest home, sanitarium	women's rest homes or other facilities that are gender restricted; sanitarium designed by a woman	The Old Apartments/Female Convalescent Building (Baldwin)
medical business/office	pharmacy, medical supply store, doctor or dentist's office	offices of women medical figures; office designed by a woman	Dr. Ida Mae Hiram's office in Morton Theater (Clarke)
resort	baths, spas, resort facility	women's health spas, resorts; separated gender-based areas at such facilities; resort designed by a woman	
other	facilities related to the profession of nursing, midwifery, and nurse practitioner functions	nursing stations, classrooms, dressing rooms, other facilities within medical facilities; nursing schools located at hospitals or independent; dormitories for nurses; facility designed by a woman	McKane Training School for Nurses (Chatham) Scottish Rite Hospital dormitories (DeKalb)

Defense			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
arms storage	magazine, armory	historic structure preserved through women's efforts; facility designed by a woman	
fortification	fortified military or naval post, earth fortified village, palisaded village, fortified knoll or mountain top, battery, bunker	fortification designed by a woman	
military facility	military post, supply depot, garrison fort, barrack, military camp	women-designated areas within such a facility, especially those associated with the first women military personnel; facility designed by a woman	
battle site	battlefield	sites where women have been the victims of military activity; battlefield preserved through women's efforts	temporary garrison site or staging area for the women removed from the Roswell and Sweetwater mills during the Civil War
coast guard facility	lighthouse, coast guard station, pier, dock, life-saving station	women-designated areas; facility designed by a woman	
naval facility	submarine, aircraft carrier, battleship, naval base	women-designated areas; facility designed by a woman	C.S.S. Georgia (Chatham, construction funded by the Ladies Gunboat Association)
air facility	aircraft, air base, missile launching site	women-designated areas; facility designed by a woman	
other		homefront battlefield and/or scenes of military incursions into domestic quarters; military support locations such as the USO canteens; industrial locations where women were used as defense workers during wartime; other defense-related facility designed by a woman	Bell Bomber Plant (Cobb) Nancy Hart site (Elbert) Burge Farm (Newton)

Landscape			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
parking lot		Designed by a woman	
park	city park, state park, national park	parks designed by women; park areas which have been designated for women's use; park areas that have received monuments or other structures dedicated by women as memorials	Mayors' Grove, Authors' Grove and other monuments in Piedmont Park, Atlanta (Fulton) Ladies Waiting Room at Piedmont Park (now the Visitors Center) (Fulton)
plaza	square, green, plaza, public common	areas designed by women	Savannah squares designed by Clermont Lee (Chatham) Third Street Plaza designed by Ellamae Ellis League (Bibb)
garden		women-owned and/or designed gardens of historic significance (such as featured in the 1933 book, <i>Gardens of Georgia</i>)	Farrell Gardens?? Idlewilde landscaping (Butts) Garden Club's Founders Garden (Clarke) First garden in Gardens for Peace system (Fulton) Swan House gardens (Fulton) Callaway Gardens (Harris) Pebble Hill (Thomas) Hills and Dales (Troup)
forest		areas defined by female ownership that have experienced protective or other influences by women owners or planners; area designed by a woman	Fernbank Forest (DeKalb)
unoccupied land	meadow, swamp, desert		
underwater	underwater site		
natural feature	mountain, valley, promontory, tree, river, island, pond, lake	named for female; protected or discovered through women's efforts	Tallulah Gorge?? (Rabun)
street furniture/object	street light, fence, wall, shelter, gazebo, par, bench	street furniture esigned by a woman	
conservation area	wildlife refuge, ecological habitat	areas protected through the efforts of women-run or women-dominated agencies or organizations	Ossabaw Island (Chatham) Callaway Gardens (Harris) Upper Chattahoochee River-Keeper (??)
other			Oneont, tulip industry (Whitfield)

Transportation			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples
rail-related	railroad, train depot, locomotive, streetcar line, railroad bridge	separate facilities for women; Ladies railroad cars; waiting rooms; rail-related facility designed by a woman	Any pre-1920 depot
air-related	aircraft, airplane hangar, airport, launching site	first flight attendant training and operations facilities; air-related facility designed by a woman	
water-related	lighthouse navigational aid, canal, boat, ship, wharf, shipwreck	Ships named for women; lighthouses run by women; water-related facility designed by a woman	
road-related (vehicular)	parkway, highway, bridge, toll gate, parking garage	female designed facilities; highways named for women; road-related facility designed by a woman	Dixie Highway Peacock Alley Nancy Hart Highway Martha Berry Highway
pedestrian-related	boardwalk, walkway, trail	routes of buses designed to serve domestic labor; "maids' walks" and other cut-through paths in residential areas; red light district streets; facility designed by a woman	Maids' Walk pathways in Druid Hills (DeKalb) Ponce de Leon Avenue (Fulton)
other			

Uncategorized			
Subcategory	NR Examples	Generic Examples	Georgia Examples

5.7 Historical Markers in Georgia

Beth Gibson

As of 1997, only approximately forty-six of Georgia's nearly two thousand historical markers carry a title that refers to women or an individual woman, to females or girls or make any reference to females within the body of their text. One marker has the word "mother" in its title, but that refers to a pecan tree that started Georgia's pecan industry. Some other markers refer to women as the wives of famous men; these are passing references only, such as the marker which mentions **Fanny Kemble**, or the *Minnie Corbitt Museum*, for whom the building was named, though Mrs. Corbitt is not credited with its founding. A few markers include information about the women's roles in the sites covered, chiefly those having to do with Civil War related sites – cemeteries and burial grounds or hospitals. Of the forty-six markers, many are for schools or other institutions for women or young girls; several refer to Native American legends where the history is less documented than it is persuasive. A few markers denote the achievements of individual women: **Rebecca Felton**, **Corra Harris**, **Martha Berry**, **Juliette Low** and the founding of the Girl Scouts – these are the same (white) women who had been the standard bearers for women in Georgia history for the decades preceding the arrival of a real field of history devoted to women. The following list may be partial; where the marker refers to an individual woman of note, that information has been included in the biographical section "Individual Women." The marker program has overlooked African-American women, but has included a couple of Native American women. Some markers that pertain to sites that do relate to women's history do not recognize that fact in the text, such as the *State Normal School* marker in Athens and the *Rabun Gap-Nacoochee School* in Rabun County. So many sites have been lost in women's history (schools, charity institutions, club buildings) that a new marker program may be the only strategy left to show some elements of women's history across the state.

1. Alpha Delta Pi Headquarters (Atlanta)
2. Andrew Female College (Cuthbert)
3. Atlanta Woman's Club
4. Bethesda: Highlights of its History
5. Bethesda Baptist Church
6. Alice McLellan Birney, Residence (Marietta)
7. Butler Island Plantation
8. Cassville Female College Site
9. Clinton Female Seminary

10. Confederate Cemetery site (Resaca)
11. Confederate Cemetery sites (Marietta, Griffin, Americus, and Lamar County)
12. Confederate Hospital sites (Cuthbert and Forsyth)
13. Confederate Dead marker sites (Cassville, Madison, and LaGrange)
14. Confederate Memorial Day markers (Macon and Columbus)
15. Corra Harris home (Pine Log)
16. Felton Home and Rebecca Latimer Felton
17. Fort Gaines Female College
18. America's First Garden Club (Athens)
19. Girl Scouts, First Headquarters and Girl Scouts Founder (Savannah)
20. Habersham Memorial Hall
21. Nancy Hart (Elberton)
22. Juliette Low Birthplace (Savannah)
23. Lucy Cobb Institute (Athens)
24. Martha Berry Birthplace (near Berry College)
25. Masonic Female College (Lumpkin)
26. Medora Field Perkerson (Marietta)
27. Minnie F. Corbitt Memorial Museum (named for her, Pearson)
28. Margaret Mitchell (Atlanta)
29. Mary Musgrove Home (Savannah)
30. Nancy Harts (Troup County)
31. Randolph County's First Female College
32. Silk Culture in Ebenezer (Effingham County)
33. Telfair Academy and Telfair Family Mansion (Savannah)
34. Trahlyta's Grave (Lumpkin County)
35. United Daughters of the Confederacy and Kennesaw House (Marietta)
36. Waving Girl (Savannah)

5.8 Survey of Georgia Historic Sites and Museums

An Examination of Interpretative Programs Featuring Women

Beth Gibson, Bamby Ray

Questionnaires for the survey of museums were sent to eighty-four Georgia State Parks and Historic Sites and 349 members of the Georgia Association of Museums and Galleries which includes federal, county, city, and educational institutions as well as privately owned and operated galleries and museums. Of the surveys mailed, sixty-five responses had been received by November 2000, with two follow-ups pending. Although museums and historic sites with emphasis on interpretation of women's roles and the history of women in Georgia were far more likely to respond, there were also a number of replies from state parks and other institutions which had no interpretative programs of any kind.

The variety of programs examining women's history throughout Georgia was heartening to the surveyors. The federal government has taken the lead in assuring that women's history is an important part of their interpretive programs, thanks in large part to Gail Dubrow, a participant in this program. However, a number of Georgia State Historic Sites have also implemented, or have plans to implement, strong interpretive programs which emphasize women's history. These interpretations focus primarily on domestic skills of the past, but also include the contributions of Georgia women in the professional and political arenas. Educational institutions usually combine extensive archival material with a small museum.

County, City/Town and privately operated sites proved more locally focused and wide-ranging. Many of them include interpretations of life in the area with emphasis on women's domestic skills and well-known local women. With the exception of the privately operated *Morris Museum of Art* in Augusta, art museums tended to orient their programs to the specific artist without regard to gender. Museums like the *Juliette Gordon Low Birthplace* and the *Margaret Mitchell House* interpret the lives and careers of nationally known women.

Federally Operated Sites

Andersonville National Historic Site

Route 1, Box 800

Andersonville, Georgia 31711

Telephone: 912-924-0343

Andersonville National Historic Site, cont.

Interpretation is national in scope; features Clara Barton, including her identification of the grave sites of Union soldiers, the story of female prisoners of war, service personnel and civilians.

Jimmy Carter Library

441 Freedom Parkway

Atlanta, Georgia 30307

Telephone: 404-331-3942, ext. 18

Interpretation of the role of the First Lady, with focus on Rosalynn Carter as active partner and representative of the President. Books and materials on first ladies, and Mrs. Carter in particular, are available.

Jimmy Carter National Historic Site

300 North Bond Street

Plains, Georgia 31780

Telephone: 912-824-4104, ext. 20

Strong woman-oriented program interprets influence of Miss Lillian Carter on her son; also her career as a nurse and Peace Corps volunteer. Also features roles of Rosalynn Carter and Miss Julian Coleman, Superintendent of Plains High School. Interpretation of Carter's boyhood farm home focuses on farm life of the 1930s.

Museum of Aviation

78 ABW/MU

1942 Heritage Boulevard

Robbins AFB, Georgia 31098-2442

Telephone: 912-926-4242

Rare public/private cooperative effort houses the Georgia Aviation Hall of Fame. Interpretation includes Hall of Fame aviatrixes Jackie Cochran, Evelyn Howren, Charlotte Frye, June Maule and Hazel Raines. Also features role of women in war time as members of armed forces and back-home work force.

State Operated Parks and Sites

Georgia State Parks & Historic Sites

205 Butler Street, S.E., Suite 1352

Atlanta, Georgia 30334

Telephone: 404-656-2770

State-operated parks and sites which heavily emphasize women's history include the Vann House, New Echota, Traveler's Rest, Lapham-Patterson House, A.H. Stephens and Hofwyl Plantation. Interpretation covers changing roles of women in both the public and private spheres.

Jefferson Davis State Historic Site

338 Jeff Davis Park Road

Fitzgerald, Georgia 31750

Telephone: 912-831-2335

Programming themes are being developed. Future interpretation could deal with women's roles during the Civil War.

Fort King George State Historic Site

P.O. Box 711

Darien, Georgia 31305

Telephone: 912-437-4770

Interpretation includes two special programs/reenactments a year, and a "Women's Domestic Skills" presentation centering on traditional and pioneering skills.

Fort McAllister Historic Park

3894 Fort McAllister Road

Richmond Hill, Georgia 31324

Telephone: 912-727-2339

No program based on women's roles, but are interested in establishing one.

Stephen C. Foster State Park

Route 1, Box 131

Fargo, Georgia 31631

Telephone: 912-637-5274

Interpretation of domestic life of the women who lived in the Okefenokee Swamp focuses on everyday tasks using oral history, slide programs and demonstrations.

Georgia Veterans State Park Museum

2459A Highway 280 West

Cordele, Georgia 31015

Telephone: 912-276-2371

Role of women in the military from the Civil War to the present is part of the museum tour. Collections of Anna Westman, a nurse in WWI, and Betty Wilding, a WAC during WWII are included.

Hart State Park

330 Hart State Park Road

Hartwell, Georgia 30643

Telephone: 706-376-8756

Interpretation of Nancy Hart's role as a spy includes a costumed presenter. Presentation also interprets her domestic life and growing of herbs for medicinal purposes.

Jarrell Plantation Historic Site

711 Jarrell Plantation Road

Juliette, Georgia 31046

Telephone: 912-986-5172

Women's work on a farm is shown through demonstrations at most special events.

Kolomoki Mounds State Historic Park

Route 1, Box 114

Blakely, Georgia 31723

Telephone: 912-723-5296

The site is primarily a recreational park.

New Echota State Historic Site

1211 Chatsworth Highway, N.E.

Calhoun, Georgia 30701

Telephone: 706-624-1321

Strong emphasis on the role of women in the Cherokee culture of the early 19th century includes demonstrations of various crafts/trades women participated in. There is also a research library.

Providence Canyon State Park

Route 1, Box 158

Lumpkin, Georgia 31815

Telephone: 912-838-6202

None.

Red Top Mountain State Park

781 Red Top Mountain Road

Cartersville, Georgia 30121

Telephone: 770-975-4226

Volunteer groups conduct programs which focus on domestic duties, including cooking demonstrations. Emphasis on the Civil War period.

Reed Bingham State Park

Route 2, Box 394 B-1

Adel, Georgia 31620

Telephone: 912-896-3551

None.

F.D. Roosevelt State Park

Box 2970, Highway 190 East
Pine Mountain, Georgia 31822
Telephone: 706-663-4858
None at present.

FDR's Little White House

401 Little White House Road
Warm Springs, Georgia 31830
Telephone: 706-655-5870
Strong emphasis on the roles of women through daily interpretation and special programs, including a costumed portrayer of Eleanor Roosevelt, and a special "Rosie the Riveter" program honoring women who worked during WWII. Permanent exhibits describe the women who worked for Roosevelt at Warm Springs. Lives and backgrounds of the cooking and domestic staff are also interpreted.

Richard B. Russell State Park

2650 Russell State Park Drive
Elberton, Georgia 30635
Telephone: 706-213-2045
Information about Nancy Hart is available at the nearby Nancy Hart Historical Park, including a replica of her log cabin.

Sapelo Island Visitors Center

Route 1, Box 1500
Darien, Georgia 31305
Telephone: 912-437-3224
None.

Robert Toombs House State Historic Site

216 East Robert Toombs Avenue

Robt. Toombs House State Historic Site, cont.

P.O. Box 605
Washington, Georgia 30673
Telephone: 706-678-2226
Strong interpretation program on women's lives focuses on the "planter lifestyle" roles of wives and daughters from 1837-1885, including daily tours and summer workshops.

Laura S. Walker State Park

5653 Laura Walker Road
Waycross, Georgia 31503
Telephone: 912-287-4900
No interpretative program now, but hope to establish one; have a hand-out on Laura Walker.

County Operated Parks and Sites

Augusta-Richmond County Museum

560 Reynolds Street
Augusta, Georgia 30901
Telephone: 706-722-8454
Exhibit on Augusta's history features an area devoted to women's domestic arts and an Antebellum kitchen. At the other end of the spectrum, Susan Still, an astronaut from Augusta, is also featured in the museum.

Colquitt County Arts Center

401 Southwest Seventh Avenue
Moultrie, Georgia 31768
Telephone: 912-985-1922
No women-oriented interpretation per se. The programs focus on the particular artist and his/her personal history.

The Etowah Foundation's History Center

13 North Wall Street

P.O. Box 1239

Cartersville, Georgia 30120

Telephone: 770-382-3818

Interpretation of life in northwest Georgia from the 1830s-1950s includes a discussion of hearth cooking, focus on impact of Rebecca Latimer Felton. Also owns part of Corra Harris property.

Genealogical Museum & Research Center of the Washington County Historical Society

129 Jones Street

P.O. Box 6088

Sandersville, Georgia 31082

Telephone: 912-552-6965

This new museum is just setting up programs. Possible interpretation could include presentation of the role of women in genealogical research and publications. Location in historic sheriff's house/jail also offers opportunity to interpret roles of the sheriffs' wives between 1891 and 1975, including menus and foods they prepared for the prisoners. The museum also has books and research materials.

Heard County Historical Museum

P.O. Box 990

Franklin, Georgia 30217

Telephone: 706-675-6507

None.

Lumpkin County Historical Society

Dahlonega Gold Museum

P.O. Box 894

Dahlonega Gold Museum, continued

Dahlonega, Georgia 30533

Telephone: 706-864-2257

Pending receipt of information.

Newnan-Coweta Historical Society/Male Academy Museum

P.O. Box 1001

Newnan, Georgia 30264

Telephone: 770-251-0207

Interpretation of domestic life focuses on Susan Cobb Milton Atkinson, wife of Governor William Y. Atkinson. Exhibits include furniture and clothing.

Okefenokee Heritage Center

1460 North Augusta Avenue

Waycross, Georgia 31503

Telephone: 912-285-4260

Museum has a strong program that interprets the lives, both domestic and external, of south Georgia women of note, including Lydia Stone, Dr. Velda Shuman, Leona Denson and Willie Mae Richardson. Exhibits include Dr. Shuman's medical memorabilia, preservation of Lydia Stone's burial spot and contributions of black leaders including Mrs. Denson and Mrs. Richardson.

Stewart County Historic Commission

P.O. Box 818

Lumpkin, Georgia 31815

Telephone: 706-653-9203

Interpretation of Bedingfield Inn includes roles of women.

Thomas County Museum of History

725 North Dawson Street
Thomasville, Georgia 31792
Telephone: 912-226-7664

Exhibits on significant women in county include athletes, artists, plantation owners. Women's clothing display illustrates changing roles. Interpretation of 1860s log house and 1877 Victorian home emphasize role of women in the kitchen.

Union County Historical Society

P.O. Box 35
Blairsville, Georgia 30514-0035
Telephone: 706-745-5493

No formal interpretation of women's history, but Payne log cabin shows home life in the late 1800s.

City/Town Operated Parks and Sites

Colquitt/Miller Arts Council

P.O. Box 567
Colquitt, Georgia 31737
Telephone: 912-758-5450

Cotton Hall and the Museum of Southern Cultures interpret the role of women with display of a turn-of-the-century kitchen. Women's oral histories are part of Georgia's folk-life play, *Swamp Gravy*, presented twice a year.

Georgia Capitol Museum

431 State Capitol
Atlanta, Georgia 30334
Telephone: 404-651-6996

The story of women's entry into Georgia politics

Georgia Capitol Museum, continued

and their contributions to state and Capitol building history is part of the exhibit, but not treated separately.

Historic Augusta, Inc.

P.O. Box 37
Augusta, Georgia 30903-0037
Telephone: 706-724-0436

Tour of 1797 historic house museum includes discussion of the women associated with the house, but does not focus on their roles. Brochures on other sites associated with important Augusta women are available at the house museum.

Marietta Museum of History

1 Depot Street
Suite 200
Marietta, Georgia 30060-1909
Telephone: 770-528-0450

Strong program centered in the Textile Gallery emphasizes the changing roles of southern women through their clothing and crafts. Also featured are a number of Marietta women, including Regina Rambo Benson, Sally Camp, Louisa Fletcher and Alice McClellan Birney, and their contributions to society. Domestic life in Marietta and Cobb County is also included in the museum's interpretation.

Moreland Historical Society

1887 Moore Road
Moreland, Georgia 30259
Telephone: 770-487-7000, ext.7508

Museum focuses on history of the Moreland

Moreland Historical Society, continued
Knitting Mill (1920-1968), which included a large number of women workers. Kitchen exhibit area has examples of typical furniture and dishes.

St. Simons Island Lighthouse Museum

P.O. Box 21136

St. Simons Island, Georgia 31522

Telephone: 912-638-4666

The woman's role at the lighthouse station is an important part of the interpretation, which includes the family life of the lighthouse keeper. Interpretative materials include oral histories dealing with various aspects of life at a lighthouse station and a number of small exhibits dealing with family life.

Vienna Historic Preservation Society

1321 East Union Street

Vienna, Georgia 31092

Telephone: 912-268-4274

Two museums interpret the lives of women. The Cotton Museum details the role of the farm wife, including women operators of farms. The Senator Walter George Museum describes the very different role of a Senator's wife.

Educational/University Operated Parks/Sites

Georgia Museum of Art

90 Carlton Street

Athens, Georgia 30602-1719

Telephone: 706-542-4662

Exhibits include works of women artists and women collectors, and educational programming

Georgia Museum of Art, continued.

and publications related to the exhibited art. Catalogs for the exhibits focus on the life and contributions of the women artists and collectors.

Georgia Women of Achievement

P.O. Box 5851

Atlanta, Georgia 31107

Telephone: 404-653-0800

Georgia Women of Achievement is a "Hall of Fame," honoring the accomplishments of Georgia women through an annual awards ceremony, a traveling exhibit and a web site.

Georgia Women's Movement Archives & Women's Collections

Special Collections Department

Pullen Library, 8 South

Georgia State University, University Plaza

Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Telephone: 404-651-2477

Primarily an archive, the gallery has two exhibits annually featuring the women's movement in Georgia and its place in women's history. Extensive archives and photo collection are available to women's history scholars.

H.B. Owens Resource Center - School of Environmental Design

University of Georgia

609 Caldwell Hall

Athens, Georgia 30602

Telephone: 706-542-8292

Interpretation of "Founders Memorial Garden" honors the women who started the first garden

H.B. Owens Resource Center, continued.
club in America. Information is also available
on female landscape architects.

Shorter College Museum & Archives

315 Shorter Avenue
Rome, Georgia 30165
Telephone: 706-233-7258
Historic women's college offers women-related
classes including women's history with a focus
on women's roles - both traditional and modern.
Documents, exhibits and photos in their museum
all feature women in various roles.

Individual Properties

Atlanta History Center

130 West Paces Ferry Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30305-1366
Telephone: 404-814-4071
Strong focus on women's history includes
permanent exhibits spotlighting women's roles
from architecture to sports, and domestic roles
as well. Folklife exhibit focuses equally on men
and women and accents the work of traditional
crafts-people. Annual special programs focus
strongly on women's crafts and experiences.
Two historic houses interpret women's roles in
the kitchen and garden, including special
programs.

Fernbank Science Center

156 Heaton Park Drive
Atlanta, Georgia 30307
Telephone: 404-378-4311
None.

Georgia Music Hall of Fame

P.O. Box 870
200 M.L.K. Jr. Boulevard
Macon, Georgia 31202-0870
Telephone: 912-750-8555, ext.110
New museum covers the history and
personalities of Georgia music from pre-colony
days to the present, and has not yet established
special programs or interpretation of women
musicians.

The Herndon Home

587 University Place, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314
Telephone: 404-581-9813
Interpretation of the house museum focuses on
the life of Alonzo Herndon, Atlanta's first black
millionaire. His wife, Adrienne's many accom-
plishments included Professor of Drama -
Atlanta University, Shakespearean actress,
business woman and philanthropist. A recent
exhibit examined her dramatic career. Museum
focuses on the many career roles of other black
women.

High Museum of Art

1280 Peachtree Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
Telephone: 404-733-4400
Nothing specific.

Juliette Gordon Low Birthplace

10 East Oglethorpe Avenue
Savannah, Georgia 31401
Telephone: 912-233-4501
Focus of the house museum is on women and

Juliette Gordon Low Birthplace, continued
girls: the life of Juliette Gordon Low, founder of the Girl Scouts; her mother Eleanor Kinzie Gordon, who was well known for her work in Army hospitals during the Spanish-American War; and Girl Scout history. Special programs include Girl Scout history, daily life of girls in 19th and early 20th century, women in the arts. Literature about the above subjects is available.

The Ma Rainey House: Museum of the Blues
P.O. Box 465
Columbus, Georgia 31902
Telephone: 706-323-3687 (Columbus Urban League office)
Interpretation centers on life and importance of the "mother of the blues."

Margaret Mitchell House & Museum
999 Peachtree Street
Suite 775
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
Telephone: 404-249-7012, ext.13
Focuses on redefining the notion of the southern woman in the 20th century, as exemplified by Margaret Mitchell. Mitchell and her mother, president of the suffragettes in Atlanta, were both early feminists. Exhibits include the apartment where she wrote *Gone with the Wind* and inter-pretation of women's traditional and non-traditional roles.

Morris Museum of Art
One Tenth Street
Augusta, Georgia 30901-1134
Telephone: 706-724-7501

Morris Museum of Art, continued
Exhibits by women artists and a thematic program, "Works by Women," explore the history of women artists in the South. The museum also offers special Women's History Month programs.

The Museum of Arts & Sciences
4182 Forsyth Road
Macon, Georgia 31210
Telephone: 912-477-3232
Exhibits include women artists, but no special program examining their roles.

William H. Reynolds Memorial Nature Preserve
5665 Reynolds Road
Morrow, Georgia 30260
Telephone: 770-603-4188
None.

Roselawn Museum
224 West Cherokee Avenue
Cartersville, Georgia 30120
Telephone: 770-387-5162
Strong program includes the role of Laura Jones (wife of Reverend Sam P. Jones), as an integral part of the story the museum tells. One room is devoted to Rebecca Latimer Felton, Senator, suffragette and educator. Laura Jones' book is back in print; ask about availability.

Archibald Smith Plantation Home
935 Alpharetta Street
Roswell, Georgia 30075
Telephone: 770-641-3978

Archibald Smith Plantation Home, continued
House museum features interpretation of daily life in the 19th and 20th centuries, and focuses on the roles of women as mothers, daughters and sisters in a plantation home setting. Restored out-buildings, including a 19th century kitchen where open hearth cooking demonstrations take place, are also part of the site.

Transylvania Club, Inc.

131 West Haynes Street

P.O. Box 813

Sandersville, Georgia 31082

Telephone: 912-552-6324

The Transylvania Club, a women's literary club founded in 1908, bought, established and maintained Sandersville's public library from 1909-1998. Associated museum interprets the roles of club members as entrepreneurs, preservationists and managers of the library.

Zoo Atlanta

800 Cherokee Avenue, S.E.

Atlanta, Georgia 30315-1440

Telephone: 404-624-5860

None.

5.9 Identifying New Resources - Surveying the Surveys

Looking for Georgia Women Bamby Ray

Introduction

The purpose of this “survey of the surveys” is to give researchers of Georgia history, and more specifically Georgia women’s history, another tool for finding information about the built environment in Georgia, and women’s role in shaping it. Georgia is in the midst of an extremely ambitious historic properties survey program, which began in 1988 and aims to survey every county and city in the state. There are 159 counties in Georgia, as it was once mandated that the county seat be no more than a half day’s ride – by horse, not automobile – so official business could be conducted in one day. Forty-five counties and nine cities have already been surveyed. Since 1990 all survey information has been entered into a computerized database. Some counties and cities have been re-surveyed, and a number of the pre-1990 surveys have also been entered into the computer database and cross referenced with the newer ones. In early 1999, “Women’s History” was added to the Georgia survey program as one of the “Historical Themes,” putting the state of Georgia ahead of the National Register of Historic Places in this area.

Counties and cities in Georgia are surveyed by consultants hired by the Historic Preservation Division (HPD), Georgia’s State Historic Preservation Office, which administers the program. The surveys consist of a general history of the area surveyed, plus information on individual properties keyed to large scale maps. Both the computer database and the survey forms are available for researchers’ use at HPD.

The computerized database was searched during 1999 to test how easily woman-related properties could be found using the completed Georgia surveys. There were several reasons for using the surveys rather than National Register listings for this project. The Georgia computerized survey database is well-developed and accessible, and proved far easier to manipulate. Also, since the survey already contained more than fifty thousand individual entries, there was a much larger database from which to work. National Register listed properties and districts in Georgia totaled 1,910, of which 450 are historic districts, in which the properties are not individually listed. There were a total of 51,114 contributing properties on the National Register in 1999, including those in historic districts.

Using the Georgia surveys allowed the researcher to examine the whole state of Georgia, and also consider women's history sites from a geographical perspective. This raised some interesting and not easily answered questions about the concentration of women's history sites in certain places. The most obvious concentration was in the city of Savannah with eighteen woman-related sites gleaned from the survey. Why did the small city of Savannah have so many more woman-related historic sites than the large city of Atlanta which had only five? Probably this occurred because the survey of Savannah had almost been completed and Atlanta had not - but there still should be more than five sites identified in Atlanta. This researcher does not know, but believes that women and women's organizations may have played a more vital role in the history of Savannah, and that is reflected in the survey listings.

Using the computerized data from the Georgia surveys also saved this particular project both time and money. The additional cost of traveling throughout the state to seek information was out of the question because of time limits and cost considerations. Admittedly some information was lost by omitting counties which have not been surveyed, but that information will be available for researchers in the future, and hopefully this study will give them a tool for using it.

The computerized survey data was first analyzed using a number of search words. There are forty-three numbered blocks in the survey data form, any of which can be used to initiate a search. In order to spread as wide a net as possible, the researcher decided to search the entire database using block thirty-three, "History." The following search words were used: woman/woman's, women/women's, girl, female, lady, ladies, club, United Daughters of the Confederacy (including UDC and U. D. C.), and Daughters of the American Revolution (including DAR and D. A. R.).

The data sheets are accessed by county, city, and a resource number assigned to the property. Each county has a two letter code, and each city also has a code. For example, in Savannah, Chatham County, the number CH-S-138 is the birthplace of **Juliette Gordon Lowe**, founder of the Girl Scouts. CO-AC-21 is the *Carrie Dyer Woman's Club* in Acworth, Cobb County. CF-328 is a *Confederate Memorial* erected by the **United Daughters of the Confederacy** in Coffee County. An analysis of the results of the word searches follows this section.

Finally, a word of caution is necessary. Like any work undertaken by a number of people over some twenty-five years, the quality of the surveys varies greatly. Some of the survey sheets, most notably from the earliest surveys before the computerized form was developed, give little more than the name, address and location map for properties. The more recent surveys tend to contain more information, but there is still a considerable difference in both quantity and quality of that information, depending on who

conducted the survey and when it was completed. Researchers will find the "File-Users Guide to Georgia Historic Resources Surveys" useful in getting started. Available at HPD, it lists the surveys county-by-county and provides instructions on using the material.

Results of the Survey of the Surveys - "Woman" and "Women"

Searching under the block "History" and using the search words "woman," "women," "woman's" and "women's," the researcher found a total of fifty-five woman-related properties in the computerized survey base. Use of the possessives "woman's" and "women's," produced the same listings. However, use of the singular form of the word resulted in a completely different set of listings than the plural. This was by far the most productive search, as would be expected. What was unexpected was the wide variety of the resulting listings.

Once the twenty-one "woman/woman's" and thirty-four "women/women's" listings were generated by the computer, they were printed out in a data information format. This listed each property by a Resource Number, County and Property Name. The data sheets for individual properties can then be accessed and the survey information read from the computer. A copy of the survey data sheet can be printed if needed. The original survey sheets are on file alphabetically by County and Resource Number, and can also be copied at HPD. An advantage of the original survey sheets is that most of them have contact photographs of the property attached.

In order to examine the data on the survey sheets in some detail, copies of all fifty-five generated by the search words "woman" and "women" were made. The survey sheets were then sorted by type of property into residential, woman's clubs, institutional, educational and commercial categories. The categories were strictly determined by the results of the search; no categories had been pre-determined.

Some of the survey listings were only peripherally woman-related. For example, the Bonner Home in Milledgeville, Baldwin County only appeared on the list because Dr. Bonner taught at *Georgia State College for Women* in Milledgeville (now Georgia College & State University). *Cathy Alumni House* at the same school in Milledgeville, came up in the computer listing because it was named for a woman, **Esther L. Cathy** sister of Truett Cathy (founder of Chick-Fil-A), and a 1927 graduate of the school when it was Georgia State College for Women. One residential site showed up because "a woman. . . researched this property," and another site was a woman's restroom in a state park. Another state park listing, the Civilian Conservation Corps-constructed stone tower at Fort Mountain State Park in Murray County, appeared to have no connection with women at all.

There were a total of twelve sites identified as important in African-American women's history. Of those twelve, five were residential, one was the first women's dormitory at Fort Valley State College, itself a historic black institution, four were institutional buildings including three hospitals and a building which had woman-related businesses in it before being converted to a church. The other two computer listings were commercial enterprises, both owned by African-American women. One interesting aspect of the survey data was the proportionately greater number of African-American woman-related businesses which were generated by the computer. This researcher believes this data reinforces other recent scholarship which shows that black women were often forced into the workplace by economic conditions, and that they displayed considerable entrepreneurial talent.

Residential Listings - "Woman" and "Women"

The largest number of woman-related survey listings generated by the computer were houses. Twenty of the listings appeared to be primarily residential, and ranged from row houses to mansions. Sixteen of these twenty listings were deemed appropriate to include in this study. Of the four houses which did not relate to women's history in Georgia, two are mentioned above. The third, the Alexander-Shepherd-Stadard-Barnett House in Washington, Wilkes County, was occupied at one time by Andrew Shepherd, son-in-law of **Sarah Hillhouse**, the first woman to edit a newspaper in Georgia. Her house, also located in Washington, is discussed under the search word "female." The other house was a mill overseer's residence in Milstead, Rockdale County, which had no mention of any woman/women on the form.

Of the sixteen relevant residential listings, the *Rebecca Latimer Felton Home* in Bartow County, residence of the first woman senator from Georgia, and the *Nancy Cleland Mitchell House* in Jones County, childhood home of the first female physician in that county, stood out as important woman-related sites identified by name in the computer. The *Eliza Ann Jewett House* and the *Eliza Ann Jewett Row* in Savannah, Chatham County, were built by/for a wealthy Savannah woman who owned and developed property in Savannah during the mid-nineteenth century. The *T. E. & Mary Lou Cook Atkinson House* in Newnan, Coweta County, was the residence of **Mary Lou Cook Atkinson**, a college professor.

The fact that the *Rebecca Latimer Felton Home* in Bartow County appeared on the computer-generated list under woman/women and the *Corra White Harris House, Study and Chapel*, did not appear, although it is also located in Bartow County and was included in the survey, indicated one

difficulty posed by the search technique used. Both properties are individually listed in the National Register and both were home to important Georgia women. However, the information on the survey form for the *Corra White Harris House* identified her as an “authoress,” a word which was not searched, rather than a “woman writer.” Once the Women’s History “Historical Theme” database is utilized regularly by surveyors, that kind of situation should rapidly disappear.

Most of the listings required one to read the original survey form in order to learn the association of that particular building with Georgia women’s history. Fortunately the complete form can be read from the computer. A good example is *Traveler’s Rest*, the landmark nineteenth century inn in Stephens County, which is now a museum operated by the National Park Service. The house was, for a time, the home of **Mary Jarrett White**, the first woman to vote in Georgia. **Iola Goggins**, another of Georgia’s first women voters, resided in the *Biddenbach House* in Savannah from 1935-1968. Another house in Savannah was built for **Rosa Barnes**, an African-American woman widely known for her work with the Eastern Star. The Lincolnton Garden Club and Woman’s Club were organized at the *Harnsberger House* in Lincolnton, Lincoln County, by **Mrs. Harnsberger** (no first name given). One owner-resident of the Mercer-Wiley-Heard-*Callen*-Lee-Anderson-Kearnes House in Washington, Wilkes County was **Mary Callen**, a prominent businesswoman who renovated the interior of the house in the 1890s, adding Victorian detailing. A house in the Martin Luther King Historic District in Atlanta, Fulton County, was the residence of a number of working class black women, none of whom were named.

Another group of residences were important because of women who built, designed, or renovated them. Including the previously noted *Eliza Ann Jewett Row* in Savannah, there is a total of six houses which represent these business women’s enterprises. An extensive renovation of the then fifty year old Champion-Harper-Fowlkes House in Savannah was carried out by **Isabel Wilbur McAlpin** in 1895-96. The Freeman House in Senoia, Coweta County, was designed by **Leila Ross Wilburn**, one of Atlanta’s first female architects. A group of three row houses in Savannah was unnamed, but was built for **Elizabeth Fowler**, a “free woman of color,” most likely as a business venture.

Woman’s Clubs - “Woman” and “Women”

A large number of the listings were for Woman’s Clubs, which totaled ten items. The Woman’s Clubs were located in Acworth, Cobb County; Ellijay, Gilmer County; Demorest, Habersham County; Pine Mountain, Harris County; Lincolnton, Lincoln County; Covington, Newton County; Dawson, Terrell County; West Point, Troup County; Tunnel Hill, Whitfield County; and Washington, Wilkes County.

The *Chiplew Woman's Club* in Pine Mountain, was built as a woman's clubhouse, and is still being used for the same purpose, as are the *Lincolnton Club House* in Lincolnton and the *West Point Womans Club* in West Point. Other clubhouses are now serving different functions. Examples are the *Carrie Dyer Woman's Club* in Acworth which is now a private residence; the *Ellijay Women's Club* in Ellijay, subsequently used as a school and now vacant; and the *Tunnel Hill Woman's Club House*, now a Mary Kay Training Center, still a woman-related use. Some buildings were constructed for other uses, and have been converted to woman's clubs. These include the *Demorest Women's Club* in Demorest which was originally the First Methodist Church; the *Woman's Club* in Covington, originally a Carnegie Library; and the *Terrell County Restoration Society* converted from a single dwelling, as was the *Washington Women's Club* in Washington.

A majority (six) of the woman's club buildings were built by the clubs. A good example is the *Lincolnton Club House*, which replaced **Mrs. Harnsberger's** home. The club bought the property in 1935, and built the clubhouse in 1935-36, utilizing various money-making ventures to earn the money to construct it (according to one source). The *Chiplew Woman's Club* was built the same way according to Eunice Hadley, a long time member of the club, and fund-raisers are still used to maintain their building.¹ The *Tunnel Hill Woman's Club* was founded in 1938 and their club building constructed the following year. The club has remained active in the Tunnel Hill community. The *Ellijay Women's Club* was a Works Progress Administration (WPA) project; one source claimed the *Lincolnton Club House* was also built with WPA funds.

One part of this project was the preparation of a number of woman-related National Register nominations. Two individual property nominations, one amended nomination and two multiple property nominations were prepared. Survey data was used for both multiple property nominations. The *Chiplew Woman's Club*, *Lincolnton Club House*, *Tunnel Hill Woman's Club House*, and the *Ellijay Women's Club* were all included in "Clubhouses of Georgia's Women's Clubs."

Institutional Buildings - "Woman" and "Women"

Also important were buildings housing institutions founded by, or built for the use of women. These listings totaled thirteen, and included hospitals (five), schools (two), churches (two), a YWCA, a homeless shelter, a library, and a park. A number of the buildings, in fact most of them, have had more than one use, and some have seen as many as three different occupants. For example, the *Municipal*

¹Eunice S. Hadley, "A Brief History of the Chiplew Woman's Club," one page document mailed to Bamby Ray.

Health Center in Savannah served first as lodging for the needy, then as a milk depot and finally as a health center. The True Holiness Church of God in Atlanta began as a commercial building, and later housed the Atlanta Training Checkers Club before becoming a church in 1975.

Of the five buildings identified as hospitals, three were located in Savannah. Of these, the most important for Georgia women's history was the **McKane Hospital for Women and Children**, established in 1893 by West Indian natives **Dr. Alice Woodby McKane** and her husband, Dr. Cornelius McKane. The hospital also included a **Training School for Nurses**, the first in Georgia. For years, the McKane Hospital was the only one in Savannah open to African-American doctors.

The **Municipal Health Center** was a later structure incorporating part of an earlier building known as the **Louisa Porter Home**, which was used for lodging the needy and other charitable efforts. The Municipal Health Center was founded in the 1920s and served the African-American population of Savannah in a unique public-private combination, with influence and assistance from local women's organizations. Another Savannah building, the Johnston Building, was known as the **Telfair Women's Hospital** in 1888. The **Women's Health Center** in Albany, Dougherty County, was part of a major hospital complex, and was built c.1940 to serve women's needs. The other listing is a ruin of a slave hospital which was part of Retreat Plantation on Sea Island, Glynn County.

Both of the listings for schools are located in Savannah; university buildings will be examined separately. The **St. Vincent's Academy/Sisters of Mercy Convent** was opened as an academy for students and orphans in 1845, and is still in operation as a private academy. During the Civil War it served as a haven for homeless and destitute young women. The **Jewish Educational Alliance Building**, now the Pulaski House, was a co-educational school built in 1914.

Neither of the church buildings from the survey show particular importance for Georgia women's history. The True Holiness Caravan Church of God in Atlanta at one time housed women-related businesses including a millinery shop and a women's clothing store. Further research into the building's history might yield interesting information about women-owned and/or focused businesses. The Lord of Life Lutheran Church, Sea Island, has an even less direct relationship, having been built with a \$5,000 donation from a "lady from New York, a deeply religious woman."

The other institutional buildings are of greater interest in this study of Georgia women's history. The **YWCA Building**, located in Savannah, was built in the early 1920s. The four-story structure featured an early indoor swimming pool. The survey form does not indicate if the building also provided "safe"

housing for young women who came to Savannah in order to pursue careers as so many YWCAs did. It was converted into condominiums in the 1980s. The *Little Sisters of the Poor Convent*, also in Savannah, was a woman-operated homeless shelter for both men and women, which opened in 1894. The *Margaret Mitchell Library* in Fayetteville, Fayette County, was built with funds from the estate of **Margaret Mitchell**, author of *Gone with the Wind*, after the original library building burned in the 1920s. It now houses the Fayette County Historical Society. *Brown Park* in Canton, Cherokee County is an interesting example of a park developed by women to commemorate Civil War and World War I veterans. The Canton Woman's Club was largely responsible for the development of the park in the 1920s on land that had already been donated to the city in 1906.

College and University Buildings - "Woman" and "Women"

Of seven college and university buildings, only one building was not part of a state school, *College Temple Arcade Hall* in Newnan, Coweta County. Founded before the Civil War as a school for women, the present structure, a private residence today, is the surviving part of the original main college building, *Arcade Hall*. The Cathy Alumni House at Georgia College & State University, Milledgeville, has already been mentioned as having been named for a woman but bearing no important relationship to Georgia women's history. Another building that appears to fall into that same category is West Hall at Valdosta State College, Valdosta, Lowndes County. This 1917 building, the oldest on the campus, came up in the computer listing only because the school was the Georgia State Women's College at one time.

The *Bonner House* in Carrolton, Carroll County, has an interesting history. The building now houses the Visitors Center at West Georgia College, which was founded in 1907 on the site of the Bonner-Sharp plantation. The pre-Civil War house was used as the first women's dormitory at the land-grant Agricultural & Mechanical (A&M) college. *Soule Hall* at the University of Georgia in Athens, Clarke County was also the first women's dormitory on a campus. Women were admitted to the University of Georgia in 1918, and this was one of the first buildings constructed for their use. *Snelling Hall*, built in 1939-40 as the women's dining hall, was erected with Public Works Administration (PWA) funds. No architect is named for either building. The oldest surviving building on the Fort Valley State College campus in Fort Valley, Peach County, was also originally constructed as a women's dormitory: *Hollis P. Huntington Memorial Hall* was built in 1908, but had been condemned as of 1992 due to structural problems.

Commercial Buildings - "Woman" and "Women"

Four commercial buildings were generated by the computer search. Of these four, one, a warehouse in Albany, had no apparent connection with any woman at all. A garage in Covington, dating from the 1940s, was owned by **Lucy White**, a wealthy businesswoman who owned businesses in Covington and Porterdale. The other two business buildings were owned by African-American women. Tae Kwon Do in Bainbridge, Decatur County, was built early in the twentieth century by a black woman, **Jane Williams**, and originally used as a restaurant. Erected in 1938, the *Haugabrooks Funeral Home* on Auburn Avenue in Atlanta is still in operation. **Geneva Haugabrooks**, a well-known African-American businesswoman and community leader in Atlanta, moved her funeral home to the building. Her success there led her to expand into other business activities.

Results of the Survey of the Surveys - "Girl"

Additional searches were undertaken using the words "girl" and "female." The search word "girl" generated twenty-two items of which twelve were of interest to this study. The other nine consisted of homes, clubs such as the Frank Callan Boys' Club in Savannah, schools which were not established primarily for the education of girls and similar institutional buildings. The largest number of properties related to Georgia women's history, seven, were for girl's schools, academies or dormitories.

One commercial and two residential properties reflect an interesting irony found in this study. The **Girl Scouts of America** was represented by three listings, all in Savannah. The buildings associated with **Juliette Gordon Low** of Savannah, founder of the organization and one of the most important women in Georgia women's history, were generated by the computer search under girl only. Two of the items were directly related to Low, her birthplace and the house she lived in as an adult, when she organized the first Girl Scout troop. The third listing was a residential/apartment building, stabilized in the 1960s by the Girl Scouts for use as offices. They later sold the building, which is now an inn.

Institutional-Educational - "Girl"

Of the seven education-related listings, two were college dormitories, two were buildings which were part of non-college co-educational institutions, and three were originally "girls' schools." *Anderson Hall*, originally known as *East Hall*, has been part of Georgian Southern University in Statesboro, Bulloch County, since it was built in 1907 as a "girls' dormitory." A single family dwelling in Wrightsboro, McDuffie County, was a nineteenth century Wrightsboro Academy girls' dormitory.

Another two buildings, once associated with girls' schools, are also homes today. The Lucas-Ramsey-Paschall-Gaines House in Washington, Wilkes County, was built before the Civil War as a female seminary, once "considered one of the finest educational institutions for girls in all of Georgia." **Sarah W. Brackett**, originally from England, and **Mrs. Waddy** were two of the directors of the seminary which closed in 1895. The Archibald Howell House in Marietta, Cobb County was also built before the Civil War as a private residence, converted for three years to *Hardwood Seminary*, a girls' school, and then reconverted into a private residence.

The other three buildings are still used for education-related purposes. The *Lucy Cobb Institute* in Athens, Clarke County, is now part of the University of Georgia. Originally to be known as the Athens Female High School, the school's name was changed before it opened. Prior to 1931, when it closed, the Lucy Cobb Institute was "one of the finest girls' schools in the South." The Receiving Cottage in Atlanta was formerly known as the *Georgia Training School for Girls*, which apparently included both sleeping and educational facilities. Built in the early 1940s by the WPA, it still serves as a multi-function building, including a dormitory. The *Girl's Industrial Building* in Cave Spring, Floyd County, is on the campus of the Georgia School for the Deaf. Used as a dining hall, only the cornerstone identifies it as the Girl's Industrial Building.

Residential - "Girl"

Neither of the two houses listed under "girl," is still residential; neither is especially important to women's history in Georgia. However, they provide interesting sidelights, and examples of the wealth of information available in the surveys. The vacant house on Martingirl Road near Handy, Coweta County, was once the home of the "**Martin girls**," two unmarried sisters who gave many parties in their youth, and later gave their name to the road. Now used as an office building, the *Sanford-McComb-Cook House* in Milledgeville, Baldwin County, was the home of **Camella Sanford**, who was one of "Lafayette's flower girls" when the General visited Milledgeville in 1825. She inherited the house, and continued to live there after her marriage to Robert McComb.

Results of the Survey of the Surveys - "Female"

Searching the computer database using the word "female" generated some of the same listings as "girl." Of the twelve items, two were also listed under "girl," the Lucas-Ramsey-Paschall-Gaines House in Washington and the *Lucy Cobb Institute* in Athens. This researcher expected most of the listings to be

educational institutions, with an emphasis on “female academies,” or boarding schools for young ladies. However, only four were related to girls’ schools, including the two listings which were repeat items. The Edwards House in Monticello, Jasper County, was originally a teachers’ dormitory for the *Monticello Female Academy*, which stood nearby. The other listing was for Washington High School, which occupies the former site of a “female seminary” (the Lucas-Ramsey-Paschall-Gaines House) which was moved in 1897 to make room for it.

Of the other eight listings, one was the “Rest Station” already discussed under the search using “women.” Another item, the Crowell House in Bartow County was listed because Reverend Crowell was the first president of the Female College in Cassville, which is no longer standing. Two listings were residential; one the home of a prominent woman, and one designed by a prominent woman architect. Four were institutional; an orphanage and a hospital in Savannah, and two buildings in Milledgeville, Baldwin County, the male and female convalescent buildings of a former mental institution.

The *Sarah Porter Hillhouse House* in Washington, Wilkes County, was built in 1814 as the home of the South’s, possibly the country’s, first female newspaper editor. **Hillhouse** took over the *Washington Gazette* when her husband died in 1802 (she took over the *Monitor and Impartial Observer* in 1804 according to another source, *Georgia Women: A Celebration*), and ran the paper for some time, printing reports on the doings of the state legislature among other things.² The Blackmar-Bulloch House in Columbus, Muscogee County, was designed c.1903 by **Henrietta Dozier**, one of the country’s first female architects and the first American Institute of Architects (AIA) registered woman architect in Georgia (1905). It is the only known work of Dozier in Columbus.

The *Telfair Hospital for Females*, built c.1886 in Savannah, was Savannah’s first hospital for women. The money for the hospital came from **Miss Mary Telfair**, who was best known as a patron of the arts. Telfair left the bulk of her \$700,000 estate to found the *Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences* in Savannah.³ Another listing in Savannah, the *Savannah Female Orphanage Asylum* only served that purpose from 1810 until 1839. Originally built as a house for Harry Cunningham, “a freeman of color,” the building returned to residential usage after the orphanage sold it. The *Old Apartments/Female Convalescent Building* in Milledgeville was one of two almost identical buildings (the other was for

²Barbara B. Reitt, ed., *Georgia Women: A Celebration* (Atlanta: American Association of University Women, 1976). Complete citations for all works quoted in this essay are also included in Section 7.1, “Bibliography.”
³*Ibid.*

males) built in 1883 as part of the change from custodial care to treatment care of the mentally ill or incompetent. The buildings are on the grounds of the Central State Hospital.

Results of the Survey of the Surveys - "Lady" and "Ladies"

Using the search word "lady" generated nine listings, none of which had great importance in the study of Georgia women's history. Four items only came up because lady was part of the name - three Gladys and one Lovelady. Two others were listed in other searches, one under "women" and the other under "club." Of the remaining three listings two are residential and the third a church, ***Our Lady of Lourdes***. Although the connection of this church with Georgia women's history is tenuous, the potential for important information from further research is there, which makes it an interesting example of possible uses for the survey data. Built in 1912 near Atlanta, Fulton County, Our Lady of Lourdes Catholic Church occupied the first floor, a school the second floor, and a social center the third floor of the building. The school, Our Lady of Lourdes Catholic Mission School, was the second African-American Catholic mission school in Georgia.

The two residences date from the first two decades of the twentieth century. A house in Fort Gaines, Clay County, was once the home of "**Mrs. Peterson**, a white lady who worked at the post office." A home in Jones County, near Macon, was where an "elderly black lady, has lived in this house since it was built" in 1928. No further information is given about either woman.

The use of "ladies" as a search word generated seven items including one that came up under another search word. Three stores and one mill were generated from the expected "ladies clothing" and had no other connection with women's history. Another listing, a house in Washington, was built in 1807 by Dennis Campbell who came to Washington to teach at the Young Ladies' Academy.

The most interesting listing was for the C.S.S. Georgia, the shipwreck of an ironclad from the Civil War, which was sunk in the Savannah River in Chatham County. The construction of the ship was funded by the **Ladies Gunboat Association** and the State of Georgia. The ship was built by Confederate troops and donated to the Confederate Navy by the Association, but it never proved seaworthy. Used as a floating battery, she was scuttled by the crew when Sherman entered Savannah.

Results of the Survey of the Survey - "Club"

Using the search word "club" generated eighty-five listings. The researcher scanned the "History" section of all eighty-five. As expected, most of the listings were properties which were not

woman-related such as Armories, Saloons and Race Courses, mostly locations where men's clubs met at some time. Fourteen items duplicated the listings for "woman" and "women" as one would also have anticipated.

Eleven of the listings were deemed applicable for further study. Six of those were buildings where Garden Clubs were founded (two), or properties donated to Garden Clubs that designed or currently maintain them (four). Two other items were buildings which were converted to the use of Homemakers Clubs; two were institutional buildings, founded or maintained by clubs; and the other building was a nightclub which was owned by an African-American woman. Located in Atlanta, the *Top Hat/Royal Peacock Club* was situated on the top floor of a building on Auburn Avenue, Atlanta's traditional black business district. Built in 1922, the club was originally known as the *Top Hat*. In the 1940s, under the ownership of **Mama Carrie Cunningham**, the *Royal Peacock Club* featured black entertainers like Diana Ross and Louis Armstrong.

Garden and Homemaker Clubs - "Club"

Unlike Woman's Clubs, most Garden Clubs continued to meet for many years in private residences, as many still do. With one exception, non-residential buildings were identified by the survey as Garden Club headquarters only after World War II. The best known of the houses is the *Lumpkin House* in Athens, Clarke County, now headquarters of the Garden Club of Georgia. This nineteenth century home was originally University of Georgia faculty housing, and the connection with women's history is tenuous since the garden was designed by a man. On the other hand, the Thomas J. Smith residence in Monticello, Jasper County, now used as offices, was the site of the organizational meeting of the Monticello Garden Club in May 1896. Led by **Mrs. Milton S. Benton** as first president, the Monticello Garden Club was supposedly the second oldest garden club in the country.

Four properties, originally a mill and three homes, have been donated to their communities for use as garden clubs and centers. One property which could easily be nominated to the National Register (if it is not already in a Historic District) is the *Bobbin Mill Park* in Athens, a late nineteenth century mill site which was acquired in the 1930s by the Bobbin Mill Garden Club. The club maintains the grounds as a park and arboretum. The Richland Garden Club is planning the garden of a house in Westville, Stewart County, which was recently moved and donated to the city for use as an art center. Two historic houses, which are now used as garden centers, one in Marietta, Cobb County, and the other in Washington, Wilkes County, were gifts to the club and the city. The Newton House in Marietta was

donated to the Marietta Council of Garden Clubs in 1966, and now serves as the **Marietta Garden Center**. Also in 1966, **Cherry Cottage** in Washington was donated to the city and is now headquarters for the Washington-Wilkes Garden Clubs.

Two buildings, a church and a school, were converted for use as community/homemaker clubs. The **Cumberland Presbyterian Church** in Dawnville, Whitfield County, was renovated in 1964 by the Dawnville Homemakers Club for community and club use. Near Whitesville, Harris County, the **Sunnyside School** was used by the Home Demonstration Club in the 1940s after the school closed. Today the building serves as a community center.

Institutional - "Club"

The **Fresh Air Home** on Tybee Island, Chatham County, was built for Frobel Circle, founded by **Nina Pape**. The building was used as a summer home for underprivileged children. The **Susan Building** in Athens was the state's first African-American maternity hospital. Built in 1946, the building was associated with the improvement of medical care for poor people, black and white, in northeast Georgia. Like **Cathy Alumni House** in Milledgeville and **Agnes Scott College** in Decatur, just east of Atlanta, the **Susan Building** was founded by a man and named for his grandmother. However, the use of the building makes it important in Georgia women's history as well as African-American history. The "club" connection for both buildings was not especially important as far as the women's history search goes; one was built on the site of a club, and clubs raised funds for the maintenance of the other.

Results of the Survey of the Surveys - "DAR" "D. A. R." and "Daughters of the American Revolution"

Because organizations have been so important in women's history, and especially so in the history of southern women, additional searches were made using the names of women's organizations that have been active in Georgia for many years. Use of "DAR" as a key word proved an excellent example of the problems involved in using computers for research purposes, invaluable as they may be. Instead of listings for the Daughters of the American Revolution, the computer generated over a hundred listings wherever there was a word or words with the letters "dar" in succession. Only four items proved to be for properties associated with the organization. "D. A. R." produced two additional listings, and the search using "Daughters of the American Revolution" produced another for a total of seven DAR-related properties.

Because the computer search produced so many listings with the letters dar, there was a good chance that some would prove woman-related. Three properties were identified which had some relationship to women or women's history, but none to the DAR. The *Girls Industrial Building* in Floyd County (see "girl") appeared on the list because "secondary sources" was mentioned. Two churches were also included both of which bear a relationship to women. The *Sallie M. Davis Chapel* is located in Darien, McIntosh County, which has many historic buildings, and was the source for most of the dar listings (see section on McIntosh County). The data sheet gave no further information as to who Davis was or why the church was named for her. The most interesting item was the *Bethany Church*, a rural church in Lincoln County, which was only listed because of a misspelling (Sunday). The church was founded in 1892 when **Mrs. A.H. Sears** organized a Sunday School Class, and women seem to have been important throughout its history.

Of the DAR related properties, one was the home of an important woman, three were monuments, and the other three were a chapel built by the DAR, a chapter house and a museum partially founded by a DAR chapter. For the purpose of this study, the most interesting of the listings for the DAR is the home of **Virginia Crosby** in Marietta, Cobb County. Crosby organized the Society of the Descendants of George Washington, was prominent in the DAR and was the first woman to run for mayor in Marietta.

The monuments included the *Bullsboro Marker* near Newnan, Coweta County, erected by the DAR "to commemorate the 1826 town." The Roanoke Chapter DAR erected a monument in Stewart County dedicated to the 1836 Battle of Shephard's Plantation, fought between pioneer settlers and Creek Indians. The DAR erected a plaque marking the gravestone of a Revolutionary War soldier in Contentment Cemetery, just north of Shellman Bluff, McIntosh County. The *Whitefield Chapel* was built in 1925 by the DAR on the grounds of the Bethesda Home for Boys in Savannah. This orphanage, founded in 1740, is still used for its original purpose. A Georgia Historical Commission Marker in front of the *Minnie F. Corbitt Memorial Museum* in Pearson, Atkinson County identifies the building as the residence of **Minnie F. Corbitt**, Ordinary of Atkinson County 1928-1936, and her husband who was mayor 1905-1906. In 1955 it was dedicated as a museum by the City of Pearson and the John Floyd Chapter D. A. R. The building was vacant in 1996. The *D. A. R. Adam Brinson Chapter House* was built in 1934 in Twin City, Emanuel County, and is still used for its original purpose.

Results of the Survey of the Surveys - "UDC" "U. D. C." and "United Daughters of the Confederacy"

The search word "UDC" yielded one listing for a Confederate Memorial, "U. D. C." did not generate any additional listings, and "United Daughters of the Confederacy" produced six items, two homes, one historic marker and three Confederate monuments. One of the two houses listed is a dwelling in Savannah which was altered for use by the UDC in 1914. The other, located in Athens, Clarke County, was the birthplace of **Mary Lewis Rutherford**, who was the headmistress of the *Lucy Cobb Institute* and Historian General of the UDC. The data sheet does not indicate when Rutherford lived there.

The other UDC listings were four Confederate monuments and a historical marker of the Battle of Browns Mill near Newnan, Coweta County. This marker takes the form of a marble marker surrounded by an iron fence. The three memorials/monuments are to be found in the downtown areas of four cities - Douglas, Coffee County; Monticello, Jasper County; West Point, Troup County; and Washington, Wilkes County. The ubiquitous monuments are usually a statue of a Confederate soldier on a pedestal, and are most often located on or near the courthouse square of the county seat. Unfortunately, a search for the Ladies Memorial Association, a women's organization which worked alongside the United Daughters of the Confederacy to memorialize Civil War dead did not generate any listings.

The four Confederate monuments are of special interest as they again demonstrate how the survey data can be used. The other multiple property National Register nomination which is part of this project is "Civil War Commemorative Sites Attributed to Women." The United Daughters of the Confederacy was the organization most involved in these memorialization projects, and the four monuments identified from the survey will be included in the nomination.

County Analyses

Among the surveyed counties, three were selected to receive a more thorough examination. These counties were chosen for four reasons: 1) They had at least one large town, but no major city; 2) They were in different areas of the state; 3) There was a relatively recent, i.e. computerized, survey of the entire county; and 4) There were known woman-related resources. The counties chosen were Bartow, McIntosh and Stephens. Information was examined from National Register listed properties in each county, the complete list of surveyed properties, the background history of the county from the survey database, county histories, Internet web sites (where available) and biographical information about individual women important in Georgia history as compiled by the project team. The aim was to find as

many notable women from those particular counties as possible, in order to determine where women were being missed. A county-by-county summary follows.

Bartow County

The Bartow County survey was conducted in 1990-1991. Bartow County is located in northwest Georgia and is rich in historic sites ranging from pre-historic (the National Landmark Etowah Mounds) to the twentieth century (the *Corra White Harris House, Study and Chapel*). Originally, much of Bartow County was rural, but mining was also important to the county's early economy. There are several good-sized towns, the largest being the county seat, Cartersville. Other towns include Cassville (the original county seat, largely destroyed during the Civil War), Adairsville, Emerson, Euharlee (currently the fastest growing town in the county), Kingston, Rydal, Taylorsville and White. In addition to the county-wide survey, Adairsville, Cartersville and Atco, an American Textile Company town within the city limits of Cartersville, were surveyed separately. The survey database for the county was searched using the following blocks: 1 Name, 33 History. Adairsville and Atco were scanned using 1 Name, 3 Location, 33 History, 43 Recognition. In an effort to elicit more information from the survey database, Cartersville was searched using 1 Name, 3 Location, 33 History, 34 Historical Themes, and 43 Recognition.

In the Bartow County survey 408 properties are listed. An additional 131 are listed in Adairsville, 257 in Atco, and 582 in Cartersville for a total of 1,378. Many of the surveyed properties are located in National Register Historic Districts. Bartow County has one very large district, the Etowah Valley District, which encompasses 40,202 acres, and includes the towns of Emerson and Kingston, and the company town Atco.⁴ Other towns, such as Adairsville and Cartersville, also have historic districts. The Adairsville district (1987) predates the survey; the two Cartersville districts (1994 and 1998) appear to have resulted from the survey. Because so much of the county is already in National Register districts, the surveyors did not write extensive histories for each entry. For example, the "History" block for the Etowah Indian Mounds, a Designated National Landmark, is blank.

Of eighteen Bartow County historic districts and properties listed in the National Register of Historic Places, two are identifiable by name as woman-related. The *Rebecca Latimer Felton House* near Cartersville was the home of the first female United States Senator (unfortunately it recently burned), and the *Corra White Harris House, Study and Chapel* in Rydal was the home of a nationally known writer. Both women appear on the list of individual Georgia women of importance compiled as part of

⁴Janine E. Joslin, "Bartow County Historic Resources Survey 1990-1991," p. 2

this project, and both are prominently treated in the county history. The survey information lists the buildings by the name of each woman. Once past **Felton** and **Harris** the waters become considerably murkier.

In the Bartow County survey entries, one house, the *Rose Cottage*, was identified as the home of **Rebecca Sproull**, mother of Colonel Sproull, who fought in the Civil War, and whose home is identified by his name. Another, the home of the first president of the *Cassville Female Academy*, was already mentioned under “female,” one of the search words used by this researcher. The Adairsville listings produced no woman-related items; but, in fairness, there were only six names mentioned in the whole 131 entries. The forms for Atco proved even less rewarding. Of 257 entries for the mill town, founded in 1903 by the American Textile Company, not one name - man or woman - was included. However, all of Atco is included in the Etowah Valley Historic District.

Cartersville, with 582 entries, should have proved the most likely source for women-related properties, but did not yield any more information than the other Bartow County entries. Three commercial enterprises appeared to be owned/operated by women at the time of the survey. The most interesting item, **Dr. Susie Wheeler - Mrs. Bessie Shell** is apparently a property owned/operated by African-American business women, but the surveyor failed to give any explanation for the names.

Several notable Bartow County women were identified from the county history. Amelia Cloud Huson, “**Aunt Millie**,” was an early believer in women’s rights.⁵ There were also a number of school teachers and “female schools mentioned in the county history.” These included “*Spring Bank*,” north of Kingston which was started by the **Howard** family - father, mother and daughter. The *Old Spring Bank Plantation*, now a ruin, Mr. Howard and the school were also identified in the survey. A Georgia Historic Marker indicates the location of the *Cassville Female College*, which awarded its first degree to **Sarah Joyce Hooper** in 1855. In 1871, after the Civil War, the *Cartersville Female High School* was started by **Lottie Moon** and **Anna C. Safford**. Another girl’s school was begun soon after by a former teacher at the Female High School. **Sarah Frances (Beall) Brame** opened *Mrs. Brame’s Female School*, a private school for girls. The first kindergarten was started in 1885 by **Mlle. V. Goulong**.⁶ Unfortunately, it was impossible to discover from the survey if any of the buildings associated with these women are still in existence.

⁵Lucy Josephine Cunyus, *History of Bartow County, Formerly Cass* (Cartersville?: Tribune Publishing Co., Inc., 1933), p. 70.

⁶Ibid., p. 150.

A number of Bartow County women were active during the Civil War including two daughters of the Howard family. **Francis Howard** wrote a book *In and Out of the Lines*, and **Sally Howard** was active as a scout for the Cassville-based Confederates.⁷ After the war, the Ladies Memorial Association, organized in 1867 by **Mrs. Jane Kinabrew** and others, erected monuments in the *Cassville Cemetery* in 1878.⁸ The Cassville Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, organized in 1898 by **Mrs. Julia Trippe Johnson**, placed marble headstones on Confederate graves in the Cassville Cemetery⁹

Bartow County women were also active in the woman's club movement of the early twentieth century. The Cherokee Woman's Club was organized in 1895 at the home of **Mrs. Mary Johnson (Harris) Best**, and in 1903 the club constructed the first clubhouse in Georgia that was built and owned by a woman's club.¹⁰ It is not known, but it is doubtful, if this club house is still standing; it did not appear in the survey listings for women's clubs; in fact no Bartow County clubs are included. The Feltonian Woman's Club was organized in Taylorsville in 1925, and the Cartersville Garden Club was formed in 1928.

One African-American woman drew mention as a business woman who owned property and ran a restaurant. **Angelina Peacock** died in 1902.¹¹

Another Bartow County woman was identified from the list of notable Georgia women compiled for this project. Noted twentieth century entrepreneur and Indian rights advocate **Dicksie Bradley Bandy**, was co-owner of a country store with her husband, and developed the chenille bedspread cottage industry in Georgia. In later years she was involved in the restoration of the Chief Joseph Vann House.¹²

Unfortunately, it proved impossible to identify sites connected with any of these women from the survey data as so few properties were identified by name. In fact the survey data for the entire county was disappointing. The data sheets identified present or former owners of few buildings other than commercial enterprises, and had historic information on fewer still.

McIntosh County

The McIntosh County survey was conducted in 1989. McIntosh County is located in southeast Georgia along the Atlantic coast, midway between Savannah and Jacksonville, Florida. The mostly rural

⁷Ibid., p. 244.

⁸Ibid., p. 255.

⁹Ibid., p. 257.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 262.

¹¹Ibid., p. 275.

¹²Women's History Context, Chapter 5.2 "Individual Women," p. 5.

county was chosen because it is situated in the part of Georgia first settled (1730s), and includes a good-sized town, the county seat Darien, with a population of about two thousand in 1990. Other towns with historic resources that were identified during the survey are Townsend, Jones, Meridian, Carnigan, Cox, and resort towns Pine Harbor and Shellman Bluff. In addition there are a number of small barrier islands in McIntosh County with historic buildings, the most important of which is Sapelo Island.¹³

The number of National Register listings in McIntosh County is in sharp contrast to the number of historic properties generated by the survey, a fact noted by the surveyors.¹⁴ The survey identified 824 historic properties in McIntosh County, plus an additional 280 in Darien, the county seat. All the survey listings were scanned using the following blocks: 1 Name, 3 Location, 33 History, 34 Historical Themes, and 43 Recognition.

As of February 2000, there were only nine National Register listings for McIntosh County - three historic districts, two military forts, a house, a cemetery, a church and a lighthouse. Of the listed properties, the most recent was from 1997, the Sapelo Island Lighthouse. Three other properties were listed in 1996, two in 1985 and the rest in the 1970s. The three 1996 National Register listings are located on Sapelo Island in Raccoon Bluff and Hog Hammock, historic black settlements; the lighthouse is also on Sapelo Island.

One of the stated objectives of the survey project is to identify sites for potential National Register districts and individual nominations. The 1996-97 Sapelo Island National Register nominations, especially the historic district, appear to be a direct result of the survey. The listings include a church in Raccoon Bluff, a cemetery and a historic district in Hog Hammock. Both the church and the district were specifically recommended for nomination by the surveyors.¹⁵

The written survey report provided a wealth of background information about the county, and also included information about the properties listed in the National Register. Three areas the survey looked at closely were the African-American resources of Hog Hammock, resort and recreational properties, and commercial architecture.¹⁶

The number of women-related historic sites in the county section of the McIntosh survey proved disappointing given the long history of the county; but several sites were identified in Darien. The county survey report produced no sites related to women's history other than the *Butler Plantation*, near Darien,

¹³William Chapman and Betty Ausherman Chapman, "McIntosh County Survey Report," 1990, p. 10.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 2-3,13. For an excellent history of the racial integration of McIntosh County, see Melissa Fay Greene, *Praying for Sheetrock* (Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1991).

a large pre-Civil War rice plantation, best known from the writings of English actress **Fanny Kemble** who was Pierce Butler's wife. Unfortunately the original plantation house vanished long before the present Colonial Revival house was constructed in the 1920s.¹⁷ The survey database lists a number of properties connected with the Butler plantation, but does not discuss Fanny Kemble's role. However, a Georgia Historic Marker located near the site of the original Butler plantation mentions Kemble and her daughter. Fanny Kemble's younger daughter, **Frances Butler Leigh**, remained with her father after her parents' divorce, returned to the plantation after the Civil War, and wrote a book dealing with her efforts to help the freed slaves of the plantation.¹⁸

Only a few of the houses listed in the county survey have a person's name associated with them, and few of those have women's names. One bungalow is named the *Mattie Everson House* after a black woman who lived there. Nothing more is said except that it was a typical working-class house associated with the African-American community. A house in Hog Hammock was built in the 1930s by a **Ms. Johnson**.

An interesting woman-related resource is located on Highway 17, the main north-south route between the northeast and Florida before construction of the interstate highway. The *Memory Park Christis Chapel*, the "Smallest Church in America," was commissioned in 1949 by **Mrs. Agnes Harper**, a grocer. In 1983 the chapel was adopted by the McIntosh Chamber of Commerce and restored. The surveyors described it as "tacky" and "tourist-oriented." Another religious site, the *Townsend Methodist Church/Sallie M. Davis Chapel* in Townsend, was already mentioned under items generated by the search word "DAR."

The survey of Darien produced several interesting listings, and at least two buildings which may be potential woman-related National Register nominations. Thirty-six properties were identified as part of the 1985 Vernon Square-Columbus Square Historic District - including the two squares, which are all that remain from the original plan for Darien. Two women-related resources were included in the district, but only because they were owned by the women. One building, the St. Andrews Thrift Shop, was supposedly part of the *Ida Hilton Library*, where the *Darien News* is presently located. No further information was given about **Ida Hilton** and why the library was named for her, nor was there any more information about the newspaper. The Darien Police Department & Fire Station, an 1895 building, served as a USO during World War II, and was remodeled in 1944 by **Mrs. Talbot Smith** as a service center.

¹⁶Chapman, "McIntosh," pp. 2-3.

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 20, 23.

¹⁸"Individual Women," pp. 29-31.

It may already be a contributing building in a recently listed historic district, but the **Julia Delegal Palmer-Woodard House** would be an ideal woman-related National Register nomination. This building served as a boarding house for nurses who worked at a nearby clinic. It was built in the 1870s for **Julia Delegal Palmer**, and for many years was the “major rooming house” in Darien. Another of Darien’s early boarding houses was also built in the 1870s. The **Thomas-Cain-Jackson House/Oglethorpe Inn**, was operated by Henry and **Jen Cain** in the 1920s and 1930s as the Oglethorpe Inn. The **Miss Willie Young House** is mentioned as one of the best remaining hall-parlor houses in Darien.

One other house in Darien is worth mentioning, Although it has apparently been moved, the **Auntie Jane Lewis House** is an African-American woman-related resource which would merit listing in the National Register. To quote from survey block 33 History: “. . . **Auntie Jane Lewis**, supposedly an ex-slave; she worked on Old River Road. . . Dr. Huey from Homerville, GA got the idea to exhibit ex-slaves. Wage was \$.75/day plus tips. 1938-1939 Henry Ford, who owned Richmond Hill Estate nearby, built her house on his estate, but she lived in this house instead, formerly located near Todd School. This building also built by Ford.”

In contrast to the survey, which produced information about some interesting McIntosh County and Darien women, the county history proved disappointing. No mention is made of the temperance movement, the suffrage movement, woman’s clubs, or the development of kindergartens - all areas in which women were heavily involved; nor is there any mention of professional women. The history does discuss **Fanny Kemble** and her daughter **Francis Butler Leigh**, gives considerable biographical information about Frances Butler Leigh, and quotes extensively from both their writings.¹⁹ The “recollections” of several women are quoted at length, but nothing is said about their involvement in McIntosh County affairs, only their longevity. Some general information from the history: on Sapelo Island, **Sallie McKinley** was postmistress until she died in 1916; in Darien in the late nineteenth century, **Mary Mann** founded the **Mann School** for black children of the community; **Bessie Lewis**, a Darien school teacher and author of the official Darien history, wrote and directed the Darien 200th anniversary pageant in 1936.²⁰ The only woman mentioned in a professional sense was **Amanda Lloyd Harrison**

¹⁹Buddy Sullivan, *Early Days on the Georgia Tidewater: The Story of McIntosh County and Sapelo* (Darien, Ga.: *The Darien News*, 1990), pp. 191-195, 338-343.

²⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 428, 518, 728.

Young, wife of the tax commissioner, who served as Superintendent of the McIntosh County Schools from 1952-1960 and was the first female vestryman of St. Andrews Episcopal Church.²¹

Stephens County

The Stephens County survey was also conducted in 1989. Stephens is a small county located in northeast Georgia abutting the state of South Carolina. The main city is Toccoa, which is also the county seat. Other towns in Stephens County include Martin, incorporated in 1891, Avalon, incorporated in 1909, Currahee and Tugaloo, the site of one of the largest and earliest Cherokee villages in the state.²² Of the three counties examined in some detail, Stephens provided the best opportunity to use all the resources in an attempt to locate important Georgia women – and properties associated with them – that might have been missed. The survey data sheets and the county history both contained considerable information about individual Stephens County women.

The Stephens County survey generated 641 listings; 543 for the county, fifty-five for Toccoa, thirty for Martin and thirteen for Avalon. All the survey listings were scanned using the following blocks: 1 Name, 3 Location, 33 History, 34 Historical Themes, and 43 Recognition. In addition, block 10 Architect was scanned for the fifty-five Toccoa listings.

There were eight National Register listed properties and districts in Stephens County as of April 2000. The surveyors noted the lack of National Register listings, only six individual properties and no historic districts at the time of their survey, and they made several recommendations for both districts and individual listings. The Martin Historic District, listed in 1995, appears to have been a direct result of the survey. In fact, the surveyors mentioned the nomination process was underway for historic districts in both Martin and Avalon. On the other hand, the Jarrett-Hayes House/Liberty Lodge, which was individually listed in the National Register in 1994, was not one of the surveyors' recommended individual nominations.²³

The Stephens County survey was prepared by the same person as McIntosh County. The survey write-up and the data sheets for surveyed properties both contained a wealth of information. Several woman-related properties, and even one potential National Register nomination, were identified from the survey data sheets.

²¹Ibid., p. 752.

²²<http://ngeorgia.com/parks/travelers.shtml>, p. 1.

²³William Chapman and Scott Butler, "Stephens County Survey Report," 1989, pp. 3, 10-14.

The best known historic property in Stephens County is *Travelers Rest Historic Site*, a designated National Landmark. Travelers Rest was an early nineteenth century home, later an overnight turnpike tavern and rest stop. Devereaux Jarrett bought it in 1838; the last owner, **Mary Jarrett White**, his granddaughter and the first woman to cast a vote in Georgia, sold it to the state in 1955.²⁴ Two other survey listings show women as property owners or renovators. The most interesting county listing for women's history is the *Thomason-Farmer-Tilley House*, located in rural Stephens County. The house served as a boarding home for "many rural school teachers."

The data sheets for Toccoa, Martin and Avalon generated only a few items of interest. One house in Martin, the Mitchell-Stephenson House was built as a private home, used as a hotel, and also served as a "private school for five students taught by **Miss Lucille Davis**."

A number of buildings were mentioned in the county history, but were not in the survey database. One difficulty was the few data information sheets for Toccoa. According to the surveyors they completed 533 field forms, but only fifty-five properties are in the computerized survey database.

The Stephens County history was written in 1973, sponsored by the *Toccoa Women's Club*; and, as would be expected, is rich in women's history information. An effort by the researcher to integrate the county history with both the National Register listings and the survey data sheets produced one interesting example of a woman-related building which could be eligible for the National Register. According to the county history, the *Alexander Apartments* in Toccoa was originally the *Edwards House*, a hotel managed by **Mrs. J. O. Freeman**, who later bought it. The building burned and she rebuilt it as a fireproof three-and-a-half story building, which she and her daughter **Lou Mae Freeman Collier** ran until her death in 1945. The hotel was converted into apartments in the 1960s.²⁵ The survey data sheet for the Alexander Apartments also lists the original name of the building, the Albemarle Hotel, located at 303 Alexander Street, Toccoa. It was first built as a wood hotel, which burned in the early 1920s and was rebuilt as the present structure in 1922. Another fire in the 1930s resulted in more rebuilding. According to the survey information the most recent renovation of the building occurred in 1975.

Conclusions

Researchers looking for information about the woman-related built environment in Georgia can find the computerized survey listings of historic and potentially historic properties especially helpful if

²⁴<http://ngeorgia.com/parks/travelers.shtml>, pp. 1-3. Also Stephens County survey data sheet ST-88.

²⁵Kathryn C. Trogon, *The History of Stephens County Georgia* (Toccoa, Georgia: The Toccoa Woman's Club, 1973), p 68. See also Stephens County survey data sheet ST-T-33.

they already have some background information with which to initiate their search, such as the name of an individual woman or an organization. A computer search can be based on any of the information blocks in the form which include, among other entries, owner's name, address of the building, name of the architect/builder and a block for other information. Non-computerized surveys require more time, but all include a map of the area(s) surveyed and addresses of the properties. The survey forms can be helpful in ascertaining the physical appearance of a resource, and the survey write-ups often yield valuable information about local organizations and history, which may provide a starting point for further research. As the Georgia surveys continue, and more information is categorized under the "Women's History" theme, the survey database will yield even more information. As of now, knowing the address of the property is the best way to locate a specific building.

One block of the survey form indicates if a property is on the National Register or located in a Historic District. Many of the surveys have led to National Register nominations, particularly for districts (which is one of the aims of the survey project), but these "post-survey" changes have rarely been added to the form. Cross-referencing the surveys with the more recent National Register information, especially the National Register listings resulting from the surveys, would be helpful to future researchers.

The written histories that accompany the surveys and give background information on the area, vary in quality and quantity of information. More recent studies, like the computerized survey forms, are generally of more value. They give a developmental history of the county and its major towns and cities, but do not give much information on individual people or properties. To someone researching a particular house type or style, they should prove invaluable.

There is an Internet web site for north Georgia counties, which includes archives and can be useful for initial research. The counties vary greatly in the amount of work they have put into their sites; but some, like Bartow County, have made a considerable effort to provide historic information.

As in any research project, the best results come from the use of a combination of sources. For the purposes of this project, city/county histories, biographical information from a number of sources, north Georgia county web sites, National Register nominations and the computer generated survey forms and accompanying county histories were used. Most of the resources used in this study are located at HPD. However, several archives scattered throughout the City of Atlanta have excellent collections, and those were also used to provide a good beginning in our search for the women of Georgia.

5.10 Women and Synagogue Architecture in Georgia

Steven Moffson

Until the advent of Reform Judaism in the early nineteenth century, women had no formal role in traditional Jewish worship. They could neither conduct religious services nor serve as witnesses in ritual matters. Women were not included in a minyan, a quorum of ten required for public prayer, and when permitted to worship in a synagogue, women were seated apart from men in either a screened area to the rear of the sanctuary or an upper gallery. This aspect of synagogue architecture changed over time and is reflected in surviving synagogues in Georgia built from the 1870s through the 1910s.

By the time the first synagogues were built in Georgia in the 1870s, most congregations had adopted some level of religious reform. These mostly German congregations sought respectability and Americanization through decorum and propriety in the synagogue. They sang hymns accompanied by an organ and robed choir, traditions long a part of Protestant worship, shortened the length of worship services, and many Jews worshiped without head coverings. Mixed seating whereby entire families worshiped together became a defining characteristic in the Reform synagogue. The first synagogue buildings constructed in Georgia, such as Congregation Beth Israel in Macon (1874, demolished) and Congregation Mickve Israel in Savannah (1878), include only vestigial upper galleries. These spaces, historically reserved for women, were designed to accommodate organs and choirs, and overflow crowds on holidays. Another extant example of a Reform synagogue with a vestigial upper gallery is Temple Beth Tefilloh in Brunswick, which was built in 1890. Like Mickve Israel, Beth Tefilloh features a basilica plan with a small, narrow balcony stretched across the rear of the building.

Beginning in 1881, massive numbers of East European Jews, mostly from Russia, immigrated to the United States to escape severe poverty and governmental anti-Semitism. The Jewish population in the United States increased from 230,000 in 1880 to 4000,000 in 1888. By 1914, the estimated number of Jews in America had reached nearly three million. The East European immigrants practiced traditional or "Orthodox" Judaism and quickly established their own houses of worship, increasing sharply the number of synagogues in the United States. In 1880, there were 270 synagogues, most built by German Reform congregations. During the next ten years this number doubled, and by 1906 there were 1,769 synagogues in the United States. Russian Jews built nearly all of the new synagogues, which they viewed as the

center of communal Jewish life. These synagogues served the same social and religious functions they had in Europe and became mainstays for preserving Orthodox Judaism in the United States.

During this period in Georgia, Orthodox Jewish communities built synagogues throughout the state, many in cities and towns that had long-established Reform Jewish communities. In these synagogues Orthodox Jews practiced the rituals and customs that their Reform coreligionists had shed decades earlier, including separate seating for women. Examples of Orthodox synagogues from this period include B'nai B'rith Jacob in Savannah, whose membership swelled with East European immigrants. In 1909, the congregation built a massive brick synagogue on Montgomery Street. Two gallery levels, each dedicated to women's worship, wrap around three sides of the square-shaped sanctuary. In the south Georgia city of Thomasville, Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe bolstered the small German Jewish community, and in 1905 formed Congregation B'nai Israel. In 1913, the congregation built a Romanesque-style synagogue that featured a curved rear balcony for women's worship.

Many of the congregations in Georgia that had historically practiced Orthodox Judaism have since adopted the tenets of Conservative Judaism, which permits women to worship alongside men. Only congregations in Atlanta and Savannah still practice Orthodox Judaism. Anshe Sfard, a Sephardic congregation established in Atlanta in 1913, continues to practice Orthodox Judaism with separate seating for women in their historic Highland Avenue synagogue.

6.0 New National Register Nominations Selection and Rationale

Darlene Roth

There are three aspects to women's history; they overlap a bit, but basically they deal with women in three different contexts. They contain somewhat different subject matter; yet all three aspects shed light on the experience of women through history. Most importantly, they speak to the variability, the contradictions, and the invisibility that adhere to women's lives. The founder of the field, historian Gerda Lerner, was the first one to distinguish between the first two – between the contributions of women to mainstream history, and the history of women defining themselves (whether in a feminist context or some other gender-defining context). The third arena, having to do with domesticity, was ideologically established by the work of several early women's historians who tracked what became called the “cult of domesticity” or the “cult of true womanhood,” in which the Home was the center of gender definitions. Only more recently has scholarly work, by such scholars as Delores Hayden, who connected the theories of women's history with the places of women's history; and Page Putnam Miller whose pioneering work established the historic preservation parameters for women's history.

The project team for the Georgia women's history project wishes to have National Register nominations reflect these different aspects of women's history in the same way that the narratives capture different aspects. This is one element from which to derive the National Register nominations. The three aspects are as follows:

- 1) “True” women's history: whereby the story focuses on the efforts of women to define themselves and their roles within the broader society, to expand their notions of Self in religious, educational, social, civic, professional, and any other environments. Here the history dwells on movements for women's rights, on women-initiated, women-sponsored, and women-participant organizations and other collectives, and the activities of such groups. Any sites or structures which indicate women have taken gender issues or gender arenas and made them their own are the subject and substance of this category of women's history and potential National Register nominations.

- 2) Women in the mainstream, where gender separations occur at the behest and direction of the society at large. The roles women play that have been defined by the American, the Southern, or the Georgian ethos; the efforts of women to serve causes outside themselves as a part of their activities; the work of women in industry, commerce,

and civic affairs as contributory to mainstream history and all such relevant activities are the subjects of this aspect.

3) In domestic life, where women have been the primary workers and the 'rulers' of this domain from ages past, there are aspects of domesticity which are defined by women and aspects that are not. This, as a realm of historical activities by and for women, merits a third category of investigation. The focus on hearth and home is particularly revealing of women's definitions in 1) and 2) above, but constitutes its own territory for scholarship.

In addition to these three aspects, the team wish to take advantage of the truths and controversies of Southern history. Georgia is a southern state, and the women in it have experienced history through the southern lens. There are some aspects of southern history that are different from mainstream American history, as generations of historians have affirmed, and the team wish to capture something of that differentiation in both the National Register nominations and the general histories.

Finally, there are several problems with women's sites which have impact on the selections for National Register nominations. Loss of integrity (usually through a building history of mixed uses and many adaptations) is common. Few buildings and or structures have been built expressly for women or by their design. And finally, there are many that have significance within the contexts described above, but not story enough or value enough to merit individual listings.

The team advocates the position that all National Register nominations should take into consideration the women's experiences that pertain to the resources being nominated. There are no buildings in Georgia, the team believes, that do not have a woman's component to their history. This is particularly true where houses, farms, and plantations are concerned, but it also applies to offices, factories, gender-separated facilities (such as clubs, gymnasiums, schools, and lavatories) where there are often architectural consequences related to gender. For that reason, the team has made recommendations about this omission in our report, and has chosen to amend an existing nomination in order to show how the women's history component can be included in National Register nominations.

Proposed Nominations

The team proposes the following as a strategy to cover the topics above and represent the history of women in this state in its broadest and most meaningful purviews:

1) An individual listing for Ellamae Ellis League's house in Macon: evidence of a woman architect, the first female Fellow of the American Institute of Architects in Georgia, a house that reflects both her personal and professional preferences and design capabilities. It is wholly intact, and the owner

is supportive of the nomination. This nomination fits both categories one and two of the Women's History Initiative – for a woman-defined resource and for individual achievement within a mainstream occupation.

2) A historic district nomination for Wesleyan College, the first college for women in Georgia, and the first to grant degrees to women in the United States. Although the buildings do not date from the first years of the school, they reflect the changes in women's education that occurred in the early years of the twentieth century, and especially after World War I, when expansions in women's educational and occupational universes were evolving. Wesleyan is supportive of the nomination; and it should complement other educational listings on the National Register, that reflect earlier philosophies of women's education (such as Agnes Scott).

3) An amended nomination for the Swan House located at the Atlanta History Center. This nomination does two things: adds the very interesting history of the woman of the house to the present nomination, and also defines the boundaries of the house to include the gardens. Mrs. Inman had jurisdiction over both, worked closely with the architect, followed the decorating advice of Ruby Ross Wood out of New York, and was an innovator in both personal and decorative style in the city of Atlanta for many years. The house is intact with many of its original furnishings. The Atlanta History Center is undertaking a project to reinterpret the house, and this nomination will support that effort. The administration at the History Center is very enthusiastic about this amendment. This services the domestic aspect of women's history, and also serves as a model to instruct those who read it on how to do an amendment that adds women's history to an otherwise "normal" nomination.

4) Woman's Club Buildings in Georgia, a multiple property nomination for woman's club buildings across the state. This would serve both numbers one and two above, especially number one. It is the team's contention that the activities of women's organizations, especially those before World War II, represent the largest arena of woman-defined activities in the entire history of women in Georgia. Their organization headquarters, at one time may have numbered in the hundreds across the state, but today they are rapidly disappearing. This group of structures, which would include all of the extant (known) woman's club buildings, will speak to the extension of domesticity into the public sphere that occurred in the late nineteenth century and continued into the twentieth, until both those efforts and their effects were supplanted by professionalized female work forces, which became the twentieth century social service workers.

5) Historic Resources Commemorating the Civil War in Georgia, Sponsored by Women's Organizations, a multiple property nomination for commemorative sites erected through women's efforts following the Civil War. The war holds such a paramount interpretive position in understanding Georgia (and southern) history, and women's activities were so important in making the social (philosophical and sometimes economic) adjustments necessary after the war, that the team thinks this nomination encompasses a range of buildings, efforts, and activities which are not only native to the South, but are also revealing of social movements spawned by women that, to date, have not received appropriate recognition. This nomination could facilitate different activities beyond the National Register – possibly additional markers in the state, and some additional interpretive materials at important Civil War sites already highly visited and well preserved.

As part of Phase 2 of the project, two additional National Register nominations were prepared. Both nominations continue the team's examination into the three aspects of Georgia women's history with particular emphasis on their emergence into professional fields, particularly the profession of architecture.

6) The Mary Jane and Joseph League House is an especially interesting nomination in that it carries on the Ellamae Ellis League story, but adds the work of her daughter, Jean League Newton, who had a considerable part in designing this home. The house was built after the end of World War II for League's son and his wife, who still live there. It represents an early example of a ranch style house, and was distinctive enough to be featured in the July 1953 issue of *Progressive Architecture*. The Leagues enthusiastically support this nomination.

7) The Architectural Designs of Henrietta Dozier, Leila Ross Wilburn, and Ellamae Ellis League in Georgia is a multiple property nomination that in many ways sums up this entire project. It examines the careers of the first three professional women architects in Georgia, and spans the time from the beginning of the twentieth century until the mid-1960s, by which time women could obtain a degree in architecture in the South (including the Georgia Institute of Technology), and had finally gained a measure of acceptance in the architectural profession.

This selection of nominations demonstrates more historical diversity. The Ellamae Ellis League story strikes at the essence of what the project is about, and gives a unique opportunity to honor women architects and to evaluate the direct impact that women's history has – seen through the work of one of Georgia's most distinguished female architectural practitioners – on the built environment. The Swan House story is one of a woman, three generations of her family, and the servants who worked for her in

the house, some of whom are exceedingly interesting in their own right. The Wesleyan story offers us an opportunity to comment on the growth and changes in women's education in the twentieth century as well as to acknowledge the history and value of the oldest women's college in the state. The organizational buildings will include black women's resources across the state as well as white. The women's contributions to the Civil War, and its aftermath and memorialization, are only now receiving scholarly attention, so this topic is new. The Mary Jane and Joseph League House nomination introduces us to post World War II architecture, the ranch house, which is just beginning to be appreciated. It also shows how much of an innovator Ellamae Ellis League was. Finally, the multiple property nomination of the first three women architects could serve as a microcosm for this whole study. It begins during the time when women were a rarity in any professional field and carries their story into the present where they occupy positions of responsibility in every profession.

05000093

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES REGISTRATION FORM

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in "Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms" (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900a). Type all entries.

1. Name of Property

historic name League, Ellamae Ellis, House
other names/site number N/A

2. Location

street & number 1790 Waverland Drive
city, town Macon () vicinity of
county Bibb code GA 021
state Georgia code GA zip code 31211

() not for publication

3. Classification

Ownership of Property:

- private
- public-local
- public-state
- public-federal

Category of Property:

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Number of Resources within Property:

Contributing

Noncontributing

buildings	1	0
sites	0	0
structures	0	0
objects	0	0
total	1	0

Contributing resources previously listed in the National Register: N/A

Name of previous listing: N/A

Name of related multiple property listing: N/A

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets the National Register criteria. () See continuation sheet.

Richard Coxen

Signature of certifying official

12-22-04

Date

for W. Ray Luce
Historic Preservation Division Director
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer

In my opinion, the property () meets () does not meet the National Register criteria. () See continuation sheet.

Signature of commenting or other official

Date

State or Federal agency or bureau

5. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby, certify that this property is:

() entered in the National Register

() determined eligible for the National Register

() determined not eligible for the National Register

() removed from the National Register

() other, explain:

() see continuation sheet

Keeper of the National Register Date

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions:

DOMESTIC: single dwelling

Current Functions:

DOMESTIC: single dwelling

7. Description

Architectural Classification:

OTHER: split-level house

Materials:

foundation	BRICK
walls	WOOD
roof	WOOD: shake
other	N/A

Description of present and historic physical appearance:

SUMMARY DESCRIPTION

Built in 1940-1941, the Ellamae Ellis League House is located in the Shirley Hills subdivision, northeast of downtown Macon and east of the Ocmulgee River. Architect Ellamae Ellis League (1899-1991) designed this house as her primary residence and lived there from 1940 until her death in 1991.

The design and materials of the house are unusual for this time period in Georgia. The frame house has a split-level floor plan with living spaces on the one-story first level, two bedrooms on the second level, and a built-in garage on the basement level (photographs 1 and 5). The house is sheathed in unpainted redwood siding and the side-gable roofs were originally redwood shakes (now cedar shakes). The house is asymmetrical in design with a variety of original window configurations and a recessed entrance with a wood parquet front door designed by League (photograph 4). The floor plan is comprised of the main level with a foyer, living room, dining room, and kitchen. On the right side of the foyer, stairs lead up to the bedroom level and down to the basement level. The house retains all its original interior materials including pine floors, plaster walls, and cove moldings with dentils in the living room, dining room, and hall. The kitchen retains its original built-in cabinets, and the master bedroom retains its built-in mirrored vanity/chest of drawers.

League never developed a landscape plan for the house, and the property is a grassed sloping lot with mature trees, few shrubs, and a patio and terrace to the rear of the house.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7--Description

FULL DESCRIPTION

The following description was prepared by Bamby Z. Ray, principal, Ray & Associates. "Ellamae Ellis League House," draft National Register of Historic Places Form April 30, 2002. On file at the Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Atlanta, Georgia.

The Ellamae Ellis League House (1940-41) is located at 1790 Waverland Drive in Macon, Georgia, lot 6 of the Shirley Hills subdivision. Shirley Hills is located northeast of downtown Macon and east of the Ocmulgee River. Part of the Shirley Hills neighborhood was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on August 17, 1989 (this house is not within the district). Architect Ellamae Ellis League (1899-1991) designed the house as her primary residence, and she lived there for 50 years until her death in 1991. League was one of Macon's most prominent architects of the 20th century and the first Georgia woman selected as a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects (FAIA). The Ellamae Ellis League House is a split-level, frame house with a brick foundation, redwood siding, and cedar shake roof (originally redwood shingles). The plan of the house is commonly referred to as a split-level; however in the March/April issue of Old House Journal, this plan type was called a side-by-side.¹ Sketches of the original plans and elevations for the house are still in existence at the Washington Memorial Library in Macon, Georgia. Although there are some differences in the windows and some of the details of the house, primarily the garage and master bedroom, these sketches are remarkably true to the house as it was built and as it exists today (see enclosed floor plans and elevations).

The Ellamae Ellis League House represents a complete departure from League's designs for her clients, most of whom preferred the popular revival styles or the newer ranch house designs in the years after World War II. The house is a unique and original house for Macon; it is the only house in Macon that League created in a style that combined the massing of a New England saltbox and a tri-level floor plan with elements of the West Coast houses of Greene & Greene and Bernard Maybeck, whom League greatly admired.

There are two somewhat similar houses in the Shirley Hills neighborhood that were designed by League, but both were built 10 and 15 years later in her career. In 1950, League designed a house at 1849 Waverland Drive for her son Joe League, Jr., who still resides in the house. A house for Moe Scharfman was built in 1955 at 1170 Oakcliff Road. Both of these houses feature redwood siding, however they differ from the Ellamae Ellis League house in that they are one story and have U-shaped floor plans.

Ellamae Ellis League designed and built her house for her personal use, once her two children graduated from high school. The house reflects her needs and lifestyle as a divorced, professional woman with two grown children and later four grandchildren. The house is located on Waverland

¹ "Split Decisions", Old House Journal, March/April 2002, p. 83.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7—Description

Drive, which is a winding, two-lane road with houses on each side of the road. Most of the houses along the street are situated close together due to the long narrow lots. The League House is placed closer to the street than other houses, which enables the back yard to become an outdoor living space. The house takes up almost the entire width of the lot, and League took advantage of the east-west orientation of the house in the size and placement of the windows for cross-ventilation and the overhang of the roof, both of which were important in the southern climate of Macon before air-conditioning became standard in houses.

The house is a split-level design with a built-in garage at the basement level, offset living spaces on the first floor, and two bedrooms above the garage and a half-level above the first floor. The house has a rectangular T-shaped plan, gable roof, second floor sun porch, and first floor terrace. The house is sided with redwood siding, and the roof is now cedar shakes, which replaced the original redwood shingles. From the street or east elevation, the house has the living space to the left and a two-story bedroom/garage wing to the right (photographs 1 and 2). The windows are placed asymmetrically and are double-hung wood windows with a variety of light patterns. On the front (east) facade, two large twelve-over-twelve windows, which reach to floor level, identify the living room (photograph 3). The bedroom wing, which projects forward, has only two small four-over-four windows on the second floor of the front elevation (the lower level is the garage which is windowless).

The south elevation is the living room side of the house, which extends close to the lot line and is dominated by the large brick chimney of the living room fireplace (photograph 3). There are no windows on this end of the house.

The north side of the home has a two-story elevation (photograph 5). The driveway leads to an oversized one-car garage, which is incorporated into the north elevation at the basement level. A glass door next to the garage leads up several steps to the main level, and a solid wood door on the rear elevation of this wing leads to a half bath, which takes up part of the space originally designed for a second car. There are two six-over-six windows on the second floor, one in the master bedroom and one in the main bathroom. Behind the garage, the complexity of this small house begins to appear.

The rear (west) elevation of the house is far more complex in design than the front (photograph 6). The house opens out onto a large raised terrace, originally grass, which League later replaced with slate as nothing would grow in the deep shade. Solid wood doors lead from the living and dining rooms. Like the front yard, the rear yard is heavily treed and minimally landscaped with azaleas along the lot lines. A steep stair provides access to the second floor deck, which is located over the dining room (photograph 7).

Another two-story wing for the kitchen, and second bedroom projects out into the back yard toward the middle of the rear (west) elevation, forming an ell with the garage/master bedroom wing and giving the home its T-shaped floor plan.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7—Description

The three sections of the house on the rear façade project different distances, and each has different windows. The dining room projects slightly, and the living room is set back from the dining room. Windows on the north and west elevations of the projecting ell are six-over-six. Dining room windows are floor-length, triple, six-over-six windows. Floor-length windows were a favorite of Ellamae Ellis League, almost a signature in her house designs. The living room window on this elevation is different from the other windows in the house. The full-length window features nine large panes of glass set three-over-three-over-three in a wood frame.

The front door is an oversized wood parquet door with a three light transom above (photograph 4). The door was designed by League, as were many details of the house. The foyer has two coat closets flanking the door and features a molded shell motif, a signature design of League (photograph 10). The living room is located to the left of the foyer (photographs 11 and 12). Three doors, two from the living room and one from the dining room, lead to the rear terrace. All interior doors except the front door are solid wood, painted white. The living room and dining room floors are random width pine, finished with a natural stain. Walls and ceilings are all smooth plaster. The first floor living, dining, and hall areas feature cove moldings with dentil ornament (photograph 13).

To the right of the front entrance, stairs lead up to the bedrooms and down to the basement door to the garage. The small kitchen is also located to the right of the front door and has doors leading into the dining room. The kitchen still retains its original wood built-in cabinets and the heavy, structural, plate-aluminum countertop added after World War II (photograph 14). The kitchen floor, originally linoleum, is now wood.

The master bedroom faces the front of the house and features a large built-in mirrored vanity and chest of drawers, which is not shown in the plans, but is original to the house (photograph 17). The room also has a generous closet. Door and window surrounds are simple moldings. Two small windows are placed high on the front wall giving privacy from the street. A large window faces to the south and another window is located on the north wall of this room. The bath is located at the same level as the master bedroom (photograph 16).

Facing the back of the house and located over the kitchen is another bedroom, originally used as a guest room, which has a small, private deck over the dining room (photographs 7, 8, and 9). Windows in this rear-facing bedroom are all six-over-six. A steep stair allows access directly from the deck to the slate patio below. An attic storage area is also located off the deck.

Very few changes have been made to the house (it has had only two owners). The current owner replaced the redwood shingle roof with cedar shakes, added a door to the garage, and replaced the original linoleum kitchen floor with wood.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7--Description

Ellamae Ellis League never developed a formal landscape plan for her house. League left the trees already on the wooded lot and added a minimal amount of shrubbery. The stair to the second floor deck and the graveled patio and terrace represent her approach to landscaping.²

² Interview, Bamby Ray with Joe League, Sr., February 12, 2002.

8. Statement of Significance

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

nationally statewide locally

Applicable National Register Criteria:

A B C D

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): N/A

A B C D E F G

Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions):

Architecture
Social History
Other: Women's History

Period of Significance:

1940-1975

Significant Dates:

1940—Construction date of the house.

1975—Closed practice and end of her architectural career.

Significant Person(s):

League, Ellamae Ellis (1899-1991)

Cultural Affiliation:

N/A

Architect(s)/Builder(s):

League, Ellamae Ellis (1899-1991)

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

Statement of significance (areas of significance)

Located in the Shirley Hills neighborhood northwest of downtown Macon in Bibb County, Georgia, the Ellamae Ellis League House is the self-designed residence of Georgia architect Ellamae Ellis League, FAIA.

The Ellamae Ellis League House is significant in the areas of architecture, social history, and women's history for its direct association with prominent Georgia architect Ellamae Ellis League, as an excellent and intact example of her work, and as her private residence where she lived during her productive career. The house is a reflection of the architect who designed it to suit her own needs and lived there until her death in 1991.

The Ellamae Ellis League House is significant at the state level in the interrelated areas of social history and women's history as the primary residence of Ellamae Ellis League during most of her productive life as an architect. As discussed in the draft statewide historic context for women's history in Georgia entitled Georgia: A Woman's Place, women's professions in the south were generally limited to being a schoolteacher or running a boardinghouse, roles considered "acceptable" for women. Ellamae Ellis League was a pioneering woman in the architectural profession in the South, who ran her own successful architectural practice in Macon, Georgia, for more than 40 years (1934-1975). The profession of architecture represented a new career opportunity for women in the early to mid-20th century, and League was a precedent setter in this newly opened field for women. League's firm was one of the largest in Macon, unusual not only for a woman architect, but for architectural firms in general, most of which were one or two person operations. During a time in Georgia where few women owned their own businesses, League successfully ran her own business as well being a principal architect and served as a pioneer and influence to other women who pursued professional careers.

The success of her firm and her long career underscores League's significant in the architectural profession not only in architecture in Georgia and the South but in the larger professional world.³ Women architects often specialized, or were expected to specialize, in domestic design as they were believed to have a better "feel" for that area. League, along with a few other women architects, notably Julia Morgan of California, preferred to design complex buildings, such as schools, churches and hospitals, as well as houses. League also was involved in rehabilitation work. Her best-known rehabilitation was the Grand Opera House in Macon, undertaken in the late 1960s and one of her last major projects.

Although Julia Morgan's career predates League's and is better known, the careers show a number of similarities. Morgan was the first woman admitted and the first to earn a certificate (1902) from the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, which only opened admission to women in 1896.⁴ League also

³ Susana Torre, ed., Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective, New York: Whitney Library of Design, 1977, p. 113.

⁴ Sara Holmes Boutelle, Julia Morgan Architect, New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1995, p. 29-39.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8—Statement of Significance

received training in France and studied design at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Fontainebleau for a year in the late 1920s. Both women followed the Ecole's method of first designing the plan of a building to meet the owner/user's needs and then using an exterior style appropriate for the building's use and location.⁵ Both women operated their own independent architectural practices for more than 40 years, and both claimed to have been influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement.⁶ However, there is a notable difference: Julia Morgan gained a national reputation, particularly through her work for the Hearst family. Ellamae Ellis League was certainly well known in Macon and Georgia, had a number of commissions in other parts of the country, and was a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects (Julia Morgan was a member, but not a Fellow), but League does not appear to have sought or received recognition outside the South. None of League's work was included in the publication sponsored by the Architectural League of New York through its Archive of Women in Architecture entitled Women in American Architecture: A Historic and Contemporary Perspective. The 1977 exhibit (project director was architect Susana Torre, who edited the book) that accompanied the book's release opened at the Brooklyn Museum and toured around the United States also overlooked League's work. The book is still considered the authority on women architects in the United States and fails to even mention League. The omission of League's work possibly can be attributed to a lingering prejudice against the South, gender bias, and a focus on East Coast, West Coast, and Chicago in the architectural profession.⁷

Another difference between Morgan and League was their schooling. Morgan graduated from the University of California at Berkeley with an engineering degree. She became interested in architecture through acquaintance with Bernard Maybeck while at Berkeley.⁸ League studied at Wesleyan College in Macon for a year, then left school, married, and had two children before divorcing five years later. When League decided to become an architect in the 1920s, the opportunity open to her was through apprenticeship since the Georgia Institute of Technology did not admit women to its architecture school until after World War II. A number of colleges in the Northeast and on the West Coast already had programs that graduated a number of women architects, but it was not an option for League with two young children. She did take correspondence courses from the New York-based Beaux Arts Institute of Design (BAID) before her year in France.

Looking at nearby states in the Southeast, Georgia stands out with three documented female architects who practiced professionally in the early 20th century. Another four women practiced in Atlanta between 1940 and 1960. Besides League, the other two from Georgia were Henrietta Dozier and Leila Ross Wilburn. The careers of Dozier and Wilburn as architects were completely different from League. Dozier and Wilburn were both a generation older than League, although Wilburn continued her architectural practice into the 1960s. Henrietta Dozier was from Atlanta, born c.1875,

⁵ Ibid., p. 14-15; Margaret W. Love, "Ellamae Ellis League FAIA", unpublished thesis for the degree of Master of Architecture, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta: Georgia Institute of Technology, 1981.

⁶ Love, p 7-9; Interview Bamby Ray with Joe League, Jr., January 25, 2000.

⁷ Susan Hunter Smith, "Women Architects in Atlanta 1895-1979," Atlanta History Journal, p. 85.

⁸ Torre, p. 79.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8—Statement of Significance

graduated from Girls' High School in 1891, and studied in New York, graduating from Pratt Institute. She then attended the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), graduating in 1899, one of three women in her class. Dozier (she practiced under the name Harry, her deceased father's nickname) was one of six charter members of the Atlanta chapter of the AIA, which was founded in 1906. She was the third woman admitted to the AIA, and the first from the South. In 1916, she left for Jacksonville, Florida, where she remained. Unfortunately, there are very few buildings designed by Dozier extant in Georgia (one house in Columbus), but several of her Jacksonville commissions have been verified.⁹

Leila Ross Wilburn spent her architectural career in Atlanta and had a major effect on the appearance of the city with her residential designs, which are found in residential developments throughout the city. Like Ellamae Ellis League, she lived long (1885-1967) and had a long career, almost sixty years (1908-1967). Similar to League, Leila Ross Wilburn received training as an apprentice (draftsman) in an architect's office. Unlike League however, Wilburn's practice was almost exclusively residential; also unlike League she never joined the AIA. Wilburn designed more than 80 single-family homes, at least 26 apartment buildings, and 24 duplexes, all before 1920. After World War II, she switched from American four square- and bungalow-type homes to the newly popular ranch style. Wilburn worked for a number of large developers in Atlanta and published many of her designs in pattern books.¹⁰

As of 1999, the North Carolina and Alabama State Historic Preservation Offices had not identified any women who practiced architecture before the first half of the 20th century.¹¹ In Tennessee, Sara Ward Conley, an artist rather than an architect, designed one building, the highly praised Beaux Arts-style Woman's Building (1897) for the Tennessee Centennial Exposition of 1897. Another Tennessean, Elizabeth Pritz (1879-?) trained at Columbia University in architecture, worked with several firms in New York and Nashville, and focused on residential architecture. No extant buildings designed by Pritz have been identified, and Sara Ward Conley's 1897 Woman's Building was destroyed after the Exposition. Considering the social climate for women in architecture in general, the South in particular and League's own personal challenges, League's professional achievements in Macon and across the state are extraordinary.

The Ellamae Ellis League House is also significant in the interrelated areas of social history and women's history as the home of the first woman Fellow of the American Institute of Architects (FAIA) in Georgia and the South. The American Institute of Architects (AIA) is the national professional society for architects. The AIA is organized into national, state, and local chapters. An architect does not automatically become a member of AIA and, upon applying for membership, must be selected by his/her peers. To become a Fellow of the AIA, an architect must be one of the top-practicing members of the profession. Even today, this is a national honor and only accorded to few architects and even fewer woman architects. There are still very few women FAIA nationwide; the

⁹ Smith, p. 86-89.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 90-94.

¹¹ Informal telephone inquiry to the North Carolina and Alabama SHPOs by Bamby Ray.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

second and only other Georgia woman FAIA is Ivanue Love-Stanley of the Atlanta architectural firm Stanley Love-Stanley. Ellamae Ellis League applied to join the AIA in 1944 and was selected. (The June 16, 1944 letter from the AIA president informing League of her election to the AIA was addressed to "Mr. League.") League was the second woman to be selected for membership in the Georgia Chapter of the AIA; the first was Henrietta "Harry" Cuttino Dozier in 1905, the third woman elected to the National Chapter of the AIA. For years, League was the only woman in the Atlanta Chapter of the AIA out of 20 members. League held several offices in the Atlanta Chapter and at the state and regional levels.

League was elected a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects at the national convention in Portland, Oregon, in June 1968; she was only the sixth woman FAIA nationwide. Women elected to the FAIA who preceded her were Louise Bethune of New York in 1889, Lois Howe of Boston in 1913, Theodate Pope Riddle of Connecticut and New York in 1926, Elisabeth Coit of New York in 1955 (first woman FAIA under the present College of Fellows which was instituted in 1952), and Victorine Homsey of Wilmington, Delaware in 1967. Elizabeth Kendall Thompson of San Francisco was also elected FAIA in 1968; it was the first time two women became FAIA in the same year. At the time of her death in 1991, Ellamae Ellis League was the only woman FAIA in Georgia and one of only eight nationwide.

Believing AIA membership was not only an honor but also a duty, League established the Macon Chapter of the AIA in 1957 and was its first president. During her career, League held numerous offices including chairman of the committee to form a state AIA organization in the 1950s; first president of the Georgia Council of the AIA from 1963 to 1964; and later director of the Georgia Council. Among League's many AIA awards were the Chapter's Service to the Institute Award in 1961; Atlanta Chapter Producers' Council Award in 1963, awarded to the chapter member contributing the greatest service to the AIA; and recognition for her service as the Student Affairs Chairman in 1966.¹² In 1975, League was presented with the Ivan Allen Senior Award for her work on the Macon Grand Opera House restoration. League closed her practice in 1975 at the age of 76 and was awarded the AIA Bronze Metal, the highest state award given by the AIA. At the time league received the award, it had only been given to five architects other than past presidents of the AIA.¹³

The Ellamae Ellis League House is significant in the area of architecture as an excellent example of the work of architect Ellamae Ellis League and as an excellent and intact example of an architect-designed early split-level house in Georgia reflecting the Modern residential design movement occurring on the West Coast at the time. The design and materials of the house were rare and would not become prevalent in Georgia until decades later. The individuality of her home was intentional. In an interview with Margaret Love she said, "I had an aversion to using the local red brick used by most Macon home builders. So I decided to use California redwood siding and roof shingles for a more mellow color, and also for permanence provided by no other wood." She also

¹² Love, p. 61-65.

¹³ Ibid., p. 39.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

stated she used simple lines so the house would "look at home on the site surrounded by tall pines," and she used the placement of windows to provide cross-ventilation.¹⁴ League even allowed the redwood shingles of the roof to acquire a "mossy green" color, which eventually resulted in the need for their (recent) replacement with cedar shakes. The Ellamae Ellis League House reflects the architect's stated admiration for California architects Greene & Greene and Bernard Maybeck, who also used natural materials in their house designs.

Shirley Hills is a residential subdivision of Macon, Georgia, which developed in two parts (the first section was listed in the National Register of Historic Places on August 17, 1989). Only two other houses in the Shirley Hills neighborhood reflect League's preference for natural materials such as redwood siding; both date from the 1950s, feature one-story floor plans, and were designed by League. In 1950, League designed a home at 1849 Waverland Drive for her son Joe, which used the same materials, but featured a single story floor plan, more of a ranch house design. This home was featured in the July 1953 issue of Progressive Architecture. Five years later, she designed a house at 1170 Oakcliff Road for Moe Scharfman, also in a modern style and also featuring redwood siding. The other homes League designed in the Shirley Hills area are brick and show the individuality that characterized her work because she planned each home around the particular needs and desires of the family, including the 1942 Howard House at 1837 Waverland Drive, the 1938 McNair House at 916 Nottingham Drive, the 1952 Dunlap House at 1151 Oakcliff Road, and two house in "old" Shirley Hills, the 1947 Coddon House at 1268 Jackson Springs Road and the 1939 Lee Happ House at 1271 South Jackson Springs Road (her best known and most copied residential design).

An examination of some of the houses designed by Greene & Greene and Bernard Maybeck, also Julia Morgan and Frank Lloyd Wright, shows some degree of similarity to the Ellamae Ellis League House in the materials used, and in the idea of the building "look[ing] at home on the site" (See Roth, A Concise History of American Architecture, pp. 200-212; Cardwell, Bernard Maybeck Artisan, Architect, Artist, Chapter IV, pp. 57-81; and Boutelle, Julia Morgan, Chapter 6, pp. 129-166). Of the four architects, League's philosophy seems closest to Maybeck, but the details are different. League's house has elements, such as the full-length windows, which very much a reflection of Southern architecture. Ellamae Ellis League never designed another house similar to this one in keeping with League's architectural philosophy that an architect's designs must meet the particular needs of the client (in this case herself).

The Ellamae Ellis League House also is an early, excellent, and intact example in Georgia of the Modern residential design movement occurring in the country toward the middle of the 20th century. For example, the "split-level/tri-level" plan of her house, along with the more common ranch house, represented a move away from the bungalow plan that had dominated middle-class housing from the 1910s through the 1930s. The split-level house would become a much more common house type in the 1960s and 1970s; this house, built in 1940, is a very early example in Georgia of this new, non-

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 49.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8—Statement of Significance

traditional type of house. (Only two others are known at this time to predate this house and both were built in the late 1930s). The orientation of the house toward the backyard was also a Modern trend in residential architecture most clearly evident in the early California ranch houses such as those designed by Cliff May. In the Ellamae Ellis League House, the back yard with its gravel (now slate) patio functioned as an extension of the living area. Instead of a large front porch (common to southern houses since the early 1800s), the backyard became the center of outdoor living. The change in orientation symbolizes a change in families' life-styles in the mid-20th century by turning away from the outside world and focusing on the inner sanctum of the home and yard. This trend was also seen in Frank Lloyd Wright's work of the same period.

Reflecting an individuality and thoughtfulness rarely found in residential design in Georgia at the time, the Ellamae Ellis League House also featured several forward-looking elements for 1940, including the built-in garage and "tri-level" floor plan. The use of roof overhangs, window placement and the orientation of the house to take advantage of cross ventilation, and make the southern climate more comfortable, harked back to earlier house designs. While the Ellamae Ellis League House can be seen as an early example of a number of housing trends that developed in the United States after World War II, it did not start a movement in Macon toward multi-level homes with redwood siding, and today it still retains its uniqueness there.

Plant landscaping is minimal, but by intent. The originally existing pine trees provide dense shade throughout the property. The front yard of the house assumes lesser importance than the backyard, where architectural elements such as a graveled terrace and ladder leading to the second floor deck were the principal elements of League's landscape design. A few azaleas were planted along the property line in the back, and there is a gardenia bush near the garage (her favorite flower). This approach to landscaping and site planning was identical to that adopted by many subdivision developers, site planners, and landscape architects in the early 20th century in Georgia as documented in the statewide historic context Georgia's Living Places: Historic Houses in Their Landscaped Settings (1991).

National Register Criteria

The Ellamae Ellis League house is eligible for the National Register of Historic Places under Criteria A and B in the areas of social history and women's history for its direct association as the primary residence of Ellamae Ellis League, one of Georgia and the South's most prominent female architects. League built her house shortly after becoming one of four women registered as architects in Georgia and opening her own practice in 1934, almost unheard of in Georgia and in the United States at that time. The house was her primary residence from 1940 through the end of her life in 1991 and represents where she lived during her productive career until her retirement in 1975.

The Ellamae Ellis League House is eligible under Criterion C as an excellent and intact example of a house designed by architect Ellamae Ellis League and as an excellent and unique example of the early use of Modern design and materials in a house in Georgia. League designed the house for her

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8—Statement of Significance

own use and incorporated design elements she used in other house plans including triple-hung windows. The split-level floor plan, emphasis on the backyard, and use of redwood siding was occurring on the West Coast at the time the house was built but would not become prevalent in Georgia until decades later.

Criteria Considerations (if applicable)

The period of significance for the Ellamae Ellis League House ends at 1975, less than 50 years ago. The Ellamae Ellis League House meets Criteria Consideration G for exceptional significance for the property's direct association with the productive architectural career of Ellamae Ellis League, which ended with her retirement and closure of her practice in 1975.

Period of significance (justification)

The period of significance begins with the date of construction for the house in 1940 and ends with 1975 to reflect the end of Ellamae Ellis League's productive career as an important Georgia architect. In 1975, League closed her architectural practice, although she lived in the house until her death in 1991. The period of significance encompasses the time period that League was actively working and is the time period most representative of the significance of her career.

Contributing/Noncontributing Resources (explanation, if necessary)

The house is the only resource on the property and is a contributing resource.

Developmental history/historic context (if appropriate)

NOTE: The following developmental history was prepared by Bamby Z. Ray, principal, Ray and Associates. "Ellamae Ellis League House," draft National Register of Historic Places Form April 30, 2002. On file at the Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Atlanta, Georgia.

The Ellamae Ellis League House is a reflection of the architect who designed it to suit her own needs and lived there for the last 51 years of her long and productive life. She died in 1991 at the age of 91. League practiced her profession for more than 50 years, from 1922 until she retired in 1975. Refusing to seek special consideration as a woman, she stated, "if you are an architect, you are an architect."¹⁵ The house is a unique statement of the designer's personality and the spaces with which she wanted to surround herself.

¹⁵ Love, "Ellamae Ellis League FAIA," unpublished master's thesis, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, GA, p.4. Love was able to interview Ms. League and others who knew and worked with her.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

Early Years: Becoming an Architect

Ellamae Ellis League became an architect by necessity. In 1922, divorced at age 23 with two small children, she entered a profession for which she had no prior training. Her husband of five years left her with no financial resources, and Ellamae Ellis League needed to find employment. Six generations of her family had been architects including her uncle Charles E. Choate in Atlanta. Since she had no formal training, she joined the Macon firm Dunwody & Oliphant as an apprentice and remained there for the next four years, from 1923 to 1927, combining office and child rearing duties. During that time, League also took correspondence courses from the Beaux Arts Institute of Design (BAID) in New York City, a school modeled after the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in France.¹⁶

Inspired by her experience with the French method of architectural training, League left her children with their grandparents and quit her job, a "very difficult" decision. With her Atlanta cousin Nell Choate, she studied for a year (1927-1928) at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Fontainebleau. There were only three women in her class of 30. The other two were from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the premier architecture school in the United States and known for using Ecole des Beaux-Arts methods in its architecture program.¹⁷

Establishing a Practice

For two years after she returned from France, 1928-1930, League worked for another Macon architect, George W. Shelverton. Shortly after, William F. Oliphant joined the firm as a partner. The years of the early 1930s, the beginning of the Great Depression, were a bad time for architects all over the country. Shelverton-Oliphant broke up, and League went with Oliphant. Delmar Warren, who had just completed the architecture course at the Georgia Institute of Technology, joined League and Oliphant. Oliphant died in 1933 leaving the two young architects in a predicament. Although Ellamae Ellis League had already been listed in the 1932-33 Who's Who in Georgia, she was not a registered architect, and neither was Warren. League could finish commissions already begun by the office but could not accept new jobs unless she became a registered architect in the state of Georgia. State registration required a degree in architecture or ten years experience in the office of a practicing architect and successful completion of an extensive examination.¹⁸

League went to Atlanta to take the examination, which required an entire week. Since she lacked the engineering background that was part of the examination, she received a "crash course" in that area with her uncle's help. However, League failed the test on design, her strongest area, when one of the examiners did not like her submission. According to League, the test was "designed to keep you out." As soon as possible, she retook the design portion of the examination and passed. Once she received her registration in 1934, League opened a practice under her name Ellamae Ellis

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 12-14.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 16-17.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8—Statement of Significance

League. She finished Oliphant's work and steadily took on more and larger commissions of her own.¹⁹

By the mid-1930s, League had begun to build a successful practice in her own name. In 1934, only two percent of American architects were women, and women who were principals in their own firms were practically non-existent. That there were women architects in Georgia and the South is undoubtedly true; Leila Ross Wilburn had a successful practice in Atlanta. However, the percentage of women architects in Georgia has historically been small—usually one percent and never more than three percent between 1920 and 1978. Susan Hunter Smith investigated women architects in Georgia from 1895, the date of the Atlanta Cotton States and International Exposition in Piedmont Park, through 1920, when state law began requiring architects to register, until 1978, three years after League retired. In 1920, 118 architects were registered in Georgia—two of whom were women, Leila Ross Wilburn and New York native Katherine C. Budd. In the 1930s, two more women were registered including League. Five women were registered in Georgia in the 1950s, two in the 1960s, and 17 in the 1970s. Records for the Atlanta Chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) show a total of 22 women members between 1906 (Henrietta C. Dozier) and 1978. From 1916 when Dozier moved to Florida to 1941, there were no women members of the Atlanta AIA. Four women joined in the 1940s including Ellamae Ellis League in 1944, two in the 1950s, four in the 1960s, and 11 in the 1970s. Combining the AIA and Georgia registrations, a total of 41 women architects practiced in Georgia between 1905 and 1978.²⁰

Most women architects specialized in domestic architecture almost exclusively—they were considered to have a better “feel” for house design. Leila Ross Wilburn of Atlanta, who had her own firm and an extensive architectural practice from 1908 to 1967, specialized primarily in houses and apartments. Ellamae Ellis League did not adhere to this tradition. In contrast to most women architects who ran one-woman offices and specialized in residential architecture, she took on a variety of jobs including Public Works Administration commissions. She designed many churches, schools and hospitals, her favorite projects, because they were so complex and were public buildings. Her firm did not attempt to establish its own distinctive design style but followed the Ecole des Beaux-Arts philosophy of “designing something that answers the need of the owner as far as function is concerned and which is pleasant to look at for both the owner and the public.”²¹ Her work spanned the whole range of architectural design including new homes, residential remodeling, churches, schools, public housing, office buildings, parking garages, hospitals, and even a residential bomb shelter.²² Between 1940 and 1960, four women architects in addition to Leila Ross Wilburn pursued careers in Atlanta: June Wood Wicker, Miriam Toulmin Williams, Helen Coleman Greer, and Elizabeth Moore Ellis. Of these four women, three of whom entered the profession during World War II working for the government and all of whom held college degrees, only Williams opened her own office and that was for a short period. Wicker and Williams became planners, and

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 18-19.

²⁰ Smith, “Women Architects in Atlanta,” p. 85-87.

²¹ Love, p. 46.

²² Ibid., p. 19.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8—Statement of Significance

Ellis worked as a draftsman.²³ In the decades of the 1960s and 1970s, reflecting nationwide trends in women's professional work, women architects in Atlanta grew both in numbers and in self-confidence according to interviews conducted by Susan Hunter Smith. Smith perceived these women as ready to take the mantle of leadership from "the most prominent woman architect in Georgia, Ellamae Ellis League from Macon, ... in the profession, as a fellow in the AIA, as president of the Atlanta chapter."²⁴ In late 1970, 33,000 registered architects were employed in the United States; about four percent of them were women.²⁵ However, the number of registered women architects in Georgia as well as nationwide increased rapidly during the 1970s, propelled by the feminist movement and increasing acceptance of women in top tier architectural schools.

League's daughter Jean Newton became an architect, practiced for a while with her mother, and even lived with her for many years before marrying. Jean League Newton continued to practice as an architect in Macon into the 1980s. Ellamae Ellis League's son Joe became an insurance agent, and she designed his house in 1950, which later appeared in the July 1953 issue of Progressive Architecture.

In the mid-1940s, the firm became League, Warren (Delmar) & Riley. Through the 1950s, there were only a handful of architectural firms in Macon and most were small operations with two or three people. League's practice was the exception. She hired many young architects and gave them a start in the profession. Her son Joe stated about half the architects practicing in Macon today had worked for her early in their careers.²⁶ Jordan Jelks, an architect who began his career in League's firm, described League as always a lady with her "demure, gentle manner and her tenacity."²⁷

American Institute of Architects (AIA)

Ellamae Ellis League applied to join the AIA in 1944 and was selected. The June 16, 1944, letter from the AIA President informing League of her election to the AIA was addressed to "Mr. League." League was only the second woman to be selected for membership in the Georgia Chapter of the AIA. The first was Henrietta "Harry" Cuttino Dozier, selected in 1905, who was the third woman elected to the National Chapter of the AIA. For years League was the only woman in the Atlanta Chapter AIA membership of about 20. She held several offices in the Atlanta Chapter and also at the state and regional level. League was elected an AIA Fellow (FAIA) at the national convention in June 1968 in Portland, Oregon. Another progressive Georgia architect, John Portman was elected FAIA at the same convention; to that date there had only been 817 FAIA in the United States.²⁸ At the time of her death on March 4, 1991, Ellamae Ellis League was still the only woman FAIA in Georgia and one of only eight nationwide.

23 Smith, p. 94-96.

24 Ibid., p. 96-101.

25 The Architectural Forum, "Women in Architecture", p. 46.

26 Interview Bamby Ray with Joe League, Sr., November 10, 1998.

27 Love, p. 31-38.

28 Ibid., p. 26-30.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8—Statement of Significance

Believing AIA membership was not only an honor but also a duty, League established the Macon Chapter of the AIA in 1957 and was its first president. She served as Chairman of the committee to form a state AIA organization in the mid-1950s, served as the first president of the resulting Georgia Council from 1963 to 1964, and was a director of the Council afterwards. Among League's many AIA awards were the Chapter's Service to the Institute Award in 1961; Atlanta Chapter Producers' Council Award in 1963 (awarded to the Chapter member contributing the greatest service to the AIA); and recognition for her service as the National Student Affairs Chairman in 1966.²⁹ In 1975, League retired from active practice at the age of 76 and was presented the Ivan Allen Senior Award by the North Georgia Chapter of the AIA for her work on the Macon Grand Opera House restoration. League was also awarded the AIA Bronze Medal, the highest state award given by the AIA. At the time she received the award, it had only been given to five architects other than past presidents of the AIA.³⁰ In 1982, the Georgia Association of the AIA presented the Bernard B. Rothschild Award to Ellamae Ellis League. The Rothschild award is the highest honor awarded by the Georgia AIA and is given for the most distinguished service to the profession of architecture in Georgia.

Contributions to Macon

League's contributions to the Macon community included longtime involvement with the Macon Little Theater, membership on the Macon Civic Improvement Committee, and designs for the beautification of downtown Macon, especially the plaza on Mulberry Street and the pavilion and promenade along 3rd Street.³¹

Commissions in her first year as a registered architect (1934) included a service station, five houses including a log house, and a reservoir. The following year, her work included two church buildings, a high school, a commercial building and a residential restoration, in addition to residential commissions. A notable commission in 1969 was the restoration of the Grand Opera House in Macon, which was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1970. League was active in historic preservation and was responsible for the renovation of many residences as well as the Opera House. She designed many schools, office and business buildings, club buildings and hospitals.

The Ellamae Ellis League House

In 1940, with both children in college and no longer any need to live close to work and their schools, Ellamae Ellis League designed and built herself a home in a new suburb, the Shirley Hills area of Macon. Christmas 1941 was the first family holiday there.

League followed her own ideas when she designed her house. In a 1981 interview with Margaret W. Love, she had this to say about her [new] home:

²⁹ Ibid., p. 61-65.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 39.

³¹ Ibid., p. 68-70.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

I had an aversion to using the local red brick used by most Macon homebuilders. So I decided to use California redwood siding and roof shingles for a more mellow color, and also for permanence provided by no other wood.

At that time in the trend of design it would have been almost fatal for an architect to build one's own house using simple lines which looked at home on the site surrounded by tall pines, and using tall windows taking advantage of the best exposures.

Redwood weathers well without the benefit of paint and the original roof is mossy green. I managed to acquire some good pieces of contemporary furniture—a Mies van der Rohe Barcelona chair, pedestal coffee table, a pair of Jeanneret chairs, and a lot of cabinets and chests by George Nelson. They are in scale for my house.³²

Similar to Frank Lloyd Wright, League's concern with her residence extended to the appearance of the interior as well as the design of the structure. She designed moldings, the front door, the fireplace surround, and even a trellis for the terrace

The Ellamae Ellis League House is characterized by very modern and forward-looking features that would not commonly appear in houses in Georgia until a decade or more later including a built-in garage, split-level floor plan, the use of modern exterior materials, and the minimally landscaped yard with the large slate terrace placed to the rear of the house. Although some aspects of the design reflected well-established, centuries-earlier notions of homebuilding in Georgia including the orientation and the use of roof overhangs and window placement for passive heating and cooling, the house remains an expression of the highly individual taste and lifestyle of one of Macon, Georgia, and the South's premier women architects of the mid-20th century.

³² Ibid., p. 49.

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National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 9—Major Bibliographic References

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Previous documentation on file (NPS): (X) N/A

- () **preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested**
- () **preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been issued
date issued:**
- () **previously listed in the National Register**
- () **previously determined eligible by the National Register**
- () **designated a National Historic Landmark**
- () **recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #**
- () **recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #**

Primary location of additional data:

- (X) **State historic preservation office**
- () **Other State Agency**
- () **Federal agency**
- () **Local government**
- (X) **University** Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, Georgia; Wesleyan College, Macon,
Georgia
- (X) **Other, Specify Repository:** Washington Memorial Library, Macon, Georgia

Georgia Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): N/A

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property Less than one acre.

UTM References

A) Zone 17 Easting 253722 Northing 3639832

Verbal Boundary Description

The National Register boundary for the Ellamae Ellis League House is indicated on the attached plat map with a heavy black line, drawn to scale.

Boundary Justification

The National Register Boundary is the historic and current legal boundary of the property including the right-of-way.

11. Form Prepared By

State Historic Preservation Office

name/title Gretchen A. Brock/National Register Coordinator
organization Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources
mailing address 156 Trinity Avenue, S.W., Suite 101
city or town Atlanta **state** Georgia **zip code** 30303
telephone (404) 656-2840 **date** December 20, 2004
e-mail gretchen_brock@dnr.state.ga.us

Consulting Services/Technical Assistance (if applicable)() not applicable

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- () **property owner**
() **consultant**
() **regional development center preservation planner**
() **other:**

Property Owner or Contact Information

name (property owner or contact person) Dennis L. McCleary
organization (if applicable) N/A
mailing address 1790 Waverland Drive
city or town Macon **state** Georgia **zip code** 31211-1120
e-mail (optional) N/A

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Photographs

Name of Property: League, Ellamae Ellis, House
City or Vicinity: Macon
County: Bibb
State: Georgia
Photographer: James R. Lockhart
Negative Filed: Georgia Department of Natural Resources
Date Photographed: August 2003

Description of Photograph(s):

Number of photographs: 17

1. Exterior, front (east) façade; photographer facing northwest.
2. Exterior, front (east) and north facades; photographer facing southwest.
3. Exterior front (east) and south facades; photographer facing west.
4. Exterior, detail of front entrance; photographer facing west.
5. Exterior, south and rear (west) facades; photographer facing east.
6. Exterior, rear (west) façade; photographer facing east.
7. Exterior, detail of rear entrance and terrace; photographer facing northeast.
8. Exterior, detail of second floor deck; photographer facing north.
9. Exterior, detail of second floor deck; photographer facing west.
10. Interior, foyer; photographer facing east.
11. Interior, living room; photographer facing south.
12. Interior, living room; photographer facing southeast.
13. Interior, dining room; photographer facing west.
14. Interior, kitchen; photographer facing north.
15. Interior, view to patio and second floor deck; photographer facing west.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Photographs

16. Interior, bath; photographer facing west.
17. Interior, master bedroom; photographer facing north.

(HPD WORD form version 11-03-01)

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

List of Documented Ellamae Ellis League's Architectural Commissions¹

1934-1969

(as amended by Joe League, Sr.)

1934

Client: Reginald Trice
Project: Sinclair Service Station
Address: Napier & Vine Streets Macon, Georgia (demolished)

Client: Mr. Emory Parr
Project: Residence
Address: Reynolds, Georgia

Client: Miss Annie Laurie Brown
Project: Residence
Address: Aiken, South Carolina

Client: Mr. & Mrs. John David Duke
Project: Residence
Address: Fort Valley, Georgia

Client: Mrs. M. R. Medlock
Project: Log House
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Dr. & Mrs. J. N. McGaw
Project: Residence
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Reservoir
Address: Hawkinsville, Georgia

¹Margaret W. Love, "Ellamae Ellis League FAIA," Unpublished thesis for the Degree of Master of Architecture, Georgia Institute of Technology. Atlanta: Georgia Institute for Technology, 1981, p. 110-119.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1935

Client: Methodist Church
Project: Educational Building
Address: Columbus, Georgia

Client:
Project: First Baptist Church
Address: Ashburn, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Allen C. Pritchett
Project: Residence
Address: Perry, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. T. Baldwin Martin
Project: Residence Restoration
Address: Vineville Avenue
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: High School
Address: Gray, Georgia

Client:
Project: Held's Dress Shop
Address: Cherry Street,
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. E. Knox
Project: Residence
Address: Gray, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Charles Miller
Project: Residence
Address: Tifton, Georgia

Client: Dr. & Mrs. L. A. Thomas
Project: Residence
Address: unknown

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1936

Client: Mr. & Mrs. A. Emmett Barnes, Jr.
Project: Residence
Address: Vista Circle
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Ray Chamblis
Project: Residence
Address: Gray, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Harris Hafer
Project: Residence
Address: Fort Valley, Georgia

Client: Dr. & Mrs. Hall Farmer
Project: Proposed Residence
Address: Stanislaus Circle
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Pleasant Hill Colored School (L.H. Williams)
Address: 325 Pursley
Macon, Georgia (demolished)

Client:
Project: Drug Store
Address: Houston Avenue
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. A. O. Sparks
Project: Country Lodge
Address: Lake Reston, Georgia

Client:
Project: Lanier High School Gymnasium
Address: Macon, Georgia (demolished)

1937

Client: Mr. & Mrs. H. A. Ivey
Project: Residence
Address: Montezuma, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1937, continued...

Client: Mr. & Mrs. John Henry West
Project: Residence
Address: Overlook Drive
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. A. B. Wynn
Project: Residence
Address: Cochran, Georgia

Client:
Project: Grade School for Colored
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. T. Carstarphen
Project: Residence
Address: 778 Boulevard
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Jones County Gymnasium, Community Hall and School
Address: Jones County, Georgia

Client: Dr. & Mrs. Robert Ferrell
Project: Residence
Address: Fort Valley, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Hollingsworth
Project: Residence
Address: Fort Valley, Georgia

Client: Webb Coal Company
Project: Office Building
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: James H. Porter Memorial Gymnasium Restoration
Address: Fort Hawkins, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Mark Fitzpatrick
Project: Residence
Address: Tarversville, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1937, continued...

Client:
Project: Community House
Address: Gray, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. L. P. Burney
Project: Residence
Address: 738 North Avenue
Macon, Georgia

1938

Client:
Project: Solomon Store Building
Address: 552 Cherry Street
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Bibb County Court House Alterations
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: McCook Lumber Company
Project: House
Address: Macon, Georgia (demolished)

Client: Mr. & Mrs. George Morris
Project: Residence
Address: Bellevue Road
Dublin, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Bob Murray
Project: Proposed Residence
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Bibb Manufacturing Co.
Address: Porterdale, Georgia

Client: Mrs. Sidney McNair
Project: Residence
Address: 916 Nottingham Drive Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1939

Client: Bibb County Commission
Project: Weaver Memorial Entrance Gate
Address: Weaver Road
Macon, Georgia

Client: Bibb Building
Project: Dr. Truman Slade Office Building
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Flint Electric Membership Corporation
Project: Office Building
Address: Reynolds, Georgia

Client: Alexander II School
Project: Proposed Auditorium Addition
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. Sanders Walker
Project: Residence
Address: Calloway Drive
Macon, Georgia

Client: Dr. & Mrs. O. D. Barron
Project: Residence
Address: Rentz, Georgia

Client: Mrs. Eugene Harris
Project: Residence
Address: Sandersville, Georgia

Client: First Methodist Church
Project: Parsonage
Address: Thomasville, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Charles Hartness
Project: Residence
Address: Cherokee Heights
Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1939, continued...

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Joseph McElrath
Project: Residence
Address: Sandersville, Georgia

Client:
Project: Schwartz Apartments
Address: Napier & Birch Streets Macon, Georgia

Client: Bibb Manufacturing Co.
Project: Teachers' House & Quarters Remodeling
Address: Porterdale, Georgia

Client: Bibb Manufacturing Co.
Project: Warehouse
Address: Porterdale, Georgia

Client:
Project: Taylor County School
Address: Butler, Georgia

Client:
Project: Girls' Junior High School
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mrs. Jack Cutler
Project: Residence
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. A. A. Drake
Project: Residence
Address: Clayton Street
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Wansker Apartment House
Address: Calloway Drive
Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1939, continued...

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Arthur Vester
Project: Residence
Address: Calloway Drive
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mrs. E. M. Burney
Project: Residence (?)
Address: 774 Boulevard
Macon, Georgia

Client: Dr. R. H. Murphey
Project: Dental Offices
Address: Bankers Insurance Bldg.
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Recreation Hall
Address: Camp Wheeler, Georgia

Client: Happ Brothers Company
Project: Cafeteria
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mrs. J. B. Wall
Project: Residence
Address: Sandersville, Georgia

Client:
Project: Popper Apartments
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. M. J. Witman
Project: Residence
Address: Lorane, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. M. D. Coleman
Project: Residence
Address: Devereaux, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

1939, continued...

Client: Hancock County
Project: Board of Education Building
Address: Devereaux, Georgia

Client: Mrs. Lee Happ
Project: Two-family House
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. C. W. Millirons
Project: Residence
Address: 844 Parkview Drive
Macon, Georgia

Client: Sigma Alpha Epsilon
Project: Fraternity House
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. T. W. Fisher
Project: Tourist Camp
Address: Cochran, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Lee Happ
Project: Residence
Address: 1271 Jackson Springs Rd.
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Pringle Willingham
Project: Residence
Address: 1057 Bond Street
Macon, Georgia

1942

Client: Pig 'n Whistle
Project: Dining Room Addition
Address: Georgia Avenue
Macon, Georgia (demolished)

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Floyd Tabor
Project: Residence Addition
Address: Byron, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1942, continued...

Client:
Project: Cochran Field Cadet Club
Address: 645 Mulberry Street
Macon, Georgia

Client: Bibb Manufacturing Co.
Project: Social Club Building
Address: Porterdale, Georgia

Client: Federal Works Agency
Project: Emergency School Buildings
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. E. A. Haskins
Project: Farm Residence
Address: Twiggs County, Georgia

Client: Bibb Manufacturing Co.
Project: Meritas Village
Address: Columbus, Georgia

Client:
Project: Methodist Church
Address: Warner Robbins, Georgia

Client: Ben Willingham
Project: Residence
Address: Forsyth Road
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. H. K. Burns
Project: Residence
Address: Riverdale Road
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. Jackson Edwards
Project: Beach House
Address: Coronado Beach
Florida

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1942, continued...

Client: Noland Company
Project: Warehouse
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Walters Jewelry Store
Address: 410 Second Street
Macon, Georgia

Client: Edgar Brothers
Project: Administrative Building
Address: McIntyre, Georgia

Client:
Project: McCord Office
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Happ Brothers Company
Project: Plant
Address: Sparta, Georgia

Client: Davis Auto Sales Agency
Project:
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. U. S. Wynn
Project: Residence
Address: Dublin, Georgia

Client:
Project: Negro Elementary School
Address: Antioch Road
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. J. E. Burney
Project: Residence
Address: Hawkinsville, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1942, continued...

Client: Mr. & Mrs. M. F. Holt
Project: Residence (?)
Address: Auburn Drive
Macon, Georgia

Client: Dr. & Mrs. C. W. Harwell
Project: Residence
Address: Cordele, Georgia

Client: Yarbrough-Brown Motor Co.
Project:
Address: Walnut Street
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. W. J. Grantham
Project: Residence
Address: Dublin, Georgia

Client: Dr. C. H. Kittrell
Project: Office
Address: Dublin, Georgia

Client:
Project: Gymnasium
Address: Gray, Georgia

Client: Chapman Auto Sales Agency
Project:
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. J. N. Reid
Project: Residence
Address: Signal Mountain Palisades
Chattanooga, Tennessee

Client: Mr. Elbert Mullis
Project: Resort Hotel
Address: Indian Springs, Georgia

Client: Pennfield Cemetery
Project: Keeper's Cottage
Address: Pennfield, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1942, continued...

Client:
Project: Cynthia Weir School
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Saloom Ice Cream Dispensary
Address: First Street
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. John R. Howard
Project: Residence
Address: 1837 Waverland Drive
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Brantley McAdoo
Project: Residence
Address: Lone Oak Drive
Macon, Georgia

Client: Carroll Pontiac Sales Agency
Project:
Address: Dublin, Georgia

Client:
Project: Elk's Club
Address: Dalton, Georgia

Client: Carroll Hudson Agency
Project:
Address: Dublin, Georgia

Client:
Project: Baptist Church
Address: Fort Valley, Georgia

Client:
Project: Georgia Baptist College
Address: Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1942, continued...

Client: Edgar Brothers
Project: Residence
Address: McIntyre, Georgia

Client:
Project: Fort Hawkins School Alterations
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. Herbert H. Brandon
Project: Residence
Address: Dublin, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. T. H. Chambers
Project: Residence
Address: Gray, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Marvin Bowdoin
Project: Residence
Address: Juliette, Georgia

Client:
Project: School
Address: Bartow, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. M. W. White
Project: Residence
Address: Forsyth Road
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. J. C. Pickren
Project: Residence
Address: Unadilla, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Davis Lane
Project: Residence
Address: Fort Valley, Georgia

Client:
Project: Methodist Church
Address: Ashburn, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1942, continued...

Client:
Project: Casson Flower Shop
Address: Forsyth Street
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Herbert Smart Air Terminal
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Happ Housing Complex
Address: Ware Street
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Scott Service Station
Address: Forsyth Road
Macon, Georgia

Client: Southern Waterproofing Company
Project: Shop Building
Address: Macon, Georgia

1947

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Albert Glass
Project: Residence
Address: 1350 Waverland Drive
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. M. Daugherty
Project: Residence
Address: 1831 Upper River Road
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. Thruman Watley
Project: Lake Lodge House
Address: Reynolds, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1947, continued...

Client: Wesleyan Christian Advocate
Project: Publishing House
Address: Forsyth Road
Macon (?), Georgia

Client:
Project: Quinn Furniture Store
Address: Cherry Street
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Reidsville High School
Address: Reidsville, Georgia

Client:
Project: Glennville High School
Address: Glennville, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. E. S. Blackburn
Project: Residence
Address: Sparta, Georgia

Client:
Project: Porterfield Community Building
Address: Houston Road
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mrs. Malcom Jones
Project: Residence
Address: Buford Road, Macon Georgia

Client: Blue Bird Body Company
Project: Administration & Cafeteria Building
Address: Fort Valley, Georgia

Client:
Project: Gardner Motor Court
Address: Perry, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1947, continued...

Client: National Cash Register Co.
Project: Office Building
Address: Cherry Street
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Adams Office Building
Address: 625 Walnut Street
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Orr Apartments
Address: Vineville Avenue
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. M. J. Coddon
Project: Residence
Address: 1268 Jackson Springs Road
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Mortuary & Chapel Building
Address: Warner Robins, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. R. C. Barnett
Project: Residence
Address: 1840 Waverland Drive
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Grand School
Address: Gray, Georgia

Client:
Project: Ballard Hudson School
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: John W. Burke School Assembly Room
Address: Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1947, continued...

Client: Mr. & Mrs. John Wadley
Project: Residence (?)
Address: 335 Riverdale Road
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: McKenzie Apartments
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Lewis Shop
Address: Vineville Avenue
Macon, Georgia

1949

Client:
Project: Cooper Office Building
Address: 552 Third Street
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Adams Service Station
Address: Forsyth Road
Macon, Georgia

Client: Bibb Manufacturing Co.
Project: Office Building
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Albert S. Jenkins
Project: Residence
Address: Baxley, Georgia

Client:
Project: First St. Methodist Church
Address: First Street
Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1949, continued...

Client: Beckham
Project: Lake House
Address: Perry, Georgia

Client: Burke
Project: Residence
Address: Stanislaus Drive
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mrs. R. P. Walker
Project: Residence
Address: Kathleen, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. B. G. Shaw
Project: Residence
Address: South Carolina

Client: Dr. F. K. Bruss
Project: Dental Offices
Address: Mulberry Street
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Mary Lou Shop
Address: Cherry Street
Macon, Georgia

1950

Client:
Project: Happ Apartment Group
Address: North Avenue
Macon, Georgia

Client: Dr. & Mrs. R. McAllister
Project: Residence
Address: Twin Pines Drive
Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1950, continued...

Client: Dr. & Mrs. D. E. Nathan
Project: Residence
Address: Fort Valley, Georgia

Client: Macon Electric & Blueprinting Company
Project: Building
Address: 444 Walnut Street
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Mable White Baptist Church
Address: Broadway
Macon, Georgia

Client: Dr. Holloway Bush
Project: Doctors Office Building
Address: Daisy Park
Macon, Georgia

Client: Dr. Sam Patton
Project: Office
Address: Poplar Street
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. H. K. Burns
Project: Residence
Address: Wimbish Road
Macon, Georgia

Client: Fraternal A. Masons (FAM)
Project: Macon Lodge No. 5
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Lehman Keen
Project: Residence
Address: Dublin, Georgia

Client: James King Stores
Project:
Address: Ingleside Avenue
Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1950, continued...

Client:
Project: Vienna Methodist Church
Address: Vienna, Georgia

Client:
Project: Bus Station
Address: Soperton, Georgia

1951

Client:
Project: Smith Service Station
Address: McRae, Georgia

Client:
Project: Macon Little Theater
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Mikado Baptist Church
Address: 3837 Houston Street
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Caldwell Dance Studio
Address: Cherry Street
Macon, Georgia

Client: Christ Episcopal Church
Project: Proposed Parish House
Address: Dublin, Georgia

1952

Client: Mrs. J. T. Killen
Project: Residence
Address: Vista Circle
Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1952 continued...

Client: Mr. & Mrs. J. Coke
Project: Residence & Country House
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: South Macon High School
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Recreation Center
Address: Vienna, Georgia

Client:
Project: Academy for Blind Negroes
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. R. Neel
Project: Residence
Address: River Road
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: St. James Episcopal Church
Address: Courtland Avenue
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. R. C. Dunlap
Project: Residence
Address: 1151 Oakcliff Road
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Lamar Bryant
Project: Residence
Address: Dublin, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1953

Client: Mr. & Mrs. H. W. Scruggs
Project: Residence (?)
Address: 2924 Hillandale Circle
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Porterdale Baptist Church
Address: Porterdale, Georgia

Client:
Project: Jones County Health Center
Address: Gray, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. A. W. Glass
Project: Residence
Address: Winchester Circle
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Macon Hospital Expansion
Address: Macon, Georgia

1954

Client:
Project: Macon Street Elementary School
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Idle Hour Country Club
Project: Alterations
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. Harry Marshall
Project: Residence
Address: Lone Oak Road
Macon, Georgia

Client: Church of the Mediator
Project: Parish House
Address: Washington, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1954, continued...

Client: Byron High School & Elementary School
Project: Lunchroom & Kitchen
Address: Byron, Georgia

Client: Randolph Ragan
Project: Residence
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. J. A. Rachels
Project: Residence
Address: Dublin, Georgia

1955

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Moe Scharfman
Project: Residence
Address: 1170 Oakcliff Road
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Pennington Office Building
Address: 829 First Street
Macon, Georgia

Client: Dr. & Mrs. R. C. Eberhardt
Project: Residence
Address: 2970 Hillandale Circle
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Fort Valley Elementary-High School
Address: Fort Valley, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Carl Cochran
Project: Residence
Address: Dublin, Georgia

Client:
Project: Westmoreland Animal Hospital
Address: Riverside Drive
Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1955, continued...

Client:
Project: Chestnut School
Address: Fort Valley, Georgia

Client:
Project: Williams Apartments (Proposed)
Address: Vineville Avenue
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: St. Matthews Mission
Address: Monroe Street
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Salvation Army Building
Address: 1976 Houston Street
Macon, Georgia

1956

Client:
Project: Fort Valley Jr. High School
Address: Fort Valley, Georgia

Client: Judge & Mrs. William Bootle
Project: Residence
Address: Lamar Drive
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Bryon Methodist Church
Address: Bryon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Tatnall Square Medical Center
Address: 1624 Coleman Avenue
Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1956, continued...

Client: Mr. & Mrs. J. C. Haynes
Project: Residence
Address: Tucson, Arizona

Client: Mr. & Mrs. A. J. Evans
Project: Residence
Address: Fort Valley, Georgia

Client:
Project: Ellis Office & Warehouse
Address: Tampa, Florida

1957

Client: Mineral & Chemicals Corp.
Project: Records Storage Building
Address: Brunswick (?), Maine

Client:
Project: Forest Park Nursing Home
Address: Forest Avenue
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. John Houser
Project: Residence
Address: Perry, Georgia

Client:
Project: Briggs Apartments
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Ivan Allen
Project: Alterations
Address: Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1958

Client: Holman Hotel
Project: Alterations
Address: Athens, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. W. E. Runson
Project: Residence
Address: Reynolds, Georgia

Client:
Project: M. M. Burdell School
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: First Baptist Church
Address: Soperton, Georgia

1959

Client: Townsend Brothers
Project: Funeral Home
Address: Dublin, Georgia

Client: Central Hotel
Project: Alterations
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. J. Siquefila
Project: Residence
Address: Tennille, Georgia

Client: Christ Church
Project: Chapel & Parish House
Address: Walnut Street
Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1960

Client: Christian Science Society
Project:
Address: Warner Robins, Georgia

Client:
Project: Apartment Building
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client: American Legion
Project: Post 74
Address: Miller Field Road
Macon, Georgia

Client: Macon Housing Authority
Project:
Address: Felton Avenue
Macon, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Frank Lee
Project: Residence (?)
Address: 2024 Upper River Road
Macon, Georgia

1961

Client: Mr. William Nathaniel
Project: Residence
Address: Glen Cove
Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Formly Beauty Salon
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Scottish Rite Temple
Address: 1985 Vineville Avenue
Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1963

Client:
Project: Seventh Day Adventist Ch.
Address: 640 Winbish Road
Macon, Georgia

Client: Kohlmeyer & Company
Project: Office, First National Bank Building
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Winship School
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Masonic Building
Address: Macon, Georgia

1964

Client:
Project: Ballard-Hudson Vocational School
Address: Macon, Georgia

Client:
Project: Parks Office
Address: Reynolds, Georgia

1965

Client : Mr. & Mrs. C. Schofield
Project: Residence
Address: Fort Valley, Georgia

Client: Mr. & Mrs. Hendley Napier
Project: Residence
Address: Briarcliff Road
Macon, Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

1965 continued...

Client: Clisby & Company
Project: Offices
Address: First Street
Macon, Georgia

1969

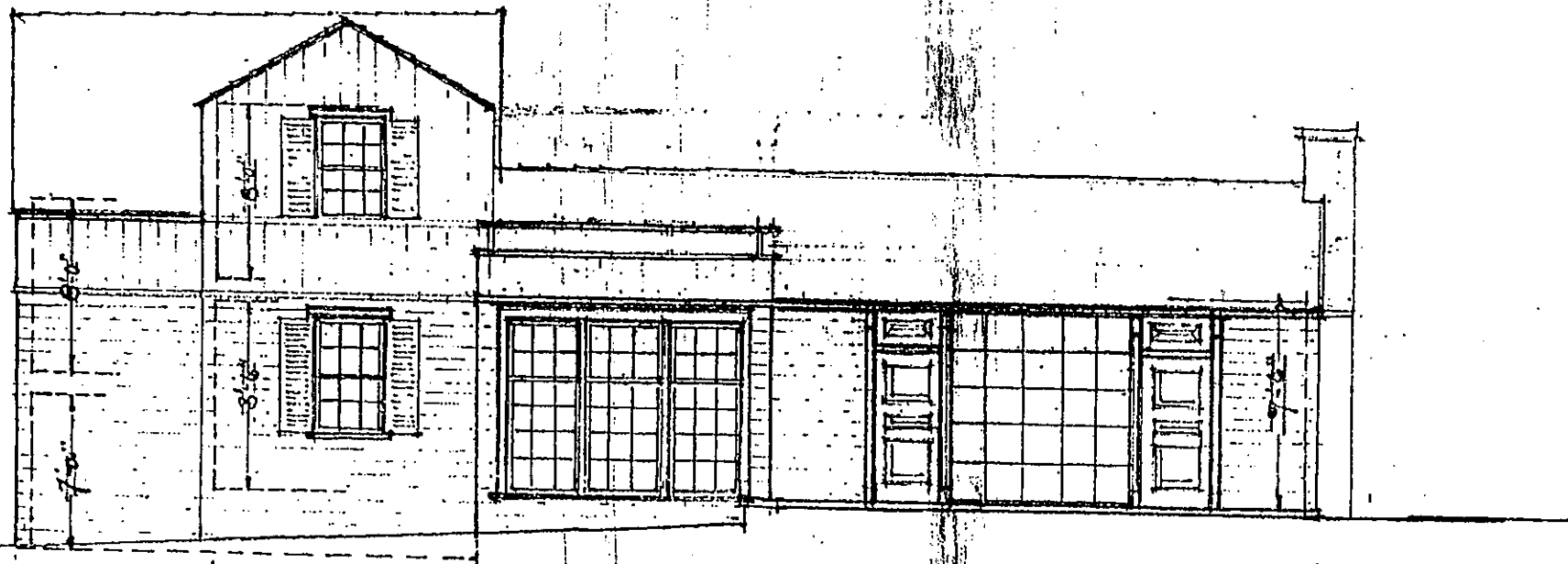
Client:
Project: Grand Opera House Renovation
Address: Macon, Georgia



FRONT ELEVATION
SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0"

A RESIDENCE FOR
MRS. MACON GEORGE
ELLAMAE ELLIS LEAGUE
MAY 1917

LEAGUE, ELLAMAE ELLIS, HOUSE
BIBB COUNTY, GEORGIA
FRONT ELEVATION
SOURCE: ORIGINAL DRAWINGS OF ELLAMAE ELLIS
LEAGUE AT WASHINGTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY,
MACON, GA

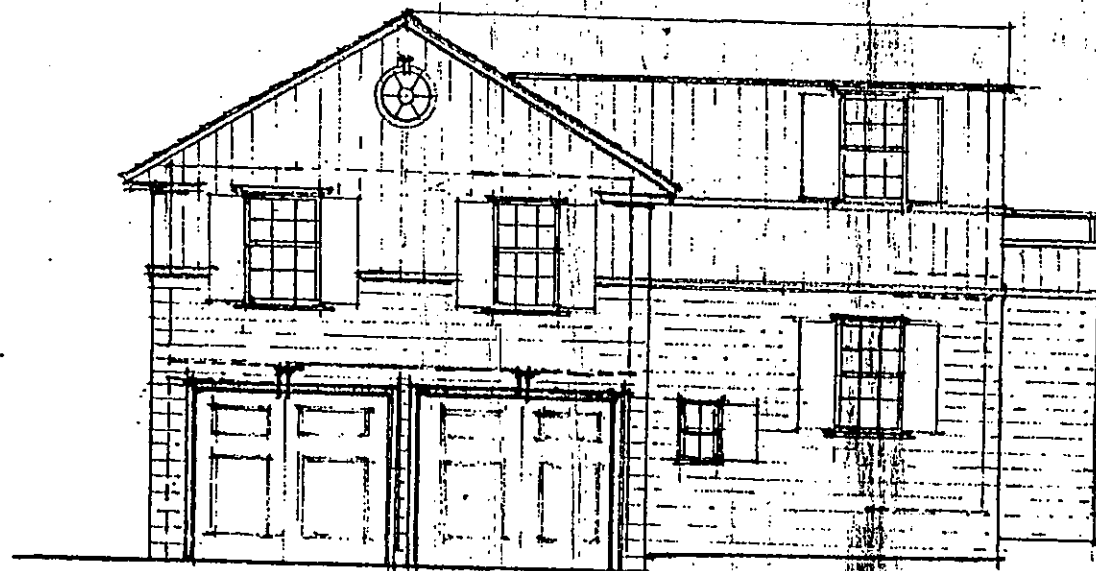


PERPENDICULAR TO MEASUREMENT

ELLAMAE ELLIS LEAGUE
 ARCHITECT
 MACON GEORGIA

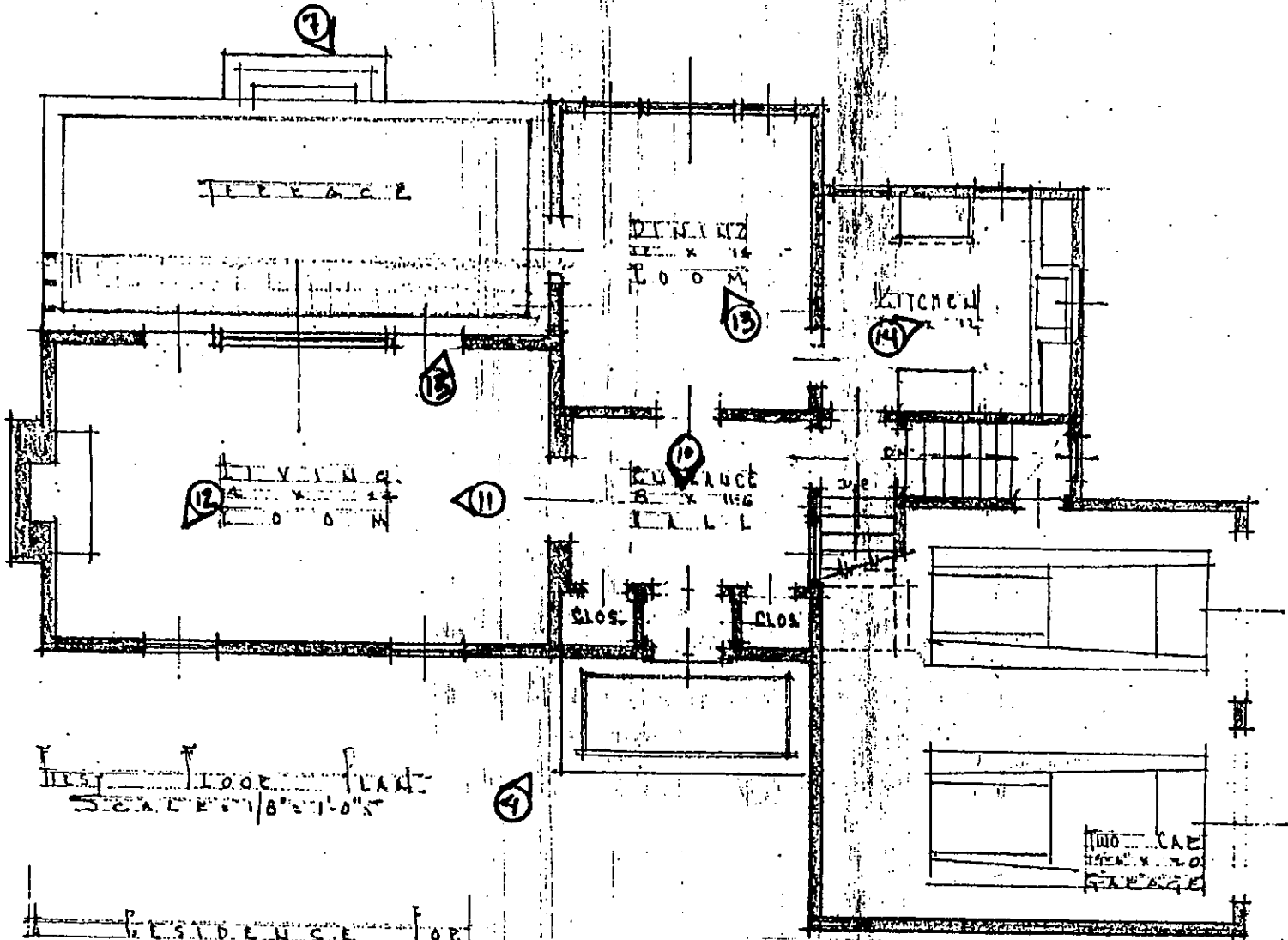
REAR ELEVATION
 SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0"

LEAGUE, ELLAMAE ELLIS, HOUSE
 BIBB COUNTY, GEORGIA
 REAR ELEVATION
 SOURCE: ORIGINAL DRAWINGS OF ELLAMAE ELLIS
 LEAGUE AT WASHINGTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY,
 MACON, GA



RIGHT SIDE ELEVATION

LEAGUE, ELLAMAE ELLIS, HOUSE
BIBB COUNTY, GEORGIA
RIGHT SIDE ELEVATION
SOURCE: ORIGINAL DRAWINGS OF ELLAMAE ELLIS
LEAGUE AT WASHINGTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY,
MACON, GA



FIRST FLOOR PLAN
SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0"

RESIDENCE FOR
MRS. ELLAMAE ELLIS LEAGUE

LEAGUE, ELLAMAE ELLIS, HOUSE
BIBB COUNTY, GEORGIA

FIRST FLOOR PLAN (AS DRAWN)
PHOTOGRAPH/DIRECTION OF VIEW: ①


NORTH: →
SCALE: NOT TO SCALE

SOURCE: ORIGINAL DRAWINGS OF ELLAMAE ELLIS
LEAGUE AT WASHINGTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY,
MACON, GA

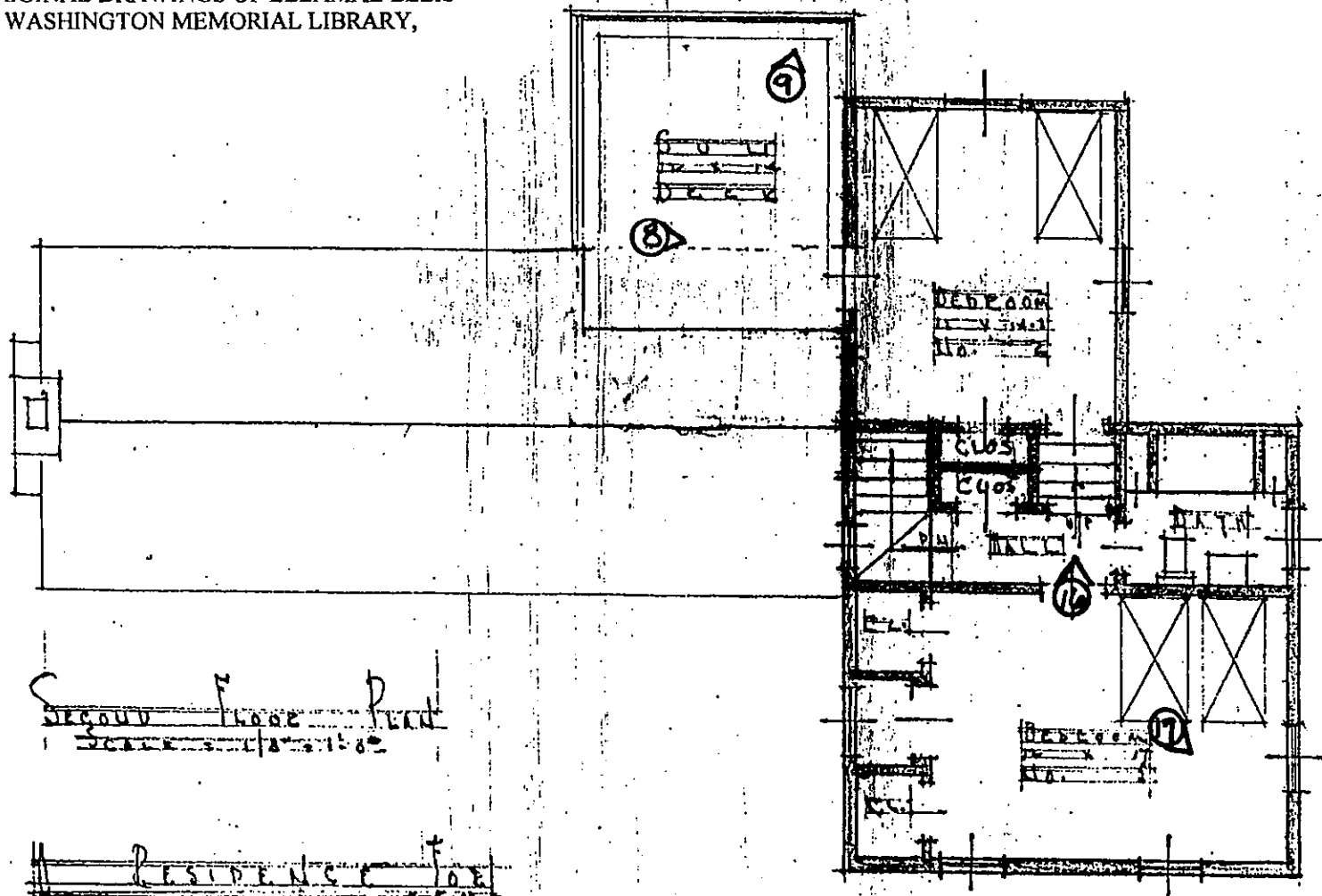
③

①

②

LEAGUE, ELLAMAE ELLIS, HOUSE
BIBB COUNTY, GEORGIA
SECOND FLOOR PLAN (AS DRAWN)
PHOTOGRAPH/DIRECTION OF VIEW: ①
NORTH: 
SCALE: NOT TO SCALE

SOURCE: ORIGINAL DRAWINGS OF ELLAMAE ELLIS
LEAGUE AT WASHINGTON MEMORIAL LIBRARY,
MACON, GA



Second Floor Plan
Scale 1/8" = 1'-0"

RESIDENCE FOR
MRS. ELLAMAE ELLIS LEAGUE
MACON, GEORGIA

MACON WEST QUADRANGLE
GEORGIA - BIBB CO.
7.5 MINUTE SERIES (TOPOGRAPHIC)

SW/4 MACON 15' QUADRANGLE

2240' NE
(MACON NE)

40' 252 660 000 FEET 253 254 83° 37' 30" 32° 52' 30"

National Register of Historic Places ↑



3640
3639
1 040 000
FEET
3638
3637
3636
50'
3635

27 11 49
GRAY 16 MI
EATONTON 41 MI
23
87
TARYSVILLE 23 MI
COCHRAN 40 MI

INTERCHANGE 21 (U.S. 7) 89 MI

19

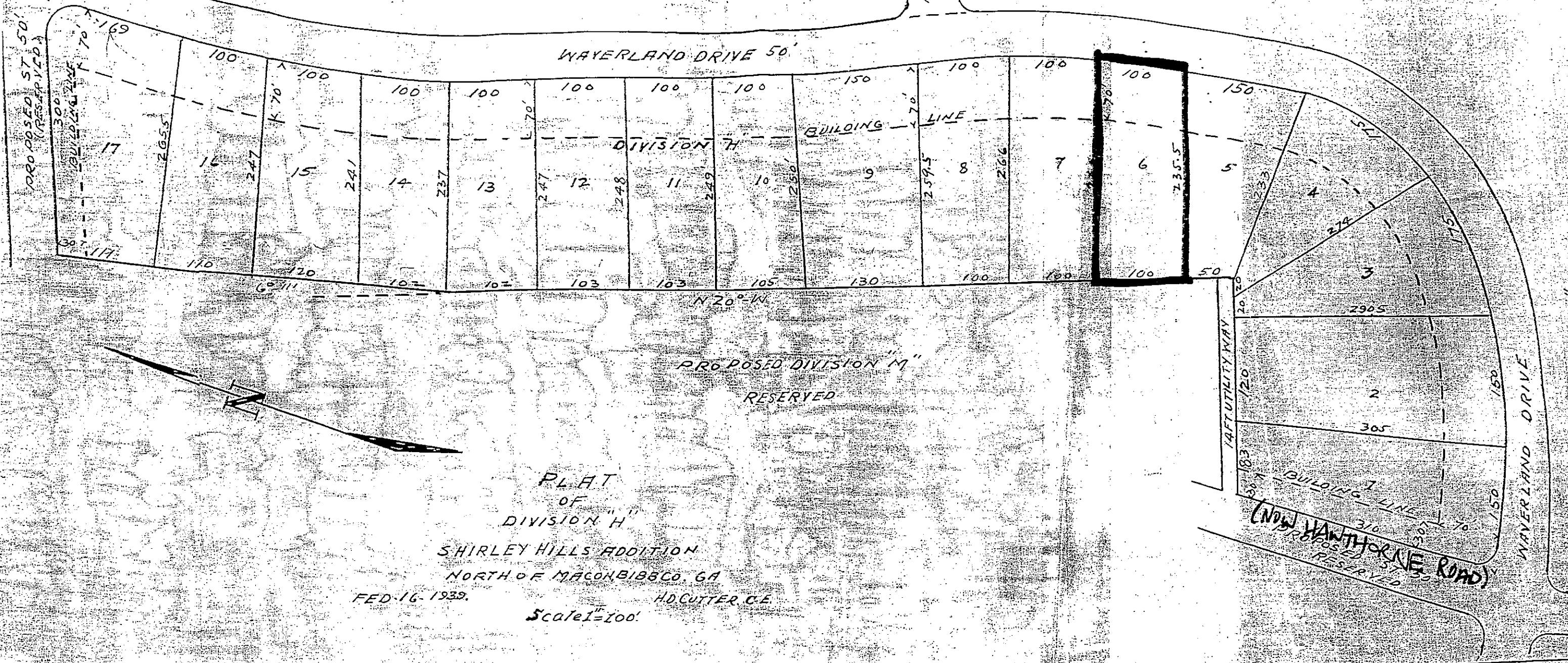
BM 332

BM 336

DIVISION I

PROPOSED RESE

WAYERLAND DRIVE 50'



DIVISION H

BUILDING LINE

PROPOSED DIVISION "M" RESERVED


PLAT OF DIVISION "H"

SHIRLEY HILLS ADDITION NORTH OF MACON, BIBB CO. GA

FEB. 16, 1939.

H.D. CUTLER, C.E.

Scale 1" = 100'

LEAGUE, ELLAMAE ELLIS, HOUSE
 BIBB COUNTY, GEORGIA
 PLAT MAP/NATIONAL REGISTER BOUNDARY
 NATIONAL REGISTER BOUNDARY: ████████
 NORTH: 
 SCALE: 1" = 100'
 SOURCE: PROPERTY OWNER

04000242

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES REGISTRATION FORM

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in "Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms" (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900a). Type all entries.

1. Name of Property

historic name Wesleyan College Historic District
other names/site number N/A

2. Location

street & number 4760 Forsyth Road
city, town Macon (N/A) vicinity of
county Bibb code 021
state Georgia code GA zip code 31210

(N/A) not for publication

3. Classification

Ownership of Property:

- private
- public-local
- public-state
- public-federal

Category of Property:

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Number of Resources within Property:	<u>Contributing</u>	<u>Noncontributing</u>
buildings	22	6
sites	0	0
structures	3	2
objects	1	0
total	26	8

Contributing resources previously listed in the National Register: N/A

Name of previous listing: N/A

Name of related multiple property listing: N/A

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets the National Register criteria. () See continuation sheet.

Richard Claves
Signature of certifying official

2-12-04
Date

for W. Ray Luce, Ph.D.
Historic Preservation Division Director
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer

In my opinion, the property () meets () does not meet the National Register criteria. () See continuation sheet.

Signature of commenting or other official

Date

State or Federal agency or bureau

5. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby, certify that this property is:

() entered in the National Register

() determined eligible for the National Register

() determined not eligible for the National Register

() removed from the National Register

() other, explain:

() see continuation sheet

Keeper of the National Register

Date

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions:

EDUCATION/college

Current Functions:

EDUCATION/college

7. Description

Architectural Classification:

Georgian Revival

Materials:

foundation	brick, concrete
walls	brick, wood
roof	asphalt shingle
other	marble, wood, metal and concrete

Description of present and historic physical appearance:

SUMMARY DESCRIPTION

The Wesleyan College Historic District consists of approximately 30 buildings, most of which are contributing. The 1928 historic campus is on the north side of Macon, in the suburban neighborhood of Rivoli, and the buildings are built in the Georgian Revival style with all of them bearing a similarity of design. The central, open, quadrangle parallels Forsyth Road. Around this quad can be found Tate and Taylor Halls (1928 classroom buildings), the Porter Gym (1928), the original Candler Library (1928), and the Porter Fine Arts Building (1955). Just to the northwest is a second, closed quadrangle that is the dormitory complex, which contains the Olive Swann Porter Building (1928), a large, 3-story, red-brick structure with a Mount Vernon-style portico. The Porter Building connects to the Persons Hall Dormitory (1928) via a loggia, and adjoining these two are Banks Hall and Wortham Hall, two additional dormitories, also 1928. Newer dormitories, just across a roadway, but in the same area, are Jones Hall (1959) and Hightower Hall (1963). The Willett Library (1968) sits near Forsyth Road across the entrance road from Tate Hall. Huckabee Hall (1957), the infirmary, sits between the dorms and the fine arts building. At the northernmost part of the campus, with a driveway to Forsyth Road, is Bradley House (1918), a private home purchased and added to the campus in 1954 to be the President's Home. Near there are three historic barns and one new barn connected by pathways to the stable and horse riding area with its riding ring and equestrian center, and the modern Mathews Athletic Center, both noncontributing. There are three historic houses along Tucker Road. The Murphey Art Building (1964) and the reconstructed Anderson Cabin are also on the campus, along with a modern 1998 noncontributing dorm and a 1998 noncontributing apartment building and new parking lots and 2001 gates on the southernmost corner of the campus at Forsyth and Tucker Roads. Historic 1936 entry gates are at the main entrance near Tate Hall.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7--Description

There is a historic sundial in front of the Porter Fine Arts Building. It was a gift of the Class of 1928. There is also Foster Lake created in 1949 in the middle of the campus, between the dormitory area and the sports complex area.

DETAILED DESCRIPTION:

Wesleyan College is located in the suburban neighborhood of Rivoli, on the northern outskirts of Macon, Georgia. The Wesleyan College Historic District includes the entire 200 acre campus of the school. The core of the present campus was built between 1927 and 1928 as a new location for the school, founded in 1836 as Georgia Female College. The purchase of this site for a new campus represented the decision to move the school from central Macon when it outgrew its original downtown location.

The new campus was planned as a unified design from the beginning, and later additions to the school have continued to follow the original master plan. The resulting consistency of design throughout the campus makes this school an architectural delight. The park-like feel of the campus is obtained by the large grassy expanses of the central quadrangle, part of the original landscape plan by the Atlanta, Georgia, firm of J. Leon Hoffman. Massive live oaks line the quadrangle. Mature magnolias, Japanese maples, ginkgo, flowering quince, dogwood, tea olive and other species of hardwoods contribute to the overall design. Foundation plants include azaleas, boxwood and hollies. The arboretum at the back of the campus is a native hardwood forest with deer, rabbit, fox, raccoon, possum and many species of birds.

All the buildings within the confines of the college property were built from 1928 until 1968, when the last major buildings built to fill out the original 1928 plan were completed and are considered historic and contributing to this nomination. This includes a number of buildings which were acquired when donations and acquisitions of land and buildings expanded the original acreage of the college by almost a third in the 1950s. Three other buildings which date from the 1950s and three from the 1960s, while not yet 50 years old, were constructed closely following the 1928 campus master plan and are also considered to be contributing. The majority of the buildings that make up the Wesleyan College Historic District are Georgian Revival-style academic buildings surrounding the central quadrangle, which serves as the focal point of the campus and is the setting for major outdoor activities.

Approximately half the land included in the Wesleyan campus is a forest preserve/arboretum and remains undeveloped. The developed campus comprises the eastern half of the area and is located along the west side of Forsyth Road. Housing developments are located to the north and south of the college campus. The "core campus" is set in the southeast corner of the property. At the northern edge of the campus are a large lake, the sports complex, and another area which includes the riding ring and equestrian center and pastures. (Photos 30 and 31.) This section, along with the President's House just east of it, was donated to the college in 1954. (Photo 34.)

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7--Description

The core campus is dominated by an open central quadrangle running northwest-southeast, with a smaller rectangular grassy area offset on the southwest side. Large trees line the central quadrangle. (Photos 5 and 6.) Classroom buildings are situated on the east side of this quadrangle; the former Candler Library (now the Alumnae Building) is on the northwest end. (Photo 3.) The Willett Library is located nearby, on the north corner of the quadrangle. (Photo 2.) The Porter Gymnasium is located on the southeast corner of the central quadrangle (photos 9 and 10), and two new buildings, a dormitory and an apartment building, both non-contributing, have been added at the south end. (Photo 8.) In the center of the grassy area on the west side of the central quadrangle is the Porter Fine Arts Building. (Photo 12.) A large multi-purpose building, the Olive Swann Porter Building, containing offices, reception rooms, and a dining hall is located at the western edge of the central quadrangle. (Photos 14 and 15.) Access to a second, enclosed quadrangle and the attached dormitories is through a loggia which dominates the east elevation of this building. (Photos 17 and 18.) A recent addition, the Mathews Athletic Center, is a sports center, located near the playing fields to the west of the original campus. (Photo 31.) Other newer buildings are sited west of the central quadrangle. The Anderson Log Cabin, reconstructed to replicate the original, is located in the wooded area to the southwest of the main campus. (Photo 29.)

The original campus, dating from 1928, is comprised of Porter Gymnasium, Taylor Hall, Banks Hall Dormitory, Wortham Hall Dormitory, the Olive Swann Porter Building, Tate Hall, Persons Hall Dormitory, the Candler Library Building, and the Physical Plant which includes the boiler house, maintenance shop and laundry. Each will be discussed in more detail below. All of the red brick buildings are constructed in the Georgian Revival style popular with academic institutions in the 1920s. Overall, the historic core of the campus retains the look and feel of a college, centered on the landscaped open central quadrangle.

Just after the original buildings of the campus were completed, the Great Depression hit the country in 1929 and created uncertain economic times, which greatly affected private colleges. It was not until 1955-1956 that expansion of the school justified further construction. Three additional buildings were built then, following the original master plan, and expansion of the college has continued steadily since. Those added in the 1950s are Porter Fine Arts (1955), Huckabee Hall (1957), and Jones Hall (1959). See below for more details.

The last building program, which completed the 1928 plan, consisted of the completion of Hightower Hall and the new Physical Plant in 1963, the Murphey Art Building in 1964, and the Willett Library in 1968. See below for more details.

Only minor exterior changes have been made to some of the buildings. An Americans with Disabilities Act ramp was installed on Persons Hall Dormitory; steps were added to the rear of the Candler Library/ Alumnae Building; and a fire escape and elevator were added to Taylor Hall.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7--Description

DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS:

Facing the central quadrangle are the following buildings:

The **Porter Gymnasium** (1928, designed by Walker & Weeks) (photos 9, 10 and 11) is a two-story red brick Georgian Revival-style structure with gable roof adorned with cupola and weathervane. The building was named for James H. Porter, of Macon, a trustee and benefactor of the college. The weathervane features girls in basketball attire. The gymnasium houses a swimming pool on the lower level and large gym space on the main level. Windows on the north facade of the second floor are large multi-light arched windows with wood surrounds. Glass block windows are located on the south facade. Four small dormer windows protrude from the upper story. The lower story windows are small rectangular multi-light windows. Small, saddlebag structures that house classrooms and a small gym are located on either end of the building. The trim is marble throughout the building.

Taylor Hall (1928, designed by Walker & Weeks) (photos 6 and 7) is a red brick two-story Georgian building with a gable roof. Taylor Hall was built as a classroom building. It still maintains that function today, housing classrooms, laboratories and offices. The building was named for Robert Jenks Taylor, of Macon, a trustee and benefactor of the college. The central portion of the main facade is recessed about five feet from the side wings. The side wings have five wood multi-light windows on each floor. The center of the gable is pierced by a half-lunette. A double wood multi-light entry door with multi-light transom is located in the center of the building. There are seven wood multi-light windows on each floor in the central portion of the building. The steps and window and door surrounds are marble. Keystone details over the windows provide ornamentation.

Tate Hall (1928, designed by Walker & Weeks) (photo 5) is a mirror image of Taylor Hall. Built for classrooms, Tate still serves that purpose today, along with administration functions. Tate Hall was named for Colonel Sam Tate, a trustee and benefactor of the college. Colonel Tate was from Tate, in north Georgia, a town noted for the Tate Marble quarry owned by he and his family.

The **Candler Library Building** (1928, designed by Philip Shutze) (photos 3 and 4) housed the library until 1968 when the Willet Library was constructed. The two-story Candler Building has a portico with four Ionic columns. Curving stairs on either side provide entry to the upper story main level. The lower level of the portico has three arches; a doorway through the central one accesses the lower level. A concrete stringcourse and keystones over the windows provide additional decorative elements. Today the building is used as the Alumnae Center. The original reading rooms on the upper floor are now used for receptions. The building was given by Judge John Slaughter Candler of Atlanta and named in memory of his parents, Samuel and Martha Beall Candler.

The **Olive Swann Porter Building** (1928, designed by Walker & Weeks) (photos 14 and 15) is a large red brick three-story structure whose main feature is the Mount Vernon portico on the southeast facade. This portico, which was built as an exact replica of the portico at George Washington's home in Virginia, has two-story square columns, large arched windows on the second floor, and smaller window and door openings on the first floor. The northeast facade of the building has a smaller

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7--Description

portico. Windows on this facade are rectangular wood, multi-light, with keystone ornamentation. The Olive Swann Porter Building continues to house admissions functions, a small chapel, and the Anderson dining hall. The building was given to the college by a trustee, James Hyde Porter, and named for his wife, Olive Swann Porter, of Macon.

This building connects to Persons Hall Dormitory via a loggia on the northeast facade, which is the other main feature of the building. The Palladian-style opening through the center of this wing of the Olive Swann Porter Building is known as the loggia. A metal railing and metal staircase lead to the lower level from the loggia. There is a large broken pediment over the loggia entrance. The windows on the lower level have a keystone detail above the windows. The columns, stairs, and trim are marble.

Persons Hall Dormitory (1928, designed by Walker & Weeks) (photo 15) is connected by the loggia on the northeast side of the Olive Swann Porter Building. A first-floor date parlor and reception area were originally entered through the loggia. All dates were received and students signed out in that area. Built as a dormitory, Persons is still used as such. The main entrance of this red brick Georgian Revival-style building has a two-story portico with gable roof. From the side, the three stories of the building can be seen. The only detail on the sides is the keystone motif over most of the windows and the broken pediment at the front of the building. All trim is marble. The building was given to the college by Robert and Ogden Persons of Forsyth, Georgia, and named in memory of their mother, Mary Barry Persons (Class of 1869).

Adjoining the Olive Swann Porter Building and Persons Hall Dormitory are Banks Hall and Wortham Hall Dormitories which form the enclosed quadrangle.

Banks Hall Dormitory (1928, designed by Walker & Weeks) (photos 17, 18 and 19) is a three-story red brick Georgian Revival-style building with a two-level portico on the southeast facade. The lower level of the portico is accessed through a series of arches. The rest of the portico is two-story with a triangular pediment and square columns. Keystone details over the windows and doors provide ornamentation. The windows are six-over-six, wood multi-light windows. The southwest corner of the building has an arched portico entryway. Built as a dormitory, it is still used as such today. Banks Hall Dormitory was named for William Nathaniel and Mary Evelyn Wright Banks (Class of 1914), trustees and benefactors, of Grantville, Georgia.

Wortham Hall Dormitory (1928, designed by Walker & Weeks) (photos 20 and 21) is the mirror image of Banks Hall Dormitory. It also continues in use as a dorm. The building was given to the college by Nettie Dunlap Wortham (Class of 1875), trustee and benefactor, of Macon.

The original **Physical Plant** (1928, designed by Walker & Weeks) (photo 25), which is located behind the gymnasium, included a boiler house with smokestack, a laundry, and the maintenance shop. The laundry building is a red brick one-story structure with gable roof. The laundry is currently being used as a workshop and for storage. Windows are metal multi-light. The brick boiler house is a rectangular structure with a small brick addition completed in 1945. A large expanse of multi-light

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

Section 7--Description

windows faces south. The building is currently used for storage.

The original campus plan included several other buildings that were not constructed in 1928. Three of these buildings were built in the 1950s during a time of school expansion and are considered as contributing to the historic district. These three buildings are the Porter Fine Arts Building, Huckabee Hall, and Jones Hall Dormitory.

The **Porter Fine Arts Building** (photos 12 and 13) was built next to the gymnasium in 1955-1956. Porter Fine Arts was designed by W. Elliott Dunwody, a Macon architect whose firm, Dunwody & Oliphant, had been involved as associate architects during the original construction program. Dunwody adhered to the original architectural design for this building. The simple Georgian Revival-style red brick building has a two-story portico with unbroken pediment. Five wooden doors, the central one with a pediment, permit entry into the lobby. Designed to be used for music and theater, it is still used as such today. The auditorium was renovated in 1980, and sound absorbing material was removed for better acoustics. New paint and carpet were also added. The building was named for members of the Porter family, of Macon, benefactors of the college.

In front of the Porter Fine Arts Building is a historic sundial donated by the class of 1928, the last class to graduate at the old campus. (Photo 13.)

Huckabee Hall (photo 22), also designed by Dunwody, was constructed in 1957 as the infirmary, and is still used as such today. This simple one-story red brick Georgian Revival-style building has multi-light windows and a central door with fanlight. A portico with Ionic columns shelters the entrance. There have been no major changes to the interior of the building. Huckabee Hall was given to the college by Leo B. Huckabee, of Macon, a college benefactor and trustee, in memory of his parents, William Allen Huckabee and Hassie Charlotte Townsend Huckabee.

Jones Hall Dormitory (photo 24), designed by Dunwody and constructed in 1959, also followed the original architectural design, although its location within the campus was slightly changed from the original plan. Jones is a three-story red brick Georgian Revival-style building with two-story portico over the first floor arched entry. Windows are multi-light with no ornamentation on the front. The back of the building has wings with pierced pediments and decorative concrete panels. The rear entry is a white two-story wood entry with Ionic columns and fanlight over the door. Built as a dormitory, it is still used as such. There have been no major changes to the interior of the building. The building was named for C. Baxter Jones and Carolyn Cater Jones (Class of 1917), of Macon. Mr. Jones was a trustee of the college, as well as the college attorney.

In the last major building program in which the buildings are considered historic, and which rounded out the original campus plan, three other buildings were built. These include the Hightower Hall Dormitory, the Willett Library, and the Murphey Art Building.

Hightower Hall Dormitory (photos 22 and 23), built in 1963, was designed by Dunwody, and resembles the Jones Hall Dormitory of only a few years earlier. It is a three-story with raised

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7--Description

basement, red brick, Georgian Revival-style building. It has a loggia for its entrance. Hightower was named in honor of Julian Hightower and Grace Laramore Hightower (Class of 1920), of Thomaston, Georgia. Mrs. Hightower was a trustee, and both were benefactors.

The **Murphey Art Building** (photo 28). This building was built in 1964 and designed by Dunwody. It is a one-story, red brick building reminiscent of an English Georgian-style orangery. It has four elaborate pilasters with three round-arched windows under a blank "entablature." It was named in honor of Valeria McCullough Murphey (Class of 1948), of Macon. She was the first woman and first alumna to chair the Board of Trustees and was also a benefactor

The **Willet Library** (photo 2), was designed by the Macon architectural firm of Dunwody & Associates, completed in 1968 and opened in 1969 to be the campus library, replacing the Candler Library. The Willett Library is a two-story with a high basement, Georgian Revival-style building, with the northeast entrance on the second floor via an elaborate divided or double staircase with decorative railing. The entry door at the top of the stair contains an elaborate entrance doorway with a mock balcony above. The northeast facade has paired pilasters. Willett named in honor of Lucy Lester Willet (Class of 1881), of Atlanta, and given by her son, Lawrence Willet, of Atlanta.

Other contributing buildings, which were not part of the original campus, include:

The **Bradley House** (photo 34), used as the President's home today, was built in 1918 for George and Annie Robertson Kinnett, founders of Kinnett Dairy. The architect is unknown. The two-story brick home features a well-balanced facade with a sunporch on one side and a porte-cochere on the other. The front porch is capped by a wood balustrade. Minor changes to the home, including updating the kitchen and bathrooms, have occurred over the years. A small den was also added on the back of the house. Overall, the house retains its original Colonial Revival design. The house is named for the W. C. Bradley Foundation of Columbus. The Foundation purchased the property and then donated the 66-acre property on which the house, riding ring, and equestrian center is sited to the college in 1954.

There are three **Old Barns** (photos 32 and 33) that are associated with the Bradley House. They are constructed of hollow core tile, painted yellow. Built c.1918, two of these simple structures were originally used as chicken houses and the third as a barn. Today they are used for storing feed and equipment for the horses.

The three **Knox Houses** (photo 27), built in the 1940s, are small one-story frame buildings, painted white. They were originally used for faculty housing. The three houses, each approximately 1,000 square feet, are located on the southeast side of the campus and face Tucker Road. They were given to the college in 1952 by the Knox family who built them as part of a development project. Today they house a day care center, a senior citizens' center, and an artist's studio. There have been no major changes to the buildings.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7--Description

There are historic **main entrance gates** near the Willett Library that were added in 1936. They were placed by Phi Mu sorority in honor of the college's centennial as an institution that year. (Photo 1.)

Non-contributing buildings and structures within the boundaries of the historic district were built later than the cut-off period of 1968 when the original campus plan was completed and are thus not considered historic or contributing. Most represent a very recent phase of campus development.

They are the following:

Corn Hall and the **South Apartments** (photo 8) were built in 1998 following the same Georgian Revival-style design in use throughout the campus. The **Mathews Athletic Complex** (photos 30, 31 and 32) was completed in 1999. The **Anderson Cabin** (photo 29), located in the arboretum, is a reconstructed replica of the original cabin. There is also a **New Barn** (photo 31, far right) near the old barns, and a **New Physical Plant**. (Not photographed.)

There were a set of new **secondary entrance gates**, at the south entrance off Forsyth Road, near Taylor Hall, dedicated in 2001, on the 150th anniversary of the founding of the two sororities there that became Phi Mu and Alpha Delta Pi. The names of the two sororities are on the left brick post, and the name of the college on the right one. (Photograph 7.)

8. Statement of Significance

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

nationally statewide locally

Applicable National Register Criteria:

A B C D

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): N/A

A B C D E F G

Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions):

Architecture
Community Planning and Development
Education (within the larger context of women's history in Georgia)
Landscape Architecture

Period of Significance:

1928-1968

Significant Dates:

1928 - Occupation of campus on Forsyth Road; oldest buildings constructed
1954 - Bradley Foundation donates 66 acres, including the 1918 Kinnett/Bradley House (President's House)
1968 - completion of Willett Library, last building in the original campus plan

Significant Person(s):

N/A

Cultural Affiliation:

N/A

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

Architect(s)/Builder(s):

Walker & Weeks, of Cleveland, Ohio, with Dunwody & Oliphant of Macon, Georgia, as associate architects. Principals: Frank E. Walker (1877-1949) and Harry E. Weeks (1871-1935).

1928-Banks Hall Dormitory
1928-Olive Swann Porter Building
1928-Persons Hall Dormitory
1928-Physical Plant
1928-Porter Gymnasium
1928-Tate Hall
1928-Taylor Hall
1928-Wortham Hall Dormitory

Philip T. Shutze, of Atlanta, Georgia:
1928-Candler Library Building

J. Leon Hoffman Company, of Atlanta, Georgia:
1928-Landscape design

W. Elliott Dunwody, of Macon, Georgia:
1956-Porter Fine Arts
1957-Huckabee Hall
1959-Jones Hall Dormitory
1963-Hightower Hall Dormitory
1968-Willet Library

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

Statement of significance (areas of significance)

The Wesleyan College Historic District is significant in architecture because the campus was designed by the firm of Walker and Weeks of Cleveland, Ohio, and retains all the original buildings built based on the 1928 campus master plan. Frank E. Walker (1877-1949) and Harry E. Weeks (1871-1935) were Massachusetts natives and MIT graduates who joined the Cleveland, Ohio firm of J. Milton Dyer in 1905. They established their own architectural practice, Walker & Weeks, in 1911. The firm, which was Cleveland's foremost architectural firm in the 1920s, specialized in bank buildings, constructing more than 60 throughout Ohio. They did other buildings in Georgia, including the Melhana Plantation in Thomasville, and the Tate House in Pickens County. The Wesleyan buildings are good examples of the use of the Georgian Revival style for a college campus, with the use of red brick, stone, and cast concrete elements of the style. The use of the same style for all the major buildings resulted in a visually unified campus. The buildings are unified around a central quadrangle that is the open focal point of the campus, with an adjacent, enclosed quadrangle, the focal point of the dormitory area. Both quadrangle forms have their roots in earlier European campus planning. The master plan for the 1928 campus on the outskirts of Macon reflected prevailing campus designs and was tied together through its unified architecture. The original Candler Library (1928) is significant as a work of Philip T. Shutze (1890-1982) of Atlanta and contains a magnificent second floor reading room now used for events. Several of the later buildings are significant as the works of Macon architect W. Elliott Dunwoody (1893-1986), including the Porter Fine Arts Building (1955), Huckabee Hall (1957) built as the infirmary, the Jones (1959) and Hightower (1963) dormitories, the Murphey Art Building (1964) and the co-design of the Willet Library (1968).

The campus is significant in the area of landscape architecture for its well-planned site and well-maintained plantings. Designed in 1928 by the Atlanta landscape firm of J. Leon Hoffman (1889-1982) and Company, the original landscaping plan was developed along with the architectural master plan by Walker and Weeks, and the two were intended to complement each other. Hoffman, a pupil of the great American landscape designer Frederick Law Olmsted, designed many gardens, grounds and other developments throughout his long career. Early in his career, he supervised Olmsted's work on the Biltmore House in Asheville, North Carolina, and the Druid Hills suburb in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1915. His work took him to many parts of the country including Florida, Texas and California. In Georgia his work included designs at Callaway Gardens near Pine Mountain; Avondale Estates, Morningside, and Garden Hills, all subdivisions in Atlanta; and Shirley Hills, Ingleside, Forsyth Circle, Stanislaus Circle, and Callaway Terrace in Macon. He often featured the Wesleyan plan in his catalog. The Wesleyan landscape plan emphasized the academic, secluded nature of a college campus in a pleasant setting, with all the buildings laid out around an academic quadrangle and then juxtapositioned with a residential quadrangle. The trees planted throughout the campus at appropriate locations helped pull all the aspects of this plan together. Overall, the planned landscape at Wesleyan College is among the most intact examples of early 20th-century campus landscaping in Georgia.

An area just north of the present library, consisting of a grove of cherry trees, was designed by noted Macon architect Ellamae Ellis League, who attended Wesleyan College. Early in her career as an

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

architect, League worked for the architectural firm Dunwody & Oliphant, associate architects for the initial construction of the campus. League, who practiced as an independent architect in Macon for more than forty years, was the first female Fellow of the American Institute of Architects from Georgia.

The Wesleyan campus is significant in the area of community planning and development for its master plan by Walker and Weeks of Cleveland, Ohio, which was developed in the 1920s, specifically for this site, and has been followed closely in later development of the campus including the buildings built in the 1950s and 1960s. The trustees purchased the land for the college once it became clear that a new larger campus was needed, selected an architectural firm to prepare a plan for the campus, and adhered to the plan in later development. It represents the era in which men's, women's and co-educational schools were moving to "more healthful" suburban locations, and the planned campus became the norm. Because it has remained true to the original plan, the campus serves as a fine physical example of this aspect of college planning. The plan for Wesleyan included two styles of quadrangle design, the open and the enclosed. The Wesleyan campus core is a large open central quadrangle, a form whose history dates to the mid-sixteenth century in Cambridge, England where it was first used as a health measure. The shape of the enclosed quadrangle, which forms the dormitory area behind the Olive Swann Porter Building, dates to medieval times when such a setting was viewed as a protection or line of defense. The enclosed quadrangle was also influenced by the layout of many monasteries where so much learning had been preserved, and whose design therefore became associated with education. This cloistered world remained the traditional seat of learning until modern times. At Wesleyan, the dormitories and administrative functions are located in the enclosed quadrangle area. The setting of buildings around a central quadrangle was viewed as the ideal for American campuses and was widely adopted. Overall, the Wesleyan campus is among the most extensive and intact early 20th-century planned campuses in Georgia with little if any incompatible new development or intrusive parking lots that characterize many other college campuses.

The campus is also significant in education, and within the broader historic context of women's history in Georgia, for being an important Methodist-supported women's college, carrying on the tradition of college-level education for women at this new campus. The institution, Wesleyan College, was founded in 1836 as a college for the higher education of women. It was chartered by the State of Georgia in 1836 to grant college degrees to women. Due to the persistence of local Macon citizens and their religious convictions regarding the value of higher education, the college was brought into existence in Georgia before the Civil War, at a time when most people thought that women had no need to be educated. Macon was chosen as the site due to its central location within the state. The school opened in downtown Macon in 1838 and awarded its first degrees in 1840 to students who had transferred from nearby Clinton Academy. The diploma awarded to Catherine Brewer Benson, the first graduate, in 1840 stated: "... embracing all the Sciences which are usually taught in the Colleges of the United States, with such as appropriately belong in its most ample range...." The current campus, laid out in 1928, continued the strong tradition of women's education in a four-year college and was supported by the Methodist church. It has remained throughout the historic period a woman's liberal arts college. A nationally recognized college, Wesleyan's longevity attests to its

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

strength and significance in the realm of women's higher education. Wesleyan has remained at the forefront of women's education by continuing its focus on the liberal arts and especially the sciences. It is one of only 52 women's colleges in the country today; in 1960 there were 259.

National Register Criteria

This nomination meets National Register Criterion A because the Wesleyan College Historic District falls within the broad patterns of American History in the areas of women's education as a center for women's education on this campus since 1928. It is one of only a few private women's colleges remaining in Georgia. The nomination meets National Register Criterion C because the majority of the buildings are good examples of the Georgian Revival style that presented the collegiate look in the early 20th century and retain their original details. The original campus plan and buildings were designed by well-known Cleveland, Ohio architects Walker & Weeks. All of these buildings retain their classical details in the columns, porticos, and arches of their original design. Campus planning and development, with specific attention to landscape details, make this campus a fine example of a new campus of the 1920s. It meets this criterion also for the work of Philip T. Shutze in the design of the Candler Library Building, also 1928, and his use of classical detailing on the interior.

Criteria Considerations (if applicable)

Criterion Consideration G does not apply to this historic district nomination even though the period of significance extends to 1968. The district encompasses a historic college campus that was planned and largely developed according to the plan more than 50 years ago. The great majority of the contributing buildings comprising the historic district—22 of 28, or 79%—were built more than 50 years ago. The six remaining contributing buildings are integral parts of the historic district, and they conform to the overall historic plan for the campus in terms of their function, placement, size, massing and arrangement, architectural style, and building materials. They represent the completion of the campus as it was planned in the 1920s. Virtually no building took place on campus for 30 years following the extended completion of the original building campaign. Recently constructed buildings dating from the late 1990s are compatible with the historic campus but were not envisioned as part of the original plan.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

Period of significance (justification)

The period of significance dates from 1928, the year the Rivoli campus opened, until 1968 with the completion of the Willett Library. Because the Willett Library and other buildings built between 1954 and 1968 completed and rounded out the original 1928 campus plan by Walker and Weeks, it was felt important to extend the period of significance to include these buildings. All of the major buildings built from 1928 to 1968 are in the original Georgian Revival style and conform to the original campus plan. Together, they continue and complete the look of the campus, the unified look intended by the original architects and campus planners, Walker and Weeks, of Cleveland, Ohio.

Contributing/Noncontributing Resources (explanation, if necessary)

Contributing:

Buildings:

22: Banks Hall Dormitory, Bradley Barns (3), Bradley House, Candler Library Building, Hightower Hall Dormitory, Huckabee Hall, Jones Hall Dormitory, Knox Buildings (3), Murphey Art Building, Persons Hall Dormitory, Olive Swann Porter Building, Physical Plant, Porter Fine Arts, Porter Gymnasium, Tate Hall, Taylor Hall, Willet Library, Wortham Hall Dormitory

Structures:

3: The campus plan, Foster Lake (1949), original 1936 gates,

Objects:

1 The Sundial in front of Porter Fine Arts Building.

Non-Contributing:

Buildings:

6: Anderson Cabin, Corn Hall Dormitory, Mathews Athletic Center, New Barn, New Physical Plant, South Apartments,

Structures:

2: The riding ring/ equestrian center and the new 2001 gates.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

Developmental history/historic context (if appropriate)

Introductory Notes

The Wesleyan College Historic District consists entirely of the 1928 campus and its additions. The heritage of the institution goes back nearly a century earlier with its incorporation in 1836 as the Georgia Female College and with the college's long association as the oldest women's college in the United States, if not the world. Due to the fact that none of the buildings on the present campus nor the land dates back to the earlier campus, no claim is made in this nomination or in this essay to that history as far as the significance of this district goes. But it is important in setting the context for the present nomination at the present campus to note the important history of the institution and how it started out as a college, rather than growing from a seminary or academy as did so many other future women's colleges. It is also important to point out not just the survival of this institution but also its growth, against the many odds that faced other women's institutions, which put it in the position of needing a new, larger campus, as Wesleyan did, in the 1920s.

Because in this nomination we are not claiming significance for the school's history from 1836 to 1928, no attempt is being made here to verify through outside sources, although none is known to refute or supercede the statement, that the Georgia Female College/Wesleyan College was chartered as the first degree-granting college for women in the United States and perhaps in the world. The college's current literature states: "Chartered in 1836, Wesleyan was the very first college in the world to grant degrees to women" and "First for Women." While many institutions claim an earlier date, research of their promotional literature on the Internet points to their origins as a seminary or lower level institution rather than beginning as a college, as did Wesleyan. Wesleyan's creation, as the Georgia Female College, as will be shown below, was the culmination of a growing interest by Georgia leaders for over a decade in creating an institution of higher learning for women to be equal to the University of Georgia, the state-supported college for men. At Wesleyan's centennial commemorative events in 1936, the President of Vassar College, in New York, Henry N. MacCracken, declared: "I am here in behalf of woman's colleges to affirm that Wesleyan is the first college for women. I am glad to pay honor to the Magna Charta of education for women." (quoted in Akers, 1976, p. 157.)

History of Wesleyan College

(NOTE: The following historical narrative was researched and written by Wesleyan College's consultant, Ray and Associates, with minor additions and edits by Historic Preservation Division staff.)

Founding the College

Wesleyan College was chartered by the State of Georgia on December 23, 1836 as the Georgia

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

Female College, through the efforts of Macon citizens and the Georgia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was later asserted to be the first college in the world chartered to grant degrees to women. The college was declared a United Methodist Church Historical Landmark in 1992.

In Georgia, a growing interest in education in the late 18th century, fueled by Revolutionary War idealism, spurred creation of academies to educate the state's children. At the grammar school level, academies, primarily built for the education of boys, emphasized the arts and sciences, as well as the classics for college preparation. Some were coeducational; others were founded and operated by women as female academies. However, there was no college to receive these female graduates. In 1829 there were 90 academies in the state, by 1850 there were 219. While the original plans for what became Georgia Female College, were for a seminary, the Reverend Elijah Sinclair's proposal for a college won out instead. The term "seminary" was commonly used at the time to refer to a post-grammar school; however, a seminary did not confer degrees.

The Honorable Duncan G. Campbell (1787-1828), a lawyer, a one-time principal of a female academy in Wilkes County, and later a state legislator from Wilkes County, first introduced the idea of a public institution of higher learning for women to the Georgia Legislature in November of 1825. His goal was to establish an institution for women that would equal that for men. The measure introduced by Campbell passed the State House of Representatives but was rejected by the State Senate. The idea was revived again by his son-in-law, the Honorable Daniel Chandler, in 1834 in his commencement address at the University of Georgia. When the Georgia Conference of the Methodist Church convened in January of 1835 in Macon, the idea of establishing a woman's college was introduced. With the interest of Macon citizens, a committee was appointed in June of that year to report to the Georgia Conference on their proposal for such an institution. On January 13, 1836, the Georgia Conference voted to accept the Georgia Female College and approved plans for Emory College for men in Oxford, Georgia, the same day. This was reported in Macon's *Georgia Messenger* that same month, on January 21, 1836. The article stated that the conference, the governing body of the Methodist church in Georgia, "by a unanimous vote, we understand, has taken this Institution under its fostering care and appointed the following gentlemen as trustees." The men named included Bishop Andrews, Lovick Pierce, Ignatius A. Few (who would also be the first president of Emory), and several important local Macon men. Thus from the beginning, the school was tied to the Methodist church and to Macon. Only a few issues later the appointment of a building committee was announced. The newspaper also contained announcements during that year of the creation of numerous academies and seminaries but no other colleges.

In Georgia, colleges for men had been established as early as 1785. Most schools and colleges in Georgia and the rest of the country at the time were affiliated with a religious institution. Only a few were supported by individuals or state government. Many of the conservative citizens of Georgia perceived no need to educate women. However, fueled primarily by religious zeal, and a need for more women to be trained as teachers, the educators won.

Once approval for the college was granted, Dr. George Foster Pierce, a Methodist minister who became the first president of the college, traveled with others around the state soliciting money to

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

build the college buildings. Frontier conditions existed throughout much of the state. Travel and communication were slow. Roads were poor, and the railroads were only beginning to be built. Steamboats were a favored means of transportation, with four regularly docking on the Ocmulgee River at Macon. Macon, founded in 1823, was a small town surrounded by farmland. Macon was viewed as an ideal site for the college because of its central location within the state and because of its position as the boundary between the old and new territories of the state. Milledgeville was the state capital; Atlanta was just being settled as the railroad workers' community of Terminus.

Most women in the early 19th century were either illiterate or received a very basic schooling, possibly at home under a tutor or at a nearby academy, which was usually both sexually and racially segregated. Some of these Georgia academies had received land grants from the state; others were private institutions. Classes taught were different for each sex. Boys studied the classics and math; girls studied English, writing, and math. Their education was considered inferior to the boys, even at the time. Often boys were sent out of state to finish their education; girls usually stayed home.

Some of the female academies in Georgia were Monticello Female Academy, LaGrange Female Academy, and Mount Salubrity near Augusta; there were also academies in Milledgeville, Sparta and Washington. The curriculum for girls was justified by the need to mold their morality, character, and heart. While schooling was considered necessary to increase a girl's social status, it did not increase her economic status. Generally, at that time, only marriage could do that. Seminaries, really a finishing school intended for the upper classes, provided the only opportunity for any higher education for women. Having no other model, colleges in the United States would build their foundation upon these seminaries, many of which later evolved into colleges.

At the time of Wesleyan's founding in 1836, only one other college in the world granted degrees to women - that was a school in Brazil. Great Britain did not have a women's college until Girton College was founded at Cambridge in 1869. Oberlin College in Ohio was the first college to admit both women and blacks to its programs in 1833. However, the education of women at Oberlin was not equal to the men's education. Most of the women were tracked through a special course of study designed with women in mind.

Before the Civil War (1861-1865), there were a small number of colleges in the United States that granted four-year degrees to women, most of which developed from academies or seminaries. They were Oxford Female College in Ohio (1852), Illinois Conference Female College (1854), and Ingham University in New York in 1857. Besides Wesleyan, schools that were founded as women's colleges before the Civil War were Mary Sharp College in Tennessee (1850), Elmira College (1855), and Vassar (1861).

Not until after the Civil War did the majority of women's schools or seminaries become colleges, including Wells (1868), Smith (1871), Wellesley (1875), Mt. Holyoke (1888), Barnard (1889), Converse (1890), Randolph Macon (1891), Radcliffe (1894), Sweet Briar (1901), and Hollins (1911).

The course of study at Wesleyan, as at other women's colleges, was not initially equal to that of men.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

The entrance requirements were not as stringent, otherwise there would have been few candidates for admission in the early years of higher education for women. As acceptance of the idea of educating women gained ground, so did the level of education that was given them.

Numerous other women's "colleges" in Georgia followed throughout the decades preceding the Civil War - Greensboro Female College, Monroe Female Collegiate Institute, Georgia Female College at Scottsboro, Lutheran Female Institute, Rome Female College, Woodland Female College, and Madison Female College. The term "college" was used loosely in the South. Most of these colleges were not boarding schools, but rather served their surrounding areas. They were largely different in name only from the academies. The education of women in Georgia and the South for the most part remained conservative in nature, adhering to tradition to keep women in the place which God intended.

The College Begins

Two years after receiving its charter, Georgia Female College (Wesleyan) opened in December 1838 in downtown Macon on Encampment Hill, housed in a Greek Revival structure. The building that housed the school was a two-story Greek Revival-style building with cupola, constructed by Elam Alexander in 1836-1838. The Greek Revival style was commonly used for all types of schools in the late antebellum period. [This building is no longer extant.]

Ninety young women enrolled the first day and by the end of the first term in July 1839 there were 168 women. The original course of study included English, French, history, mathematics, science, philosophy, and Bible study. In contrast to the men's course of study, there were no Greek and Latin requirements; however, those languages, in addition to Spanish and Italian, were optional. The emphasis on science by the faculty appears to have been very forward-thinking. The study of French was also considered a departure from normal courses of study in college, either men's or women's. The school granted its first degrees in 1840 to students who had transferred from Clinton Academy. The first woman to receive her degree, by virtue of alphabetical order, was Catherine Brewer of Augusta.

A national financial downturn in the late 1830s and early 1840s threatened the financial health of the college. The president, Dr. William Ellison, and six friends of the college bought the building. Then in 1843, the Georgia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church assumed responsibility for the college, at which time the name was changed to Wesleyan Female College in honor of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism. In 1919, the name was shortened to Wesleyan College, and in the same year the school was admitted to the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States. At that time, the standards of the Association replaced those of the Methodist Church. The college has remained private ever since, affiliated with but no longer under the control of the Methodist Church.

In an effort to create more space, the college expanded its original structure so that by 1860 there were new wings on the original building, a new chapel, and a new dining hall. In 1880, a large

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

monetary gift from a northern banker, George I. Seney, who wanted to aid Christian higher education in the South, enabled the college to increase its space once again. Seney also gave buildings at Emory University at Oxford, Georgia, and to the Lucy Cobb Institute in Athens, Georgia. This time, architects Parkins and Bruce of Atlanta were hired to redesign Wesleyan Female College. The result, a Victorian edifice with towers and a mansard roof, completely changed the appearance of the original Greek Revival school. The last major addition to the original campus was a gymnasium, approved in 1909. [None of these Wesleyan-related buildings are extant.]

Wesleyan was noted during its first 90 years for many landmark events. Among its other firsts, Wesleyan was home to the first Alumnae Association (1859) and the first sororities. The Adelpian Society was founded at the college in 1851. In 1905, the society obtained a charter to become nationalized and changed its name to Alpha Delta Pi sorority, which is still a very viable national sorority. The Philomathean Society was founded in 1852; it later became Phi Mu and went national in 1904. It too remains a major national sorority.

Wesleyan's early graduates included the first woman in Georgia to receive a degree as a doctor of medicine, Dr. Mary McKay, an 1878 graduate. Viola Ross Napier, the first woman to argue a case before the Georgia Supreme Court, was a member of the class of 1901 and her portrait hangs in the Georgia State Capitol. Sara Frazier (1894), first woman elected to the Tennessee legislature, was a Wesleyan graduate.

In 1897, the president, Dr. John D. Hammond, proposed an office of the dean of faculty to be established. The first dean in the country had been appointed at Harvard in 1870.

As befitted a college with strong ties to the church, some of the graduates from the mid-1800s became leaders in mission fields, including Mary Houston Allen (1858), who was the first graduate to go to a foreign mission field. Laura Askew Haygood (1864) became the first woman missionary sent out by the Southern Methodist Missionary Board. Haygood also helped found Girls' High School in Atlanta and the McTyeire School in China. Other graduates taught Sunday school or became ordained ministers, directors of Christian education, or college professors in religion. At the local level, Wesleyan graduates helped found the conference missionary societies in the North and South Georgia Conferences and served as the first presidents of the societies. Leadership in the church has been a strong focus for many Wesleyan graduates and continued the tradition and partnership of Wesleyan College and the United Methodist Church. The church supported the college from the beginning, and continues to play an important role in campus life today, although the formal affiliation ended in 1919.

The Need for Expansion Grows and Land is Secured in the 1920s

By 1921, the downtown campus consisted of seven buildings. Most of these were multi-functional, housing both classrooms and dormitory rooms. A chapel was constructed separately, as was a gymnasium in 1917 to replace the earlier one housed in the attic of the main building. A gymnasium for women was considered very forward-thinking at that time, and reflected the progressive leadership of the college. [None of the above-mentioned buildings are extant today.]

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

But the school had outgrown its space again, and plans were being made to move the college to a new location. Land in the suburb of Rivoli on the outskirts of Macon was offered to the college for a new campus. A new larger, modern campus was felt to be the solution to campus growth and achievement.

The nominated property, the Wesleyan College Historic District, is also known as the Rivoli Campus, a name more commonly used when there were two campuses and the original buildings still survived in downtown Macon, Georgia. The following is a history of the nominated property:

Wesleyan College moves to the Rivoli Campus

The Rivoli campus was designed by architects Walker & Weeks of Cleveland, Ohio, with associate architects Dunwody & Oliphant of Macon, Georgia, and landscape designer J. Leon Hoffman Company of Atlanta, Georgia. Philip T. Shutze, also of Atlanta, designed the Candler Library Building. Construction began on February 16, 1927, with Southern Ferro-Concrete Company as builders. The college opened on schedule with nine completed buildings in the fall of 1928. The downtown campus was then used as a Conservatory of Music and Fine Arts from 1928 until 1953, at which time all the functions from both campuses were combined at the Rivoli location. In 1962, the downtown Conservatory campus was sold to the U.S. Postal Service; the buildings burned in 1963 and are no longer extant. The current main U.S. Post Office in downtown Macon was built as a replica of the original Greek Revival-style George Female College/Wesleyan College building.

The quadrangle design of the Rivoli campus reflected the early 20th century design of the ideal college campus. The intimate, enclosed feel of the quadrangle was viewed as an appropriate setting for higher learning, and it was used in both men's and women's campus design. The layout of the dormitories in the enclosed quadrangle behind the Olive Swann Porter Building is fairly unusual and most likely reflected the all-female, church-affiliated nature of the 1928 campus. Access to these dormitories could more easily be monitored and the young women students protected. The two latest residential buildings, a dormitory and an apartment building, both non-contributing properties built in 1998, are located at the south end of the open central quadrangle, which is a far more accessible site.

There is very little expression of the enclosed plan for a campus in the United States. In most campus settings, especially those in cities, the buildings form a line along the street with their main entries facing inward into a college yard or open area. The architects, Walker & Weeks of Cleveland, Ohio, were very probably influenced in their Wesleyan plan by the design of their alma mater, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), which features a type of partially enclosed quadrangle.

Like most new campus designs of the early 20th century, Wesleyan followed certain criteria deemed essential for success: campuses located at the edge of towns, large amounts of open space, a park-like setting, and ample space between buildings. Beauty was considered important as a refining influence for the student as well as playing a role for sentimental appeals to alumni. A level site plan for the campus was regarded as ideal, and a formal, but compact, design scheme was considered well-suited to such a space. When planning a new campus, additional space for the growing needs

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

of the college was also considered essential. Wesleyan's formal park-like campus away from the center of town was the ideal in 1920s campus planning.

Following the social beliefs of the day, the interiors of the dormitory buildings were typical for women's campuses of the time. A main front door led to public rooms which provided a gathering space that could be supervised. Dormitory rooms were small, providing only essential living space. It was believed that equal-sized dormitory rooms helped to foster a more equal social footing among the women.

Although the basic campus design for Wesleyan could be for a men's, women's, or co-educational college, there are some aspects of the plan for this school which can be seen as relating specifically to its use as a women's college: 1) The layout of the dormitories in the enclosed (sequestered) quadrangle behind the Olive Swann Porter Building. This building also housed the dining room and administrative offices. The entrance to the dormitory area was through a loggia which bisected the building, and allowed college administrators to screen visitors and protect the young women attending the school. 2) The first floor date parlor and reception area in Persons Hall Dormitory, which is attached to the Olive Swann Porter Building. 3) The weathervane on the gymnasium, which features girls in basketball attire. 4) Small dormitory rooms to promote equality.

The original core of the campus was designed by the Cleveland, Ohio, architectural firm of Walker & Weeks. Frank E. Walker (1877-1949) and Harry E. Weeks (1871-1935) were Massachusetts natives and MIT graduates who joined the Cleveland, Ohio firm of J. Milton Dyer in 1905. They established their own architectural practice, Walker & Weeks, in 1911. The firm, which was Cleveland's foremost architectural firm in the 1920s, specialized in bank buildings, constructing more than 60 throughout Ohio. Most of their commercial, public and religious structures were designed in the classical revival styles. Major projects in Cleveland included the Bingham Company Warehouse (1915); the Public Auditorium (1922); the Cleveland Public Library (1925); Epworth-Euclid United Methodist Church (1928); and the Cleveland Municipal Stadium (1931). Weeks died in 1935, and Walker continued his connection with the firm until his death in 1949. The firm briefly continued under its original name, headed by Howard Horn and Frank Rhinehart. However, around 1953 it was changed to Horn & Rhinehart. Walker and Weeks designed at least two other properties in Georgia that are on the National Register, the Melhana Plantation near Thomasville, and the Tate House in Pickens County. The firm is the subject of a book, *A Cleveland Legacy: The Architecture of Walker and Weeks* (Kent State University Press) by Eric Johannesen

W. Elliott Dunwody, designer of Porter Fine Arts, Huckabee, Jones, Hightower and Willet, was a Macon, Georgia, native who began his architectural career upon graduation from the Georgia Institute of Technology (Georgia Tech) in 1915. His work included buildings at Mercer University, University of Georgia, Georgia Tech, and Georgia College, as well as churches throughout the state and numerous homes in the Macon area. As a community leader, he was involved in various causes in the Macon area including the Boy Scouts, Rotary Club, Red Cross, YMCA, and the First Presbyterian Church. His death in 1986 left a void within the Macon community. He began his association with Wesleyan's Rivoli campus as a partner of the firm of Dunwody and Oliphant, architects, who were the local associates for Walker and Weeks in 1928.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

Philip Trammell Shutze, designer of Wesleyan's Candler Library Building, was born in Columbus, Georgia, in 1890 and was raised in Atlanta and West Point, Georgia. He was educated at Georgia Tech, Columbia University, and the American Academy in Rome. Upon finishing his schooling in 1920, Shutze returned to Atlanta where he joined the firm of Hal Hentz and Neel Reid. Considered to be one of America's finest classical architects, Shutze made his mark in Atlanta with the design of many fine homes, apartments, and commercial buildings. Projects of note in the 1920s and 1930s were the redesign of the Citizens and Southern Bank building, the Calhoun House, Rich's Department Store, Atlanta Athletic Club, Edward Inman House (the Swan House), and Glenn Memorial Church at Emory University. Later projects included the Academy of Medicine, Emory University Hospital, Daniel House, Grady High School, and the Grady Hospital Chapel. Shutze received numerous awards and design merits before his death in 1982 at the age of 92.

The college completed the original campus construction in the fall of 1928. The property had been acquired as part of the Greater Wesleyan Fund of the Greater Wesleyan Expansion Program begun in the early 1920s. The Rivoli Campus was among many sites visited by the committees working toward the building of a new campus. The president of the college was asked to secure real estate options for purchase on two parcels on the north side of Macon along Forsyth Road. The property was purchased in January 1923. A campaign to raise \$1 million was begun. A fund-raising firm was hired. Everyone praised the proposed new campus location. Financial downturns caused delays and in 1925 the campaign was still raising money and a building committee was appointed that summer with the goal to open in the fall of 1927. By December 1925, the building committee was already talking with the Walker and Weeks firm of Cleveland, Ohio, about creating plans. Once the pre-existing lease on the Rivoli property expired in 1926, the college took over the property and ground-breaking ceremonies were held on May 28, 1926. (Akers, 1976, pp. 150-154.)

The core of the campus was built and opened in September 1928, before the Great Depression hit the United States a little over a year later in October 1929.

In 1936, the college celebrated the centennial of its incorporation as the Georgia Female College by the Georgia Legislature with a series of festivities throughout the year. The pageant held on May 30, 1936, was one of the larger events. At this event, the speech of Daniel Chandler from 1835, on female education, mentioned above, was used as the basis for the pageant. The climax of the year of celebration was on October 23, 1936, with a procession of alumnae and students, as well as the faculty and officers, and trustees, as well as other dignitaries. Included were representatives of 221 colleges from around the world. It was at this event that the president of Vassar made his comments, quoted above, about the significance of Wesleyan College in women's education. (Akers, 1976, pp. 156-157.)

Despite the euphoria of the centennial celebrations, financial problems stemming from the Depression would haunt the college for years, hampering any further building expansion and the completion of the original college campus until after World War II. On March 27, 1939, Wesleyan corporation had acquired title to the property from the bond holders. Those who helped the college come out of its financial crisis were commemorated with tablets honoring them and placed around the campus on March 30, 1942. (Akers, 1976, p. 159.) It was not until May 24, 1950, that the then-

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

president of the college announced that all financial obligations had been satisfied, and he presided over a bond-burning ceremony and the dedication of the college buildings on October 25, 1951. (Akers, p. 160.)

Even though it was a woman's college, the presidency continued to be held by men until 1997. Among those men who were president at the Rivoli Campus, best known to Methodists would have been Bishop J. Arthur Moore, president in 1941.

In 1949, Foster Lake was created on the campus. It was given by Roy G. Foster in memory of his wife, Lula Lee Foster, an alumna. The next big phase of campus growth came in the 1950s. In 1954, the W. C. Bradley Foundation of Columbus, Georgia, purchased and donated to the school the Kinnett home, north of the original campus, and 66 acres of land. The house was renamed Bradley House and became the home of the college president. Associated with the house were three historic barns which survive.

Shortly after this began the second building phase which added the Porter Fine Arts Building in 1955, Huckabee Hall (the infirmary) in 1957, and Jones Hall Dormitory in 1959, to the campus, all fitting into the original campus plan.

The next building phase, and the one that rounded out the original plan, began in the 1960s and included the additions of Hightower Hall Dormitory in 1963, the New Physical Plant (1963), the Murphey Art Building in 1964, and the Willet Library in 1968.

In February 1963, the old campus buildings that remained in downtown Macon burned, removing the last link to the original campus of the school.

The college has continued moving forward since the 1950s. Integration began in 1966 and the ever-changing opportunities for women have contributed to the strength of the college. Today Wesleyan remains a college for women, one of the few schools able to survive post-World War II economic and discrimination pressure to become coeducational. Like Agnes Scott College in Decatur, Georgia, Wesleyan had strong alumnae support and a large enough student base to enable it to remain an all-women school. Many of Wesleyan's women graduates are entering once male-dominated professions such as medicine, business and law. Polls indicate that as many as 80% of graduates from women's colleges expect to continue their education with post-graduate degrees.

Notable alumnae since moving to the Rivoli campus in 1928 include: Hazel Raines (1936), the first woman in Georgia issued a commercial pilot's license; Antoinette Jennings (1971), first woman President of the Florida Senate; and Janice Mays (1973), first woman to serve as staff counsel and director of the House Ways and Means Committee. Eleanor Boatwright, first historian of Georgia women, was also a Wesleyan graduate. A number of Wesleyan alumnae have been inducted into the Georgia Women of Achievement, a honorary recognition begun in 1990 to commemorate women who were important to Georgia history.

The college was declared a United Methodist Church Historical Landmark in 1992.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

In 1997 the college appointed its first woman President, Nora Kizer Bell (died 2004), to lead the school into the 21st century. With the ever-changing and growing needs of schools today, the college has moved forward with new construction and improvements. New construction on the campus, designed to meet the needs of educating women today, blends with the old creating a seamless vista for the young woman of today and tomorrow. In 2003, Ruth Austin Knox (class of 1975) was named president, becoming the first alumna to hold that position.

In April, 2004, the college will again hold a major celebration, in honor of the 75th anniversary of the opening of the new campus as part of its annual Alumnae Weekend.

This National Register nomination was sponsored by the State Historic Preservation Office as part of its Georgia Women's History Initiative. The college has been a cooperating partner in compiling supporting documentation.

9. Major Bibliographic References

Akers, Samuel L. *The First Hundred Years of Wesleyan College*. Macon, Georgia: Beehive Press, 1976.

Corley, Florence F. "The Presbyterian Quest: Higher Education for Georgia Women," *American Presbyterian* Vol. 69 (2), Summer 1991.

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Orr, Dorothy. *A History of Education in Georgia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950.

Turner, Paul V. *Campus: An American Planning Tradition*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1984.

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Woody, Thomas. *A History of Women's Education in the United States*. New York: Octagon Books, 1966.

Young, Ida. *History of Macon, Georgia*. Macon, Georgia: Lyon, Marshall & Brooks Press, 1950.

Note: All unpublished material can be found at the Wesleyan College Archives.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**Section 9—Major Bibliographic References

Previous documentation on file (NPS): (X) N/A

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been issued
date issued:
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Primary location of additional data:

- State historic preservation office**
- Other State Agency**
- Federal agency**
- Local government**
- University** The Wesleyan College Archives
- Other, Specify Repository:**

Georgia Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): N/A

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property approximately 200 acres

UTM References

A)	Zone 17	Easting 245530	Northing 3640857
B)	Z17	E246351	N3640435
C)	Z17	E246019	N3639990
D)	Z17	E245297	N3639538
E)	Z17	E244926	N3640071

Verbal Boundary Description

The boundaries are the entire, intact current legal boundaries of the campus. The district boundary is marked on the enclosed map.

Boundary Justification

The Wesleyan College Historic District comprises the entire historic Wesleyan college campus. It is bounded by Forsyth Road on the east, Tucker Road on the south, a Covington Drive subdivision on the north and woods to the west. It is marked on the enclosed map.

11. Form Prepared By

State Historic Preservation Office

name/title Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr., Historian
organization Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources
mailing address 156 Trinity Avenue, S.W., Suite 101
city or town Atlanta **state** Georgia **zip code** 30303
telephone (404) 656-2840 **date** January 27, 2004
e-mail ken_thomas@dnr.state.ga.us

Consulting Services/Technical Assistance (if applicable) (N/A) not applicable

name/title Bamby Ray and Lynn Speno
organization Ray & Associates
mailing address 328 7th Street, NE
city or town Atlanta **state** GA **zip code** 30308
telephone 404-607-7703
e-mail bbray57@mindspring.com

- property owner**
- consultant**
- regional development center preservation planner**
- other:**

Property Owner or Contact Information

name (property owner or contact person) Cathy Snow, Alumnae Office
organization (if applicable) Wesleyan College
mailing address 4760 Forsyth Road
city or town Macon **state** GA **zip code** 31210-4462
e-mail (optional) N/A

12. Photographs

Name of Property: Wesleyan College Historic District
City or Vicinity: Macon
County: Bibb
State: Georgia
Photographer: James R. Lockhart
Negative Filed: Georgia Department of Natural Resources
Date Photographed: September 2003

Description of Photograph(s):

Number of photographs:

1 of 34: Historic entrance gates; photographer facing southwest.

2 of 34: Willett Library, northeast facade; photographer facing southwest.

3 of 34: Candler Library Building, southeast facade; photographer facing northwest.

4 of 34: Interior of second floor, former reading room, Candler Library Building; photographer facing northwest.

5 of 34: Tate Hall, southwest facade, and quadrangle; photographer facing northeast.

6 of 34: Quadrangle, with Candler Library Building in distance, and Taylor Hall at the right; photographer facing northwest.

7 of 34: Taylor Hall, northeast facade facing Forsyth Road, and new entrance 2001 gates, with the two pillars dedicated to Alpha Delta Pi and Phi Mu sororities, respectively; photographer facing southwest.

8 of 34: New entrance gates, looking toward Corn Hall and the new apartments; photographer facing southeast.

9 of 34: Porter Gymnasium at left; photographer facing southwest.

10 of 34: Porter Gymnasium, northwest facade; photographer facing south.

11 of 34: Interior of Porter Gymnasium; photographer facing southwest.

12 of 34: Porter Fine Arts Building, front facade; photographer facing southwest.

13 of 34: Porter Fine Arts Building, front facade, with Class of 1928 Sundial in front; photographer facing southwest.

14 of 34: Olive Swann Porter Building, southeast facades; photographer facing southwest.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 12—Photographs

15 of 34: Olive Swann Porter Building looking toward loggia opening and then Persons Hall (dormitory) at the far right; photographer facing west.

16 of 34: View from loggia between the Olive Swann Porter Building and Persons Hall (dormitory), looking toward the Candler Library Building; photographer facing northeast.

17 of 34: View from loggia between the Olive Swann Porter Building and Persons Hall (dormitory), looking toward the enclosed quadrangle at Banks Hall (dormitory); photographer facing southwest.

18 of 34: View of the enclosed quadrangle, with the Olive Swann Porter Building on the left, and Banks Hall (dormitory) in the center and to the right; photographer facing southwest.

19 of 34: Banks Hall (dormitory), southeast facade, and the southeast facade of Olive Swann Porter Building; photographer facing northeast.

20 of 34: Banks Hall (dormitory), southeast facade looking toward other portion and loggia; photographer facing northwest.

21 of 34: Loggia of Wortham Hall (dormitory) looking back toward Banks Hall (dormitory) and its loggia; photographer facing southeast.

22 of 34: Huckabee Hall (infirmary) on left, Hightower Hall (dormitory) on right; photographer facing west/northwest.

23 of 34: Hightower Hall (dormitory) on left, Jones Hall in distance, Banks Hall loggia on right; photographer facing northwest.

24 of 34: Jones Hall (dormitory) with Foster Lake to left; photographer facing west.

25 of 34: Physical Plant; photographer facing northeast.

26 of 34: Physical Plant, with Porter Gymnasium to right; photographer facing southwest.

27 of 34: Knox Houses along Tucker Road; photographer facing southwest.

28 of 34: Murphey Art Building, front facade; photographer facing southwest.

29 of 34: Anderson Cabin; photographer facing southwest.

30 of 34: Foster Lake with modern Mathews Athletic Center in distance; photographer facing southwest.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 12--Photographs

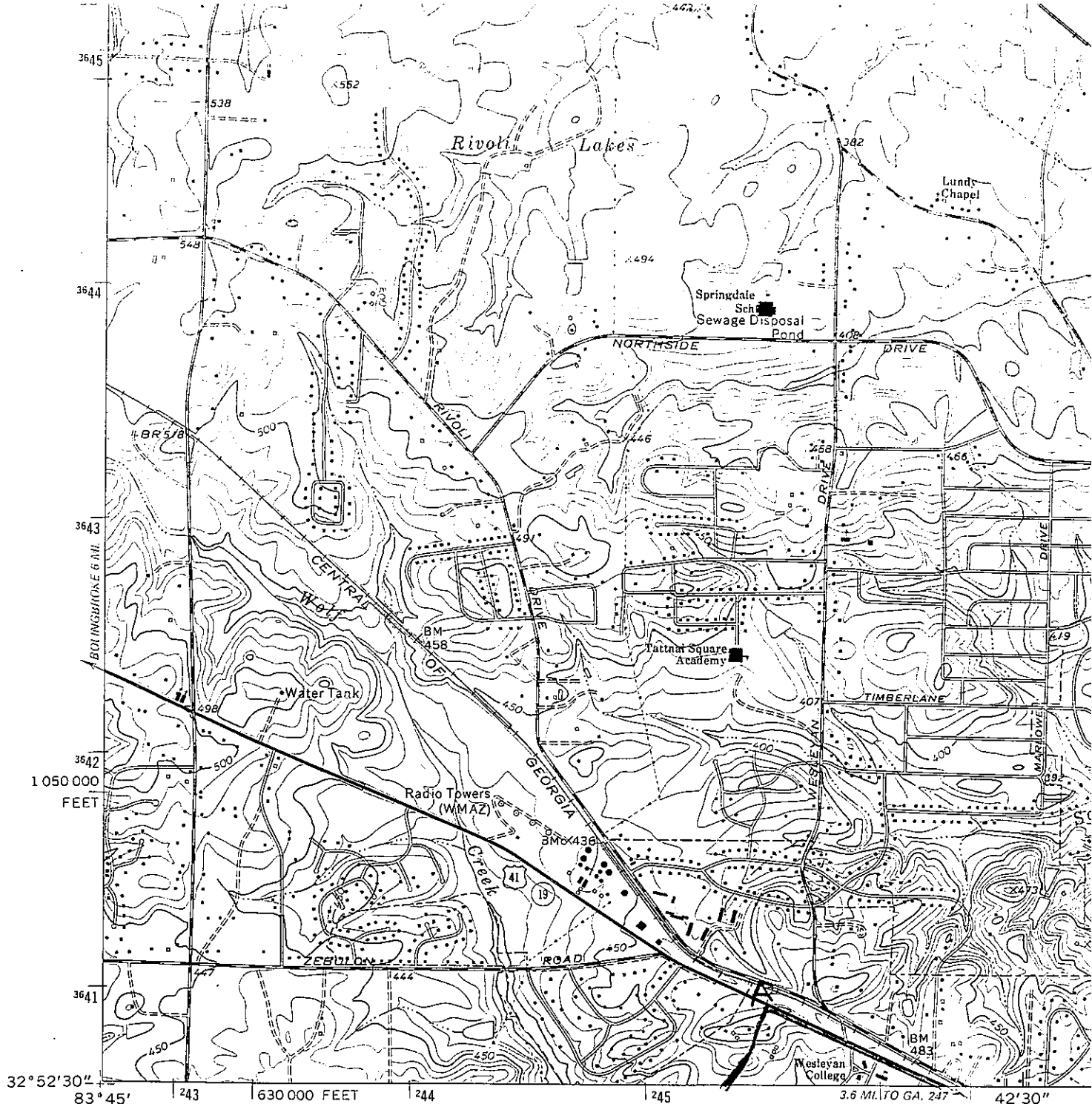
31 of 34: Equestrian center/riding ring area of campus, with Mathews Athletic Center in distance, and new barn to the right; photographer facing southwest.

32 of 34: Equestrian center/riding ring area and Mathews Athletic Center in distance, historic barn to right;
photographer facing southwest.

33 of 34: Historic barns; photographer facing west/northwest.

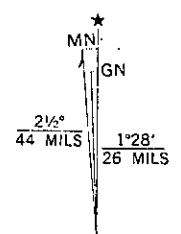
34 of 34: Bradley House, front facade; photographer facing west.

(HPD WORDPERFECT form version 11-03-01)

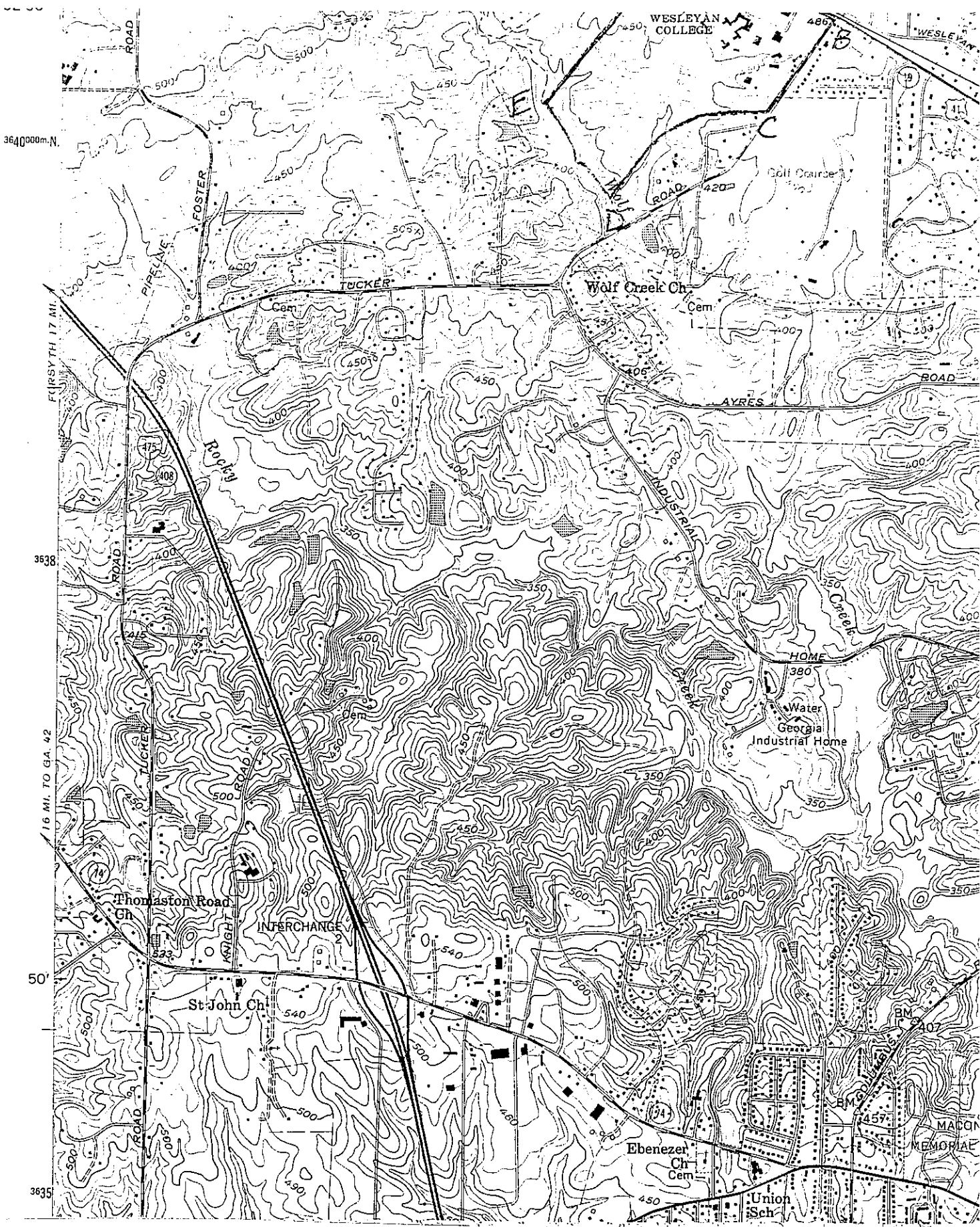


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Mapped, edited, and published by the Geological Survey
 Control by USGS and NOS/NOAA
 Topography by photogrammetric methods from aerial
 photographs taken 1973. Field checked 1973
 Projection and 10,000-foot grid ticks: Georgia coordinate
 system, west zone (transverse Mercator)
 1000-meter Universal Transverse Mercator grid ticks,
 zone 17, shown in blue
 1927 North American Datum
 To place on the predicted North American Datum 1983
 move the projection lines 13 meters south and
 10 meters west as shown by dashed corner ticks
 Fine red dashed lines indicate selected fence and field lines where
 generally visible on aerial photographs. This information is unchecked
 Red tint indicates areas in which only landmark buildings are shown
 There may be private inholdings within the boundaries of
 the National or State reservations shown on this map



UTM GRID AND 1985 MAGNETIC NORTH
 DECLINATION AT CENTER OF SHEET



This amends the Swan House National Register Nomination, which was prepared by the State Historic Preservation Office May 25, 1977. In the intervening twenty-two years additional considerations for significance have been included as **criteria of importance** for historic property nominations at both the state and national levels.

In response to these new considerations it was deemed worthy to create an amendment to the Swan House property. **Women's history, cultural and familial history, and landscape and garden development** are three important areas not mentioned in the original nomination. These areas are prominent in the evolution of the Swan House's early growth. The new information presents an elite, between-the-wars, cultural era of Atlanta that no longer exists. In addition, the evolution of the Swan House Coach House from the original garage into a gift shop/restaurant was previously mentioned only as an aside.

Despite the fact that it is not directly related to the era of significance or to the actual history of the Swan House, the development today of the Swan House tract into an active and vital learning center, the Atlanta History Center, and the headquarters of the Atlanta Historical Society, must be noted.

Description of Physical Appearance: The Gardens and the Atlanta History Center Site

A description of the gardens from the nomination for City Landmark Status prepared by the Atlanta Urban Design Commission, dated 1981, is as follows:

The paired columns surmounting a broken pediment framing a garden bench and a rampant eagle are located in the boxwood garden at the southern side of the house. Planting containers are used in several sites surrounding the house. Urns encrusted with sponge (lava) stone are used amidst the boxwood garden off the south porch and atop the retaining walls flanking the cascade. Original garden architecture includes the cascade fountain based upon the model at the Villa Corsini in Italy. Two water basins situated on the lower cascade and one basin centered within the boxwood garden are original to the design. (On the east side,) a small fountain decorated with statuary is positioned at the peak of the site overlooking the Tuscan-style porch.

The boxwood garden was restored in 1996 with new drainage, new boxwood and liriopie plantings, and tile edging and gravel walkways. The research and restoration was done by Spencer Tunnell, ASLA. Please see photos, both historic and recent. Further description is in the statement of significance.

On the north side of the house, near the kitchen door entrance, is a small "lamppost" garden, with a pool and a swan boy bronze statue. The plantings are listed on the design plan done by the Camilla Garden Club which is included in the attachments. Also see photos.

The site of the nineteenth century stone quarry on the north side of the property has been cleared and planted with native plants, pathways, and signage engraved with descriptions, botanical names and early medicinal uses of the plants.

The site of the Inman's original cowbarn, adapted in the 1940s as the son's residence, now houses the Tullie Smith House Restoration, moved here in the early 1970s. It is an example of a nineteenth century homestead with appropriate outbuildings, i.e. a springhouse, a corn crib, a blacksmith shop, a barn, and a series of vernacular gardens to support the home..

The wooded acreage surrounding the Swan House is maintained by the Atlanta History Center as a series of walking trails with native species shrubs and trees identified. On the northern edge of Inman's property, additional acreage was purchased to support the building of the Atlanta History Center Museum, a parking deck, and McElreath Hall, containing the auditorium and archives. Surrounding these buildings is a series of gardens maintained by the horticultural staff of the Atlanta History Center. All gardens are designed with an educational definition. Ornate iron gates were added to the Andrews Drive entrance in 1983, designed by architect W. Caldwell Smith, and executed by Signor Petoletti of Stressa, Italy.

The House Interior: The Kitchen and Butler's Pantry

This utilitarian area was not described in the original nomination; however, it is one of the most historically intact areas of the first floor. The walls are painted medium sea green; the floor is dark gray rubber tile in both rooms. The area is entered from four access points: the service hallway, which houses the back staircase; the now hidden servant's doorway from the dining room; the screen/plexi encased north porch; or from the outside via the kitchen door on the north facade.

The butler's pantry is accessed from the service hallway, which also allows access to the breakfast room. Divided by the hallway, cabinets line the walls at right angles on either side. Base units with drawers, a countertop, and glassed hanging cabinets above typify the storage in this area. The doorway to the dining room, which was the only access to this area until the late 1960s, is located here. In Inman's era, the door was always hidden by a screen to mask the service entrance. Across the hallway, on the north wall is a stainless steel double sink, surrounded by sliding glass-doored cabinets, and a unique iron plate warmer on the west corner. Storage and shelving line all the walls in the butler's pantry.

From the service hallway, a solid swinging door allows entry into the kitchen. On the south wall is an original built-in storage cabinet similar to the butler's pantry. A freestanding white aluminum sink unit was added by the Inmans in the 1950s. Along this east wall is a beaten biscuit machine donated from a neighboring mansion. Centered in the room is a long narrow worktable with a hanging bar for salad molds; a small bench is tucked beneath the worktable. This table was originally centered in the butler's pantry, (which in 2000 houses the offices for the docents.) On the west wall is a white painted cabinet, lineage not known, and the original ca. 1928 Magic Chef gas stove. Also, along this wall is the doorway cut by the AHS in the 1960s to allow passage for tours. On the north wall is a GE refrigerator from a local house of the period, and the archway to the servant's alcove. This small servant's sitting area contains three wood chairs and an enamel topped table, and a small base cabinet, all of which were on the 1967 inventory. The kitchen and alcove have three large windows, double-hung sash, lights are six-over-nine. The butler's pantry has two, double-hung sash windows, nine-over-nine lights.

The Swan House Coach House

To the east of the house is a two-story restaurant/gift shop/art gallery which was formerly the Inman's garage. Built to house six cars as well as to provide living quarters for servants upstairs, the building was altered during Inman's occupancy (1940s and 1950s) to be used as an apartment for members of the extended family. In the original nomination, no description of the physical appearance of the coach house was included. By the 1977 date of the nomination the interior had been greatly altered from its original layout, and a restaurant had been added in 1967 to the west side of the building. In 1982 an art gallery was added to the east side of the original garage. The interior has been adapted to provide space for special event and daily dining, specialty shops, and artwork display.

In 1967, The Forward Arts Foundation, a group of women who had run a restaurant in connection with the High Museum of Art, needed a new location. The Coach House was seen as a prime location. The women joined forces and monies to donate the seed money to renovate the Inman's coach house into a restaurant. The first step was adapting the basement to provide storage, tavern dining, an office and restroom facilities. On the first floor a foyer, kitchen and a dining room with a bay window addition on the west side were constructed. An elevator, an office and stock room, and divisions for five shops were also adapted from the original garage space. The second floor made way for restrooms, storage, a small shop and the original porch. A private dining room was made from a previous bedroom. A members room and a rooftop terrace were built above the new addition. Interior access to this floor was only by elevator, or exterior stairs.

In 1982, the coach house was again renovated. An addition of a one-story art gallery was constructed on the east side, and a storage room added to the rear of the building. The art gallery was built with two new staircases; a loggia with skylights dividing it from the original coach house. It has a public entrance on the north façade, with offices extending to the east. The basement remained the same, with the addition of new storage space provided by the foundation of the new eastern addition. Excavation was done at the rear of the property to provide for service parking. (Plans for both 1967 and 1982 renovations, as well as original 1927 garage plans are included in appendices.) Today the architecturally sympathetic additions mask the true size of the original building.

Statement of Significance

Women's History – Emily MacDougald Inman

The original statement of significance in the National Register nomination of 1977 had as its focus the 1928 Swan House design by Philip Trammell Schutze and the prominence of the Edward Inman family. The house was considered indicative of Atlanta's golden age of architecture and gracious living. The Urban Design Commission in its 1981 Atlanta Landmark nomination also focused on Schutze's design, his background, and Edward Inman's financial connections. This amendment will emphasize Emily MacDougald Inman, her influence on Swan House, as well as her activities outside the home. Later, the gardens and the development of the site will also be described.

The Inman's were not youngsters when they decided to build this home. By 1927, Edward, had a flourishing career, a hobby of automobile racing, a wife and two grown children, Hugh and Edward, Jr. Born in 1881, he was 46 years old when he contracted with Hentz, Reid, and Adler, (later Schutze) to design his mansion of status.

Emily MacDougald Inman, also born in 1881, became a formidable woman, partly from her family, partly from her circumstances. She was born in Russell County, Alabama to William and Emily Fitten MacDougald, and not much detail is known of her earliest years and education. However, William MacDougald was a large landowner, and active politically in both Alabama and Georgia. He died in 1887, when his wife was only 39 and Emily, was only six years old. After running their plantation on her own for many years, Emily Fitten MacDougald moved her family of eight children to Atlanta. She became interested in politics and was an organizer in the women's suffrage movement. She was president of the Equal Suffrage Party of Georgia, a forerunner of the League of Women Voters, of which she was later a director. She lived until 1938, dying at 89, and her great-grandchildren remember her as a strong, dictatorial woman. She was known to the family as "Miz Mac" or "Mother Mac" and amazed everyone by reading the Bible in English, Greek and Latin on alternate days. Her children founded the MacDougald Construction Company in Atlanta, a multi-generational firm that is still active throughout the Southeast.

Emily MacDougald met Edward Inman through Emily's elder sister, Anne. They married in 1901. (See early photos in appendices.) They were active in the prominent social circles of Atlanta, and traveled extensively collecting art and antiques from around the world. They had a grand home in Ansley Park. After two house fires, however, Emily Inman decided she wanted to build a new home. Through the years, Edward Inman had bought several land parcels in Buckhead near Andrews Drive and West Paces Ferry, and he combined these to create a fifteen-acre lot. Initially they hired Neel Reid to design their new home, but refused his first elaborate design. After Reid's untimely death, they went with his successor, Philip Schutze, to plan their mansion. They moved into the Biltmore Hotel and lived there for two years while their home was constructed.

In 1928, the Inmans moved in to their beautiful Baroque-Italianate Buckhead villa. They enjoyed three years together, establishing their daily routine, hiring a staff to care for the house

and grounds. Paradise was lost in 1932 with the sudden death of Edward Inman, at the age of 51. Emily Inman, like her mother before her, was widowed early.

Deirdre DiGrande wrote an extensive essay titled *Swan House: A History of the Building and Its Occupants*.¹ In chapter four she wrote:

The Great Depression and death of Mr. Inman adversely affected Mrs. Inman's finances. She responded by paring down her full-time service staff from six servants to three, with the butler doing double duty as the chauffeur. Mrs. Inman also became more personally involved in financial investment. Despite the ailing economy and Mr. Inman's death, the Inmans managed to maintain a comfortable lifestyle throughout the 1930s.

She continued this with the following footnote:

Mrs. Inman was left with a substantial legacy, but not one that would have allowed her unfettered spending. She took control of her estate and, on her own, greatly expanded her portfolio. Mimi Inman Bryant Interview 1993 (Granddaughter) "...like her mother, she was widowed when she was very young and she pulled herself together and therefore it was necessary to live the kind of life she wanted to live. ...But she went to stockbrokers and took classes, private lessons and so forth, and she redid her portfolio and invested greatly in stocks. That's where a lot of the money came from; if she had stayed safely in the municipal bonds that had been set up for her, she wouldn't have been able to have that lifestyle. But in the Depression time, those municipal bonds were very valuable. When she got out of it, she was smart enough to get out of that when the stocks were just down to the bottom of nothing. ...She felt that, as a female, I needed to be educated in such things and she talked to me about them and for three or four years, she was clipping out clippings and she subscribed to Forbes magazine for me about the time I was in high school. ...She felt it very important that females know how to run their affairs and she brought me up with the idea that any female member of the family could do anything that they wanted to do badly enough."

Emily Inman, a self-taught financier, was a very astute woman. She had the admiration of the rest of the family, and also their wariness of her observations. Mrs. Inman instituted an after-church, before-lunch Sunday family meeting at her home. The Richardsons, the Grants, the MacDougalds and the Inmans were all expected to attend. She would inquire about their activities and offer her advice, whether warranted or required. Then all the families would retire to their respective homes for lunch, prepared by their respective cooks. Not long after Edward Inman died, Mrs. Inman asked her eldest son, Hugh and his family to move into the house with her. Hugh and his wife, Mildred Cooper Inman, and their two children, Sam Cooper and Mildred (Mimi), then four and two, took up residence in the house. The children, with their nurse, occupied the room on the second floor, northwest corner. Hugh and Mildred Inman had Edward Inman's southeast bedroom. Later, the children separately occupied the two east (front) bedrooms, with their own bathroom between.

Life in the Swan House, (which never was referred to as such by the family,) was lively, but organized. Emily Inman was traditional in her attitudes about household supervision. She

had a timely routine for the servants, and the children were not included in adult activities. The grandchildren were not allowed to eat with the adults until they were old enough to conduct themselves at table properly. They took their meals in the butler's pantry until about six or seven years of age. The family took their meals routinely in the breakfast room, and the formal dining room was used for big parties or special occasions. In the 1993 DiGrande interview with the granddaughter, Mimi reminisced:

... a typical day in the 1930s began with the head gardener, James Self, arriving at dawn to stoke the furnace (one of his many duties.) The cook and the maid, who lived on the third floor of Swan House, made their way downstairs, the upstairs maid pausing to close the windows and turn on the heat. After eating a breakfast brought to her room on a flower-adorned tray, Mrs. Inman attended to her duties as mistress of the household. These included directing the kitchen, house, and garden staff activities, and, in the days before World War II, overseeing the production of dairy products. Since the Inmans had a cow, such dairy products as butter, milk, cream and clabber were staples of the household diet.

In a footnote Mimi elaborated:

Every morning after breakfast, Barfee (pronounced Baf-fee, a children's nickname for their grandmother,) went to the kitchen and she took the night before's milk that had been poured out into large crocks. ...She would skim cream off of most of them, make what she wanted to have sent downstairs to make buttermilk, set some of it aside to make cottage cheeses, and then she'd set a small amount aside for drinking that she didn't skim. Then she took what was left of the skimmed milk and set it out to make clabber. We had clabber (almost like modern day yogurt) anytime we wanted...(with) fresh grated nutmeg. ... But that was a daily ritual that she did; the night before's milk was set in a refrigerator. ...Barfee oversaw the house even though she didn't do the actual work. She might be out in the yard telling the yardman what to cut, and then in a few minutes she'd be in the kitchen telling them what she wanted and how to do it and making the list for the grocery store. Up until her last few years, she did her own grocery (shopping.) Twice weekly in the 1930s, Mrs. Inman met the vegetable and fruit vending truck that serviced Buckhead and chose the produce. (His name was Mr. Guthrie.)

Emily Inman entertained with bridge parties, luncheons, or mint julep parties on the front terraces. She did not entertain celebrities or hold huge gatherings, although the house and gardens were on several garden club tours. The house was formal and highly regulated, however, with an undercurrent of liveliness. Dinner was always served promptly by staff at 6:30 p.m., but the grandchildren could play in the attic or in the woods or the coach house with abandon. The children could have friends over to play, but they were expected to take the back steps to the second floor. No Christmas tree was allowed on the first floor, but the gardener, Mr. Self, could cut one from the woods for the children's rooms. Christmas was considered an adult holiday.

Emily Inman was a member of the First Presbyterian Church, the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in Georgia, and she was active in the Peachtree Garden Club. The

Peachtree Garden Club was one of the first garden clubs in Atlanta, begun in 1923. Emily Inman was a charter member and remained active during her lifetime, but was not a professional women's club member like many women of society between the wars.

As a representative of the Peachtree Garden Club, Emily Inman attended the organizational meeting of the Garden Club of Georgia, held at the Biltmore Hotel in 1928. Over two hundred representatives of garden clubs throughout the state participated in this formative meeting. She also attended the Garden Club of America meeting in 1936 at West Point, New York representing Peachtree Garden Club and the Garden Club of Georgia.

In 1932, the Garden Club of America held its annual meeting in Atlanta, again centered at the Biltmore Hotel. Prominent women from all over the nation attended and Emily Inman, active in the hosting Peachtree Garden Club, participated. Among other prominent Atlanta gardens, the four-year-old Inman grounds and gardens were open for touring during the four-day session.

In 1937, Emily Inman was chairman of the Peachtree Garden Club committee to have the sidewalks along Peachtree Road paved. The garden club had committed its efforts in a beautification effort along this road. Mrs. Inman was successful in gaining commitment from many residents on Peachtree Road to pave their roadside footage from the city limits to Buckhead. In an example of Emily Inman's persuasiveness a deal was arranged that the county would donate the labor and the property owners would pay for the materials. This project was a year in the making. (See Photo in Appendices.)

During the 1940s, the extended family of Emily Inman began to disperse and change. The onslaught of WWII had an impact on the idyllic life of Swan House. Edward, Jr., Inman's younger son, was at Pearl Harbor in the Navy Reserve by 1940. Her older son, Hugh, left in 1941 to work with the MacDougald Construction Company building army camps all over the country. Often his wife would accompany him. Emily Inman's grandson, Sam, was in high school and eventually was in service by 1946. Her granddaughter, Mimi, was in boarding school. In 1948, Sam and his new bride, Beulah Reeve, moved into the apartment above the garage. Hugh and Mildred Inman renovated the barn into a full-time residence. By 1950, Hugh and Mildred Inman had built their own residence off the site, and Sam and Beulah Inman moved into the barn/house. They remained there until after the birth of their second son, John, in October of 1952.

In the 1960s Emily Inman, her sons and grandson began negotiations with the Atlanta Historical Society to sell them Swan House and the grounds. She knew it was too large for her family, and could not be divided fairly among so many descendants. The Samuel Inman family wanted to inherit the home, but could not buy out the other members of the family. The upkeep and the value were too great, and the Inmans wanted to preserve it intact. In December 1965, Emily Inman died in the house. The Atlanta Historical Society bought it in 1967. (Edward, Sam and Beulah Inman lived in the house for the year of 1966 while it was in probate.)

Cultural History - Swan House Staff and Their Environments

The staff changed over the forty-year period of the house, as is to be expected. Some special staff member's names have emerged from the oral histories on file at the Atlanta History Center taken from the family in the early 1990s. The gardener, James Marion Self, was hired when the Inmans moved into the house. He left in 1939, returning later in the 1940s for light jobs. Lizzie McDuffie was an early African-American servant for the Inmans, and left with her husband, to work for President Roosevelt in Washington. She returned to Atlanta after Roosevelt's death, and was active in politics in Atlanta. Several chauffeurs are mentioned, such as Grant Carter and John Brogan. The cooks were considered very good, but did not want children to interfere in their domain, the kitchen. Often the staff, including the cook, worked a six and a half-day week, coming in at 7:00 a.m. or 8:00 a.m. and leaving after dinner to return home. Sunday was the half day, and Sunday night dinners for the Inmans were usually leftovers.

Laundry was sent to commercial laundries to be done, but some household linens were washed and ironed in the attic. A large laundry was built on the second floor of the coach house, but shortly after was moved to the main house's attic when pilferage was discovered. The coach house had three rooms for staff on the second floor, with a sink in each room and a communal bath in the hall. The chauffeur/butler often lived there, as well as extra yardmen. Emily Inman did not drive, but her daughter-in-law did. By the early years of WWII the laundry area and some of the servant's rooms had been adapted into an apartment for members of the family. The gardener, Mr. Self, lived in a house with his family, within walking distance of the Inmans. In an interview for DiGrande, his daughter remembers taking his lunch to him from their home. As he was white, he ate his lunch alone in the barn, not in the kitchen alcove with the African-American servants. This part of the kitchen was the gathering place for the house servants. The kitchen was only used by the cook for food preparation. All the dishes and silver were cleaned and stored in the butler's pantry. It contains a huge stainless steel sink, a plate warmer, and in the north end area, a refrigerator and freezer were once located. The basement contained household storage areas, the furnace, and storage for the yard and garden tools. There was also a janitor's room, which provided a refuge for the butler on occasion. The attic had two large storage rooms and two bedrooms, and a complete bathroom. It became housing for one or two maids or the nanny, and was used as a laundry in later years.

Changes in Kitchen, Attic and Basement from late 1940s

Kitchen

As the paint, flooring, and built-in cabinets are original to the building, the main changes are in the utilization of the space and the appliances. The original icebox and freezer, which were in the pantry, were removed many years ago. The original stove, which was in the basement until recent years, has been replaced in its previous position. The white aluminum sink cabinet was installed by the Inmans in later years, possibly the 1950s. The refrigerator now in the kitchen is of the era, but not of the home. No curtains were originally on the windows, and visibility was historically screened by a large stand of bamboo planted in front of them. In the main, the kitchen and butler's pantry are intact.

The Second Floor and Attic

The functions of the second floor were changed dramatically by the Atlanta Historical Society when they occupied the Swan House for their museum and offices. The division of the rooms remained the same, however the furnishings were removed by the family after the sale of the house. The room at the top of the rear stairs was first used as the director's office, then later as the historian's office, and the western, larger guest room was used as exhibit space. The central bedroom was utilized for museum and gallery space; it was used also as a meeting room for the membership of the Historical Society. The southeast bedroom was then the director's office.

The rooms in the attic served as offices for the officers of the Historical Society. Mrs. Wilbur Kurtz had an office upstairs in the attic, the west central room. No structural changes were made to these rooms.

The Basement

During the ten years that the Swan House was used as the Historical Society's main headquarters, the second floor, the attic and the basement were utilized for offices and exhibit space, and the basement was used as a library and archives.

Mr. Franklin Garrett, in a 1995 oral interview with Deidre Digrande, remembers a truck load of coal still in the basement when the AHS took over occupancy. The coal was shoveled out, and the space converted into library and archive storage. (See Cooper, Barrett, Skinner, Woodbury and Cooper, Inc. alteration plans from 1967 in appendices.) Rooms on the extreme north side were used for file rooms, the janitor's room on the west side was converted to office and work room space. A bathroom was added beneath the stairs and a vault was made from an eastern storage room. No changes were made to the southern half of the basement.

Present Day Utilization

In 1983, Philip Shutze, the architect and designer of Swan House, bequeathed his personal collections to the Atlanta Historical Society to be housed in Swan House. In the mid-1970s McElreath Hall was constructed to house the offices and archives of the Society, and space became available on the second floor of Swan House for Philip Shutze's prized collection. The main thrust of his collection was porcelain. The Society, with the astounding efforts of volunteers, cataloged, photographed, identified and documented every piece of porcelain. The now vacant former bedrooms of the Inman family were renovated to display Shutze's collection, to include a retro-fitted section of Shutze's paneled apartment. Storage space was made from vacant attic rooms, and a permanent museum was created to honor Shutze.

Landscape Significance - Development and Restoration of Gardens

It is an accepted belief that the gardens were designed originally by Philip Shutze for the Inmans, although no actual garden plans exist. The gardens include terraced lawns, retaining walls with ivied recessed arches, and massive stairs with water cascades. In 1930s Atlanta, the classical philosophy of gardening was centered in the idea that the weather in Atlanta so closely resembled the Mediterranean climate, that Italian gardens should be a primary influence. The mostly evergreen plantings and boxwood parterres of Italy would allow newly built estates to

have the air and dignity of grander, older homes.² It is certainly to Italy that Philip Shutze looked in designing the gardens of the Swan House. In his recommendations for Atlanta Historical Society tours of the house, Shutze explains:

As to landscaping, whatever has been done was with the Italian garden in England in mind...As in the Italian vernacular...an architectural framework with evergreen planting is the order.³

As part of the ambience of the property and the Italianate design, a parterred boxwood garden was established on the south side of the house, centered with a fountain, and clipped evergreens and stonework. This design was especially popular with classical enthusiasts because it emphasized controlled architectural forms, and their basis in structures and landscapes of the past. It is believed by the restoration landscape architect, Spencer Tunnell, that Emily Inman bought old boxwood for the parterre, at least three feet tall. This was a common practice so that the plantings were of mature size, thus giving the property an older appearance. The parterre quadrants were edged in lirioppe, and wisteria trees were placed in each quarter. (See attachments re: Gardens history.) At the extreme south end of the boxwood parterre is a large broken pediment gate with urns, fronted by a bench. The styling for this can be seen as influenced from the Italian gardens of La Pietra, Il Pellegrino, near Florence. (See attached plan.) Urns, encrusted with "lava" edging, were inspired by Italian garden ornaments, as well. The urns are located at the east side retaining walls, the south end of the boxwood garden and along the cascading fountains on the west.

Installed on the west front of the house leading to a double horseshoe stairway, were cascading fountains designed in the manner of Villa Corsini near Rome, Italy. The Roman fountains were measured and photographed by Shutze when he studied in Italy, and are in his scrapbooks on file at the AHC. The cascading fountains were intended to be bordered by plants in containers, as often seen in Italy. In the 1933 Peachtree Garden Club publication, *Garden History of Georgia*, Emily Inman's garden was photographed with the fountain surrounded by plants in containers. (See appendices for historic photos.)

Shutze had earlier suggested, "...flowers are used in pots and tubs, a usage so common to the European arrangement in parterres."

From the cascading fountains a series of grass terraces leads to Andrews Drive. The last terrace is framed by a retaining wall with a series of seven niches filled with clipped ivy, suggesting entrances into possible grottos under the great hill.⁴ The wall was emphasized by gardenias. This same grotto influence is seen on the east side of the house near the driveway turnaround with another retaining wall, topped by urns between a curved double stairway.

The north side of the house was reserved as a service entrance and was not ornamental in the Inman's era. This side was remembered by the grandchildren as only a dirt service yard, edged by bamboo screening.

From 1967 – 1999

After Emily Inman's death in 1965, the property was sold to the Atlanta Historical Society. Eighty-five at the time of her death, she had not been able to maintain the gardens and grounds as previously. The boxwood garden was very overgrown, and the details of the original design were lost to the viewer. The forest that once grew there was rapidly gaining another foothold in the wooded area of the site.

The Atlanta Historical Society was confronted with a forest fast encroaching on its 22 acre grounds, and no work force to control it. When the AHS was previously located on Peachtree Road, two garden clubs, the Pine Tree and Cottage Garden Clubs, maintained the grounds. A cadre of Garden Clubs throughout the city were organized to restore the Swan House gardens. Headed by Louise Allen, a project committee was organized. Thirty-two garden clubs, each represented on the committee, participated in the effort. All plans for landscaping and maintenance were discussed and approved by three professional Atlanta landscape architects, Edith Henderson, Edward Daugherty and Dan Franklin. Most of the hand work was done by the Garden Club women, as volunteers on the site. That their work was appreciated was shown by the many awards won by the various clubs in support of their endeavors. The Garden Club of America and Sears & Roebuck were among those that awarded cash prizes to the clubs. (A list of clubs and their project areas are included in appendices.)

Landscape preservation, as it is practiced today, was not conceived of in 1967. The goals and objectives of the Garden Clubs was to present the grounds in the most attractive way possible, with maintenance and funding costs kept at a minimum. Not to take away from the dedication and energy shown by the volunteers of the Garden Clubs, actual historic research was not discounted. However, accuracy was not always top priority. For example, the dirt service yard on the north side of the house was planted with decorative plantings, and a fountain and statue were added. Various donated items were "worked in" to the landscape, i.e. Ambrose, a marble elephant, and the "Victorian" playhouse, in the south garden.

In the formal boxwood parterre, perennial beds were removed, and replaced with azaleas; lirioppe edging the beds was removed, and the tree-form wisterias, originally planted in the parterre's quadrants were removed. Drainage was blocked by continued applications of gravel crusher on the pathways. Edging tiles were obscured, and the original design lost. In 1996 Spencer Tunnell II, an Atlanta landscape architect, who had done previous research on Philip Shutze, began the laborious research and restoration of the boxwood garden. Through careful research and digging, the original buff-colored dolomite placed on the paths was discovered, and replaced. The drainage system was renewed, and perennials and annuals that were known by Emily Inman were planted. New boxwood and lirioppe plantings were installed. More recently the cascade fountains have been restored to working order.

In the process of restoration of the landscape, scholarly research is being undertaken to create more historically accurate residential gardens and grounds to the Inman 1928-1940 era. Further afield from the house itself, the educational and commemorative gardens of the Atlanta History Center will be maintained as they are by its dedicated horticultural staff.

¹ This essay was accomplished by an intern studying for a graduate degree in Heritage Preservation at Georgia State University. The well researched and compiled essay is not published and is only available in-house at the archives of The Atlanta History Center. (Subject File – Swan House.)

² Alison MacGinnitie, "Swan House Gardens Proposal," unpublished work on file at the archives of AHC, prepared in 1993 by Swan House and Gardens Intern.

³ Taken from MacGinnitie, who quoted:
Philip Trammel Shutze, "Suggestions for Tours of Swan House," Folder 1, Box 42, MSS 498, Shutze Collection, Atlanta History Center Library/Archives.

⁴ Hattie Rainwater, ed. *Garden History of Georgia, 1733-1933*, (., Atlanta: Walter W. Brown Publishing Co, 1933), p. 228.

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**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
MULTIPLE PROPERTY DOCUMENTATION FORM**

This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in "Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms" (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Type all entries.

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Woman's Club Buildings in Georgia

B. Associated Historic Contexts

Woman's Club Organization Movement in Georgia, 1890 to 1950

C. Form Prepared By

name/title	Darlene Roth/Lynn Speno		
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D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Planning and Evaluation.

	Date	Signature
of certifying official		

W. Ray Luce
State Historic Preservation Officer
Historic Preservation Division
Georgia Department of Natural Resources

I, hereby, certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

	Date	
Signature of the Keeper of the National Register		

United States Department of the Interior
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National Register of Historic Places

Section E - Statement of Historic Contexts

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

Following the Civil War, the beginning of what would become a national women's movement arose in a period that witnessed the emergence of the first generation of college-educated women in the United States. In the country's major urban centers, women's groups such as literary societies, alumnae associations, and charities began to take a more proactive stance on political and social issues. In smaller towns, women formed improvement societies to push for local humanitarian, beautification as well as civic improvement projects. The impetus behind most of these activities was the belief that the Woman had a special role to play "cleaning" up her neighborhood, town, or locality. Female historian Mary Beard dubbed this phenomenon "municipal housekeeping," and the term has stuck. Among the many specialized organizations emerged the "general woman's club" to enable one organization to serve many purposes, and to acknowledge not only that special role of Woman, but the "New Woman" of the 19th century who had acknowledged civic responsibilities without yet full citizenship. More modern than her predecessors, pious but not withdrawn, domesticated but not tied to the homeplace, she was prepared to serve a multitude of humanitarian, civic and educational purposes. If it was a "man's world" then the New Woman had a special place in it, and the woman's club became that place.

Founded in 1890, the General Federation of Woman's Clubs (GFWC) claims to be the largest and oldest organization of volunteer women in the world. According to their literature there were approximately 8,500 clubs in the United States with over 350,000 members. Today, they have 270,000 members in 7,000 clubs in the United States and millions more members worldwide. The GFWC views itself as a professional organization for volunteer women. The GFWC and its state affiliates provide a network of support and prestige to active local Woman's Club chapters.

I. Women's Club/Organization Movement in the United States

The earliest clubs, those founded in 1868 in New York City (Sorosis) and Boston (New England Woman's Club) for literary, social and cultural exchange, helped to strengthen ideals, and provided a point of entry for women into public life. With more free time from domestic drudgery, fueled by the labor-saving inventions of the Industrial Revolution, women found themselves increasingly driven to become better educated and more involved in society. What began as a tool for self-improvement evolved into platforms for civic improvement and social reform for women. The push for civic service would be the tie that united these clubs across the country and helped evolve these varying clubs into a national organization.

In 1890, a federation was formed which consisted of two hundred white women's clubs and 20,000 members. The General Federation of Woman's Clubs made its headquarters in Washington, D.C., but the

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

first club convention was held in New York in April of 1890. In 1893 when the General Federation received its charter there were 40,000 members in three hundred clubs nationwide. At this time Georgia did not have any general woman's clubs, but that did not last long. As the movement grew, so did the organizations locally, and by 1900 there were woman's clubs for both black and white women in Georgia. In ten years from founding, the national numbers had grown to 150,000. Two decades later the Federation boasted membership of over a million women.

By the 1920s, the club movement had evolved into a hybrid form that combined social and cultural interests with a new emphasis on civic engagement that would characterize clubs in the 20th century. One good example of this form is the Friday Morning Club in Los Angeles founded in 1878. In the 1920s the club was the largest women's club in the country. An illustration of its clout can be seen in the large number of women that it helped install in the city government. The club also was instrumental in bringing social reform, churches, theater, parks and clubs to the city.

GFWC programs often included seminars to train state leaders and provide local assistance for project implementation. Organizations involved with GFWC programs have included Exxon, Allstate, Chevron, Procter & Gamble and Shell Oil. Some of the networking organizations have included the American Library Association, CARE, March of Dimes, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Accomplishments included: established the national model for juvenile courts in 1899; turned the tide for the passage of the Pure Food and Drugs Act in 1906; supported legislation for the eight-hour workday in 1911; supported the first child labor law in 1938; endorsed a resolution for equal rights and responsibilities for women in 1944; supported equal pay for equal work in 1958; started an alcohol and drug abuse education program for women and youth in 1974; instituted a youth suicide prevention program in 1988. Early involvement in the push for public libraries meant that over 75 percent of the public libraries in the United States in existence in 1933 were initiated by women's clubs. Virtually all of Georgia's older libraries were so founded.

Although the Federation's motto was "Unity in Diversity," the clubs were not racially integrated. However, a parallel organization developed for African American women, the National Association of Colored Woman's Clubs, with clubs in all the major cities and many smaller ones, especially in the South, where most of the African Americans lived. Within their own races, the clubs were believed to be a great social and economic leveler, providing all women an opportunity to participate, but among both races, the woman's clubs always retained some upper- and middle-class associations. These were organizations for leisured women, not working women.

National Association of Colored Women's Clubs

Black women's efforts at organized community took a somewhat different turn from those of white women. An early organization in Philadelphia of washerwomen and domestics in 1821, and an 1832 organization, the Female Anti-Slavery Society in Salem, Massachusetts, are early examples of social

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

reform efforts on the part of working black women for themselves and their enslaved sisters in the South. Other efforts included a community in Boston that helped to secure necessary items such as shoes and clothing for runaway slaves. In the late 19th century, an Ida B. Wells' inspired campaign against lynching formed the catalyst for a nationwide movement to form women's civic clubs. Some of these clubs included the Women's Loyal Union in Brooklyn and Manhattan, and the Woman's Era Club of Boston.

The National Federation of Afro-American women was formed in 1895 with thirty six clubs in twelve states. In 1896, the National Federation merged with the National League of Colored Women, creating the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs with headquarters in Washington, D.C. Two decades later membership consisted of 50,000 women in 1,000 clubs nationwide. Clubs were encouraged to support reformatories, homes for the elderly, kindergartens and day nurseries. The lack of economic and social resources available to the black women meant fewer club houses. Many of these clubs had to share a clubhouse with a men's group, meet in a church, or, more usually, in a club member's home.

Clubhouse Construction

Between 1900 and the extremities of the Depression, the records of the General Federation of Woman's Clubs and the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs are replete with mentions of local clubs trying to establish homes for themselves. This was to be more than a headquarters office, but also a "house," with eating facilities and a gathering place for the women. The white women's organizations, because they often had access to greater resources and because they were somewhat less focused on outreach and racial uplift than their black sisters, managed to raise more buildings in their own name than the black women's organizations. The women's club movement spread throughout the nation until by 1933 over 1,200 clubhouses existed. There were dozens of clubhouses throughout Georgia, but probably not as many as a hundred. The coming of the Second World War took much of the steam out of the woman's club movement, by shifting the national focus away from the home front. The rise of the generation committed to equal rights for women (black and white) in the 1960s all but killed the movement and changed the nature of female associations. Women's clubs have languished in the last decades of the 20th century, and the clubhouses, as a result, have been largely abandoned.

II. Woman's Club Movement in Georgia, 1890 to 1950

Early Formation of Women's Clubs in Georgia

Beginning in the decade of the 1890s, the women of Georgia began to catch up with national women's organizations. They had kept apace with church and temperance movements, but the national club movement, which depended on dense urban populations for its collective successes, had not succeeded in gaining much ground in the South. Not until after the Civil War was there sufficient density in urban

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

regions, even in a city the size of Atlanta, to support the women's organizations. It took that long to gain enough autonomy on the part of the local female populations to fill the rolls of the organizations.

The emerging women's clubs depended on two other forces – the acceptance of “The New Woman” as a tolerable model for feminine behavior and adult development; and the sudden presence of political debate as to a woman's proper role, induced by the formation of the first woman suffrage support group in Georgia. The suffrage organizations of the 1890s, the Georgia Woman Suffrage Association and the Equal Suffrage League, as vocal as they were, constituted a small minority among white women. However, their vociferous arguments for the vote stirred not only the newspapers, but the hearts and minds of the remaining female populations. White club women rose to the challenge of their "new role" by asserting themselves further into their communities as “ladies” and as workers for the philanthropic good. The vote, as far as these women were concerned – at least until the eleventh hour for the suffrage amendment – was unnecessary for a woman to demonstrate that she was a committed social partner to her home, church, community, and even state. Black women, left out of the suffrage debates in what was nationally a racist campaign for the female vote, nonetheless adopted the same stance toward their communities. They, too, served home, church, community, and state in philanthropic and social service activities, and added building the race to their tenets for being.

The Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs was founded in 1896. The organizational initiative came out of the General Federation's Biennial Council meeting in 1895, held in the Woman's Building of the Cotton States & International Exposition in Atlanta. Prior to that time, there were a few local clubs in Georgia, most notably Elberton Sorosis, organized in 1892, the oldest, and the Atlanta Woman's Club, 1894, the largest.

The meeting of the Council of the General Federation attracted the attention of several influential women. One of these, Mrs. W.D. Lowe, held a meeting at her home that laid the foundation for the Woman's Club of Atlanta, as well as the state federation. The Atlanta Woman's Club sent out a notice for a convention to meet in Atlanta in October of 1896 to organize the state's clubs. A dozen delegates from the state's clubs, as well as delegates from the national organization lent an aura of success to the convention. The Georgia Federation adopted their official motto as “Wisdom, Justice and Moderation,” their official emblem as the Cherokee Rose, and official colors as green and white. Their motto and emblem were and are the Georgia state motto and flower.

By the end of the year seventeen clubs had joined the Georgia State Federation. The charter clubs of the Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs were as follows:

Atlanta–Atlanta Woman's Club
Atlanta–Georgia Woman's Press Club
Atlanta–Nineteenth Century History Class
Atlanta–Reviewers Club
Augusta–Philomathic Club

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Barnesville–Shakespearean Club
Cartersville–Cherokee Club
Columbus–Students’ Club
Covington–Woman’s Club
Dalton–Lesche Club
Elberton–Georgia Sorosis
Macon–History Class
Macon–Current Topics Club
Milledgeville–Outlook Club
Rome–Alumnae Association of Shorter College
Rome–Woman’s Club
Social Circle–Woman’s Club

Two of the Georgia Federation’s greatest achievements happened during its early years. The State Library Commission was created in 1897 to support the building of local libraries across the state, and the Tallulah Falls School was founded in Habersham County. The board of the school was organized in 1906 and the school opened in 1909 to educate Georgia children in the “rational system of education.” The school is accredited by the State of Georgia and is still in operation today. Two other matters concerned these clubs, which did not often concern their northern counterparts: one was to raise the age of consent for Georgia’s girls, which at the time of the club’s founding set at age 10 (meaning girls as young as 11 could marry or be married off by their parents; it also meant there was no legal rape for girls under the age of 10); and, later on, to join the call for an end to lynching in the campaign of southern women against lynching that was active in the 1920s and 1930s.

In 1898 the Federation sought admission of women to the University of Georgia and the School of Technology (now Georgia Institute of Technology). Beginning in 1903 the Federation pushed for the establishment of a Juvenile Court which was granted in 1904. A compulsory education bill was introduced to the legislature in 1906. Interest in forestry and the state’s waterways was cultivated. City Beautiful campaigns were initiated in 1907 to help cities maintain their green spaces and clean streets. Training schools for girls and boys in lieu of prison were advocated and adopted in 1913 and 1919 respectively.

In the 1910s, suffrage and equal rights ranked as high priorities for the Federation. Child labor laws and the Pure Food and Drug Act were passed at this time due in large part to lobbying by the Federation. During the years of the first World War, the club women turned toward patriotic work such as the Red Cross, Liberty Bonds, and food conservation. Canning clubs, school gardens, curb markets, and agricultural rallies were initiated.

In true feminine style, the service came first and the women themselves second. The women of Georgia organized to accomplish ends not otherwise met in a society that was under-endowed for public welfare. Orphanages, welfare houses for unmarried mothers, asylums, sanitariums, libraries, poor houses,

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

schools, hospitals, community centers, nursing homes, clubs for children, veterans' care facilities – all received the attention of the women. A few of the facilities were actually owned and operated by the women, but those were in the minority. It was more the rule that the women instigated the organization's establishment, supported it into being, and maintained a relationship with it through its organizational life, but did not operate the facility nor own it outright. In those instances where women's organizations did own the facility, the women's clubs did so with particularly acute missions in mind. For example, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) homes were intended to provide safe (morally safe) housing for young women coming from the countryside into the city to work. Both black and white YWCAs in metropolitan Atlanta maintained boarding houses for young women, although they were not the only community YWCAs to do so.

In another example, the Tallulah Falls School was owned and operated by the Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs, the school was intended to provide education to mountain children, who were numbered among the hundreds of illiterates in Georgia at the beginning of the 20th century. There was an implied racism in the desire to serve the Anglo-European descendants in the hills of north Georgia, which was even more evident in the DAR School in Temasee, South Carolina, which provided the model. In those early days, the young white children who were educated there, and in similar schools, were probably neither more nor less grateful for the training with all its parochialism. The Carrie Steele Pitts Home in Atlanta, the only surviving black orphanage in that city, though no longer in its original historic building, serves as a reminder of the kind of organizations both black and white women at the turn of the 20th century established. The women created institutions, sometimes on their own, but more often in partnership with their communities.

It was only after, it seemed, their work was done elsewhere did the women think to establish buildings for themselves, to house their activities, meetings, and aspirations for presence in the world at large. In 1916 there were 336 white women's clubs in Georgia with 25,000 members. To join the Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs, a club had to have two sponsoring, federated clubs, pay district and state dues and become initiated at a state meeting. All of the clubs promoted civic, social and/or moral dimensions of local community life. By 1919, 213 of these clubs had joined the Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs. Twenty years later that number had dropped to 166 members of the Federation. (Attachments A and B)

Post War through the Great Depression

A continued focus on improvements in rural life made this the era of an "Agricultural Renaissance" in the Georgia Federation. In a move to boost profits for Georgia farmers, the Federation began a movement to increase the consumption of Georgia farm products within the state. Home extension service for rural communities was approved by the State Legislature due to the women's efforts.

The first state headquarters for the Federation was established in 1924 at the Chamber of Commerce building in Atlanta. In 1927 the group endorsed a bill for a teacher retirement system for the public schools in the state.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

In 1930 the state headquarters moved to the Henry Grady Hotel. In response to several years of lobbying by the Federation, the state established the Department of Forestry and Geology, the Georgia School for the Deaf, and the Academy for the Blind in 1931. In that same year women were admitted to the University of Georgia after years of political pressure.

During the 1930s, Georgia woman's clubs, along with those in the rest of the country, received assistance from federal recovery programs. A number of combined club house/community centers were built by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) with assistance from local funding. Local, state or federal agencies, including woman's clubs, sponsored WPA projects and contributed ten to thirty percent of the cost of each project. In an early example of a public/private partnership to improve the community, the Georgia clubs sought available funds, worked through the federal bureaucracy and saw their new buildings through to completion.

World War II

All efforts of the club women of Georgia in the early 1940s were dedicated to helping the country in its war efforts. The Red Cross, selling of war bonds, and rationing all engaged the attention of the members.

With the end of the war, the scope of the clubs' work became broader. Focus was put on the youth committee, postwar activities through a peace service, a "Better Home Towns" program was sponsored, and the work of the Georgia Citizens Council was promoted.

By 1945 state aid for public libraries within the state had reached \$150,000 due to years of endorsement by the Federation. From the original funding of \$6,000 in 1920 was "a long way for Georgia to go in providing funds for development of free public library service, a form of education for adults in rural sections. Federated club women played an active part in every increased appropriation made by the State to provide this library service to the people of Georgia." Other efforts were focused on a school lunch program which was endorsed by the state in 1944, and prison reform which was also undertaken by the state at this time.

Clubhouse Construction

If the 1890s saw the flowering of the woman's club movement in Georgia (and throughout the southern states), then the first decades of the 1900s were witness to the next important development in women's club activities – the establishment of headquarters outside the individual women's houses for the clubs. The idea of the club "home" – more than a clubhouse – had a great deal of appeal for the women. It gave them a safe place to meet, which was not associated with any particular group or religious denomination; it gave them a work space for planning; it gave them a place to keep supplies for their work and their entertaining; and it gave them an opportunity to make a statement about their presence in the community. The location of the clubhouse was a testimony to the community the club was serving;

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

the nature of the building was a testament to its relative status within the community; and the architecture of the clubhouse often made a statement as to the club's values and achievements.

These buildings were not intended to provide services, or to serve other populations – girls, women, veterans, or sick and infirm folks. These buildings were intended to serve the women themselves, and although the facilities were often rented or loaned out to other organizations, they were the women's property. The earliest club houses emerged in the 1920s.

In the 1930s, many of these clubhouses were built as combined club house/community centers by the Works Progress Administration (WPA) with assistance from local funding during the 1930s. The WPA began February 15, 1934 as the Civil Works Emergency Relief Act; it became the WPA in 1935. After July 1, 1939 it became the Works Projects Administration and was transferred to the Federal Works Agency. These agencies gave work to about eight million people, including architects, construction workers, artists and writers. The WPA spent over eleven million dollars and completed 250,000 projects during the Depression. Seventy-five percent of their work was construction projects, with over 40,000 buildings constructed. Local, state or federal agencies sponsored the projects and contributed ten to thirty percent of the cost of each project. Although criticized by some, the WPA provided work and income which helped stimulate the economy. It also gave people hope and a sense of pride.

Conclusion

When the Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs was chartered in 1896 there were participating clubs in only twelve Georgia cities. All of the federated clubs were involved in civic work of some kind, usually public health, sanitation, parks, libraries, suffrage, or promoting education. Today the focus of the clubs has broadened to include such issues as natural resource conservation, solid waste disposal, continuing education, literacy, drug abuse, foreign policy, world health, and family violence.

The importance of these buildings to the material history of women in the state of Georgia cannot be overstated. These are the most intriguing, most substantive, most prevalent evidence of women's collective civic activities in the state. They emerged from a collective consciousness of women's roles, women's place, and a special identity with feminine energies and activities. They also emerged in an age when sex segregation, like race segregation, was far more prevalent than it is today. In some instances, where the records of the organizations have not been retained, these club buildings are the only evidence of the organizations' existence. And they are fast disappearing, which makes their identification, documentation, and preservation even more important.

The movement to establish club houses was not felt just among the member organizations of the General Federation of Woman's Clubs, but throughout women's clubs in general. Patriotic organizations (especially the DAR), sororities, business women's groups, and others also built club houses for themselves. While this nomination covers only clubhouses associated with the Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs, the scope of this nomination could be expanded to include the following related women's clubs:

Woman's Club Buildings in Georgia, Multiple Property Listing, Georgia

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Philanthropic/Social Clubs
Child Service Organization
Fraternal Organizations
Patriotic Organizations
Social and Community Service Clubs
Educational Outreach

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places

Section F - Associated Property Types

F. Associated Property Types

Property Type Description

Property Types - Clubhouses

Clubhouses associated with Georgia's Woman's Clubs represent a small but significant collection of historic architectural resources. Most of the buildings continue to serve the function for which they were built, and retain their architectural integrity. Clubhouses developed by women's clubs were, with a few exceptions, designed and constructed by professional architects and builders who drew upon traditional building techniques and contemporary stylistic detailing for their inspiration. The primary consideration was given to providing functional and comfortable spaces for club members. Some clubs took over residential structures and adapted them to their use; others had rooms in a community center; still others adopted other structures (small offices, libraries, or other buildings) to their use as a club house. In most instances, the buildings are indistinguishable from their neighbors, to such an extent, that if there were no sign to identify the structure's use, no automatic association with a woman's club could be detected. Very few of them have distinctive architectural features or ornament.

The Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs did not adopt a standard plan for clubhouses, but instead encouraged the local affiliates to develop buildings based upon individual need, available funding and appropriate scale within a particular setting. Consequently a variety of styles were applied to the clubhouses. They embody a variety of architectural influences including Bungalow/Craftsman, Chateausque, Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, English Revival, Folk Victorian, Greek Revival or Vernacular.

The clubhouses display a variety of massing, scale and design features and typically contain between 1,000 and 5,000 square feet of interior space. Most are one or two stories in height. Some occupy prominent sites in historic commercial or residential areas; others appear in transitional areas linking a downtown sector with an older residential neighborhood. Forms vary, with side-facing and front-facing gable or hip roofs. Building plans are usually irregular in form, with a variety of projecting bays or porches extending from a primary rectangular unit. Exterior walls consist of brick, stone, stucco or wood. Foundations are brick, concrete or stone.

Clubhouses are a specialized building type designed and constructed to serve a social function. The layout usually consists of a large centrally-located meeting room, smaller kitchen, storage rooms, and restrooms off of the main room. Most of the clubhouses were developed to serve as meeting halls. The style and size of a building is indicative of the membership of the club and the level of wealth within a community at the time the building was constructed. Most of the clubhouses embody the prevalent architectural style in use at the time the building was constructed. Some of the buildings were acquired and adapted for use as clubhouses, such as the Atlanta Woman's Club and the Demorest Woman's Club.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

The multiple property listing of historic and architectural resources of the Woman's Club movement in the State of Georgia is based upon two factors: (1) a building that was constructed for use by a woman's club or organization; (2) a building that was adapted by a woman's club or organization for their own use. Properties such as women's homes or churches where the club met are not included. The nomination also does not include institutions where women initiated work, but did not own or operate the facility, such as libraries, hospitals or churches. These buildings on the whole have retained their integrity to a remarkable degree over the years.

Those buildings that were built to the clubs' specifications and owned and operated by the clubs have the most to suggest about the identity of the organizations and the women who ran them. It is extremely rare for the buildings to be anything but tasteful and discrete, fitting into their environments in a totally unobtrusive way. The clubhouses, tend to be solid but not monumental, by and large indistinguishable from their neighbors. They may be slightly commercialized, if they appear in a commercial zone; but are clearly residential looking, if they are located in a neighborhood.

One apparent exception to the preceding rule is the Covington Woman's Club building which is right on the cusp of the downtown commercial and residential area of Covington and not close to a residential area. This location reflects the fact that the Women's Club Building began as the local library founded, operated, and built by the Covington Woman's Club, and therefore was theirs by a different "right." The building still met the federation criteria of serving the local populace and providing adequate meeting space. Another exception is the Tunnel Hill Woman's Clubhouse, which is located on the edge of an industrial district.

The interiors of these buildings, however, would reveal their use. Usually outfitted with at least one meeting room and a kitchen, a reception hall, and service areas, the interiors were kept simple and ultimately functional. Occasionally, and only in the largest facilities, the club could provide overnight accommodations for a visitor or two. However, this was never a large part of the function of the buildings. They were intended as meeting spaces, function spaces, planning spaces, entertainment spaces.

The Georgia Federation of Woman's Club buildings are "community landmark" type buildings. Community landmark buildings include the institutional, religious, social, governmental, and educational buildings in a community. These buildings are usually freestanding and reflect the architectural trends of the period. As centerpieces for public gatherings, buildings such as the Georgia Federation of Woman's Club buildings, provide a sense of place and cohesiveness for the female citizens and symbolize the permanence, stability, and strength of a community from an earlier woman's perspective.

A wide range of resources in the state dating from the years 1890-1950 are included. This time period was chosen because it reflects the height of the women's club movement as it existed in the era of public sexual segregation and gender separation. The architectural integrity requirements were based upon a knowledge of existing properties, as well as information gained from previously collected county surveys and National Register nominations. The properties included for description in this form were chosen because of their exceptional architectural integrity.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

General Women's Clubs (county):

Canton Woman's Club (Cherokee)
Hiram Woman's Club (Columbia)
Lithonia Woman's Club (DeKalb)
Stone Mountain Woman's Club (DeKalb)*
Eastman Woman's Club (Dodge)
Atlanta Woman's Club (Fulton)**
College Park Woman's Club (Fulton)*
Ellijay Woman's Club (Gilmer)
Demorest Woman's Club (Habersham)
ChIPLEY Woman's Club (Harris)
Redbone Community House (Lamar)**
Lincolnton's Woman's Club (Lincoln)*
Dahlonega Woman's Club (Lumpkin)*
Comer Woman's Club (Madison)*
Covington Woman's Club (Newton)*
Cedartown Woman's Building (Polk)*
Rockmart Woman's Club (Polk)**
Toccoa Woman's House (Stephens)
Dawson Woman's Club (Terrell)***
Lyon's Woman's Club (Toombs)**
Vidalia Woman's Club (Toombs)
West Point Woman's Club (Troup)
Tennille Woman's Club (Washington)**
Tunnel Hill Woman's Club (Whitfield)

*-listed as part of a historic district in the National Register

**-listed individually in the National Register

***-listed individually and in a historic district

Examples in north Georgia include:

The **Atlanta Woman's Club** building in Atlanta, Fulton County, the Wimbish House. This large, Chateausque style home, located at 1150 Peachtree Avenue, was adapted by the club for its use. The 1898 Wimbish House, designed by Walter Downing, was opened as the Atlanta Woman's Club clubhouse in February 1920. The women adapted the building by hiring architects P. Thornton Marye and Barrett Alger to design a master plan for the former home. This plan, implemented by 1925, included an auditorium, banquet hall, and a swimming pool.

The Atlanta Woman's Club was founded in 1895 for social, literary and humanitarian purposes. Among the club's many outreach projects were the establishment of the Atlanta Municipal Market,

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

supporting the Tallulah Falls School, numerous public welfare projects, city beautification drives, clean-up campaigns, art exhibits, lectures, and musicales. The Atlanta Women's Club was individually listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1979.

Construction of the WPA funded **Cedartown Federated Woman's Club**, Cedartown, Polk County, was begun in 1935 and completed in 1936. The Club was formed in 1935 for the purpose of building a clubhouse. Six local clubs - the Woman's Club, the Music Lovers' Club, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the American Legion Auxiliary, the Cedar Valley Garden Club and the Daffodil Garden Club combined to form the new Cedartown Federated Woman's Club. The resulting building is a one-story stone, Colonial Revival style building, located on the edge of Big Spring Park in the Cedartown Historic District. It is a contributing building to the district. A large meeting room comprises the central portion of the building; wings house kitchen, bath and storage areas.

The **Comer Woman's Club** building was constructed c. 1910. The building is a clapboard one-and-a-half story Folk Victorian style structure. It is located south of the commercial district of Comer, Madison County and is a contributing building in the Comer Historic District. Comer is a small, railroad town located in northeast Georgia.

The **Covington Woman's Club** was organized in 1895. A one-story brick Classical Revival style building with hip roof was constructed in 1915 by the club to house a library. The front facade features a porch with Ionic columns and arched windows. The building later became the home of the Woman's Club. It is located in downtown Covington, Newton County, and is a contributing building in the National Register District.

The **Demorest Woman's Club** building was constructed in 1901. It is a two-story rectangular building of shiplap siding, with front-oriented gable roof. Originally built as a church, this symmetrical building has a pier foundation and balloon framing. The main entrance is on the second floor. The former sanctuary is now an open space with a stage in place of the altar. Two small rooms were added at the rear of this space in 1954 for a small kitchen and storage area. It is located just north of the Demorest Commercial Historic District, Habersham County.

The **Ellijay Woman's Clubhouse**, located in Gilmer County, was constructed c. 1938. It is a simple asymmetrical one-story L-shaped log building with a cross gable roof and stone chimney and foundation. There is a porch across the front of the building. There are two rooms inside; one large one for meetings. It is a single-family dwelling today.

The **Lincolnton Woman's Club** is located in Lincoln County, and is a contributing building in the Lincolnton National Register District. Built with WPA funds in 1935, the structure is a one-story clapboard building with a simple square columned portico. It has Greek Revival elements in the portico. The roof is pyramidal with a central chimney. The foundation is stone.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

The **Rockmart Woman's Club** is a one-story clapboard bungalow with Craftsman and Colonial Revival influences. A columned porch is located across the front and an ell is attached to the back. The main portion of the house contains the meeting room, while the ell houses a kitchen. The building was constructed in 1922 during a major growth period for the women's club movement. The club was founded in 1906 as a reading club. Community beautification and clean-up later emerged as the main focus of the women.

The **Tunnel Hill Woman's Clubhouse**, located in Whitfield County, was constructed in 1939. It is a simple one-story stone structure, with English Vernacular Revival elements, and side gable roof. A small stoop provides a cover for the front entrance. A small stucco kitchen addition is located to the rear of the house.

Examples from Central Georgia:

The **Redbone Community Clubhouse** is located in the rural community of Redbone, Lamar County. It was built in 1935-36 by the WPA. A one-story, clapboard building, it has Craftsman and Colonial Revival influences. It has a large meeting room, stage area and kitchen. The Redbone Woman's Club, founded in 1922, spearheaded the effort to realize the construction of the community building. They maintained the building until 1981.

A vernacular example from a small town is the 1934 **ChIPLEY Woman's Club** building located in the town of Pine Mountain in Harris County. The Pine Mountain Women's Club was established in 1913. This building was constructed by the woman's club for its own use, and continues to be used for the same purpose today. The one-story Craftsman-influenced rectangular bungalow is representative of small town community architecture. It features a symmetrical facade and side-oriented gable roof with brick foundation and clapboard siding. Two porticos are located on the front facade.

The **Tennille Woman's Clubhouse** is a one-story log building designed in the Craftsman style located in downtown Tennille in Washington County. This Craftsman style was frequently used in Georgia for community buildings constructed in the early part of the 20th century, and reached its height in the 1930s for projects financed with federal funds. The clubhouse was built in 1922 for the Tennille Woman's Club as their clubhouse. The club was founded in 1914 as a sewing club, but turned its focus towards community projects. The building served as the site of the origin of the county's first public library, and is individually listed in the National Register

The **Vidalia Woman's Club**, located in Toombs County, was constructed in 1936 by the WPA. It is a simple rectangular, brick, one-story structure with gable roof. It has housed Episcopal and Jewish congregations, as well as Girl Scout troops and social activities for the community.

The **West Point Woman's Club**, located in Troup County, was constructed in 1940. It is a one-story rectangular structure with Craftsman elements, and side-oriented gable roof. It has been covered with asbestos siding. The interior contains one large meeting room.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

One example from South Georgia:

The **Dawson Woman's Clubhouse** is a one-story, gable-roofed log cabin with a front corner porch, and board and batten rear ell, which houses the kitchen. This 1913 clubhouse, with 1928 rear addition, is located in a residential area of Dawson, Terrell County. The building is individually listed in the National Register, and is also located in a Historic District. The interior has one large L-shaped room, with the dining area in one portion, and the assembly room in the other.

Property Type Significance

The historic woman's club clubhouses of Georgia are significant at the local level under National Register criteria A and C. These properties were all woman's clubs, built as such or used as such. Most of these buildings were built by or for a local woman's club as their meeting space or adapted by them for their use. All were built more than 50 years ago. All of these properties are significant in local women's history, and social history for their importance in the woman's club movement, and as a reflection of the consciousness of gender-specific activities and community roles. They also represent the relative educational, intellectual, political, and civic interests of particular local municipalities at certain points in history. With this in mind, some of the clubhouses may also possess significance in the area of community planning/development. They may also be significant in other areas. For example, the Redbone Community House(1936) was funded in part through the Works Progress Administration, and is significant in terms of politics and government because it represents the federal governments efforts to provide employment and assist communities during the Depression. This clubhouse and similar buildings in Vidalia and Lincolnton were built as part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's economic stimulus programs, and were major Depression-era public works projects for their communities.

The design of these clubhouses is consistent with local stylistic trends in architecture found in Georgia during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Because the Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs did not adopt a standardized plan for clubhouses, each of the clubhouses is different in style and size. The resulting buildings have significance as examples of national architectural trends during the period in which they were constructed.

General Registration Requirements

Clubhouse structures, those buildings associated with a woman's club, particularly those constructed in the heyday of the women's club movement in the early part of the 20th century, will usually meet registration requirements because of their association with a woman's club. The properties must be intact examples of a woman's clubhouse.

Properties must be more than 50 years old, and be in their original location.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

G. Geographical Data

The State of Georgia

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

The Multiple Property Submission for “Historic and Architectural Resources Associated with Women's Clubs and Organizations in Georgia” is part of the Georgia Women’s History Initiative that began within the Georgia State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) in 1994. Funded by the Georgia legislature through the SHPO, Phase I of the Initiative included the preparation of a historic context report titled “Georgia: A Woman’s Place, A Historic Context,” the completion of five National Register of Historic Places nominations, identification of notable Georgia women, an assessment of Georgia’s historic preservation activities in terms of women’s history in Georgia, special studies relating to the kitchen, landscape, and archaeology in Georgia, and recommendations for the SHPO in terms of women-related historic resources and future phases of the initiative.

The consulting team hired by the SHPO and led by Darlene Roth included Roth Associates and Ray and Associates. The team and the SHPO identified the historic places associated with the development of women’s clubs and organizations within the state as significant historic resources within Georgia and worthy of a multiple property nomination. Although some of the historic resources related to the woman’s club and organization movement were already listed in the National Register of Historic Places (both individually and within districts, see Section F), the parties decided that a more concerted effort was needed to identify, evaluate, document, and recognize these resources. While this Multiple Property Submission’s ultimate goal is to provide a comprehensive tool by which to evaluate and nominate all focuses on the historic and architectural resources associated with the Georgia Federation of Woman’s Club buildings. This narrowing of the nomination’s scope at the request of the SHPO became necessary as the breadth of the project became unmanageable given the time, energy, and effort needed to accomplish the entire task. It is the hope of the team and the SHPO that future work will be done to fully complete this National Register project.

The methodology for completing this first portion of the Multiple Property Submission was based on archival research at local and regional libraries, site visits to various club and organization buildings, reviews of secondary literature and other multiple property documentation forms, searches of the Georgia Historic Resources Survey files, the identified sites files at the SHPO, and already-listed National Register of Historic Places nominations on file at the Georgia SHPO. The list of actual buildings is based on the Georgia National Register and identified sites files, the Georgia Historic Resource Survey files, first-hand knowledge of the team and SHPO staff, and site visits to various Georgia communities and cities. The list was initially compiled in the Georgia Women’s Resources List that demonstrates the wide variety of women-related resources that fall within the National Register’s data categories for function and use (See Woman’s Club Buildings in Georgia, Multiple Property Listing, Georgia

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

“National Register Bulletin 16A, How to Compete the National Register Registration Form”). The list of Georgia Federated Women’s Club buildings was obtained from the Georgia Federation of Woman’s Clubs. This list provides guidance for potentially more eligible buildings and is included here as basis for future planning and survey work.

The historic and architectural resources associated with women’s clubs and organizations are considered eligible if they were constructed or significantly altered during the period of significance, retain their historic integrity as a place designed to serve women’s clubs and organizations’ needs, have architectural significance, and have historic significance relating to this movement.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places

Section I - Major Bibliographical References

I. Major Bibliographical References

Atlanta Woman's Club files at the Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, Georgia.

Beard, Mary R. *America Through Women's Eyes*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1934.

Croly, Jane C. *The History of the Woman's Club Movement in America*. New York: H.G. Allen, 1898.

Dubrow, Gail Lee. *Preserving her Heritage: American Landmarks of Women's History*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Press, 1991.

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Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs Golden Anniversary Celebration program, May 8-10, 1946.

Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs Yearbooks at the Atlanta-Fulton County Main Library, Atlanta, Georgia.

Mayo, Edith, ed. *American Material Culture: The Shape of Things Around Us*.

National Register nominations on file at the State Historic Preservation Division in Atlanta, Georgia.

National Register Multiple Property Nomination for Clubhouses of Florida's Woman's Clubs.

Roth, Darlene. "Feminine Marks on the Landscape." Bowling Green, Ohio: State University Popular Press, 1984, pp.79-91.

Roth, Darlene. *Matronage*. Brooklyn, New York: Carlson Publishing, 1994.

Roth, Darlene. *Matronage: Patterns in Women's Organizations, Atlanta, Georgia 1890-1940*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Press, 1978.

Wood, Mary I. *The History of the General Federation of Woman's Clubs*. Norwood, Massachusetts: Norwood Press, 1912.

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Continuation Sheet

Primary location of additional documentation:

- State historic preservation office**
- Other State agency**
- Federal agency**
- Local government**
- University**
- Other, Specify repository: Atlanta History Center**

Attachment B. 1939-40 listing of clubhouses within the state of Georgia from the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs Yearbook.

Athens—Homecon Club, Miss Sarah O'Neal, president, Greenville.
 Buford—Junior Woman's Club, Miss Dorothy Smith, president.
 Buford—Teen Age Juniors, Miss Donna Jean Kemp, president.
 Dalton—Junior Woman's Club, Mrs. Glenn Looper, president.
 Jessup—Junior Woman's Club, Miss Sue Breen, president.
 Marietta—Girl Scouts, Mrs. Morgan McNeal, Jr., commissioner.
 Nashville—Junior Music Club, Mrs. Glenn Paxton, counsellor.
 Ylthon—Junior Woman's Club, Mrs. Ido Touchstone, president.

JUNIOR CLUBS—GROUP B

JUNIOR CLUBS—GROUP C

Atlanta—Boulevard Park Sub-Juniors, Miss Ellen Marlett, president, 658 Park Dr., N. E.
 Bowman—Junior Woman's Club, Miss Helen Bond, president.
 College Park—Junior Club, Miss Margaret Fitzgerald, president.
 College Park—Sub-Junior Club, Miss Julia Flinn, president.
 Comer—Junior Club, Miss Reba Bullock, president.
 Comer—Sub-Junior Club, Miss Bessie Mae Hughes, president.
 Dallas—Junior Woman's Club, Miss Marjorie Bullock, president.
 Danielsville—Junior Club, Miss Marie Echols, president.
 Eatonton—Junior Club, Miss Gene Tatum, president.
 Fitzgerald—Drama Club, Mrs. C. G. Hale, president.
 Fort Valley—Sub-Junior, Miss Mary Lillian Culppeper, president.
 LaGrange—Junior Section, Mrs. John Fhinn, Miss Margaret Edmondson, Co-chairmen.
 Hartwell—Junior Club, Miss Barbara Adams, president.
 Lexington—Junior Woman's Club, Mrs. Pat Shackelford, president.
 Maxey—Junior Club, Miss Janet Jones, president.

DIRECTORY OF CLUBS

Town	District	Town	District
Abbeville	3	Bowman	10
Adel	8	Braselton	9
Alma	3	Brookhaven	6
Acworth	2	Brooks	4
Albany	2	Brookton	8
Alpharetta	5	Brunswick	8
Ashburn	3	Buchanan	7
Athens	10	Buford	9
Atlanta	5	Byromville	3
Augusta	10	Calto	2
Austell	7	Calhoun	7
Baconton	2	Camilla	2
Bainbridge	2	Canon	10
Hartnessville	4	Canlon	10
Barlow	6	Carnesville	9
Barley	8	Gadartown	10
Ben Hill	5	Chatsworth	7
Bishop	10	Chipley	7
Blakely	2	Chickasaw	3
Boston	2	Clarkston	9
Bowdon	4	Claxton	5

Town	District	Town	District
Clayton	9	Locust Grove	4
Cobb County	7	Lunella	4
Cochran	6	Lyons	1
Colbert	10	Macon	6
College Park	6	Macon County	10
Columbus	3	Manchester	4
Colquitt	2	Marietta	7
Comer	10	Maryville	9
Commerce	9	Measville	4
Conley	4	Midville	1
Covella	9	Millen	4
Covington	10	Monroe	10
Crawford	10	Montezuma	3
Crawfordville	10	Morgan	2
Dahlonega	9	Mountain	2
Dallas	7	Nashville	8
Dalton	7	Norcross	9
Danielsville	10	Oglethorpe County	10
Decatur	5	Ochlocknee	2
Demorest	8	Oxford	4
Devereux	2	Pavo	2
Donelsonville	8	Pelham	2
Douglas	2	Pike County	4
Dublin	6	Quitman	2
East Point	5	Rabun Gap-Dillard	9
Eatonton	8	Reynolds	8
Edison	2	Ridgeville	7
Elberton	10	Rockmart	7
Ellijay	10	Royton	10
Elton	7	Sandersville	6
Fairburn	5	Santee	9
Fayetteville	8	Savannah	1
Fitzgerald	3	Smymna	7
Fl. Gaines	8	Sparta	6
Fl. Valley	3	Spring Place	7
Franklin County	10	Stephens County	9
Gainesville	9	Stone Mountain	5
Gay	4	Summerville	9
Gordon	4	Sylvania	1
Griffin	6	Sylvester	2
Guyton	1	Talbott	4
Hapeville	5	Talpoosa	7
Hartwell	10	Taylorville	7
Helen	9	Tennille	6
Hogansville	4	Thomasville	2
Homerville	8	Thomson	10
Hoschton	8	Tifton	2
Jackson	4	Toocoo	9
Jackson County	9	Toccoa	7
Jacksonville	6	Tunnel Hill	7
Jefferson County	9	Union City	5
Jefferson	6	Valdosta	8
Jeffersonville	6	Vidalia	1
Jessup	6	Vidalia	1
Jewell-Meyfield	6	Vidalia	1
Kite	6	Vidalia	1
Kirkwood	5	Vienna	3
Lafayette	6	Wadley	6
Lafayette	7	Warm Springs	4
Lagrange	4	Washington	10
Lamar County	4	Washington	10
Lavonia	10	Waverly Hall	8
Lexington	10	Waycross	8
Lithonia	6	West Point	4

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**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
MULTIPLE PROPERTY DOCUMENTATION FORM**

This form is for use in documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in "Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms" (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Type all entries.

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

Historic Resources Commemorating the Civil War in Georgia, Sponsored by Women's Organizations

B. Associated Historic Contexts

An Overview of Georgia during the Civil War, 1861-1865
Georgia Women and the Civil War, 1861-1865
The Role of Women in Commemorating the Civil War in Georgia, 1865-1965

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date January 2005

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Planning and Evaluation.

Signature of certifying official _____
Date

W. Ray Luce
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer
Georgia Department of Natural Resources

I, hereby, certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

Signature of the Keeper of the National Register _____
Date

E. Statement of Historic Contexts

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

An Overview of Georgia during the Civil War, 1861-1865

NOTE: The following overview of Georgia during the Civil War was taken from the introduction of Crossroads of Conflict: A Guide for Touring Civil War Sites in Georgia (1994).

Georgia's geographic position in the heart of the Confederacy made the state almost immune from invasion during the early years of the Civil War, except for its coast line. For two years the war was concentrated in Virginia, Tennessee, and the Mississippi Valley before Union forces began their invasion of Georgia. But Georgians fought in almost every battle and, by the end of the war, had supplied approximately 112,000 soldiers to the Confederate cause. Former slaves, many of them native Georgians, served in the Forty-fourth United States Colored Infantry garrisoned at Rome during the summer of 1864. The following civil officers of the Confederacy and members of military staff of President Jefferson Davis, were from Georgia: Vice President Alexander H. Stephens; First Secretary of State Robert Toombs; Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Phillip Clayton; Assistant Secretary of War John Archibald Campbell; Quartermaster-General of the Confederate States Alexander Robert Lawton; Commissary-General of the confederate States Alexander Robert Lawton; Commissary-General Isaac Munroe St. John; Assistant Secretary of State William M. Browne; navel agent to England James D. Bulloch, and the first woman administrator of what was then the world's largest military hospital, Phoebe Yates Levy Pember.

One of Georgia's best known Civil War stories, The Great Locomotive Chase, occurred in early 1862, when Union soldier James J. Andrews and his Raiders seized *The General* and three box cars at Big Shanty (now Kennesaw) and headed north toward Union lines. Their mission was to destroy the railroad and cut off reinforcements from Atlanta to Chattanooga. *The Texas*, manned by Georgians, entered the chase about 34 miles north of Big Shanty and ran 51 miles in reverse in pursuit of the other locomotive. When *The General* was abandoned by the Raiders, *The Texas* towed the damaged engine back to Ringgold. *The Texas* continued to serve the Confederacy throughout the Civil War. The Union soldiers were the first to be awarded the nation's highest military honor, the Congressional Medal of Honor.

From the early months of the war, the coast of Georgia saw much activity, with the Union Navy blockading the coastline in an attempt to prevent blockade runners from supplying the Confederacy. In the early months of 1862, Union forces laid siege to Fort Pulaski, and on April 10, the 400 defenders of the fort surrendered. Unable to invade Savannah, the Union forces continued to raid the sea islands and coastal plantations in the vicinity. In 1863, they made three naval attacks against Fort McAllister, but were defeated each time. The Union did capture and destroy the coastal town of Darien. Darien was occupied by the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Colored Infantry in some of the first action of African American troops in the war.

Union forces invaded northwest Georgia in September 1863 and fought the Battle of Chickamauga. Two days of hard fighting between the Confederate forces of General Braxton Bragg and the Federal Army of General William S. Rosecrans ended with Rosecrans retreating to Chattanooga. Chickamauga, an Indian word for "River of Death," was among the ten bloodiest battles of the war. The cost to the Confederacy of that victory was one from which they never recovered.

The next spring, General William T. Sherman invaded Georgia, and his 100,000 men repeatedly outmaneuvered General Joseph E. Johnston's 70,000 troops. The war came to the heart of Georgia with engagements at Rocky Face Ridge, Resaca, New Hope Church, Pickett's Mill, Cassville, and Kennesaw Mountain. After being outflanked at numerous positions including his Chattahoochee River Line, Johnston was replaced by General John B. Hood.

During the Civil War, Atlanta was a strategic supply and communications center for the Confederacy. With no troop reinforcements available, Atlanta's fortifications were hurriedly strengthened by thousands of impressed slaves. Twelve miles of heavy fortifications surrounded the city from which General Hood launched attacks on the Union forces during three major battles in July 1864. At the conclusion of these battles and after a forty-day siege, General Hood was forced to retreat from Atlanta to avoid entrapment by Union flanking movements. After the Battle of Jonesboro, August 31-September 1, Hood rested his men near Palmetto. On September 2, the mayor of Atlanta formally surrendered Atlanta to the Union army. In early October, Hood turned north, hoping to cut Sherman's supply lines and lure him away from Atlanta. Sherman then detached part of his army to follow Hood northward. The Battle of Allatoona Pass, October 5, 1864, was fought as part of this maneuver. By the middle of November, Hood was well on his way to Tennessee. After Hood's departure, Sherman ordered the evacuation of the city and set much of what was left on fire, destroying all but a few hundred of Atlanta's 4,500 houses and commercial buildings. Atlanta was in flames as Sherman departed southward November 15, 1864, on his "March to the Sea," he arrived in Savannah on December 22, having first captured Fort McAllister on December 13.

The end of the war came with a series of surrenders. In April 1865, General Robert E. Lee surrendered at Appomattox, Virginia. Two weeks later, on April 26, General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered at Durham Station, North Carolina. President Jefferson Davis had hoped to continue the War from the Trans-Mississippi region, but he was pursued across Georgia and captured near Irwinville in southern Georgia on May 10, 1865.

Georgia Women and the Civil War, by Darlene Roth

Georgia women actually knew three Civil Wars, the one they lived through, the one they wrote about, and the one they memorialized in monuments and personal testimonies. Of the three, the first was the most traumatic, the second the most evocative, and the third, the longest lived. The effects of the war flowed like lava through cracks in the patriarchy, dragging destruction, chaos, and change in its wake. The experience of the war no less than its effects, became the stuff of legend, a legend that was very much a part of the women's making. Understanding the changing roles of women during the Civil War itself is crucial to understanding the significance of the women-centered commemorative efforts following the war. For it was during the war that women's position within the southern society expanded and opened up in ways never before accepted.

In the beginning, white women were called upon to support the war by lending their sons, husbands, brothers, fathers, cousins, uncles, and friends to its military actions; and in the process of making this sacrifice the women were judged by their neighbors and peers for their patriotism, generosity of spirit, and devotion to the cause of the war. In small town after small town during the months of 1861, women, young ones especially, gave their blessing with their presence at each local call to arms. They attended marches, muster calls, and parades, sang hymns, and presented flags to the departing soldiers; and in the process gained the approval of their communities for comprehending the import of the occasion if not the politics

surrounding it. The local newspaper of a small town near Augusta noted that the flag presentation there in 1861, made by Miss Cheeley the daughter of a rich planter, demonstrated that “the ladies fully understand and appreciate the government of the Confederate States of America.”¹ These occasions offered some Georgia women their first opportunity to speak in public. Time and again, local historians have recorded the same ritual, whereby some woman presented a flag or homemade pennant to the departing troops. In DeKalb County, where a “silk banner for the company” was presented, Mollie G. Brown is recorded to have given “the address” at the ceremony.² It did not take long before the women were aware that war was “something more than a grand pageant or military display,” in the words of one (unidentified) Henry County white woman, whose story is typical. By 1862, the state was suffering from shortages of all forms of luxury as well as necessary items – including food and medicines

Our ports were blockaded and our stores of necessaries for living were of necessity diminishing, the Confederate government was beginning to levy taxes upon our resources, and it required but little forethought to see the necessity for a heroic display of our energy, activity and devotion to the cause that we espoused. Our women began to provide themselves with the means for making cloth to clothe our families, and as rapidly as possible we procured cards, spinning wheels, and old fashioned hand looms for the manufacture of cloth, for the use of our families and for the boys at the front as well.

As the war progressed, we found it necessary to supplement the amount furnished by the government by an annual contribution of clothing, socks, etc., to keep our boys from suffering, especially during the winter months; for the government with blockaded ports could not furnish everything that our soldiers needed in the way of food and clothing.³

This unidentified Henry County woman oversaw a small home factory, with two looms, four spinning wheels and cards running constantly, operated by six bondswomen who manufactured more than seven hundred yards of cloth annually. Supplied with thread by the local mill to the extent it could, the women worked ceaselessly, and when the mill could not supply warp thread, they spun that as well. The woman had six brothers at the front, the youngest of whom died at seventeen at Antietam, so she was more than a little personally committed to these efforts. In Gwinnett County, the farm journal for Thomas Maguire, an Irish immigrant who settled near Rockbridge in 1830, recorded the names of the women who knitted socks for confederate soldiers in the summer of 1863. It is clear from the construction of their names that they were members of intermarried, interrelated families and that they worked alongside their servants:

Miss Sarah Brewer, Mrs. Mary Brewer, Mrs. Nancy Brewer, Mrs. Lucinda Watson, Mrs. Elizabeth Maguire, Miss Sarah Maguire, Mrs. Mary J. Weaver, Miss Mary Weaver, Miss Frances Rice, Miss Ann Rice, Miss Tabitha C. Rice, Mrs. Mary B. Hishaw, Mrs. Sarah Wesley (70 years old), Mrs. Edney Anderson,

¹J. William Harris, *Plain Folk & Gentry in a Slave Society* (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1985), pp. 141-2.

²Mary Gay and Historic Decatur, p. 327.

³*Mother of Counties: the History of Henry County*, p. 280. The woman is not named in the text.

Miss Mary C. Anderson, Miss Amanda E. Anderson, Mrs. Emily H. Lee, Mary (colored), Miss Salina Johnson . . . and also Pansy (black woman), and . . . Mariah (colored).⁴

Working in the beginning to clothe their own kin, the women gradually took on responsibilities for others. In time, they were all “conscripted” to a larger or lesser degree by the needs of the Confederacy for materiel. The household factories worked alongside, and in the employment of the confederate installations. The Atlanta depot, one of the largest uniform factories in the Confederacy, employed three thousand women doing piecework for it, not on its premises but on their own. The Quartermaster in Atlanta estimated that when he had the raw materials, he could produce annually 130,000 jackets, an equal number of trousers, and 175,000 drawers and shirts from their labor.⁵ In Augusta, the Georgia Soldiers’ Clothing Bureau employed five hundred women to sew, who made six to twelve dollars a week.⁶ The women worked on their own or convened in their homes, schools, and churches (as safety dictated), and sewed and knitted together. They stitched uniforms and underwear; they knitted thousands of socks. Mary Gay of Decatur described herself as a “veritable knitting machine,” producing “a sock a day . . . many days in succession.” Upon the completion of a pair, Gay would send them off with neckties, gloves, handkerchiefs, other accessories, and letters of encouragement for the men – usually total strangers – who were to receive them. She and her companions intended the letters to encourage, edify, inspire, and amuse the soldiers, and often included poems, sayings, scripture, and religious reminders along with their personal greetings.⁷ The women themselves appreciated the speed and competence with which they could produce goods. In Cobb County, Mrs. Ezekiel Harris boasted that when her husband needed fatigues, she had the wool sheared from sheep on their plantation, and then with her daughter and two female slaves, set about spinning and weaving the cloth, dyeing it, cutting it and making a complete uniform of coat, trousers and vest in one week’s time.⁸ Skilled seamstresses like Julia Davidson were in constant demand to advise and assist others, teaching some how to cut patterns or alter clothing. Davidson took in sewing to augment the family’s income, but hers were not the same burdens as the lower class white women sewing in the military outlets. They often suffered verbal harassment from the men there, while they tried to both exercise their patriotic ardor and find a way to support themselves.⁹

Sewing was not the single outlet for female patriotism; women were called to service in quite non-traditional ways. Anne Firor Scott, who was the first modern-day historian to analyze the southern white woman and her historical evolution, observed

The visible and immediate consequences of the outbreak of war upon women’s lives have been described again and again. The challenge of war called women almost at once into new kinds and new degrees of activity. They became planters, millers, merchants, manufacturers, managers. . . Demands cut across class lines; women became clerks in government offices, mills hired women

⁴Gwinnett County notebook

⁵Darlene R. Roth and Louise E. Shaw, *Atlanta Women From Myth to Modern Times* (Atlanta: Atlanta Historical Society, Inc., 1980), p. 15.

⁶Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), p. 89.

⁷*DeKalb History*, p. 334?

⁸Cobb County Book.

⁹Faust, *Mothers*, p. 50.

operators; school teaching was taken over by women, and women sewed for money – almost any woman.¹⁰

The women surprised themselves with their own creativity in the face of need. They found substitutes for coffee, tea and sugar, using parched wheat and rye, even okra seeds and dried corn for coffee; blackberry, sassafras, and cassena leaves for tea; and sorghum and molasses for sugar. They saved lard and grease for candle making; they made buttons out of gourds, seeds, and thorns, wove grasses into sun bonnets; boiled sea water or soaked the flooring of the smoke houses for salt; used corn cob ashes for cooking soda; and saved woolen rags for the wicks in their candles. A needle was a precious thing, the loss of which could be a calamity for the women of the household. They dyed and re-dyed their dresses with homemade dyes. They even claimed they regarded homespun as more fashionable than silk, and made “cotton balls” the social events of the season, as they also turned silk dresses inside out to get more wear out of them.¹¹ They did whatever was required of them, not always without complaint, not always without personal compromise or public embarrassment, and not always without disagreement in principle. Lila Chunn of rural Georgia revealed many of her own prejudices and paradoxes in her journal on the matter of women serving in men’s roles. She noted

Ladies keep the stores now . . . their husbands having joined the army. It looks funny in Dixie to see a lady behind the counter, but it would be natural if we were in Yankeedom as it has always [been] the custom there, a custom I do not like. The idea of a lady having to face and transact business with any and every body. It is alone suited to the Northern women of brazen faces. But I say if it is necessary, our ladies ought to shopkeep and do everything else they can to aid in the great struggle for Liberty.¹²

Newspapers instilled in the women a sense of their own importance in sustaining and conserving life at home that enabled the troops to stay in the field. Augusta’s *Southern Field and Fireside* asked rhetorically, “can you imagine what would be the moral condition of the Confederate Army in six months without woman’s influence?”¹³ Yet the rhetoric of the war, like the war itself, was a two-edged sword that cut on both sides. While revving up the patriotic fervor of the female population, the newspapers also tried to hold tight to the gender division line, when they found it politically or philosophically expedient to do so. In an effort to keep plantation managers from being drafted, more than one Georgia newspaper questioned the competence of women to run the plantations, and manage the slaves themselves in the absence of their men. The *Macon Daily Telegraph* queried its readership:

. . . is it possible that Congress thinks . . . our women can control the slaves and oversee the farms? Do they suppose that our patriotic mothers, sisters and daughters can assume and discharge the active duties and drudgery of an overseer? Certainly not. They know better.¹⁴

¹⁰Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 81-82.

¹¹Clayton County history, p. 20?; Andrews, *Women of the South*, p. 21.

¹²Faust, *Mothers*, p.82.

¹³Faust, *Mothers*, p. 22.

¹⁴Faust, *Mothers*, p. 55.

Thus women were pushed further and further out on the limb of sacrifice, with less and less holding them to the tree of the Confederacy except their will to survive and their personal attachment to their own sacrifice. As the war “matured,” and especially, as its battles were waged closer and closer to their homefronts, the women were increasingly forced to suffer, give up, retreat into patriotic piety and confederated service. What was required of them extended far beyond anything for which they had ever been prepared, trained, educated or acculturated, far beyond anything perceived in the public imagination. The pressure on the women was enormous, as indicated by this grandmother’s confession to her daughter:

. . . yesterday my eyes and heart were gladdened by the return of my dear child [her grandson]. When he came, I was at the flower garden; he ran out to me, and for the first time since the harassments of this raid commenced, I broke down. I hugged him, kissed him, and sobbed over him till I expect he thought I was crazy.¹⁵

The burdens on the mothers passed on to the children, as revealed in the diary of Carrie Berry, a young Atlanta girl who spent her tenth birthday helping her mother with the ironing. In her diary, Berry wrote about her longings for normal life to return, for a nice dinner, for peace, for church and Sunday School, and for her friends at school; her diary is filled with the family obligations that she had to fulfil. Yet, undoubtedly like her mother, she also tried to remain both cheerful and dutiful.¹⁶

Duty led women into extensions of very familiar roles, such as nursing, which offered new tasks and experiences in their conduct. Providing household remedies to family members (slave or free) was not sufficient preparation for what women were to meet in the military hospitals, which almost to a person left the women feeling inadequate and handicapped by their gender and – where white – by their (previously) privileged status. Wartime nursing was so far different from traditional care, it appeared to the women as both traumatic and frightening, for themselves as well as the men.¹⁷ Both armies set up hospitals for their wounded wherever they could in Georgia, often in female seminaries and other schools. Tift’s *Female College* was one of many such sites used as a Civil War hospital, but like many of those buildings, it survived the war only to be burned afterwards.¹⁸ Even communities outside the main arena of battle felt the impact of the war. *Fort Gaines Female College* in South Georgia stored food and wool for confederate use.¹⁹ In Savannah, the Sisters of Mercy opened their convent and school, the *Convent and Academy of St. Vincent DePaul* on East Liberty Street, to nurse sick and wounded Confederates.²⁰ Honora Sweeney, who was one of Georgia’s numerous civilian casualties of the war, died while attending the sick and wounded in Forsyth County.²¹

Early in the conflict, women sometimes left their homes to follow the soldiers, especially their soldier husbands, usually to bring them supplies and sustain a personal relationship under the threat of loss. Sallie Bird visited her husband Edgeworth in camp several times in 1862 and in 1864.²² Cornelia Jones Pond’s husband was too old to be drafted, but joined the

¹⁵Granite Farm Letters, p. 221

¹⁶Faust, *Mothers*, p. 130.

¹⁷Faust, *Mothers*, p. 112.

¹⁸Jim Miles, *Civil War Sites in Georgia*, p. 145.

¹⁹Miles, *Civil War*, p. 203.

²⁰Miles, *Civil War*, p. 187.

²¹Miles, *Civil War*, p. 145.

²²Granite Farm Letters, pp. x, xxxiii.

engineering corps anyway. Cornelia made two visits to him in Savannah, leaving her children with their grandmother. "I found Savannah very much changed," she wrote home, "there was very little in the stores. I found it difficult to get shoes."²³ When she returned home, she met a "scene of disorder and desolation . . . hen houses . . . emptied of poultry, the smoke house and store room[s] . . . and dairy . . . robbed of everything."²⁴

The closer the armies came to Georgia's households, the more the pressure mounted for women to serve in unusual capacities, especially to meet the armies face-to-face. In a handful of cases, women in Georgia followed Nancy Hart's Revolutionary example and actually bore arms. Students at *Wesleyan College* organized themselves into military companies and held drills and parades. The "Nancy Harts" of LaGrange formed an actual military company, with its young members taking up marching and marksmanship. Under the captaincy of Mrs. J. Brown Morgan, the women stood their ground when a detachment of Wilson's raiders came through, but surrendered when the soldiers promised to spare the town from destruction.²⁵ More than one woman shouldered a rifle to keep scavengers and marauders from her family's land, such as Mrs. Allie Crawford of Clayton County, who opened fire with buckshot, scaring away someone she thought might be a Yankee deserter.²⁶ A widow staying in the *Swanton House* in Decatur with ten daughters and nieces, captured a union soldier in her attic where she kept him prisoner until she could turn him over to confederate troops.²⁷ Many more women were prepared to use arms, if necessary, than were called upon actually to do so, as indicated by Frances Thomas Howard, returning to her own home after having refuged at a neighbor's house

We took with us two mattresses, and just enough household ware to meet our needs, also a shot gun, powder and shot. To save our horses from the thieves, who constantly passed in armed gangs, we put them in the smoke house, a strong log building, with only one heavy door, across which we laced chains with cow-bells attached, so that if the door were tampered with in the night the ringing of the bells would wake us.

The parlor served as a kitchen, dining-room, bedroom and parlor all in one, and from the back window the smoke-house door was visible, and as my pallet was laid under this window, I kept my little seven-shooter and the gun, the latter heavily loaded with buck-shot, close at hand, intending to kneel and shoot through the glass in case the chain was meddled with.²⁸

That the war was close at hand was evident to every woman who lived in a house that happened to lie in the path of war's destruction. Looting was common; bands of soldiers, both Yankee and Rebel, both renegade and regulars, roamed the countryside scavenging food and supplies from local farms and plantations. One of the best descriptions of such an intrusion comes from Dolly Lunt Burge

²³Lucinda H. MacKethan, ed., *Recollections of a Southern Daughter: A Memoir by Cornelia Jones Pond* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), p. 63.

²⁴MacKethan, ed., *Recollections*, p. 73.

²⁵Faust, *Mothers*, p. 203; T. Conn Bryan, *Confederate Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1953), p. 185.

²⁶*Clayton County History*, p. 198.

²⁷*DeKalb County History*, p. 345.

²⁸Thomas A. Scott, ed., *Cornerstones of Georgia History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), p. 95.

But like Demons they [the Yankees] rush in. My yards are full. To my smoke house, my Dairy, Pantry, kitchen & cellar like famished wolves they come, breaking locks & whatever is in their way. The thousand pounds of meat in my smoke house is gone in a twinkling my flour my meal, my lard, butter, eggs, pickles of various kinds, both in vinegar & brine. Wine, jars, & jugs, are all gone. My eighteen fat turkeys, my hens, chickens & fowls. My young pigs are shot down in my yard & hunted as if they were the rebels themselves. Utterly powerless I came to appeal to the guard. I cannot help you Madam it is orders...²⁹

Burge then describes the theft of her draft and buggy horses, her sheep, mules, and even her male slaves who were driven off to fight for the federals. "Sherman," wrote Burge, "with a greater portion of his army passed my house all day."³⁰ After a skirmish at the McClatchey Farm in Cobb County, in which the southern troops were forced to retreat, an obviously numb Minerva McClatchey dispassionately reported the following in her diary on July 3, "Firing ceased after a while – two were killed and buried near the house and several wounded carried to the rear. Their limbs were amputated in Mr. Goodman's yard."³¹

As the war became a total war, confederate women – Georgia women no exception – earned a reputation as "some of the most vicious defenders of the Confederacy," whose bitter and vindictive invective and "fine art of rudeness and insolence" against their union conquerors hit the mark with as much accuracy as rebel minie balls.³² Bitterness, whether directed at invading union soldiers, or any authorities, was in no small part borne of the deprivations women and children were suffering, especially from 1863 until the end of the war, and from the fact that women and children themselves had become the objects of military encounter. Women were not safe as civilians, and in some locales, especially the cities where food and some supplies were harder to come by than on the land, they were both unsafe and hungry. Bread riots, for example, were not unknown in parts of the South, and they have been documented in Atlanta, when a "mob of hungry war widows rioted and looted Whitehall Street provisions stores."³³ Unlawful behavior was also found. In Cobb County, for example, in April 1863, a male Negro wagon driver was stopped by a gang of women who forcibly took bales of yarn from his possession. Such "woman seizures" were known elsewhere, because of the scarcity of goods, and the deep needs of the women, who felt ultimately that they should be able to supply their needs by any means necessary in wartime.³⁴

Exigencies forced women to take audacious steps in their – and their country's – defense. Only the border states saw more military-induced trauma than did Georgia; only the border states and Washington, D. C., produced more homegrown heroines and spies among their women. Spying in the context of the Civil War in no way equates with spying in the high-tech, bureaucratic escapades of the twentieth century. Rather, it describes the kind of activity usually conducted to protect home and family against invaders and marauders of either side. Most often Georgia women acted on behalf of the Confederacy in the midst of union

²⁹Christine Jacobson Carter, ed., *The Diary of Dolly Lunt Burge, 1848-1879* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997), pp. 159-160.

³⁰Carter, ed., *Diary . . . Burge*, p. 161.

³¹Scott, ed., *Cornerstones*, p. 100.

³²Nina Silber, "The Northern Myth of the Rebel Girl," in *Women of the American South*, pp. 122-124

³³James Michael Russell, *Atlanta 1847-1890: City Building in the Old South and the New* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1988), pp. 99-100.

³⁴Sarah Gober Temple, *The First Hundred Years: A Short History of Cobb County, Georgia* (Atlanta: Walter W. Brown Publishing Company, 1935), p. 258.

occupation, as when Emma Sansom, born in Social Circle, braved enemy fire to show Nathan B. Forrest a ford across a creek, enabling him to thwart Colonel A. D. Streight's calvary raid into Georgia. She was a Georgia native, but an Alabama resident at the time of her heroism.³⁵

The kind of infiltration the women could successfully carry out consisted in crossing military lines, carrying "innocent" packages to military intercessors; hiding goods, keeping their counsel. On the other side, as unionist sympathizers in confederate strongholds, they lied to soldiers and other representatives of authorities and used their feminine "innocence" to come and go as they pleased, wherever they pleased. Female unionists, Emily Farnsworth and Cyrena Stone in Atlanta, ran "risky missions of mercy" to aid union soldiers and even union spies. The conflicting loyalties of such women turned their every decision into a high, conscience-ridden drama: whether to side with husbands, friends, slaves, neighbors, nation, and/or their state.³⁶ Their situation appeared to be far less clear-cut and far more perilous potentially than that of the staunch confederate supporters, requiring inordinate patience, forbearance, and caution. Louisa Warren Patch Fletcher of Marietta is a case in point. Her family donated the land for the federal cemetery in Marietta, her sister came and went through enemy lines to travel back and forth through Tennessee to the North, her son-in-law was imprisoned as a union sympathizer for nine months of the war which extended into the entire time the city was occupied by union troops. Fletcher's eldest daughter married a union soldier, and the second of her three daughters married a confederate veteran.³⁷

Far less complicated, but no less courageous in following their own counsel were the confederate "spies," of whom Mary Gay is a premier example. She carried provisions to her brother, encamped near Lovejoy's Station, back and forth across union picket lines following the fall of Atlanta.³⁸ "I thought not of personal danger," she later said, "and more than once found myself outside of the portals ready to rush into the conflict."³⁹ Many mothers, wives, and sisters traveled by train to visit family-member soldiers encamped in the state for the winter of 1863-64, especially in northwest Georgia. The trains they rode traveled slowly, filled as they were at this time with refugees and military personnel along with the hardy camp followers. The fate of refugees lay openly in the hands of the beleaguered communities to which they fled. Again, Mary Gay's words are instructive. She saw many refugees en route to her brother's encampment, "dumped out on the cold ground without shelter and without any of the comforts of home . . . driven from their homes, . . . out upon the cold charity of the world."⁴⁰

Often the refugees gained no real refuge but wandered from place to place, keeping themselves alive by exercising "immense ingenuity and courage;" many petitioned the governor to muster out their husbands before their families starved.⁴¹ When Mary Gay herself discovered that her neighbors were starving, she arranged – with the utmost difficulty – to piece together a wagon out of scraps, found a straggly steed hiding in a creekside, and managed to load the wagon and carry her neighbors from Decatur to Social Circle.⁴² Mary Gay's house still stands as testimony to Gay's bravery, stubborn persistence in the face of adversity, and by her own testimony, her devotion to a "principle to be guarded."⁴³

³⁵Miles, *Civil War*, p. 101.

³⁶*Secret Yankees*, p. 74.

³⁷Scott, ed., *Cornerstones*, pp. 102-105.

³⁸*DeKalb County history*, p. 358; Clayton County history, p. 198.

³⁹*DeKalb County history*, p. 362.

⁴⁰*DeKalb County history*, p. 362.

⁴¹Scott, *Southern Lady*, p. 90.

⁴²Andrews, *Women of the South*, pp. 307-315; *DeKalb County history*, p. 315.

⁴³Andrews, *Women of the South*, p. 316. The house is listed in the National Register. It was moved in from its original location to another lot in Decatur.

While most of this discussion has featured the travails of the white women, it should be clear that African American bondswomen were enlisted to assist in their the activities, whether sewing, knitting, spinning, providing provisions for family, or suffering the privations of wartime. When troops came through the countryside seeking food and other supplies, it never mattered to them, confederate or federal, whether they were taking chickens and pigs from the blacks or from the whites, or that the food they acquired would have fed the slaves as much as the masters. Less has been written about the experience of African Americans during the Civil War in Georgia, probably because the flux of black populations is so hard to document. What is clear is that, as the war waged on, slaves began to run away and to revolt in greater numbers, despite the “horror” stories told them about Yankees “eating” blacks and drowning, shooting, and burning them alive. The slave communities countered these stories with one dependable phenomenon: wherever union forces appeared in the state, slaves ran away in droves.⁴⁴ In Hancock county, for example, a slave woman, “Savannah” by name, was the first “to go over to the Yankees.” Her departure was followed by the formation of a military unit among the a small group of slaves. Ultimately, the ring leaders of the unit were arrested and jailed, and two others were hanged, but more slaves were spared on the testimony of petitioners who swore them to be among the best citizens of the county.⁴⁵ Elsewhere, the courage of enslaved and free women of color evidenced itself in the assistance they rendered union soldiers, taking food, for example, to the prisoner-of-war stockade in Savannah where hundreds of captured union soldiers were being held without sufficient food and shelter. According to Susie King Taylor

Many [of the hundreds who helped the soldiers] were punished for taking food to the prison stockade for prisoners. The colored women would take food there at night and pass it to them through the holes in the fence. The soldiers were starving, and these women did all they could toward relieving those men, although they knew the penalty, should they be caught giving them aid.⁴⁶

Many of the white female diary keepers reported the absence of their slaves and their own gratitude for the ones who stayed behind with them. Sallie Bird wrote to her daughter

Just imagine how we all are situated, not a Negro on the place but Nina. She still continues faithful and will do all she can for me. I am perfectly quiet and hope to get servants, but can't tell . . . A great many persons have no servants...⁴⁷

Slave women with children were less likely to try to escape than were women without children and men of any age. The plantations in the old rice belt along the coast retained more of their slave populations as a rule because the slaves there had more invested in the land and other properties. So, for example, the master's family of the *Hermitage Plantation* near Savannah moved to that city permanently at the end the war, but the freedmen stayed on the plantation until much of its acreage was given over to railroad right-of-way in 1889.⁴⁸

⁴⁴Donald L. Grant, *The Way It Was in the South: the Black Experience in Georgia* (New York: A Birch Lane Book, 1993), p. 83.

⁴⁵Kent Anderson Leslie, *Woman of Color, Daughter of Privilege: Amanda America Dickson, 1849-1893* (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1995), pp. 53-54.

⁴⁶*The Way It Was*, p. 83.

⁴⁷Granite Letters, p. 289.

⁴⁸[Savannah Writers' Project], *Savannah River Plantations* (Savannah: The Georgia Historical Society, 1947);

Some slaves left during the war and then later returned; Mary Gay's former slave "Frances" returned to her after having escaped during the war. Widowed and the mother of two boys, she offered them to Mary Gay as a "gift" until they were old enough to fend for themselves. Gay declined the offer.⁴⁹ Refugeeing itself loosened the bonds of slavery. In the war-generated confusion and dislocation, it was easier for slaves to slip away; and in the absence of strong local authorities – all of which were compromised in their effectiveness by the war – there was little redress for owners to re-acquire their "property." Plus, slaves themselves were moved away from plantations that could not successfully employ them, as many plantations were no longer fully operative. Fully half of the slaves from the coastal areas were moved to the interior of the state, to southern cities such as Valdosta and middle cities like Macon, which fairly burst at the seams with a surplus of bondsmen. Slave families were often broken up in the process, and during this transition caused by the war, Georgia's slave population moved from being predominantly rural to predominantly urban. Slave labor now comprised the labor forces in all places in Georgia where white men were no longer available to be used. Building the defenses around Atlanta was a particularly significant instance, in which slaves from all over the state were utilized.⁵⁰ The dislocations of the war were breaking up two of the strongest tenets which had been holding the society together: slavery and patriarchal protectionism.

Recent historians of southern women have noted the importance of gender influences in the outcomes of the Civil War. Drew Gilpin Faust attributed the loss of will on the part of the Confederacy in large part, to the crippling of the women's abilities to cope with their circumstances. With almost every household mourning the loss of a husband, father, son, or brother⁵¹ the women suffered a war weariness, evident from their writings and from their petitions, not only to God, but to their respective officials from the Governor down. "When I see and hear the misery occasioned all over the land, my heart shudders and bleeds. What next? . . . [as] this cruel, this interminable, this ferocious war goes on," wrote Sallie Bird.⁵² One Atlanta woman reported the "haggard and wrinkled women bowed with care and trouble, sorrow an unusual toil . . . silently and apathetically" packing the churches.⁵³ Many petitioned the Governor of the state to muster out their husbands before their families starved; and they wrote their husbands directly, asking them to desert. It did not take the worst of the war – federal occupation of the state in 1864 – to get the women to this point. Louisa Rice wrote her husband Zachariah in 1862, early in the war, urging him to leave the Army for a post that would shield him from conscription.⁵⁴ A kind of practical pacifism, or resignation, took hold, as Julia Davidson suggested with her plea, "If the Yankees are going to whip us I wish they would hurry about it."⁵⁵ And something else, altogether new, emerged through the cracks in the antebellum society, an interdependence among the women that extended beyond their families and heightened in intensity as the absence of males persisted.

Ad-hoc activities among the white women, assisted by their bondswomen, had hitherto consisted chiefly of welfare and fund-raising activities, and had been part of the women's experiences before and during the war. To these were now added the many soldier relief

reprinted Spartanburg, SC: the Reprint Company, 1983), pp. 446-449. The slave cabins were dismantled and shipped to Dearborn, Michigan to the Henry Ford Museum, where they reside today.

⁴⁹ Andrews, *Women of the South*, p. 333.

⁵⁰ *The Way it Was*, p. 85.

⁵¹ *DeKalb County history*, p. 340.

⁵² Granite Farm letters, p. 244.

⁵³ Quoted in Anne Scott, *The Southern Lady*, p. 86.

⁵⁴ Faust, *Mothers*, p. 241.

⁵⁵ Quotes in Faust, *Mothers*, p. 238.

activities that grew out of the women's domestic roles and their own "mother love" of their soldier sons. As the war wore on, and especially as it came home to the women, they became involved in large numbers in the care and nursing, and in some areas, in the burying of the soldiers.

Soldiers Aid Societies and Ladies Aid Societies appeared in almost every community. Their wartime ad-hoc activities became, after the war, a network of related efforts to memorialize, support, and care for the veterans of the conflict. These activities, undertaken by white women after the war, continued for practical reasons, as the cemeteries and battlefield burying grounds needed attention, and the Georgia veterans received little if any subsidy from the state government, and none at all from the federal government. This process of transformation has been described by historian LeeAnn Whites and can practically be clocked from the end of the war, in terms of the women's activities to first bury the soldiers, then honor them (living and dead), then memorialize them through monument construction in each town.⁵⁶ In Atlanta, for example, the Ladies Memorial Society was established in 1866, one of many established in the two years immediately after the end of the war. Under the leadership of Mrs. W. F. Westmoreland, the Society was involved in activities in *Oakland Cemetery*.⁵⁷ The Jonesboro Ladies Memorial Association, established in 1869, organized the cemetery authority in Jonesboro, tended the cemetery, planted cedar and magnolia trees, and shrubbery there.⁵⁸ Miss Mary J. Green organized the women of the Resaca area to move confederate dead from the Resaca battlefield to a cemetery; in this effort she was assisted by Mrs. E. J. Simmons, who is actually buried along with the soldiers in that *Confederate Cemetery*.⁵⁹ Other cemeteries in Georgia which were initiated or received sustained support from the ladies societies include *Rose Hill Cemetery* in Macon, and *Oak Grove Cemetery* in Americus, and the *Confederate Cemetery* in Marietta. In a similar sense of duty but for the Union side of the war, in 1879 the Woman's Relief Corps purchased the prison site at Andersonville, Georgia, where thousands of federal soldiers were buried, ultimately turning it over to the War Department (which in turn transferred it to the National Park Service, under whose authority it exists today).⁶⁰

In another frequent, women-devised public ritual, the Augusta Ladies Memorial Society organized hundreds of school children to decorate the graves of the confederate dead each year after the war.⁶¹ This was done in accordance with an 1866 invitation from the Columbus, Georgia, Ladies Memorial Association that urged southern women to "set apart a certain day to be observed . . . as a religious custom of the South, to wreath the graves of our martyred dead with flowers," thus giving birth to Confederate Memorial Day, still celebrated on April 26 throughout the South.⁶² The work of these societies, birthed in the war, continued long after the war. To this same momentum can be attributed the establishment of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1894, created to honor the memory of those who served and those who fell in the service of the Confederate States, to protect, preserve and mark places made historical by Confederate valor, to collect and preserve the material for a Truthful History of the War Between the States; to record the part Southern Women played during the struggle

⁵⁶Lee Ann Whites, "Stand by Your Man: The Ladies Memorial Association and the Reconstruction of Southern White Manhood," *Women of the American South*, p. 136.

⁵⁷Darlene Rebecca Roth, *Matronage: Patterns in Women's Organizations, Atlanta, Georgia, 1890-1940* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1994), p. 23.

⁵⁸*Clayton County history*, p. 35

⁵⁹Jim Miles, *Civil War*, p. 39.

⁶⁰Jim Miles, *Civil War*, pp. 59, 140, 144, 145, 147. All four cemeteries are listed in the National Register.

⁶¹Whites, 137.

⁶²Lee Ann Whites, "Stand By Your Man," pp. 138-140.

and untiring efforts after the War during the construction of the South.⁶³ These female networks and their sense of public responsibilities set a precedent for action in sanctioned causes, which emerged out of the Civil War, and a devotion to family and community, from which the women of Georgia have never retreated. The women of the 1860s created a kind of “doppelgänger” to the southern belle of the antebellum South

. . . fiercely loyal, outspoken, ready to act, angry when aroused, strong, aggressive (not passive), patriotic, impassioned, clever, and courageous, one who would stop at nothing to continue to defend what she had already defended during the war – home family, birthright. This new woman became a model, like the pioneer woman of the West, for successive generations to follow . . . the woman of the sixties became not only the measure of what a woman could sacrifice, but also of what she could command.⁶⁴

Historian Lee Ann Whites has convincingly argued that the new roles women played during the war – as slave managers and government workers, for instance – their inroads into autonomy (standing on their own, defending their turf, speaking in public), did not hold after the war, and that what the women in the South did instead was to construct a new version of the patriarchy, one in which they were chief among its spokesmen, and paramount among its supporters. Whites’ arguments, since they are drawn from the history of Augusta, Georgia, are particularly relevant for this study. In her words, “the operative principle” after the war “may have been that half a ‘man,’ some kind of adult male provider, was better than none at all,” and so the (white) women continued to adhere to the original “cause” of their men.⁶⁵ The debilitation of the male population fostered the influence and advancement of the women, if the women chose to use their influence and advancement in the support of the men’s wartime cause, and to carry the values, images, ideology, and results of that cause into the future. The women chose by and large not to further the cause of their own sex, if autonomy is seen as their cause, but strove even more aggressively to support their husbands, families, and communities in some recognizable means.

The paradox that surrounded their efforts gives rise to even greater irony if this fact is considered: the state, again in the name of protecting families, finally granted women individual rights to property ownership, without question and unaffected by marriage. First, it should be observed that during the war the women had already developed a more visceral relationship to property, which they had defended with their personal efforts, and which they recognized after the fact – as when Dolly Burge referred to “her” turkeys, and “her” mules, even “her” boys, meaning her slaves. Further, they had earned title to far more real estate through the unprecedented widowhood brought about by the war. Georgia had more widows than any other southern state, some 36,000 according to the 1870 census. Though these women were listed as “keeping house” in the census (there was barely any other language available to the census takers at the time), they were more accurately heads of their households.⁶⁶ Finally, the state was willing to grant them title to real estate on their own merits as a protective measure against the very men who could not, who in fact did not, “protect” them under the social arrangements of antebellum society. “How queer the time,”

⁶³UDC History

⁶⁴Roth, *Matronage*, p. 23.

⁶⁵Lee Ann Whites, *The Civil War as a Crisis in Gender: Augusta, Georgia, 1860-1890* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), pp. 6, 216.

⁶⁶Scott, *Southern Lady*, p. 106.

said one woman after the war, as quoted by Anne Firor Scott, "the women can't count on the men at all to help them," a fact that seemed no different to her from how it was in wartime.⁶⁷ Partly to protect property from falling into the hands of creditors, partly to give women their due, and partly to protect both the women and the land from the projected post-war failures of men who were damaged, handicapped, injured, maimed, and wounded by the war, the Georgia Reconstruction legislature of 1867 granted married women unconditional property rights as part of the proposed state constitution. The Reconstruction Constitution (the first one) was submitted for public referendum in 1868, so the right to own property, as a woman, went into effect with the constitution in 1869. The women of Georgia, who now possessed a firmer foundation for their own activities, if they were white, retreated behind the veils of the "lost cause" even as they advanced carefully within the system. If they were black, they pushed against a set of increasingly racist regulations, which restricted their very living, even as they created new support structures for themselves within the realms of segregation.

The Role of Women in Commemorating the Civil War in Georgia, 1865-1965

Georgia Women Organizing Following the Civil War, by Darlene Roth

When the doors of the Woman's Building at the Cotton States and International Exposition opened up, they invited the world in to see the culmination of several decades of group activity by the women of Atlanta, of Georgia, and of the Southeast. The Cotton States Exposition was a boon to women's organizational efforts and to the image of southern women at the time. It gave southern women, black and white, their first real chance to show the world what they could do, and to suggest that they had come a long way since the slave-ridden ante-"belle"-um days. The 1895 Exposition was the most visible event southern women had ever participated in, receiving as it did, both national and international attention, but if Georgia womanhood seemed to emerge full blown at the Exposition, it was an overnight success story that had taken over twenty years to develop. The efforts to create the Woman's Building required women to act in concert, drawing upon resources from themselves, their friends, families, and other relationships; their communities, their alumnae institutions, their husbands' businesses, and most importantly, from their own organizations.

Women's organizations had grown in northern cities in the middle years of the nineteenth century, expanding from church, abolition, charity, and suffrage interests to more specialized interests, especially political ones. In the South, the Aid Societies and Ladies Memorial Associations represented some of the first efforts of Georgia women to organize. A national organization, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the female arm of the prohibition movement, made its first inroads in the region in the 1880s. WCTU pledge groups emerged everywhere in schools and churches in every state in the Southeast. Georgia had a state level administrative unit that did not organize chapters so much as it made sure that national programs and communications were available at the local levels. The state organization was racially segregated but the black WCTU groups could belong directly to the national Union.

Southern white and black women, if they organized for a purpose, still felt more comfortable organizing for others' benefit more than their own. White women had come together during and after the Civil War in aid societies, which offered direct material assistance to soldiers and to their families, moral support for both soldiers and their families, and burial assistance when it was needed. The women's groups had done admirable service

⁶⁷Scott, *Southern Lady*, p. 90. The same point is made in different language by both Faust and Whites.

in the 1860s initiating and overseeing the re-interment of hundreds of fallen soldiers in the battles around the state, and creating cemeteries in many cities in Georgia especially dedicated to the Confederate dead. By and large these aid societies were the first truly organized female activities in the state, but they disbanded after their work was done. However, these early war-related efforts functioned as a precedent for many kinds of later female activities, especially for efforts to commemorate the Civil War.

Beginning in the 1870s women of the churches began to organize mission societies, first to foster support, women-to-women, to foreign countries, by sending foodstuffs, clothing, and Bibles to female recipients in countries in the Far East and Africa. They supported the first female missionaries from the state. Charities followed – orphanages, widows' support groups, homes for unwed mothers, nurseries and private kindergartens, tuberculosis facilities and neighborhood clinics, poor houses, and emergency aid groups. The more the women of the churches organized, the more the women of the community organized.

The most comprehensive women's organization in the post-Civil War period was the so-called "general" woman's club that combined civic, charitable, social, and educational activities. The Georgia Federation was founded in 1897 with more than a handful of members, including the Atlanta Woman's Club, founded at the 1895 Exposition, but not the first woman's club in the state. A parallel system of black women's organizations evolved in Georgia, with its most extensive operations in Atlanta, where the densest black population resided (and also the largest cluster of wealthy blacks). The Atlanta Federation of Colored Women's Clubs (founded in 1910) affiliated with the National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs, and comprised the same variety of components serving municipal interests, education, youth, and philanthropy, as the white counterpart. They too supported many of the causes supported by the white women: they organized kindergartens; opposed the convict lease system; they took a stand against the low age of consent; they always worked for education for every one who was African American regardless of sex or economic background.

The federation of black women's organizations contained almost as much variety as to type of organization as did the white federation. There was one exception however: there were no African American patriotic/genealogical societies, no "daughters" organizations. On the white side, there were the Daughters of the Founders and Patriots of America, the Daughters of the American Colonists; the Daughters of the Huguenots, the National Society of Colonial Dames of America; the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR, stronger in the north than in the south, though the city of Atlanta did boast two chapters), and the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC). The Atlanta Chapter of the DAR is the second oldest in the nation, and the oldest among the southern states

Of these, the UDC is the most familiar organization in the former Confederate states, and is especially important to this Multiple Property Submission. The UDC nationally was organized in 1894 in an effort to make Confederate philanthropic and memorial activities a coordinated, interstate set of activities. The aging and ill veterans of the Civil War, whose pensions depended on the inadequate coffers of the individual southern states, required continual assistance. In addition, the memorial societies of which there were many already in existence in Georgia and throughout the South, needed of greater coordination of their far-flung efforts. The UDC augmented rather than supplanted the work of the older memorial societies, and ultimately far surpassed the early efforts. The women who participated in the UDC were elite white women; the organization restricted their membership until the mid-twentieth century. In general, the women who joined were educated, married to professional men, descendants of the planter class, and were in the upper echelons in wealth and status.

More than 100 Confederate monuments have been identified in the state that are directly attributable to individual UDC chapters throughout Georgia.

Closing Summary of Women's Commemorative Efforts

Commemorating the Civil War in the South began even before the War ended. In 1863, Union Soldiers erected the Hazen Monument at Stones River Battlefield in Murfreesboro, Tennessee, to honor fallen soldiers. This monument still stands as do thousands of others placed by men and women, Union and Confederate throughout the country. The commemoration phase of the Civil War represented the desire of groups, individuals, and communities to honor, memorialize, and remember the American Civil War. The resulting monuments, cemeteries, buildings, museums, sites, and objects were designed to commemorate the War, the soldiers, the cause, and/or the civilians. This commemoration phase continues into the twenty-first century. However, the period of significance for this Multiple Property Submission ends with the Centennial celebration of the end of the Civil War. The one-hundred year period includes the beginning of the commemoration phase, its heyday and ultimately its decline in the years following World War II.

While veterans' descendants' groups, communities, state and local governments, and other interested parties have and continue to put great effort into commemorating the Civil War, this activity has been particularly important to the women of the state – the daughters, wives, widows and sisters of the men who left to fight. Although they overlapped in both time and activities, the efforts of Georgia women to remember the sacrifices of the war fall naturally into three categories. The first commemorative efforts emanated from the ladies relief associations and sewing societies that had formed to support the war effort through providing needed supplies and food, sewing clothing, flags, and blanks, and aiding in communication lines. With the end of the war, these women's groups evolved naturally into Ladies Memorial Associations. The second kind of commemorative activities grew out of women's efforts at nursing and caring for the sick and wounded. These efforts grew into activities that involved finding appropriate burial sites for men left in battlefields scattered throughout the state. The third set of commemorative activities was instituted by women who descended from the soldiers and earlier female activists, and consisted of erecting memorials and markers to identify previously omitted historic locations. The Ladies Memorial Associations passed the work of commemoration on to their daughters and granddaughters, chiefly through the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

The Atlanta Ladies Memorial Association, representing a combination of the first and second types of commemorative efforts, moved over 3,000 unknown confederate soldiers' graves from the battlefield to Oakland Cemetery and raised money to memorialize the dead. In 1869, the Atlanta group began efforts to erect a monument in Oakland Cemetery in honor of those who had died in the Civil War. The women organized the laying of the cornerstone for the monument to coincide with the day of General Robert E. Lee's funeral in 1870; however, it took them four more years to raise the funds for the sixty-five foot obelisk, which they dedicated on Confederate Memorial Day, April 26, 1874. Sculptor William Gray designed the Romanesque monument that cost \$8,000. The total cost of the project would have been \$17,000, if the women had not secured contributions of materials, railroad transportation, and labor. Individuals in these groups, such as Atlantans Westmoreland and Fanny Haralson Gordon (wife of Governor John Brown Gordon), worked tirelessly to raise money, organize events, and create sacred spaces that commemorated not only the dead and wounded, but also the efforts of the women.

The memorials covered in this nomination were largely erected in the first two generations (sixty years) after the Civil War, though commemorations continued through the twentieth century. Memorializing activities were very energetic during the 1920s, languished in the 1930s and during World War II, but continued in an abated fashion after World War II. One post-World War II effort was the Sidney Lanier Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy's 1962 purchase of the Judge Asa Holt or Cannonball House (1853) in Macon for use as a chapter house, a historic house museum depicting life before and during the Civil War, and as a confederate museum. The establishment of this house museum and museum coincided with the centennial anniversary of the war.

The most visible woman-inspired memorial in the state is the confederate memorial carving on Stone Mountain, which is the "largest high relief sculpture in the world," according to Stone Mountain Park. The carving, which measures over three acres and is larger than a football field, depicts President Jefferson Davis and Generals Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. "Stonewall" Jackson, who were Confederate heroes of the Civil War. Founding member of the UDC, Mrs. C. Helen Plane envisioned the carving and began working to make it a reality. Through her work and others, the Venable family donated the north face of the mountain to the UDC. The Stone Mountain Monumental Association hired sculptor Gutzon Borglum in 1916 to complete the carving; however, it would not be until two sculptors and half-a-century later that the carving would be completed.

While the Oakland's Confederate Monument in Atlanta and the carving on Stone Mountain are large in size, other memorials are huge in spirit. The messages on the monuments not only remember and honor the soldiers and civilians, but they also document the defiant spirit of the South and stand in stark contrast to the image of women as passive. In 1910 in Ellaville in Schley County, the Sarah E. Hornady chapter of the UDC erected a monument that read, "Sons Of The Choicest Strain of the American Blood, Scions Of Revolutionary Stock, Citizens Of The Purest Section Of This Union They Lived True To Every Honorable Tradition That Illuminates The Pages Of Our History And At The Call Of Duty They Laid Down Their Lives A Noble Sacrifice On The Altar Of Their Country." The Columbus Ladies of the Memorial Association erected a monument in 1879 in downtown Columbus whose purpose is inscribed as "To Honor The Confederate Soldiers Who Died To Repel Unconstitutional Invasion To Protect The Rights Reserved To The People And To Perpetuate Forever The Sovereignty Of The States." The Georgia Division of the UDC reflected a common southern sentiment of being mistreated and misunderstood when they placed a monument in 1909 to the memory of the Captain Henry Wirz, who was executed by the United States for his role as head of the now-legendarily horrific Andersonville Prison, in Sumter County. This granite obelisk was designed "to rescue his [Wirz's] name from the stigma attached to it by embittered prejudice."⁶⁸

Shockingly un-reconstructed and definitely unrepentant, the significance of these memorials, and others less rebellious, speaks to several generations of women who felt the need to remember the sacrifice of a life-altering era. These women left a physical legacy that honored, memorialized, and remembered The War, the soldiers, the "cause", and the civilian efforts. These historic resources reflect a widespread feminine effort to confront the public with a shared memory, to define that memory for future generations, and to locate a tangible icon by which to portray that memory in the public space. These memorials, cemeteries, sites, and markers attest to the culture-making accomplishments of Georgia's white women. The

⁶⁸ These three examples were taken from William W. Winn, "The View from Dowdell's Knob," *The New Georgia Guide* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1996), 373.

physical reminders are found around downtowns, on courthouse lawns, in cemeteries, and along the roadside throughout Georgia and the South. They are so abundant in number, they almost defy individual identification. However, they remain an important part of the post-Civil War landscape, one that women organized, funded, designed, and helped create.

Historian Karen Cox argues, it was these elite women who succeeded where the battles had failed. Through their organized efforts, these women preserved the Confederate culture of the Old South. According to Cox, the UDC was “one of the most socially and politically effective organizations in the region.” Not only did they place monuments throughout the South, they rewrote history to paint the Confederates as patriots rather than traitors, they raised monies to build and support homes for the veterans and their widows, they spread their message to white children through the donation of books and Confederate flags to schools, and they promoted public celebrations and holidays that glorified the Old South. As keepers of the “Lost Cause,” the woman’s public role within southern society expanded as their ideas of white supremacy and racial segregation became codified in the Jim Crow society of the first half of the twentieth century. It would not be until the coming of the Civil Rights movement following World War II that the underlying racism would be revealed.

F. Associated Property Types

Property Types

The three major Civil War commemorative resources sponsored by women's organizations can be categorized according to the National Register of Historic Places property types as Objects, Sites, and Buildings. The property types have defining qualities that are described below.

Objects: Monuments, Monoliths, and Cannons

The objects recognized within this property type can broadly be defined as monuments. For descriptive purposes, the property type of objects can be broken down further into monuments, monoliths, plaques, and cannons. Generally, the monuments are statuary, shafts, or obelisk. The monoliths are freestanding boulders with plaques or inscriptions. The cannons are monuments that incorporate real or faux cannons or cannonballs. The most recognized Civil War Memorial is the standing soldier atop a tall shaft seen on almost every county courthouse square in Georgia. These statues also comprise the majority of the monuments found throughout Georgia. The physical characteristics of the statue category of monuments are typical. They are:

- A standing soldier, holding a rifle, atop a tall shaft
- The soldier is in uniform, wearing hat, boots, and equipment
- Materials of construction most often used: marble, granite, iron, brick
- Symbolism is either relief carved or three-dimensional
- Symbolism includes a variety of elements:
 - Crossed flags, swords, rifles,
 - Urns
 - Tree stump
 - Cannons and cannonballs (stacked or single)
 - Ribbon and swag drape
 - Anchors
 - Confederate States of America Logo (CSA)
 - Cornerstone containing memorabilia
 - Carving of soldier on horseback
- The symbolism is predominately located on the base or shaft
- The overall statue height is between 20-30 feet tall, including base, and may be defined with a boundary, i.e. fencing or stones

The other common type of monument is an obelisk upon a multi-tiered base. The symbolism found on this more simplified monument is similar to that found on the monuments with the soldier statuary.

- Materials of construction most often used: marble or granite
- Symbolism is either relief carved or three-dimensional
- Symbolism includes a variety of elements:
 - Crossed flags, swords, rifles,
 - Urns

- Tree stump
 - Cannons and cannonballs (stacked or single)
 - Ribbon and swag drape
 - Anchors
 - Confederate States of America Logo (CSA)
- The symbolism is predominately located on the base or shaft unless the obelisk is draped. One exception to this is the monument in Springfield, Effingham County that has a relief of a flag on the shaft of the obelisk.
 - The overall monument height can range from six to thirty feet tall, including base.
 - The obelisk is found both in downtown areas and in cemeteries.

The organizations responsible for the majority of these monuments were the Ladies Memorial Association and later, the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The memorials were erected chiefly from the 1870s through the 1920s, indicating fifty years, or two generations of survivors following the war. More than half of the memorials were installed during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Many of the monuments have been relocated from their original placement, which was usually at a crossroads or street intersection of a town rather than on the courthouse square. By the 1930s and 1940s, the statues located along the roadside were frequently the cause of automobile crashes, and were subsequently relocated. For example, the Confederate monuments in Albany and Cuthbert were re-located at least once to safer locations, finally resting in local cemeteries. The United Daughters of the Confederacy-sponsored Confederate Monument in LaGrange was moved four times due to transportation and development pressures until the City placed it in the Confederate Park within the Downtown LaGrange Historic District.

The McNeel Marble Company, a nationally known marble fabricator from Marietta, Georgia, manufactured more than half of the memorials that have been identified in this survey. In business from 1892 until the 1970s, the company had branch offices and catalogues from which the ladies associations could select the statue of their choice which would include the appropriate symbolism. The company also employed in-house artists to create one-of-a-kind designs. (See attachments)

One of the most common locations for a Civil War-related monument is on the county courthouse grounds. Georgia has listed the majority of its courthouses in the National Register under the *County Courthouses in Georgia Multiple Property Listing* (1980) and its amendment (1995). Although the individual courthouse nominations include markers and monuments within their boundaries, rarely are these included in the resource count of the nominations. However, in the multiple property amendment (1995) the monuments are discussed as a significant feature of the courthouse landscape. The Taylor County Courthouse in Butler is one National Register nomination that documents the United Daughters of the Confederacy-placed monument as a contributing object.

Another type of object commemorating the Civil War was the rough-hewn monolith or boulder with a bronze plaque mounted upon it or with dedication inscribed directly on its surface. The boulder usually commemorated a Civil War-related event or action that took place nearby. The boulder was typically five feet high or less, and the plaque was lettered to depict the circumstance of the remembrance. The Civil War-related event did not necessarily relate to a specific event during the War but rather could memorialize the renaming of a highway for a famous person during the Civil War. These memorials were often established in the 1920s and 1930s, by local women's clubs or the United Daughters of the Confederacy. In 1925 the United Daughters of the Confederacy placed a monolith with a plaque on the

grounds of the Wilcox County Courthouse in Abbeville to mark the site of Jefferson Davis's last campsite before his capture on May 8, 1865. The boulder-like commemoration became less crude over time and morphed into more of a rough-edged rectangular monument in the 1950s and 1960s. The modern version of this resembles a large tombstone that has smoothed edges and a polished front.

The last type of commemorative object involves the incorporation of a cannon or cannon ball into a monument. The cannon can be real or a life-size or miniature reproduction. Examples of this type of monument are found in the 1898 Confederate monument in Greensboro that contains both a cannon and stacked cannon balls. The Palmetto wayside contains two faux miniature cannons on either side of the larger monument (1900). In Oglethorpe, the 1923 monument consists of a cannonball placed upon a shaft.

Sites: Cemeteries, Plots within non-Civil War Cemeteries, and Parks

These sites consist of specially designated cemeteries, plots within established cemeteries, and parks or waysides designed as memorials to the Civil War events that occurred nearby and/or to the soldiers. The plots or special sections are mainly defined by containment of the earliest internments. The boundaries around the plots—iron fencing or stone border—and a commemorative object were usually placed later. The graves were often not individually identified, rather listed as unit, Confederate soldier, or unknown soldiers. However, in some of the cases where the names were known, the names were inscribed on the monuments, as found on the confederate soldiers' monuments in Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta and in Thomson.

The women responsible for the organization of these plots or cemeteries were active in the re-establishment of life in their respective communities, post-war. They often owned land or lived near a battlefield, and were witness to the mass destruction of men and equipment. Frequently, the women were the first to "clean up" the battlefield and work to identify the dead and wounded. The organization of burial and the central gathering of bodies then became these women's mission. They were also successful at re-interment of soldiers hastily buried without consecration. The cemeteries were primarily organized within the first decade after the war. The best example of this is the founding of the Resaca Confederate Cemetery right after the War. Mary J. Green, E. J. Simmons, and other women spearheaded the re-internment efforts to remove the bodies of 420 unknown soldiers from the Resaca battlefield to this cemetery, the first in Georgia to be established for Confederate soldiers.

In addition to the sacred places, there are parks that could be nominated under this Multiple Property Nomination as sites. These parks can be public parks, green spaces, or waysides that were established or spearheaded by women's organizations to commemorate the Civil War. An example of this is the Joseph E. Brown Park established in Canton in 1906 by the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Buildings: Museums, Historic House Museums, and Headquarters

The museums, historic house museums or organization headquarters to commemorate a person, or a location, of Civil War era importance make-up the last category of resources that can be nominated under this Multiple Property Nomination. These buildings vary widely from the home of a songwriter who wrote popular tunes sung during the Civil War, to homes of distinguished persons, or to buildings preserved or constructed to house organizations that focus on Civil War commemoration, i.e. the United Daughters of the Confederacy. There are

no specific physical characteristics associated with these museums or historic house museums and headquarters. However, if they were built during the period of significance, these buildings generally reflect the prevailing styles of the period. For example, the National Register-listed chapter house of the Agnes Lee Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in Decatur was built in 1900 in the classical revival style.

The property type registration requirements should always include the sponsorship of the building by an organized group of women wanting to commemorate the Civil War. Most often this group is the United Daughters of the Confederacy; however, local woman's clubs, Daughters of the American Revolution, and garden clubs may also have been involved in the founding or sponsoring, either independently or with another organization. The actual museum, historic house museum, or headquarters should have been established during the period 1865 to 1965. A building such as the Cannonball House (Judge Asa Holt House) in Macon may have been built earlier, but its preservation, acquisition, or establishment for the commemoration of the Civil War would have occurred during the period of significance. As with the other types of resources these buildings would have to retain their physical and historical integrity.

Property Type Significance

The objects, sites, and buildings eligible for listing under the Historic Resources Commemorating the Civil War in Georgia, Sponsored by Women's Organizations Multiple Property Submission, are eligible under National Register Criterion A and significant for their historical associations with Other: Women's History and Social History. A majority of these resources will also be eligible under National Register Criterion C for their significance in Art, Architecture, and/or Landscape Architecture. These resources may be nominated at the local state, and/or national levels of significance depending on a case-by-case assessment of their architectural and historical significance and their level of integrity. These resources meet Criteria Consideration F as commemorative properties that achieve their value as female-centered cultural expressions to remember, honor, and memorialize the American Civil War and the soldiers who fought in it. This Multiple Property Nomination serves to establish the context for their efforts as part of a larger movement in women's history in America.

In terms of women's history and social history, these objects, sites, and buildings are significant for women's involvement in community organizations and civic improvement and as representative of these efforts in relationship to commemorating the American Civil War. These resources reflect the lasting legacy of the Civil War throughout Georgia and the South and the "organizational" spirit of women beginning in the late-nineteenth century and continuing to through the mid-twentieth century. Women organized other women and their communities, raised monies and materials, rallied support, hired artists and designers, found locations, and oversaw construction and maintenance in a concerted effort to document, remember, and honor the soldiers, civilians, friends, foes, and nation that were torn apart by America's greatest challenge. The results of these efforts were the objects, sites, and buildings that continue to symbolize the commemoration phase of the Civil War, a period in which women's roles expanded socially, civically, and professionally.

The objects, sites, and buildings that are eligible under National Register Criterion C may have significance for their artistic, architectural, and/or landscape value. The styles of these community landmarks reflect the prevailing architectural and artistic trends of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, as the classical style of architecture

remained popular throughout the twentieth century with Colonial Revival and Neoclassical Revival styles gaining popularity in the first two decades, the monuments during this period reflect this influence. The design of the General Nathan Bedford Forrest monument in Myrtle Hill Cemetery in Rome (dedicated by the Nathan Bedford Forrest Chapter of the UDC in 1908) incorporates classical elements with its stepped rough-hewn stone base, dentilling, and rectangular shaft. Others depict soldiers in classical poses or funerary imagery with obelisks, urns, swags, and shrouds.

Some of the objects, sites, or buildings may have additional significance relating to their artist, landscape architect, or architect. If this is the case, then the artistic, landscape, and/or architectural significance as it relates to the individual designer will be discussed on a resource-by-resource basis. For example the Confederate monument at the Monroe County Courthouse was an early design of the master sculptor Frederick Cleveland Hibbard (1881-1951). Born in Canton, Missouri, and educated at the Art Institute of Chicago under the tutelage of Lorado Taft, Hibbard became a well-known sculptor commissioned by individuals, organizations, and governments throughout the United States to create statues out of bronze, copper, granite, marble, and concrete. He researched his subjects meticulously creating likenesses of men, women, animals, soldiers, civilians, Union, Confederate, famous, and ordinary. His best known designs were of famous military and political leaders. In Racine, Wisconsin, still stands his large statuary of President Lincoln and First Lady Mary Todd Lincoln, which was the first statue of a United States President's wife and the only one ever of Mrs. Lincoln. In 1907, the Ladies Memorial Association and the Forsyth Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy commissioned Hibbard for a Confederate monument. Hibbard designed a marching soldier in bronze on a gray Oglesby granite base, which includes the seal of Georgia and two flags. The American Bronze Foundry out of Chicago cast the sculpture in 1908 and the women held the dedication on June 20, 1908. This monument has significance in art as an early design (maybe his first commissioned work) of nationally prominent master sculptor Hibbard, who would then go on to sculpt many more pieces.⁶⁹

General Registration Requirements

To be eligible for the National Register and for nomination under the Historic Resources Commemorating the Civil War in Georgia, Sponsored by Women's Organizations Multiple Property Submission, the historic resources must retain their integrity of design, materials, and association, be built or acquired within the period of significance (1865 to 1965), be located in the State of Georgia, and be significant in the social history and women's history of the locality and state. The resources must be objects, sites, or buildings and exist as a result of a woman-centered organization, generally a Ladies Memorial Association or chapter of United Daughters of Confederacy. Most of the objects linked to this multiple property nomination will be nominated as contributing resources within a larger nomination—either a building, site, or district (such as a courthouse, cemetery, or downtown). The buildings or sites will be nominated as individual listings or contributing resources within larger districts. In any case, it is the goal of this multiple property nomination that the individual buildings, sites, and objects be recognized as significant and count as contributing elements for their historical, architectural, and/or artistic associations.

⁶⁹ *Art Inventories Catalog*, Smithsonian American Art Museum, INTERNET, available online <http://sirsi-artinventories.si.edu>, accessed September 2004.

For the objects, integrity of location will not be a major factor in determining eligibility of the monuments, plaques, and markers since so many of the resources have been moved to accommodate changing transportation needs and growth, especially after the 1950s. In addition, objects by nature and/or design are moveable. However, the setting and appropriateness of the current location will be considered on a property-by-property basis in determining eligibility meeting Criteria Consideration D. Original location will expand and enhance the significance of these resources.

For resources that fall within the period of significance and meet the other registration requirements but not yet have reached the fifty-year mark either in terms of construction, placement, or acquisition, these resources will be reviewed on a case-by-case basis for their eligibility under this Multiple Property Nomination and ability to meet Criteria Consideration G.

A Survey of Civil War Commemorative Resources, Sponsored by Women's Organizations

NOTE: This survey of over one hundred resources is not exhaustive, but rather demonstrates the variety and number of resources that may be nominated under this multiple property submission. If a monument is located on the courthouse grounds and the courthouse is listed in the National Register it will be noted. Unless otherwise stated, the listing of a courthouse does not necessarily mean the resource was counted as contributing object (this also will be true for resources within historic districts, such as the UDC-placed Confederate Monument in the Macon Historic District, 1995).

Baldwin County

Milledgeville, 1912

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Median of South Jefferson St., Milledgeville, Relocated from street intersection

Description: Granite obelisk, with two soldiers on pedestals at base, fountain on rear side

Symbolism: Tree stump, Flag, Lion's head spout

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed within the Milledgeville Historic District

Bartow County

Cartersville, 1908

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Bartow County Courthouse, Cartersville

Description: Sandstone, standing soldier on base, with crossed flags and rifle symbolism

Symbolism: Crossed flags, Rifles

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register Listed Bartow County Courthouse, 1980

Cassville, 1878, 1899, 1936

Confederate Cemetery

Monument - Ladies Memorial Association, 1878; **Headstones** - UDC, 1899

Location: East of US 41, Cassville

Description: Three hundred soldiers buried together on hillside. Forty-foot obelisk with a shield on four sides of the base (1878). There is a smaller obelisk with an inscription to the Confederate dead and recognizing the 1899 placement of headstones by the UDC. There is also a 1936WPA rough-cut stone monument.

Property Type: Site with objects

Bibb County

Macon

Confederate Square in Rosehill Cemetery (1839), Jane Lumsden Hardeman, organizer

Location: 1071 Riverside Dr., Macon

Description: Confederate Square graves of 600 men. Stones in rows along hillside and flagpole and memorial placed by Ladies Memorial Association

Symbolism: Stone border surrounds the enclosure

Property Type: Site

Macon, 1879

Confederate Monument, Ladies Memorial Assoc.

Location: At Second St. and Cotton Ave.

Description: Soldier, in uniform, holding rifle, marble and granite,

Symbolism: Saber, Armaments, Cannon, Bugle, Wreath

Fabricator: Muldoon Monument Co

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register Listed Macon Historic District, 1995

Macon

Cannonball House and Museum, Sidney Lanier Chapter of the UDC

Location: 856 Mulberry Street

Description: Chapter house for Sidney Lanier Chapter of the UDC, historic house museum depicting Southern life before and during the Civil War and Confederate museum. Also known as the Judge Asa Holt House (1853), the Sidney Lanier Chapter of UDC bought the house in 1962 from the last remaining Holt family member.

Property Type: Building

National Register Listed 1971

Bleckley County

Cochran, 1910

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Intersection of Dykes Street and Second Street, Cochran Relocated

Description: Soldier atop tall shaft

Symbolism: Cannon barrel, Crossed swords

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

Brooks County

Quitman, 1869?, 1936

West End Cemetery, Ladies Memorial Association which became the Quitman Memorial

Association and then the Quitman Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Location: Quitman, West End Cemetery

Description: Confederate soldiers are buried here, 17 unknown. Memorial services were held as early as 1869?. **Monument** to the Unknown soldiers buried here placed in 1936 by the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Property Type: Site and objects

Quitman, 1878

Confederate **Monument**, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Quitman, West End Cemetery??

Description: Obelisk on triple-tiered base with inscription.

Property Type: Object

Bulloch County

Statesboro, 1908

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Bulloch County Courthouse Square, Statesboro

Description: Older soldier, standing on marble and brick base

Symbolism: Tree stump, Flag, Cannonballs

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register Listed Bulloch County Courthouse, 1980

Burke County

Waynesboro, 1877

Confederate **Monument**, Ladies Memorial Association of Burke County

Location: Corner of Jones and Sixth Street, Waynesboro

Description: Granite obelisk on multi-level base.

Property Type: Object

Butts County

Jackson, 1911

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Butts County Courthouse, Jackson

Description: Standing soldier atop square multi-tiered base

Symbolism: Crossed sabers, Flag, Tree stump

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Butts County Courthouse, 1980

Carroll County

Carrollton, 1910

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Town Square, Carrollton. Relocated to hospital grounds, then moved back to square

Description: Standing soldier atop shaft

Symbolism: Tree stump
Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works
Sculptor: Unknown
Property Type: Object

Chatham County

Savannah, 1875

Savannah Confederate Monument, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Forsyth Park, Bull St.

Description: Soldier with rifle on shaft

Symbolism: Relief of woman in mourning, Wreaths, Crossed flags, Cannon balls, Bugle, Sword

Fabricator: Montreal Marble Works

Sculptor: Robert Reid of Montreal, Re-designed by David Richards, 1878. (In 1878, one of original sculptures, a robed woman, "Silence," removed to Laurel Grove Cemetery to mark graves of soldiers killed at Gettysburg.)

Property Type: Object

National Register Listed, ?? which district

NOTE: Markers honoring Anna Mitchell Davenport (co-founder of the UDC) and Phebe Yates Pember (Civil War nurse and diaryist) are in the Laurel Grove Cemetery.

Savannah, Installed 1870, and Dedicated 1910

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Catholic Cemetery, Savannah

Description: Standing soldier atop tapered square base

Symbolism: Once had rifle, now missing

Fabricator: Oglethorpe Marble and Granite Co.

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

Chattahoochee County

Cusseta (date unknown)

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: In front of public library, Cusseta

Description: Rough-cut boulder with bronze plaque dedicated to the memory of the Confederate Veterans of Chattahoochee County.

Cherokee County

Canton (date of monument unknown)

War Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Brown Park, Canton

Description: White marble arch with different inscriptions honoring the memory of Governor Joseph Emerson Brown and to the Confederate Soldiers and World War II soldiers. Brown Park was dedicated in 1906.

Property Type: Object

Clark County

Athens, 1903

Winnie Davis Memorial Hall, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: On campus of Navy Supply Corps School

Description: The local Chapter of the UDC built this building in 1902 as a women's residence hall for the State Normal School. By 1954, building was part of the Navy Supply Corps School.

Restored and refurbished by UDC in 1987 and the UDC maintains an exhibit inside the building commemorating Winnie Davis, daughter of President Jefferson Davis and Moina Michael, the "inventor" of the Memorial poppy lady and the most famous house mother that served in the hall.

Property Type: Building

National Register Listed within the Oglethorpe Historic District 1987, contributing building

Clayton County

Jonesboro, 1934

Patrick Cleburne Cemetery Monument, Atlanta Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Patrick Cleburne Cemetery, Jonesboro

Description: Rough-cut, rectangular vertical boulder on base with inscription engraved on smoothed-out portion of its front. The monument is located within the Patrick Cleburne Cemetery that is laid out with its walkways in the form of a Confederate Battle Flag. There are between 600 and 1000 unknown soldiers buried here. The monument was placed in honor of these soldiers.

Inscription: Wilbur G. Kurtz

Manufacturer: Enterprise Marble & Granite Co., E.E. Redd, Mgr.

Property Type: Object in Site

Cobb County

Marietta, ca. 1870

Confederate Cemetery, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Powder Springs Rd. and North 120 Loop

Description: Re-interred bodies of men who died at Chickamauga and Atlanta. 3000 buried soldiers. 1866 Mary J. Green and Mrs. Charles j. Williams of the Georgia Memorial Association directed the movement of the bodies from the Chickamauga area. Jane Glover, Ann Moyer, and others gave the land for the cemetery.

Symbolism: Includes a 25' tall shaft **Monument** placed by the United Daughters of the Confederacy in 1908

Property Type: Site and Object

Coffee County

Douglas, 1911

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Downtown Douglas

Description: Soldier on top of marble shaft.

Property Type: Object

Colquitt County

Moultrie, 1909

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Courthouse Square, Moultrie

Description: Soldier standing on tapered shaft

Symbolism: Crossed flags, Cannonballs

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Colquitt County Courthouse, 1980

Coweta County

Newnan, 1885

Confederate **Monument**, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Courthouse Square

Description: Soldier statue on multi-tiered granite base w/inscription.

Symbolism: soldier, rifle

Fabricator: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Coweta County Courthouse, 1980

Newnan, 1956

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Courthouse Square

Description: Irregularly shaped and rough-cut granite bolder standing vertically erected in memory of "William Thomas Overby, Confederate Hero."

Inscription by Col. Thomas Spencer

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Coweta County Courthouse, 1980

Newnan,

Confederate **Monument**, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Confederate Cemetery

Description: Rectangular box with rough-cut granite facings on base. Dedicated to "Our Confederate Dead" and the 268 Confederate soldiers buried here (1 unknown).

Property Type: Object within Site

Crisp County

Cordele, 1911

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Community Clubhouse, Cordele. Relocated from street corner

Description: Soldier standing on tapered shaft

Symbolism: Crossed sabers, Flag, Crossed rifles, Cannon barrels, Ribbon and Swag drape

Fabricator: Consolidated Marble Company

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

Decatur County

Bainbridge, 1906 (1905)

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy and the City of Bainbridge

Location: Willis Park, Bainbridge

Description: Marble soldier on circular base set on platform, in granite pool, encircled by fence
Symbolism: Cannons, Crossed swords, Crossed rifles, Anchors, Flag

Fabricator: Morris Brothers Co.

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

DeKalb County

Decatur, 1922

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: DeKalb County Courthouse Grounds

Description: Oblong boulder with bronze plaque memorializing the Battle of Decatur on July 22, 1864.

Property Type: Object

National Register listed DeKalb County Courthouse,

Decatur, 1900

Chapter House of the Agnes Lee Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: 120 Avery Street, Decatur

Description: Classical Revival-style house.

Architect: Wilson A. Gosnell

Property Type: Building

National Register listed 1985

Stone Mountain, 1916 - 1972

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy & Stone Mountain Memorial Association.

Location: Stone Mountain

Description: Stone relief carving, depicting Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Jeff Davis mounted on horses.

History: Planned to depict seven large figures of Confederate leaders followed by an army of 1,000 men. Started in 1916; stopped in 1925, with only Lee's head finished. Begun again by different sculptor, Lee's head recarved and stopped again in 1928. Viewers marveled at Lee's head for next 36 years. Begun again in 1964 by Stone Mountain Memorial Association, finished in 1972.

Property Type: Object or Site??

National Register Listed in Stone Mountain Historic District 2000??

Dodge County

Eastman, 1910

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Dodge County Courthouse Square, Eastman. Relocated from street corner

Description: Soldier standing on tapered shaft

Symbolism: Sword, Rifle, Flag

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown
Property Type: Object
National Register listed Dodge County Courthouse, 1980

Dooly County

Vienna, 1908

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Dooly County Courthouse Square, Vienna

Description: Standing soldier with rifle, on shaft

Symbolism: Flags, Rifles, CSA logo, Urns (now missing)

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Dooly County Courthouse, 1980

Doughtery County

Albany, 1901

Confederate **Monument**, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Oakview Cemetery, relocated twice from street intersection, and municipal park

Description: Soldier in marble on granite base. Sculpture in plot of 7 unknown Conf. Soldiers.

Symbolism: Tree stump

Fabricator: W.H. Miller Co. (probably)

Property Type: Object

Douglas County

Douglasville, 1914

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Douglas County Courthouse, Douglasville

Description: Standing soldier atop tall pedestal

Symbolism: Tree stump

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Douglas County Courthouse, 2002

Effingham County

Springfield, 1923

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: In park next to Effingham County Courthouse

Description: Obelisk with relief of flag.

Property Type: Object

Elbert County

Elberton, 1898

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy and Confederate Association,.

Location: Sutton Square, Elberton

Description: White bronze soldier mounted on tall shaft of granite. (In 1905, original replaced because "Dutchy" placed in 1898 but the community did not like it and it was vandalized in

1900 and now rests in the Elberton Granite Museum)

Symbolism: Stacked cannonballs

Fabricator: Elberton Granite and Marble Works, founded for this statue

Sculptor: Arthur Beter

Property Type: Object

Floyd County

Rome, 1887

Confederate **Monument**, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Broad Street

Description: Soldier on shaft, with rifle (originally an urn)

Symbolism: Armaments, Urns

Fabricator: McNeel Marble and Noble & McCullough Foundry

Architect: C. M. Pennington

Property Type: Object in Site

National Register listed Myrtle Hill Cemetery, 1983

Rome, 1908

Nathan B. Forrest **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Broad Street

Description: Statue of Forrest on shaft on rough-cut stone base. His hat is in his hand.

Property Type: Object in Site

National Register listed Myrtle Hill Cemetery, 1983

NOTE: Next to the Confederate and Forrest Monuments in the Myrtle Hill Cemetery is the Monument to the Women of the Confederacy, placed in 1910.

Franklin County

Carnesville, 1910

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Franklin County Courthouse walkway, Carnesville

Description: Standing soldier mounted on tall shaft of granite.

Symbolism: Crossed flags, Stacked cannonballs

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Franklin County Courthouse, 1980

Fulton County

Atlanta,

Bronze Memorial **Plaques**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Georgia State Capitol Grounds, Atlanta

Description: Several large bronze plaques describe the Battle of Atlanta and its surrender

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Georgia State Capitol, 1971

Atlanta, 1870, 1874

Confederate **Monument** in Oakland Cemetery, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Oakland Cemetery, Atlanta

Description: The base was dedicated in 1870 and the 65-foot obelisk in 1874. Rough-cut Romanesque Revival-style carved from Stone Mountain granite. 3000 Confederate soldiers buried in the cemetery.

Property Type: Object and site

National Register listed Oakland Cemetery

Atlanta, 1892

Confederate Soldiers' Monument in Oakland Cemetery, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Oakland Cemetery, Atlanta

Description: Rectangular piece of granite sitting on a base and topped with rectangular and hipped cap. The soldiers monument is inscribed on all four sides with all names of the soldiers buried in Oakland Cemetery.

Property Type: Object and site

National Register listed Oakland Cemetery

Atlanta, 1894

Confederate Monument to the Unknown Confederate dead in Oakland Cemetery, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Oakland Cemetery, Atlanta

Description: Nine-foot long sleeping lion on a rough-cut marble base, cut from one piece of Georgia marble and modeled after the Lion of Lucerne. The lion is lying on the Confederate flag that he is clutching. It is dedicated to the unknown Confederate soldiers. The marble is Georgia marble from Tate, Georgia.

Property Type: Object and site

National Register listed Oakland Cemetery

Campbellton, 1930

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of Confederacy and WPA

Location: Site of old Campbell County Courthouse, Campbellton, now in Fulton County

Description: Freestanding Corinthian column, enclosed by a wrought iron fence.

Symbolism: Commemorates Capt. T. C. Glover, a delegate to the secession convention, and a Confederate Company leader.

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Campbell County Courthouse, 1976

Fairburn, 1937

Monument, United Daughters of Confederacy

Description: A plaque mounted on a brick base

History: Commemorates the spot where the first Confederate flag was unfurled March 4, 1861.

Property Type: Object

NOTE: May be a replacement monument or plaque?

Palmetto, 1900

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Highway 29 in Palmetto

Description: Obelisk on base with monument and two faux cannons beside it.

Property Type: Object

Glynn County

Brunswick, ca. 1902

Confederate **Monument**, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Hanover Park, Brunswick

Description: Soldier of marble on tall shaft, with stone and brick base.

Symbolism: Flag, Rifle

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

Greene County

Greensboro, 1898

Confederate **Monument**, UDC and Ladies Memorial Assoc.

Location: Courthouse Square

Description: Marble soldier atop granite column with granite base.

Symbolism: Cannons, Cannonballs on base

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Greene County Courthouse, 1981 and Green County Commercial Historic District, 1987

Gordon County

Resaca, 1860s

Confederate **Cemetery**, Mary J. Green, E. J. Simmons, Organizers

Location: Near Dalton-Gordon Co. line, near US 41 and CR 97

Description: Re-interred soldiers from battlefield moved to this site.

History: Over 420 unknown soldiers buried around one monument topped with cross, including Mrs. Simmons. Cemetery established shortly after the war by these local women for those who died at the nearby Battle of Resaca. There is a stone arched entrance that reads, "Resaca Confederate Cemetery." On the arch is a bronze plaque that reads, "Dedicated by the Atlanta Chapter United Daughters of the Confederacy to the memory of Miss Mary Green, who established this Resaca Cemetery, the first in this state for our Confederate soldiers." About a half mile from the cemetery and just off Highway 41 seven miles north of Calhoun, there are two more objects. The first was placed by the WPA is one in a series relating to the Tennessee/Georgia battles along the Old Dixie Highway during the New Deal period. The second one is a marble marker placed by the Gordon County Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Property Type: District with Site and Objects

Hall County

Gainesville, 1909

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Public Square, Gainesville

Description: Standing soldier on two level base

Symbolism: Unfurled flags
Fabricator: American Bronze Company
Sculptor: Unknown
Property Type: Object
National Register listed Gainesville Commercial Historic District, 2003

Hancock County

Sparta, 1881

Confederate Monument, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Hancock County Courthouse

Description: Marble draped obelisk with relief of soldier, granite and brick base.

Symbolism: Crossed swords, Confederate seal carvings

Fabricator: Muldoon Monument Co.

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register Listed Sparta Historic District, 1974

Hart County

Hartwell, 1908

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Hart County Courthouse, Hartwell

Description: Soldier on tall square base

Symbolism: Tree stump, Stars, Geometric Designs, Flag

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

Henry County

McDonough, 1910

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Traffic circle, County Courthouse, McDonough

Description: Soldier on tall square base

Symbolism: Tree stump, Flags, Crossed muskets

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Henry County Courthouse, 1980

Georgia Survey Number: HY-MC-180

Houston County

Perry, 1908

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Courthouse Square, Perry

Description: Soldier on a tapered shaft

Symbolism: Tree stump, cornerstone with memorabilia

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

Irwin County

Ocilla, 1911

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Courthouse Square, Ocilla. Relocated from street intersection

Description: Soldier on a tapered shaft

Symbolism: Tree stump, Cannon barrel, Crossed sabers

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Irwin County Courthouse, 1980

Irwinville, 1936

Jefferson Davis **Memorial Museum and Park**, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Irwinville (12 acre park with **Monument**)

Description: Bronze bust of Jefferson Davis on stone pillar

Symbolism: Granite pillar engraved with relief of flag and Davis as prisoner

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Laurence Tompkins, 1897-1972

Property Type: District with Object, Site, and Building

National Register listed Jefferson Davis Capture Site, 1980 (only listed as Site?)

Jackson County

Jefferson, 1911

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Hwy 15, Central Business District, Jefferson.

Description: Originally, soldier on a tapered shaft, damaged in 1940; now is Jerusalem cross in wreath or a what is known as a Southern Cross.

Symbolism: Confederate flag, Crossed rifles

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Jefferson Historic District, 2003

Jasper County

Monticello, 1910

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Town Square, Monticello

Description: Two Soldiers standing on base with tall obelisk

Symbolism: Tree stump, Anchor

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: E. B. Frazier

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Monticello Historic District, 1997

Georgia Survey Number: JA-M-259

Jenkins County

Millen, 1908

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Jenkins County Courthouse Square, Millen

Description: Soldier on obelisk

Symbolism: Tree stump, Crossed muskets, Crossed banners

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Jenkins County Courthouse, 1980

Lamar County

Barnesville (date unknown)

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Downtown Barnesville

Description: Rough-cut boulder with bronze plaque.

Property Type: Object

Laurens County

Dublin, 1912

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Street intersection, Dublin

Description: Standing soldier on tall square base

Symbolism: Crossed flags, muskets, cannons, and swords, Cannonballs, Urns

Fabricator: Cordele Marble Co.

Sculptor: L. C. Huffman, contractor

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Dublin Commercial Historic District, 2002

Liberty County

Hinesville, 1925

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Liberty County Courthouse Square, Hinesville

Description: Soldier on square base

Symbolism: Tree stump, Flag

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Liberty County Courthouse, 1980

Lowndes County

Valdosta, 1911

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Courthouse Square, Valdosta

Description: Standing soldier on shaft with projecting square base

Symbolism: Cannonballs, Flag

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown Italian

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Lowndes County Courthouse, 1980

McDuffie County

Thomson (date unknown)

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Veterans, and Woman's Club of Thomson

Location: On the grounds of the old depot in Thomson

Description: Lady holding a flag on shaft with integrated benches on platform. Dedicated to the women and the soldiers. Names of the soldiers are on the walls of the monument.

Property Type: Object

Thomson, 1896

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: McDuffie County Courthouse Square

Description: Marble obelisk on rectangular pedestal and base with relief of crossed swords.

Property Type: Object

Macon County

Montezuma, 1911

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Carmichael Park, Montezuma

Description: Standing soldier on tall shaft

Symbolism: Flag

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

Montezuma Cemetery, Headstones – United Daughters of the Confederacy

Description: Forty-four government headstones and fifty-two iron markers to honor veterans, although not a special Confederate cemetery.

Property Type: Site

Oglethorpe, 1923

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Adjacent to Macon County Courthouse

Description: Vertical rectangular shaft on a rectangular base, topped by a cannon ball and flanked by urns.

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Macon County Courthouse, 1980

Marion County

Buena Vista, 1916

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Marion County Courthouse Square

Description: Fountain with integrated backdrop and benches, Classical style.

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Marion County Courthouse, 1980

Monroe County

Forsyth, 1908

Confederate **Monument**, Ladies Memorial Assoc. and United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Monroe County Courthouse Square, Forsyth

Description: Bronze soldier in marching gait on granite base with bronze plaque.

Symbolism: Georgia state seal, two flags, Rifle

Fabricator: American Bronze Co., and Butler Marble and Granite Co.

Sculptor: Frederick C. Hibbard, 1881-1950

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Monroe County Courthouse, 1980

Morgan County

Madison, 1908

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Hill Park, Madison, relocated from Courthouse

Description: Soldier on top of tapered shaft

Symbolism: Rifle

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Contractor: J.T. Smith of H. H. Jones & Co.

Property Type: Object

Madison, 1978

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy and Sons of Confederate Veterans

Location: Confederate Cemetery

Description: Granite marker with inscription

Property Type: Object

Non-historic marker

NOTE: Cemetery contains 51 unknown and 1 known Confederate soldier and one African American hospital attendant who died in nearby hospitals during 1862-1865.

Muscogee County

Columbus, 1866

First Confederate Memorial Day, April 26, 1866

Ladies Memorial Association, Organizer

First anniversary of Johnston's surrender to Sherman.

Property Type: RESOURCE???

Columbus, 1879

Confederate **Monument**, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Salisbury Park, on Broadway St.

Description: Marble obelisk topped with urn, draped in confederate flag.

Symbolism: Cannon, Cannon balls, State seal, Relief medallion of soldier on horseback

Fabricator: Muldoon and Karnes Marble Works

Sculptor: Thomas J. Grier

Property Type: Object

Columbus (date unknown)

Lizzie Rutherford **Monument**, Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Linwood Cemetery, Linwood Cemetery

Description: Flat engraved tablet honoring Lizzie Rutherford (1833-1873), "the soldier's friend and suggestor of Memorial Day."

Property Type: Object

Newton County

Covington, 1906

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Courthouse Square, Covington

Description: Stone soldier atop square column, with stone stepped base.

Symbolism: Crossed rifles, Swords, Anchors, Confederate flag.

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Covington Historic District 1998, **contributing object?**

Oconee County

Watkinsville (date unknown)

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Courthouse lawn, Oconee County Courthouse

Description: Boulder with Plaque

Property Type: Object

Oglethorpe County

Lexington, 1916

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Oglethorpe County Courthouse Square, Lexington

Description: Marble soldier atop granite slab

Symbolism: Tree stump, list of names done by WPA

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Lexington Historic District, 1977

Polk County

Cedartown, 1906

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Polk County Courthouse Square, Cedartown

Description: Marble soldier atop graduated shaft

Symbolism: Crossed flags, Crossed rifles, Cannon, Crossed swords, Tree stump

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Cedartown Commercial Historic District, 1992

Pulaski County

Hawkinsville, 1908

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Pulaski County Courthouse, Hawkinsville (relocated from street intersection)

Description: Soldier atop tall shaft with figures of Lee and Jackson on either side of shaft

Symbolism: Flag, Crossed rifles, Tree stump

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Pulaski County Courthouse, 1980

Cochran, 1910

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Downtown Cochran in front of the Chamber of Commerce

Description: White marble, soldier on top of shaft with cannons projecting from the front and back.

Property Type: Object

Putnam County

Eatonton, 1908

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Across from Courthouse, Eatonton, (relocated)

Description: Standing soldier atop tall base

Symbolism: Flag, Tree stump

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Eatonton Historic District, 1975

Randolph County

Cuthbert, 1896

Confederate **Monument #1**, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Greenwood Cemetery, relocated from town square in 1909

Description: Broken, marble soldier sculpture set on ground, with marble base.

Symbolism: Tree stump

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

Cuthbert, 1910

Confederate **Monument #2**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Atop 1896 base in central City park, Cuthbert

Description: Marble soldier sculpture set on tiered marble base.

Symbolism: Tree stump, Cannon, Tobacco leaves

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Italian Unknown

Property Type: Object

Richmond County

Augusta, 1878

Confederate Monument, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: 1700 Block of Broad Street

Description: Soldier on shaft, with four Confederate generals surrounding base

Symbolism: Guns, Cannon balls, Reliefs of seals, Drum, Flag

Fabricator: Antonio Fontana

Sculptor: VanGunder and Young of Philadelphia

Property Type: Object

National Register listed which district??

Augusta, 1936

Monument of James Ryder Randall, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: 1300 Green St.

Description: Honors author of "Maryland, My Maryland," popular Civil War Ballad.

History: Randall, from Baltimore, was teaching in Los Angeles when Union troops subdued Secessionist civilians in Baltimore. He wrote the ballad as an indictment of Lincoln.

Property Type: Object

National Register listed which district??

Augusta, 1924

Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Jefferson Davis Avenue

Description: Rough-cut boulder with bronze plaque, Hwy was laid out from Virginia to Texas to honor Confederate President.

Property Type: Object

National Register listed which district??

Rockdale County

Conyers, 1913

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Old courthouse, Conyers

Description: Soldier on tall square shaft

Symbolism: Cannon balls, Flag

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Conyers Commercial Historic District, 1988

Schley County

Ellaville, 1910

Confederate Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Courthouse square, Ellaville

Description: Soldier on tall column, with basins once used as fountains

Symbolism: Tree stump, Cannon balls, Flag

Fabricator: National Marble and Granite Co.

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object
National Register listed Schley County Courthouse, 1980

Screven County

Sylvania, 1909

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy
Location: Screven County Memorial Cemetery, Sylvania (relocated)
Description: Standing Soldier atop shaft on base
Symbolism: Tree stump, Cannonball, Cannons
Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works
Sculptor: Unknown
Property Type: Object

Spalding County

Griffin, 1909

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy
Location: Memorial Park, East Taylor Street, Griffin
Description: Standing soldier atop tall shaft
Symbolism: Crossed swords, Tree stump, Seal of CSA, Wreath
Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works
Sculptor: Unknown
Property Type: Object

Stephens County

Toccoa, 1916 or 1922?

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy
Location: Courthouse square
Property Type: Object
National Register listed Stephens County Courthouse, 1980

Stewart County

Lumpkin, 1908

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy
Location: Courthouse Square, Lumpkin
Description: Standing soldier atop tall granite shaft
Symbolism: Tree stump, Flag, Crossed rifles
Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works
Sculptor: Unknown
Property Type: Object
National Register listed Stewart County Courthouse, 1980, and Lumpkin Commercial Historic District, 1982

Sumter County

Andersonville, 1909,

Monument, Georgia Division of the United Daughters of Confederacy
Location: Andersonville
Description: A monument that memorializes Captain Henry Wirz, the Commandant of the

Andersonville Prison and the only person hanged for war crimes related to the Civil War by the U.S. Government.

Property Type: Object

Americus, Ca.1880

Confederate **Cemetery**, Ladies Memorial Association.

Location: Oak Grove Cemetery, Church Street

Description: Re-inter graves of 115 guards who died at nearby Andersonville Prison, marking graves.

History: LMA raised funds for monument to honor Confederate dead, but were used instead for cemetery.

Property Type: Site

Talbot County

Talbotton, 1904

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Talbot County Courthouse Grounds

Description: Obelisk with furled battle flag and wreath.

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Talbot County Courthouse, 1980

Taliaferro County

Crawfordville,

Home and House Museum, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Liberty Hall, Crawfordsville

Description: Home of Alexander Stephens, Vice President of Confederacy; Boulder with plaque that was dedicated in 1935 WPA and UDC.

Property Type: Building

National Register listed, 1970

Taylor County

Butler, 1911

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Courthouse Square, Butler

Description: Soldier on tall square shaft

Symbolism: Tree stump

Fabricator: National Marble and Granite Company

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed and counted as a contributing object in the Taylor County Courthouse nomination, 1995

Tift County

Tifton, 1910

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Fulwood Park, Tifton (Relocated four times)

Description: Soldier on tall square shaft

Symbolism: Tree stump

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works
Sculptor: Unknown
Property Type: Object

Thomas County

Thomasville, 1879

Confederate **Monument**, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Thomas County Courthouse lawn

Description: Shrouded obelisk on three-tiered rectangular base.

Symbolism: Shroud, cannon balls, bayonets, muskets, seal of the Confederacy

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Thomas County Courthouse, 1980.

Thomasville (date given unknown)

“Judgment” **Monument**, Ladies Memorial Association of Savannah to the Thomasville Chapter

Location: Laurel Hill Cemetery, Thomasville

Description: Statue of a woman in flowing clothes holding a trumpet and scroll on a rough-cut stone three-tiered pedestal. The statue was originally on the Confederate monument in Savannah, but the women decided that Judgment was inappropriate for honoring the Confederate soldiers.

Property Type: Object in Site

Troup County

LaGrange

House Museum, ca. 1854, Bellevue/LaGrange Women’s Club, 1946

Location: 204 Ben Hill Street

History: Home of Benjamin Harvey Hill, served in Confederate Senate, and US Senate after War. Given by the Fuller E. Callaway Foundation

Architect: T. Miller

Property Type: Building

National Register Listed as Bellevue or Benjamin Harvey Hill House, 1972

LaGrange, 1902

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Confederate Park across from cemetery, (relocated four times, from courthouse)

Description: Limestone sculpture of soldier on tall shaft, granite base.

Symbolism: Crossed swords, Bugle, Flag

Fabricator: Unknown

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed LaGrange Commercial Historic District, 2001??

LaGrange, 18??

Monolith

Location: On the west bank of the Chattahoochee, LaGrange

Description: On the west bank of the Chattahoochee is a boulder marking the spot where Winnie Davis, Jefferson Davis’ daughter, delivered a speech. In introducing her, former Con. Gen. John B. Gordon referred to “daughters of the Confederacy,” a name that was

soon adopted by women who wished to preserve the memory of the Lost Cause. (UDC)

Property Type: Object

Date of event???

West Point, 1901

Monument

Location: Originally in the center of 8th street on the East side of the River, moved to its present location on the public square in West Point on the site of Fort Tyler. It was moved to make room for the West Point school.

Description: Unveiled on Memorial Day 1901 by the Fort Tyler United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Sculptor:

Property Type: Object

Georgia Survey Number: TP-WP-106

Twiggs County

Jeffersonville, 1911

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: One block from Courthouse, Jeffersonville (Relocated once)

Description: Soldier on tall square shaft

Symbolism: Tree stump, Flag

Fabricator: National Marble and Granite Company

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

Union County

Blakely, 1909

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Union County Courthouse

Description: Obelisk on base.

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Union County Courthouse, 1980

Upson County

Thomaston, 1907

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Courthouse Square, Thomaston

Description: Standing soldier on a tall shaft

Symbolism: Flag, Crossed flags, Swords and Rifles

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Upson County Courthouse, 1980

Thomaston, 1919 rededicated and unveiled 1953

Cannonball upon a Monument, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Courthouse Square, Thomaston

Description: Cannonball upon an Art Deco-inspired multi-part rectangular base base. The

monument reads that it was the first cannonball fired in the Civil War at Fort Sumter on April 12, 1861. First it was given to Sallie White by Confederate Correspondent P.W. Alexander who was present at the firing. She then gave it to the UDC. The first base was dedicated in 1919. This one was unveiled in 1953.

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Upson County Courthouse, 1980

Thomaston, 1938

Monument to General John B. Gordon, United Daughters of the Confederate

Location: Upson County Courthouse lawn, Thomaston

Description: Rectangular pillar topped by a sundial.

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Upson County Courthouse, 1980.

Walker County

Lafayette, 1909, 1936

John B. Gordon Hall and Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: John B. Gordon Hall, Lafayette (relocated from Lafayette Park)

Description: Standing soldier, on tall square shaft; The Lafayette Chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the United Daughters of the Confederacy purchased this building to preserve it. It had been the Lafayette Academy (Chatooga Academy) and then it/its grounds served as the headquarters of General Braxton Bragg to plan the Battle of Chickamauga. The two women's organizations renamed the house the John B. Gordon Hall on the Centennial of the founding of the Academy in 1936. A bronze plaque on the building recognizes this history.

Symbolism: Crossed rifles, Tree stump, Flag

Fabricator: Unknown

Property Type: Building and Object

National Register listed Chattooga Academy (common name John B. Gordon Hall), 1980

Walton County

Monroe, 1907

Confederate **Monument**, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: Walton County Courthouse Square, Monroe

Description: Standing soldier, atop tall shaft

Symbolism: Crossed rifles, Crossed flags

Fabricator: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Walton County Courthouse, 1980, Monroe Commercial Historic District, 1983

Social Circle, 1928

Monument to the memory of Emma Sansom, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Georgia Highway 11

Description: Stone engraved vertical tablet.

Property Type: Object

Ware County

Waycross, 1910

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Phoenix Park, Waycross

Description: Soldier on tall square shaft

Symbolism: Tree stump

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

Waycross, date of placement unknown

Cannon, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Phoenix Park, Waycross

Description: An 1845 model of a cannon cast by the Tredgar Iron Works, Richmond, Virginia, in 1851. South Carolina owned the gun before the Civil War. It was used last on the Altamaha River at Doctortown (Jesup). It was given to the UDC, who then placed it in the park.

Property Type: Object

Warren County

Warrenton, 1904

Confederate **Monument**, The Matron's Club

Location: Warren County Courthouse, Warrenton

Description: Marble soldier on tall shaft, granite base.

Symbolism: Crossed rifles, Flag, Upright cannon barrels, Crossed sabers, Tree stump

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Warren County Courthouse, 1980

Washington County

Sandersville (date unknown)

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Old City Cemetery, Sandersville

Description: Located in the 1831 Old City Cemetery, this monument is a simple obelisk with flared bottom on a rectangular base. This monument memorializes the Washington County soldiers.

Property Type: Object within site.

National Register listed City Cemetery (common name Old City Cemetery), 1983

Tennille, 1917

Confederate **Monument and Cannons**, Tennille Garden Club and the United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Main Street Tennille, next to Police Station

Description: Rectangular pillar on circular dish on rectangular stepped base (Garden Club) flanked by two cannons (UDC) and placed in honor of the Confederate veterans.

Property Type: Objects

Whitfield County

Dalton, 1892

Confederate **Monument**, Ladies Memorial Association

Location: West Hill Cemetery, relocated from Dalton Park, 1971

Description: marble sculpture of soldier on marble base

Symbolism: Relief of crossed swords, Wreath, Rifle

Fabricator: Muldoon Monument Co.

Property Type: Object

In or adjacent to National Register listed Thornton Avenue-Murray Hill Historic District, 1992

Dalton, 1912

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: Intersection of Hamilton and Crawford Streets

Description: Statue of General Joseph E. Johnston. The only one in the country dedicated to General Johnston.

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

Wilcox County

Abbeville, 1909

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy

Location: County Library, Abbeville

Description: Standing soldier atop tall shaft

Symbolism: (formerly) Cannonballs

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

Abbeville, 1925

Monolith with Inscription, United Daughters of the Confederacy

Location: Courthouse Lawn, Abbeville

Description: Stone boulder with plaque

History: Marking the site of Jefferson Davis' last campsite before his capture on May 8, 1865

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Wilcox County Courthouse, 1980

Wilkes County

Washington, 1908

Confederate **Monument**, United Daughters of Confederacy and Ladies Memorial Association (and the Sons of Confederate Veterans?)

Location: Wilkes County Courthouse

Description: Standing soldier on top of obelisk on granite base

Symbolism: Stars, Geometric designs, Flag

Fabricator: McNeel Marble Works

Sculptor: Unknown

Property Type: Object

National Register listed Wilkes County Courthouse, 1980

Georgia Survey Number: WS-W-18

G. Geographical Data

State of Georgia

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

Discuss the methods used in developing the multiple property listing.

The Multiple Property Submission for “Resources Commemorating the Civil War in Georgia, Sponsored by Women’s Organizations” is part of the Georgia Women’s History Initiative that began within the Georgia State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) in 1994. Funded by the Georgia legislature through the SHPO, Phase I of the Initiative included the preparation of a historic context report titled “Georgia: A Woman’s Place, A Historic Context,” the completion of five National Register of Historic Places nominations, identification of notable Georgia women, an assessment of Georgia’s historic preservation activities in terms of women’s history in Georgia, special studies relating to the kitchen, landscape, and archaeology in Georgia, and recommendations for the SHPO in terms of women-related historic resources and future phases of the initiative. Leslie Sharp, former National Register Coordinator for Georgia and research professor for the Center for Historic Preservation at Middle Tennessee State University, is the Georgia Women’s History Initiative manager.

The consulting team hired by the SHPO and led by Darlene Roth included Roth Associates and Ray and Associates. The team and the SHPO identified the Civil War-related historic commemorative objects, sites, and buildings sponsored by women’s organizations following the American Civil War (1861-1865) through the 1930s within the state as significant historic resources within Georgia and worthy of a multiple property nomination. Following the general guidelines for multiple property submission, this multiple property submission was developed because:

- A) It has importance in representing one or more historic contexts and related property types;
- B) Related properties exist or are likely to exist in sufficient numbers to warrant registration in the multiple property format; and
- C) It directly relates to the needs of Federal, State, or local preservation planning goals and priorities.

Although some of these historic resources related to the woman’s organization’s commemorative efforts have previously been listed in the National Register of Historic Places as part of other individual and district nominations, the parties decided that a more concerted effort was needed to identify, evaluate, document, and recognize these resources so that the post-Civil War landscape could be better understood and women’s roles in creating this landscape could be documented and recognized. The purpose of this Multiple Property Submission is to provide a comprehensive tool by which to evaluate and nominate all types of resources associated with the Civil War-related commemorative efforts of women’s organizations.

The methodology for completing this Multiple Property Submission was based on archival research at local and regional libraries, site visits to various objects, buildings, and sites, reviews of secondary literature and other multiple property documentation forms,

searches of the Georgia Historic Resources Survey files, the identified sites files at the SHPO, and already-listed National Register of Historic Places nominations on file at the Georgia SHPO. The list of actual resources is based on the Georgia National Register and identified sites files, the Georgia Historic Resource Survey files, first-hand knowledge of the team and SHPO staff, and site visits to various Georgia communities and cities. The bulk of material originated from the Smithsonian Institution Research Information System (SRIS) on the Internet. The Smithsonian American Art Museum Inventories of American Painting and Sculpture website, search word: Confederate Soldier, offered detailed listings of the 1994 survey, *SOS: Save Outdoor Sculpture*, Georgia. The listings included such pertinent information as size, inscription, artist, manufacturer, and dates. By organizing the survey to fit the evaluation matrix, a catalogue could be developed. Also online, Frankie Elliot Hodges has developed a website with pictures of the Confederate-related monuments and sites. This website was especially valuable in providing a visual image of and inscription information for Civil War-related resources all over the state.

Other collaborating information was found in Civil War site guide books. These books provided a county-by-county listing of site locations. It is notable that women were the driving force in erecting so many of these monuments. Attached is also a listing of some sites organized by veteran associations. Jim Miles' book, *Civil War Sites in Georgia*, written in 1996, is comprehensive in giving credit to the local divisions of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Ladies Memorial Association and local female activists for their contributions in providing the impetus for these memorials. This book also contributed to the survey.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy provides pamphlets on their sites that can be evaluated. Also, the Georgia Department of Industry, Trade & Tourism, together with the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, published a comprehensive guide titled *Crossroads of Conflict, A Guide for Touring Civil War Sites in Georgia*. These books were read with a screen for finding women's contributions to these areas. County histories were also screened for mention of monuments being erected to commemorate the Civil War.

Ced Dolder with Ray & Associates created a county-by-county listing that included location, date, type, symbolism, fabricator and sculptor. This listing does not contain all women-related Civil War resources, but is a typical cross listing. The survey did, however, identify patterns of evaluation, such as a time line of commemoration, the organization's responsible for the memorials, and what elements of the statue's physical characteristics could be found in common. This list provides guidance for potentially more eligible buildings and is included here as basis for future planning and survey work.

The historic resources associated with the women's organization sponsored Civil War commemorative objects, buildings, and sites are considered eligible if they were constructed or significantly altered during the period of significance (1865-1965), retain their historic integrity as a place designed to remember, memorialize, and/or honor events, activities, and people related to the American Civil War. These resources must have architectural, artistic, archaeological and/or historical significance relating to women's organizational efforts during the commemoration phase of the American Civil War, 1865-1965.

I. Major Bibliographic References

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Daughters of the Confederacy: Past and Present, Resaca Confederate Cemetery.
1993-96.

Winberry, John J. "Symbols in the Landscape: The Confederate Memorial," *Pioneer America Society Transactions*, Vol. 5, 1982: 9-15.

Women's History Initiative, Women's History Context Statement, State Historic Preservation Department, Georgia Department of Natural Resources.

Primary location of additional documentation:

- State historic preservation office**
- Other State agency**
- Federal agency**
- Local government**
- University**
- Other, Specify repository:**

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NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES REGISTRATION FORM

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations of eligibility for individual properties or districts. See instructions in "Guidelines for Completing National Register Forms" (National Register Bulletin 16). Complete each item by marking "X" in the appropriate box or by entering the requested information. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, styles, materials, and areas of significance, enter only the categories and subcategories listed in the instructions. For additional space use continuation sheets (Form 10-900a). Type all entries.

1. Name of Property

historic name League, Joseph and Mary Jane, House
other names/site number League House

2. Location

street & number 1849 Waverland Drive
city, town Macon () **vicinity of**
county Bibb **code** GA 021
state Georgia **code** GA **zip code** 31211-1120

() not for publication

3. Classification

Ownership of Property:

- private
- public-local
- public-state
- public-federal

Category of Property:

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Number of Resources within Property:

Contributing

Noncontributing

buildings	2	1
sites	0	0
structures	0	0
objects	0	0
total	2	1

Contributing resources previously listed in the National Register: 0

Name of previous listing: N/A

Name of related multiple property listing: N/A

4. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets the National Register criteria. () See continuation sheet.

Richard Cloues _____ 11-19-08
Signature of certifying official Date

for W. Ray Luce
Historic Preservation Division Director
Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer

In my opinion, the property () meets () does not meet the National Register criteria. () See continuation sheet.

Signature of commenting or other official Date

State or Federal agency or bureau

5. National Park Service Certification

I, hereby, certify that this property is:

- () entered in the National Register _____
 - () determined eligible for the National Register _____
 - () determined not eligible for the National Register _____
 - () removed from the National Register _____
 - () other, explain: _____
 - () see continuation sheet _____
- _____
Keeper of the National Register Date

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions:

DOMESTIC/single dwelling

Current Functions:

DOMESTIC/single dwelling

7. Description

Architectural Classification:

OTHER/Ranch-type house

OTHER/Contemporary style

Materials:

foundation concrete

walls wood

roof asphalt

other glass

Description of present and historic physical appearance:

Summary Description

The Joseph and Mary Jane League House is a Contemporary-style Ranch-type house built in 1950. It is located in the Shirley Hills neighborhood north of downtown Macon and on the east side of the Ocmulgee River. The house is one-story high with an H-shaped footprint and a low gabled roof. The front section of the house contains the main entry, the living room, an integral carport, and a narrow, partial-width, recessed front porch. Windows on the front façade are in high, narrow bands across the living room and kitchen walls. Four bedrooms are located in the rear section of the house; three are original, and the fourth was added in 1962. The bedrooms have a variety of windows; each bedroom also has an exterior door. The connector between the front and back sections of the house contains the dining area, the kitchen, a bathroom, and utility rooms. On the interior, the living room, dining area, and foyer are interconnected open spaces; the bedrooms are enclosed. The living room, foyer, and bedrooms also feature vaulted ceilings. One end of the living room is formed by a large brick fireplace. The living room and dining area feature floor-to-ceiling window walls opening onto a courtyard between the front and rear wings of the house. The house is constructed with a combination balloon and post-and-beam framing system, and the exterior is sheathed in redwood weatherboards with the exception of the carport which is partially enclosed by vertical wood slats. The house is situated on an approximately one-half acre suburban lot. Landscaping is based on a 1960 landscape plan prepared by the architect of the house: the front yard is an open, grassed space with several large trees; the rear yard is informally landscaped and incorporates several patios, planting beds, and paths along with two small utility sheds. The house is largely unchanged since its construction with the exception a bedroom added in 1962 and remodeling of the kitchen in 1974, both done according to designs by the house's original architect. The original homeowners, Joseph

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7--Description

and Mary Jane League, still own and live in the house.

Detailed Description

NOTE: The following description was taken from a draft National Register of Historic Places Registration Form provided by the property owner's consultant, Ray and Associates, dated October 2003, on file at the Historic Preservation Division, and edited by the Historic Preservation Division.

The Joseph and Mary Jane League House is located at 1849 Waverland Drive in the newer portion of the Shirley Hills neighborhood in Macon, Georgia, approximately two miles north of the downtown commercial center and on the east side of the Ocmulgee River and Interstate 16. Jean League Newton, AIA, (1919-2000), with the prominent Georgia architectural firm of Ellamae Ellis League, FAIA, (1899-1991), designed the house for her brother Joseph (Joe) and sister-in-law Mary Jane Proebstle League in 1950. She also designed the c.1958 back-yard workshop, the c.1960 landscape plan, the 1962 bedroom addition, and the 1974 remodeling of the kitchen. On the nominated property and associated with the house are a contributing c.1958 workshop and a non-contributing 1970s prefabricated shed with a gambrel roof.

The League House is a Contemporary-style, one-story, Ranch-type house with a concrete slab foundation, redwood siding, and an asphalt shingle roof. The house consists of a front porch, carport, rear patio, foyer, dining room, living room, kitchen, utility area, four bedrooms and three bathrooms. The original house had only three bedrooms and two bathrooms. Excepting the carport, the house contained 1,349 square feet. In 1962, when the Leagues were expecting a third child, Mary Jane and Joe League had the architect, Jean League Newton, Joe's sister, design a new master bedroom and bath, hall storage cabinets, heater closet, and another bathroom that complemented her original design. The original children's bathroom was demolished to make room for the addition. The addition continues the bedroom hallway north behind the carport.

When the Leagues first built the house, there was no landscaping or plan. To get the yard in shape required moving a large amount of dirt from the backyard to the front. Mary Jane and the two oldest children sprigged the whole front yard with Charleston grass to create a lawn. Around 1955, the Leagues paved the runners of the driveway, which had been all pine straw, with concrete.

About 1958-1959, Joe League built the wood workshop in the back yard from plans drawn by his sister. Joe was also responsible for installing the landscaping including stone walls, a patio, azaleas, ivy, and other flowering trees, shrubs, and plants. The undated planting plan was found with the house plans for the property; this plan, which dates from around 1960, was also drawn for the Leagues by Joe's sister Jean. Today the yard still reflects the original plan. Sometime in the 1970s, the Leagues added a non-historic, pre-fabricated storage shed to the rear of the property.

In 1974, the Leagues enlarged their kitchen by incorporating the original "outdoor room" and drying area adjacent to the carport and under the main roof of the house into the kitchen, creating a L-shaped kitchen. Plans were drawn by the house's original architect, Jean League Newton. Originally the kitchen had "Curtis units" for cabinets; they have been replaced with modern black cabinets. The

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7--Description

utility area, which is located between the kitchen and the bedroom hall, is still used as the laundry and utility area, but is now enclosed. The original washer was a Westinghouse front-loading machine; now the Leagues have a modern machine that is located in the original space designed for the washer. When the house was built, the Leagues had no clothes dryer and dried their clothes outside in the "drying area" under the main roof of the house between the original kitchen and the carport; they now have a dryer located in the utility area across from the washing machine. Also in the same utility area is the original utility closet that still contains the hot-water heater.

Exterior Description

The house is combination balloon-framed and post-and-beam construction with a concrete slab foundation, horizontal redwood siding, and a brown asphalt-shingle roof. The plan of the house is in the form of a sideways "H" with the front section forming one side of the H, the rear bedroom wing forming the other side of the H, and the kitchen and dining room in the connector. The main portions of the roof over the front and rear sections are side gabled and low pitched. The white-painted brick chimney, in the form of a rectangular slab, rises above the roof crest, just off center of the house, adjacent to the front entry. A one-car carport on the northern section of the front façade is integrated into the main body of the house under an uninterrupted roofline. The carport is open to the front and rear and has wood lattice with pronounced vertical slats enclosing the gabled north end. Adjacent to the house within the carport area is an original built-in and enclosed storage area. The carport floor is finished concrete and the ceiling has exposed rafters. (Photographs 1, 2, and 15.)

The front porch is integrated into the main roofline and extends across half the front of the house from the carport to the front door, ending at the large, centrally located chimney. Wood posts support the roof of the house along the front of the porch and the carport. The porch has a red brick floor, referred to in the original plans as "brick paving." In the exposed portion of the chimney at the end of the front porch is a small, wood door with brass hardware opening into a firewood storage box; this wood box connects to the living room where there is another door, adjacent to the fireplace, allowing access to the firewood. The front entrance contains an oversized wood door with brass hardware. To the left of the door is a light fixture; to the right is a single-pane sidelight. (Photographs 13, 14, and 15.)

The front wall is sheathed with redwood weatherboards. At the corners of the house, instead of cornerboards, the individual weatherboards are mitered. Windows are long, narrow, and relatively small, horizontally oriented, with single-pane hinged sash, arranged in a band high on the wall, just under the eaves of the roof. (Photographs 1, 2, and 12.)

The rear facade of the house (the back bedroom wing) differs from the front. Bedrooms have multiple single-pane and casement windows on the back wall, and the three original bedrooms have exterior doors with full-length windows. The added bedroom on the north end of the rear wing has a large sliding glass door opening onto the back yard. The back and side walls of the bedroom wing are sheathed in redwood weatherboards with mitered corners. (Photographs 3, 4, and 12.)

The front yard contains a large expanse of lawn with two large pine trees and a large magnolia on the

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7--Description

south side of the house. There are a variety of shrubs, ivy, and other plants along the front of the house. There is a circular planting bed to accentuate the light pole in the angle made by the driveway and the front porch and a curved planting bed in front of the living room wall. The driveway leading to the carport has two concrete tire strips laid down in 1960 when the owners first landscaped their yard. (Photographs 1 and 2.)

The south side of the house (the right side of the house as you approach it from the street) is the location of a courtyard formed by the H-shaped plan of the house. The south courtyard is the outdoor family living area and contains a stone terrace, decorative stone wall, and stepping stones that connect the patio, carport, rear of the house, and workshop. The terrace is located in the cutout of the H-plan formed by the glass window-walls of the living room and dining room and the more solid west wall of the bedroom wing. Also on the south side of the house, leading around to the back yard, is ivy and an arbor. The backyard has grass, ivy and a variety of trees creating a natural and casual landscape that still reflects Jean League Newton's original landscape plan. A stone wall at the rear of the house contains a circular planting area with trees and shrubs. (Photographs 5-11 and Photograph 3.)

On the north side of the house, behind the carport, is a smaller, narrower utility courtyard in the other cutout area of the H-shaped house plan. Part of the area is a covered walk from the back kitchen door to the carport. The covered walk has concrete floor and wood posts similar to the front porch. Toward the kitchen, the open courtyard area is informally landscaped with low shrubs and flowering plants. Immediately behind the carport, the courtyard is used as an outdoor work area. (Photograph 16.)

Two outbuildings are located at the rear of the property. One is a non-historic prefabricated storage/utility building with a gambrel roof. The other is a historic workshop designed by the architect, Jean League Newton, and built by the property owner, Joe League; it is located furthest away from the house. The workshop is a gable-front, wood building with five aluminum-framed jalousie windows on each side. The double-door entrance is on the gable front of the building, opening up to the yard. Both of the outbuildings are painted red.

Interior Description

The front entrance leads to a brick-paved foyer that opens into the dining room (straight ahead) and the living room (to the right). The foyer is defined by the large chimney on one side and the back of the kitchen wall on the other (Photograph 19). The dining "room" (along with part of the enlarged kitchen) is located in the connector section of the H-shaped house (Photographs 19, 20, and 26). Its south wall is a floor-to-ceiling window wall with a glassed door that opens onto the courtyard terrace. The ceiling is wood paneled. The floor is a continuation of the brick paving of the foyer. The dining room and foyer open onto the living room. The living room comprises the southern end of the front wing of the house. Its east wall, facing the courtyard, and a portion of the south wall, facing the side yard, are full-height window walls; the east wall has a double-glassed door with wood surround opening onto the terrace (Photograph 18). The front or west wall features five high, narrow, horizontal windows just under the ceiling; these windows are hinged and open outward from the

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7--Description

bottom (Photograph 20, background). The north "wall" of the living room is a partial wall formed by the massive chimney and fireplace (Photograph 17). The fireplace is raised above the floor level; it does not have a traditional hearth but rather a continuation of the brick foyer floor in front of the fireplace, and it does not have a traditional mantel but rather a simple metal shelf. The fireplace is flanked by the wooden door to the firewood box built into the chimney base. The living room floor is covered in carpet. The ceiling is vaulted and smoothly plastered.

The kitchen and utility areas are located to the north of the dining room and foyer (Photograph 25). A portion of the kitchen is in the connector between the two main sections of the house; the rest of the kitchen is in the front section of the house, behind the front porch. The kitchen is separated from the dining area and foyer by a wall with a solid wood door. The kitchen was modernized and enlarged in the 1970s. What was formerly called the outdoor room or drying area between the kitchen and carport was integrated into the kitchen at that time. This addition added approximately 24 square feet to the kitchen. The utility area contains a door that leads via a covered walkway to the carport. It also serves as the laundry room and connects the kitchen to the bedroom wing hall. The utility closet contains the hot water heater and mechanical systems.

The rear bedroom wing is parallel to the front wing and is connected to it by the kitchen/utility area and the dining room. It contains four rear-facing bedrooms linked by a lateral hallway with bathrooms at each end (Photographs 21-24). Except for the tile bathroom floors, all of the floors in the hall and bedroom wing are carpeted (the original plans called for asphalt tile to be laid in the hall, bedrooms, and dining area, with linoleum in the baths and kitchen). Originally the bedroom wing housed three bedrooms; a fourth was added to the north end, behind the carport, in 1962, following plans prepared by the house's original architect (Photograph 24). Ceilings in the bedrooms are vaulted and feature recessed lighting concealed in coves where the walls meet the ceilings. The walls and ceilings are smoothly plastered with the exception of the owners' original bathroom at the south end of the bedroom wing which has Tylite walls (a pre-fabricated, water-proof wall covering) and the added baths at the north end of the bedroom wing that have Vitra tile walls. All interior doors and surrounds are wood and are contemporary to the construction of the room in which they are located. The bedrooms feature original built-in storage units; additional storage units were added in the hallway during the 1962-1963 renovations.

A small yellow-and-blue, diamond-patterned, window on the south side of the house is not original to the house (Photograph 12). The current shelves on the south wall were added in 1962-1963 to replace what had once been a glass wall, and the small window was installed at that time.

Accessed through the owners' original bedroom at the south end of the bedroom wing, the owners' original bathroom has a tile floor and original wood cabinets and Tylite wall covering around the original bathtub. The hallway bathroom with original fixtures dates from 1962. The heater closet was added between the hall bathroom and owners' new bedroom. The owners' new bedroom and bath were added at the north end of the bedroom wing. Both the new bathrooms feature Vitra tile. The owners' new bedroom has a sliding-glass door on its eastern (rear) wall that differentiates it from the other bedrooms. The owners' bathroom is accessed through their new bedroom and contains its original tile floor, cabinetry, toilet, lavatory, and bathtub.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 7--Description

Neighborhood Description

The Shirley Hills neighborhood is made up of an older southern section developed during the 1920s and 1930s and a more modern northern section adjacent to the original portion developed from the late 1940s into the 1960s. The older section was listed as a historic district in the National Register of Historic Places on August 17, 1989. The Joseph and Mary Jane League House is in the newer section of Shirley Hills. Nearby is the Ellamae Ellis League House (1940-1941), individually listed in the National Register on February 15, 2005, home of the principal architect in the Macon design firm which carried her name, and mother of Jean League Newton, the architect of this house, and Joseph League, the owner. The neighborhood's terrain is rolling with lots of large pine, oak, and flowering trees. The yards are generally informally landscaped with grassy lawns, shrubs, and blooming annuals and perennials. The curvilinear streets are paved and have concrete curbing. Most of the houses in the newer section reflect traditional architectural forms and classical detailing. The Joseph and Mary Jane League House stands out for its low-slung, ranch-house character, redwood siding, and contemporary design. Two other houses in the neighborhood that have non-traditional designs and redwood siding were also designed by the firm of Ellamae Ellis League; one is Ellemae Ellis League's self-designed home, an unconventional redwood-sided split level-type house, and the other is a one-story ranch house at 1170 Oakcliff Road which League designed for Moe Scharfman in 1958. Several other examples of contemporary ranch houses designed by different Macon architects along with more traditional red-brick ranch houses are located in the neighborhood, including a large red-brick ranch house just north of Joseph and Mary Jane League's house built at exactly the same time.

8. Statement of Significance

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

nationally statewide locally

Applicable National Register Criteria:

A B C D

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): N/A

A B C D E F G

Areas of Significance (enter categories from instructions):

Architecture

OTHER: Women's History in Georgia

Period of Significance:

1950-1962

Significant Dates:

1950--construction of house

1958--construction of workshop

1960--landscape plan

1962—bedroom addition to house

Significant Person(s):

League, Ellamae Ellis (in the area of "women's history in Georgia")

Newton, Jean League (in the area of "women's history in Georgia")

Cultural Affiliation:

N/A

Architect(s)/Builder(s):

Newton, Jean League (architect of this house)

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

Statement of significance (areas of significance)

The Joseph and Mary Jane League House is significant in architecture as an early and exceptional example of a Contemporary-style Ranch-type house in Georgia. Its low form, H-shaped footprint, zoned interior, open-space plan, building materials, and integration of indoor spaces with outdoor landscaping all reflect up-to-date ranch-house design nationally and, along with a small group of similar houses in Atlanta, set precedents for mid-20th-century ranch-house design in Georgia. Ranch houses first appeared in Georgia just prior to World War II, but Contemporary-style ranch houses did not appear until the 1950s. This house, built in 1950, was seen as setting a precedent in Macon and Georgia at the time and was featured in a national architectural publication in 1953. The house is also significant in women's history for its associations with two women architects who by force of example helped open up career opportunities in the field of architecture for women in the middle of the 20th century. Jean League Newton, the architect of this house, was among the earliest professionally trained women architects in Georgia, representing the second-generation of female designers in the state. Her mother, Ellamae Ellis League, was a pioneering woman architect in Georgia who had her office in Macon. She belonged to the very small first generation of female architects in Georgia who made their careers through combinations of formal training, on-the-job experience, and avocational interest; among a very small group of women architects, she was distinguished by owning and managing a relatively large architectural firm, where she personally approved and signed all plans. Her daughter, Jean League Newton, received formal architectural education at the Cambridge School and Harvard University in the mid-1940s, studying under Walter Gropius and other Modernists, and then returned to Macon to work in her mother's office. She was largely responsible for expanding the corporate portfolio to include Modern architecture in the late 1940s including the firm's 1948 International-style office building. In 1950 she designed this first Contemporary-style ranch house for her brother and his wife who wanted a practical, economical, unpretentious, but up-to-date home for their new family. In 1962 and 1974 she designed the additions and alterations to the house, and in 1960 she drew the landscape plan for the yard. Both Ellamae Ellis League and Jean League Newton belonged to professional associations and community organizations where they were able to promote the practice of architecture as a professional career for women in Georgia.

NOTE: The following statements of significance are taken from a draft National Register of Historic Places Registration Form provided by the property owner's consultant, Ray and Associates, dated October 2003, on file at the Historic Preservation Division. They have been edited and augmented by the Historic Preservation Division for this nomination.

Architecture

The Joseph and Mary Jane League House is significant in architecture as an early and exceptional example of a Contemporary-style Ranch-type house in Georgia.

The League House incorporates virtually all the character-defining features of the post-World War II Ranch-type house, in Georgia and nationally. Its overall form is characteristically long and low, close to the ground, with a clear horizontal emphasis. Stylistically, its understated Contemporary-style

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

design expresses the inherently unpretentious character of the "new" ranch house. Its H-shaped or courtyard plan-form provides the framework for the innovative ranch-house "zoning" of interior spaces and creates two semi-private courtyards, one for family activities and socializing, the other as an outdoor work and utility space. The interior is zoned into easily accessible family activity areas (the living, dining, and kitchen "rooms") and more secluded private individual spaces (bedrooms). Open-space planning, another hallmark of the mid-century ranch house, is used in the family activity areas to combine the foyer, living, and dining "rooms" into a single larger space yet with clear definition of specific activity areas through changes in ceiling treatment (vaulted vs. flat, plastered vs. paneled), changes in flooring materials (brick vs. wood), and the use of the massive chimney as a partial wall defining the foyer and the living room. On the exterior, the use of redwood weatherboard, a non-traditional material, imparts a sense of West Coast rusticity to the house, and in the porches and carports the unconcealed wood post-and-beam construction relates it to the revival of the traditional California ranch house in the mid-1930s. Windows are varied in size and shape, reflecting the different uses of the interior spaces and their relationship to the yard rather than an arbitrary formality of design. The integration of inside and outside to create a virtually seamless living space, yet another hallmark of the ranch house, is achieved through the use of window walls and glassed doors in the living and dining "rooms" opening onto the adjacent semi-private courtyard, and larger windows and glassed doors in the bedrooms opening onto the private rear yard. The integral carport, another signature ranch-house feature, reflects the increasing importance of the automobile to post-World War II family life: the car has been brought up from the traditional freestanding backyard garage or "auto house," incorporated into the body of the house, and put on display for all to see. When it was built in 1950, the house was recognized locally as a new and different type of house with a new and different style of architecture; in 1953 it received national attention when featured in a professional architectural journal, *Progressive Architecture* (vol. 34, no. 7, July 1953, pp. 102-104), which praised its overall design, architectural style, interior arrangement, and use of materials.

Built in 1950, the League House is an early architect-designed ranch house in Georgia and among the earliest Contemporary-style ranch houses in the state. Indeed, it can be said that the League House along with a few contemporaries in Atlanta introduced the Contemporary-style ranch house to Georgia and set a design precedent that was to be followed throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s.

The ranch house in Georgia dates at least to the mid-1930s with the construction of a house in Fort Valley by a family that had recently visited California. Their new house was a long, low house with a simple Spanish Colonial exterior design, stuccoed walls, an unconventional floor plan, and an angled back porch which created a small courtyard clearly inspired by but on a much smaller scale than Cliff May's precedent-setting designs for his mid-1930s country-estate ranch houses in California. This proved to be an enigmatic design for a house in mid-Depression Georgia, however. The next documented appearance of the ranch house in Georgia is in 1941 with the construction of two houses in Atlanta. The one, on Lenox Road, was a somewhat rustic-looking red-brick ranch house with an overall L-shape defining a half courtyard to the rear. It was designed by David Cuttino, a Clemson University graduate and Atlanta architect. The other, in nearby Lenox Park, was a low, rambling, buff-colored brick ranch house with integral screened porches. A large and largely undocumented gray brick bungalow ranch house was built in then-rural DeKalb County at about this

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

same time. Ranch houses begin to appear in numbers in Georgia following World War II. Numerous individual houses, ranging from small, compact ranches to large, sprawling estate houses, and early small subdivisions of ranch houses were built between 1945 and 1947. In 1947, the first of the "red-brick" ranch houses that were to become the "signature" ranch house in Georgia appeared in a small subdivision in Decatur, and by 1949 the term "ranch house" was being used in the Sunday real estate section of the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, laying the groundwork for the unprecedented numbers of ranch houses built all across the state in the 1950s. Most of these early post-war ranch houses did not reflect any particular architectural style but rather conformed to the distinctive plan-form and interior arrangement of the new Ranch type of house: long and low, with zoned interior plans and open-space layouts, and with some degree of integration between the interior of the house and its yard through large windows, window walls, glassed doors, screened porches, and patios and terraces, and usually with the new, integral carport. Brick-veneer construction predominated.

A small number of these post-war 1940s ranch houses in Georgia show evidence of the Modern or International style. They featured precise geometric forms, absence of historical or other details, simple modern construction materials including steel- and aluminum-framed windows, and sometimes unconventional roof forms including at least one instance of a butterfly roof (inverted gable) and a flat roof. Their plan-forms and interior layouts appear to conform to the norms of ranch house design at the time. Two, built between 1947 and 1948, are in Macon, in the Shirley Hills neighborhood not far from where the League House is located. Although not directly related to the League House or other early Contemporary-style ranch houses in any known way, they reveal a progressive aspect of post-war design, especially in Macon architectural circles.

An even smaller number of post-war 1940s ranch houses in Georgia reflect the influence of the Contemporary style of architecture as it was being developed at the time in California and on the West Coast by ranch-house architects and designers such as Cliff May, Pietro Belluschi, and Paul Williams and promoted by merchant-builders such as David Bohannon of San Francisco (with designs from the architect Edwin A. Wadsworth) and Joseph Eichler in San Francisco and Los Angeles (who relied on the services of several architects including Stephen Allen, Robert Anshen, A. Quincy Jones, and Frederick Emmons). The Contemporary style as developed by these and other architects was essentially a new "look" to the emerging California ranch house, its overall design still based on ranch-house fundamentals of form and layout, and using for the most part traditional building materials including wood, brick, stone, and stucco (as opposed to the more industrial materials like steel and aluminum and reinforced concrete preferred by the Modern architects for their International-style buildings) (although often in technologically innovative ways) but with a new, deliberate, more stylized, more abstracted appearance, stripped of all picturesqueness, rusticity, and historicism that characterized the earlier ranch houses. In Georgia, the few known 1940s examples of the Contemporary style are tentative at best – for example, a 1948 house in Douglas built of red brick with decorative glass block details under a broad, low gable roof. Indeed, it can be said that at this time there are no known examples of "true" or fully developed Contemporary-style ranch houses in Georgia dating before 1950.

In 1950, the Contemporary-style ranch house appeared on the scene in Georgia with considerable fanfare if not in considerable numbers, in two cities, by two different architects, at the same time. In

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

Atlanta, James "Bill" Finch, a Georgia Institute of Technology ("Georgia Tech")-trained architect, designed several versions of Contemporary-style houses (including a transverse linear version, an L-shaped version, and an H-shaped version similar to the League House) for a small subdivision off Northside Drive and Collier Road in Atlanta, and in Macon, Jean League Newton designed the subject of this National Register nomination for her brother and sister-in-law. While it cannot be said with any certainty which of these 1950s Contemporary designs was the "first" (because of vagaries in terms of dating plans, construction starts, the completion of houses, etc.), it is clear that both architects were responsible for introducing coherently designed Contemporary-style ranch houses to Georgia, and both received local, state, and national notice for their innovative designs. They set precedents for the design of Contemporary-style ranch houses in the state which were unrivaled until the appearance of the first similarly styled but somewhat different appearing "Eichler"-style houses during the mid-1950s with their broad, low, forward-facing gable roofs and exposed structural elements. Also in the mid-1950s, with the lifting of Federal Housing Administration biases against "modern" and "contemporary" style houses, the new Contemporary-style ranch houses began appearing in large numbers and great variety all across the state, from individual almost idiosyncratic combinations of California hacienda roof forms to an entire planned suburban community featuring modest Contemporary ranch houses. By 1960, a somewhat "watered-down" version of the Contemporary style became one of the three prevalent forms of ranch houses, along with the plain red-brick ranch house first introduced in the late 1940s and the ever-popular Colonial Revival interpretation.

Methodological Note: The architectural significance of the Joseph and Mary Jane League House has been determined within the framework of a draft statewide historic context on ranch houses in Georgia which has been developed by the Historic Preservation Division (HPD) over the past three years. This context is based on reviews of key primary source documents such as books by Cliff May and Paul Williams and secondary-source literature (cited in the "Major Bibliographical references" section of this form), the results of reconnaissance-type windshield surveys of ranch houses in more than a dozen Georgia communities and several rural areas, original documentary research by HPD staff, a recent thesis on the ranch house in Georgia by a University of Georgia historic preservation student, several draft National Register nomination forms for proposed ranch-house nominations, numerous Section 106 survey reports and mitigation research papers, and a 2001 Georgia State University heritage education program report on mid-20th-century houses in Atlanta, supplemented by a historic preservation consultant, Ray and Associates. During the past year, this work has been vetted and expanded by an interagency Ranch House Assessment Team comprised of HPD staff, Georgia Department of Transportation historic resources staff, environmental staff at the Georgia Transmission Corporation (a federally regulated electrical utility), and private consultants under contract with both of the latter agencies. In its current form, the draft historic context consists of a suite of PowerPoint presentations on such topics as: the definition of the ranch house and its character-defining features; regional or otherwise distinctive characteristics of ranch houses in Georgia; a chronology of ranch houses in Georgia emphasizing first occurrences, trends, and patterns; the geography of the ranch house in Georgia, including planned suburban communities, subdivisions, infill in established communities, rural clusters, and isolated occurrences); initial documentation on ranch-house architects and designers, builders and contractors, and plan-book publishers; and the distinctly Southern phenomenon of ranch houses associated with African-

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

American suburbs and rural communities.

Women's History

The Joseph and Mary Jane League House is significant in the area of woman's history in Georgia due to its direct association with Jean League Newton, the architect of the house, one of the few second-generation professionally trained female architects in Georgia who by example helped open up new professional career opportunities for women in Georgia at the middle of the 20th century. The house also is associated with another female architect, Ellamae Ellis League, the mother of Jean League Newton and the owner of the Macon, Georgia, architectural firm of League, Warren & Riley where Jean League Newton worked when she designed this house. As owner and senior architect, League exercised signature authority for each and every set of plans prepared in her office. She belonged to the very small first generation of female architects in Georgia who made their careers through combinations of formal training, on-the-job experience, and avocational interest. By force of example she too helped make it possible for women to choose a professional career in architecture in Georgia in the 20th century.

The League House exemplifies the changing roles of women during the first half of the 20th century. Like many the other professions, architecture has been dominated by men. In Georgia, until the second half of the 20th century, very few women were trained or educated and licensed architects. The League House is a landmark in the history of women and women's professional careers in architecture in Georgia because of its association with two women representing the first two generations of woman architects in Georgia and because of its exceptional design and the national notice it received. The house, its additions, and yard were designed by Jean League Newton, AIA, a formally educated architect who had received the very best modernist training during the mid-1940s at Harvard University under the tutelage of the internationally known architect Walter Gropius and who then brought her knowledge of modern architecture back to Macon, Georgia, to her mother's architectural firm. Her mother, Ellamae Ellis League, FAIA, owner and senior architect of the architectural firm of League, Warren & Riley, received some formal training but mostly on-the-job experience before she was able to become licensed and establish her own successful architectural practice.

To understand the important demonstrative role played by the two architects associated with this house in making architecture a viable career for women by the middle of the 20th century in Georgia, it is necessary to review the history of women in architecture in the state, starting with the very small first generation of women to practice architecture in Georgia, one of whom was Ellamae Ellis League, Jean League Newton's mother.

The first woman known to have practiced architecture in Georgia was Henrietta Cuttino Dozier (1872-1947). Unlike most of her contemporaries (of which there were very few), she was formally trained in architecture at the Pratt Institute and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. In 1901 she apprenticed in the Atlanta office of W. T. Downing, and in 1905 she was accepted as a member of the American Institute of Architects (AIA), the third woman to be accepted and the first from the South. In 1906 she helped found the Atlanta Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. In 1916

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

she moved to Jacksonville, Florida, where she established her own practice.

The second female architect in Georgia was Leila Ross Wilburn (1885-1967). Wilburn's career was more typical of early women in architecture: after graduating from college (Agnes Scott College in Decatur, Georgia), she took private lessons in drafting, went on a cross-country tour photographing buildings, and then joined the Atlanta architectural firm of Benjamin R. Padgett and Son as a trainee. In 1909 she left the firm to set up her own architectural practice specializing in the design of houses and apartment buildings. To broaden her clientele, she also produced a number of plan books aimed at new home buyers and builders alike.

A third early female architect in Georgia was Ellamae Ellis League (1899-1991), Jean League Newton's mother. Her career represents a combination of avocational interest, formal education, and on-the-job training. Six generations of her family had been architects including her uncle, Charles E. Choate in Atlanta. With that family legacy, but with no training or experience, in 1922 she persuaded the Macon, Georgia, firm of Dunwody & Oliphant to hire her, first as a secretary, then as an apprentice. She also took correspondence courses from the Beaux Arts Institute of Design in New York City. Inspired by this experience with the French method of architectural training, League and her Atlanta cousin Nell Choate went to France in 1927 and studied design for an academic year at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Fontainebleau. After returning from France, League worked for two years for another Macon, Georgia, architect, George W. Shelverton. Shortly after her arrival, William F. Oliphant joined the firm as a partner. With the onset of the Great Depression, the Shelverton-Oliphant firm broke up, and League went to work with Oliphant. They were soon joined by Delmar Warren, who had just completed the architecture course at the Georgia Institute of Technology. Oliphant died in 1933, leaving the two younger architects in a predicament: neither was a registered architect. Both could finish commissions already begun by the office but neither could accept new non-residential jobs without state registration. Registration required a degree in architecture or ten years experience in the office of a practicing architect and successful completion of an extensive state examination. League took the initiative, passing the examination and receiving her registration in 1934, and then she opened a practice in her own name in Macon. She continued to complete unfinished works started by William Oliphant while taking on new commissions. In contrast to most women architects in one-woman offices who specialized in residential architecture (such as Leila Ross Wilburn in Atlanta), League took on a variety of jobs including houses but also Public Works Administration commissions, churches, schools, and hospitals, office buildings, public housing, parking garages, and even a residential bomb shelter. In the mid-1940s, her firm expanded to become League, Warren & Riley. Through the 1950s, there were only a handful of architectural firms in Macon and most were small operations with two or three people. League's practice was the exception. She hired many young architects and gave them a start in the profession--including her own daughter, Jean League Newton, in the mid-1940s. But throughout her career, League remained the sole owner of her business, and she signed all the architectural plans prepared in her office--a practice which now makes design attributions difficult. League closed her practice in 1975 at age 76, and at that time she was awarded the American Institute of Architects Bronze Medal.

Jean League Newton (1919-2000), the architect of the Joseph and Mary Jane League House and the daughter of the Macon architect Ellamae Ellis League, literally and figuratively represents the second

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

generation of women architects in Georgia—still a small group, but the first generation of women who as a group were professionally prepared for careers in architecture. She was born in Macon, Georgia, in 1919. Her childhood and education differed greatly from that of her mother: she grew up in an architecturally literate household with her mother as a strong role model and an equally strong believer in formal education. During her last year of high school, she attended the college-preparatory Choate School in Wallingford, Connecticut. She then attended Radcliffe College, a private women's college in Cambridge, Massachusetts. While at Radcliffe, she took architectural courses through the Cambridge School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture, another private women's school, which allowed cross-registration between the two schools (at that time, the Cambridge School was administratively affiliated with Smith College, a private women's college in Northampton, Massachusetts, although the School's campus remained in Cambridge for a number of years). After graduating from Radcliffe College, she enrolled as a full-time student at the Cambridge School in 1941, just before it was closed during World War II. With several other women students, she then entered the program in architecture at nearby Harvard University, which for the first time was allowing women to matriculate, primarily because of the World War II shortfall in male enrollment, and which also incorporated the Cambridge School's dual emphasis on architecture and landscape architecture in its curriculum. While at Harvard, she studied with the former head of the Bauhaus School, Walter Gropius, who had recently immigrated to the United States. The Bauhaus School (1919-1933) had been a progressive German school of arts and architecture that gained international attention for its philosophy of modernity, abstraction, geometry, and austerity of design. Due to the political and social conditions in Germany and the rise of the National Socialist Party, Gropius left that country after the Bauhaus was closed and came to the United States where he became Chairman of the Department of Architecture at the Harvard Graduate School of Design. He and others from the Bauhaus School, including furniture designer and fellow professor Marcel Breuer, trained many students at Harvard, including Jean League Newton. Her fellow students included Phillip Johnson and I. M. Pei, who later became internationally famous architects. While she was at Harvard, her mother visited her, met some of the world's most prominent architects, and was exposed to the modernist ideas of architecture that differed greatly from those of the *Beaux Arts* tradition in which she had been trained.

After graduating from Harvard in 1945, Jean League Newton returned to Macon and began practicing architecture in her mother's (Ellamae Ellis League's) office. Her immediate impact on the office was in expanding the corporate portfolio to include more and better Modern designs, such as the firm's new 1948 International-style office building. Two years later, in 1950, she designed the equally precedent-setting Contemporary-style Ranch-type house (the subject of this nomination) for her brother and sister-in-law who wanted a practical, economical, unpretentious, but up-to-date home for their new family. Through just these two early commissions alone, Jean League Newton demonstrated by deed as well as word the influence that a formally trained young woman architect could have on a firm's practice and a city's architecture at mid-century. She likewise demonstrated that women had a future in the post-World War II field of architecture, helping to further open up a new professional career for women. She also became a member of the American Institute of Architects and, like her mother, was active in professional associations, holding several offices, including president of the Middle Georgia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects during the 1970s. Demonstrating other career opportunities, she became involved in early historic preservation

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

activities in Macon and served as head of the local historic preservation review board. She retired from practice in 1990 and died on October 16, 2000, at the age of 81 in Tulsa, Oklahoma. She is buried in Macon, Georgia.

To summarize the career accomplishments of Ellamae Ellis League and Jean League Newton, along with other early women architects in Georgia, in terms of women's history in Georgia: because so very few women practiced architecture in Georgia during the first half of the 20th century, by establishing successful professional practices, these individuals were responsible for opening up an entirely new professional career for women in the state--career opportunities which are largely taken for granted today but which almost did not exist as recently as a half-century ago. The percentage of registered architects who were women in Georgia ranged from one percent to three percent between 1920 and 1978. Women like Ellamae Ellis League who were principals in their own firms were practically non-existent. In 1920, of the 118 architects registered in Georgia, only two were women: Leila Ross Wilburn and Katherine C. Budd (from New York). In the 1930s, just two more women were registered, including Ellamae Ellis League, Jean League Newton's mother. Five women architects were registered in Georgia in the 1950s, with two more in the 1960s. Not until the 1970s did the number of register women architects in Georgia begin to increase significantly, to a total of 34. Membership records for the Atlanta Chapter of the American Institute of Architects show a similar pattern of twenty-two women members between 1906 (Henrietta C. Dozier) and 1978; from 1916, when Henrietta Dozier moved to Florida, to 1941, there were no women members of the Atlanta Chapter. Four women joined in the 1940s, including Ellamae Ellis League in 1944, two in the 1950s, four in the 1960s and eleven in the 1970s. Taken together, Atlanta Chapter memberships and Georgia professional registrations yield the names of forty-one women architects who practiced in Georgia between 1905 and 1978.

Methodological Note: The historical significance of Jean League Newton and Ellamae Ellis League in the area of women's history in Georgia has been determined within the framework of a recently drafted statewide historic context on women's history in Georgia. This context was prepared by a consortium of consultants over several years under contract with the Historic Preservation Division. It is based on extensive reviews of secondary sources of information as well as directed original research into several topics of interest including professional career opportunities for women over the years in the state. In addition to careers in fields such as education and health care, the context identified women's contributions to the field of architecture as an important part of women's history in Georgia with a special interest for historic preservationists, and a number of proposed National Register nominations including this one, representing the various aspects of this aspect of women's history in Georgia, have been drafted, ranging from the work of professional architects to the influence of "the woman of the house" on the design, construction, furnishing, and decorating as well as the functioning of historic houses. Expanded interpretive programming for public historic sites also has been recommended along with methods to obtain information about women associated with historic houses and other buildings.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

National Register Criteria

The Joseph and Mary Jane League House meets National Register Criterion C in the area of architecture as a precedent-setting and exemplary example of the Contemporary-style Ranch-type house in Georgia and as the work of an accomplished Georgia architect, Jean League Newton. The house meets National Register Criteria A and B in the area of women's history in Georgia for its direct associations with the professional activities of two women, Ellamae Ellis League and Jean League Newton (mother and daughter), who by force of example in Georgia helped open up career opportunities in the field of architecture for women in the middle of the 20th century, a field traditionally reserved for men. "Women in Architecture" has been identified as a major aspect of women's history in Georgia in the state historic preservation office's draft statewide historic context on women's history.

Criteria Considerations (if applicable)

Not applicable. Criteria Consideration "G" does not apply, even though the period of significance extends from 1950 to 1962, because the primary resource on the property—the house—was built in 1950. The period of significance was extended to include landscaping that was done in 1960 and a fourth bedroom that was added to the three-bedroom original rear wing of the house in 1962. The original architect of the house designed the 1960 landscape plan and the 1962 bedroom addition.

Period of significance (justification)

The period of significance for the Joseph and Mary Jane League House begins in 1950 with the construction of the main house and ends in 1962 when the house was expanded by adding a fourth bedroom to the original three-bedroom rear wing of the house; the addition was designed by the architect of the main house, Jean League Newton.

Contributing/Noncontributing Resources (explanation, if necessary)

The main contributing building is the Joseph and Mary Jane League House constructed in 1950. A contributing auxiliary building is the 1958 workshop built in the backyard by the owner, Joseph League, according to plans drawn by the architect of the house, Jean League Newton. The landscaping forms a contributing setting for the historic house and was designed by the architect, Jean League Newton, in 1960; however, at the present time there is no historic landscape context for mid-20th-century landscapes within which to evaluate the significance of the landscape itself. The non-contributing structure is a prefabricated backyard shed added to the property after the period of significance.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

Developmental history

NOTE: The following historical narrative was taken from a draft National Register of Historic Places Registration Form provided by the property owner's consultant, Ray and Associates, dated October 2003, on file at the Historic Preservation Division, and edited by the Historic Preservation Division.

Joseph C. "Joe" League (b. 1921) was raised in Macon, Georgia, by his mother, prominent Georgia architect Ellamae Ellis League (1899-1991). His older sister and the future architect of his house, Jean League (b. 1919) (after marriage, Jean League Newton), was raised in the same house. Mary Jane Proebstle (b. 1923) was raised in Atlantic City, New Jersey, by her parents Marie Woelkenberg Proebstle and Conrad C. Proebstle. Joe League and Mary Proebstle met when Joe was in the Army Air Corps during World War II. Soon after meeting, they married in Waco, Texas, in 1943, while Joe was in flight training at Kelly Field. Joe then worked in the area of aeronautical research and development. After Joe was discharged from military service, he and Mary returned to Macon, Georgia, to live. Initially, Joe ran an aviation business; he later became an insurance agent. The Leagues had two children, Joseph Choate League, Jr. (b. 1944, architect) and Cheryl (Cherry) Jean League Dennis (b. 1945), when they decided to build a house in the Shirley Hills neighborhood of Macon, down the street from Joe's mother's house which she had designed and built for herself in 1940. In 1962, the Leagues would have their third child, Meredith Ann League Pretzie.

At the time the house was designed and built, Mary Jane and the two children were in New Jersey staying with her family. The architect of the house was Joe's sister, Jean League Newton, who worked in her mother's architectural office in Macon. She designed the house with Joe's input since Mary Jane was away. As the principal of the firm and a registered architect, Joe and Jean's mother, Ellamae Ellis League, signed the original plans. In the spirit of the ranch house, Jean designed a practical, economical, unpretentious, but up-to-date home for their new family, meeting Joe's and Mary's expectations.

The house was designed as a starter home for a young family with budget constraints. Little did any of the Leagues know the house would be theirs for over fifty years. A minor addition to the bedroom wing (1962) and interior alterations to the kitchen (1974) are typical of those made to an early ranch house designed to meet the changing needs of one family over time but atypical in that they were designed by the original architect of the house to retain the character and integrity of the house. Consistent with prevailing suburban lifestyles at the time, it was foreseen that the housewife would be the person occupying the house for most of the day, doing the "domestic engineering" of cooking and cleaning and tending to the children and their school and extracurricular activities (as a sidenote, revealing a generational difference, Mary Jane's mother-in-law, Ellamae Ellis League, owner of the architectural firm where the architect of the house, Jean League Newton, worked, thought it was remarkable that her daughter-in-law "scrubbed her own floors"). The design of the house was intended to support these domestic activities and responsibilities in the layout of the combination kitchen-utility area centrally located within the house, communicating with both the family living areas (dining and living "rooms") and the childrens' bedrooms, and in the open-space arrangement of the

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 8--Statement of Significance

family's living areas.

When the League's built their house, there was no landscaping and no landscape plan. In fact, to make the yard more presentable when it was photographed for the 1953 article in *Progressive Architecture*, Joe League and the photographer raked the mostly dirt yard to make it look (in a black-and-white photograph) like a lawn, and they "transplanted" branches from the woods at the rear of the house to give the illusion of shrubbery. Getting the yard into shape for landscaping required moving lots of dirt (by hand, with a wheelbarrow) from the backyard to the front, and Mary Jane and the two children sprigged the whole front yard with Charleston grass to create a lawn. A tornado hit Macon in the mid-1950s and did some minor damage to the house and trees. Mary Jane believes that the type of hinged (awning) windows in the front of the house saved the house; when the tornado came through, the windows popped open and there was minimal damage to the house. After the tornado, the Leagues paved the driveway runners with concrete. Around 1958-1959, Joe League built the wood workshop in the back yard following plans drawn by his architect-sister, Jean League Newton. In 1960, Jean prepared a landscape plan for the property, and in the best suburban "do-it-yourself" manner Joe League and family implemented it. Much of the yard's landscape character today is due to this.

In 1962, with Joe and Mary Jane expecting a third child, Joe's architect-sister Jean League Newton designed an addition for their house to make room for the new baby, Meredith. The addition extended the rear three-bedroom wing with a new master bedroom suite to the north, behind the carport courtyard, following the lines of the original rear wing, and included minor alterations to an original bathroom, the hallway, and storage closets.

Sometime in the 1970s, the Leagues added a non-historic, pre-fabricated, outdoor storage shed at the rear of the property.

In the mid-1970s (the plan by Jean League Newton is dated 1974, the Leagues enlarged their kitchen by incorporating the outdoor room and drying area into the kitchen. The utility area, which is between the kitchen and the bedroom hall, is still used as the laundry and utility area. Their modern washing machine is located in the original space designed for the washer, and their a dryer is located in the utility area across from the washing machine. Also in the utility area is the closet that contains the hot water heater. The kitchen was updated again in the 1980s and now has black appliances, new cabinets, and a white-and-black, linoleum tile floor.

In 2003 a draft National Register nomination form for the house was prepared by a consultant, Ray & Associates, as part of the development of a statewide historic context on women's history in Georgia. In 2007 the draft nomination was supplemented with new contextual information about ranch houses in Georgia being compiled by the Historic Preservation Division.

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National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Section 9—Major Bibliographic References

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League, Joseph, Sr. Telephone interview with Bamby Ray. February 12, 2002, Atlanta, Ga.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS): (X) N/A

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been issued
date issued:
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Primary location of additional data:

- State historic preservation office
- Other State Agency
- Federal agency
- Local government
- University
- Other, Specify Repository: Washington Street Library, Macon, Georgia

Georgia Historic Resources Survey Number (if assigned): N/A

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property

Approximately one-half acre.

UTM References

Zone 17 Easting 253731 Northing 3640111

Verbal Boundary Description

The boundary of the Mary Jane and Joseph League House consists of the suburban lot at 1849 Waverland Drive, owned by Joseph and Mary Jane League, historically and currently associated with the League House, as indicated by a heavy black line drawn to scale on the attached tax map. The lot also is identified as "Lot 15 Shirley Hill Addition Division I." The front (west) boundary of the nominated property extends to the curb along the east side of Waverland Drive to include the entire front yard associated with the house.

Boundary-Justification

The boundary of this nomination represents the current and historic legal boundaries associated with the Joseph and Mary Jane League House at 1849 Waverland Drive, Macon, Georgia, and includes the entire front yard landscaped following a 1960 plan.

11. Form Prepared By

State Historic Preservation Office

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- () **property owner**
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- () **property owner**
(X) **consultant:** Georgia Women's History Initiative
() **regional development center preservation planner**
() **other:**

Property Owner or Contact Information

name (property owner or contact person) Joseph and Mary Jane League
organization (if applicable) N/A
mailing address 1849 Waverland Drive
city or town Macon **state** Georgia **zip code** 31211
e-mail (optional)

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Photographs

Name of Property: Joseph and Mary Jane League House
City or Vicinity: Macon
County: Bibb
State: Georgia
Photographer: James R. Lockhart
Negative Filed: Georgia Department of Natural Resources
Date Photographed: July 19, 2007

Description of Photograph(s):

Number of photographs: 26

1. Front façade; photographer facing east-northeast.
2. Front façade; photographer facing east-southeast.
3. Rear façade; photographer facing west-southwest.
4. Rear wall (bedroom wing); photographer facing northwest.
5. South courtyard, from rear; photographer facing west.
6. South courtyard; photographer facing north-northwest.
7. South courtyard; photographer facing northeast.
8. South courtyard; photographer facing northeast.
9. South courtyard; photographer facing northeast.
10. South courtyard, detail of living-room window-wall; photographer facing southwest.
11. South courtyard, detail of living-room window-wall; photographer facing north-northwest.
12. North wall, rear-bedroom wing; photographer facing east.
13. Front entrance showing front door and chimney stack; photographer facing southeast.
14. Front porch between carport and front door; photographer facing southeast.
15. Carport and front porch; photographer facing southeast.

National Register of Historic Places **Continuation Sheet**

Photographs

16. North courtyard and carport; photographer facing south.
17. Living room; photographer facing north-northwest.
18. Living room with courtyard window-wall; photographer facing southeast.
19. Front entry vestibule from dining area; photographer facing west-southwest.
20. Dining area (foreground), living room (background), and courtyard window-walls; photographer facing southwest.
21. Bedroom No. 1; photographer facing northeast.
22. Bedroom No. 1; photographer facing south-southeast.
23. Bedroom No. 2; photographer facing east.
24. Bedroom No. 4 (added in 1962); photographer facing northeast.
25. Kitchen; photographer facing west.
26. Dining area (right), living room (left), and south courtyard; photographer facing south-southeast.

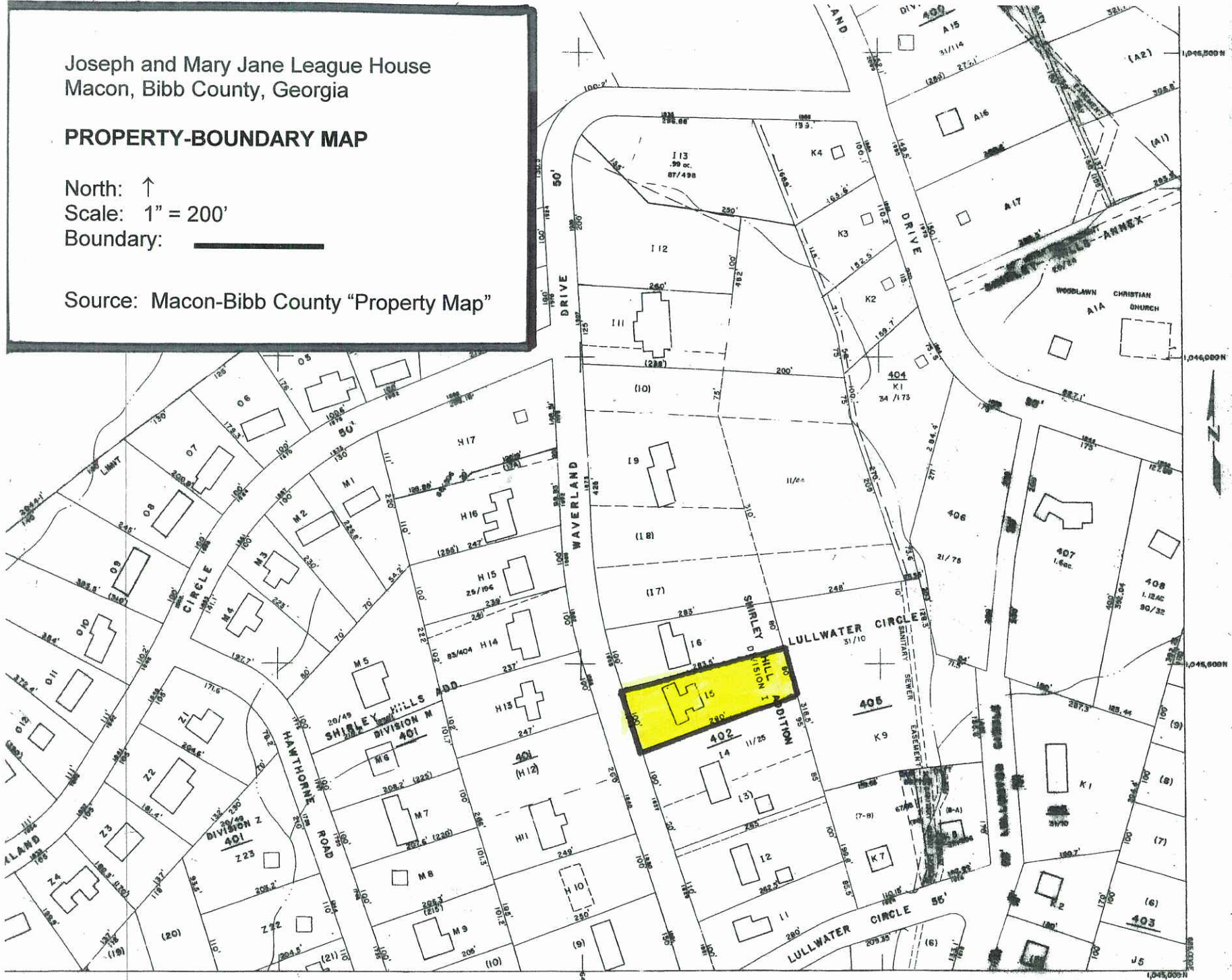
(HPD WORD form version 11-03-01)

Joseph and Mary Jane League House
 Macon, Bibb County, Georgia

PROPERTY-BOUNDARY MAP

North: ↑
 Scale: 1" = 200'
 Boundary: _____

Source: Macon-Bibb County "Property Map"

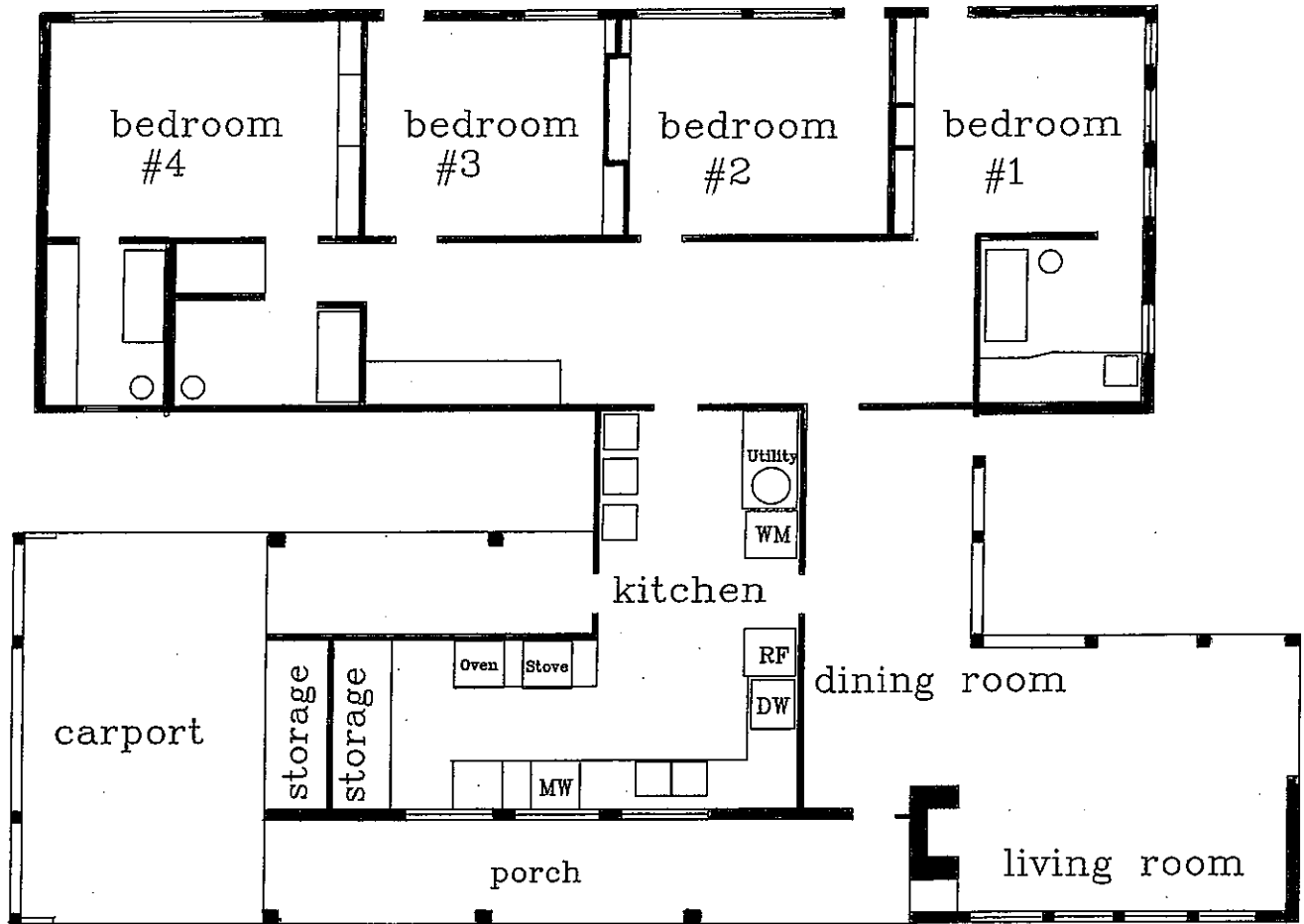


I ASSOCIATES, INC., Washington, D.C.
 photogrammetric Methods
 1967

100 0 100 200 300
 SCALE IN FEET

It is certified that this map complies with National Standards of
 Map Accuracy by aerial survey methods

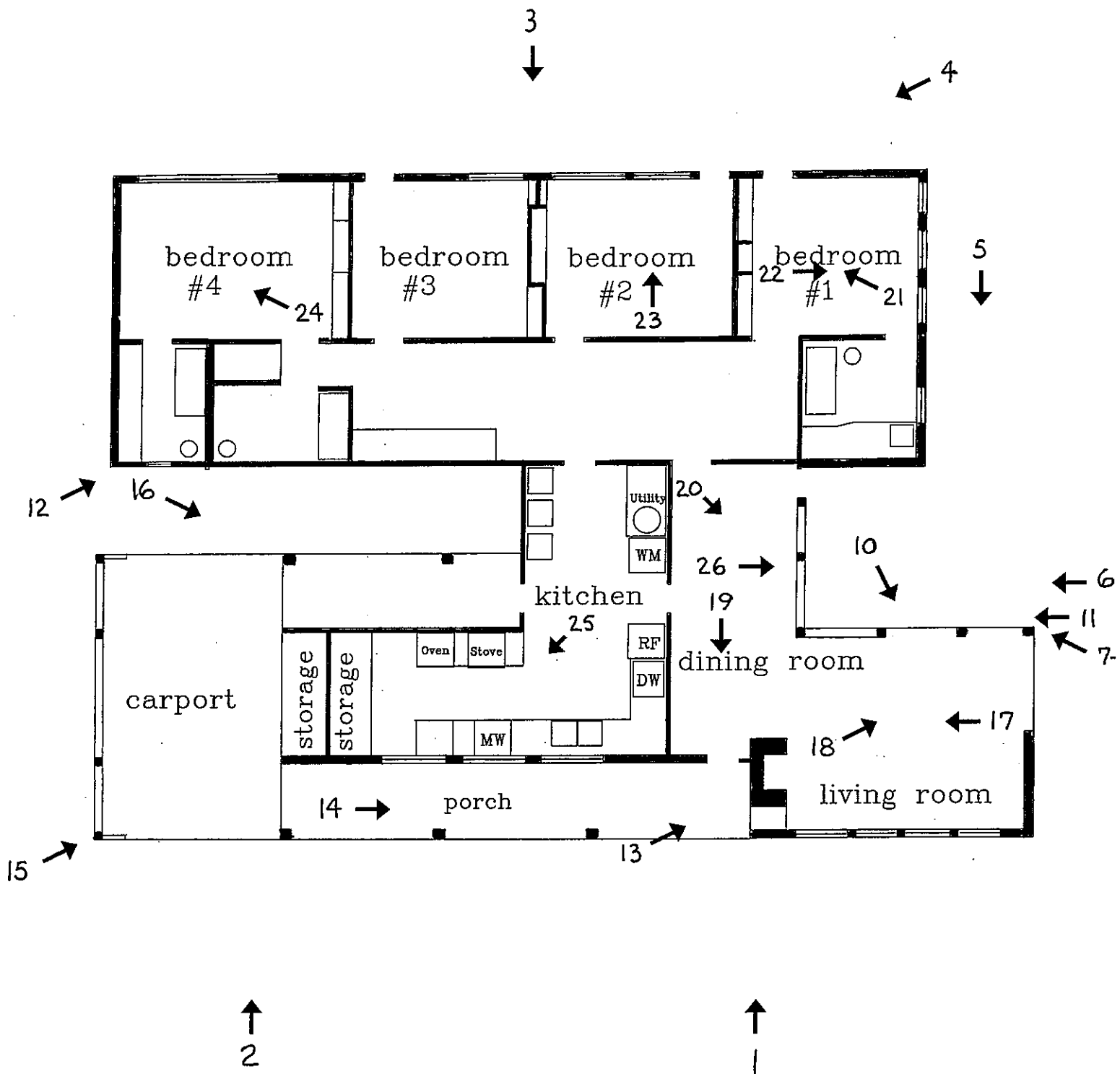
PROPERTY MAP
 MACON-BIBB COUNTY 1" = 100'
 Q5-4



Joseph and Mary Jane League House
 Macon, Bibb County, Georgia

FLOOR PLAN

North: ←
 Scale: not to scale



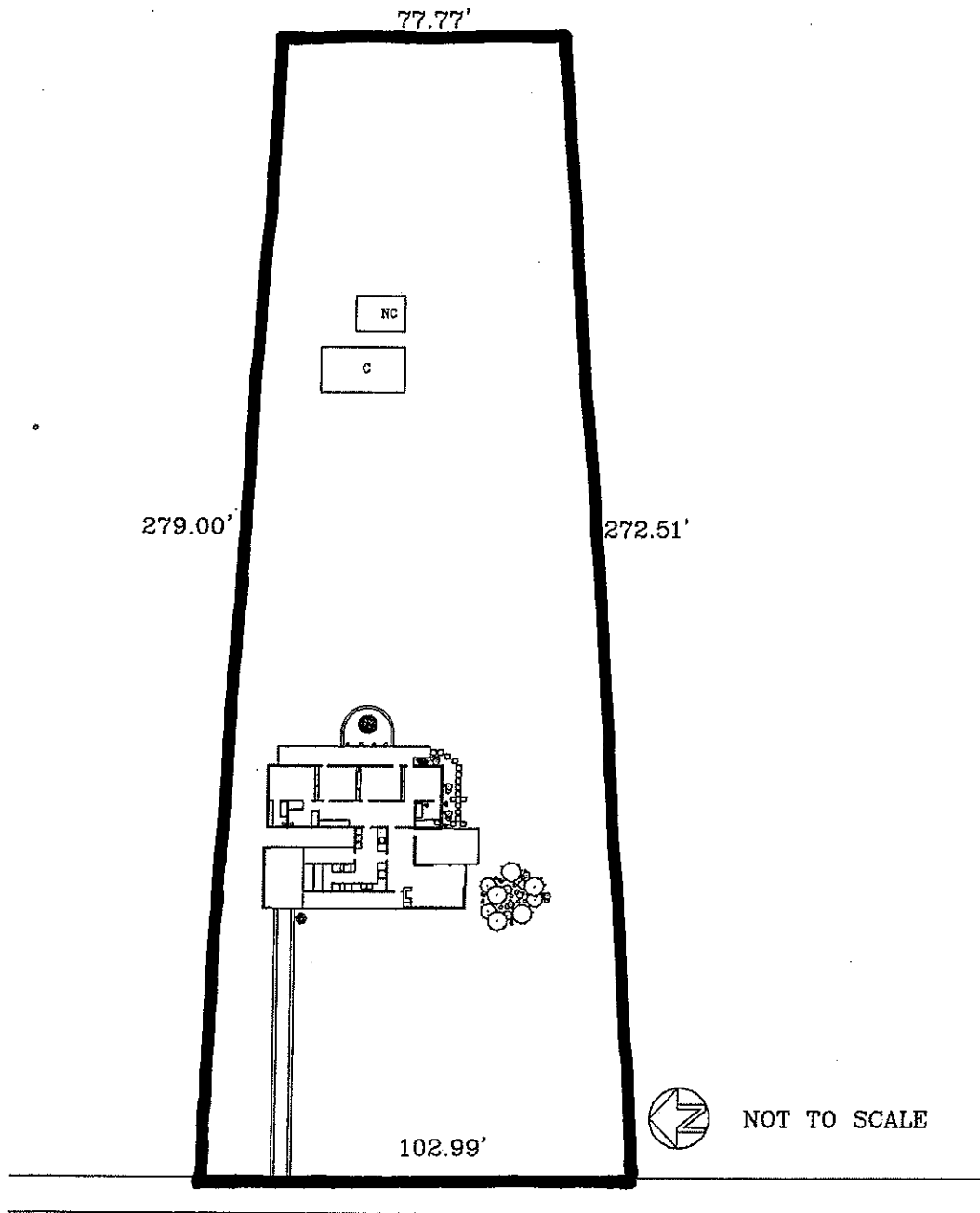
Joseph and Mary Jane League House
 Macon, Bibb County, Georgia

FLOOR PLAN

North: ←

Scale: not to scale

Photograph and direction of view: →



Joseph and Mary Jane League House
 Macon, Bibb County, Georgia

SITE PLAN – SKETCH MAP

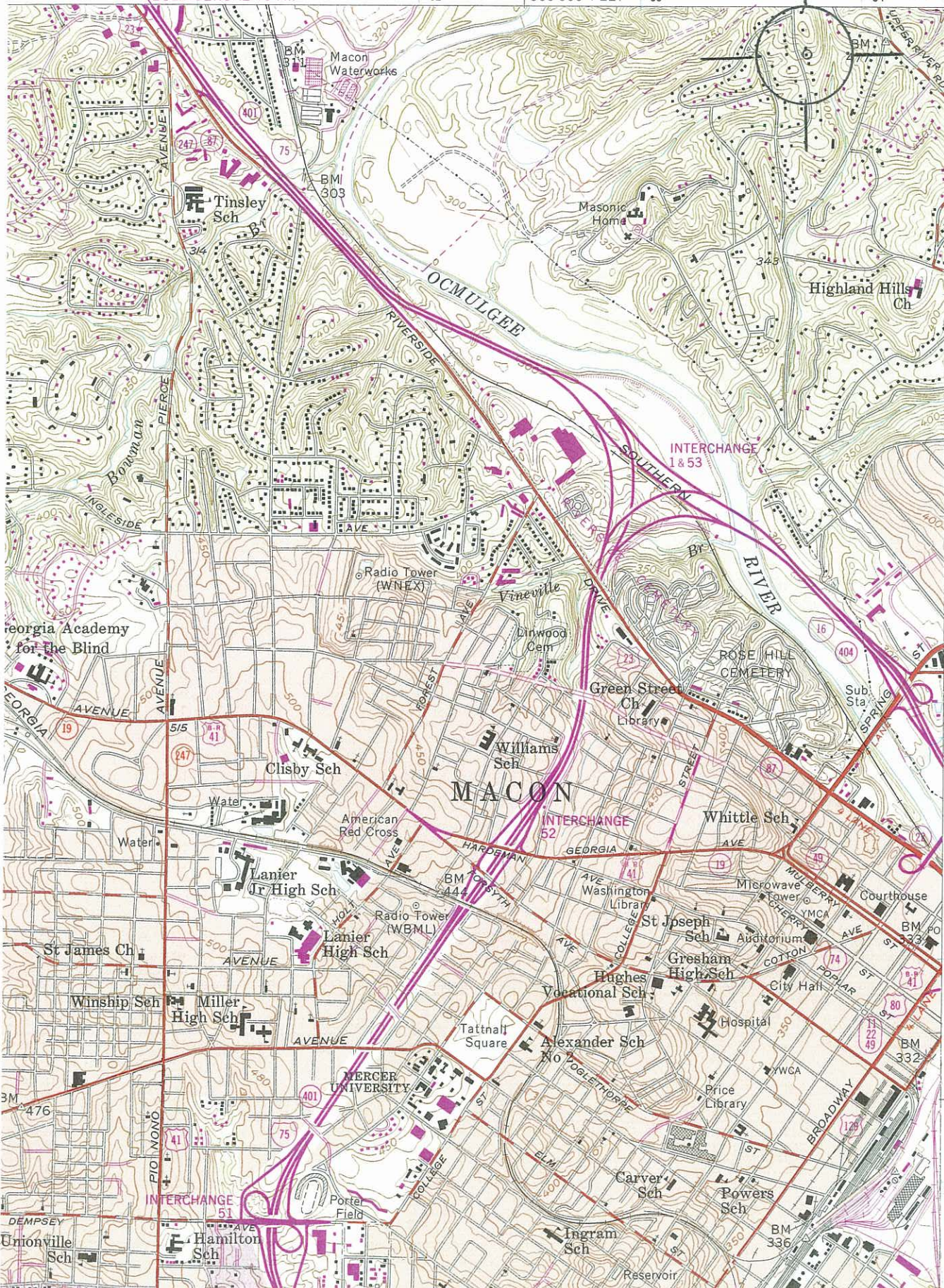
North: ←
 Scale: 1" = 40' (approximately)
 Boundary:

Source: Provided by Ray and Associates, Consultants

MACON WEST QUADRANGLE
GEORGIA - BIBB CO.
7.5 MINUTE SERIES (TOPOGRAPHIC)
SW/4 MACON 15' QUADRANGLE

4289 1 NE
(MACON NE)

40' 252 660 000 FEET 253 254 83° 37' 30" 32° 52' 30"



1 040 000
FEET

22 11 49
129
23 87
3637

19
3636

50'

3635

TARVERSVILLE 23 MI.
COCHRAN 40 MI.

INTERCHANGE 21 (U.S. 71) 89 MI.

INTERCHANGE 1 & 53

**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
MULTIPLE PROPERTY DOCUMENTATION**

*Received
2/2/09
AB*

A. Name of Property Listing

The Architectural Designs of Henrietta Dozier, Leila Ross Wilburn, and Ellamae Ellis League in Georgia, 1900-1960

B. Associated Historic Contexts

1. A. Women in the Architectural Profession
B. Women Architects in Georgia, 1900-1960
2. Life and Career of Henrietta Dozier
3. Life and Career of Leila Ross Wilburn
4. Life and Career of Ellamae Ellis League

C. Form Prepared by:

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Ray & Associates
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404-607-1-7703

D. Certification

As for the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and

professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of Interior's Standards for Planning and Evaluation

Signature of Certifying Official

Date

W. Ray Luce
State Historic Preservation Officer
Historic Preservation Division
Georgia Department of Natural Resources

I, hereby, certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register

Signature of the Keeper of the National Register

Date

E. Statement of Historic Context(s)

Discuss each historic context listed in Section B.

1. A. Women in the Architectural Profession
- B. Women Architects in Georgia, 1900-1960

Women in the Arichitectoral Profession

In 1885, Louise Blanchard Bethune, (1856-1913) became the first woman to be admitted to the Western Association of Architects, based in Chicago. Bethune was the first American woman to be admitted to any prominent professional architect society. In 1891 Bethune made history a second time by becoming the first woman admitted to the American Institute of Architects (AIA). She later became the first female AIA Fellow.

Several New York architects formed the AIA in 1857 to professionalize the practice of architecture. They wished to set standards for participation in the field of architecture and to establish a licensing system whereby those with certain qualifications could participate.

However, architecture was primarily a man's profession until the end of the twentieth century. The gendered profession of architecture reflects the male-dominated construction industry in which it operates. Even in 2002, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics in 2002 women comprised only 20% the employed architects in the United States.

Statistics demonstrate the paucity of women in the profession prior to the twenty-first century. When choosing a career in architecture women faced daunting educational, institutional, professional, and perceptual challenges. Women had to deal with sexual discrimination, harassment, lower wages, fewer promotions, and a general attitude that they did not belong. However, women have participated in the profession for over one-hundred years; but structural barriers have prevented them from participating as fully as men. In the period between the Civil War and 1900, only 39 women were graduated from this country's architectural schools. (Stanfield, 102)

As Louise Blanchard Bethune's example shows, women were allowed to participate, but when they did, they had to be better, smarter, and harder working than men. When women architects failed or had difficulty with the stress of the profession (as was the case of Sophia Hayden [1868-1953], who collapsed from exhaustion after the stress of designing and supervising the building of the Woman's Building at the World's Colombian Exposition of 1893), they became examples why women should not participate in the profession. Even in positive media coverage of successful women architects, journalists mentioned issues of "nerve strain" and the strenuousness of the profession. Bethune actually refused to participate in the design competition for the same Woman's Building, because the winner would not receive an honorarium equal to that of the male designers.

Early women architects exhibited a devotion to their profession, an appreciation for the new technologies related to building and designing, a desire for good architecture, a faith in social and professional activism, and a stubbornness to face educational and professional resistance. These women were willing to adapt to discrimination in order to fulfill their calling to design.

Attitudes toward woman's "place," both in the professions and in society in general, have been the primary factor governing historical trends of women in the field of architecture. Each woman architect who has achieved major success breaks down the social norms, which tend to categorize the labor force according to sex roles. Women may have had increasing influence in society and college educations had increased numbers of women in professions in general, but women architects were not at all prevalent in Georgia at the turn of the 20th century.

Many of those who condoned women in the architectural field, argued that because women were presumed to have knowledge of and sensitivity to the way houses should function, the needs of a family, and the more artistic aspects of design, they were well suited for residential architecture. While it is true that many women specialized in residential design, women architects did not accept that as their natural or only roles as designers.

Georgians Henrietta Dozier (1872-1947) and Ellamae Ellis League (1899-1991) and Victorine du Pont Homsey (1900-1998) of Delaware, Eleanor Raymond (1887-1973) of Massachusetts, and other females designed a myriad of structures including commercial, institutional, office, educational and medical buildings, bridges, landscapes, dog houses

and even bomb shelters. Their work and legacy as shapers of the built environment debunks the myth that women architects only designed houses. Other pioneering female architects included Theodate Pope Riddle (1868-1946) of Connecticut, and Julia Morgan (1872-1957) of California. Both of these women achieved national prominence for their socially conscious, innovative, and upscale designs.

Recent History

In 1975 during the height of the second women's movement, the AIA sponsored a study that examined the conditions of women in the architectural profession. The study concluded that women received less pay for equal work, faced discrimination, and met obstacles in promotion. It further noted that there was an under-representation of women in the profession and the AIA, itself, alienated women architects. At this time the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that the percentage of women in architecture was 4.3. More recent studies have come to similar conclusions about the treatment of women and minorities in the field. For example, in 1999 women members comprised only 13 percent of the AIA. Only one woman, however, has been elected president of the organization. Currently, several prominent architectural schools now have an enrollment of over 50 percent female students. However, the faculty of architecture schools remains dominated by men. Furthermore, even with the increasing numbers of women in the field during the 1990s, women, by and large, were confined to the lower levels of firm hierarchy.

Southern Regional Female Architects

Although a number of women completed professional training in architecture in the late nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, women had limited options. Some women learned the profession as apprentices, some took correspondence courses, some hired private tutors or some left the country to study. For women in the South who wanted to be architects, the path was even more difficult. For example, the women in this nomination, had to utilize unusual methods to become architects.

In Tennessee only a handful of women designed buildings. (Cambridge Records, Box 4) Nashville artist Sara Ward Conley (1859-1944) designed the classical Woman's Building for the 1897 Tennessee Exposition. The only building Conley ever designed, it was purportedly styled after Andrew Jackson's The Hermitage. However, judging from photographs of the building, it was actually a *Beaux Arts*-style building with elaborate details. Conley received high praise for a beautiful and spacious design that included a salesroom, restaurant, model kitchen, grand staircase, rotunda, and gardens. (Cambridge Records, Box 4) Another architect for Tennessee, Elizabeth Pritz, trained at Columbia University in architecture and worked with several firms in New York and Nashville, including Dougherty and Gardner in Nashville. Pritz concentrated mostly on designing residences. Unfortunately none of her extant buildings have been identified. (Cambridge Records, Box 4)

A new generation of Tennessee women architects, who emerged largely from the state's architectural schools in the last thirty years, is now making its mark on the state's design

traditions. For example, in 1998 architect Harriet Hall Cates, the granddaughter of Henry Hibbs, was in charge of the rehabilitation of Fisk University's Cravath Hall, a building her grandfather had designed in 1930. (Cambridge Records, Box 4)

In 1952, Elizabeth B. Lee became the first woman to graduate from the School of Design at North Carolina State College (now North Carolina State University). After graduating, she returned to practice in her hometown of Lumberton, North Carolina, and became president of the North Carolina chapter of the American Institute of Architects in 1979. Lee was not only the first woman to graduate from the School of Design she was the only one until the 1960s when one more graduated followed by another four years later. This paucity of women in the field marked the profession in North Carolina. In the 1950 North Carolina census, women made up two percent of architects. By 1980 this number had merely increased to four percent. (Cambridge Records, Box 4)

Female Architects in Georgia, 1900-1960

Georgia architects Henrietta Dozier and Ellamae Ellis League had to leave the South to receive formal training; no schools in the region provided women with an opportunity to gain a professional degree in architecture. Dozier attended Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Women from Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, and Florida traveled to the northeast to attend the Cambridge School and MIT. (Cambridge Records, Box 4)

The best known woman architect in Georgia was Lelia Ross Wilburn (1885-1967). Wilburn also utilized alternate methods to become an architect. Wilburn took her first commission at the age of twenty-two after one year of schooling at Agnes Scott College in Decatur, just outside of Atlanta, and two years as an apprentice in an architecture and building firm. She designed mostly houses and apartments in the South and authored architectural pattern books for single-family dwellings. In 1914, she published her first pattern book, *Southern Homes and Bungalows*. Her designs featured the prevailing styles popular during her fifty-year career. Wilburn's long association with development companies links her to thousands of residences in the Midtown, Inman Park, Candler Park, Lake Claire, and Decatur neighborhoods in and around Atlanta. These neighborhoods, which have been recognized for their historic and architectural significance, remain largely intact, serving as a tribute to her power as a talented and successful designer who shaped her environment.

"I don't see why women can't be good architects as men," asserted Ellamae Ellis League, "but it's almost impossible to get a license in this state unless you have a diploma from Georgia Tech, and women are barred as students there." ("Macon Woman Architect") The Georgia School of Technology (now the Georgia Institute of Technology) in Atlanta would not allow degree-seeking women students into any of its programs, including architecture, until 1953. ("Macon Woman Architect") League traveled to Europe to secure her education.

The best known educational alternative for women aspiring to be architects and landscape architects was the Cambridge School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture (1916-1942), founded and operated by Harvard University professor and architect Henry Atherton Frost. Women from Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, and Florida traveled to the Northeast to attend the Cambridge School and MIT. Jean League Newton (1919-2000), Georgia architect and daughter of Ellamae Ellis League, attended the Cambridge School during its last year of operation before transferring to Harvard University.

According to the records of the Atlanta Chapter of the Georgia Association of the American Institute of Architects, twenty-two women have been members of the chapter since its inception in 1906. Henrietta C. Dozier was one of the six charter members of the Atlanta Chapter. When Ms. Dozier left the state in 1916, there were no women in the Chapter from 1916 to 1941. In the 1940s there were four new women members in the Georgia AIA, including Ellamae Ellis League. Note that Georgia School of Technology (now Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta did not allow degree-seeking women students in any of its programs, including architecture, until 1953.

Later in the 1950s two women architects joined the Georgia AIA, in the 1960s four joined and the 1970s there were eleven new members. In 1968 Ellamae Ellis League was named a fellow in the A.I.A., a first for a woman architect in Georgia.

Combining both Atlanta A.I.A. and the Georgia state registration rolls, a total of forty-one women architects were working in Georgia from 1905 to 1978. In 2004, there were ----- women members of the AIA in Georgia, -----% of the membership. (Numbers requested from AIA, but not yet received)

Life and Career of Henrietta Cuttino Dozier (1872-1947)

Early Years

Henrietta Cuttino Dozier was born 22 April 1872 in Fernandina, Florida, to Cornelia Ann Scriven Dozier. Her father, Henry Cuttino Dozier, died before she was born. Henrietta, her mother, her brother and a sister moved to Atlanta before Henrietta was two. After living and practicing architecture both in Atlanta and Jacksonville, Florida. Henrietta died in Jacksonville, Florida on 17 April 1947.

Henrietta Dozier was the first female architect in Georgia, the first woman in the South to receive formal architectural training and the first to graduate from a nationally accredited school of architecture. Her designs included churches, school, banks, government buildings, houses, and apartments.

Dozier was also a licensed genealogist, who traced her family lineage of both her maternal and paternal families. She loved to fish and did so throughout her life. Dozier never married and was known throughout her life as "Harry" a name she chose in honor of her father.

Education

Dozier graduated from Girls High School (1891) in Atlanta and went on to study Beaux Arts classicism at the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, New York. She began her studies only four years after Pratt first accepted women students. At Pratt, Dozier was asked to submit a design for the Woman's Building at the Cotton States and International Exposition to be held in Atlanta in 1895. (Stanfield, 102) Elister Mercur of Pittsburgh submitted the winning design; but judges thought Dozier's design to be good enough for a special architecture exhibit. The exhibit also feature designs from women architects in Chicago, New York and Philadelphia.

After leaving Pratt, Dozier earned a Bachelor of Science in Architecture from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1899. (Stanfield, 102) MIT was among the few schools in the country that graduated female architects around the turn of the 20th century. At that time she was one of three women in her class. (Smith, "Women Architects," 89)

Architectural Practice

Upon graduating from MIT, Ms. Dozier began practicing architecture in Atlanta in 1901. At first she worked with the prominent Atlanta architect, Walter T. Downing, who designed the Healey Building, Sacred Heart Church and many upper-income residences in the city. (Stanfield, 104) From 1903 to 1910, Dozier shared an office in the Peters Building with fellow architect, George W. Laine. She moved her office to the Hurt Building in 1913. While in Atlanta, Dozier first lived on Dixie Avenue in Inman Park and then on Moreland Avenue in what is now the Little Five Points area.

Symbolic of her talent and prestige in the Atlanta community, Dozier designed the Episcopal Chapel for the All Saints Episcopal Church in Atlanta (1903). (Smith, "Women Architects," 89) The rustic, half-timber and stucco building burned or was torn down (see property description) in the early 1900s.

Dozier believe that her "most outstanding" design in Atlanta was the Southern Ruralist Building (status and date unknown) built for the Episcopal Church on Hunter Street, near Washington Street. (Dozier, 3)

The Atlanta Bible School at 88 Cooper Street, the Episcopal Chapel and the Southern Ruralist Building are the only buildings in Atlanta attributed to Dozier. (The status of the Atlanta Bible School is unknown. All that is known is an existing building permit for the building with Dozier's name on it was found in a file at the Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Atlanta, Georgia).

In Columbus, Dozier was responsible for the 1903 remodeling of the Blackmar-Bulloch House, an original 1880s Victorian-style dwelling, to a classic-columned house with a strong *beaux-arts* influence. (See before and after pictures)

In 1916 at age 45 Dozier left Atlanta and established a private practice in Jacksonville, Florida, near her birthplace. (Dictionary of Georgia Biography, 270) After Dozier's departure, no other women were members of the Atlanta Chapter of the AIA until 1941–25 years. (Smith, "Women Architects," 87)

While in Jacksonville, Dozier designed a number of buildings. She was associate architect for the Jacksonville Branch Building of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta. She worked for the Engineering Department of the City of Jacksonville during World War I. She joined the Jacksonville Woman's Club, but later canceled her membership when she felt that fellow members ill-treated her in their search for an architect for their new headquarters. (The club chose a man to design their new clubhouse.) Dozier interpreted this incident as an insult and later cited it as one instance when she experienced discrimination.

AIA Membership and FDR Writer's Project

Henrietta Dozier was one of the first six charter members of the first Georgia Chapter of the AIA in March of 1906. She was the only female member of the Georgia Chapter of the AIA for ten years before leaving Atlanta for Jacksonville. During those years she served as secretary and treasurer of the organization.

In 1928, Dozier dropped her AIA membership due to financial difficulties. By the next year, her practice had dwindled to almost nothing causing her to lose her house in 1929 and declare bankruptcy. However, by 1936 she had re-established her practice.

In 1939, Dozier was interviewed as part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Federal Writer's Project, in recognition of her importance in the profession. This interview helps shed light on Dozier as a person with firm convictions about everything from architecture to fishing and politics. She viewed herself as exemplary and had little patience with other females, such as the women who came to her seeking advice for entering the profession. During this interview, Dozier criticized the modernist style of architecture as just a fad. She believed in building in classic traditions of good style and high-quality materials, as befitted her Beaux Arts training.

Dozier was committed to designing buildings with local materials and local labor that would be suitable to the Southern climate. She supported air conditioning introduced for domestic use. Despite her appreciation for engineered materials, Dozier despised treated wood. "The houses I build I insist must be constructed of untapped timber, full of rosin. These will endure and will really give good service for the money invested." (Dozier, 7) In the above-mentioned interview, Dozier promoted her idea of an earth-rammed house. She predicted that this type of house would be very popular. She also stated in the 1939 interview that, "The greater part of my work has been residences, apartments, and small churches." (Dozier, 5)

Ms. Dozier also trained many fledgling architects, admitting in her above-quoted interview that there were, "24 in all, four of them women."

She summarized the interview with of the following quote referring to the Great Depression and the loss of her own home.

"This made me realize that many people were in the same boat, so in the last few years, I have done nothing but small residential homes—maybe that's my 'catfish hole'. But at any rate, I believe from my own experience and with a woman's general reputation of condensing space and utilizing corners for wall spaces and furniture settings instead of blocking them up with windows, doors, and closets, it give me the very best ideas for commodious and comfortable homes."

Life and Career of Leila Ross Wilburn, 1885 - 1967

Early Years

Leila Ross Wilburn was born on November 18, 1885 in Macon, Georgia. She was the oldest of the five children of Leila Ada Ross and Joseph Gustavus Wilburn. (Smith, 90) The family moved to Decatur in 1895. As child Wilburn's interests included travel, photography and maintenance of various collections. Her mother, Leila Ada, who was trained in art, guided her daughter's independent spirit and artistic expression into the field of architecture. Her father was an accountant.

Education

After attending Agnes Scott Institute for two years (her mother's alma mater) where she studied English, biology, French, history algebra, geometry and the Bible while also taking private architectural drawing lessons. Upon leaving Agnes Scott, Leila Ross Wilburn became a draftsman in the architectural and construction firm of Benjamin R. Padgett and Son, located in downtown Atlanta. The firm catered to upper-middle class clients whose homes were located on Peachtree Street and in Midtown.

Leila Ross Wilburn moved into her own office in 1909, the year of her father's death. (Hunter, 137) The offices were located in the Peters Building in downtown Atlanta. Henrietta Dozier was also practicing in the building at the same time. The 1909 City Directory listed these two women as the only female architects practicing in the city at that time. (Ramsey, 41) At that time Wilburn shared her office with real estate agent, Alfred H. Alfriend.

Architectural Philosophy

Wilburn chose to locate her offices in the Peters Building rather than the Candler Building where most of the Atlanta architects had offices. (Williams, J.J., 11) The Peters Building officed most of Atlanta's builders and developers. By having her office close to

the builders, Wilburn was in an excellent position to obtain their business. She sold her plan books and plans to individuals, developers and builders.

During her very early practice she designed houses, duplexes and apartment buildings located in and around Midtown. Some of these early buildings would later appear in her plan books.

As an adult Wilburn traveled extensively throughout the country photographing and recording housing ideas. As she stated in *Ideal Homes of Today*, "To enable me to present a wide variety of ideas, I have visited numerous cities from the Atlantic to the Pacific, always with my Kodak and sketch pad along. I have bought every magazine and plan I could here of, therefore, I feel that I am able to give you an interesting selection of ideal home designs for the present day." (Wilburn, *Ideal Homes of Today*, 2)

Architectural Practice

Wilburn's practice was exclusively residential with one known exception, a gymnasium at Georgia Military Academy (now Woodward Academy) in 1907 while still an apprentice. (www.gawomen.org)

Her work can be divided into two distinct periods, an early period from 1908 to 1920 and a later period from 1920 to 1967. (Smith, 90) In the early period, Wilburn designed single-family houses, most of which were in her first plan book published in 1914. Also during this early period, she designed approximately twenty apartment houses and twenty-four duplexes. She had begun house design soon after the turn-of-the century, when Victorian values were decried. During this early period she designed several hipped-roof cottages, which were large square houses which held vestiges of the Victorian past in the form of reception halls, art glass windows and classical moldings and other millwork. (Jennings, *An Architecture*, 1) Her first bungalows were also somewhat awkward. She included central halls, rather than the open plan of the bungalow.

Her architectural practice coincided with Atlanta's suburban expansion in areas such as Inman Park, Ansley Park, Midtown, Boulevard and Druid Hills. (Smith, 90) This move to the "garden suburbs" was a boom time for building in the city. Her houses can be documented in all these developments. Some of her apartment buildings appear in the northeast section of Atlanta (Parkway and Boulevard Avenues) which burned in Atlanta's Great Fire of 1917. These apartment buildings replaced large-scale individual residences. In an article assessing the progress and type of rebuilding that occurred in 1918 in the area, the *Atlanta Journal* reported, "Building operations so far in the burned district indicate that it will largely be a community of apartment houses." (Smith, 90)

Wilburn worked as a civilian for the War Department in 1918 at Fort McPherson in WWI and during WWII she worked for three years as an engineering draftsman in Tampa and Washington, DC. (Smith, 93) In 1920, registration of architects was required by the state of Georgia. Leila Ross Wilburn was one of two women architects who registered.

In her second period, from 1920 to 1967, she continued her many style choices, but this period included a switch from her earlier bungalows to ranch homes. This later period also included small Tudor and Jacobean houses, and Colonial and Georgian styles. In some of her early ranch designs, one could clearly see bungalow characteristics. After World War II, her ranch styles developed into split-levels. (Hunter 138) These homes are evident in the Morningside, Virginia Highlands, Buckhead, Brookhaven, Decatur, Nancy Creek and Lake Claire neighborhoods. During this time, she also became interested in low-income single housing. (Smith, 93)

Publications, Plan Books

Leila Ross Wilburn was an unconventional architect in that she designed and marketed her own product in a series of nine large plan books, one small book and a free folder. The first plan book was published in 1914.

Pattern books were developed in the 19th century and were initially geared to builders. Pattern books defined the architect's role as a mediator between the client and the builder. The plan book developed from the pattern book in the late 19th century as a catalogue of house plans. The plan book, however, was more direct in its goal toward a finished product. It delivered a systematic approach to the marketing of dwellings.

In her first plan book she stated an architectural philosophy aimed directly at her market, the Southern homeowner, "This book is published with the idea of supplying Southern people with homes suitable for the climatic conditions of the Southeast. Here will be found plans for moderate cost residences where the influence of the English half-timber cottage, the Swiss Chalet and the Mission Bungalow is felt." (Hunter, 138) To advertise the first plan book, Wilburn placed her own advertisement in the 1915 Atlanta City directory on 52 separate pages. (Hunter, 138)

The intent and philosophy of each plan book was stated in her preface usually found on page one or two. Each plan was numbered, not named and the numbers were not in sequence in each book. Over 300 plans were published, and she would reverse any plan at the purchaser's request. Her books contained descriptive paragraphs and theoretical commentary designed to teach architectural styles to the client and builder rather than just practical construction techniques. (Ramsey, 10) Only *Southern Homes and Bungalows* combines photographs and plans. All others contained only drawings.

In her plan books, Wilburn distributed her ideas to the general public and established the foundation of her career. Her books specified room sizes which included larger than usual kitchens and interior details such as beamed ceilings, china cabinets, seats and other built-in features. Wilburn wrote descriptive paragraphs of each design, explaining its character and beauty and conveniences. She even advertised products used in the construction and decoration of her designs, such as furnaces and material dealers. (Ramsey, 32) She included one-line phrases at the bottom of each page as editorial comment, phrases such as:

- "Trees usually enhance the value of the lot . . . "
- "East front lots are usually preferred to those facing west."
- "Pie-shaped lots are rarely wide enough at the building site."

She also showed her concern for economical, functional and efficient designs such as:

- "My plans are practical, therefore they save you money."
- "A square house is the most economical."
- "The plans offered are revelations in the utilization of space."

She also spoke indirectly to women through statements made to men:

- "Have the wife's workshop complete, it improves the cooking."
- "My kitchens are arranged to save extra steps."
- "A good home is a debt every man owes his wife."

The purpose of Wilburn's hints was two-fold. They permitted the distribution of basic information that every homeowner or builder should absorb before investing in a home and a piece of property. Secondly, and most importantly, Wilburn could demonstrate her credibility and insight as an architect who looked after the consumer's best interest. (Ramsey, 34)

Most of Wilburn's plans featured side, front, and rear elevations, as well as foundation, floor, and roof plans. She marketed her books to individuals, developers and builders in Atlanta, the State of Georgia, and the Southeast. Her first plan book in 1914, was *Southern Homes and Bungalows*. It contained 80 buildings that she had designed since 1909. It was distributed to contractors, builders, and developers who ordered plans either for their own construction or introduced plans to potential home buyers. She viewed her plan books as a service for builders, an expression of her egalitarian ideas about making stock plans available, "so that the builder in the small town may have a home in as good taste as his city brother." (Jennings, LRW, 12)

Through her plan books she had a direct effect on the home building industry. She utilized progressive ideas about housing reform and aesthetics. Since women architects had difficulty obtaining clients from the industrial world, but from the beginning, in an astute business move, Wilburn established close ties with contractors, developers, and realtors. (Jennings, LRW, 10)

Her major plan books were:

<i>Southern Homes and Bungalows</i>	1914	80 plans	\$.79
<i>Brick and Colonial Homes</i>	1922	86 plans	\$2.00
<i>Ideal Homes of Today</i>	1925	100 plans	\$2.00
<i>Homes in Good Taste</i>		53 plans	\$1.00
<i>New Homes of Quality</i>	1930	61 plans	\$1.00

<i>Small Low-Cost Homes</i>	1935	62 plans	\$1.00
<i>Sixty Good New Homes</i>		60 plans	\$1.00
<i>Ranch and Colonial Homes</i>		63 plans	\$1.00
<i>Brand New Homes</i>		64 plans	\$1.00
The minor plan book was: <i>Up-to-Date Homes</i>		23 plans	\$.25
Folder: "Successful Homes"			Free

Prices for complete plans and specifications ranged from \$15.00 to \$50.00. Extra sets of plans were \$5.00 per set and a lumber and mill list was \$5.00.

Wilburn used an eclectic mixture of styles and plan types in each publication. Her types included four-over-four (American Four Square), gable-ell, three-quarter Georgian, bent house plan, cross wing, and tower plans. (Ramsey, 35) Her styles included English Cottage, Swiss Chalet, English Tudor Revival, English Cottage Style, English County House, French Norman Revival Style, Princess Anne, Southern Federal, Spanish Colonial Revival, Dutch Colonial Revival, Neo-classical, Neo-Colonial, Georgian Colonial Revival, Craftsman/Bungalow, Bungalowoid (two story Bungalow) ranch and split-levels.

Her interiors were characterized by room clustering, interior axial relationships, stratification, ideal proportions, and Arts and Crafts character. (Ramsey 103) Formal rooms were usually placed at the front of the house followed by bedrooms along one side and the dining and kitchen on the other side.

Architectural Practice (continued)

In addition to her Atlanta clients, she sold plans to clients in Thomaston, Forsyth, Marietta, Blairsville, Cartersville, Rome, Fairburn, Alpharetta, Stone Mountain, East Point, Brazelton, Calhoun, Thomasville, Gainesville, McDonough, Carrollton, Montezuma, Macon and Griffin. (Hunter, 140) Other Wilburn houses can be documented in North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi and Florida.

Wilburn never joined the American Institute of Architects. When the local chapter of the AIA was formed in 1909, she did not qualify for membership, because of her lack of professional training. When she later did qualify on the basis of age and experience, she did not feel that the expense justified the membership as her practice was not suffering without the associations status (attached). (Ramsey, 46)

In a 1924 interview with the *Atlanta Journal*, she expressed her dislike for woman assistants in her office by stating, "Women drive me distracted, sitting around waiting to be told what to do . . . I find that men will not have to be told what is to be done." (Smith, 93) That interview was titled "Atlanta Women Have Man-Size Jobs." Leila Ross Wilburn was pictured at the drafting board. (Hunter, 136)

Wilburn was unusual for her time, designing and marketing her own product—conventional and domestic architecture. (Smith, 90) Wilburn's success as an architect

was dependent upon the volume of working plans sold. Although other plan books were published in Atlanta during this time, most were portfolios of built dwellings of wealthy Atlantans. Their main intent was the promotion of the architectural firm that published the book, a different purpose from plan book services. In addition to her plan books, she also advertised in the *Atlanta Constitution*, the city directory, the *Industrial Index*, and the *Southern Builder*. The *Atlanta Constitution* frequently published her designs in the Sunday Homes section. She also permitted the use of her houses as illustrations for building materials advertisements.

Ms. Wilburn never married, but is survived by a nephew who became an architect. Throughout her life she provided living space in her home for her widowed mother, her sister, Llewellyn, a brother and his wife. Although her own home on Adams Street in Decatur has been torn down, many examples of her work still stand along Adams Street.

Although somewhat restricted by her lack of formal training, and the fact that she was a woman in a distinctively male occupation, she was of regional importance. She obtained her first commission in 1907 as a young woman of 22 and continued to practice for fifty-five years. She died in 1967 following an architectural career that spanned 55 years.

Ellamae Ellis League, 1899 to 1991

Early Years

Ellamae Ellis League was born in Macon, Georgia on July 9, 1899 to Susan Dilworth Choate and Joseph Oliver Ellis. She was the third of four children and the only daughter.

Her mother's family included several generations of successful architects, the closest one being her Uncle Charles Edward Choate. He made repeated attempts to persuade her to begin the study of architecture in his office in Atlanta. (Barfield, 31.)

Actually, League entered the architectural profession out of financial necessity but had a successful career that lasted over fifty years. She was recognized on the local, statewide and national levels for her designs, dedication and service to her profession. Among her many honors were being named to the College of Fellows of the American Institute of Architects in 1968 and receiving the AIA Bronze Medal upon her retirement in 1975.

Education and Early Career

League attended public school in Macon and graduated from Lanier High School in 1916 where her senior yearbook picture refers to her as "Al." She then went to the local women's college, Wesleyan, from which she would later receive several commissions. After one year of attending classes, she dropped out to marry George Forrest League at the age of seventeen. They had two children, a daughter, Jean, and a son, Joseph Choate. Her daughter, Jean League Newton, would eventually follow in her mother's footsteps and become an architect as would her grandson, Joseph C. League, Jr.

In 1922, when Ellamae was 23, George League abandoned the family and Ellamae was left alone to support her children. It was then that she decided to pursue a career in architecture. She went to the Macon firm of Dunwoody and Oliphant and applied for work. The firm hired her on an apprenticeship basis without pay. (Love, 13.) At the end of her first six months, she was no longer an apprentice and was taking on responsibility designing projects without any formal training or a college degree.

At this time, League enrolled in a correspondence course through the Beaux Arts Institute of Design (BAID) in New York City. (Love, 14). BAID's philosophy was based upon the principles taught at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris and it provided the curriculum foundation from which other architecture schools in the United States drew. Through this course she received essentially the same training, as did the students of architecture at Georgia Tech, from which she was barred from entering on the basis of gender. (Boone)

In 1927, League made the decision to leave her children with her parents in Florida and go to France to study at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Fontainebleau. (Love, 14). Only three other women were in her architecture class, and they were graduates of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which was the premier architecture school in the United States of the period.

Architectural Philosophy

League's training in the Beaux Arts significantly influenced her designs and practice. In the Beaux Arts method, the architect designs the plan of the building so that it meets the client's and user's needs and then applies the appropriate exterior decoration (style) to fit the building's use and location. When League designed schools, for example, she did so from the perspective of the students to create a learning environment compatible with how children function. When she later incorporated more modern stylistic elements into her designs, she held fast to the fundamentals of her training by meeting the user needs first.

Before leaving for Europe, and following the dissolution of the Dunwoody and Oliphant firm, she joined the firm of Claude W. Shelverton, another Macon architect. After returning from France, she continued working with Shelverton. William Oliphant, her former employer, joined Shelverton as a partner in the late 1920s. Shelverton and Oliphant dissolved their partnership during the Great Depression, and League chose to affiliate with Oliphant.

While in high school, Delmar Warren worked with League and Oliphant and League arranged a scholarship for him to attend the Georgia School of Technology from James Porter, a vice-president with Bibb Manufacturing. (Barfield, 31) League designed many buildings for Bibb Manufacturing, including an office building across the street from the Macon Coliseum. According to Ms. League, Bibb Manufacturing was one of her best clients.

In 1933, Oliphant died from leukemia leaving League and Warrant to complete the firm's outstanding commissions. Because neither League nor Warren was a registered architect, they could not take on new projects, as only licensed architects could sign plans. By 1933, League had already helped prepare plans for every school, which was built in Bibb County in the past 10 years. (Boone) She was also listed in the 1932-33 *Who's Who in Georgia*. (Love, 21)

As she needed to be licensed to sign architectural plans, League decided to take the state board examination. This was a week's worth of testing with sections on the history of architecture, design, office practice and engineering. Worried about the engineering portion, she arranged for tutors in Atlanta to help her prepare. She passed the engineering section, but failed the design section. The design section was graded subjectively and League believed that it was graded by male examiners to keep women out of the profession. (Love, 18) However, she later re-took the design portion and passed. She received her registration in 1934.

Ellamae Ellis League, Architect

She then opened her own practice, "Ellamae Ellis League, Architect". Delmar Warren continued to work with her and continued to do so until the end of League's career in 1975. During the New Deal, preceding World War II, League had a variety of commissions including work for the Works Progress Administration (WPA). During the Depression her firm obtained a contract for the federal government's Works Progress Administration to supervise the reconstruction of the 1806 Fort Hawkins blockhouse in Macon. (Barfield, 31)

During the hard economic times of the Great Depression, League established her own firm and stayed busy, a testament to her perseverance, skill and business acumen, which contributed to her more than fifty years of success. In 1934, only two percent of American architects were women, and women principles of their own firm were practically non-existent.

Her firm took on commissions of all types. Commissions in her first year included a service station, five residences including a log house, and a reservoir. She enjoyed the challenge of large projects such as churches, hospitals and schools. She directed restorations and re-constructions. League designed community buildings, community parks, government buildings and colleges. She also designed houses, interiors, office spaces, cafeterias, medical buildings, veterinary clinics, apparel stores, apartments, and even a bomb shelter. (Love, 19)

Ellamae Ellis League's designs included styles such as Colonial Revival, French Provincial, Stripped Classical and Modern. Her residences included many different types and styles—bungalows, Georgians, ranch houses, cottages, and apartment buildings. By the 1940s, most of her designs had a contemporary character. She usually blended traditional elements with the contemporary for a mix of styles. For example, in her own home she used crown molding in a contemporary space. (Barfield, 39).

League's work sometimes possessed certain identifying features. Most of her designs incorporated a sense of spaciousness. She took great pride in the entryways of buildings. Built-in furniture with simple lines was a typical League design feature. She also paid attention to windows and views. Part of the difficulty in describing a typical League design is the amazing variety of her work. (Barfield, 39) The League firm did not try to establish distinctive design styles, but chose to "design something that answers the need of the owner as far as function is concerned and which is pleasant to look at for both the owner and the public." (Words of EEL, Love, 46) This restates the Beaux Arts philosophy.

One of her smaller ranch houses built for her son and daughter-in-law was featured in the July 1953 issue of *Progressive Architecture*. That home is currently being nominated for the National Historic Register. Another house, the Sancken House, was constructed at the end of World War II when construction materials were hard to obtain. These shortages did not deter League. She used recycled car parts for door pulls. She obtained windows from Florida, as none were available in Georgia. She used one-quarter inch panels of sheet aluminum for the sliding cabinet doors. The Sancken House showcased her ingenuity and her ability to employ passive solar construction as she had designed broad overhangs and placed windows to take advantage of the sun's warmth in winter and cross-ventilation in the summer.

Her own house, the Ellamae Ellis League House, designed by League, herself, was listed on the National Register in 2003. As it was her own house, it was the ultimate expression of her personal architectural style, not influenced by the demands or needs of clients.

League intentionally kept her firm small so that she could retain control on every commission. There were never more than eight people in her firm. In the mid-1940s she changed the name of the firm to League, Warren, and Riley to reflect the contributions of two of her most talented employees. However, she never formed a partnership with them. League's daughter, Jean League Newton, joined the firm in 1945 after graduating with a degree in architecture from Harvard, but not as a partner. Mrs. League was the administrator of the firms, secured business, wrote specifications and had final approval of all plans. (Barfield, 32)

The significance of Jean's joining the practice was that she introduced the latest ideas of modern architecture and knowledge of landscape design to the firm. Jean's influence can be seen in many of the firm's modernist designs, such as their new office building (1948), the Bib Manufacturing Company office building (1949) and the Mary Jane and Joseph League House (1952).

AIA and Awards

In 1944, Ellamae Ellis League was accepted for membership in the Georgia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. The Chapter's acceptance letter was addressed to "Mr." League. (Love, 25) League was only the second woman after Henrietta Dozier to

become a member. As a member, League became involved in the professional side of architecture. She moved her way up through the association holding many offices including First and Second Vice President. Her success was a sign of her the respect of her colleagues for her skills, her commitment to the organization, and the chapter's willingness to acknowledge that women could successfully participate in the profession.

She received many honors and awards for the American Institute of Architects for her distinguished service both to the organization and to the profession. These will be outlined later in the significance section. Also during the 1960s, She later received the Alumnae Award for Distinguished Achievement from Wesleyan College.

In 1975, at the age of 76, after more than 50 years of practice and 41 years of running her own firm, League retired and closed her practice. In recognition for her long and dedicated service to architecture, she received the Bronze Medal, the highest state award given by the AIA. (Love 39) The Bronze Medal had only been given to five architects other than past AIA presidents, before then. (Love 39) After her retirement, League continued receiving recognition for her work. In 1982, she was named the first recipient of the Bernard B. Rothschild Award presented by the Georgia Association of the American Institute of Architects. The award was established to recognize "most distinguished service to the profession of architecture in Georgia." At that time she was quoted as saying, "I was always an architect. Not a woman architect, but an architect. I encourage women going into the profession not to concentrate on being separate as a woman but to concentrate of being a good architect." (Piland, 1-D)

Conclusion

There are similarities in the careers of Dozier, Wilburn, and League. Each woman was a successful owner of her own firm. All had long and productive careers. All were registered architects. They were the three earliest successful women architects of Georgia.

All practiced as professional architects, worked in Georgia, and made significant contributions to the profession and to women's and social history. For example, Dozier (first professionally trained, involved in profession), Wilburn (prolific with large number of extant buildings, author of pattern books, well-known, worked directly with developers), and League (prolific with large number of extant designs, principal of firm, leader in the profession in Georgia).

Each of the women came from upper middle-class families that supported education—each graduated from high school and went to college, a rarity for their time, especially for women. (Sharp, 88) All contributed to the financial well being of their families. Dozier supported her sister, Wilburn supported her entire family, and League was the sole support of her children.

Henrietta Dozier was the first female member of the Georgia Chapter of the AIA and among six charter members who established the first Georgia Chapter of the AIA in March of 1906. The second woman to join the AIA in Georgia was Ellamae Ellis League, who joined in 1944. Ellamae Ellis League was the first Georgia woman to become an AIA fellow.

Dozier was one of the first women to graduate from MIT and was the first woman to practice architecture in Georgia starting her practice in 1901. Wilburn opened her first office in 1909. League was much later, opening her practice in 1934.

Each of the three architects denies discrimination, yet each was treated in ways a male architect would not have been. Dozier was only one of three women in her architecture class at MIT. Dozier's own club did not ask her to submit a bid when building their new clubhouse. Wilburn specialized in residential architecture and found that through direct marketing, she was able to secure clients. League taught herself through correspondence courses as she was denied entrance to Georgia College of Technology on the basis of gender. League once sued the City of Macon as she felt she had not been compensated fairly on the basis of equal pay for equal work. (Sharp, 89)

From the perspective of the twenty-first century, each of these women, Dozier, Wilburn, and League were feminists. They chose challenging career paths not usually chosen by women and they were successful. They were willing to take risks and defy traditional notions about appropriate roles for women.

F. Associated Property Types

Property Type Description

The architecture of Henrietta Dozier, Leila Ross Wilburn and Ellamae Ellis League in Georgia are significant at the local level under National Register criteria A and C. All of these properties are significant in women's history and social history for their importance in the emerging role of the female architect.

The buildings nominated under this Multiple Property Nomination are significant in terms of women's history and social history as fitting in with the changing roles of women during the twentieth century. Like other white-collar professions, architecture has historically been male dominated. During Georgia's historic period, very few women were trained professional architects. These buildings represent the small percentage of Georgia's historic buildings that were designed by women.

The design of these buildings is consistent with local stylistic trends in architecture found in Georgia during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, yet each is different in style and size. The resulting buildings have significance as examples of national architectural trends during the period in which they were constructed.

Designs of Henrietta Dozier and Statements of Significance

As stated in the biography section, Henrietta Dozier was the first professionally trained female in the South. She was heavily involved in the professional side of the trade.

In 1905, Dozier became the third woman in the United States and the first Southern woman to become a member of the AIA. (Smith, "Henrietta Cuttino Dozier," 270) Another sign of her stature within the architecture profession was that Dozier and five male colleagues founded the AIA chapter in Atlanta in 1906. She represented the Atlanta Chapter of the AIA at the Eighth International Congress of Architects in Vienna, Austria in 1908. In 1910-1911, she served as secretary and treasurer for the Atlanta Chapter.

In addition to serving on the AIA board from 1906-1916, Dozier helped establish the Architectural Arts League of Atlanta (1910). The League was to sponsor and curate public exhibitions of drawings, sculptures, photographs, and paintings to promote architecture and the arts,. Dozier had six entries in the first and only exhibit. The entries included photographs for four completed designs: residences in Columbus and Atlanta, a fireplace in an Atlanta home and St. Stephen's Chapel in Jacksonville, Florida; drawings for the Collegiate Gothic "Nelson Hall" girls' school, and an "athenaeum Building" in the Beaux Arts tradition suggestive of the original Georgia Tech buildings. (Stanfield, 102) An upscale exhibition catalog for the exhibit was published, a copy of the page listing Ms. Dozier's entries, is attached.

Further demonstrating her concern about the profession, Dozier was involved in creating the architect license procedures in Georgia in 1915. She also helped establish a scholarship fund for the new school of Architecture at the Georgia Institute of Technology, which, ironically, would not admit women until almost forty years later.

Although no existing buildings in Georgia can be documented to be of Dozier's design, the redesign of the Blackmar-Ellis House in Columbus created a significantly different home. (See photographs) Dozier's reputation as an architect must have resonated across the state, as she was located in Atlanta and was commissioned to do a remodel in Columbus. Her Beaux-Arts training is clearly visible in this building, both in the interiors and on the exterior.

If the Culpepper-Cutts house in Greenville can be documented, then it too would add to her classification as a well-known architect. As she was the first female architect in Georgia, her place in women's history is assured. Henrietta Dozier practiced for approximately fifteen years in Georgia before returning to her home state of Florida. A number of her Florida commissions exist.

According to the interview of Henrietta Dozier with the F.D.R. Federal Writers Project she had been commissioned to do several buildings for the Episcopal Diocese of Atlanta through Bishop Cleland Kinlock Nelson. (Interview attached)

She extolled quality of construction and use of local materials in her buildings. According to the above referenced interview, "Every house should be designed for the climate and all materials should be suitable to this climate."

She best summarized her own career by stating,:

"I have always had to compete with men, yes. In submitting designs, plans, bid, I have never asked any consideration at any time because I happened to be a woman; I put all my cards on the table in fair and honest competition, and ask only consideration on the same basis."

Designs

The following is a list of her designs. This list has been culled from various articles on the life of Henrietta Dozier. Although no documented extant buildings exist, that is not to say that further investigation by other researchers will not produce more fruitful results.

Blackmar-Ellis Mansion
1336 3rd Avenue
Columbus
Remodeled in 1909, Henrietta Dozier, Architect

Originally built for John Blackmar in 1884, the Blackmar-Ellis mansion in Columbus, Georgia was remodeled in 1909. Henrietta Dozier was the architect for that renovation, which included the addition of the Corinthian columns, a port-cochere and a sun parlor. (Stanfield, 104) In 1984 according to the Columbus Enquirer, the house contained seven bedrooms, 4 baths, a parlor, library, foyer, music room, dining room, master bedroom with sitting room, kitchen, ballroom and basement, complimented by nine fire places. (Sumbry, B-2)

The home was built for John Blackmar, who was the son of the founder of a successful fire insurance company, Alfred O. Blackmar, Jr. John ran the company after his father's death. John Blackmar and Susan Wellborn Blackmar raised five children in the home. One of the children was Susie, who married John Tyler Ellis in 1895 and raised her two children in the house. In fact, Susie lived in the mansion until her death in 1981. After the family sold the house, it served as the Stewart Community Homes, a home for the elderly. It later became the Jones Funeral Home. Local citizen, Synde Steinwachs, renovated the home in 2002. It is now an antique shop named Belle's Place.

According to an early photograph, the original home was a two-story Victorian with Eastlake details, which appears to be a two-story gabled roof house type with a large side porch. The porch contained simple Eastlake gingerbread and the windows had pediments over them. Dozier changed the façade to beaux-arts classic, with Corinthian columns, and added a second story balcony over the main entrance. She also added a third floor, interior stairs to the third floor, interior columns, ornate wood work, coffered ceilings in the main rooms of the first floor, the port-cochere, enclosed the side porch, and added leaded glass cabinets in the dining room. According to the current owner the stained glass in the stairwell precedes the house and was placed there at the request of Mr. Blackmar. Unfortunately, the stairs to the third-floor ballroom hides part of the glass. The ballroom itself was never finished. It has been used as storage for almost a full century. Currently, the original plaster is bare, never having been painted.

A National Preservation Needs Assessment done in 1987 states that the home was kept from the National Register, "at the desire of former owners," and that its purchase cost and renovations were estimated to be

\$300,000. The Blackmar-Ellis House is in the process of being listed in the National Register as a contributing building in the High Uptown Historic District of Columbus.

All Saints' Episcopal Church Chapel
West Peachtree and North Avenue, Atlanta

Designed by Henrietta Dozier in 1903 the Chapel and Sunday School Building for the fledgling All Saints' Episcopal Church, was its first structure. Attached is the only existing known photograph of that building, taken somewhere around 1904 of a Sunday School class at the entrance. That building was a wooden chapel, one story, shingle roof often described as half-timbered and stucco. (Photo and description attached)

The land where the chapel was built was given to the Episcopalian Diocese to use for "church purposes only" by Mary Jane Peters in memory of her late husband, Richard, in 1901. It was a 175 square-foot lot located at the northwest corner of West Peachtree Street and North Avenue. The cornerstone of the chapel was laid on Easter Eve 1903. According to church records, "It was built as a Sunday School for children whose homes were considered too remote to attend the downtown churches, St. Philip's and St. Luke's." The chapel was actually built before the All Saints' parish was founded.

Most accounts of this building say it burned in 1906, but according to Mrs. Sug Patton, All Saints' archivist, it was torn down after Egleston Hall was built in 1917. The church's web site states that the chapel was torn down to make way for the new church building, which was dedicated on Palm Sunday, 1906.

"Nelson Hall" Girls School
Atlanta

No information currently available.

House for Mr. Snook
Atlanta

No information currently available.

Southern Ruralist Building
Atlanta

This building was built for the Episcopal Diocese of Atlanta on Hunter Street near Washington Street. A search of the Diocese's archives has found no mention of such a building.

Culpepper-Cutts House
The Georgian Bed and Breakfast Inn
566 South Talbotton Street, Greenville, GA 30222

This house historically known as the Cullpepper-Cutts house was built in 1914. Angela Argraves purchased the 1914 house in 1984. At that time she came across papers that documented the house as being designed by Henrietta Dozier of Atlanta. The house contains 4400 square feet. One unusual feature is the fact that each bedroom was built with a large adjoining closet, which further convinced Ms. Argraves that the house was designed by a woman. The house was built for Nath Culpepper, a prominent attorney in Greenville and state senator. (Greenville is the county seat of Meriwether County.)

It was originally a two story Georgian cottage with two rooms on each side of a central hall on the two floors. A later addition included a modern kitchen and screened porch on the rear of the home. When Ms. Argraves renovated the house as a bed and breakfast, she enclosed the rear porch as a dining room. She further converted each closet to a bathroom. This allowed each guest room in the Inn to have its own bath. Each closet was large enough for a full-scale bathroom including a claw-foot tub.

Although, Ms. Argraves cannot locate Dozier's papers at this time, other means are being undertaken to document the structure. However, the home is within the Greenville Historic District added to the National Register in 1990. This structure is located just off the town square.

Further contacts with the Meriwether Historical Society, the Meriwether Courthouse, and the Culpepper family have produced no results.

Designs of Leila Ross Wilburn and Statement of Significance

"A Good Plan Saves Money--The economy, convenience and appearance of a house are largely dependent upon the care and thought that has been employed in designing it. Architects get more room out of the allotted space; the plans 'work out,' there is room for stairs; the second story fits over the first story; furniture space and closets are provided; you know beforehand how the house will look; you are protected in case of disagreements; building laws are followed and doors are placed so as to give a good exterior appearance." (Wilburn, *Ranch and Colonial Homes*, 2)

Leila Ross Wilburn was and probably still is the best-known woman architect in Atlanta. She designed houses and apartments in the South and authored architectural plan-books for single-family dwellings. She designed more than 300 homes, 30 apartment complexes of four to 22 units and 24 duplexes. (Kleine, 1; Jennings, LRW 15) She established her own offices at age 22, built a prosperous business and designed many homes for her clients.

Three socially compelling factors influenced Lilburn's work: progressive ideas about aesthetics and housing reform, intensive campaigns advocating small house, and the promotion of home ownership as an American family value. (Jennings, LRW,10)

Leila Wilburn played upon her unique advantage over male architects by advertising that she designed the type of home that a woman would want. She highlighted her kitchen layouts, understanding that domestic workers in the home were declining during this period and the kitchen was now the domain of the wife. (Kleine, 10) References in the trade press from 1880 to 1915 proclaimed that women were better at planning for efficiency and practicality than their male counterparts. (Jennings, LRW, 12) In two of her plan books, Wilburn used these stereotypes to her advantage, stating: "Being a woman I feel that I may know the little things that should go in it to make living in the house a pleasure to the entire family." (Jennings LRW, 12)

She also recognized the need to be visible in city publications; she chose to advertise in the *Atlanta Constitution*, the city directory, the *Industrial Index*, and the *Southern Builder*. (Ramsey, 43) Her designs were frequently published in the Sunday Homes section of the *Atlanta Constitution* as examples of homes suited to Atlanta. She also permitted the use of her houses as illustrations for building materials advertisements. (Ramsey, 43)

As an advocate of the early-20th-century aesthetic philosophy based on scientific management for home design and endorsed by home economists and supporters of

modernist design, Wilburn respected clean, un-ornamented lines for materials and their function, and line and plane as composition. (Jennings, LRW, 12) Wilburn, relied on the aesthetic principles of the Arts and Crafts movement, but in order to make her work affordable in the middle class market, she sacrificed structural honesty to newer construction methods such as balloon framing and use of veneers, and machine made ornamentation. (Ramsey 52)

Four factors influenced her practice:

1. philanthropic and political discussions of a house crisis and the inception of housing reform;
2. an increase in urban apartment construction to house middle-class families;
3. intense campaigns to promote small houses on suburban lots
4. the promotion of home ownership as an American family value. (Jennings, *An Architecture*, 1)

She often utilized concealed beds in her designs, which provided extra sleeping spaces. Most of her bungalows featured large, open interior spaces. She abolished "all cozy corners and jig-saw work" and in their place designed "useful built-in furniture and artistic effects of the housing-reform aesthetic." (Jennings, LRW, 12) Her built-ins included beds, cupboards, folding ironing boards and window and staircase seats. The Murphy in a Door Bed Company of Atlanta was an advertiser in *Southern Homes & Bungalows*. Wilburn relied on many architectural principles—symmetry, balance, dominance, a series of center, and layering to achieve a sense of formality and dignity characteristic of this period in Atlanta. (Ramsey, xvii)

Her houses blended the public's wish for a post-industrial "back to nature" architectural imagery with the ease of modern, urban living that was the hallmark of the Arts and Crafts movement at the time. (Ward, 42) Her designs promoted a picturesque country architecture. She was an architect who was not nationally prominent, but espoused a philosophy directly related to national movements informing and catering to the masses. (Ramsey, xv)

Although she designed no famous buildings in her 55-year career, her plan books professed her belief in the ideas of modernity and design reform. She was not a great innovator, but her contribution was making the styles of the day affordable, attractively detailed and models of domestic comfort. Her understanding of layering public, semi-public, and private spaces were integral to the character and fabric of the garden suburb. (Ramsey, xvi)

A drive through the early suburbs of Atlanta can reveal many of her designs. She adapted popular housing forms, notably the bungalow to Southern tastes and environments. She emphasized here status as a woman to appeal to housewives and underscore her knowledge of domestic space. While only regional in her scope of influence, Wilburn's plans are actually national in their scope because there were houses of the same nature and style being built all over the country.

In 1993, Leila Ross Wilburn was inducted posthumously into the Georgia Women of Achievement, Inc. a non-profit organization honoring women of Georgia who have made extraordinary contributions to society.

Designs

This following list of Wilburn's extant designs was taken from the thesis on Leila Ross Wilburn by David Ramsey and from a search of the National Register by this author. The listing is roughly organized by Atlanta and Decatur neighborhoods.

Almond Park	2016 Ruth Street
Ansley Park	33 Walker Street
Candler Park	1234 McLendon*
	1245 McLendon*
	370 Brooks Avenue
	Single-level brick house, part of the Bungalow series
	Crown moldings, high ceilings, and spacious rooms
	Attributed to the <i>Brick and Colonial Homes</i> plan book, this is a single-level brick house contains two bedrooms. Its interior has high ceilings, spacious rooms and crown moldings.
Cascade Heights	3105 Cascade Road, Pitts Dairy Farm
Decatur	205 Adams Street*
	310 Adams Street*
	340 Adams Street
	356 Adams Street*
	410 Adams Street
	413 Adams Street*
	416 Adams Street*
	417 Clairmont Road
	517 Clairmont Road
	522 Clairmont Road
	321 Sycamore Street
	620 Sycamore Street
	624 Sycamore Street
Druid Hills	1362 North Decatur Road*
	1925 Atlanta Decorator Show House
	871 Oakdale Road*
	<i>Southern Homes & Bungalows</i> , No. 876
	1036 Oakdale Road*
	1218 Oakdale Road
	1036 Oxford Road
	<i>Ideal Homes of Today</i> , No. 272
	1218 Oxford Road
	<i>New Homes of Quality</i> , No. 2400
	832 Springdale Road*
	<i>Ideal Homes of Today</i> , No. 205
	917 Springdale Road*
	<i>Brick & Colonial Homes</i> , No. 137
	923 Springdale Road*
	<i>Brick & Colonial Homes</i> , No. 97
	1201 Springdale Road
	<i>Ideal Homes of Today</i> , No. 508
Inman Park	132 Elizabeth Street*

- Lake Claire
- Private Commission
475 Clifton Road*
Ideal Homes of Today, No. 151
- 515 Clifton Road
Brick & Colonial Homes, No. 16, 1922
- 575 Clifton Road
Brick & Colonial Homes, No. 16
- Midtown
- 1105 Monroe Drive
Brick & Colonial Homes, No. 16
- 716 Myrtle Street*
Brick & Colonial Homes, No. 8
- 829 Myrtle
812 Penn Avenue*
Brick & Colonial Homes, No. 8
- 826 Penn Avenue
Brick & Colonial Homes, No. 11
- 877 Penn Avenue
Ideal Homes of Today, No. 350
- 895 Penn Avenue*
Brick & Colonial Homes, No. 8
- 362 9th Street*
Brick & Colonial Homes, No. 8
- 368 9th Street*
Brick & Colonial Homes, No. 135
- 1993 East Rock Springs
New Homes of Quality, No. 1998
- 1811 East Rock Springs
New Homes of Quality, No. 1998
- 690 Piedmont Avenue*

Chatam Apartment Building,
National Register of Historic Places

Constructed of red brick, this apartment building is three stories tall and has a rectangular footprint with two sun porch wings on the south façade. Although the longer side of the building runs along Third Street, the main façade faces Piedmont Avenue, the more important street. The building has two public entrances. The main entrance is located on Piedmont with a secondary entrance on Third Street. A total of three sets of enclosed back stairs provide direct access to six apartments each from the south and west facades. With the exception of a small tiled roof overhang over the major third floor windows the building is unadorned, but very elegant. The fenestration is symmetrical on all facades. The windows are a variety of wooden multi-light sash windows with transoms above some windows. While some windows have been replaced over the years, many are original to the building. The roof is flat, with stone coping around the parapet.

On the interior a generously proportioned L-shaped corridor provides entry to the individual apartments. The building houses a total of 18 apartments, six on each floor. With the exception of three two-bedroom apartments, one on each floor, all others are one-bedroom. One open staircase connects all three floors. The stairs are wood with wooden handrails.

The interiors of the apartments are generously proportioned. Each apartment features a living room, a sunroom, a bathroom, a kitchen and one or two bedrooms. All walls and ceilings are plastered and painted. All apartments have simple wood door and window moldings. The interior doors are wood paneled, some with transoms.

The back staircase can be reached from each kitchen. This staircase receives natural light from the third floor sky light.

344 Ponce de Leon, The Rosslyn, 1913*

Currently the Atlanta Transitional Center

This three-story brick apartment building is currently used as a halfway house for men and women who have served time in prison.

The oversized brackets supporting the roof and the unusual curved solid metal balcony rails are the distinguishing features of the building.

66 Eleventh Street, Piedmont Park Apartments, 1914*

National Register of Historic Places, 2003

Morningside

1664 Homestead Avenue

New Homes of Quality, No. 2301, 357

1431 North Highland*

Small Low Cost Homes, No. 1497

1288 North Morningside*

1376 North Morningside*

1566 North Morningside*

1584 North Morningside*

Poncey Highland

622 Moreland Avenue

1002 North Avenue

Virginia Highland

1002 St. Augustine

766 St. Charles Place

1081 St. Charles Place*

1138 St. Charles Place*

Winnona Park

203 Avery Street*

306 Avery Street*

Vienna Woods

3112 Octavia Place

Lenox Woods

1438 Citadel Drive

Old Fourth Ward

640 Boulevard, Atlanta*

The Regal Apartments, 1918

60 Parkway Drive, Atlanta

North Apartments, 1920

Other listings outside metro Atlanta:

Kidd House

222 Hartwell Road, Livonia

National Register of Historic Places, 1983

Style: Bungalow/Craftsman

Kendrick-Matheson House, 212 Athens Street, Hartwell (Built 1912) (Feltman Residence)

National Register of Historic Places, 1986

Style: Bungalow/Craftsman

Linder, Roscoe Conklin, House, 118 Athens Street, Hartwell (Built 1900-1924)

National Register of Historic Places, 1986

Style: Bungalow/Craftsman

Skelton, Alexander Stephens, House, 214 Athens Street, Hartwell

National Register of Historic Places, 1986

Style: Bungalow/Craftsman

Districts where Wilburn is listed as contributing architect:

Greenville Street-LaGrange Street Historic District, Coweta County

500 acres, 114 buildings

National Register Historic Places, 1983

Architect, builder, or engineer: Wilburn, Leila Ross, David Cuttino, Jr.

Historic Significance: Community Planning and Development, Architecture, Social History, Exploration/Settlement

Styles: Greek Revival, Queen Anne

National Register of Historic Places

The Greenville Street-LaGrange Street Historic District is significant as a historic residential neighborhood that developed over a period of 100 years along two major highways in the southern part of Newnan. The district's residential architecture is distinguished by the presence of architectural woodwork produced by the R.D. Cole Company of Newnan, by designs of Leila Ross Wilburn, local architect David Cuttino, Jr. and by apparent pattern book design.

Within the district, located at 103 LaGrange Street is a one-story brick house built in 1930 designed by Leila Ross Wilburn.

This home exemplifies Wilburn's transition from bungalows to ranch. It has bungalow features such as the upper sashes of windows being divided while the lower one is plain; a one-story floor plan, gable with stucco, but the house also has classic details and lacks a front porch.

Cole Town District, Coweta County

National Register of Historic Places, 1982

540 acres, 82 buildings, 2 structures

Architect, builder, or engineer: Wilburn, Louisa [Leila] Ross, R.D. Cole Co.

Historic Significance: Non-Aboriginal, Landscape Architecture, Community Planning and Development, Architecture, Industry

Styles: Bungalow/Craftsman, late Victorian, Tudor Revival

The R.D. Cole Company was an early and long-standing family-owned major industry in Georgia. The company produced a variety of architectural woodwork as well as industrial machinery, engines and boilers, trusses, and water towers.

This is a largely residential district located to the east of Newnan's central business district. It contains approximately 80 single-family homes dating from the mid-19th century to the early 20th century. Styles represented include Greek Revival, Victorian Gothic, Victorian Eclectic, Eastlake, Queen Anne, Neo-classical, Georgian Revival, Prairie, Craftsman/Bungalow and Tudor.

Wilburn designed a bungalow located at 128 East Broad Street known as the E.C. Beers home in 1921. In 1921 E.C. Beers saw Wilburn's advertisement in the Atlanta paper and ordered the plans for the home. This home is typical of Wilburn's early bungalow period.

West Avenue-Roberts Street Residential Historic District, Lavonia

National Register of Historic Places, 1983

Architect, builder, or engineer: Wilburn, Leila Ross, Multiple

Historic Significance: Event, Architecture/Engineering

Style: Bungalow/Craftsman, Late Victorian

Winnona Park Historic District, Decatur

National Register of Historic Places, 2002

Architect, builder, or engineer: Wilburn, Leila Ross

Historic Significance: Event, Architecture/Engineering

Style: Late 19th and 20th century Revivals, Late 19th and 20th century American movements

The Winnona Park Historic District is a historic residential neighborhood on the south side of Decatur that developed as a series of subdivisions from 1914 to 1951.

This historic district is comprised exclusively of residential buildings, except for the Winnona Park School built in the 1920s. The homes are excellent examples of English Vernacular Revival, Colonial Revival and Craftsman/Bungalows.

Wilburn designed two craftsman/bungalows at 203 and 305 Avery Street.

Collins Avenue Historic District, Cobb County
Candler Park Historic District, DeKalb County
Druid Hills Historic District, DeKalb County
Emory grove Historic District, DeKalb County
Inman Park Historic District, Fulton County
Midtown Historic District, Fulton County

*Photo available

Designs of Ellamae Ellis League and Statements of Significance

Ellamae Ellis League's career is noteworthy for its personal and professional achievement. She was a divorced single mother of two children and the grandmother of six. From the 1930s to her retirement, League owned her own firm outright. She started her firm in the midst of the Great depression when other men and women were abandoning the field. She did not form partnerships, even with her own daughter. She retained control over every design and signed all of her firm's plans. League received many honors and awards for her designs and service to the architectural profession and community. League died at the age of 91 in March of 1991.

She was Georgia's premier woman architect of the mid-20th century. Although the body of her work extends into the recent past (post 1954) her career started in 1922 and spanned 55-year period. Her life is truly a study in women's history and as an early successful woman architect in Georgia. Some of her architecture is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and more and more of it should become eligible in the near future. She was Georgia's premier woman architect of the mid-20th century.

League regarded her AIA membership not only as an honor but also as a duty. (Ray, Sect. 8) League was instrumental in establishing the Macon Division of the AIA in 1957 and was elected its first president. She served on several committees over the years including organizational and educational committees. She was awarded the AIA Chapter's Service Award in 1963.

As chairman of the committee to form a statewide AIA organization, League helped found the Georgia Council of the AIA (now the Georgia Association) and then became its first president in 1963. After serving as president she then served as the director of the Georgia Council. League received many awards from the local, state, and national divisions of the AIA. She was active member, serving on the national committee on student affairs, a national awards jury and a national committee on chapter affairs. In 1964 she was elected first president of the Georgia Council of the AIA. (First State AIA, 30)

In 1968, League's peers elected her to the College of Fellows of the AIA. At the time of her election, League was only the eighth woman of 817 fellows. (Love, 25.) She was also the first woman from the South to be admitted to that prestigious College. At that time the Atlanta Chapter of the AIA chartered a bus to travel to Macon for the party given to celebrate her investiture. (Barfield, 33) At the time of her death in 1991, Ellamae Ellis League was still the only woman FAIA in Georgia and only one of eight nationwide.

League was also involved in historic preservation in Macon, both as an architect and as a private citizen. Two early projects were the New Deal-era reconstruction of Fort Hawkins and the 1937 restoration of the T. Baldwin house. For her efforts on the T. Baldwin house, League was awarded the Ivan Allen Senior Award for Community Service by the Atlanta AIA in 1975. That is the highest honor of the Atlanta Chapter of the AIA.

Her most recognized and most important preservation work came at the end of her career—the Grand Opera House in Macon in 1969. The Opera House was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1970. She also contributed the design for a house and lot, which were donated for a fund raising event for the restoration of the Opera House.

Designs

The list of League designs was obtained from the League papers at the Washington Street Library and the thesis on League by Margaret love. Additional documentation on League's career was compiled by Bamby Ray, who researched and wrote the National Register of Historic Places nomination for the Ellamae Ellis League House. This list is roughly organized by year of design and no survey has been done to verify which structures are still extant.

1934

Trice, Reginald
Sinclair Service Station, Napier and Vine Streets, Macon
Not-extant

Parr, Mr. Emory, Residence
Reynolds

Duke, Mr. & Mrs. John David; Residence & Garden House
Fort Valley

Medlock, Mrs. M.R.; Log House
1120 College, Macon

MdGaw, Dr. & Mrs. J.N.; Residence
2 Columbus Road, Macon

Reservoir
Hawkinsville

1935

Wynnton Methodist Church Educational Building
Columbus

First Baptist Church
Ashburn

Pritchett, Mr. & Mrs. Allen C.; Residence
Perry

Martin, Mr. & Mrs. T. Baldwin; Residence Restoration, Original 1819
Vineville Avenue, Macon

Jones County High School, Gray, Georgia
National Historic Register, 1999
Architect, builder, or engineer: League, Ellamae Ellis
Historic Significance: Event, Architecture/Engineering
Style: Colonial Revival

Held's Dress Shop
570 Cherry Street, Macon

Knox, Mr. & Mrs.; Residence
Gray

Miller, Mr. & Mrs. Charles; Residence
Tifton

Thomas, Dr. & Mrs. Charles; Residence
Location Unknown

1936

Barnes, Mr. & Mrs. A. Emmett, Jr.; Residence
3245 Vista Circle, Macon

Chamblis, Mr. & Mrs. Ray; Residence
Gray

Hafer, Mr. & Mrs. Harris; Residence
Fort Valley

Farmer, Dr. & Mrs. Eugenia; Proposed Residence
286 Pionono, Macon

Pleasant Hill Colored School
325 Pursley, Macon
Not extant

Triangle Pharmacy, Drug Store*
2705 Houston Avenue, Macon

Sparks, Mr. A.O.; Country Lodge
Lake Reston

Lanier High School, Gymnasium
995 Holt Avenue, Macon
Not extant

1937

Ivey, Mr. & Mrs. H.A.; Residence

Montezuma

West, Mr. & Mrs. John Henry; Residence
Overlook Drive, Macon

Wynn, Mr. & Mrs. A.B.; Residence
Cochran

Carstarphen, Mr. & Mrs. Taylor; Residence
778 Boulevard, Macon

Jones County Gym, Community Hall and School
Jones County

Ferrell, Dr. & Mrs. Robert; Residence
Dublin

Hollingsworth, Mr. & Mrs.; Residence
Fort Valley

Webb Coal Co. Office Building; (Bernard A. Webb)
1200 5th, Macon
Not extant

James H. Porter Memorial Gymnasium, Restoration
Fort Hawkins

Fitzpatrick, Mr. & Mrs. Mark; Residence
Tarversville

Community House
Gray

Burney, Mr. & Mrs. L.P.; Residence
738 North Avenue, Macon

1938

Solomon Store Building
552 Cherry Street; Macon

Bibb County Court House, Alterations
Macon

McCook Lumber Company House
Macon
Not extant

Morris, Mr. & Mrs. George; Residence
Bellevue Road, Dublin

Murray, Mr. & Mrs. Bobo; Residence
185 Oak Haven Drive, Macon

Bibb Manufacturing Company
North Broadway, Porterdale

McNair, Mrs. Sidney B.; Residence*

916 Nottingham Drive, Macon

The earliest house designed by League in the Shirley Hills subdivision, this brick home has Chateausque details.

1939

Weaver Memorial Entrance Gate, Bibb County Commission
Weaver Road, Macon

Dr. Truman Slade Office in the Bibb Building
Macon

Flint Electric Membership Corp., Office Building
Reynolds

Alexander II School, Proposed Auditorium Addition
Macon

Walker, Mr. B. Sanders; Residence
Calloway Drive, Macon

Barron, Dr. & Mrs. O.D.; Residence
Rentz

Harris, Mrs. Eugene; Residence
Sandersville

First Methodist Church Parsonage
Thomasville

Hartness, Mr. & Mrs. Charles; Residence
243 Bonny Place, Cherokee Heights, Macon

McElrath, Mr. & Mrs. Joseph J.; Residence
Sandersville

Schwartz Apartments
Napier & Birch Street, Macon

Teachers House & Quarters, Remodel
Bibb Manufacturing Co.
Porterdale

Warehouse, Bibb Manufacturing Co.
Porterdale

Taylor County School
Butler

Girls Junior High School
Macon

Cutler, Mrs. Jack; Residence
223 Hines Terrace, Macon

Drake, Mr. & Mrs. A.A.; Residence
Clayton Street, Macon

Wansker Apartment House
Callaway Drive, Macon

Vester, Mr. & Mrs. Arthur; Residence
Calloway Drive, Macon

Murphy, Dr. R.H, Dental Offices
Bankers Insurance Building, 666 Cherry Street, Macon

Burney, Mrs. Ella M.; Residence
774 Boulevard, Macon

Recreation Hall, Camp Wheeler

Happ Brothers Co., Cafeteria
698 Broadway, Macon
Now loft apartments

Wall, Mrs. J.B.; Residence
Sandersville

Popper Apartments
Macon

Witman, Mr. & Mrs. M.J.; Residence
Lorane

Coleman, Mr. & Mrs. M.D.; Residence
Davereux

Hancock County Board of Education
Devereux

Happ, Mrs. Lee; Two-family House
Macon

Millirons, Mr. & Mrs. C.W.; Residence
844 Parkview Drive, Macon

Sigma Alpha Epsilon Fraternity
Macon

Fisher, Mr. T.W.; Tourist Camp
Cochran

Happ, Mr. & Mrs. Lee; Residence
Jackson Springs Road, Macon

1940

Ellamae Ellis League House*
1790 Waverland Drive, Macon

National Register of Historic Places Listed 2003

1942

Pig'n Whistle Dining Room, Addition
1425 Georgia Avenue, Macon

Tabor, Mr. & Mrs. Floyd; Residence Addition
Byron

Cochran Field Cadet Club
654 Mulberry Street, Macon

Social Club Building, Bibb Manufacturing
Porterdale

Federal Works Agency, Emergency School Buildings
Macon

Haskins, Mr. & Mrs. E.A.; Farm Residence
Twiggs County

Model Mill Village, Bibb Manufacturing Co.
Columbus

Methodist Church
Warner Robbins

Willingham, Ben; Residence
Forsyth Road, Macon

Burns, Mr. H.K.; Residence
Riverdale Road, Macon

Noland Co. Warehouse
550 Broadway, Macon

Walters Jewelry Store
410 Second Street, Macon
Not extant

Edgar Brothers Administration Building
McIntyre

McCord Office
Macon

Happ Bros. Co. Plant
Sparta

Davis Auto Sales Agency
Macon

Wynn, Mr. & Mrs. U.S.; Residence
Dublin

Negro Elementary School
Antioch Road, Macon
Not built

Burney, Mr. & Mrs. J.E.; Residence
Hawkinsville

Holt, Mr. & Mrs. M.F.; Residence
Auburn Drive, Macon

Harwell, Dr. & Mrs. C.W.; Residence
Cordele

Yarbrough-Brown Motor Co.
Walnut Street, Macon

Grantham, Mr. & Mrs. W.J.; Residence
Dublin

Kittrell, Dr. C.H.; Office
Dublin

Gymnasium
Gray

Chapman Auto Sales Agency
Macon

Mullis, Mr. Elbert; Resort Hotel
Indian Springs

Keepers Cottage, Pennfield Cemetery
Pennfield

Weir, Cynthia School
Macon

Saloom Ice Cream Dispensary
First Street, Macon

Howard, Mr. & Mrs. John R.; Residence
1837 Waverland Drive, Macon

McAdoo, Mr. & Mrs. Brantley; Residence
Lone Oak Drive, Macon

Carroll Pontiac Sales Agency
Dublin

Elk's Club
Dalton

Wilcox, Mr. & Mrs. F.M.; Residence
Dalton

Carroll Hudson Agency

Dublin

Baptist Church
Fort Valley

Georgia Baptist College
Macon

Edgar Brothers, Residence
McIntyre

Fort Hawkins School, Alterations
Macon

Brandon, Mr. Herbert H.; Residence
Dublin

Chambers, Mr. & Mrs. T.H.; Residence
Gray

Bowdoin, Mr. & Mrs. Marvin; Residence
Bartow

School
Bartow

White, Mr. & Mrs. M.W.; Residence
Forsyth Road, Macon

Pickren, Mr. & Mrs. J.C.; Residence
Unadilla

Lane, Mr. & Mrs. David; Residence
Fort Valley

Methodist Church
Ashburn

Casson Flower Shop
Forsyth Street, Macon

Happ Housing Complex
Ware Street, Macon

Herbert Smart Air Terminal
Macon

Scott Service Station
Forsyth Road, Macon

Southern Waterproofing Co., Shop Building
Macon

1947

Glass, Mr. & Mrs. Albert; Residence*

1350 Waverland Drive, Macon

Daugherty, Mr. & Mrs. M. Residence
1831 Upper River Road, Macon

Watley, Mr. Thurman; Lake Lodge House
Reynolds

Wesleyan Christian Advocate, Publishing House
Forsyth Road, Macon

Quinn Furniture Store
Cherry Street, Macon

Reidsville High School
Reidsville

Glennville High School
Glennville

Blackburn, Mr. & Mrs. E.S.; Residence
Sparta

Collins Elementary School
Collins

Porterfield Community Building
Houston Road, Macon

Jones, Mrs. Malcom ; Residence
Buford Road, Macon

Blue Bird Body Co., Administration & Cafeteria Building
Fort Valley

Gardner Motor Court
Perry

National Cash Register Co., Office Building
Cherry Street, Macon

1948

Adams Office Building
625 Walnut Street, Macon
Not extant

Orr Apartments
Vineville Avenue, Macon

Coddon, Mr. & Mrs. M.J.; Residence
1268 Jackson Springs Road, Macon

Mortuary and Chapel Building
Waner Robbins

Barnett, Mr. & Mrs. R.C.; Residence
Waverland Drive, Macon

Grand School
Gray

Ballard Hudson School
Macon

Joseph Clisby School, Assembly Room
Macon

John W. Burke School, Assembly Room
Macon

Wadley, Mr. & Mrs. John; Residence
335 Riverdale Road, Macon

McKenzie Apartments
Macon

Lewis Shop
Vineville Avenue, Macon

1949

Cooper Office Building
552 Third Street, Macon

Adams Service Station
Forsyth Road, Macon

Bibb Manufacturing Office Building
273 Colesium Drive, Macon

Jenkins, Mr. & Mrs. Albert S.; Residence
Baxley

First Street Methodist Church
First Street, Macon

Beckham Lake House
Perry

Burke Residence
Stanislaus Drive, Macon

Walker, Mrs. R.P.; Residence
Kathleen

Bruss, Dr. F.J.; Dental Offices
Mulberry Street, Macon

Mary Lou Shop
Cherry Street, Macon

1950

Happ Apartment Group
833 North Avenue, Macon

McAllister, Dr. & Mrs. R.; Residence
1464 Twin Pines Drive, Macon

Nathan, Dr. & Mrs. D.E.; Residence
Fort Valley

Macon Electric and Blueprinting Co. Building
444 Walnut Street, Macon

Mable White Baptist Church
Broadway or Eisenhower Parkway at 2nd Street, Macon

Bush, Dr. Holloway; Doctors Office Building
Daisy Park, Macon

Dr. Sam Patton Office
Poplar Street, Macon

Burns, Mr. & Mrs. H.K.; Residence
Wimbish Road, Macon

Macon Lodge No 5 FAM
Macon

Keen, Mr. & Mrs. Lehman; Residence
Dublin

James King Stores
Ingleside Avenue, Macon

Vienna Methodist Church
Vienna

Bus Station
Soperton

1951

Smith Service Station
McRae

Macon Little Theatre; Alterations
695 Riverside Drive, Macon

Mikado Baptist Church
3837 Houston Street, Macon

Caldwell Dance Studio
Cherry Street, Macon

Christ Episcopal Church, Proposed Parish House
Dublin

Killen, Mrs. J.T.; Residence
Vista Circle, Macon

1952

Coke, Mr & Mrs. J.; Residence and Country House
Macon

South Macon High School
Macon

Recreation Center
Vienna

Academy for Blind Negroes
Macon

Neel, Mr. & Mrs. R.; Residence
River Road, Macon

St. James Episcopal Church
Courtland Avenue, Macon

Dunlap, Mr. & Mrs. R.C.; Residence
1151 Oakcliff Road, Macon

Coleman, Dr. & Mrs. Fred; Residence
Dublin

Bryant, Mr. & Mrs. Lamar; Residence
Dublin

1953

Scruggs, Mr. & Mrs. H.W.; Residence
2924 Hillandale Circle, Macon

Porterdale Baptist Church
Porterdale

Jones County Health Center
Gray

Glass, Mr. & Mrs. A.W.; Residence
Winchester

Macon Hospital Expansion
Macon

1954

Macon Street Elementary School
Macon

Idle Hour Country Club, alterations and additions

251 Idle Hour Drive, Macon

Marshall, Mr. Harry; Residence
Lone Oak Road, Macon

Church of the Mediator, Parish House
Washington

Byron H.S. & Elementary School, Lunchroom and Kitchen
Byron

Ragan, Randolph; Residence
Macon

Rachels, Mr. & Mrs. J.A.; Residence
Dublin

1955

Scharfman, Mr. & Mrs. M.; Residence
Oakcliff Road, Macon

Pennington Office Building*
829 First Street, Macon

Eberhardt, Dr. & Mrs. R.C.; Residence
2970 Hillandale Circle, Macon

Fort Valley Elementary & High School
Fort Valley

Cochran, Mr. & Mrs. Carl, Residence
Dublin

Wesmoreland Animal Hospital
Riverside Drive, Macon

Chestnut School
Fort Valley

Williams Proposed Apartments
Vineville Avenue, Macon

St. Matthews Mission
Monroe Street and Third Avenue, Macon

Service Building Army Building
1976 Houston Street, Macon

1956

Fort Valley Junior High School
Fort Valley

Bootle, Judge & Mrs. William; Residence
Lamar Drive, Macon

Byron Methodist Church
Byron

Tatnall Square Medical Center
1624 Coleman Avenue, Macon

Evans, Mr. & Mrs. A.J.; Residence
Fort Valley

1957

Mineral & Chemicals Corporation, Records Storage Building
City?

Forest Park Nursing Home
Forest Avenue, Macon

Houser, Mr. & Mrs. John; Residence
Perry

Briggs Apartments
Macon

Ivan Allen, Alterations
Macon

1958

Holman Hotel Alterations
Athens

Runson, Mr. & Mrs. W.E.; Residence
Reynolds

M.M. Burdell School
Macon

First Baptist Church
Soperton

1959

Townsend Brothers Funeral Home
Dublin

Central Hotel Alterations
Macon

Sinquefield, Mr. & Mrs. J.; Residence
Tennille

Christ Church, Chapel & Parish House
Walnut Street, Macon

1960

Christian Science Society
Warner Robbins

Apartment Building
Macon

American Legion Post 74
Miller Field Road, Macon

Macon Housing Authority
Felton Avenue, Macon

Lee, Mr. & Mrs. Frank; Residence
2024 Upper River Road, Macon

* Photographs available in attachments

General Registration Requirements

To meet the registration requirements, a property nominated under this Multiple Property Nomination must be designed by either Henrietta Dozier, Leila Ross Wilburn, or Ellamae Ellis League, fall within the period of significance 1900 to 1960, and retain its integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

Henrietta Cuttino Dozier (1872-1947) practiced her profession in Atlanta and the state of Georgia from 1901 to 1916. Any buildings designed by her during this period would be considered eligible for inclusion in this nomination.

Leila Ross Wilburn, (1885 - 1967) practiced her profession in Atlanta and its environs from 1907 to 1962. Any of her designs built from 1909 to 1960 would be eligible for inclusion in this nomination.

Ellamae Ellis League (1899 to 1991) practiced her profession in Macon and the state of Georgia as the principle in her firm from 1934 to 1975. Any of her designs built from 1934 to 1960 would be eligible for inclusion in this nomination.

G. Geographical Data

The State of Georgia

H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The Multiple Property Submission for the "Architectural Designs of Henrietta Dozier, Leila Ross Wilburn and Ellamae Ellis League in Georgia" is part of the Georgia Women's History Initiative that began within the Georgia State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) in 1994. Funded by the Georgia legislature through the SHPO, Phase I of the Initiative included the preparation of a historic context report title "Georgia: A Woman's Place, A Historic Context," the completion of five National Register of Historic Places

nominations, identification of notable Georgia women, and assessment of Georgia's historic preservation activities in terms of women's history in Georgia, special studies relating the kitchen, landscape, and archaeology in Georgia, and recommendations for the SHPO in terms of women-related historic resources and future phases of the initiative.

Penny Luck, a candidate for a master's degree in Heritage Preservation at Georgia State University under the supervision of Leslie Sharp and Bamby Ray has identified the historic places in Georgia associated with each of the three architects and worthy of a multiple property nomination. Although some of the historic resources related to the three architects were already listed in the National Register of Historic Places (both individually and within districts), it was decided that a more concerted effort was needed to identify, evaluate, document, and recognize these resources.

The methodology for completing this first portion of the Multiple Property Submission was based on archival research at local and regional libraries, site visits to various buildings, reviews of secondary literature and other multiple property documentation forms, searches of the Georgia Historic Resources Survey files, the identified sites files at the SHPO, and already-listed National Register of Historic Places nominations on file at the Georgia SHPO. The list of actual buildings is based on the Georgia National Register and identified sites files, the Georgia Historic Resource Survey files, first-hand knowledge of the team and SHPO staff, and site visits to various Georgia communities and cities.

The list of Dozier designs was obtained from various articles written on Dozier listed in the bibliographies, and from the Federal Writer's Project interview with Ms. Dozier in 1939 also listed in the bibliography.

The list of Wilburn designs was obtained from the thesis on Wilburn by David Ramsey and further research done by Bamby Ray and Company.

The list of League designs was obtained from the League papers at the Washington Street Library in Columbus and the thesis on League by Margaret Love. Additional documentation on League's career was compiled by Bamby Ray, who researched and wrote the National Register of Historic Places nomination for the Ellamae Ellis League House.

The historic and architectural resources associated with the three women architects are considered eligible if they were constructed during the period of significance, retain their historic integrity as originally designed by the architect, have architectural significance and have historic significance relating to early Georgia women architects.

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- State Historic Preservation Office**
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- Federal agency**
- Local government**
- University:** Washington Memorial Library, Macon, Georgia
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- Other, Specify repository:** Atlanta History Center
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7.2 Women's History Resources

Beth Gibson

The following is a list of some of the resources that can be of assistance in the identification, documentation and evaluation of women's history sites in Georgia.

Government Agencies

Federal

National Register of Historic Places
National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior
1201 Eye Street NW, 8th Floor
Washington D.C. 20005
Telephone 202-354-2213
<http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr>

Southeast Regional Office
National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior
100 Alabama Street SW, 1924 Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 404-562-3117

State

Georgia Commission on Women
151 Ellis Street, Suite 207
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 404-657-9260
<http://www.gacommissiononwomen.org>

Georgia Department of Archives and History
5800 Jonesboro Road
Morrow, Georgia 30260
Telephone 678-364-3700
<http://www.georgiaarchives.org>
Also, see the "Georgia Archives Online Catalogue (GIL)"
<http://www.gil.sos.state.ga.us>

Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division
34 Peachtree Street NW, Suite 1600
Atlanta, Georgia 30303-2316
Telephone 404-656-2840
<http://www.gashpo.org>

Organizations

Women's History

American Women's Heritage Society, Inc. (Belmont Mansion)
2000 Belmont Mansion Drive
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19131
Telephone 215-878-8844
<http://awhsinc.org>

The Coordinating Council for Women in History, Inc.
211 Marginal Way, #733
P.O. Box 9715
Portland, Maine 04104-5015
Telephone
<http://www.theccwh.org>

Georgia Women of Achievement
P.O. Box 5851
Atlanta, Georgia 31107
Telephone 770-936-8926
<http://www.gawomen.org>

The National Women's History Project
3343 Industrial Drive, Suite 4
Santa Rosa, California 95403
Telephone 707-636-2888
<http://www.nwhp.org>

Southern Association of Women Historians
c/o Michelle Gillespie
Department of History, Agnes Scott College

Decatur, Georgia 30030-3797
Telephone 404-638-6214
<http://www>

Georgia History

Georgia Historical Society
501 Whitaker Street
Savannah, Georgia 31401
Telephone, Toll Free 877-424-4789
www.georgiahistory.com

Society of Georgia Archivists
P.O. Box 133085
Atlanta, Georgia 30333
Telephone
soga.org

Historic Preservation

Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation, Inc.
1516 Peachtree Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30309-2916
Telephone 404-881-9980
<http://www.georgiatrust.org>

Atlanta Preservation Center
327 Saint Paul Avenue SE
Atlanta, Georgia 30312
Telephone 404-688-3353
<http://www.preserveatlanta.com>

In addition, there are numerous historic preservation and Georgia history organizations at the local level throughout the state that can be of assistance in identifying historic places associated with women. These include, for example: local historic preservation organizations (such as the Macon Heritage Foundation) and local historical societies (such as the Coastal Georgia Historical Society). Other organizations that may be of assistance regarding women's history include local Garden Clubs and local Woman's Clubs.

Colleges and Universities

There are several colleges and universities in Georgia that offer degree programs in Historic Preservation, Women's History and/or Women's Studies. These include: Agnes Scott College, Decatur; Emory University, Atlanta; Georgia State University, Atlanta; Spelman College, Atlanta; and the University of Georgia, Athens.

Also, some colleges and universities in Georgia have established a separate Women's Center on campus to provide support and services for women within the academic institution, and to coordinate issues related to women on campus. These include: Emory University, Atlanta; Georgia State University, Atlanta; Spelman College, Atlanta; and the University of Georgia, Athens.

Publications

Only the author's name(s) and short titles appear here. The complete bibliographical citations are in Section 7.1, "Bibliography." An extensive list of women's history resources can be found in the Bibliography.

Hindig, Andrea, *Women's History Sources*.

"Placing Women."

Lewis, Catherine M., "Georgia Women's History."

The Preservationist
c/o Alice Paul Centennial Foundation, Inc.
128 Hooton Road
Mount Laurel, New Jersey 08054

Roth, Darlene R., *Women's Records*.

Resources on the Worldwide Web

Also, check the many other resources which can be found in Section 7.1, "Bibliography."

Allen, Beverly B., ed. *Manuscript Sources for Women's History* [online]. Atlanta: Emory University Libraries, revised 1996.
<http://www.marbl.library.emory.edu/Guides/guides-women.html>

"Donna Novak Coles Georgia Women's Movement Archives." Atlanta: Georgia State University, 1995.
<http://www.library.gsu.edu/spcoll/collections/coles>

"Places Where Women Made History: A National Register of Historic Places Travel Itinerary."
<http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/travel/pwwmh>

"Presidential Commission on the Celebration of Women in American History."
<http://www.govinfo.library.unt.edu/whc/whc.htm>

"Women's Collection." Atlanta: Georgia State University, ongoing.
<http://www.library.gsu.edu/spcoll/women>

Women's History Month. Georgia Secretary of State's Office
http://www.sos.state.ga.us/women's_history_month

Women's History Resources at the Georgia Department of Archives and History.
<http://www.georgiaarchives.org>

7.3 A Note on Archaeology

Historic Preservation Division

Archaeology is that subdiscipline of anthropology which studies past cultures through the material signature they leave behind. In most cases, this consists of garbage, and can range in age from the 1930s to ca. 4 million years ago, when our earliest identified hominid ancestor, *Australopithecus amanensis*, roamed East Africa. Archaeology in North America began as a modern science in the late nineteenth century. Until the early 1960s, it was a small field of several hundred practitioners, who were primarily interested in developing regional chronologies and methods for identifying archaeological cultures. In the 1960s the "New Archaeology" developed. Like the Annales School in historiography, the New Archaeology sought to elucidate broader patterns of cultural development. It emphasized the development of a robust suite of methods which incorporated statistics, chemistry, and increasingly sophisticated techniques borrowed from physics and geology. Great emphasis was placed on explicit and carefully framed theoretical constructs and the formulation of explicit hypotheses and testable hypotheses.

Since the 1980s the New Archaeology has itself splintered. While some archaeologists pursue a kind of classical New Archaeology, others have developed more specialized theoretical perspectives, often under the general rubric of "Post Processual" archaeology. Many, if not most, archaeological gender studies fall into this latter group.

Over the last several decades, interest in gender roles has matured to the extent that national symposia and regional conferences are organized around the topic.¹ Indeed, two major publications of edited works in the early 1990s signaled that a focus on gender had arrived as a legitimate interest in archaeology.² This has not been without controversy, and a strong case has been made that, as anthropologists first and foremost, archaeologists should study culture not as discrete packages of interests, but as a whole.³ This latter perspective essentially proposes a return to the kind of ethnographic perspective which has informed some of the most insightful studies of living native peoples, and which characterizes much of the New Archaeology.

¹Prudence Rice, "Women and Prehistoric Pottery Production." In Dale Walde and Noreen Willows, eds., *Gender and Archaeology: Proceedings of the 22nd Annual Chacmool Conference* (Calgary, 1991).

²Margaret Conkey and Joan Gero, *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991); Donna Seifert, "Gender in Historical Archaeology," *Historical Archaeology* 25, no. 4 (1991).

³Robert L. Schuyler, "Archaeological Remains, Documents and Archaeology: a Call for a New Culture History," *Historical Archaeology* 22, no. 1 (1988), pp. 36-42.

Central to archaeological studies of gender is the tenet that western culture conflates sex and gender,⁴ and that disentangling the two roles requires new theoretical constructs. More recent works have attempted to more carefully define evidentiary requirements for specific problem domains.⁵

A representative but not exhaustive list of gender-oriented topical areas which have been approached using archaeology include:

- household and community-level studies
- women as agents of acculturation or creolization
- linkages between labor division and archaeological signatures
- power relationships and their relation to material culture
- gender as a structuring principal in culture
- women in American frontier military culture
- ethnoarchaeological studies of living peoples

Georgia-oriented archaeological gender study topics might include such things as:

- the role of women in the retention of traditional culture among the pre-removal Cherokee
- the exercise of hidden economic power by enslaved African-American women on plantations
- a comparison of ethnohistoric portrayals of Mississippian women and archaeological data
- interactions between non-Anglo Europeans (such as the Salzburgers of Ebenezer) and English colonists
- women's roles in farm modernization of the 1920s and 1930s

⁴Seifert, "Gender," p. 1.

⁵Cheryl Claassen, *Exploring Gender Through Archaeology: Selected Papers from the 1991 Boone Conference* (Madison: Prehistory Press, 1992); Kenneth Sassaman, "Lithic Technology and the Hunter-Gatherer Sexual Division of Labor," *North American Archaeologist* 13, no. 3 (1992), pp. 249-263; Margaret Nelson, Sarah Nelson, and Alison Wylie, eds. "Equity Issues for Women in Archeology," in *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, no. 5 (Washington, DC: 1994); Michael Fotiadis, "What is Archaeology's 'Mitigated Objectivism' Mitigated By: Comments on Wylie," *American Antiquity* 59 (1994), pp. 545-555; Barbara Little, "Consider the Hermaphroditic Mind: Comment on 'The Interplay of Evidential Constraints and Political Interests: Recent Archaeological Research on Gender,'" *American Antiquity* 59 (1994), pp. 539-544; Alison Wylie, "The Interplay of Evidential Constraints and Political Interests: Recent Archaeological Research on Gender," *American Antiquity* 57 (1992), pp. 15-35; Alison Wylie, "On 'Capturing Facts Alive in the Past' (or Present): Response to Fotiadis and Little," *American Antiquity* 59 (1994), pp. 556-560.