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Georgia's Modern Apartment Complexes

Summary

This section provides contexts outlining the development of Georgia's modern apartment complexes. Documenting the significant activities associated with these types of properties, the narrative briefly discusses the early history of Georgia's apartment development, followed by an examination of modern apartment complexes within the state's broader historic periods of development. A research tool designed to serve also as a predictive model to assist in the locating and identification of historic-period apartment complexes, this section provides the necessary historical contexts for the listing of Georgia's modern apartment complexes in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

Introduction

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term, apartment, is derived from English origins, first used in London about 1640 and adopted into general usage in Britain and the American colonies in the 1750s. Connoting buildings and tenants "housed apart" in large measure because of patterns of social segmentation, the apartment became a small, but increasingly important component of the American urban and then suburban landscape. In the last several decades, architectural historians have defined and redefined American apartment buildings and apartment complexes within a number of historical periods and contexts. Broadly construed as multi-family housing, apartments have been classified into efficiency apartments, elevator apartments, garden apartments, luxury apartments, modern apartments, palatial apartments, subsidized apartments, and walk-up apartments.¹

This Multiple Property Submission (MPS) addresses only modern apartment complexes, largely defined as walk-up apartments, and focuses on the period between the 1930s and early-1950s, when this property type emerged in Georgia and gained popularity among developers and a burgeoning middle-class population. For the purposes of the MPS, a modern apartment complex in Georgia is defined as consisting of at least three multi-apartment buildings developed on a relatively large scale using an overall site plan with integral landscaping. Generally constructed by a single developer according to a master plan, modern apartment complexes were built either all at once in a relatively short period of time, or in distinct planned phases. Georgia's apartment complexes derive their origins, in part, from national trends that include garden apartments of the 1910s and 1920s, and the New Deal-era's Public Works Administration and U. S. Housing Authority projects of the 1930s. Federal legislation, especially the Housing Act of 1949, offered low-interest loans and mortgage insurance to builders and developers through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), which spurred the development of apartments buildings and complexes across the country. Georgia became a leader in the use of Federal programs to develop public housing in the Great Depression, a status it maintained into the 1950s. In

¹Anthony King, *Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment* (Boston and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 151-160; Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1981), 246; "Contributions of Science and Technology: Building Design, 1891-1941," *Architectural Record* 89 (January 1941), 72-73, 79-82.

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part, because of productive and beneficial experiences with early public housing programs, builders and business leaders made use of various Federal programs to build other types of housing, including rural, single-family homes, duplexes, and apartment complexes. Consequently, the vast majority of apartments complexes built in Georgia between the Great Depression and the post-World War II era were the result of private investments insured by Federal assistance programs.

Typically located astride important arterial streets on the edges of established communities in large vacant or cleared lots, these complexes first appeared in the mid-1930s and often included an automobile orientation with accommodations for pedestrian traffic. Popular sites for complexes often included an adjacent college or university campus or a golf course, and generally radiated within an emerging suburb. The popularity of the building type increased in the 1940s and 1950s, and nationally the property type became popular in the 1960s with developers who found medium-density, multi-family housing a profitable industry. A modest road system, foot paths, parking lots or garages, and landscaping often supported the developments. In some large American cities, prestigious apartment complexes were developed with artificial lakes, playgrounds, and swimming pools. In Georgia, the apartment complexes ranged in size three or four one-story buildings with two or three apartments each to relatively large complexes with one hundred buildings displaying one- and two-story profiles, sometimes using split level designs and International or Colonial Revival influences. Relatively few in number across the state, many of these complexes still stand. The remaining tangible resources are worthy of recognition for their contribution to the development of the state during the Great Depression, World War II, and the war's aftermath.

Statewide Historical Trends Associated with the Development of Georgia's Modern Apartments

The development of modern apartment complexes in Georgia is tied to various demographic, economic, and social factors between the latter half of the Great Depression and the early-1950s. The primary impetus for their development stemmed from population growth, the need for additional housing, and the implementation of Federal assistance programs in the construction of new dwellings. During the interval, the state's population increased from 2,908,506 in 1930 to 3,444,578 two decades later. In the early-1950s, numerous communities displayed more of an urban profile than in previous decades, and some cities exhibited suburban characteristics. At mid-century, approximately forty percent of Georgians resided in urban locations, that is, places defined as a population greater than 2,500 persons. As classified by the Bureau of the Census, the number of Georgia's urban communities increased from sixty-four to 113 between 1930 and 1950. In the latter year, a simple majority of those places, amounting to sixty-one towns and cities, contained a population of between 2,500 and 5,000, and thirty-six other communities boasted a population of between 5,000 and 25,000. Posting a population greater than 10,000 and representative of cities most in need to new housing, twenty-six urban locations had experienced significant growth since the 1920s. In 1950, eight cities maintained a population greater than

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25,000 people, and Atlanta's population reached 331,314 at mid-century, increasing by approximately 30,000 residents in the previous ten years.²

Albany and Columbus also experienced significant growth patterns in the 1940s. The population in the former city reached 31,155 in 1950, an increase of sixty-four percent in a decade. The census bureau's enumerators counted 79,611 people in Columbus, a rise of forty-nine percent since 1940. In large measure because of new industries associated with World War II and its aftermath, the City of Marietta experienced a population increase of 138 percent, resulting in 20,687 residents in 1950. Other cities with a population growth above fifty percent in the decade defined by World War II included Dalton and East Point, and those with increases by 1950 above twenty percent included Americus (11,389), Athens (28,180), College Park (14,535), Decatur (21,635), Dublin (10,232), Macon (70,252), Savannah (119,638), and Valdosta (20,046).³

On the eve of World War II, Georgia was displaying evidence of industrial growth. Much of the industry occupied sites in larger towns and cities. The textile industry accounted for forty percent of the state's industrial production. By 1940, the Union Bag and Paper Company's mill at Savannah had emerged as one of the country's largest suppliers of kraft paper. Silvertown's extensive Martha Mill produced rubberized fabric used by the B. F. Goodrich Company for automobile tires, and the massive Hercules Powder Company in Brunswick converted pine stumps into various naval stores products. The Bibb Manufacturing Company's facility at Macon was among the state's largest textile mills. At Gainesville, the Chicopee Manufacturing Company produced cloth and surgical gauzes. The state ranked first in the nation mining kaolin used in paper and ceramic products, and second in the quarrying of granite. Approximately fifteen brick and ceramic products factories contributed to the state's industrial growth.⁴

Although Georgia's population grew by approximately twelve percent during the Great Depression, most of the state's cities failed to expand their housing stock sufficiently to house the burgeoning population, resulting in a shortage of homes and apartments during World War II and the late-1940s. In the state's five largest cities--Atlanta, Augusta, Columbus, Macon, and Savannah--only 680 houses were constructed in 1934 and approximately 52,000 new dwellings appeared in those cities between 1931 and 1939. In the latter year, 25,752 houses were built in the state's largest cities, far too small a number of shelter the expanding populations. Despite a promising construction trend late in the decade, the number of dwellings developed in those cities was sufficient to house only eighty-three percent of the population increase, leaving a relatively large market for the construction of new apartments and homes.⁵

The expansion of Georgia's military bases and industries during World War II and in its aftermath contributed to the state's growth and the need for still more apartments and dwellings. Approximately 320,000 Georgians

²Census of the Bureau, *Census of Population, 1950*, Volume 2, Part 11 (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1952), 11-22 & 11-24.

³Ibid., 11-6 & 11-7.

⁴W. Harry Vaughan, "Profits in Georgia Industry," *Manufacturers Record* 109 (September 1940), 109-110, 112, 114, 122.

⁵*Atlanta Constitution*, 15 September 1940.

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served in the armed forces during the conflict. Tens of thousands of other Americans arrived in Georgia for military training. Only Texas contained a higher concentration of training facilities than Georgia, where a military camp stood in every major city. At Augusta, Camp Gordon trained army recruits, and Fort Benning near Columbus, a World War I army training site, expanded its role to become the world's largest infantry training center. A predecessor of the U. S. Air Force, the Army Air Corps established a significant presence in the state with Warner Robins Air Service Command south of Macon, and air crewmen underwent training at Hunter Field near Savannah. Georgia's military-related development in the 1940s amounted to approximately \$331,000,000. The construction and maintenance of military bases brought millions of dollars in infrastructure and paychecks to the state. Many civilians and military personnel who came to the state to build bases or receive training returned in the late-1940s and early 1950s to develop permanent residences or seasonal homes.⁶

The war revitalized and spawned new industries. Encouraged by construction starts and signs of economic recovery in the late-1930s, and then suddenly faced with large wartime orders for products, clay mines and brick factories expanded their facilities. The Edgar Brothers Klondyke Mine at McIntyre harvested huge quantities of kaolin, and Cherokee Brick Company in Macon increased its manufacturing of bricks. Shipyards boomed in Brunswick and Savannah, and ordnance plants were built at Macon and Milledgeville. A huge manufacturing industry arrived at Marietta, where Bell Aircraft Company plant produced B-29 bombers. In 1944, the Georgia Power Company implemented a Better Home Towns Program, a community improvement initiative that combined corporate, municipal, and private efforts. Designed to spruce up small towns and villages, the program also had the effect of encouraging the development of small industries, including canneries, concrete block plants, metal shops, and textile factories in small towns such as Camilla, Griffin, Washington, Woodbine, and Woodbury. The first nine months of 1942 alone comprised "the greatest public building and industrial construction program in southern history."⁷

Growth spawned by wartime industry persisted following the conflict. The editors of *Manufacturers Record* found "Atlanta's peacetime future bright," citing the development of ninety-three new manufacturing plants in the city in the opening six months of 1946. Primary among those included a Ford assembly plant at Hapeville, a General Motors assembly plant at Doraville, and Sears, Roebuck & Company's designation of Atlanta as its new regional headquarters. In the 1950s, Kraft Foods Company and the Lockheed Aircraft Company, which soon became the state's largest employer, opened large plants in Atlanta. In the early-1950s, Lockheed accounted for nearly one-quarter of all Georgia's manufacturing output. In 1950, the census bureau found more Georgians employed in manufacturing than agriculture. The process of industrializing resulted in greater urban infrastructure.⁸

⁶Kenneth Coleman, ed., *A History of Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977), 339; *Atlanta Constitution*, 30 June 1949.

⁷Coleman, *Georgia*, 339; "Industrial Expansion," *Manufacturers Record* 120 (January 1951), 36; "The Georgia Way to Better Towns," *Manufacturers Record* 118 (April 1949), 44-45; "Atlanta's Peacetime Future Bright," *Manufacturers Record* 115 (September 1946), 61; Vaughan, "Profits in Georgia Industry," 109-122; *Atlanta Constitution*, 2 November 1942.

⁸Coleman, *Georgia*, 339; "Industrial Expansion," *Manufacturers Record* 120 (January 1951), 36; "The Georgia Way to Better Towns," 44-45; "Atlanta's Peacetime Future Bright," *Manufacturers Record* 115 (September 1946), 61.

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The proliferation of automobiles in the second decade of the twentieth century and Federal legislation in 1916 spurred the construction of roads and highways. The emergence of the automobile business in Atlanta between 1909 and 1920 became a source of pride in the state's "New South prosperity," and its effects spilled over into other cities. Responding to the requests of prominent Georgians, the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers showcased new models in Atlanta in 1910. By 1920, the state government had embarked on an ambitious road construction program. Municipal governments paved new streets as commercial and residential subdivisions were opened to accommodate new businesses and a burgeoning population. To support increasing numbers of automobiles, the construction of highways amounted to \$178,600,000 during the 1940s. In 1952, Governor Herman Eugene Talmadge claimed that his administration had developed 7,000 miles of highways and rural roads, totaling \$116,000,000 in construction. Talmadge promised a total of \$300,000,000 in spending to yield 10,000 miles in new Georgia roads by the close of 1953. The proliferation of streets and roads resulted, in part, in the suburbanization of many of Georgia's largest cities, which in turn required new parking areas along streets and to accommodate automobiles in residential neighborhoods. The automobile played a pivotal role in the expanding suburbs, and the decline and disappearance of the trolley system throughout the state. The development of apartment buildings helped spur the demand for trolley service in the state's largest cities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But, by 1950, few trolleys remained in service, the victim of bus service and the proliferation of suburbs and automobiles. Atlanta's North Decatur line was among the last trolley lines in the state, closing operations in 1949.⁹

Returning veterans flocked to the state's universities and colleges, which embarked on campus expansion programs. Related construction industries that manufactured brick and wood products benefitted from the growth, and provided new jobs and increased payrolls in numerous communities. Mechanization in agriculture and new opportunities in Georgia's emerging industrial base contributed to the state's urban growth. Cotton gradually yielded to a more diversified farm economy with peanuts and poultry becoming dominant agricultural components. The Savannah River Atomic Energy Commission's billion-dollar facility brought new jobs to Augusta, which *Manufacturers Record* named a "new industrial giant." The tourist economy boomed at Georgia's fashionable sea islands. Associated with the opening of the Korean conflict in June 1950, renewed expansion occurred at military installations near Albany, Columbus, Macon, and Savannah, providing still more impetus for commercial and industrial enterprises near those cities.¹⁰

⁹Coleman, *Georgia*, 308, 339; Howard Preston, "The Automobile Business in Atlanta, 1909-1920: A Symbol of 'New South' Prosperity," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 58 (Summer 1974), 262-277; "Industrial Expansion," 36; "The Georgia Way to Better Towns," 44-45; "Atlanta's Peacetime Future Bright," *Manufacturers Record* 115 (September 1946), 61; *Atlanta Constitution*, 29 April 1952; Franklin Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events*, 3 Volumes, (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1954), 2:429.

¹⁰Coleman, *Georgia*, 339-348; "Augusta, Georgia-A 'New Industrial Giant' Spotlights Southern Opportunities," *Manufacturers Record* 120 (December 1951), 42-43.

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Construction activities soared in the post-war interval. In the opening months of 1946, Georgia's construction activity amounted to \$114,983,000, the fourth highest amount in the South. Mitigating the development trend were alleged conspiracies within the building trades, rising costs, and increased taxes. Indicative of a housing shortage, and, perhaps, a conspiracy, as suggested by the editors of the *Atlanta Constitution*, in mid-1947 the Federal Reserve Bank found building costs had increased more in Atlanta than elsewhere in the nation. That year, responding to unexpected postponements of several large local projects, the editors of the *Constitution* remarked that "the goose that lays the golden egg is being killed. And not so slowly, either." Confirming the economic downturn, conditions worsened in 1948, when the *Dixie Contractor* measured a decline of \$15,000,000 in Georgia's construction industry from the previous year. The *Dixie Contractor* attributed the decline to a scarcity of materials coupled with rising costs. In contrast, *Manufacturers Record* reported construction throughout the South up forty-seven percent over 1947 with private residential construction accounting for sixty-three percent of the new development.¹¹

A few Georgia cities defied the statewide trend. In 1948, the City of Athens reported an all-time development high with \$1,870,260 in construction, and Tifton also enjoyed a building boom in 1948 that amounted to \$322,375. Ranked in the nation's top ten fastest growing cities, Albany registered \$3,154,364 in development, a decrease by nearly \$1,000,000 from the previous year. Valdosta's construction growth rose by over a quarter million dollars in 1947 to reach \$868,195 in 1948. Still, criticism of Georgia's relatively slow development persisted. In July 1951, Jack Tarver, a columnist for the *Atlanta Constitution*, wryly commented "Thank God for Arkansas" when noting that Georgia then ranked next to last in the South's development trends. That year, a new tax on capital investments drew the ire of developers and professionals in the building trades, and further chilled the state's construction industry. Still, in 1952, Georgia's construction starts totaled \$314,176,000, which amounted to approximately six percent of the South's entire construction industry. Representing an increase of nearly \$100,000,000 from the previous year, Georgia's construction activities then ranked seventh among the southern states.¹²

Georgia's Early Apartments

Some of Georgia's oldest apartment buildings appeared in the 1880s, one of those being the Baltimore Block Apartments north of Atlanta's downtown. Completed in 1886, the Baltimore Block was modeled, in part, from the design of New York City's Stuyvesant Apartment Building, an early use for the term in the United States.

¹¹"Nine-Month Construction Contract Value Totals \$1,332,353,000 in the South," *Manufacturers Record* 116 (October 1947), 41; "Construction," *Manufacturers Record* 122 (January 1953), 37; *Atlanta Constitution*, 24 August 1947, 3 November 1948, 18 July 1951.

¹²"Nine-Month Construction Contract Value Totals \$1,332,353,000 in the South," 41; "Construction (January 1953)," 37; *Atlanta Constitution*, 7 January 1949, 18 July 1951.

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Rutherford Stuyvesant, a descendant of New York's first governor, applied the term apartment house to the building. Executed with Second Empire influences by Richard Morris Hunt in 1869, the Stuyvesant was derived from the French flat of the mid-nineteenth century. Atlanta's Baltimore Block contained fourteen apartments, the first building in the city to enclose a large number of single-family units within a single structure. Just as the Stuyvesant served as a model for palatial apartment houses in downtowns in America's largest cities, the fashionable Baltimore Block became a model for the development of apartment buildings in Atlanta and elsewhere in Georgia. Its location in lower midtown Atlanta helped establish a trend for the site of apartments north of the commercial center. Completed in 1898, the fashionable Farlinger Apartments (NRHP 1981) rose four stories at the intersection of Peachtree Street and Ivy Street. Displaying a distinctive wedge-shaped plan, the building was executed with high Victorian Eclectic details. Indicative of transitions in apartment development and the urbanization of Georgia's larger cities, the four-story Marlborough Apartments in Atlanta appeared in 1904, but surrendered its interior spaces to professional offices two decades later. Other early apartment buildings include the modest Holtzendorf Apartments (NRHP 1987), which was completed in 1908 in Fitzgerald with Craftsman details.¹³

In the early twentieth century, single-building apartment buildings gradually yielded to multi-building apartments. Popularly known as garden apartments, the complexes generally displayed a series of two or three units arranged in variations of the U shape to form courtyards or green spaces. Early examples included the Sumner Apartments, built in Atlanta about 1910, and the Broadway Apartments, constructed with Mediterranean Revival influences in Augusta about 1919. By 1911, the former city contained approximately sixty-five apartment buildings with the vast majority containing twelve or fewer units. One student of Atlanta's apartment growth found that by 1940 the city had the highest concentration of apartments in the South, a trend that was established in the opening decades of the twentieth century, and eventually spilled over into other Georgia cities.¹⁴

To keep pace with growth and to make efficient use of available real estate, a trend emerged in Georgia's largest cities to develop relatively large apartment buildings. In Macon, the Vineville Court Apartments appeared in the early-1920s, the same era that Columbus's Broadway Apartments were constructed. Built in the 1920s across from the campus of Augusta State University, the Colonial Court Apartments displayed Classical Revival influences, an obvious reference to Colonnade Court, built in Atlanta in 1918. These fashionable garden apartments displayed three buildings arranged in a U shape with porches and entrances opening into central courtyards and were supported by automobile garages at the rear of the respective properties.¹⁵

¹³Diane Maddex, ed., *Built in the USA: American Buildings from Airports to Zoos* (Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1985), 16-17; Isabelle Gournay, *AIA Guide to the Architecture of Atlanta* (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1993), 88; Elizabeth Hawes, *New York, New York: How the Apartment House Transformed the Life of the City, 1869-1930* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 5-9; Franklin Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events*, 3 volumes, (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1954), 2:94-95, 870; "The Farlinger," National Register Nomination, 1981, HPD.

¹⁴Atlanta Urban Design Commission, "Atlanta's Garden Apartments," Atlanta, 1980; Carola Schropp, "Some Basic Developments in the History of Apartment Housing in Atlanta, Georgia," 1979, Apartment File, HPD; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Maps of Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia* (New York: Sanborn Company, 1923-1951).

¹⁵*Macon Telegraph*, 23 May 1922, 6 May 1924, 16 June 1929; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Maps of Columbus, Muscogee County, Georgia* (New York: Sanborn Company, 1929-1953); Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Maps of Macon,*

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Large, fashionable apartment hotels appeared in several larger cities. Completed in 1924 in an upper-class residential neighborhood close to the downtown, the Atlanta Biltmore Hotel rose eleven stories and the adjacent Biltmore Apartments (NRHP 1980) ten stories. Designed by Schultze and Weaver of New York City, the property was developed by Holland Judkins and John Bowman of the Biltmore Hotel Company. One of the South's exclusive hotels and apartments, the building became the site of numerous balls, galas, and teas, hosting celebrities including Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Dwight Eisenhower, Bette Davis, Charles Lindbergh, and Mary Pickford.¹⁶

Smaller in size and scale than the Biltmore Apartments were Atlanta's Canton Apartments (NRHP 1980) and the Garrison Apartments (NRHP 1979), the latter designed by Philip Shutze and completed in 1924. The same year, architect G. Lloyd Preacher completed the St. Andrews Apartments (NRHP 1986). Although construction starts declined in the late-1920s and plummeted during the early-1930s, several important apartment buildings were developed in various Georgia cities during the interval. The Canton Apartments (NRHP 1980) were constructed in Atlanta in 1928, and in Thomasville, the Tudor Revival style Gordon Avenue Apartments (NRHP 1983) were designed in 1929 by the architectural firm Beutell & Daniell. Completed in Milledgeville in 1930, the Fowler Apartments (NRHP 1997) displayed Colonial Revival influences. Apartments of the era consisted primarily of elevator-type buildings or garden apartments with U shape courtyards. The distribution of apartment complexes with more than three separate or semi-detached buildings was then virtually unknown in the state. Georgia reflected national construction patterns, which experienced a dramatic fall in the construction of housing units after 1927. That year, 406,100 dwelling and apartment units were built nationwide. Three years later, home owners and developers built 125,300 new dwelling units, and in 1934 only 21,000 new housing units were constructed throughout the country. During the interval, the cost-per-unit to develop multi-family dwellings fell from \$4,170 to \$2,716.¹⁷

With some variation, construction trends in Georgia closely followed national patterns. Statewide 148,327 new dwelling units appeared between 1920 and 1929, but only 131,473 over the subsequent decade. Accounting for approximately sixty-five percent of new buildings, tenant-occupied dwelling units, many of those apartments, reflected a similar decline, falling from 93,675 in the 1920s to 68,455 during the Great Depression. In Augusta, 1,056 new rental units had been constructed between 1920 and 1924, but only 734 in the 1930s. Savannah's decline in rental construction exceeded that recorded for Augusta with figures during the same intervals amounting to 1,494 and 924. Few of the state's largest cities, however, experienced the deleterious effects of a rental housing shortage during the Great Depression more than Macon, where 951 units had been constructed between 1920 and 1924, but only 313 between 1930 and 1940. In Atlanta, the number of rental units and apartments also decreased. The construction of new garden apartments steadily declined from a peak of ten in 1925 to four in 1930 and none between 1932 and 1934. The dearth of new homes and apartments, coupled to an increasing population in the 1930s,

Bibb County, Georgia (New York: Sanborn Company, 1924-1951); Gournay, *AIA Guide to the Architecture of Atlanta*, 203.

¹⁶Gournay, *AIA Guide to the Architecture of Atlanta*, 104-105; "Biltmore Apartments," National Register Nomination, 1980, HPD.

¹⁷*Housing Statistics Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1948), 15; Gournay, *AIA Guide to the Architecture of Atlanta*, 130, 243.

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created a housing crisis that touched most parts of the state, and laid the foundation for one of the most active public housing programs in the state and nation.¹⁸

Georgia's Apartment Housing Patterns Between the 1930s and 1950s

Part of a far-reaching series of reforms known as the New Deal, large-scale public housing projects were introduced to the nation in Atlanta. The city was selected, in part, because of its extensive slums and acute shortage of quality housing. Although Georgians persisted in their support of the Democratic Party and President Roosevelt at the polls during the 1930s, Georgia's Governor Eugene Talmadge objected to Federal control of federally-financed public works, relief, and welfare programs in the state. An opponent of the New Deal, Talmadge opposed state legislation necessary to participate fully in Federal reforms. The New Deal created sharp divisions in Georgia's politics, and in 1936 voters elected Ed Rivers as governor, who implemented a series of "little new deals." Effective campaigning returned Talmadge to the governor's office in 1940. Despite Talmadge's opposition to government intervention in economic activities, by the early-1940s the Federal government had contributed approximately \$250,000,000 into Georgia's economy. Implemented by the administration of President Roosevelt, those reforms and the dollars attached to them flowed into the state through what became known as "alphabet programs" for the acronyms assigned to them. The best known of the programs include the AAA (Agricultural Adjustment Administration), CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps), FERA (Federal Emergency Relief Administration), PWA (Public Works Administration), and WPA (Works Progress Administration). Through the New Deal, housing reform was largely directed through two agencies, namely the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the PWA.¹⁹

Created in 1933, the housing division of the PWA provided impetus and direction for slum clearance and redevelopment of modern low-cost housing in the nation's largest cities. Part of the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, the housing division was initially allocated \$125,000,000 for slum clearance and new low-cost housing. Government officials and housing reformers conducted surveys in 125 cities, and made recommendations for fifty projects in thirty cities. Architectural and engineering consultants were hired to prepare guidelines, plans books, minimum standards, room arrangements and sizes, systems for foundations, roofs, and walls, and a host of other details. Reflecting the characteristics of large housing complexes in England, France, and Germany, those plans largely followed examples of International style architecture. The PWA closely followed contemporary low-cost housing models established by Baudoin, Lods, and Le Corbusier in France; Walter Gropius and Ernst May in Germany; J. J. P. Oud in Holland; and Eskil Sundahl in Sweden. The PWA's plans and specifications branch offered consulting services to local architects selected by the housing division. By July 1936, fifty projects in thirty-five cities were under construction. In the South, offices were maintained in various cities, including Atlanta, Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina; Andalusia, Birmingham, and Florence, Alabama; and Memphis and Nashville, Tennessee. Techwood Homes in Atlanta, Georgia was the first of the new low-cost housing projects completed in

¹⁸Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census, 1940, *Housing*, 4 Volumes (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1943), 2:533-534; Terry Correll, "Atlanta Courtyard Apartments: History and Development," 1984, p.8, Apartments File, HPD.

¹⁹V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), 116; Coleman, *Georgia*, 312-317; George Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913-1945* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 642-643.

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the nation. Illustrations of the complex appeared in the PWA's first publication, *Urban Housing: The Story of the PWA Housing Division, 1933-1936*. Near the peak of its activity, the PWA employed approximately 2,200 architects, draftsman, engineers, and landscape architects in thirty-five cities to prepare drawings of housing projects.²⁰

Initially developed by Techwood, Inc., the Techwood Homes housing project began as a limited-dividend project in a private-Federal partnership through the PWA. But, Talmadge's resistance to enact enabling legislation that would organize a state housing board compelled Techwood, Inc. to obtain direct Federal sponsorship. Under Federal supervision, the Techwood Homes Advisory Committee was established with M. L. Brittain serving as chairman. Adjacent to Georgia Institute of Technology, a twenty-five acre site was selected for the project, which consisted of a slum district that radiated between Atlanta's downtown and residential neighborhoods to the north. Architects Flippen D. Burge and Preston S. Stevens were appointed to prepare the plans for the development, and the J. A. Jones Construction Company of Charlotte, North Carolina was awarded the contract to build the \$2,875,000 complex. Seven courts of group houses, thirteen three-story buildings, and a dormitory supported families and students in three-, four-, five-, and six-room apartments. Amenities included garages, playgrounds, electric refrigeration and cooking appliances, and steam heating. Executed with clean sharp lines, the development caught the attention of the editors of *Architectural Forum*, which showcased the apartment complex in a 1938 issue.²¹

In similar fashion, the University Housing Corporation of Atlanta yielded to the Federal government its limited-divided plan for a low-cost housing project. A site was selected for the African-American housing complex adjacent to Atlanta University. Supervised by the Federal government, the University Advisory Committee hired the architectural firm of Edwards & Sayward of Columbia, South Carolina to draft the plans. The committee awarded the N. P. Severin Company of Chicago the construction contract, which amounted to \$2,500,000. Consisting of forty-two buildings, University Homes included a community house, day care center, and health clinic. Completed in 1936, both Techwood Homes and University Homes were executed with Modern stylistic influences that borrowed from the Georgian and International styles. These large apartment complexes helped establish the state as a leader in the development of modern apartment complexes.²²

Eventually, the PWA yielded its role in the clearance of slums and development of modern housing to the U. S. Housing Authority (USHA). Authorized by the Congress in 1936, the USHA was created through the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act, in part, to help "insure good housing for the poor as a perpetual social obligation." The USHA embarked on various projects throughout Georgia, and by April 1938 had committed over \$4,000,000 to the construction of new housing projects. Two years later, Atlanta had four public housing developments. Other Georgia cities with public housing projects before World War II included Athens, Augusta, Columbus, Macon, Rome, and Savannah. In contrast to the amenities found in public housing apartments, fewer than one-half of the

²⁰Public Works Administration, *Urban Housing: The Story of the PWA Housing Division, 1933-1936* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1936), 14, 17, 23, 41, 46-47, 51, 77.

²¹PWA, *Urban Housing*, 82; "Techwood Homes, Atlanta, Georgia," *Architectural Forum* 68 (May 1938), 66-67, 409-411.

²²PWA, *Urban Housing*, 82-83; "Public Works Administration Housing," *Architectural Forum* 63 (November 1935), 522.

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homes in Georgia in 1940 were equipped with electrical service, only one-quarter with a refrigerator, and relatively few with electrical ranges and stoves. Some of Georgia's public housing projects continued to attract a national audience. One of Savannah's African-American housing projects, Fellwood Homes earned a review for its superior design and construction in *Architectural Forum* in 1941, and Francis Bartow Place on the west side of the city appeared in the journal the following year. Savannah architects Cletus Bergen and Walter P. Marshall collaborated on the design of both housing projects.²³

The USHA persisted its role to develop housing during World War II, which brought significant industrial and military-related growth to Georgia. The expansion and creation of military installations near Albany and Columbus, and factories and shipyards at Brunswick, Marietta, and Savannah prompted the development of wartime housing for both civilian and military personnel. In May 1941, the editors of *Architectural Record* boasted that "we're a year ahead of last war in housing necessarily migrant defense workers-but it took six months to recognize experienced housing agencies." A variety of public housing financing mechanisms were used under the Lanham Act of 1940 to construct civilian defense worker apartments in close proximity to military installations. One of the first pieces of national legislation to provide funds for war housing, the Lanham Act also furnished revenues for home-related assistance, such as child-care for children with mothers working in wartime factories. In addition to the U. S. Housing Authority (USHA), Federal agencies that helped distribute funds for war-related housing, most of it in the form of apartment complexes, included the Farm Security Administration, Federal Works Agency, Public Buildings Administration, and Tennessee Valley Authority.²⁴

Wartime housing projects, many of them USHA apartment complexes, appeared in numerous Georgia cities and towns, including Albany, Atlanta, Augusta, Brunswick, Columbus, Hinesville, Macon, Rossville, and Savannah. Early examples of wartime apartments in Georgia included Newton D. Baker Village in Columbus, Emanuel Homes in Brunswick, and Josiah Tattnall Homes in Savannah. Designed by architect L. D. Haines, Columbus's Baker Village sprawled across the perimeter of Fort Benning. The village consisted, in part, of one- and two-story masonry apartment buildings with rectangular plans, gable roofs, and steel casement windows. The superior quality of the development prompted the editors of both *Architectural Forum* and *Architectural Record* to publish descriptions and scenes of the village.²⁵

In Savannah, contrasting defense-related apartment complexes appeared to the east and west of the city, respectively. The one-story Tattnall Homes were assembled using wood-frame "temporary demountable" systems. Located east of the city, the two- and four-unit homes became the topic of much debate in the late-1940s, when

²³Coleman, *Georgia*, 383; *Savannah Morning News*, 15 November 1940; Michael Rosenauer, "Public Housing in the Southeastern States," *Architectural Forum* 74 (March 1941), 150; "Francis Bartow Place," *Architectural Forum* 76 (June 1942), 408; "USHA Spends its 1938 Budget Inventory of Public Housing," *Architectural Forum* 70 (January 1939), 70-72; "Public Housing," *Architectural Forum* 68 (May 1938), 349-351.

²⁴Catherine Bauer and Samuel Ratensky, "Planned Large-Scale Housing," *Architectural Record* 89 (May 1941), 93; Wright, *Building the Dream*, 242.

²⁵Bauer and Ratensky, "Planned Large-Scale Housing," 92-93; "Building for Defense...A Look at Federal Housing," *Architectural Record* 75 (July 1941), 10; "Defense Housing," *Architectural Forum* 73 (November 1940), 440.

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Federal housing officials, municipal officials, and local property owners debated the fate of the buildings. Area property owners insisted that the government had committed to demolishing the buildings following the war. Eventually, the complex was sold to private investors. West of the city, shipyard workers were housed at Francis Bartow Place, a complex of sixty-seven concrete-block one-story masonry buildings containing 150 units designed by local architects Bergen & Marshall. Ironically, the "temporary" wood-frame Tattall Homes presently are operated by a private corporation as the Strathmore Apartments, and the "permanent" masonry Francis Bartow Place, which appeared in *Architectural Forum* in 1942, is scheduled for demolition.²⁶

During the post-war era, low-cost housing became a priority in Georgia. Housing authorities expanded their holdings, adding to existing projects and creating new complexes. The state legislature enacted the Housing Act of 1947, which permitted the establishment of housing authorities in communities with a population greater than 5,000. Not surprisingly, the expansion of the USHA's activities drew some opposition. In 1950, several citizens from Gainesville filed suit alleging that the local housing authority's activities resulted in a diminution of property values and violated legal due process statutes. After winding its way through the courts, the suit was heard before the Georgia Supreme Court, which in 1951 upheld the constitutionality of the legislation. By then, Georgia had emerged as a national leader in public housing. Second in the nation in public housing, the State of Texas then claimed ninety-three housing authorities. In 1951, ninety-eight Georgia cities maintained housing authorities, which statewide managed 13,480 apartments. Twenty-nine of those cities participated in the USHA's rural non-farm program designed to develop small, low-cost apartments in towns with populations under 2,500. Relatively small communities receiving public housing assistance in the early-1950s included Demorest, Richland, and Warrenton. Most of Georgia's largest local housing authorities maintained programs for residents, and published bulletins and newsletters regarding those activities. In 1949, Savannah's housing authority earned the nation's top award in a contest for the best annual report published by a local housing authority. In the early-1950s, public housing apartments contained modern appliances, such as electric stoves and ranges and refrigerators, which were still absent from the majority of private homes in Georgia.²⁷

Trends in the Development of Georgia's Modern Apartments

The origins of Georgia's modern apartments are derived, in part, in the garden apartments of the 1910s and 1920s, and public housing associated with the PWA and the USHA. The primary impetus, however, stems from the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), which encouraged home owners and private investors to develop real estate. Generally less expensive to construct per-square-foot than private homes, apartments were perceived as a necessary building form to accommodate persons on reduced incomes or those temporarily unable to afford a house, and to meet short-term local housing goals during periods of explosive population growth. Created under the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act, or the National Housing Act of 1934, the FHA insured loans executed by lending institutions

²⁶"Housing Projects," *Architectural Forum* 76 (June 1942), 408; "Building for Defense...A Look at Federal Housing," 10.

²⁷Coleman, *Georgia*, 383; *Savannah Morning News*, 17 November 1949, 24 April, 15 May 1951, 26 March, 18 April 1952.

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to private individuals for modernization of older dwellings, and the construction of new homes and apartments. In the original legislation and through various amendments enacted in the 1930s and 1940s, the FHA provided mortgage insurance for various types of apartment buildings through the agency's section 207 program and later the section 608 program. Part of the original FHA legislation, the section 207 program was established to encourage the development of low-cost rental properties. Through mortgage insurance, the FHA minimized the risks of investors and lenders. In practice, however, the program offered financial incentives for middle and upper-middle income apartments, and only supported the construction of 359 apartments nationally between 1935 and 1946.²⁸

In 1938, the Congress liberalized the housing act by providing for ninety percent mortgages with twenty-five year maturities. The legislation also included a provision to include rental housing for profit. New directors were appointed, and soon the FHA began to show solid returns in the home and rental construction markets. President Roosevelt, an advocate of rural farm colonies, was slow to lend assistance to slum dwellers or to show support for reformers who promoted urban modernization. Expressing more confidence in the government's encouragement of private ventures than in the development of public housing, Roosevelt perceived the FHA as a useful tool to help revive the flagging construction industry. Not without its critics, the FHA, according to some observers, did little more than federalize existing real estate practices, and contributed to a "culture of abundance," a lexicon associated with the elimination of scarcity and want through an industrial economy and rising living standards.²⁹

Various people and publications influenced the standards adopted by the FHA for the development of apartments. Foremost among those was housing reformer Catherine Bauer, who published *Modern Housing* in 1934. The daughter of a suffragist and highway engineer, Bauer studied architecture at Cornell University and then developed a friendship with architectural and social critic Lewis Mumford. Studying the work of Le Corbusier, she briefly lived in Paris, traveled throughout Europe, and wrote articles for *Fortune* and the *New Republic* on housing issues. In 1931, she returned to New York, where she served as executive secretary of the Regional Planning Association of America and assisted Mumford and city planner Clarence Stein. Bauer's treatise provided a sweeping account of modern housing in Europe, contrasting activities there with fledgling attempts to replace aging infrastructure and dwellings in the United States. An advocate of planned developments, Bauer cited spectacular housing enterprises in Europe with well-executed examples of modern dwellings and apartments in Austria, Belgium, England, France, Germany, Holland, and Sweden. European modernist landmarks cited by Bauer included International-style houses and apartments in Stuttgart designed by Le Corbusier and Van Der Rohe. She discussed good examples of planned developments in the United States by Stein, Wright & Associates for the City Housing Corporation in New York, Chatham Village in Pittsburgh, and the Phipps Garden Apartments and Sunnyside Gardens in Queens. Enumerating

²⁸Housing and Home Finance Agency, *Housing Statistics Handbook* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1948), 136; David Ames and Linda McClelland, "NRHP Bulletin, Historic Residential Suburbs," 2002; Wright, *Building the Dream*, 246; Federal Housing Administration, *The FHA Story in Summary, 1934-1939* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1939), 13.

²⁹Wright, *Building the Dream*, 246; William Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row, 1963), 134-136; Matthew Bokovoy, "The FHA and the 'Culture of Abundance' at the 1935 San Diego World's Fair," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 68 (Autumn 2000), 371-386; Federal Housing Administration, *The FHA Story in Summary, 1934-1939* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1939), 13.

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various examples in the United States of congestion, wasteful expansion, and speculative chaos in construction, Bauer sought to alter the traditional American attitude toward housing and city planning, and promoted sensitive slum clearance.³⁰

Between 1934 and 1937, Bauer helped establish local and national organizations that focused on the creation of housing legislation. She assisted labor activist John Edleman of Philadelphia with the formation of the Labor Housing Conference, and then served as secretary and lobbyist for the American Federation of Labor's housing committee. Bauer also played a crucial role in drafting and enacting the Wagner-Steagall Act. Following the enactment of the legislation, Bauer served as director for research and information at the USHA, and later consulted with several regional housing authorities, foundations, and the United Nations. Eventually, she taught regional planning at Harvard University and the University of California at Berkeley. Throughout her career, Bauer insisted that housing was a political issue, and endeavored to "reconcile planning and democracy" in the United States. In 1940, she published *A Citizen's Guide to Public Housing*, but *Modern Housing* remained her primary treatise that helped propel her into high government circles where she effected policies in the development of America's new housing policy.³¹

Bauer's study informed the FHA's staff and their publications, which provided guidance in the planning and procedures for the development of rental housing. As the FHA's director of architecture for rental housing, architect Eugene Henry Klaber adopted many of the principals embraced by Bauer. A native of New York City, Klaber earned a degree in architecture from Columbia University in 1906 and then from Paris's Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1910. After operating a studio in New York between 1914 and 1924, he moved to Chicago where he was the principal architect in the firm Klaber & Grunsfeld between 1924 and 1933. His wide experiences in education and private practice drew the attention of government officials, who appointed him in 1933 as chief of the technical staff of the housing division of the Public Works Administration in Washington, D. C. In 1934, he was appointed to the FHA's director of rental housing, where he established design and approval policies for the division. He maintained that post until 1942, when he opened a private practice in Washington, D. C. Between 1944 and 1946, he served as director for the division of housing and planning at Columbia University, but resigned the position in 1946 to open a consulting business and retired in 1950.³²

Under Klaber's supervision, the FHA issued *Architectural Planning and Procedure for Rental Housing*, a thirty-page document that established minimum design standards and exhibits for low-cost apartments to be insured by the Federal government. Criteria and guidelines included providing a legal description, ownership verification, photographs, and city and zoning maps. The how-to publication depicted architectural exhibits of plot plans, topographical surveys, and renderings of elevations, cross-sections, plans for each floor, and sketch drawings of

³⁰Catherine Bauer, *Modern Housing* (Boston and New York: Riverside Press, 1934); Mark Carnes and John Garraty, ed., *American National Biography*, 24 volumes, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 2:345-347.

³¹Carnes and Garraty, *American National Biography*, 2:345-347.

³²*New York Times*, 31 August 1944, 8 November 1971; A. N. Marquis, comp., *Who's Who in America* (Chicago: Marquis Company, 1952), 1362.

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garages and accessory buildings. Specifications complementing the plans were to include excavations, demolitions, structural and roof materials, window schedules, iron and metal work, insulation and waterproofing, and electrical, heating, and plumbing systems. Improvements of grounds included descriptions of walks and driveways, drainage, grading, and scope of landscaping with general placement of trees, shrubs, and lawns.³³

To assist architects in drafting plans acceptable to the FHA, the agency provided examples of poor, fair, and good designs for bath, bed, dining, and living rooms; closets, foyers, halls, kitchens, laundries, and stairs; and garage and storage spaces. Descriptions and drawings illustrated several basic building units for apartment construction: the cross, ell, offset-cross, strip, tee, and zee. Site plans and descriptions addressed apartments developed within a conventional street pattern, an irregular hilly topography, and the efficient use of spaces for courts, garages, gardens, parks, and passive recreation sites to create a maximum of privacy within an overall plan. Displaying strong Georgian influences, the Colonial Village in Arlington, Virginia was the first multi-family rental housing project in the nation completed with FHA mortgage insurance. Completed in three phases between 1935 and 1937, the 1,060-unit complex was developed by the New York Life Insurance Company.³⁴

Several other large-scale housing projects in the Northeast became models for developing apartment complexes. One of those, Parkchester, sprawled across New York's Bronx. In 1938, Metropolitan Life Insurance broke ground on the project, which occupied 120 acres, accommodated 12,000 families, and cost approximately \$50,000,000 to develop. Prominent professionals in the design and building industries planned and executed its development, including architect Richmond Shreve, renowned designer of the Empire State Building; builder Andrew L. Eken of Starrett Bros. & Eken; Henry Meyer of Meyer, Strong and Jones as engineer; Gilmore Clarke as town planner; architect Irwin Clavan as works manager; and George Grove as housing project manager. A model for large-scale housing, Parkchester was an early example of using the team approach in the development of apartment complexes.³⁵

Apartment complexes soon dotted the landscape. Completed in 1940, Wyvernwood Apartments in Los Angeles, California, contained 1,102 units contained within numerous buildings that sprinkled a seventy-two-acre tract. Appearing in *Architectural Forum* as an example of "garden apartments," the complex consisted of two-story buildings of four- and six-family plans accented by stuccoed walls, balconies, front and rear porches, and playgrounds. Developed in 1941, Chilton Court Apartments in Houston, Texas, another early, if relatively small, multi-family project showcased by *Architectural Record*, consisted of eight buildings and a large parking garage.³⁶

³³Federal Housing Administration, *Architectural Planning and Procedure for Rental Housing* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1934, 1939).

³⁴*Ibid.*; Federal Housing Administration, *The FHA Story in Summary, 1934-1959*, 25.

³⁵"Large Scale Housing," *Architectural Forum* 68 (May 1938), 343-344.

³⁶"Large Scale Housing," 343-344; "Contributions of Science and Technology: Building Design, 1891-1941," *Architectural Record*, 89 (January 1941), 79-81; Bauer and Ratensky, "Planned Large-Scale Housing," 104-105.

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In 1941, *Architectural Record* published a special fifty-year anniversary issue that reviewed the contributions of science and technology in building design since 1891. An editorial team of architects, engineers, physicists, and scholars collaborated on the reappraisal, commenting that “multifamily housing projects of the type, size, and rental levels now being built throughout the country by both government and private agencies are the product of urban congestion such as early *Records* could not imagine. Only in the last decade has the large-scale housing project come to be recognized as the chief means of clearing the unpublished slums of the ‘90s.” Pondering the achievements of contemporary private and public efforts to develop apartments, housing reformer Catherine Bauer encouraged government officials, architects, and contractors to pay close attention to the design of entrances as focal points, roofs with sufficient overhangs or cantilevers, and windows that provide “elegance and openness.” She also reminded readers that “balconies are standard equipment on Swedish and English apartments for use and beauty.”³⁷

Because of the relatively large sums of capital involved in apartment development and an unsteady and transitory economy during the Great Depression, World War II, and post-war periods, the FHA emerged as an important yardstick used to measure construction starts for apartment complexes. Consequently, during the interval, only a few private investors, such as Metropolitan Life with its Parkchester Apartments, developed properties without Federal mortgage insurance. Most investors and lending institutions depended heavily upon the Federal government to underwrite apartment projects. In the late-1940s and early-1950s, approximately seventy percent of all multi-family construction in the nation resulted either from FHA financing, or public housing projects, a trend closely followed in Georgia.³⁸

In 1938, the FHA recorded the completion of 11,930 rental units throughout the nation, a number that increased to 13,462 in 1939. As new-home ownership made important strides, the rental housing market went into a skid and fewer than 3,500 units were built in 1940. Still, Bauer enthusiastically commented on America’s large-scale private housing market in 1941, foreseeing that “tremendous possibilities are ahead. At last private enterprise can tap the middle-income market--and help out a sadly neglected group.” That year, she indicated that the FHA had insured 274 large-scale rental private-investment projects that contained 333,361 units. Characterized by Bauer as garden apartments rising two or three stories, most of these low-cost apartment complexes still did not “reach the middle-income group.”³⁹

World War II initially depressed rental and apartment construction. In May 1942, the Congress amended the National Housing Act through its authorization of section 608, which provided incentives for the construction of rental housing for war workers. The Congress enacted the section to encourage builders, many of whom inflated their cost estimates and fees. Many apartment builders enjoyed little capital risk, and reaped profits even before

³⁷“Contributions of Science and Technology: Building Design, 1891-1941,” 79-81; Bauer and Ratensky, “Planned Large-Scale Housing,” 104-105.

³⁸Miles Colean, “Working with Washington on Housing,” *Architectural Record* 108 (September 1950), 137.

³⁹Housing and Home Finance Agency, *First Annual Report, Housing and Home Finance Agency* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1948), I-27, III-9; Bauer and Ratensky, “Planned Large-Scale Housing,” 93.

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beginning construction. The new program placed most of the risk upon the Federal government with increased benefits enjoyed by developers and renters. Within a year, seventy percent of the apartments built nationwide were supported by section 608 mortgage insurance. The legislation spurred a new period of construction with 19,994 units in 1943. Relatively few rental projects were developed in Georgia during the war. Following the conflict, section 608 persisted as a primary vehicle for the development of apartments. The states of Florida, Georgia, and Washington experienced relatively little wartime apartment construction, but enjoyed substantial amounts of FHA-related apartment growth in the late-1940s. Additional amendments to the National Housing Act also spurred development. Changes to the act included passage of the Veterans' Emergency Housing Act of 1946, revisions to the basis for determining insurable mortgage amounts, and providing alternatives to minimum property requirements. Applications and forms were streamlined, and reductions in working capital and lengthening mortgage maturities spurred apartment development.⁴⁰

In 1947, the reorganization of the FHA into the Housing and Home Finance Agency and the Housing Act of 1948 ushered in yet another era of development and further stimulated private investments in apartments. By then, 1,496 rental projects had been completed under the section 608 legislation, amounting to approximately 86,000 apartments nationwide. Approximately three-fifths of the apartments contained five rooms, that is, two bedrooms, dining and living rooms, and a bathroom. In Georgia, between 1943 and 1947 twenty-one new rental projects contained 2,130 apartments and amounted to approximately \$16,000,000 in construction. Building upon a moderately successful program implemented by the Roosevelt administration, President Harry Truman expanded the FHA's rental apartment program, in part, to ensure "that a major number of rental units be provided." His primary concern lay with returning veterans, who, he believed "should not be compelled to buy in order to get shelter." In December 1946, President Truman directed the FHA to make rental housing "the main point of emphasis in 1947."⁴¹

In contrast to the government's policies to develop apartments, the *Saturday Evening Post* reported the results of an urban housing survey in 1945, which found that only fourteen percent of Americans were willing to live in an apartment, which many people equated with a "used house." Social economist Mary Simkhovitch reiterated a top concern of returning World War II veterans, reminding government officials that "housing is homes" and urging them to not listen to "lawyers, architects, and builders" but to the average American seeking a permanent home. Still, most new apartments, whether developed as public housing or by entrepreneurs, featured modern appliances, floor plans, and materials, which ranked high on the list of priorities of prospective tenants and home owners. Picture windows, sliding glass doors, and a family room, a term first coined in 1947, became popular features used by builders and developers to sell new fashionable homes. Many apartments of the era incorporated these features.⁴²

⁴⁰Housing and Home Finance Agency, *First Annual Report*, III-12, 61; *New York Times*, 15 April 1954.

⁴¹Housing and Home Finance Agency, *First Annual Report*, I-27, III-9, 62, 67; National Housing Agency, *Rental Housing: Opportunities for Builders and Investors* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1947), n.p.; Bauer and Ratensky, "Planned Large-Scale Housing," 93.

⁴²Wright, *Building the Dream*, 253, 255; Mary Simkhovitch, "Housing is Homes," *American City* 65 (February 1950), 120.

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In 1948, Truman addressed participants at a Family Life Conference in Washington, D. C. Directing his comments at the business community and housing reformers, Truman noted the importance of neighborhoods in America, reminding the audience that “children and dogs are as necessary to the welfare of this country as is Wall Street and the railroads.” The following year, the Congress enacted the Urban Housing Act of 1949, which, in part, set a goal of providing a “decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family.” The legislation built upon the success of the earlier Federal housing programs. The multi-family division had been created under Section 608, which reviewed and insured the development of 711,000 living units in hundreds of apartment complexes throughout the nation. In less than a decade, FHA’s section 608 program underwrote approximately \$5,400,000,000 in government loans for private multi-family projects. In 1949 alone, approximately seventy percent of multi-family buildings in the nation were built because of government insured development loans. Driven primarily by the FHA, these projects were administered through Washington, D. C. and branch offices of the FHA. Design and construction was guided by several publications, such as *An Architect’s Guide to Operations and Public Relations with Government Agencies*, *Multifamily Rental Housing Insurance*, and *Administrative Rules and Regulations for Rental Housing Insurance under Section 608 of the National Housing Act*.⁴³

Responding to the large post-war increase in apartment projects insured by the Federal government, the FHA developed a classification system for multi-family rental units that consisted of three designations: single-family homes, walk-up apartments, and elevator apartments. Correlating with the nomenclature modern apartment complex, walk-up apartments consisted of multiple buildings rising to a height of up to three stories. Between 1935 and 1951, this type remained a popular building form for apartments throughout the nation. Approximately eighty percent of all rental projects reflected this property type between 1942 and 1949, declining to forty-nine percent in 1950. The number of walk-up apartment projects tapered off that year, in part, because revised FHA guidelines made single-family dwellings more affordable, in part, because of legislative changes in the housing act, and, in part, because of an emerging popularity of different forms of apartments. Between 1949 and 1951, the popularity of walk-up apartments measured against all apartment types fell nationwide to thirty-five percent from sixty-eight percent. In their place, single-family rental apartment buildings and large single-building elevator-type apartments, not unlike the late nineteenth century palatial apartment building, steadily gained ground against apartment complexes.⁴⁴

Legislative regulations for apartment construction altered the nation’s development trends. The Housing Act of 1948 liberalized the criteria for developing apartments under section 608 by permitting a maximum limitation of \$8,100 for each apartment, rather than the earlier \$1,800 per room rate. Among other benefits, the revision allowed mortgages up to ninety percent of the “reasonable replacement cost” of a project, and encouraged the development of one-room efficiencies within an apartment complex. Authorizing mortgage insurance on apartment complexes built on or near military installations for use by civilians or military personnel, title seven insurance became available in 1949. The new insurance was also available for rental units specified for employees at Atomic Energy

⁴³Wright, *Building the Dream*, 246; Colean, “Working with Washington on Housing,” 137; Housing and Home Finance Agency, *Fourth Annual Report, Housing and Home Finance Agency*, (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1951), 234-235.

⁴⁴Housing and Home Finance Agency, *Eighth Annual Report, Housing and Home Finance Agency* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1955), 248.

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installations. The Housing Act of 1950 failed to extend the term of the section 608 program, but liberalized the FHA's section 207 to encourage the development of lower-priced apartments for families and children. Mortgage allowances under the revision permitted up to ninety percent of the project value and \$10,000 for each family unit. But, other provisions in section 207 did not offer developers as an appealing of a package as formerly available through the section 608 program. Further mitigating the short-lived resurgence in apartment construction, the 1950 Housing Act also encouraged greater production of single-family dwellings for middle-income people.⁴⁵

The FHA's section 207 program failed to offer the same liberal incentives enjoyed by apartment developers who had operated under section 608 guidelines. Stricter controls on rental housing dampened construction. Then, in April 1954, the report of abuses and scandal rocked the FHA and resulted in congressional investigations and hearings, all of which had a chilling effect on the development of apartment construction. While on vacation in Augusta, Georgia, President Eisenhower directed all Federal agencies to assist the Congress and his administration to document illicit FHA activities. Casting a wide net to determine criminal conduct by FHA officials and private developers, the Congress reported that the FHA had permitted the builders and developers of 1,149 apartment projects in twenty-six states a windfall in profits exceeding \$65,500,000. In all, approximately one-sixth of all apartments insured by the FHA had loans in excess of construction costs. Another committee found that nearly eighty percent of apartment builders had "mortgaged out," that is borrowed more than the cost of the project and retained the windfall profits. Nearly 300 projects went into default with the Federal government assuming the cost of \$119,339,991. Numerous cases were documented in which developers and builders had secured mortgages for thousands of dollars more than the cost of a project, only to pocket the difference and abandon some projects.⁴⁶

The most significant abuses occurred in California, New York, New Jersey, and Washington, D. C., but several southern states also had reports of corruption and financial malfeasance. In Savannah, congressional investigators uncovered evidence of Congressman Prince H. Preston, Jr. receiving an illegal windfall as a principal in the Bowen-Sundy Enterprises, Inc. Organized by William A. Bowen, the mayor of Statesboro, and businessman James L. Sundy with Congressman Preston a silent partner, the company secured a FHA-insured mortgage for \$1,402,000 for Savannah's 220-unit Nelson Apartments in 1950. Construction amounted to approximately \$1,100,000, leaving a windfall of \$301,710. The partners sold their holdings to the Byck-Worrell Company, a building firm to which they had awarded the construction contract, and netted an additional profit of \$143,000 on an initial investment of \$7,000. The congressional investigation also revealed six other Georgia apartment projects insured by the FHA in default with thousands of dollars in losses sustained by the Federal government. The FHA apartment scandal and a soaring single-family housing market temporarily dampened further apartment development.⁴⁷

⁴⁵FHA, *The FHA Story in Summary*, 16-20; U. S. Congress, 84th Cong., 1st Session, *FHA Investigation* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1955), 8-12; Housing and Home Finance Agency, *Fifth Annual Report*, 213.

⁴⁶U. S. Congress, 84th Cong., 1st Session, *FHA Investigation*, 75-79; *New York Times*, 17, 20, 21 April 1954.

⁴⁷*New York Times*, 8 October 1954; *Savannah Morning News*, 12 June, 7 October 1954; *Augusta Chronicle*, 8 October 1954; U. S. Congress, 84th Cong., 1st Session, *FHA Investigation*, 73, 77, 79, 109.

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In Georgia, between 1942 and 1953, section 608 activities had accounted for 157 apartment complexes that contained 18,882 units. Mortgage insurance amounted to \$130,110,000 with actual construction reaching approximately \$200,000,000. Georgia's share of Federal largess accounted for four percent of all section 608 projects nationally, an indication that the state ranked ninth in the nation in apartment construction. Apartment development in the state soared from \$12,375,700 in 1947 to \$40,285,900 two years later. In 1950, apartment construction maintained a high level of activity, but in 1951, the year the section 608 program expired, development tapered off to \$10,971,322. Having spread to most corners of the state, the explosion of apartment construction quickly abated and remained lethargic until the 1970s. During the peak of construction activity, some developers employed novel land acquisition strategies that resulted in litigation. In one instance, disgruntled property owners in Gainesville filed suit against an apartment developer who sought to use public condemnation procedures to acquire property for a private development secured with Federal insurance. In 1953, the Georgia Supreme Court ruled against the property acquisition practice.⁴⁸

The number and value of new apartment projects plummeted in Georgia during the 1950s, falling from over \$40,000,000 in 1950 to \$12,600,000 in 1954. In 1951, approximately twenty-five new apartment projects were initiated in the state. Nineteen of those were secured by FHA insurance, which accounted for \$17,059,000 in development costs and 2,676 units. Rocked by scandals in the construction industry and dramatic policy changes in FHA mortgage insurance, a downward trend in apartment development persisted. Tabulated from both Federally-insured and non-government related projects, Georgia's apartment construction fell in value to \$5,900,000 in 1956, an amount reminiscent of annual expenditures for new apartments in the late-1930s. Notwithstanding the scandals and a languishing environment for apartment construction, by 1959 the FHA had helped to provide approximately 5,000,000 people with dwellings and 800,000 families with apartments nationwide. In all, approximately 200 apartment complexes containing thousands of units were built in Georgia between the mid-1930s and early-1950s. Perhaps no other government agency of the twentieth century exerted more influence on the development of America's suburbs and the housing landscape.⁴⁹

The heady period of Georgia's modern apartment construction, c. 1946-1951, stalled largely because of the end of generous FHA mortgage insurance terms. Significant apartment complex development showed few signs of recovery until the 1970s, when inflation dampened single-family housing starts and encouraged a renaissance of construction. Historian Gwendolyn Wright found that after the Congress curtailed the FHA's apartment insurance program "its replacement had such stringent regulations that few builders applied. The supply of rental housing for urban middle-income people subsequently dwindled, while the proportion of single-family suburban homes being

⁴⁸U. S. Congress, Senate, 84th Cong., 1st Session, Report No. 1, *FHA Investigation*, 70-71, 73; *Savannah Morning News*, 25 February 1953.

⁴⁹*New York Times*, 8 October 1954; *Savannah Morning News*, 12 June, 7 October 1954; U. S. Congress, 84th Cong., 1st Session, *FHA Investigation*, 73, 77, 79, 109; Bureau of the Census, *Housing Construction Statistics, 1889-1964* (Washington, D. C.: GPO, 1966), 57; FHA, *The FHA Story in Summary*, 21; Housing and Home Finance Agency, *Fifth Annual Report*, 292.

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constructed grew even more rapidly before.” Georgia’s housing patterns appear to closely follow this national trend, and significant apartment construction did not resume until the mid-1970s.⁵⁰

In 1954, only 2,472 new apartment units were initiated statewide, including public housing, and in 1957 only 1,482 apartments were constructed across the state. By 1960, the number of new apartment starts had climbed to approximately 5,000 annually and then 11,000 in 1964. But, an estimated one-half of those amounts could be attributed to new public housing. At the close of the 1960s, approximately 20,000 new apartments had been built in Atlanta, but, again, many of those were public housing apartments. By 1980, Atlanta’s standard metropolitan statistical area (SMSA) supported approximately 300,000 apartment units, an explosive increase resulting, in part, from an expansion of the metropolitan region, and in part, from new public housing and apartment construction. In 1970, 6,497 apartments stood in Bibb County, most of those public housing and modern apartment units built before the mid-1950s. Twenty thousand new housing units constructed in Bibb County in the 1960s were primarily single-family housing. Apartment complex gains were equally modest elsewhere. The City of Marietta supported 3,060 apartment units by 1970. In the decade of the 1970s, 1,681 apartments units were built in Floyd County, 179 in Monroe County, and in Peach County only 504 new apartment units became available. By contrast, far more single family housing units were built in these smaller counties and towns. In 1980, statewide owner-occupied housing units totaled 1,216,432, contrasting with 655,220 renter-occupied houses and apartments.⁵¹

Relentless in its growth, the suburban sprawl of the 1950s and 1960s occurred mostly heavily in Atlanta and the state’s largest cities. Led by single family homes with a mixture of multifamily subtypes, the growth failed to meet the demands for new housing. A pattern evident throughout much of the nation, the trend caught the attention of social reformers. In 1961, Jane Jacobs published *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* and Lewis Mumford’s *The City in History* appeared, in part, to laud the vitality of urban life and stem the so-called “white flight,” or flow of wealthier citizens from urban downtowns into the suburbs. In addition to lamenting the widespread construction of new houses that occupied vast tracts of real estate, these and other publications denounced public housing and high-rise modern apartments as “antithetical to real urban life.” In the mid-1960s, architects and planners turned to “cluster housing,” that is, condominiums, group apartments, and townhouses, as a middle ground between suburban sprawl and urban high-rise apartment buildings. Reminiscent of the modern apartment complexes built between the 1930s and 1950s, these projects differed from their predecessors in that many included artificial lakes, forested sites, swimming pools, tennis courts in communal spaces and “looked to Italian hill towns and New England villages as models.” Developed with positive realistic approaches to economic

⁵⁰Wright, *Building the Dream*, 246-247.

⁵¹Ibid.; Bureau of the Census, *Housing Construction Starts, 1889-1964* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, 1966), 57, 75; Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population and Housing, Census Tracts: Atlanta, GA* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, 1972), H-24, H-37, H-38; Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Population and Housing, Census Tracts: Macon, GA* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, 1972), H-9; Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population and Housing, Census Tracts: Georgia* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, 1983); Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Housing, Metropolitan Housing Characteristics of Georgia* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, 1983), 12-9; Bureau of the Census, *1970 Census of Housing, Components of Inventory Change, Atlanta, Georgia Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, 1973), 12-16.

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constraints, energy challenges, and demographic changes, cluster housing in the mid-1970s came to be seen as a less-than-desirable alternative to detached suburban homes.⁵²

Cyclical patterns characterized apartment construction in the largest of Georgia's cities between the late-1960s and 1990s. Most complexes were relatively small with twenty to forty units, rather than the massive 300 or 400 unit complexes reminiscent of a Camellia Apartments in Columbus, a Chatham City in Savannah, or a Lindmont in Atlanta in the late-1940s. Built in Atlanta's Sandy Springs suburb in the mid-1960s, the Roswell-Wieuca Village Apartments and the Versailles Apartments were relatively large complexes of the era, containing 100 and 172 units, respectively. Builder J. C. Bible, Jr. of Augusta was among the early promoters of apartment living in Georgia. The head of Southeastern Builders, Inc., Bible developed several small apartment complexes in Albany and Augusta in the mid-1960s, and rehabilitated the decaying Bon Air Hotel into the Bon Air Retirement Club. Although he developed the Bible Apartments and Valley Park Apartments, Bible's Bon Aire Heights, Forest Estates, Tanglewood, and Wildwood suburban subdivisions for new houses far exceeded his development activities and investments in apartment complexes. Some apartment owners elected to expand existing complexes rather than embark on new projects. In Macon, twenty new apartments contained in several buildings were added to the existing Vineville Gardens Apartment complex in 1963. Similarly, additional buildings were added to the Colonial Homes Apartments in Atlanta and Derry Downs Apartments in Decatur in the 1960s. Most projects were modest in size and architectural detailing, in part, because of new zoning laws, increasing land and construction costs, unpredictable cycles in occupancy, and high interest rates with stringent mortgage insurance requirements.⁵³

During the 1970s, an oversupply of apartments followed by record occupancy rates defined a cyclical apartment industry. Late in the decade, the sale and transfer of numerous apartment complexes in Atlanta to out-of-state owners precipitated the creation of apartment sales groups by several large real estate companies, such as Coldwell Banker. Pointing to the pitfalls and unpredictable nature of apartment development, the sale of the relatively new Cindy Court Apartments and Camilla Apartments along Atlanta's Glenwood Road in 1977 carried with them eighteen mortgages. To help improve the image of apartment living, complex owners in Richmond County published annual "apartment living" sections in the *Augusta Chronicle*. Issues from the early-1970s issues depict a blending of apartments with condominiums, townhouses, and other forms of multifamily housing. Some apartments shared a similarity in site plans, materials, and amenities with older immediate post World War II complexes. But, some newer forms of multifamily housing were often bereft of architectural influences, assembled with unadorned brick facades or wood-frame construction with wood sheathing, and aluminum awning or sash windows. New apartment complexes developed in Augusta in the 1970s included Mt. Zion Garden, Sans Souci, Sebring, Shahmar, and Williamsburg South. Notwithstanding the periodic cycles, new apartment construction soared during the era. In 1977, the *Atlanta Constitution* noted that owners of apartment complexes in the metropolitan region were enjoying a healthy market with ninety-five percent occupancy. The decade of the 1980s brought additional uncertainties to the

⁵²Wright, *Building the Dream*, 258-261.

⁵³*Augusta Chronicle*, 25 September 1966, 14 November 1971, 3 November 1972, 2 November 1973; *Atlanta Constitution*, 8 January 1971, 27 April, 20 November 1977, 1, 6 April 1985; *Macon Telegraph*, 5 November 1962; "Camellia Apartments," draft National Register Nomination, 2001; Gournay, *AIA Guide to the Architecture of Atlanta*, 210.

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apartment industry. In 1985, Georgia ranked first in the construction of manufactured housing, a booming if cut-throat industry that captured a significant share of the housing market. That year, the state's apartment industry faced additional threats from changes in the Federal tax code, which compelled many apartment owners to increase rents by fifteen percent. Although some apartment complexes were built, many of those were of little architectural merit. In Atlanta, Stillwood Chase, a collection of thirty-four apartments on Briarcliff Road, was completed in 1988, "a noteworthy exception among current standardized and undistinguished multifamily housing projects in Atlanta."⁵⁴

Increased crime rates and aging infrastructure changed the demographics of some older apartment complexes. In 1990, after plagued by years of drug-related crimes, DeKalk County's Community Development Department helped the owners and residents of the Belvedere Pine Apartments convert the complex into cooperative housing. Similarly, residents at the Brook Hollow Apartments in Norcross reported that the complex had become a dangerous place to live. They cited years of living with crime, drugs, and deferred maintenance, and a December 1990 photograph depicted parts of the complex falling apart. While sales of apartment complexes fell to anemic levels in Gwinnett County, where some new complexes sold in foreclosure for seventy-five percent of their value, competition for quality apartments rose to new levels throughout much of Atlanta. Jordan Clark, director of development at one large complex, reported that the "profile of a person renting an apartment in Atlanta has changed from someone who did so out of necessity to someone who does so as a status symbol."⁵⁵

Roger Bernot's development of 300 apartment units, which included Chapelwood Apartments, captured the attention of the editors of the *Atlanta Constitution*. They characterized his holdings as "a small empire." Three decades earlier, during Georgia's first experimentation with modern apartment complexes, Bernot's "small empire" would have been typical of a large complex, but only three-quarters of a Chatham City or Lindmont. In the closing decade of the twentieth century, post-modern high-density mega-apartments complexes represented yet another trend in apartment development. During the era, some popular apartments of post-World War II period, such as Columbus's Camellia Apartments, had aged and fallen from fashion to experience relatively high vacancy rates, amounting to approximately forty percent in 1985. A few complexes were demolished, including the University Court Apartments at Athens. Built in the late-1940s, the complex was demolished about 1985 to make room for an expansion of the University of Georgia campus. High interest rates and changes in the Federal tax code in the mid-1980s slowed apartment development. As the sales of condominiums increased, many states, including Georgia, reported a growing inventory of vacant apartments. The construction of Atlanta's Park Place, a thirty-seven story condominium tower in 1985, and Park Towers in the Sandy Springs suburb in 1990 were developed to draw from the region's wealthiest investors and homeowners. Those projects stood in stark contrast to the more modest apartments, condominiums, and high-density complexes that sprinkled Georgia's cities during the closing decades of the twentieth century. Reminiscent of the 1970s, a rebounding apartment market in the late-1990s helped spark a

⁵⁴*Augusta Chronicle*, 25 September 1966, 14 November 1971, 3 November 1972, 2 November 1973; *Atlanta Constitution*, 8 January 1971, 27 April, 20 November 1977, 1, 6 April 1985; *Macon Telegraph*, 5 November 1962; "Camellia Apartments," draft National Register Nomination, 2001; Gournay, *AIA Guide to the Architecture of Atlanta*, 210.

⁵⁵*Atlanta Constitution*, 13, 16 January, 16 March, 18 May, 28 June, 12 September, 4 November 1990.

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weekly apartment column in the *Atlanta Constitution*, which showcased various complexes, condominiums, and other multifamily housing in Atlanta, Conyers, Douglasville, Gainesville, Kennesaw, Lawrenceville, and other Georgia cities. The *Constitution* reported that Atlanta's rental rates increased thirty-three percent between 1995 and 2000, and announced that the destruction of the aging King's Ridge Apartments and their replacement with new upscale residences as a return to prosperity in the region. Reporter Leslie Brice found that tax credits associated with rehabilitating older apartment complexes could yield lower rental rates, thereby helping owners ensure high occupancy rates. However, only a few of Georgia's modern apartment complexes were listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Tax credits helped promote the preparation of National Register Nominations for the Briarcliff-Normandy Apartments in Atlanta and the Camellia Apartments in Columbus.⁵⁶

The Development of Specific Modern Apartment Complexes in Georgia

Although the completion of the PWA's Techwood Homes and University Homes in Atlanta in 1936 and Charles Olmstead Homes in Augusta in 1938 provided models of large-scale apartments, few investors developed private apartment complexes in Georgia during the Great Depression. Not surprisingly, the successful collaboration of Burge & Stevens and the J. A. Jones Construction Company in the development of Techwood Homes resulted in further cooperation by the two firms to build one of the state's first private apartment complexes: Peachtree Hills. Developed in Atlanta in 1938, the first phase of the apartment complex was developed at the southeast corner of the intersection of Peachtree Hills Avenue and Virginia Place in what became Atlanta's fashionable Buckhead neighborhood. Atlanta businessman Raymond Allen Jones, a son of the founder of the J. A. Jones Construction Company, was the developer. His father's company supervised construction of the concrete-and-steel buildings. The Jones family relied upon Burge & Stevens to draft the plans for the apartment complex. The architects employed sleek International style influences, a departure from the modified Georgian Revival style the firm had used for Techwood Homes. Sited at an oblique to the intersection, the plan included eleven semi-detached apartment buildings containing 174 units supported by seven garages. Beyond deriving rental income in a market bereft of modern quality housing, the Jones's family also used the apartment project to provide jobs for employees of the construction company. Other apartment complexes built by the J. A. Jones Construction Company and designed by Burge & Stevens included those in Nashville, Tennessee; Orlando, Florida; and Danville and Roanoke, Virginia. To market Peachtree Hills Apartments, Raymond Jones initially turned to the Adams-Cates Company, and carried relatively large advertisements in Atlanta newspapers during the late-1930s.⁵⁷

In Augusta, architect Willis Irvin used a variation on the older garden apartment form to plan the Forest Hills Apartments at the intersection of Peachtree and Walton Way. Using two U-shape courts to form one large S shape complex, Irvin provided five buildings with restrained Georgian Revival details. Fifty-two apartments were

⁵⁶*Atlanta Constitution*, 22, 27 January, 30 March, 23 April 2000; "Camellia Apartments," draft National Register Nomination, 2001; *New York Times*, 6 October 1985.

⁵⁷Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance of Atlanta*, v. 6, sheet 656; www.peachtreehillsaprts.com; *Atlanta Constitution*, 27 November 1939; Preston Stevens, *Building a Firm: The Story of Stevens & Wilkinson, Architects, Engineers, Planners, Inc.* (Atlanta: Stevens & Wilkinson, Inc., 1979), 26, 105.

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organized with one- and two-bedroom units, and two supporting parking courtyards. A director in the Forest Hills Corporation, Irvin had earlier prepared the plans and developed the fashionable Bon Air-Vanderbilt Hotel and Forest Ricker Hotel. Completed in 1939, the Forest Hills Apartments offered four- and five-room apartments with electrical refrigerators and ranges.⁵⁸

In Macon, the Twin Pine Apartments were built in 1940 to a scale and appearance similar to Augusta's Forest Hills complex. Financed in part by Investors' Syndicate of Minnesota, the complex consisted of six buildings containing thirty-two units. Organized in 1894, Investors' Syndicate made inroads into the South during the 1920s to provide developers funding mechanisms and investment services. By 1939, the company maintained offices in forty-two states, including Georgia, where it financed hundreds of new homes and apartments. Most projects funded and developed by Investors Syndicate were, in turn, insured by the FHA. Indeed, few apartment complexes built in Georgia between the late-1930s and the early-1950s were developed without FHA mortgage insurance. Atlanta architect A. Thomas Bradbury executed the plans for Macon's Twin Pine Apartments with Georgian Revival details, and the D. W. McCowen Construction Company of Macon supervised the construction of the \$140,000 complex. Headed by attorney A. O. B. Sparks, Twin Pine Apartments, Inc. developed the project in a site where "values are increasing, a property which is on the upgrade and which has not reached the height of its development." Most apartment complexes developed during the Great Depression were relatively modest in size, but were well-designed, often with formal architectural influences.⁵⁹

On the heels of World War II, Raymond Jones expanded Peachtree Hills Apartments in 1946 with forty-eight additional apartments to the west of the original development. Roughly forming a S shape, the three-story buildings reflected the original International stylistic influences applied to the initial phase. In 1950, the company opened a third phase to the north. It was organized with eight buildings that roughly formed a series of U-shape courtyards with four supporting garages along the rear of the property. Elsewhere in Atlanta, Georgia Institute of Technology responded to increased housing needs by implementing a five-year expansion program of its physical plant. Part of the campus development included the \$4,000,000 Callaway Apartments and Burge Apartments to house students with young families and returning veterans. Both were designed by Stevens & Wilkinson, Inc., the successor firm to Burge & Stevens. An eight-story elevator apartment building south of the campus, the Burge Apartments were named for Flippen D. Burge, who died in April 1946 during the design phase of the project. Experimenting with modern technology, the architects worked closely with two Georgia Tech mechanical engineers to incorporate radiant heat and convection heating systems into distinct areas of the Burge and Callaway apartments.⁶⁰

⁵⁸Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia* (New York: Sanborn Company, 1923-1951); *Augusta Chronicle*, 9 June 1939, 20 November 1940; *Atlanta Journal*, 9 August 1950.

⁵⁹*Macon Telegraph*, 20 February, 25 August 1940; *Atlanta Journal*, 9 August 1950; John Porter, ed., *Moody's Manual of Investments* (New York and London: Moody's Investors Services, 1940), 1606; John Porter, ed., *Moody's Manual of Investments* (New York and London: Moody's Investors Services, 1950), 896.

⁶⁰"Georgia Tech Housing," *Architectural Forum* 89 (September 1948), 131-136; Stevens, *Building a Firm*, 108.

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Completed in November 1947 by the J. A. Jones Construction Company, Callaway Apartments were built on gently rolling terrain north of the campus. Located at the intersection of Holly N.W. and 10th Street N.W., the complex shared similarities with the earlier Peachtree Hills through its oblique site plan to the intersection and International stylistic influences. The inspiration for the design came largely from contemporary Swedish cooperatives with International style buildings, landscaped grounds, individual balconies, and outdoor play areas. Complemented by interior walkways and parking courts, the complex of walk-up apartments consisted of seventeen buildings that contained 156 efficiency, one-bedroom, and two-bedroom apartments. The first major expansion of the Georgia Tech campus in the post-war era, the ambitious developments and superior design features of the Burge and Callaway apartments drew acclaim from the editors of *Architectural Forum*, which showcased the developments in their September 1948 issue. The apartments also appeared in *Architectural Record*, which praised the “spacious lawns and gardens” of Callaway Apartments that were “more like country homes than concrete-bounded city flats.”⁶¹

The FHA provided the significant impetus for the development of Georgia's modern apartment complexes into the early-1950s. In April 1949 alone, the *Atlanta Journal* reported on approximately twenty apartments scheduled for development. In Atlanta alone, new apartment construction surpassed the \$15,000,000 mark in 1949. Some apartments were built north of the downtown in the Ansley Park, Buckhead, and Upper Midtown districts. They included the modest Lindcrest Apartments at Adine and Lindbergh Drives. Completed in 1949, the Lindcrest Apartments with Colonial Revival detailing spawned larger complexes near the intersection of Piedmont Road and Lindbergh Drive. The average monthly cost for renting an apartment at Lindcrest amounted to \$65.00.⁶²

The two-story Lindmont Apartments, also completed in 1949, contained fifty-one apartment buildings with International stylistic influences. Developed by the D. L. Stokes & Company of Atlanta, the Lindmont complex was Atlanta's largest privately-held rental community of the era. A native of Jeffersonville, Georgia, David Lee Stokes was educated at Summerlin Institute in Bartow, Florida and the University of Georgia. Trained in agriculture and business, he entered the farm mortgage business in Macon in 1920. By 1929, he worked for Nolting Mortgage Company and the New York Life Insurance Company in Atlanta, and during the Great Depression he processed thousands of property liquidations in four southeastern states. In 1936, he incorporated D. L. Stokes & Company as a construction, insurance, management, and mortgage enterprise. Between 1943 and 1951, he financed and built 2,250 housing units, most of those in the form of apartment complexes primarily in Georgia and many of them in Atlanta. As part of his business's participation in Atlanta's building boom that followed World War II, he also financed the development of thousands of individual homes. A resident of the Atlanta's picturesque suburb of Avondale Estates, Stokes served on the city commission and was chairman of the board of the Atlanta Home Builders Association. Only marginally smaller but similar in style to Stokes's Lindmont Apartments, the adjacent Morosgo Apartments were also completed in 1949. The construction of these new apartments, many of which initially were rented by young families, prompted the construction of the nearby Rock Springs Elementary School in

⁶¹“Georgia Tech Housing,” 131-136; “Student-Faculty Units,” *Architectural Record* 95 (March 1947), 103; Stevens, *Building a Firm*, 84.

⁶²*Atlanta Journal*, 17 April 1949; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of Atlanta*, 1925-1950, v. 6, sheets 655, 658.

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1950. Radiating between Peachtree Creek, Peachtree Road, and Bobby Jones Golf Course, the Colonial Homes Apartment complex was built in the late-1940s. Comprised of two- and three-story apartment buildings, the Colonial Homes complex also contained a large collection of one-story garages. In 1950, stockholders and company officials of Colonial Homes, Inc. resorted to Fulton County's Superior Court to iron out a disagreement over the financial operations of the apartment company.⁶³

The rolling terrain of Atlanta's Goldboro Park and the fashionable Druid Hills neighborhood provided a picturesque setting for several apartment complexes. Executed with Colonial Revival features and brick veneering, the eleven-building Goldsboro Apartments overlooked a park adjacent to Goldsboro Road, N. E. The Goldsboro Apartments Corporation secured a modest loan of \$356,000 to complete the relatively small complex in 1949. To the south radiating along Benning Place, N. E., the Euclid Court Apartments was comprised of twenty-five brick-veneered buildings.⁶⁴

In Atlanta's South Side, new complexes included Orchard Knob Apartments and Pooles Creek Apartments on Jonesboro Road. Constructed at a cost of approximately \$3,000,000, Orchard Knob contained 458 apartments, making it among the largest Atlanta-area projects of the interval. Average monthly rental prices amounted to \$58.00. By contrast, Pooles Creek Apartments contained 200 units, but also offered units at an average monthly rent of \$58.00. In 1949, the Oakland City Apartments Corporation acquired a site east of Oakland Drive, S. W. from the Georgia Milk Producers Confederation. Within several years, the apartment corporation had developed the Oakland City Apartments and the Oakland Park Apartments. Residential neighborhoods radiated to the north, south, and west with a public school, warehouses, and the Atlantic & Western Railroad tracks to the east.⁶⁵

In southeast Atlanta, the Murphy Apartments astride Memorial Drive and Wyman S.E. consisted of thirty-three one-story masonry buildings containing sixty-six apartments. The Murphy neighborhood experienced significant growth during the interval, including the development of Murphy High School at a cost of \$1,168,000 in 1947. Construction of the apartments began in 1949, supervised by Murphy Apartments, Inc. The average rental rate was \$60.00. Charging an average monthly rent of \$57.50, the larger Oakland Court Apartments provided 240 apartments in thirty-seven two-story brick-veneered buildings. Developed in 1949 by the Oakland Courts Apartments Corporation, the complex stood south of Decatur Street bracketed by existing residential neighborhoods to the east, south, and west, and to the north by a small industrial district comprised, in part, by a bakery, power plant, and shoe factory. Southeast of Atlanta in neighboring Clayton County, the Forest Park Apartments, Inc., invested \$2,850,000 for a 472-unit complex astride Jonesboro Road.⁶⁶

⁶³Garrett, *Atlanta*, 3:428; *Atlanta Constitution*, 24 March 1950; *Atlanta Journal*, 17 April 1949; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of Atlanta*, 1925-1950, v. 6, sheets 655, 658; www.epicity.com.

⁶⁴*Atlanta Journal*, 17 April 1949; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of Atlanta*, 1924-1950, v. 7, sheet 714, 715.

⁶⁵*Atlanta Journal*, 17 April 1949; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of Atlanta*, 1925-1959, v. 9, sheet 918.

⁶⁶*Atlanta Constitution*, 26 August 1947; *Atlanta Journal*, 17 April 1949; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of Atlanta*, 1924-1950, v. 7, sheet 711, 732.

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In the African-American community of the City of East Point, the Bayard Apartments were built about 1950 immediately west of the W. A. Quillian Elementary School and east of Bayard Street. Fifty-four two story concrete block buildings contained 216 apartments. North of the municipal airport on the eastern outskirts of the City of East Point, the Cheryl Drive Apartments Corporation developed a twenty-two building complex with sixty apartments contained in modest one-story masonry buildings. The development company derived part of its revenues from Investors' Syndicate. Headed by Minneapolis businessman E. E. Crabb, the national syndicate had invested in Georgia's business and real estate fields since the 1920s, and opened field offices in Atlanta in 1948. That year, it invested approximately \$10,000,000 to develop real estate in north Georgia. The following year, the syndicate allocated an additional \$8,000,000 for real estate development in Atlanta alone. The company invested its funds "most heavily in multiple unit construction for low rental," but also targeted private homes ranging between \$7,000 and \$10,000. In 1949, the syndicate awarded W. H. "Tubby" Walton of Atlanta a silver service for his rank as the corporation's leading salesman in the nation. Flush with success of its association with Investors' Syndicate and its first phase of Sylvan Cheryl Apartments, the apartment corporation completed a second, larger phase of apartments at East Point about 1950. Consisting of thirty-seven two-story buildings, the expansion project radiated south of the original development astride the curvilinear streets of Cheryl Drive and Fredell Circle.⁶⁷

Other out-of-state apartment investment came from New Orleans, where boat-builder and industrialist Andrew J. Higgins, Sr., developed Lakemoore Apartments on the northern outskirts of Atlanta. Located astride Roswell Road east of Chastain Memorial Park, the apartments were completed in 1950 at a cost of \$1,250,000. Higgins was the inventor of the famous "Higgins Boats," amphibious landing craft (LCM) used to transport personnel and equipment during World War II. He developed the Atlanta apartment complex using an innovative concrete mixing and expansion process known as "Thermo-Con," which Higgins Resources, Inc., had developed and patented. Higgins claimed that the Lakemoore Apartment complex was the first large construction project in the nation to use his innovative concrete, which upon pouring expanded about 250 percent "to completely insulate any building constructed with it." Higgins died two years later leaving Lakemoore Apartments one of his few regional experiments using the patented process.⁶⁸

New apartment complexes appeared in Augusta. Between 1946 and 1949, approximately \$5,000,000 in new apartment complexes were built in the city and expanding suburbs, ranging from the 408-unit Golf Park Apartments constructed at a cost of \$2,116,226 to the diminutive Monte Sano Apartments developed at a cost of \$180,000. FHA mortgage insurance secured those developments, as well as the 352-unit Myrtle Court Apartments, built in 1949 at an approximate cost of \$2,000,000 near the golf course adjoining Oliver General Hospital, a government facility formerly known as the Forest Ricker Apartment Building. Most of these apartment complexes were developed west of the city, in part, to support growth at Augusta State University, in part, the development of Clark Hill Dam and the Savannah River Atomic Energy Commission's facility, and, in part, the reactivation and expansion of the Army's Fort Gordon military installation.⁶⁹

⁶⁷*Atlanta Constitution*, 15 September 1940, 9 March 1949; *Atlanta Journal*, 17 April 1949; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of Atlanta*, 1924-1950, v. 9, sheet 951, 985.

⁶⁸*Atlanta Constitution*, 10 June 1950; *New York Times*, 2 August 1952.

⁶⁹*Augusta Chronicle*, 2, 11 March, 5 May, 13 November 1949, 11 January 1950.

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Containing twenty-five units, the Monte Sano Apartments were constructed in 1949 astride Monte Sano Avenue north of the Augusta State University campus. Built at a cost of approximately \$180,000, the apartments consisted of five, semi-detached two-story buildings arranged in a U shape with a central courtyard. Augusta architect F. Arthur Hazard drafted the plans for the Monte Sano Apartment Corporation headed by R. D. Newman. Modern amenities included ranges, refrigerators, and water heaters that operated using natural gas. Living and dining rooms and kitchens occupied the first floor and bedrooms were located on the second floors. Each apartment initially rented for \$80. Earlier, in 1948, Hazard had designed the Country Club Apartments, an eighty-unit complex just north of the Augusta County Club. Hazard collaborated with the landscape design firm of H. Boyer Marx of Atlanta and Washington, D. C. to introduce playgrounds and plantings onto the site. Comprised of twelve buildings and eighty garages, the complex was built by the Roy L. Goode Construction Company of Charlotte, North Carolina, which had recently built \$3,000,000 in new apartments in Atlanta. The apartment complex stood at the north entrance to Country Club Hills Subdivision, a fashionable residential development designed by landscape architect S. Herbert Hart of Kansas City, Missouri.⁷⁰

In Macon, no significant apartment complexes had been built since 1942, and in 1947 housing authorities reported a waiting list of over 1,000 families requesting information on new homes and apartments in the city and Bibb County. That year, two firms embarked on apartment projects amounting to \$1,500,000. FHA-insured complexes, both were completed in the city's suburb of Ingleside. The local architecture firm of McEwen, Hall and Ferguson employed Georgian detailing to draft the plans for the thirty-two building, 100-unit Brookhaven Apartment complex. Completed in 1947, the complex was constructed at a cost of \$850,000 on a fifteen-acre site by attorney William A. Fickling, businessman Sanders Walker, and Raymond Briggs, the latter a Macon contractor who supervised construction of the complex. The builder of Macon's Twin Pine Apartments in 1940, contractor D. W. McCowen turned to the local architectural firm of Dennis & Dennis to prepare the plans for his own apartment complex, which he named Winship Garden. To develop the 83-unit, eleven building complex, McCowen organized a corporation with his wife, Margaret McCowen, and H. J. Clark, and after receiving FHA authorization, completed the apartments in 1948. Another FHA-insured apartment project, the Inglewood Apartments consisted of three buildings with twelve units. Built in 1948 at a cost of \$88,500, the complex was developed by Inglewood Apartments, Inc. of Macon, but went into foreclosure in 1956, when the property was acquired by the Mutual Benefit Life Insurance Company of New Jersey. The Westwood and Westwood Heights Apartments were built in Macon's west suburbs in 1949 and 1950, respectively. Also completed in 1950, the ten-story New Street Apartments provided new housing in an elevator apartment close to the downtown.⁷¹

⁷⁰*Augusta Chronicle*, 20, 26 June 1948, 8, 10 May 1949; *Atlanta Journal*, 17 April 1949, 9 August 1950; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia* (New York: Sanborn Company, 1923-1951); A. N. Marquis, comp., *Who's Who in the South* (Chicago: Marquis Company, 1927), 384.

⁷¹*Macon Telegraph*, 22 June 1947, 30 January 1948, 24 February, 20 September, 20 November 1950, 27 March, 4 April 1956; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of Macon, 1951 update*, v. 2, sheet 219.

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In Columbus, the Camellia Apartments ranked among Georgia's largest rental housing projects of 1949. The developer of the complex, Camellia Apartments, Inc. secured a loan of \$2,700,000 insured by the FHA for 400 units and 1,784 rooms. Local developer Charlie F. Williams helped charter the corporation and supervised the development of the apartments. A native of Phenix City, Alabama, Williams hired Atlanta architect James C. Wise to draft the plans for apartments, the first phase of which the Williams Construction Company completed in 1947. Williams worked closely with James Wise, Columbus's chamber of commerce, and military officials at Fort Benning to provide an appropriate number of well-designed and sufficiently appointed units with gas stoves, hot water heaters, refrigerators, and Venetian blinds. Referred to as a "veterans-preferred" complex, the units consisted of one- and two-bedroom apartments. Landscaping included parking lots, playgrounds, and a swimming pool. Developed in part to relieve Columbus's housing shortage associated with an expansion of Fort Benning, the apartment complex opened in 1949 and Williams expanded it about 1951. Despite the veterans preferred market targeted by the company, even civilians who were not employed at Fort Benning were accommodated. Initially, monthly rents ranged between \$45 and \$75 with the average rental amounting to \$64.20.⁷²

In 1947, Savannah's civic leaders and business community pledged their cooperation with President Truman's housing program, an action adopted throughout most of the state. A well-developed concentration of row houses from the nineteenth century and U. S. Housing Authority projects that cleared slums and built low-income rental apartments adjacent to Savannah's downtown compelled developers to seek undeveloped suburban tracts on the fringes of Savannah's municipal limits and in Chatham County. In Georgia's first city, developers constructed the Abercorn Park, Chelsea, Franklin, Lamara, and Nelson Apartments between 1947 and 1950 with FHA mortgage insurance. In 1948, O. K. Bright and J. D. McLamb of the Chelsea Corporation opened the Chelsea Apartments near Skidaway Road and Pennsylvania Avenue. Adjacent to the Gordonston suburb of Savannah, the 136 apartment complex consisted of two-story brick buildings radiating off a winding central avenue. The Lamara Apartments, a relatively large collection of one-story duplex apartments, was developed by J. J. Raders, C. H. Mason, and William Lattimore of the Lamara Development Company. The enterprise assembled seventy-five, one-story buildings with 150 units in 1950. The complex was organized on a twenty-seven acre tract with winding streets, courtyards for play areas, and an internal system of sidewalks. Comprised of seventeen brick buildings with 148 apartments, the Abercorn Terrace Apartments was developed by Emanuel Kronstadt, Alex Paderewaski, Ben Silverman, and Rives Worrell. Designed by Levy & Kiley and Oscar Hansen, the complex was completed in 1947 by the Span-Worrell Construction Company. Closer to the downtown, the twelve-story Drayton Arms Apartment Building was completed in 1951.⁷³

Two of Savannah's complexes--Franklin Apartments and Nelson Apartments--were built by the Bowen-Sundy Enterprises, Inc. The corporation was organized by William Bowen and James Sundry with Congressman Prince Preston of Statesboro as a silent partner. In 1949, Bowen and Sundry completed the Franklin Apartments with seventy-five buildings containing 150 apartments. Located on an undivided portion of the eighteenth century Poplar Grove tract of G. W. J. DeRenne, the development stood near Thirty-eight Street, but was centered along two new

⁷²*Atlanta Journal*, 17 April 1949; *Columbus Ledger-Enquirer*, 27 November 1949; *Columbus Enquirer*, 3 August 1957.

⁷³*Savannah Morning News*, 6 February, 7 March 1947, 31 October 1948, 6 November 1949, 3 March, 18 May 1950.

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streets created by the developers: Franklin Drive and Fulmer Street. Flush with success from their first FHA-approved project, Bowen and Sundry secured another FHA-insured mortgage for \$1,402,000 for Savannah's 220-unit Nelson Apartments near DeRenne Avenue and Reynolds Street in 1950. Construction amounted to approximately \$1,100,000, leaving the partners a windfall of \$301,710. The partners later sold their holdings to the Byck-Worrell Company, which built the Nelson Apartments and later the Lamara Apartments and Fred Wessels Homes, a public housing complex.⁷⁴

Three miles from Savannah's city hall in the adjacent municipality of Garden City, the Chatham City Corporation developed an extensive apartment complex in 1949 with local financing backed by FHA insurance. The development of the Kraft Paper Mills, the expansion of Savannah's shipyard, and the reactivation of Chatham Field prompted local businessmen Sylvan Byck and Herbert Kayton to organize the corporation and construct the Chatham City Apartments along the Augusta Road. Architects Cletus W. Bergen and William P. Bergen collaborated with the engineering firm of Thomas & Hutton to develop the 110-building, seventy-eight acre site. A \$2,500,000 project containing 400 apartments, Chatham City included two- and one-story buildings, systems for electrical service, water, storm sewers, and sewage, seven miles of paved sidewalks, one mile of paved roads, and six playgrounds. The Byck-Worrell Construction Company supervised its construction.⁷⁵

Although the majority of apartment complex construction occurred in Georgia's largest cities, development spread throughout much of the state. Even in Georgia's smaller cities and towns, most apartment complexes were guaranteed by FHA insurance. Completed in 1949, the modest University Court Apartments (demolished) in Athens stood on South Lumpkin west of the University of Georgia campus. Built at a cost of approximately \$300,000, the ten one-story buildings contained forty units. An expansion of the campus in the 1980s resulted in their demolition. The Mathis Construction Company developed several apartments in Athens, including the forty-three unit Mathis Apartments on South Lumpkin, which were completed in 1948. Persistent growth and the need for additional apartments in Athens prompted William Mathis, the owner of the construction company, to develop the six-story Mathis Apartment Building in 1950. Responding to Athens's housing shortage, insurance executive and realtor Middleton Wingfield invested in the Wingfield Apartments. In association with businessman Oscar Harris, he developed two sets of one-story apartment complexes in established residential neighborhoods on South Harris Street and North View Drive, respectively, both complexes being relatively close to the campus of the University of Georgia.⁷⁶

Similar in size and scale to Athens's University Court Apartments, the Hillcrest Apartments in Valdosta consisted of forty-four units completed in 1949. At Rome, the Glenwood Apartments were built in the late-1940s. Radiating west

⁷⁴*Savannah Morning News*, 17 June, 6 November 1949, 18 May 1950, 2 May 1952; *New York Times*, 8 October 1954.

⁷⁵*Savannah Morning News*, 14 October 1949.

⁷⁶*Athens Banner-Herald*, 28 May 1979; *Atlanta Journal*, 17 April 1949; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of Athens, Clarke County, Georgia* (New York: Sanborn Company, 1926-1950).

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of Summerville Road north of the city, the complex consisted of sixteen two-story masonry buildings that contained seventy-four apartments.⁷⁷

In the City of Waynesboro, which had a population of 4,461 at mid-century, the McBean Homes Corporation opened a twenty-unit apartment complex. Completed in 1949, the apartments were built by the McBean Company, which secured a \$106,000 loan and FHA insurance to help finance the construction of the complex. The company leased the apartments at an average monthly rental rate of \$52.50.⁷⁸

At St. Simons Island, architect R. W. Marshall of Brunswick designed a ten-unit apartment complex on Ocean Boulevard across from pier in the business district. Charles Gillican, a Brunswick contractor, developed the complex in 1952. Placed in a curvilinear pattern to form a central courtyard, the three reinforced-concrete-and-brick buildings displayed flat roofs with cantilevered overhangs. The one-story building contained two apartments and the two-story buildings each contained four apartments. Although St. Simons Island then boasted a permanent population of only 1,706, Gillican placed the buildings in service for year-round occupancy, rather than for use by seasonal visitors.⁷⁹

Zoning Ordinances and Subdivision Regulations

Stemming from ancient nuisance laws, modern zoning originated in Germany. In the United States, Los Angeles and New York City were among the first cities to create regulatory systems. Enacted in the Progressive Era, those ordinances divided districts into commercial, industrial, and residential uses. By 1926, 425 municipalities had enacted zoning ordinances. The need for these ordinances arose, in part, from the inadequacy of technical nuisance laws to address contemporary urban growth. In a 1926 landmark case, *Village of Euclid (Ohio) v. Amber Realty Company*, the Supreme Court in dealing with a high-density land use in a low-density neighborhood, found a close similarity between established nuisance law and modern zoning. The Court stated that "Under these circumstances, apartment houses, which in a different environment would be not only entirely unobjectionable but high desirable, came very near to being nuisances."⁸⁰

In 1927, Georgia's general assembly enacted legislation that granted to the state's municipalities "having a population of 25,000 or more inhabitants...authority to pass zoning and planning laws whereby such cities may be zoned or districted for various uses and other or different uses prohibited therein, and regulating the use for which said zones or districts may be set apart, and regulating the plans for development and improvement of real estate

⁷⁷*Atlanta Journal*, 17 April 1949; Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Map of Athens, Clarke County, Georgia* (New York: Sanborn Company, 1926-1950); Sanborn Map Company, *Fire Insurance Maps of Rome, Floyd County, Georgia* (New York: Sanborn Company, 1926-1950); Communication with Dan Latham, 3/12/2003.

⁷⁸*Atlanta Journal*, 17 April 1949.

⁷⁹*Brunswick News*, 1 January 1952; Bureau of the Census, *1950 Population*, 11-24.

⁸⁰Robert Nelson, *Zoning and Property Rights: An Analysis of the American System of Land Use Regulation* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1980), 7-10; Edward Bassett, *Zoning: The Laws, Administration, and Court Decisions During the First Twenty Years* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1940), 18-19.

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therein.” Georgia zoning court cases of the 1920s typically provided direction for height and area regulations, including *Morrow v. City of Atlanta* 162 Ga. 228, 133 S.E. 345 (1926) and *City of Atlanta v. Smith*, 165 Ga. 146, 140 S.E. 369 (1927). With these early rulings, the courts treaded lightly upon land-use restrictions. Opposition to land use regulations was most intense in the developed coastal states from New Jersey to Texas. Typical of most southerners, Georgians only gradually adopted zoning and land-use regulations. In the *Smith* case, the state’s supreme court handed down a ruling pertaining to a variance that affected a property dividing a residential and business district. Favoring commercial interests, the ruling stalled the use of additional zoning ordinances throughout Georgia for several years. Even so, within several years of *Euclid*, most state courts found land-use restrictions reasonable and lawful. An early important land use case in Georgia, *Howden v. Mayor & Alderman of Savannah*, 172 Ga. 833, 159 S.E. 401 (1931) supported municipal authority to enact zoning ordinances.⁸¹

Nationwide, demands to slow commercial and industrial intrusion into residential neighborhoods from property owners in large cities soon had the affect of establishing segregated single-family and multi-family unit zoning districts. Those types of comprehensive zoning measures first came to the Far West, Midwest, and Northeast in the states of California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio. Most southern civic and business leaders resisted implementing land-use regulations, curbing their application in most southern cities. Still, by the mid-1930s, some of Georgia’s largest cities prohibited commercial enterprises and industry for residential districts. The early regulations were based primarily on esthetics rather than health and safety issues. Subsequent zoning ordinances shared a common goal of protecting neighborhoods. The emergence of zoning ordinances fostered the organization and growth of planning departments in colleges and universities and within municipal governments. In 1940, Hugh Pomeroy, a prominent planner, published a planning manual that reminded his colleagues “the important thing is to provide protection for the character of a neighborhood... Low density neighborhoods occupied by higher income families should not be faced with the danger of intrusion or encroachment by small lot developers which would destroy their character. The danger is always that the less intensive occupancy will be impaired by encroachment by more intensive occupancy...”⁸²

The gradual acceptance of zoning in the 1920s and 1930s coincided with the spread of suburban neighborhoods and the accompanying introduction of automobiles and low-density suburban living. Some observers interpreted the ruling on apartment houses in low-density neighborhoods as “a mere parasite, constructed in order to take advantage of the open spaces and attractive surroundings created by the residential character of the district. Apartment houses seek out low-density neighborhoods precisely because the surroundings are desirable, while not contributing anything to the neighborhood quality--hence their ‘parasitic’ behavior.” Limited in scope, land-use court decisions in the 1930s and 1940s failed to specifically sanction zoning of vacant land and some courts held that vacant lands could not be zoned for future use.⁸³

⁸¹Nelson, *Zoning and Property Rights*, 7-10; Bassett, *Zoning*, 17, 28, 45-47, 64, 129.

⁸²Nelson, *Zoning and Property Rights*, 7-10; Bassett, *Zoning*, 18-19.

⁸³Nelson, *Zoning and Property Rights*, 14; Bassett, *Zoning*, 18-19.

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Forty years after the Supreme Court heard its first zoning case, the court reasserted its approval of neighborhood zoning protection in 1974 with the *Belle Terre* case. Into the 1970s, the City of Atlanta and many Georgia communities exercised few regulatory controls over development. In Atlanta's downtown, development was guided primarily by two essential regulations: one ordinance that employed a use-list similar to the list applied to Atlanta's light manufacturing district, and another ordinance that imposed a high floor-area ratio of twenty-five. In addition, most development in Atlanta was the result of private initiative, rather than public-private cooperation or public regulation. One observer of Atlanta's growth believed "the quality of development in downtown Atlanta has been more peer pressure and influence of the market (than regulation)." Throughout the nation, property owners, builders, and developers more readily accepted restrictions of height and area than land use provisions.⁸⁴

In 1954, most neighborhoods in Atlanta contained zoning provisions for apartment development, a trend that was reversed two decades later. In the late-1940s and early-1950s, the suburbanization of Atlanta occupied thousands of acres, leaving relatively few large tracts for apartment complexes in new and established suburbs. In the 1960s, as Atlanta's white residents relocated to the suburbs and racial tensions pushed outwards from the downtown core of the city, large single-family neighborhoods circling Atlanta's central business district were re-zoned for multifamily use. Some observers commented that the down zoning measure resulted, in part, in the expansion of the city's slum districts. Still, in the 1970s, some African-American residents successfully rezoned a few large open parcels for open-use space, predicated on the archaeological, environmental, and historical significance of the site.⁸⁵

Between the late-1930s and early-1950s, zoning classifications and subdivision restrictions in most town and cities in Georgia seemed to have little affect on the development of apartment complexes. The high-density but fashionable appearance of new apartment complexes with modern infrastructure and landscaping were welcome visible symbols of "New South" suburbanization and growth. Addressing an important gap in the state's post-war housing shortage, the apartments represented a significant increase in local tax revenues that most southerners welcomed in communities struggling after experiencing decades of languishing economies and poor harvests. Still in its infancy in Georgia at mid-century, modern zoning broadly defined commercial, industrial, and residential districts without resorting to endless subcategorization. Most apartment complexes were built in a variety of locations in established residential neighborhoods or emergent suburbs, where adjacent property owners and residents typically either welcomed them or declined publicly to object to the development. Many were built on portions of undivided tracts, although in some cases lots in older subdivisions were assembled to permit their development. Often representing the most significant single investment in a neighborhood or suburb, modern apartment complexes were typically fashionable buildings with attractive landscaping built by prominent, well-

⁸⁴Nelson, *Zoning and Property Rights*, 14; Clifford Weaver and Richard Babcock, *City Zoning: The Once and Future Frontier* (Chicago and Washington, D.C.: American Planning Association, 1979), 4-5.

⁸⁵Weaver and Babcock, *City Zoning*, 4-5, 39, 49.

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connected civic and business leaders. Relatively high monthly rental rates helped to ensure a middle-class or even upper-middle class tenancy. Objections to apartment projects often stemmed from large single multi-story apartment buildings proposed in buffer zones between commercial and residential areas, or along primary arteries within established neighborhoods. Employing professionals in the design, construction, and landscaping industries, developers of apartment complexes successfully assured municipal officials and potentially disgruntled neighbors of the high quality nature of a development. To help ensure the success of a new apartment complex, developers often used front-page newspapers articles complete with architectural renditions and bird's eye views to inform the general public of the project. Contributing to the tax base and tangible signs of economic growth of a city, apartment complexes were generally embraced by governing officials, civic leaders, and adjacent property owners.

Despite these general trends, scattered zoning conflicts appeared in the late-1940s and early-1950s, a product of significant population growth and the need for new housing and supporting commercial enterprises. Some property owners turned to the courts to resolve land-use disputes, but most were settled before going to trial. In mid-1949, residents near the intersection of Brighton Road and Peachtree Road in Atlanta objected to the construction of the fourteen-story high-rise Darlington Apartments in their neighborhood. Following the filing of a petition in Fulton County's Superior Court, attorneys for the Darlington Development Company and the disgruntled neighbors hammered out a landscaping agreement that allowed the project to proceed. In January 1950, similar concessions were made by the developers of the South Pryor Road Apartments and McDonough Heights Apartments. Although the developers reduced the size of both complexes, associated issues drove the respective settlements rather than the development of the apartments themselves. The African-American apartments on Pryor Street were scaled back to nearly one-half of the original 750 units, and, more importantly, area residents received assurances that the development would not prevent the construction of an important new road. Residents objecting to the 352-unit McDonough Apartments voiced more concerns over an associated eight-store shopping center than the apartments. In general, it appears the home owners in residential suburbs of Atlanta and elsewhere in Georgia expressed more concern over the intrusions of businesses and commercial establishments in their respective neighborhoods than apartment complexes.⁸⁶

In some cases, political pressures reversed recommendations from Atlanta's zoning and planning board, which confused the permitting and construction process and often forestalled development. Disputes that arose over a proposed \$800,000 apartment house on Roswell Road and a twenty-six unit apartment at Custer Avenue and Moreland Avenue served as flashpoints in local politics and pointed to the necessity for consistent zoning and planning. In 1950, following a three-year period of fits-and-starts, the Roswell Apartment House stood partially completed when the county commission brought the project to a halt. Elsewhere, residents along Beecher Road, Cascade Avenue, and Sewell Road objected to another apartment complex in their neighborhood, believing it would "ruin the value of our homes." The twenty-six unit apartment building had been preceded by an earlier apartment complex in the neighborhood, but the proximity of the new project and additional requests for nearby commercial enterprises in the established residential suburb drew the indignation of several residents. Dr. Allen Albert, the head

⁸⁶ *Atlanta Constitution*, 10 September 1949, 9 February 1950.

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of Emory University's Department of Sociology and vice-chairman of the zoning and planning commission, resigned after the county commission reversed the zoning commission's recommendation to deny the new apartment. Angrily justifying his resignation, Albert cited seven recent zoning reversals by the county commission, largely based on political posturing.⁸⁷

These and several other Fulton County zoning conflicts and conundrums also resulted in the resignation of Paul Van Hedden, head of the Fulton County Planning Commission, who organized Van Hedden & Martini, the southeast's first planning and zoning consulting firm in 1951. A graduate of Boston University, Van Hedden had served as a planning consultant in New England before arriving in Atlanta. His partner, Eugene Martini was graduated from the University of Illinois, taught landscape architect at the University of Massachusetts, and prepared landscape designs for the FHA. During World War II, he prepared the landscape plans for several military installations in the southeast. Following the conflict, he moved to Atlanta where he opened a landscaping firm and developed the site and landscaping plans for the Darlington Apartments. The turmoil associated with the resignations of Dr. Allen Albert and Paul Van Hedden and dissent between property owners, elected officials, and planning professionals help stimulate the drafting of new zoning and land use policies for the City of Atlanta and Fulton County in 1954.⁸⁸

These general trends and exceptions were evident elsewhere in the state, that is, most apartment complexes were developed without community outcry or court battles. In Atlanta, developer Guy Rutland opened the Briarcliff subdivision in the fashionable Druid Hills neighborhood in 1945. Restrictive clauses exempted lots along the primary streets from the building restrictions for single-family homes that applied to the majority of the subdivision's lots. Several years later, the Solloway Contracting Company and the Ray-Jean, Inc. combined several lots fronting along Briarcliff Road and Normandy Drive, to develop the fashionable Briarcliff-Normandy and Briar Hills apartment complexes, respectively, without dissent from adjoining residents and property owners. Still, a few projects encountered resistance, and most larger cities began to tighten zoning regulations. In Athens, residents near the intersection of Milledge Street and University Drive advocated long-range planning and effective zoning measures in 1948 to protect their properties from commercial intrusion. In Macon, residents of the Ingleside suburb fought commercial intrusion by gasoline stations and grocery stores, but did not object to the development of the Ingleside Apartments. In 1948, to prevent the development of a shopping center, some residents of the Mikado suburb in South Macon resorted to the courts. In their petition, they cited subdivision restrictions dating to 1911 against commercial construction. In 1952, residents of the exclusive Riverside suburb and Wimbish Road hired an attorney, who prevailed upon the Bibb County commission to order a halt on all construction in their neighborhood, an action that only temporarily stemmed proposed commercial development. In May 1953, C. A. Burge's thirty-three unit apartment complex in one of Macon's African-American neighborhoods was readily approved by the Macon-Bibb County Planning and Zoning Commission without argument from area residents. But, the following year, the commission rejected Mary Burge's bid to convert the former Ballard-Hudson School into an apartment building. In 1955, responding to increased zoning conflicts, the Macon-Bibb County Planning and Zoning

⁸⁷Ibid., 7 July, 10, 12 August 1950.

⁸⁸Ibid., 25 July 1951, 14 October 1954.

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Commission held a series of public meetings and then adopted a new zoning ordinance that defined various residential districts and commercial and industrial zones.⁸⁹

In Richmond County, nascent zoning initiatives arrived in the late-1930s, beginning with an ordinance that prohibited junkyards along the Milledge Road. At one meeting, residents criticized local officials and FHA administrator for “being too strict in the matter of zoning” for the location of homes and apartments. In 1938, acting against the advice of the city attorney and protests by residents along Walton Way, Augusta’s city commission amended the city zoning code to change from single-family to multiple-dwelling zoning a site at the corner of Milledge Road and Walton Way to permit the construction of an apartment building. The action promised to spark a court battle. Sensing political intrigue, zoning commissioner William Lester believed the amendment was “clearly illegal” and promised to strengthen the city’s zoning law to help assure that “politics will not enter into any future actions.” Organized in 1947, a new city-county zoning board helped reconcile planning measures throughout Richmond County, and two years later the Augusta Chapter of the Georgia Society of Professional Engineers urged that the board “maintain controls over proposed commercial, industrial, and residential developments in the county.” During the interval, the planning board approved the development of E. L. Douglas’s apartment house on Monte Sano Avenue, but, responding to outcries from residents, denied a permit for a massive multi-story apartment building on Walton Way. Between November 1951 and January 1952, John McDonald compromised with residents along Highland Avenue and Wrightsboro Road and the Augusta-Richmond planning board regarding his proposed L-shape apartment building. Encountering fierce resistance from residents, McDonald compromised by reducing the project from ten to eight units, but finally cashiered the plans and elected to build three duplex apartments, a move that did not require board approval. Farther from established residential districts, the planning board approved the multi-story Sherman & Hemstreet Apartment Building in the Country Club Hills section of Augusta. The planning commission eagerly permitted the developers to assemble several lots from the Country Club Hills subdivision to develop the project. Similarly, little community resistance or discussion occurred associated with the development of the Country Club, Golf Park, Monte Sano, and Myrtle Court apartment complexes. For some of those projects, several lots associated with earlier subdivisions were combined to facilitate the developments. In 1952, the City-County Planning and Zoning Commission adopted a comprehensive law to help manage future growth, a meeting attended by only four citizens.⁹⁰

The massive Chatham City complex in Garden City near Savannah was developed on a seventy-eight acre site carved out of parts of the Lamar subdivision and Zipperer tract. The Chelsea, Franklin, Nelson, and most other apartment complexes in Savannah were built on large undivided tracts in the suburbs near the southern municipal limits. Few voices were raised in protest, and most projects were lauded in local newspapers as evidence of growth and creative financing and mortgaging measures employed by Georgia’s developers. In 1953, the City of Savannah organized a committee to develop a master plan to help manage the expansion of the city limits. That year, twenty-seven new wards were incorporated into the municipal limits. Responding to a teacher-parent association at a local

⁸⁹ *Athens Banner-Herald*, 5 March 1948; *Macon Telegraph*, 9 September 1947, 14 April 1948, 16 April 1952, 2 June, 19 May 1953, 29 June 1954, 28 May 1955; “Briarcliff-Normandy Apartments,” National Register Nomination, 2001, HPD.

⁹⁰ *Augusta Chronicle*, 28 May, 8 June, 12 July 1938, 8 July 1947, 21 November 1948, 6 May, 22 September, 4, 25 October 1949, 2, 22 January, 25 September 1952.

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school and area residents, the city's engineering, building, and zoning committee recommended the strengthening of residential zoning rules in the southwestern area of the city to slow the development of commercial businesses in that region.⁹¹

Selected Architects of Georgia's Modern Apartment Complexes

Cletus W. Bergen

Born in Savannah in 1896, Cletus W. Bergen was graduated from the Georgia Institute of Technology in 1919. He returned to Savannah, where he began his career in architecture in the office of Levy and Clarke, where he quickly rose to the level of partner. In 1927, he opened his own firm and eventually earned the mantle of "dean of Savannah architecture," in part, because many of the city's major architects launched their careers as interns in his office. Much of his work was derived from designing and remodeling churches, commercial buildings, residences, schools, and military installations. Large apartment complexes designed by Bergen in the early-1940s included the Fellwood and Francis Bartow Place, U. S. Housing Authority projects that appeared in *Architectural Forum*. Bergen's oldest son, William P. Bergen, joined the firm in 1948 following graduation from Georgia Tech. One of their early collaborations was the massive 400-unit Chatham City Apartments west of Savannah. Interestingly, for the design of the one-story apartment buildings at Chatham City, the firm drew heavily upon Cletus Bergen's earlier designs at Francis Bartow Place. In 1952, the Bergens also drafted the plans for the Fred Wessells Homes in Savannah. Developed from William Bergen's senior thesis project, the twelve-story Drayton Arms Apartments (1951) in Savannah heralded the start of the younger Bergen's prolific career designing primarily modern International style buildings.⁹²

A. Thomas Bradbury

A native of Atlanta born in 1901, A. Thomas Bradbury attended Georgia Institute of Technology, working for Robert & Company during his college years. After completing his studies, he worked for Pringle & Smith, but then moved to Florida in 1925, where he worked as chief draftsman for John and Colton Skinner. Prompted to relocate following the collapse of the Florida land boom, Bradbury arrived in Birmingham, Alabama in 1927, where he worked as chief draftsman for Warren, Knight & Davis. In 1930, he moved to Chattanooga, Tennessee and joined the firm of W. A. Groswell. He returned to Atlanta in the early-1930s, once again secured employment with Robert & Company and then Hentz, Adler & Shutze. He earned a law degree in the early-1930s, but continued to practice architecture. In 1935, he formed a partnership known as Constantine & Bradbury, operated under his own name between 1939 and 1941, and then formed the partnership Bradbury & Stockman. In 1943, he re-established his own practice, and later served as president of the Georgia Chapter of the AIA. Described as a collection of bureaucratic

⁹¹*Savannah Morning News*, 20 April, 29 July 1950, 17 March, 30 September 1953.

⁹²VM 1363, Cletus W. And William P. Bergen Collection, Georgia Historical Society; "Francis Bartow Place USHA Defense Housing Project," *Architectural Forum* 76 (June 1942), 408; Michael Rosenauer, "Public Housing in the Southeastern States," *Architectural Forum* 74 (March 1941), 150; *Savannah Morning News*, 14 October 1949.

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architectural forms of the Modern Classic, Bradbury's principal commissions of the 1950s and 1960s included the Agriculture Building, Labor Building, Law and Justice Building, the Archives and History Building, and the Governor's Mansion. Apartment complex designs included Macon's Twin Pine Apartments, executed with Georgian Revival details in 1940.⁹³

Burge & Stevens; Stevens & Wilkinson

Born in Corinth, Mississippi, Flippen D. Burge was graduated from the Georgia Institute of Technology in 1916. He initially worked as a draftsman for the Arthur Tufts Company in Atlanta, and established a practice with Preston Stevens about 1919. Important commissions developed by the partners in the 1920s included Atlanta's Palmer Building, Summer Hill School, and Brookhaven Country Club. In the mid-1930s, the PWA selected the firm to design Techwood Homes, and later they designed the Alonzo Herndon Homes, John Hope Homes, and John Eagan Homes for the U. S. Housing Authority. In 1937, the firm hired James Wilkinson, who played an important role in the modern designs used to develop the Peachtree Hills Apartments, E. Rivers Elementary School, and Prince Gilbert House in the late-1930s. Their work helped introduce the International and Modern stylistic forms to Atlanta. In the late-1930s, developer Raymond Jones of Atlanta provided the company with additional out-of-state work, including the Highland Lakes Apartment complex in Orlando, Florida, the Forest Hills Apartments in Danville, Virginia, and the Roanoke Apartments in Virginia. Some of their early work, such as Highland Lakes in Florida and Techwood Homes in Atlanta, appeared in national architectural journals, including *Architectural Forum* and *Architectural Record*. During World War II, the firm prepared the plans for Camp Rucker, Fort McClellan, Meridian Air Base, Oliver General Hospital in Augusta, Savannah Air Base, and Sylvania Air Base. The company designed Georgia Tech's Burge Apartments and Callaway Apartments in 1946. Burge died in November 1946, and the following year Wilkinson became a partner, prompting the renaming of Stevens & Wilkinson. In 1949, the firm drafted the plans for the Townhouse Apartments in Birmingham, Alabama. Between 1948 and the 1980s, the company designed various building for Georgia Baptist Medical Center, and retirement homes designed by the firm included Baptist Village, Canterbury Court, and Clairmont Oaks.⁹⁴

F. Arthur Hazard

A graduate with training in civil engineering at The Citadel in South Carolina, F. Arthur Hazard was associated with several architectural firms throughout the South before arriving in Augusta, Georgia about 1920. He became a registered architect and for several years he worked for Scroggs & Ewing, organizing the firm's engineering work and supervising construction. His early projects with Scroggs & Ewing included the Maxwell Building. In the early-1930s, Hazard established his own architecture practice. In 1932, he drafted the plans for Augusta's police barracks,

⁹³*Atlanta Journal*, 19 November 1992; Robert Craig, *Atlanta Architecture: Art Deco to Modern Classic, 1929-1959* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 1995), 128-133.

⁹⁴Stevens, *Building a Firm*, 26-37; Carol Flores, "The Early Works of Burge & Stevens, Stevens & Wilkinson, 1919-1949," M.S. Georgia Institute of Technology, 1990, xvii, 49-51; Henry Withey and Elsie Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased)*, (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc., 1970), 95.

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and later in the decade planned the renovations of the city hall. Following World War II, he designed several dormitories to expand the county home for Richmond County. Other post-war projects included the Country Club Apartments and Monte Sano Apartments in Augusta, both of which displayed Georgian Revival details. He designed the fifteen-story Summerville Arms Apartments on Walton Way in 1952, and in 1956 he crafted Augusta's Boys' Catholic High School with sleek International style lines.⁹⁵

Willis Irvin

Born in 1890 in Washington, Georgia, Willis Irvin studied architecture at the Georgia Institute of Technology. During the 1910s, he worked as a draftsman in several architectural firms, including those maintained by G. Lloyd Preacher and Harry Walker in Atlanta and Hyman Witcover of Savannah. In 1917, he associated with Haralson Bleckly in Augusta, but soon opened his own studio. Large projects completed by Irvin in the 1920s consisted of churches and schools. By 1927, he had drafted the plans for twelve schools in Georgia and South Carolina. Yet, it was Irvin's design of mansions and the remodeling of older plantations in South Carolina's low country that brought him acclaim. His most fashionable projects often displayed the influences of Classicism and Mediterranean Revival. In 1929, the American Institute of Architects awarded Irvin a medallion for "Whitehall," the seasonal residence in Aiken, South Carolina owned by *Chicago Tribune* publisher Robert McCormick, which the southern division of the AIA accorded as "the residence of the year."⁹⁶

In the 1920s, Irvin chartered the Forest Hills Corporation to develop real estate in Augusta, which included the fashionable Forrest Ricker Hotel. For the design of the exclusive Bon Air-Vanderbilt Hotel in Augusta, Irvin associated with the prestigious New York firm of McKim, Mead & White. In 1937, to help promote business, Irvin published *Selections from the Work of Willis Irvin, Architect*. Featuring a few public buildings and many residences and mansions, Irvin's publication also included advertisements of brick and tile companies, contractors, electricians, and landscapers. Projects in Aiken, South Carolina included remodeling the courthouse and designing a hospital, high school, and movie theater. Irvin's apartment complexes included Augusta's Forest Hills Apartments, which displayed references to Classicism and Georgian Revival that he employed on many of his projects. Documented buildings associated with Irvin include the Pickens House (NRHP 1983) and Whitehall (NRHP 1984) in Aiken, South Carolina; Rose Hill Plantation (NRHP 1983) in Beaufort, South Carolina; Coker House (NRHP 1991) and Dunlap House (NRHP 1991) in Darlington, South Carolina; Arcade Building (NRHP 2001) in Ft. Pierce, Florida; and McCurry-Kidd House (NRHP 1986) in Hart, Georgia.⁹⁷

James C. Wise

⁹⁵ *Augusta Chronicle*, 25 August 1927, 5 December 1932, 29 July 1936, 7 April, 20, 26 June 1948, 8, 10 May 1949, 19 October, 21 November 1952, 26 April 1956; *Atlanta Journal*, 17 April 1949, 9 August 1950.

⁹⁶ John Wells and Robert Dalton, *The South Carolina Architects, 1885-1935* (Richmond: New South Architectural Press, 1992), 81-83; *Atlanta Journal*, 9 August 1950; Willis Irvin File, HPD.

⁹⁷ Willis Irvin, *Selections from the Work of Willis Irvin, Architect, Augusta, Georgia* (New York: Architectural Catalog Company, Inc., 1937); *Augusta Chronicle*, 9 August 1950.

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A 1928 graduate of Georgia Institute of Technology, James C. Wise of Atlanta was the 276nd architect to register with the Georgia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. Wise maintained his practice in Atlanta for thirty years. Relatively large projects designed by Wise included the Camellia Apartments in Columbus for Charlie Frank Williams, and the Hawthorne Apartments in Phenix City, Alabama for Roy L. Smith, Ralph Raiford, and H. R. Mills.⁹⁸

Selected Contractors of Georgia's Modern Apartment Complexes

Byck-Worrell Construction Company

Organized in Savannah about 1935, the Byck-Worrell Construction Company assembled some of Savannah's largest public housing and apartment complexes during the middle of the twentieth century. The company was founded by Sylvan Byck, who was born in Savannah about 1892 and graduated from the Georgia Institute of Technology in the early-1920s. An engineer, builder, real estate developer, and civic leader, Byck helped organize the Savannah chapter of the Georgia Society of Professional Engineers and served as its first president and later as president of the state association. To help promote growth in Chatham County, he donated an eight-acre site in Garden City for the development of a garment factory. In 1954, through Sylvan Associates, Inc., he opened the Sylvan Terrace subdivision, an eighty-three acre tract that was reported to be the largest residential development in Chatham County in twenty years. In the 1960s, he was appointed chairman of Savannah's River Street Committee, which developed a plan to revitalize and beautify the city's waterfront. His work as a member of the Savannah Port Authority helped to develop the Skidaway Road-and-Bridge Project and brought an oceanographic complex to Chatham County. About 1939, Byck formed a partnership with contractor Rives Worrell, an association that persisted until 1955. A native of Charlottesville, Virginia, Worrell moved to Savannah in the 1920s to assist his father with several large projects. After his father's death in 1931, he became president and continued in that capacity until dissolving the company in 1939. The Byck-Worrell Construction Company built several large projects in Savannah, including the fashionable Drayton Arms Apartments (1951) of which Byck was the primary investor and developer. Byck also owned and developed the Chatham City Apartments on his property in Garden City. By 1954, Byck was president of the Byck Electrical Company, Byck-Worrell Construction Company, Chatham City Corporation, Drayton Arms Corporation, L & B Sales Company, and the Suburban Development Corporation. Apartment complexes assembled by the Byck-Worrell Company included Savannah's Lamara Apartments and the Nelson Apartments. Federal housing projects built by the company included Carver Village and Fred Wessells Homes in Savannah; two projects in Albany, Brunswick, LaGrange, and Moultrie, respectively; and a 400 unit project in Columbia, South Carolina. Other large projects in Savannah consisted of the Eli Whitney School, Woodville School, warehouses for the Georgia Ports Authority and McKenna Company, and dormitories for Hunter Air Force Base and Savannah State College at Thunderbolt. In an effort to help sustain Georgia's early-1950s construction boom, Byck wrote President Eisenhower urging him and the Congress continue to support important

⁹⁸ *Columbus Ledger*, 29 June 1949; *Columbus Ledger-Enquirer*, 27 November 1949; "Hawthorne Apartments," *Industrial Index* 46 (July 25, 1951), 11.

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Federal construction-industry programs, such as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA).⁹⁹

J. A. Jones Construction Company

Born in 1869, James Addison Jones was educated in Randolph County, North Carolina, and became an apprentice brick mason in 1887. In 1894, he organized the J. A. Jones Construction Company in Charlotte, North Carolina. Over the following five decades, he developed the business into one of the largest construction companies in the nation. By 1945, the firm maintained offices throughout the country, employed 40,000 personnel, and had completed over \$1,000,000,000 in contracts. In the first half of the twentieth century, the company built a variety of buildings and structures, including airfields, bridges, industrial plants, military camps, and roads. Large projects included buildings at the Georgia Institute of Technology, University of North Carolina, South Carolina State College, and Virginia Military Institute. Public housing projects included those at Atlanta, Birmingham, Charleston, Jacksonville, and New Orleans. The company also built apartment complexes at Charlotte, Miami Beach, and Orlando. In Atlanta, the company built the Peachtree Hills Apartments, several public housing projects, Murphy High School in 1947, and an addition and remodeling of Booker T. Washington High School (NRHP).¹⁰⁰

During World War II, the firm built Camp Kraft and Fort Jackson in South Carolina, Camp Shelby, Keesler Field, and Camp McCain in Mississippi, Camp Gordon in Georgia, Camp Rucker in Alabama, and Camp McCall and Camp Greensboro in North Carolina. The company developed and built 107 cargo ships at Wainwright Shipyard at Panama City, Florida and later fabricated 100 Liberty ships at Brunswick, Georgia. At Oakridge, Tennessee, the company built a diffusion and steam-generating plant an atomic research facility. Other projects included hospitals and hotels.¹⁰¹

Jones maintained his position as company president until 1938, when he became chairman of the board of directors. A son, Edwin L. Jones headed the company until 1960. Later projects included dams in Iran, and military bases in Greenland and Vietnam. Documented properties associated with the J. A. Jones Construction Company include Addison Apartments (NRHP 1990), Dillon County Courthouse (NRHP 1981), Fire Station No. 2 in Charlotte (NRHP 1980), Frederick Apartments in Charlotte (NRHP 2001), Hoke County Courthouse (NRHP 1979), Hoskins Mill in Charlotte (NRHP 1988), Hotel Charlotte (NRHP 1979), and Techwood Homes (demolished). By 1988, the company had been renamed the Jones Group and employed approximately 10,000 employees, including architects, engineers, and marketers.¹⁰²

⁹⁹*Savannah Morning News*, 18 May 1950, 2 May 1952, 10 April 1953, 15 April 1954, 12, 14 May 1968; R. L. Polk, *Savannah City Directory* (Savannah: Polk Company, 1954), 126-127.

¹⁰⁰*Atlanta Constitution*, 26 August 1947; Catherine Bishir, Charlotte Brown, Carl Lounsbury, and Ernest Wood, *Architects and Builders in North Carolina: History of the Practice of Building* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 393-394.

¹⁰¹*National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White & Company, 1953), 38: 94; *Augusta Chronicle*, 30 September 1950.

¹⁰²*Atlanta Constitution*, 26 August 1947; Bishir et al., *Architects and Builders in North Carolina*, 393-394.

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William A. Mathis Construction Company

Born in Waldo, Florida in 1905, William Mathis received his education in the public schools of Americus, Georgia, where his grandfather served as county's superintendent. In 1922, he moved to Atlanta, where he graduated from the Georgia Institute of Technology with a degree in electrical engineering. In the mid-1920s, relocated to Athens to work for the Georgia Power Company. In 1935, he organized the Mathis Construction Company and later the Athens Concrete Products Company. Following World War II, he began developing apartments. By 1950, the construction company had developed and built the six-story Lyons Apartments Building and a residential community known as Garden Homes, both on South Lumpkin. Apartment complexes developed by the company consisted of the forty-three unit Mathis Apartments, Myrna Court Apartments (demolished), and University Court Apartments (demolished). By 1952, Mathis had subsumed most of his apartment and construction company holdings into WAMCO, an acronym formed using his initials. Large projects completed by the company included the award-winning Pharmacy Building, Forestry Research Laboratory, Newman Center, and Visual Arts Building on the campus of the University of Georgia. A leader in the Athens-Clarke County consolidation movement, Mathis developed and built the Town-and-Gown Community Theater, which he presented as a gift to the City of Athens.¹⁰³

D. W. McCowen

Born in 1899 in Fitzgerald, Georgia, Dewey William McCowen organized a construction business about 1919. By 1940, he had built approximately seventy schools throughout the state. He established an office in Macon in 1933 and moved to the city about 1939. His early large projects included Twin Pine Apartments, completed in 1940. By then, he had constructed several commercial buildings in Macon, dwellings in Macon's fashionable Shirley Hills suburb, the barracks at Georgia Military College in Milledgeville, and a tobacco warehouse at Waycross. During World War II, McCowen built military installations at Camp Wheeler near Macon, Charleston, South Carolina, and Sebring, Florida. As a limited dividend project in Macon, McCowen organized Winship Garden Apartments, Inc. with his wife, Margaret McCowen, and Macon businessman J. J. Clark in 1948. He completed the construction of the complex later that year.¹⁰⁴

Charlie Frank Williams

A native son of Phenix City, Alabama, Charlie Frank Williams graduated from Eastman Business College in New York, and then returned to Alabama, where he established a lumber yard and construction business. In the 1920s, he expanded his company and moved to Columbus. Over the subsequent decades, Williams supervised the construction of various projects in Columbus included various buildings at Fort Benning; Warren Williams Homes, a housing

¹⁰³ *Athens Banner-Herald*, 31 March 1980; *Nelson's Athens City Directory* (Charleston: Nelson Company, 1952), 454-461; Deed Book 105, p. 154, Deed Book 111, p. 195, Deed Book 114, p. 319, Deed Book 119, p. 549, Deed Book 120, p.576, Deed Book 142, p. 58, Clerk of Court, Clarke County Courthouse, Athens, GA.

¹⁰⁴ *Macon Telegraph and News*, 20 February, 25 August 1940, 22 June 1947, 30 January 1948, 8 June 1965.

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project; St. Francis Hospital; First Baptist Church's chapel; and the Hawthorne Apartments in Phenix City, Alabama.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ *Atlanta Journal*, 17 April 1949; *Columbus Enquirer*, 3 August 1957.

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PROPERTY TYPE: F.1

1. Name of Property Type: Modern Apartment Complexes

2. Description: Georgia's modern apartment complexes represent a small but important property type. Research compiled in 2003 from the files at the Historic Preservation Division (HPD), holdings at several institutions and repositories, field samplings, and conversations with various staff at HPD and Georgia's RDCs indicate that approximately 200 apartment complexes were built in the state between the Great Depression and the early-1950s. In contrast to many other historic property types, which have experienced a relatively high degree of change and rates of demolition, the vast majority of modern apartment complexes appear to be extant and retain much of the original architectural integrity. Relatively few of those, however, are listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP).

Generally developed between the Great Depression and the early-1950s, a modern apartment complex in Georgia is defined as consisting of at least three multi-apartment buildings developed on a relatively large scale using an overall site plan with integral landscaping. Generally constructed by a single developer according to a master plan, modern apartment complexes were typically built either all at once in a relatively short period of time, or in distinct planned phases. Often located in the suburbs or edges of established communities, or in large vacant or cleared lots, these complexes included an automobile orientation with accommodations for pedestrian traffic. Few, if any, apartment complexes were developed without the benefit of professional architectural and engineering services. In addition to preparing site plans for the apartment buildings and interior room arrangements, architects often incorporated into the plans playgrounds or play area courtyards, sidewalk systems, parking courts, cul-de-sacs, garages, and sometimes interior streets. Plans often identified and located plantings of various shrubs and trees. Modern appliances included hot water heaters, ranges and stoves, and refrigerators. Public services typically included electrical, natural gas, and water and sewer systems, although some developers installed private water systems. Architects often collaborated with engineers and landscape architects to perfect the overall design of an apartment complex.

The heaviest concentrations of apartment complexes appear in Georgia's largest cities, but some were built in smaller communities, such as Rome and Valdosta, and even in resort communities, including St. Simon's Island. The majority of the apartment complexes contributing to this property type are relatively large collections of buildings, ranging from three to one hundred with the number of apartments encompassing between ten and 400 units. The breadth of sizes and variety of site plans and interior floor plans defy codification into discrete property types. Consequently, the complexes have been subsumed into one broad property type with sufficient descriptions of selected complexes to afford preparers and reviewers the range of apartments.

The vast majority of Georgia's modern apartments were developed with underwriting and review by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). Design standards between the 1930s and 1950s were suggestive rather than

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prescriptive; the FHA did not provide stock plans to architects, builders, or developers. Instead, developers relied upon architects to interpret FHA regulations and guidelines to draft plans for review and approval.

In general, Georgia's modern apartments consist of buildings assembled with masonry, steel, or wood systems finished with a variety of products, including composite asbestos-concrete panels, and masonry and wood finishes. Most buildings have a rectangular plan, but some display L shapes or offset linear arrangements. Roof systems range between flat, gable, gable-on-hip, and hip models, and fenestration is generally regular but asymmetrical with metal casement windows or wood double-hung sash windows with multiple lights. Porches are often small and entrances muted.

Georgia's modern apartment complexes display a relatively broad cross-section of architectural styles commonly used for the designs of commercial and residential buildings drawn from conservative revival styles associated with the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries and from the Modern Movement. Although some modern apartments are comprised of buildings with relatively little ornamentation and are not associated with any formal architectural style, other apartments display the influences of the Georgian Revival, International, or Streamline Moderne styles. Some complexes comprised exclusively of one-story buildings display traditional vernacular forms executed with little ornamentation. Similarly, some relatively large complexes with two-story buildings are also bereft of formal architectural influences. Yet, in an interesting tapestry of patterns, some relatively small complexes with large buildings exhibit formally executed architecture, a paradigm associated with many complexes containing relatively dense concentrations of large buildings.

Architectural Contexts

Georgian Revival

Part of the broader Colonial Revival movement, the Georgian Revival style as applied to modern apartment complexes was a restrained form of more exuberant examples developed between the 1880s and the 1920s. A product of the financial distresses associated with the Great Depression, the scaled-down Georgian Revival style was commonly employed by architects on apartments between the 1930s and 1950s. Among the oldest and longest-lived of America's building styles, Georgian architecture was named for the monarchs who ruled England during America's Colonial era. The style dominated America's architecture between 1700 and the American Revolution. Many cities contained large collections of buildings executed in the style, which influenced the development of interior communities. Picturesque alternatives to Georgian, such as the Classical Revival, Gothic Revival, Italianate, and Romanesque Revival styles, temporarily eclipsed Georgian architecture in the late eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century. A revival of Colonial building styles began with the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876, when the centennial of the Declaration of Independence sparked renewed interest in the architecture of the period. This rebirth of enthusiasm in the early English and Dutch houses of the Atlantic Seaboard drew heavily upon both the Georgian and Adam styles, and upon Post-medieval English and Dutch Colonial architecture for references.

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Many of the buildings designed for the 1876 Exposition were based on historically significant Colonial designs. Publicity describing the Exposition coincided with efforts made by national organizations to preserve Old South Church in Boston and Mount Vernon. About the same time a series of articles on eighteenth century American architecture appeared in the *American Architect* and *Harpers*. The publicity helped make Colonial architecture popular throughout the country. The use of Georgian architecture in many of Georgia's oldest cities rekindled enthusiasm in the style in the late nineteenth century, and it remained popular for apartments and dwellings well into the twentieth century. Georgian architecture, within the larger context of Colonial Revival, became a dominant style of American residential architecture during the first half of the twentieth century.¹

Apartment complexes exhibiting Georgian Revival influences typically display gable, hip, or gable-on-hip roofs with moderate slopes and shallow eaves and overhangs, brick exterior wall fabric or contrasting masonry and wood exterior walls, and wood double-hung sash or metal casement windows with multiple lights. Some models display dentils along a narrow frieze or a masonry belt course, but most have sparse architectural detailing. Entrances often are identified by a pediment and diminutive gable or hip roofs supported by round or square wood columns or wrought-iron posts. Ogee, eyebrow, or gable dormers often pierce roofs, and decorative quoins or dentils along the cornice adorned more elaborate models. A popular variant between 1935 and 1955, the so-called Garrison variant of the style draws from Post-medieval English details. Defining features include contrasting materials with brick or masonry on the first story and weatherboard or other wood products covering the second-story walls. On the front facade, the second-story wall forms a slight overhang, which is often adorned with decorative pendants or dentils. In addition to the contrasting materials on the first and second stories, Garrison models generally display a side-facing gable roof with one-story gable extensions and Georgian-inspired entrances.²

International

An integral part of the functionalist modern design movement, the International style was a dominant commercial building form in the United States between the Great Depression and the mid-1970s. Conceived as a design for workers housing by a group of architects working independently in post-World War I Europe, the style was introduced to a wide American audience in an exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art in 1932. Entitled simply "Modern Architecture," the exhibit featured modernist designs of the most prominent practitioners, including Charles-Edouard Jeanneret Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, and Ludwig Mies van der Rhoe. Eschewing architectural precedent, the innovators of the design found a common theme in the exploitation of contemporary building materials and technologies. They shunned all ornamentation present in traditional styles, and by revealing structural elements they produced a starkly functional design. Reflecting the attitude of most

¹Marcus Whiffen, *American Architecture Since 1780* (Cambridge and London: MIT Press, 1969), 32-33, 159-165; Marcus Whiffen and Frederick Koeper, *American Architecture, 1607-1976* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981), 87-124, 153-207; Virginia McAlester and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 138-151, 320-341; John Poppeliers, S. Allen Chambers, and Nancy Schwartz, *What Style Is It?: A Guide to American Architecture* (Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1983), 18-23.

²McAlester and McAlester, *American Houses*, 322, 338.

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modernists, Mies focused on economics and technology for his projects, placing as much emphasis on the quality and texture of individual bricks or stuccoed exteriors as the bronze mullions and glass in windows.³

The style derived its name from a book published by Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson for the exhibit entitled *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922*. Later, fleeing the rise of Nazi Germany, many of the originators of the style immigrated to the United States. They were welcomed with positions at some of the most prominent schools of architecture in the country, and subsequently influenced several generations of leading American architects. Although the influence of Walter Gropius and other immigrant architects was muted until after World War II, some federally sponsored projects completed during the 1930s employed the severe, functional, and high-quality modular framing and materials that they espoused. On the campus of the Georgia Institute of Technology, architecture professors Harold Bush-Brown and Herbert Gailey executed several buildings with International influences during the New Deal, thereby beginning a process of directing a new architectural form on the campus into the mid-1950s.⁴

In Georgia, International style buildings are most often found in larger cities that grew despite the onset of the Great Depression. Various architects, such as A. Thomas Bradbury, A. Ten Eyck Brown, and Stevens & Wilkinson, were early practitioners of the style, which became part of the Modern Classic movement in Atlanta and influenced architectural styles throughout the state. Usually applied to commercial, professional office, or apartment buildings, the style was seldom employed on private residences. Identifying features include severe asymmetrical facades, flat roofs, smooth exterior surfaces finished with brick or stucco and little ornamentation, metal casement or fixed windows flush with outer wall surfaces, cantilevered ledges protecting entrances and windows, and exposed structural elements.⁵

Masonry Vernacular

The description Masonry Vernacular applies to buildings that display no formal style of architecture. Defined as common masonry construction techniques used by architects and builders, the term, vernacular, does not, however, imply inferior or mundane architecture. The Oxford English Dictionary defines vernacular architecture as “native or peculiar to a particular country or locality...concerned with ordinary domestic and functional buildings rather than the essentially monumental.” Buildings characterized as vernacular often lend themselves to categorization by building form associated with a particular era, function, or region of the country, rather than classification within a particular genre of formal architecture.

Prior to the Civil War vernacular designs were local in nature, transmitted by word of mouth or by demonstration, and relied heavily upon native building materials. With the coming of the American Industrial

³Whiffen and Koeper, *American Architecture*, 340-348; Leland Roth, *A Concise History of American Architecture* (New York, Hagerstown, San Francisco, and London: Harper & Row, 1979), 306; *Master Builders: A Guide to Famous American Architects* (Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1985), 148-155;

⁴Robert Craig, *Atlanta Architecture: Art Deco to Modern Classic, 1929-1959* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing, 1995), 112-113; Whiffen and Koeper, *American Architecture*, 345; *Master Builders*, 169.

⁵McAlester and McAlester, *American Houses*, 469-473; Craig, *Atlanta*, 22-23, 132-133.

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Revolution mass manufacturers exerted a pervasive influence over vernacular design. Popular magazines featuring standardized manufactured building components, building plans, and decorating tips flooded consumer markets and helped to make building trends universal across the country. The railroad also aided the process by providing cheap and efficient transportation for manufactured building materials. Ultimately, architects and builders had access to a myriad of finished architectural products from which to select to create a building.

Masonry Vernacular is commonly associated with commercial and residential building types. A number of older examples display the rough-faced cast block popularized by Henry Hobson Richardson in Romanesque buildings of the late nineteenth century. The Masonry Vernacular designs of the early twentieth century were often influenced by popular Art Deco, Collegiate Gothic, Colonial Revival, International, Mediterranean Revival, and Prairie styles.

Georgia's Masonry Vernacular apartment buildings typically display a rectangular footprint, although some are irregularly massed, L-shape, or have a primary block with a lateral wing or annex. Popular masonry building materials of the era included brick, clay hollow tiles, and cinder blocks. Foundations were typically poured slabs or continuous systems of brick or concrete blocks. Roof systems included of either flat, gable, or hip varieties, and few details adorned entrances. Most often regular and symmetrical, fenestration consisted of metal casement windows. Because of Georgia's long heritage of manufacturing clay products, bricks and hollow tiles remained popular masonry building materials even during the Great Depression and following World War II. The introduction of the relatively inexpensive cinder block building material during the Great Depression gained popularity during World War II and the 1950s. As described by architectural historian Dell Upton, "from the seventeenth century framed house to the twentieth century apartment block, students of vernacular architecture have found the house the most fascinating of American vernacular buildings."⁶

Streamline Moderne

The Streamline Moderne style, sometimes referred to as Art Moderne, like the Art Deco and International styles, represents a complete break with traditional designs. The style emphasizes futuristic concepts rather than invoking architectural antecedents. Rooted in the modernistic Art Deco style of the 1920s, the Streamline Moderne style gained favor in the United States shortly after 1930, when industrial designs began to exhibit streamlined shapes. Devoid of the ornamentation applied to the Art Deco style, Streamline architecture was derived, in part, from the aerodynamic, rounded corners applied to fashionable automobiles and airplanes, and found on many kitchen appliances, jewelry, and many other products where its function was less important than

⁶Cyril Harris, ed., *Illustrated Dictionary of Historic Architecture* (New York: Dover, 1977), 564; Diane Maddex, ed., *Built in the U.S.A.: American Buildings from Airports to Zoos* (Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1985), 167-171.

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the desirable shape. Characteristics of the modernistic Streamline form soon spilled over into the construction industry. Buildings with Streamline Moderne styling have flat roofs, smooth exterior surfaces, glass blocks, tubular steel pipes for handrails, horizontal grooves, cantilevered ledges, and rounded corners to emphasize a streamline effect. Buildings executed with Streamline Moderne influences are most often found in cities that continued to grow despite the onset of the Great Depression. Perhaps its most famous expression was the Johnson Wax Administration Building in Racine, Wisconsin. The style was usually applied to commercial, public, and relatively large apartment buildings rather than private residences. Still, the style became part of the American consciousness at the middle of the twentieth century, apparent in large commercial buildings, small post offices, and roadside diners.

Site Plans

For the purposes of this document, the enumerated site plans do not constitute separate property type classifications, but are provided to demonstrate the considerable breadth and range of plans employed by architects and developers to assemble apartment complexes. Site plans were developed in response to several criteria, including the location of supporting schools, shopping centers, social clubs and recreational facilities, and religious institutions; available real estate for a project; the nature and extent of irregular property boundaries; the location and number of play areas, interior streets, and parking courts; terrain considerations, such as rolling landscape or the beds of adjacent creeks and streams; the orientation and location of adjacent dwellings and buildings; and the return-on-investment goals of the owner and intended visual appeal of a development conceptualized by the developer and architect. In some cases, complexes were developed within older subdivisions and developments; in other cases, a developer opened a small subdivision to support a complex. The availability, design, and development of public services into an apartment complex was a primary consideration. Modern apartments often display green spaces, curvilinear streets, and buildings randomly organized to present a picturesque setting, or at least a break from strictly traditional planning techniques.

Architects organized the site plans of Georgia's modern apartment complexes using a wide variety of plans, shapes, and characteristics. They include, but are not limited to, simple linear plans comprised of multiple buildings arranged with their facades facing a secondary street; simple S shapes or U shapes with multiple semi-detached or detached buildings; plans oriented obliquely to intersections with detached and semi-detached buildings of various sizes informally oriented to one another; large overall Z-shape plans with combinations of detached and semi-detached buildings that form U shape courtyards, L shapes, and slightly offset linear alignments; and plans with detached and semi-detached buildings placed irregularly and with random orientations to each other astride a secondary street. Some complexes expanded organically in planned phases with varying materials and layouts for buildings, courtyards, garages, and other landscape features.

Architects relied on various historical precedents and contemporary concepts to plan modern apartment complexes. Using a comprehensive planning process developed during the Progressive Era, architects often developed a master plan based on a synthesis of aesthetics and functionalism derived from the dynamic tension of the so-called "City Beautiful" and "City Practical" movements. Developed by an association of the country's

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leading architects of the day, the Columbian Exposition of 1893 had introduced city planning to Americans on a large scale. The plan was prepared by Frederick Law Olmsted whose creative works stressed the importance of converting a featureless terrain into a pastoral landscape. The exposition, built on land filled along the wetlands of Chicago's Lake Michigan, featured a fully planned and unified collection of public and residential buildings, popularly referred to as the "White City." Thousands of people were shown alternatives to their drab and overcrowded cities.

The exposition's acclaim redirected the architectural tastes of the nation. A subsequent redesign of Washington, D. C. prompted the organization of local chapters of the City Beautiful movement. Those organizations sought to provide clean, well-planned towns and cities with divided boulevards, curvilinear streets, and irregularly shaped building lots. The cohesive blending of new platting techniques included radial plans and curvilinear streetscapes to provide attractive vistas of public buildings and monuments and a seemingly peaceful and healthy urban environments. The associated garden city movement reinforced a distinction between a city and its suburb. Targeting a rising middle class, garden suburbs offered homeowners neighborhoods set apart from arterial streets with landscaped entrances, green spaces, and curvilinear streets. In the early twentieth century, houses displaying Bungalow, Colonial Revival, Prairie, and a host of other architectural traditions began to fill suburbs with gently curving streets and spacious lawns that contrasted with informal landscaping.

Opponents of the City Beautiful movement, often dubbed the "city practical," argued against the empty aesthetics, grand effects for the well-to-do, and general impracticality of the grandiose scheme. In the wake of the Chicago Exposition, most of Olmsted's plan and supporting buildings yielded to a redevelopment of Jackson Park into Chicago's park system and adjacent commercial and industrial districts and residential suburbs. In other cities, planners and architects experienced varying degrees of success in their attempts to incorporate parks, curvilinear streets, and an orderly plan of growth into the redesign of downtowns and neighborhoods targeted for redevelopment. In addition, they employed zoning measures to restrict land use, and incorporated transportation systems and public utilities into the overall designs of cities to foster growth in expanding suburbs. The movement spread to most areas of the nation. In Seattle's 1917 plan for redevelopment, apartment house districts--a precursor to apartment complexes--appeared along new boulevards and parks adjacent to the downtown.

Other influences on the development of modern apartment complexes came from a contemporary back-to-the-land reform movement: the Garden City ideal. The Garden City concept emerged in the first decade of the twentieth century. Conceptualized by British visionary Ebenezer Howard, the Garden City movement offered an alternative to England's overcrowded cities with picturesque designed landscapes removed from urban centers. Ordered with small dwellings and supporting buildings, the garden ideal was perfected by architects Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin who planned cottages in groups of quadrangles with private gardens maintained at the rear of each cottage. Parker and Unwin were devotees of William Morris's Arts and Crafts movement, belonged to an intellectual aristocracy, and perceived themselves as agents of social improvement on behalf of the culturally deprived urban worker. In contrast, Howard came from humble roots and became an enigmatic character, struggling financially as an inventor and stenographer, but displaying brilliance in his

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concepts of town planning. A social reformer, Howard published *Tomorrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform* in 1898, which was republished as *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* in 1902. Howard organized his Garden City ideal into a series of concentric circles with commercial and public buildings and large parks at the center. Adjoining bands supported houses and gardens for mixed incomes and occupations, and outer bands contained educational, industrial, and social activities with outlying agricultural lands embracing the self-contained city.

Parker and Unwin translated Howard's conceptual plans into the English garden suburbs of Letchworth (1902) and Hampstead Gardens (1905), which substantially influenced subdivision design in England and later the United States. Radiating out from large urban centers, garden city subdivisions offered a limited population within a defined geographical region to promote a healthy environment with fresh air, gardens, open spaces, and sunlight. The unified plans of architectural and landscape design were termed superblocks. Architectural groups of buildings alternated with parks and green spaces, and circulation systems included cul-de-sacs that created a sense of privacy and enclosure within each block. A product of utopian communitarianism and an alternative to modern industrial society, Howard's self-contained cities of limited population appeared to combine the advantages of town and country. In practice, however, the Garden City became synonymous with low-density layouts of cottage-like homes. One of Howard's proteges, Clarence Stein, used the Garden City theme to develop Radburn and Sunnyside in New Jersey, and following World War II labored to make the Garden City a model urban form. The "greenbelt" towns associated with Rexford Tugwell and the administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt during the New Deal drew heavily upon Garden City precepts. Girdled by green countryside, three new "greenbelt" towns adjacent to Cincinnati, Milwaukee, and Washington, D. C. were located close to employment and reflected the ideas of Howard's Garden City and the urban planning concepts at Radburn. Interestingly, Roosevelt's greenbelt towns attracted more foreign interest than any other New Deal project, with the exception of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA). Modernist forces limited the affect of the Garden City in America and Europe after World War I. If Britain served as the birthplace and locus of the Garden City, then France and Germany, and especially Modernist architects in continental Europe, became its chief enemies in the 1920s and 1930s. Other countervailing forces undermining the Garden City ideal stemmed from the tension between utopian idealists, like Howard, and professional planners. This dynamic tension launched one of the most widely discussed and controversial issues in modern planning history.

Some later students of modern planning assessed the Garden City as a radical anti-urban movement that promoted deconcentration of the great cities in America and Europe. In contrast, City Beautiful proponents worked with existing built environments, engaging in urban political reforms to refashion great cities into better places to live. Despite their utopian and radical roots, garden cities eventually were digested by the ever-expanding metropolises they were designed to mitigate to become a suburb, albeit a distinctive purlieu, of a great city. In practice, the principals from both the City Beautiful and Garden City movements continued to influence the design of American cities and their emerging suburbs into the 1920s and 1930s. Blending the concepts of the City Beautiful and the Garden City movements, developers, architects, and contractors assembled fashionable developments appeared at Mariemont, Ohio; Radburn, New Jersey; and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. These planned communities offered a range of housing types for various incomes. Parks,

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shopping centers, religious institutions, and recreational facilities were integrated into overall plans, and adjacent industrial sectors provided jobs to residents. American housing reformers and planners advocated the use of these concepts to redevelop slum areas in older neighborhoods and for the development of new suburbs. Employing the sleek lines of the International style and other influences of the Modern movement, the works of European modernists in Austria, Belgium, England, France, Germany, Holland, and Sweden found a receptive audience in an America struggling to respond to the financial distress of the Great Depression.

Using planning concepts derived, in part, from the Progressive Era and the Modernist movement, the developers and architects of many of Georgia's modern apartment complexes employed a variety of site plans to locate buildings, play areas, streets and parking, and public utilities. Most shunned the use of gridiron and rectilinear plans, and instead relied upon picturesque curvilinear paths and streets. Relying upon principals associated with garden suburbs and country club suburbs, some architects and developers reinforced a park-like setting of an apartment complex using courtyards, axial lines and radial curves, privacy walls, formal landscaping, and entrance gates. Complementing those plan, buildings often displayed the influences of the Georgian Revival, International, or Streamline Moderne styles. Described as Masonry Vernacular, other complexes were developed with buildings with little ornamentation or formal architectural influences.

Georgia's modern apartment complexes are consistent with residential-related architecture developed throughout the United States. As examples of national trends in residential architecture between the Great Depression and the 1950s, the complexes have significance for their association with the growth of the nation's suburbs. Contributing to America's diverse vernacular and formal architectural genres, Georgia's apartment complexes epitomize the nation's rich variety of architectural styles and building traditions, and the use of professional architectural services and contractors, often in conjunction with review by Federal officials and professional designers associated with the FHA, to develop a particular complex.

Descriptions of Plans and Buildings for Selected Apartment Complexes

Linear plans include the modest Derry Down Apartments (Figures 1, 2) east of Decatur. Consisting of twelve one-story Masonry Vernacular buildings that contain forty-eight two-bedroom apartments, the complex was named after the street along which the buildings stand astride. The apartments were built about 1949 at which time they were located immediately outside Decatur's city limits. Six buildings stand on both sides of Derry Down Way, which intersects with East College Avenue to the north and Columbia Drive to the southwest. Displaying Masonry Vernacular influences, the buildings are protected by side-facing gable roofs with eaves held close to wall surfaces and louvered attic vents in the gable ends. Pairs of projecting shed roofs with wrought-iron columns identify front porches and entrances that open onto Derry Down Way. An articulated concrete block foundation system supports hollow-tile walls faced with brick veneering, and fenestration consists of three-light metal casement windows with fixed transoms. A small storage building stands behind each group of buildings, and poured concrete steps and sidewalks radiate from the front facades, leading to parking spaces along Derry Down Way. The terrain slopes gently to the south, and landscaping includes small shrubs and plants and mature hardwoods.

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Site plans arranged obliquely to intersections include Callaway Apartments (Figures 3-5) in Atlanta. Built in 1947, the International style Callaway Apartments radiate at a forty-five degree angle from the intersection of Tenth Street, NW and Holly Street, NW near the north edge of the campus of the Georgia Institute of Technology. Designed by the Atlanta architectural firm of Burge & Stevens on gently rolling terrain, the collection of seventeen three-story detached and semi-detached buildings display an informal assortment of buildings arranged in irregular U shapes, and L shape and linear arrangements.

The irregular nature of the site plan provides spaces for interior play areas and courtyards, curvilinear sidewalks and landscaping, and parking courtyards along the periphery of the complex. Assembled with cinder block walls finished with textured red brick, the buildings display flat roofs with projecting ledges and balconies. A continuous cantilever that extends between the first and second stories contributes functional ambiance to the building, which contrasts to smaller balcony cantilevers projecting from the second and third stories and at the roof line. Steel poles and wire mesh protect the balconies, and full-height steel poles identify the primary entrances into each building. Fenestration is irregular and asymmetrical with metal sash windows, some of which bracket picture windows. The central entrances are comprised of lighted doors in slender metal frames and sidelights; sliding glass doors provide access onto balconies. The complex is equipped with twenty-eight efficiency, eighty-six one-bedroom, and forty-two two-bedroom apartments. Based on a dormitory plan, each apartment building is equipped with a primary entrance that leads to staircases and interior hallways. In association with mature hardwood trees, small plants and shrubs provide ambiance to the landscape. Supporting landscape features include benches, picnic tables, and a system of lamp posts.

Exhibiting modest Georgian Revival influences, the Summer Place Apartments (formerly Monte Sano Apartments) (Figures 6-7) in Augusta consist of five detached and semi-detached two-story buildings arranged in a U shape. Completed in 1949 and designed by Augusta architect F. Arthur Hazard, the relatively small complex contains twenty-five apartments and includes a privacy wall and wrought-iron gates along Monte Sano Avenue that protects a central courtyard, the sidewalk system, and the apartments from the street. The buildings display a side-facing gable-on-hip roof pierced by louvered eyebrow dormers on the front facade and gable dormers on the rear elevations. Each building contains five apartments supported by a separate entrance. The entrances and wall materials visually identify the facade of each apartment. Units display either all-brick, all-wood, or wood-over-brick exterior wall fabrics with no two types adjacent to one another. Likewise, contrasting entrance porches provide a sampling of roof types with flat, gable, or shed varieties. Other entrances, however, have no roof and instead display a decorative crown and pilasters. Fenestration includes six-over-six double-hung sash windows. Each apartment contains a two-story interior plan with the living and dining rooms and kitchen on the first story, and two bedrooms and a bathroom on the second story. Landscaping includes a system of lamp posts, shrubs and plants, and mature hardwood and conifer trees.

In Columbus, the Eagles Trace Apartments (formerly Camellia Apartments) (Figures 8-10) were developed in two phases between 1949 and 1951. The apartments are organized into 116 buildings near the intersection of Fort Benning Road and Torch Hill Road. Among Georgia's largest complexes built in the post-war period, the

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apartments radiate off Matheson Road, which forms a gently curving arc that connects to the arterial roads. An interior street that forms an S alignment, Wilson Drive intersects Matheson Road at three locations. Cul-de-sacs, parking courts, and sidewalk systems are distributed along these roads to support the apartment buildings. Landscaped green spaces appear at the front and rear elevations of most buildings, which are organized into smaller informal linear and U shapes, giving the relatively large complex the appearance of a garden city.

Various types of buildings sprinkle the site. Long, narrow one-story buildings display either gable-on-hip or side-facing gable roofs, and either brick, composite concrete-asbestos shingles, or combinations of brick-and-asbestos shingle exterior wall fabrics. Fenestration includes metal casement windows with multiple lights, and entrances are grouped in pairs protected by small porches with gable roofs supported by wrought-iron columns or metal posts. These entrances open directly into apartments.

Displaying similar materials applied to the one-story buildings, various models of two-story buildings are protected by hip or gable roof systems and exhibit a central entrance with diminutive shed or flat roof porches. The entrances open into central halls and staircases. Wood-frame structural systems finished with composite concrete asbestos shingles appear along most second stories with brick walls supporting the first stories. Fenestration is largely irregular but symmetrical with three-light and four-light metal casement windows. Containing separate entrances, one-story gable extensions bracket the ends of most of the two-story gable-roof buildings. The complex initially offered one- and two-bedroom apartments; later renovations converted some adjacent combinations of two-bedroom apartments into three- and one-bedroom units.

Arranged on a random fan-shape lot astride Ingleside Avenue west of the City of Macon, the Winship Garden Apartments (Figures 11-12) were designed by the architectural firm of Dennis & Dennis and completed in 1948. Eleven two-story buildings radiate around two drives that extend south of Ingleside Avenue and terminate into parking courts. Displaying side-facing gable roofs, the buildings form U shape courtyards and a modified linear alignment along the east, south, and west property lines. The second-story exterior walls are finished with composite asbestos-concrete shingles and brick veneering appears on the first story. The use of contrasting materials, simple cornices and pilasters at the entrances, and a slightly overhanging second story facade is indicative of the so-called Garrison variant of the Colonial Revival style. Separate entrances provide access into each apartment, and fenestration is regular and symmetrical with metal casement windows exhibiting multiple lights. Eight of the buildings have one-story gable extensions with brick exterior walls that embrace, with slight setbacks, the facades of the central two-story blocks. The complex contains eighty-three units with one-, two-, and three-bedroom apartments. A system of sidewalks extend along the drives and packing court, and landscaping includes mature hardwood trees and various shrubs and plants.

Peachtree Hills Apartments (Figures 13-15) combines elements of an oblique orientation to the adjacent intersecting streets with planned phases. Located at the intersection of Peachtree Hills Avenue and Virginia Place, the complex developed in three phases between 1938 and 1950. One of the earliest examples of the International style applied to modern apartments, the first phase was completed in 1938. Designed by the Atlanta architectural firm Burge & Stevens, the plan includes twenty-nine, three-story semi-detached apartment

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buildings that radiate off Pine Circle, an access street into the complex that forms a forty-five degree intersection with Virginia Place. To provide maximum exposure, several buildings also face Peachtree Hills Avenue and Virginia Place. The termination of Pine Circle accommodates parking spaces and a large, central green space that serves as a passive recreation site. Nine garages stand behind the apartment buildings.

On the fifteen acre site, the first phase of Peachtree Hills displays U and L shapes and offset linear alignments of buildings. Constructed with concrete and steel systems, the buildings display flat roofs, smooth buff stucco exterior wall fabric, and balconies and porches opening at wall corners. Fenestration is regular and symmetrical with metal sash windows. Entrances are protected by metal doors with five lights, a transom, and sidelights. Some second- and third-story balconies project over an entrance with a stem wall; other entrances are protected by cantilevers.

Smaller in scope, the second and third phases of Peachtree Hills occupy sites to the west and north, respectively, of the initial phase. Atlanta architects Burge & Stevens also drafted the plans for the latter phases, applying similar International influences reflected on the first phase. The second phase forms a modified Z shape with detached and semi-detached buildings, and the third phase displays rectangular building set at right angles.

The latter phases also consist of three-story buildings, but subtle design and material changes provide some contrast. Red brick exterior walls and an articulated concrete foundation appear on the second phase, and projecting balconies along with red brick walls on the third phase. Fenestration is irregular and asymmetrical with metal sash windows and tall rectangular panels of glass blocks that light interior staircases. Five-light metal doors painted red with transoms and sidelights furnish additional continuity between the phases. Each phase was designed with a system of central entrances opening into halls and stairwells that lead to the apartments. Each building contains six apartments with studio, one-, two-, and three-bedroom plans. In association with Raymond Allen Jones of Atlanta, the J. A. Jones Construction Company of Charlotte, North Carolina developed all three phases, which accounts for 311 apartments.

Completed in 1949, the Briarcliff Normandy Apartments (Figures 16-19) in Atlanta's Druid Hills neighborhood also express International styling. Comprised of nine buildings, the complex stands on gently rolling terrain, extending from north of Normandy Drive to Chalmette Drive west of Briarcliff Road, N.E. Arranged with rectangular or modified linear plans, the buildings radiate either parallel or perpendicular to the streets. The combination of two- and three-story buildings display flat roofs, brick exterior wall fabric, and metal casement windows with multiple lights. The buildings north of Normandy Drive are executed with buff brick exteriors, and the remaining buildings with textured red brick. Interrupting the smooth surface of the brick facades of the two-story buildings are two-story projecting extensions with flat roofs, louvered vents and glass blocks, balconies with stem walls and tubular steel pipe handrails, and an entrance with ceramic tile surround. The three-story buildings display simple entrances protected by cantilevers and bands of metal casement windows organized at wall corners. The two-story buildings contain eight apartments arranged with one- and two-bedroom units, and the three-story buildings contain six apartments. A swimming pool occupies a site near the

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center of the complex. Parking is provided for along the secondary streets, rear parking courts, and under several of the three-story buildings. A system of concrete sidewalks extend between the apartment buildings, swimming pool, and streets. Landscaping includes mature hardwood trees and a variety of shrubs and plants.

To the south of the Briarcliff Normandy Apartments (Figure 20, see Figure 18 for site plan) radiates the Briar Hills Apartments. Built in 1947, the complex stands between Briarwood Drive and Chalmette Drive along Briarcliff Road, N.E. The two- and three-story buildings display Streamline Moderne influences. A good example of a random site plan, the complex contains nine buildings sited using a variety of parallel and perpendicular orientations and oblique angles to the adjacent streets. Notable Streamline influences included flat roofs, smooth wall surfaces, rounded corners filled with metal casement and awning windows, small round windows adjacent to entrances, and panels of glass blocks that identify entrances and provide natural interior lighting into interior stairwells. Accented with wrought-iron handrails and brackets, small cantilevers project over entrances. Clay hollow tile walls are finished with bricks painted white. A system of concrete sidewalks provide access between the buildings, the adjoining streets, and two parking garages along the rear, or west, elevation of the property.

Containing fifty-one buildings with 304 units, the Lindmont Apartments (Figures 21-22) at the intersection of Piedmont Road and Lindbergh Drive are representative of relatively large complexes. Completed in 1949, the two-story buildings are arranged in groups of three with offset adjoining wall systems; the long elevations run parallel to adjoining streets. Radiating off Lindbergh Drive, a central loop named Lindmont Circle provides access to the majority of the apartments. Lindmont Circle is bracketed by the more modest cul-de-sacs named East Lindmont Court and West Lindmont Court, respectively. A system of pull-in parking spaces and concrete sidewalks provide access throughout the complex. Displaying International influences, the buildings are executed with symmetrical facades, flat roofs, modest cantilevers that protect entrance porches, and hollow tile walls finished with textured red brick veneering. Incised entrance porches and full-height vertical columns that project above the roof lines and beyond the front facades contribute ambiance and break the rectilinear forms of the buildings. Metal casement windows admit natural lighting into the interiors.

Built in 1948, the Chelsea Apartments (Figures 23-24) in Savannah radiate along a S shaped drive named for the complex. Located southeast of the downtown off Skidaway Road, the complex consists of twenty-eight two-story buildings that contain 124 units. Defined in part by a variety of broad and narrow but deep courtyards, the complex employs a random site plan with the facades of most buildings set either parallel or perpendicular to the winding Chelsea Drive. Several buildings are oriented at oblique angles to the street or to adjacent buildings. Similar to some public housing projects of the era, the buildings display gable roofs with shallow eaves, red brick veneer walls accented with modest quoins, and simple entrance porches protected by gable pediments accented by wrought-iron columns. Most of the original windows, presumably metal casements, have been replaced with sliding or metal sash units.

In Athens, the Mathis Apartments (Figures 25-26) were completed in 1948 at the intersection of South Lumpkin and Rutherford. Displaying International influences, three buildings are arranged with the long facade of the

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central rectilinear resource facing Lumpkin. The central building is bracketed by two L shape buildings, and a garage supports the complex at the rear, or west, elevation of the central building. Containing forty-three apartments, the two- and three-story buildings exhibit flat roofs and glass block panels and cantilevers that identify entrances. Supported by reinforced concrete slab foundations, concrete block walls are finished with textured red bricks. Arranged in symmetrical patterns, metal casement windows are accented by horizontal bands of dark red bricks and slender castcrete belt courses. The horizontal bands are broken by projecting vertical brick panels of the same color as the primary walls, which contain the glass blocks and entrances protected by cantilevers. The rear elevations of the buildings are devoid of the horizontal bands and belt courses. Located on gently sloping terrain, the northernmost building includes an additional level in the form of a raised basement, which is barely visible from Lumpkin and contains an entrance on the north elevation. The site is landscaped with mature hardwoods, crepe myrtles, and small shrubs. Executed with limestone stem walls and ashlar brick piers, a distinctive curvilinear entrance walk leads to the central building from South Lumpkin, and a date stone identifies the date of construction as 1948.

3. Significance: Georgia's modern apartment complexes possess significance at the local level under NRHP criteria A and C in the areas of architecture, community planning and development, and landscape architecture. Some complexes may also convey significance through their social history associated with a military installation, or ethnic heritage in association with an African-American apartment complex. Significance may be derived from formal architectural styles, site plans, or the growth of a city's suburbs, contributing to development during the Great Depression, or associated with the post World War II housing shortage and construction boom. Some complexes derived significance from their architectural style. Because of their distinctive characteristics, the forms, shapes, and massing applied to Georgia's modern apartment complexes may also possess significance. Significance may also be derived from an apartment complex's unique property type developed specifically for multi-family residential use. Some complexes may have significance associated with their site plans and integral landscaping. Indicative of the magnitude of Georgia's housing phenomenon at the middle of the twentieth century, some complexes represented the single largest concentration of buildings within a suburb, community, or city. Conveying the significance of the site plan of a complex, the sheer size and scale of an overall resource is important to the community planning and development aspects of modern apartment complexes. Modern apartment complexes contributed to the dramatic suburbanization of Georgia's landscape, and some were tangible symbols of a "culture of abundance." Large for-profit ventures, modern apartment complexes contributed to Georgia's suburban growth through their large lots, spacious lawns, and expansive site plans using high-density housing patterns at locations along important streets, near established neighborhoods, and in close proximity to emerging suburbs, golf courses, and university campuses.

Typically, the buildings comprising an apartment complex were planned and executed by professional architects and contractors. Development often occurred astride arterial or secondary streets in emerging suburban neighborhoods, or large vacant sites on the edges of an established community. Many complexes were derived from vernacular construction traditions to suit the needs of the property owner. But, in some cases, buildings display the influences of a particular style, including, but not limited to Georgian Revival, International, and Streamline Moderne, and contribute to larger trends in formal architecture.

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4. Registration Requirements: Modern apartment complexes eligible for nomination under the F.1 property type must serve a historic multi-family residential function and have been constructed during the historic period outlined in Section E. The initial period of significance, c. 1936-1954, is defined by the appearance of the first modern apartment complexes in the Great Depression and the dramatic tapering off their development following scandals throughout the industry and subsequent changes in Federal programs in the early-1950s. A modest amount of development of small complexes persisted during the remainder of the decade and into the early-1960s. After languishing for nearly a decade, apartment development experienced another period of enthusiastic construction in the late-1960s and the 1970s. Persisting through periodic cycles during the 1980s and 1990s, apartment construction continues to the present, although the advent of condominiums, townhouses, mega-apartment complexes, and other forms of multifamily housing, including high-rise apartment towers, increasingly captured a large share of the market. In general, it appears that the era of Georgia's modern apartment complexes experienced a fundamental shift about 1975 as the introduction of condominiums and townhouses, new zoning regulations, and increasing real estate prices affected the form, size, and extent of multifamily housing. Many of these newer apartment complexes were bereft of formal architectural influences and displayed few notable features. After the mid-1950s, few apartment complexes were crafted with rounded wall surfaces, panels of glass blocks, metal casement and wood double-hung sash windows, decorative tiles and brick work, or belt courses commonly applied to earlier models. Few complexes developed in the post-Modern era displayed International, Streamline Moderne, or indeed the influences of any formal architectural style. Rarely employed as an exterior wall fabric on immediate post-World War II apartment complexes, stucco and concrete blocks became common wall finishes. Derived in part from the design of contemporary motels of the post-Modern period, full-length porches and balconies integrated within the primary roof provided access into apartments. Aluminum awning and sash windows replaced older window types.

This subsequent era of modern apartment construction, roughly defined as c. 1955-c. 1980, falls under the provisions enumerated in NRHP Bulletin 22, *Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*. Because of these new architectural trends, some complexes built after the 1950s may not possess significance under Criterion C. For an apartment complex to achieve significance within the past fifty years it must possess exceptional importance as established through scholarly evaluation. A National Register Nomination for an apartment complex built outside the historic period should contain "deliberate, distinct justification for the 'exceptional' importance of the resource. The clarity and persuasiveness of the justification is critical for registering properties that have gained importance in the past fifty years." Even modern apartment complexes built within the historic period, but containing significant numbers of resources added to the complex outside the historic period, should be assessed and evaluated using the criteria found in Bulletin 22. The period of significance should be interpreted with a "sliding scale" approach that employs a "moving" cut-off date that accounts for the passage of time. The process has the intent of including resources that reach the fifty year mark and provide for their eligibility for NRHP Nomination under this cover without a requirement to meet the exceptional importance test in Bulletin 22.

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To qualify for registration an apartment complex should (1) clearly represent an architectural style; (2) embody community planning and development concepts; (3) be associated with important historical events; or (4) convey important planning and housing features, even if the individual buildings themselves are unexceptional architecturally. Individual buildings comprising an apartment complex must retain their original appearance to a high degree.

Resources for evaluating eligibility include the NRHP Bulletin "Historic Residential Suburbs," the Secretary of the Interior's *Standards for Rehabilitation* as codified in 36 CFR 67, and NRHP Bulletin 15 *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. Alterations appropriate to the original design and appearance of individual buildings will not preclude a complex from eligibility. Additions and modifications sensitive to a historic resource generally appear at the rear or side elevations. The installation of an incompatible roof system on a building, such as replacing an original flat or gable roof with a mansard roof system, or the addition of a pent roof, typically will result in the resource being considered non-contributing. Enclosing entrances, balconies, and porches in a manner that results in a diminution or loss of historic character, such as using solid materials like wood, stucco, or masonry, can result in a loss of integrity and eligibility. Replacement windows should reflect the original type of window and its glazing pattern. Changes in fenestration, such as the introduction of new windows in spaces originally consisting of solid walls, can result in a resource being considered non-contributing. Buildings that display materials inconsistent with the historic period in which they were constructed, or the removal of significant architectural details are excluded from eligibility. The introduction of new buildings into a complex does not necessarily make a complex ineligible for NRHP listing. Typically, apartment complexes should be treated similar to other historic districts. That is, among other criteria, boundaries should follow lines of legal definition and a count of contributing and non-contributing resources should result in approximately seventy percent of the resources assessed as contributing. Site plans and landscape features, such as courtyards, vegetation and trees, pedestrian sidewalks and paths, playgrounds and parking courts, swimming pools, and street alignments, should also be evaluated and assessed for their historical integrity.



Figure 1. Derry Down Apartments, Decatur, GA.



Figure 2. Derry Downs Apartments, Decatur, GA. Site Plan.

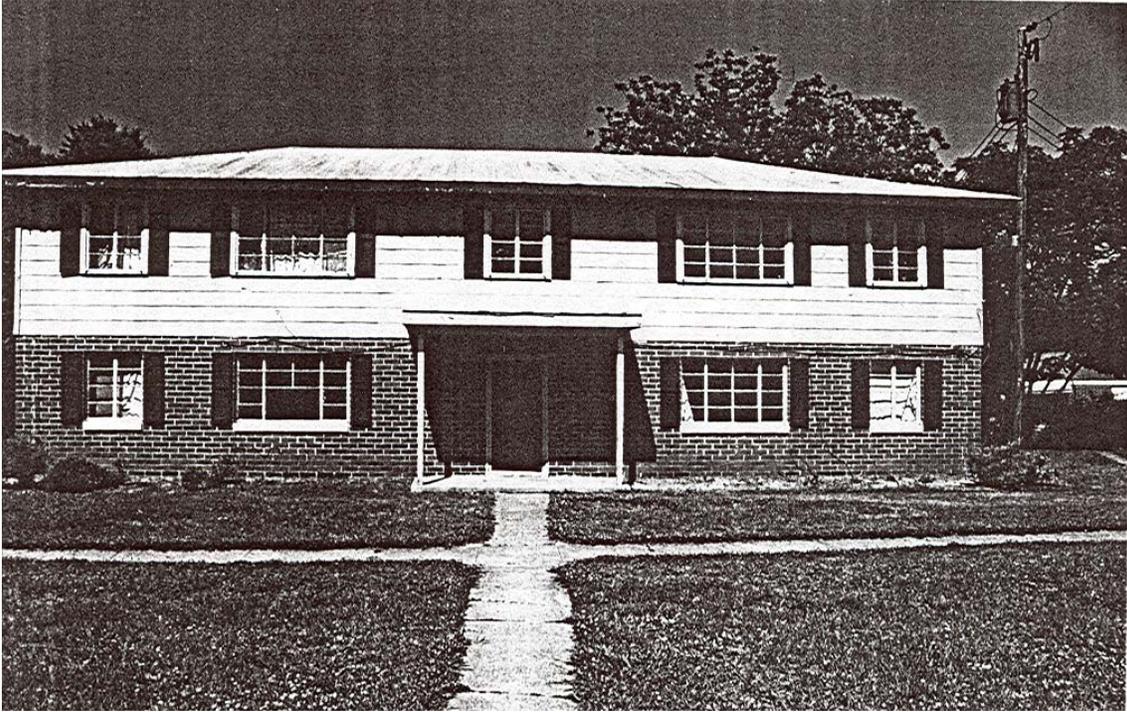


Figure 8. Eagles Trace Apartments, Columbus, GA.

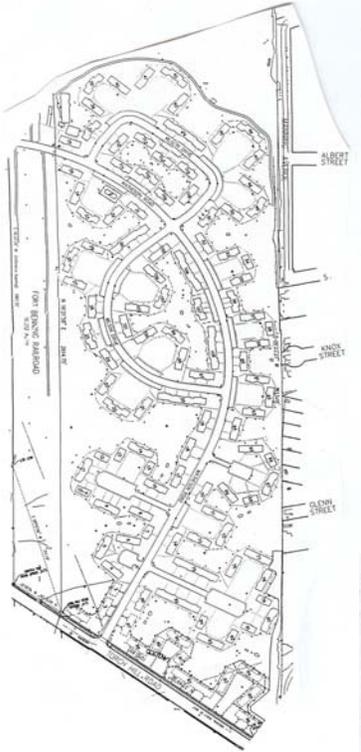


Figure 9. Eagles Trace Apartments, Columbus, GA. Site Plan.

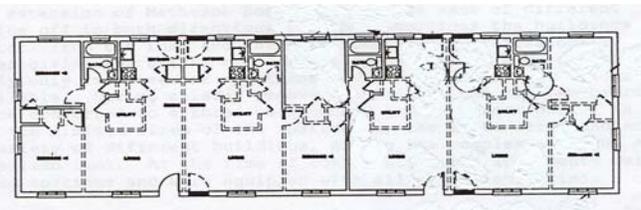


Figure 10. Eagles Trace Apartments, Columbus, GA. Floor Plan.



Figure 11. Winship Gardens Apartments, Macon, GA.

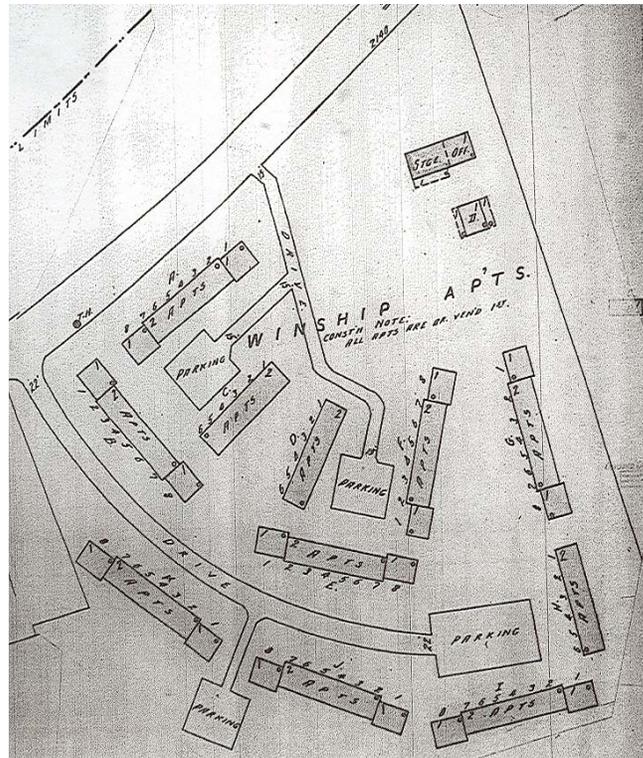


Figure 12. Winship Gardens Apartments, Macon, GA. Site Plan.



Figure 13. Peachtree Hills Apartments, Atlanta, GA.



Figure 14. Peachtree Hills Apartments, Atlanta, GA.

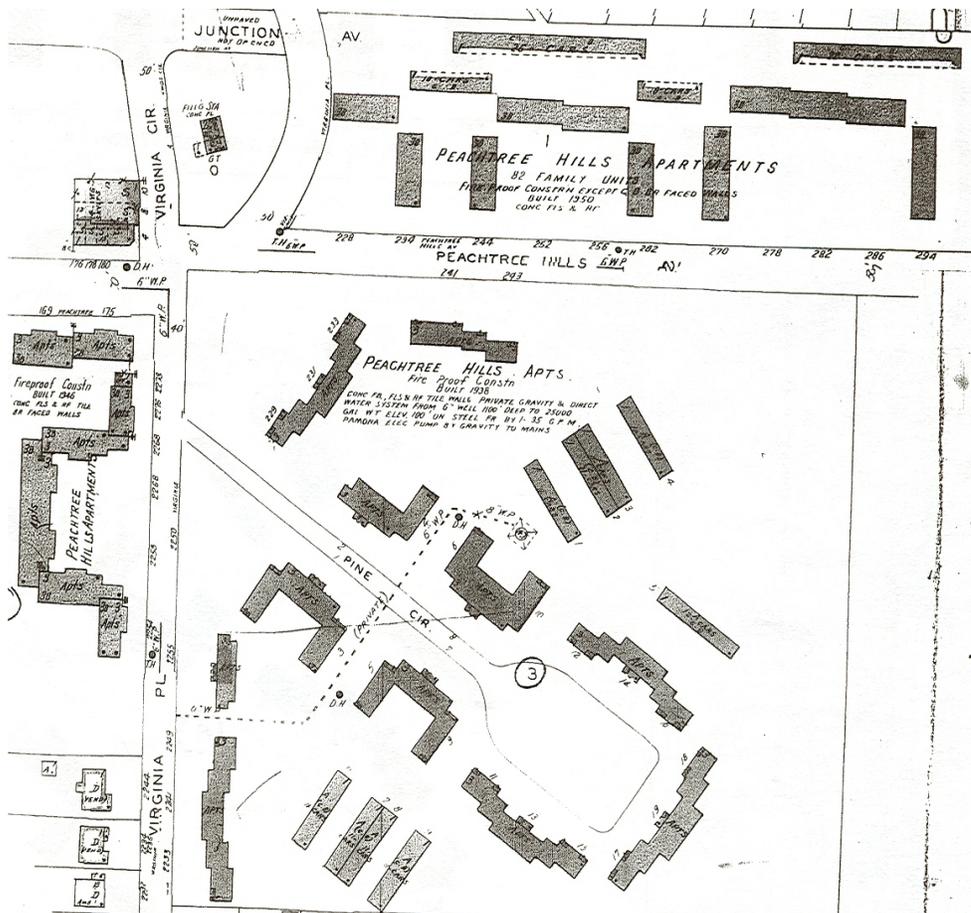


Figure 15. Peachtree Hills Apartments, Atlanta, GA. Site Plan.



Figure 16. Briarcliff-Normandy Apartments, Atlanta, Ga.



**Figure 17. Briarcliff-Normandy Apartments, Atlanta, GA.
Briarcliff-Normandy Apartments**



Briar Hills Apartments

Figure 18. Briarcliff-Normandy Apartments (between Chalmette Drive and north of Normandy Drive) & Briar Hills Apartments (between Briarwood Drive & Chalmette Drive), Atlanta, GA. Site Plans.

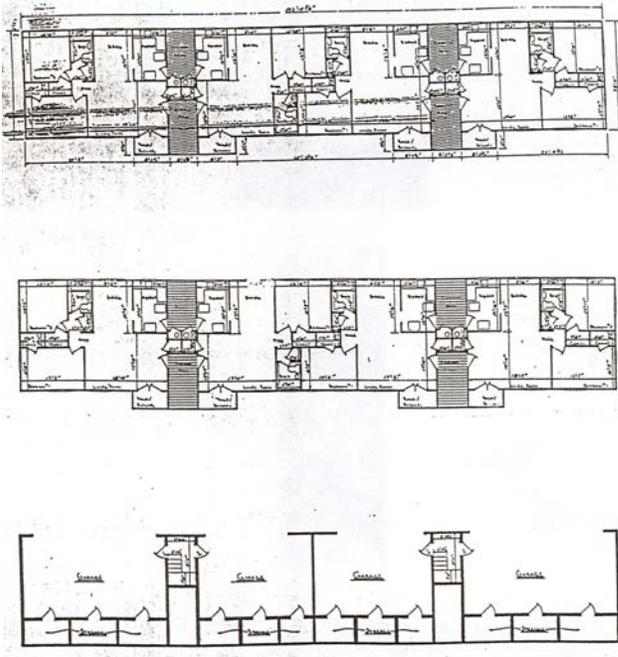


Figure 19. Briarcliff-Normandy Apartments, Atlanta, GA. Floor Plans.



Figure 20. Briar Hills Apartments. Atlanta, GA.



Figure 21. Lindmont Apartments, Atlanta, GA.

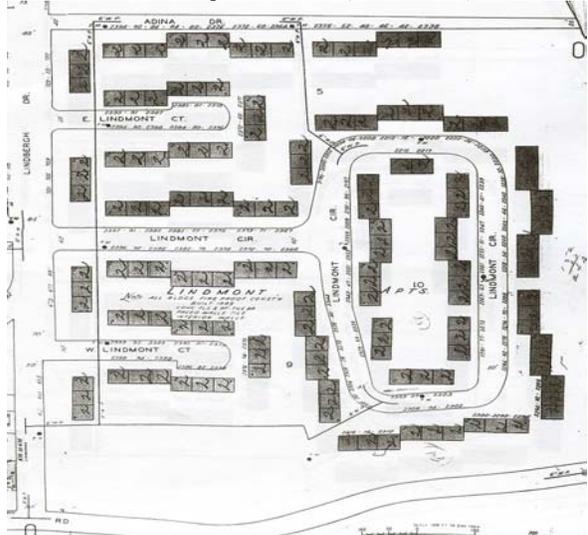


Figure 22. Lindmont Apartments, Atlanta, GA. Site Plan.



Figure 23. Chelsea Apartments, Savannah, GA.

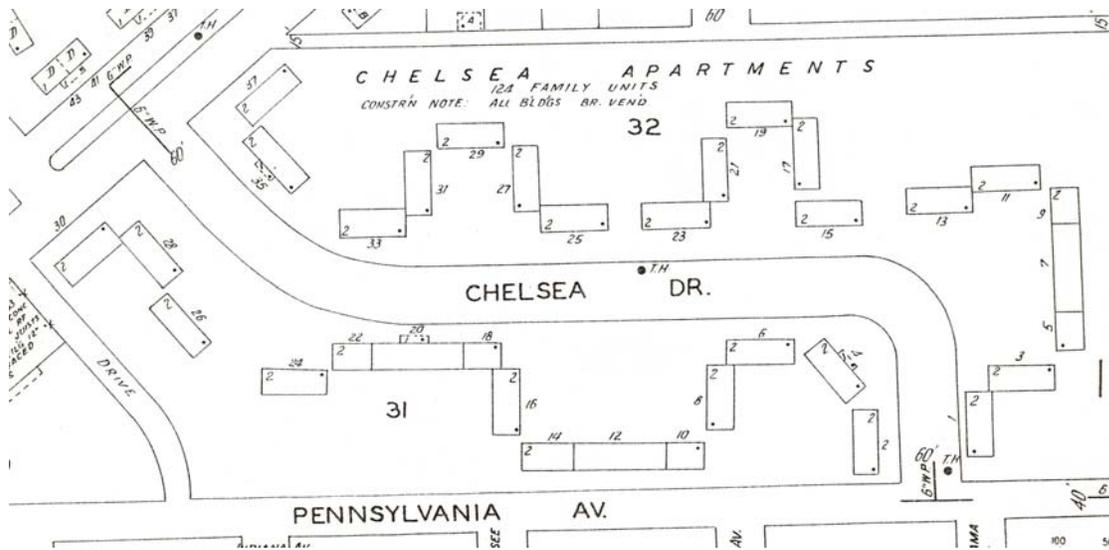


Figure 24. Chelsea Apartments, Savannah, GA. Site Plan.



Figure 25. Mathis Apartments, Athens, GA.

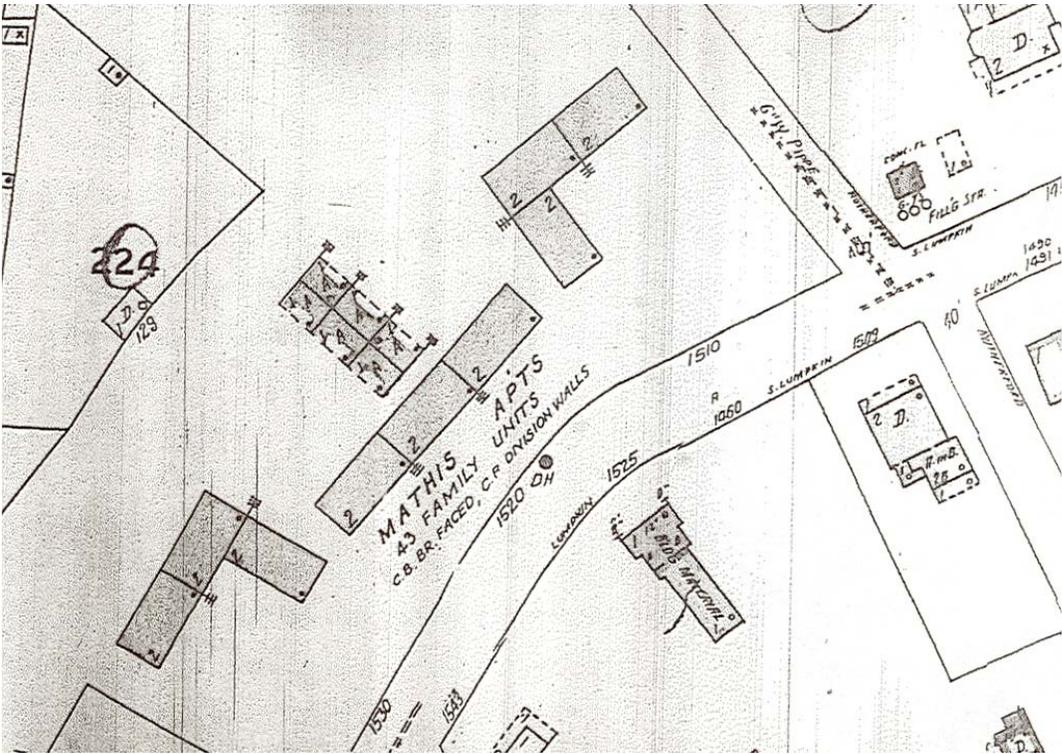


Figure 26. Mathis Apartments, Athens, GA. Site Plan.

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Geographical Data

The geographical limits are apartment complexes within the boundaries of the state line and coastal limits of the State of Georgia.

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Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

In 2003, the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation, in association with the Georgia Department of Transportation and the Historic Preservation Division (HPD), Department of Natural Resources, awarded a contract to Sidney Johnston to prepare a Multiple Property Submission (MPS) covering Georgia's Modern Apartment Complexes. The methodology adopted to prepare the MPS consisted largely of a literature search, conversations with HPD and RDC staff, and field samplings. Gracious thanks is extended to Richard Cloues and Steven Moffson of the HPD, who provided crucial expertise in shaping the scope of the project, and providing assistance and direction in research opportunities and field samplings. Other people who contributed helpful information include Anne Floyd, Dan Latham, Andrea MacDonald, Erick Montgomery, and Burke Walker. The project would not have been possible without Glen Bennett, executive director of the Georgia Trust, who furnished important administrative assistance.

The compiling of research to develop historic contexts and property types for evaluating modern apartment complexes constituted the primary parts of the project. Research was conducted at various repositories, including the Archives at the Atlanta History Center; Augusta-Richmond County Public Libraries; the Architecture Library at the Georgia Institute of Technology; Georgia State University Library; Reese Library at Augusta State University; Washington Memorial Library in Macon; Woodruff Library at Mercer University; and the University of Georgia Library. The HPD maintains files of county surveys, apartment buildings, and NRHP listed apartment complexes in Georgia. Research at HPD revealed that approximately 300 apartment buildings have been identified and approximately fifteen NRHP listings recognize Georgia's apartments.

The research afforded sufficient information to determine the periods of construction, important events, individuals, and significant themes in the development of Georgia's modern apartment complexes. Sources consulted included architectural renderings, city directories, government documents and publications, journals, monographs, newspapers, and Sanborn Company maps. Enumerated in the bibliography, those sources yielded important site specific and contextual information pertaining to the development of housing units and apartment complexes in Georgia, the South, and across the nation. In addition, NRHP bulletins and nominations provided useful information. Other research was collected from websites maintained by several apartment complexes that were developed during the historic period.

Following the collection of research, the state's modern apartment complexes were analyzed and evaluated for architectural themes and historic contexts. Various NRHP nominations, both MPS and theme studies, suggested contextual frameworks and methodologies for organizing the apartment complex document. The methodology included identifying specific types and categories of properties, and assessing their particular historical significance. One broad property type was selected to cover all of the state's modern apartments, which display a relatively narrow band of architectural styles, a variety of site plans, and floor plans ranging between efficiency and three-bedroom. A period of development was selected to reflect the development pattern and historical events associated with the construction of Georgia's modern apartments. Following the analysis and evaluation, a MPS nomination was prepared using the necessary forms with supporting narratives.

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The HPD maintains vertical files on apartment buildings and complexes and many architects and builders who have contributed to the historic built fabric of the state. In addition, files on individual properties and historic districts contain information on buildings and resources. Specific references in the footnotes derived from these files are noted as HPD.

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National Archives.

Record Group 31. Records of the Federal Housing Administration.

This collection of cartographic and textual records covers the period between 1934 and 1965. Finding aids are provided for the manuscripts and architectural renderings.

Record Group 207. Records of the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

This collection of cartographic, photographic, and textual records, and sound and video recordings covers the period between 1931 and 1980. Useful sections within the record group include 207.2-Records of the Division of Research and Statistics, FHA, 1931-1945; and 207.6-Records of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1933-1965. Finding aids are provided for the manuscripts and architectural renderings.

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