Tullie Smith House

A History of the Smith Family

and

"The House on the Hill"

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for

The Atlanta History Center

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Cover Photo:
Tullie Smith House, ca. 1969
Atlanta History Center

Preface

Relocation and restoration of the Tullie Smith House by what was then the Atlanta Historical Society in 1969–1971 was a landmark event in the history of Atlanta's nascent historic-preservation movement. At a time when the city was fast destroying some of its greatest buildings—the Equitable Building, Piedmont Hotel, and Terminal Station were all razed in 1971—the Society's work in preserving the Tullie Smith House and the Swan House were among the first such efforts in the city since the Uncle Remus Memorial Association bought Joel Chandler Harris' Wren's Nest in 1913. And Tullie Smith was among the first such museum houses anywhere that did not have associations with famous people or high-style architecture.

The "plantation-plain" style of the Tullie Smith House is an excellent example of a traditional way of building and living in which the very concept of architectural style is largely irrelevant. The house continues to offer insight into the character of nineteenth-century life in the Georgia Piedmont before Atlanta wrecked and sprawled its way to become one of the nation's largest cities.

This history is divided into two main parts: the first focusing on the Smith family and the second on the house that Robert Hiram Smith built about 1845 and that is now known by the name of his granddaughter Tullie Smith. While the house has been the subject of extensive research and investigation, particularly during the course of its restoration in the early 1970s, the data from that work has never been compiled into a comprehensive history. The present study was commissioned by the Atlanta History Center with a primary goal of providing a synthesis of the data that is currently available. Much of this information is not new, but the federal census, county records, and family histories consulted for the present study provide additional details and context. There are copious footnotes throughout along with an extensive bibliography. Virtually all of the sources are locally available, if not in the Library of the Atlanta History Center then at the Atlanta-Fulton County Library, the Georgia Archives, National Archives, the DeKalb County Historical Society, or the Fulton and DeKalb County Courthouses.

As with the data supporting the history of the family, the data on the house, its move and its restoration have also been generally re-examined. The bulk of this material was located in the archives of the Atlanta History Center and was thoroughly searched.

My own investigation of the house during the fall and early winter of 1996 helped confirm the record and rationale behind most of what was done in 1969–1971. Prior to that time, study of the region's vernacular architecture was in its infancy; for comparisons with the Smith house, the Society's restoration committee in 1971 turned to the older sections of east Georgia, where restoration of houses in Madison and Washington-Wilkes was then underway or complete. A survey of some other antebellum residences that have survived in and around Atlanta has provided an expanded context in which to understand and interpret the Smiths' house.

Questions remain about the house and always will. Some of the maddeningly contradictory and confusing evidence that the committee documented in 1970 remains unexplained. And not because of inept investigation or poor interpretation but rather because the historical record is incomplete—the evidence was simply not there then and much of it is not there now either.

The present work is a revision of the study produced for the Atlanta History Center in 1996, with changes, deletions, and additions made throughout. All errors of fact or interpretation are my own.

Tommy H Jones
Atlanta, Georgia
December 2019

Acknowledgements

If this work offers some new insights on the history of the Tullie Smith House, that is only possible because of the enormous amount of time and resources that others have invested in its study. The deepest debt is to the trustees and staff of the Atlanta Historical Society, especially Mr. Franklin Garrett whose interest in the house in the 1960s laid the groundwork for its donation to the Atlanta Historical Society in 1969. Under the leadership of Mrs. Ivan Allen Jr., whose continued interest in and support of the project has helped ensure its success, the house was saved from demolition and relocated to the grounds of what is now the Atlanta History Center. Their important work was one of the first efforts at preserving something of the metropolitan area's rapidly disappearing landmarks and, for that, we must always be grateful.

The Tullie Smith House Restoration Committee was originally appointed by the Society's then president Beverly M. DuBose in January 1970 to oversee restoration of the house and, ultimately, recreation of the Tullie Smith Farm as well. Chaired by Mrs. Betty Jo Cook Trawick, the committee included Mrs. Allen, Mr. Edward L. Daugherty, Mr. Dan Franklin, Mr. Garrett, Mrs. Paul Hawkins, Mrs. Alex Hitz, Mrs. Mary Jewett, Mrs. Isabel Johnston, Mrs. Mills B. Lane, Mrs. Thomas Martin, Mr. James Means, Mrs. John Symmes, with Mr. William R. Mitchell Jr. acting as their consultant for historical documentation and building investigation. Although not part of the original restoration committee, Mr. and Mrs. William W. Griffin Jr. have been consistent and strong supporters of the site since they joined the committee shortly after the initial restoration was completed. With some of these original members still active today, this committee has remained the guiding force for the project. Mrs. Trawick, Mrs. Allen, Mrs. Hawkins, Mrs. Symmes, Mr. Mitchell and Mr. and Mrs. Griffin were all kind enough to talk to me about their work at Tullie Smith.

More important to the current work, however, is the fact that, out of the endless hours of research, investigation and analysis of the house that the committee has conducted over the last twenty-five years and more, they have furnished a broad foundation and many of the materials for the writing of this history. Much of what the Tullie Smith Farm is today is owed to the breadth of their knowledge of antebellum Georgia and the depth of their interest in the Tullie Smith House.

It would be impossible to acknowledge all of those who have, over the years, furnished data and other information that has been used in compilation of this history. Wherever possible, that acknowledgment is made within the text or in the footnotes. However, it should be noted that, under the direction of Mr. Mitchell and Mrs. Hawkins, the committee's original historical research program produced a wide range of information, including two recorded interviews with elderly members of the Smith family, copies of wills, deeds, and other public records and a variety of other materials. Subsequent research by Atlanta History Center staff, docents, interns, and volunteers have also added significantly to that original body of knowledge. Particularly important and worthy of special mention was the work of Mrs. James Elliot Jr., whose research skills recently produced the long-sought will of Robert Smith Sr., an extremely important document in the history of the house.

The late Adrian Leavell (1923–1995), the contractor who moved and reconstructed the house over the winter of 1969-1970, recorded the house on its original site through annotated drawings and photographs of the house on its original site. These remain the best record of the house before

its move and reconstruction. An interview with Mr. William Thomas Moore Jr. the carpenter who completed the restoration in 1971, was most helpful for understanding certain aspects of the work that went on at that time.

Jody Cook's documentation of the restoration, contained in her 1976 masters thesis on the house, provides an excellent administrative history of the project and should be consulted by those interested in that information. Beth Grasof's more-recent study (1993) of the existing buildings on the Tullie Smith Farm is an excellent resource for information on the character of the material in those buildings and the means by which they should be preserved.

Special thanks is given to those who allowed me to investigate their houses during the course of this study: Mrs. Jane Symmes for the Hilsabeck House in Morgan County; Ms. Barbara Dilbeck for the Wynne-Russell House in Lilburn; Mr. and Mrs. James Bentley for the Collier House in Atlanta; Mr. Albert Martin Jr. for the Goodwin House in DeKalb County; and Mr. Alfrez Shuffer for the John Green Burdette House near Lone Oak in Meriwether County.

The staff of the Atlanta-Fulton County Library's local history collection were outstanding in their willingness to assist my research as was Ms. Carolyn Caden of the DeKalb Historical Society. Although most of the material that is relevant to this work is in the archives of the Atlanta History Center, much of it is not catalogued and, without the patience and assistance of the Library staff, especially Ms. Sarah Saunders, Ms. Jennie Williams, and Ms. Tammy Galloway research would have been impossible. Finally, I wish to thank Ms. Jennifer Siegenthaler, Head of Historic Houses and Gardens at the Atlanta History Center, and Mr. Chris Brooks, Administrator of the Tullie Smith Farm, for their assistance in and support of this project. Their reviews and comments on drafts of this report were especially appreciated.

Contents

Part I

History

I. The People

The earliest documentation for the ancestors of Tullie Smith (1885–1967) dates to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. All before, and much afterward, has been lost in the general turmoil of passing generations, courthouse fires, revolution, and civil war. There are no particulars of their migration to this country except to say that it occurred well before the Revolutionary War and was part of four great waves of British emigrants who set sail for the New World in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. [1]

Tullie Smith's ancestors could have been among the English colonists who settled the eastern seaboard from Carolina to New England in the seventeenth century and whose descendants moved west and south in the eighteenth century. The preponderance of evidence, however, suggests that many of Tullie Smith' ancestors were part of the flood of Scots-Irish immigrants who settled upstate New York, western Pennsylvania, and the southern Piedmont in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Significantly, the community in Rutherford County, North Carolina, which established Brittain Presbyterian Church in 1768, where many of Tullie Smith's ancestors are buried, consisted primarily of Scots-Irish settlers from Pennsylvania and Virginia. [2]

Charles H. "Bill Arp" Smith (1826–1903), the noted Southern author and humorist, is not known to have been related to Tullie Smith's family, but he recognized the problem facing many family researchers, especially if the name being searched is "Smith." In 1892, in an address entitled "The Georgia Cracker," Smith told the Fourth Congress of the Scots-Irish Society of America gathered at Atlanta, "There is but one trouble about anybody and everybody being Scots-Irishmen, and that is the broken links." Even his own grandfather Smith "never could trace his ancestry further back than the Revolution and so I cannot tell whether I am lineally descended from the Smiths of England or Scotland." Nevertheless, he said, "I am content with having descended from some of the Smiths who were detailed in old Norman times to do the fighting and smite the enemy," adding that "in latter days they became the smiters of iron and other metals, and were called blacksmiths, goldsmiths, silversmiths, gunsmiths, locksmiths, and many other smiths, including John." [3]

The Scots-Irish

A sense of the Scots-Irish as a distinct ethnic group was slow to evolve, but as a people they had overwhelming success in molding America. In particular, the Scots-Irish played no small part in the development of a distinct Southern culture and recapitulating their history may be useful in understanding the Smiths and their contemporaries before they came to Georgia.

The Scots-Irish were a product of the ongoing attempts by the English to subdue the "wild," and not-coincidentally Catholic, native population of Ireland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Following years of war that finally led to mass starvation and surrender in 1603, large parts of Ulster, in northern Ireland, were depopulated and vast tracts of land declared escheated (i.e., title to the land reverted to the English crown). On 16 April 1605, King James I issued the "Great Charter" establishing his "plantation at Ulster" and, by 1611, had granted 81,000 acres to Lowland Scots who would agree to bring "forty-eight able men of the age of eighteen or upwards, being born in England or the inward parts of Scotland" for each 2,000 acres received. [4]

The colony, mostly Scottish Lowlanders with a few English farmers, Londoners, and native Irish, prospered and by 1640 had attracted upwards of 100,000 immigrants from Scotland and England. Nearly all of the Scots were Presbyterian and many of the English immigrants were Puritan—all Calvinist with a highly individualistic tradition behind them. Even French Huguenots, also Calvinist, immigrated, especially after the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685, and were quickly absorbed into the Presbyterian Church.

Ultimately, the colony proved too competitive for some English mercantile interests, and the government began to place restrictions on exports from Ulster in 1663. In addition, by the end of the seventeenth century, large numbers of the land leases were coming up for renewal and, in an effort to recoup some of their losses from the Glorious Revolution of 1688, landlords were demanding much higher rents to renew the leases. That began cycles of "rack-renting" whereby rents were raised dramatically each time the lease was renewed.

Finally, drought and famine in the early 1700s made conditions ripe for the "Great Migration," which began in 1717 with the first of five great waves of Scots-Irish emigration from Ulster. Over the next 70 years, at least 250,000 of these Scots-Irish emigrated to America. Archbishop William King described the situation in 1719 just after the first wave of emigrants left for America:

> *The truth of the case is this: after the Revolution* [of 1688–89], *most of the Kingdom was laid waste, & abundance of the people destroyed by the war; the landlords therefore were glad to get ten-ants at any rate, & set their lands at very easy rents; they invited abundance of people to come over here, especially from Scotland, & they have lived here very happily ever since; but now their leases are expired, & they* [are] *obliged not only to give what was paid before the Revolution* [in 1688], *but in most places double & in many*

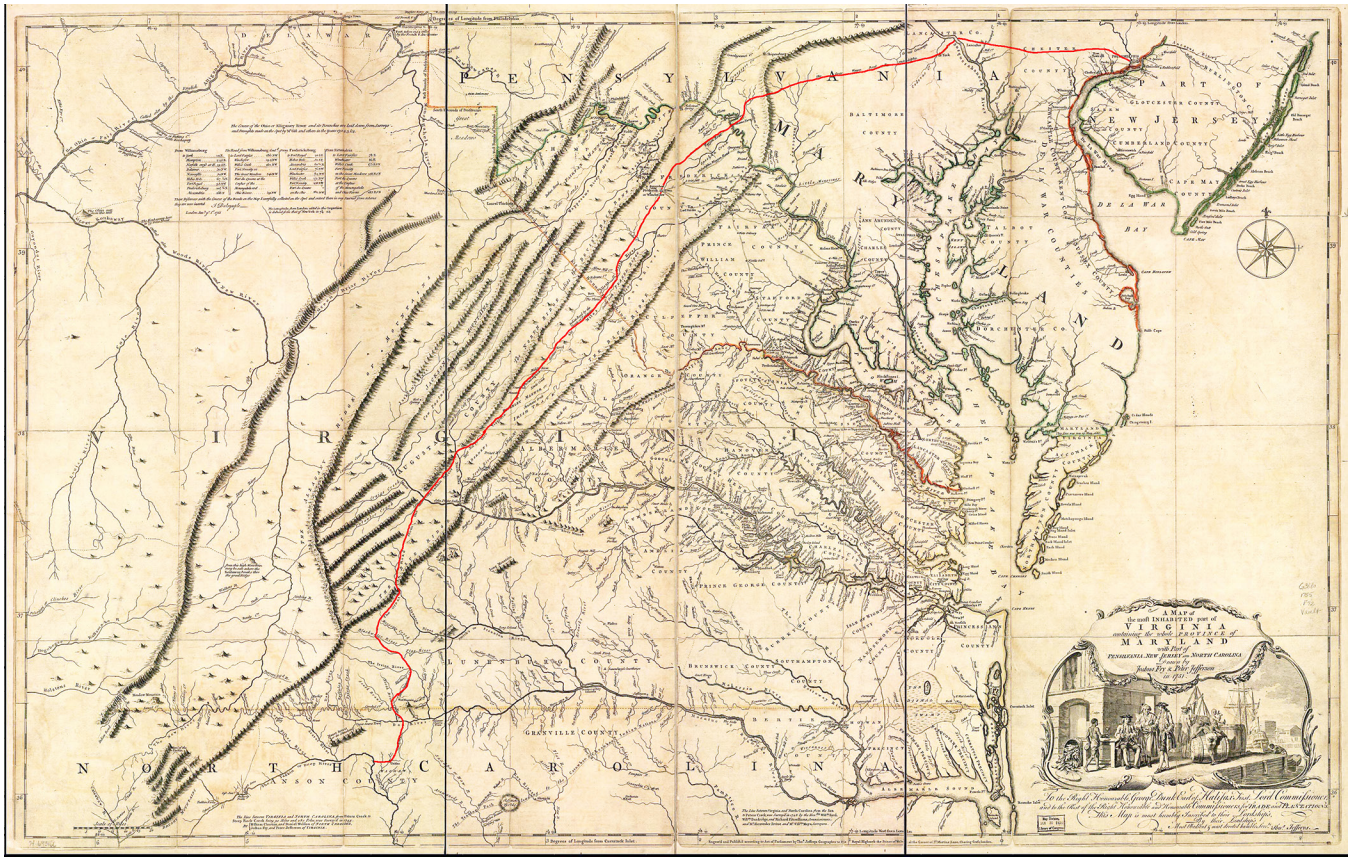

Figure 1. Fry and Jefferson's map of Virginia, Maryland, and parts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and North Carolina, dated 1751, published 1755, with the route of the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road highlighted in red by the present author. (Library of Congress Geography and Map Division).

> *places treble, so that it is impossible for people to live or subsist on their farms.* [5]

For the vast majority of these immigrants in the early eighteenth century, the destination was one of the Delaware River ports—Philadelphia, Chester, or New Castle. From there, they and the German Protestants, who were immigrating around the same time, quickly settled the rich Susquehanna River valley; but the Scots-Irish typically moved on, leaving the so-called "Pennsylvania Dutch" of York and Lancaster Counties. [6]

By 1730, the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road was the route taken by most of the Scots-Irish in their search for a new home. Some settled in southwestern Pennsylvania, but many followed the road as it turned to the south and crossed the Potomac River at Williamsport, Maryland, where it was sometimes possible to ford the stream. From there, the road passed down the Valley of Virginia, through Winchester and Staunton, where so many Scots-Irish had settled that, by 1739, the area was called the Irish Tract. Exiting the Valley with the Staunton River, the road ran south toward Salisbury, North Carolina, where it initially terminated, and on to Camden, South Carolina. But well before the Revolution another branch had developed that ran along the Fall Line from Charlotte to Augusta. A third branch developed about the same time from Salisbury, North Carolina, across the upper Piedmont into the Ninety-Six District in western South Carolina.

Leapfrogging over earlier settlements, the Scots-Irish pushed further and further into the wilderness. From Pennsylvania to Georgia, it was usually the Scots-Irish who lived closest to the frontier, wherever it was, blazing the way for those who followed. In contrast to the Germans, who seem to have been more likely to settle in one place, the Ulster immigrants were always restless and ready to move. As one commentator noted, they "seem to have had a psychological repugnance to making permanent homes until they had moved several times." Thus, long before the valleys of western Pennsylvania were fully settled, many of the Scots-Irish who had settled there had, "for one reason or another—or for no reason at all, so far as observers could perceive—moved on down the Great Valley of Virginia, and thence into the Carolinas." [7]

By 1753, there were, perhaps, fifteen thousand settlers, "for the most part Irish Protestants and Germans, and daily increasing," according to Matthew Rowan, President of the North Carolina State Council. Tullie's third great-grandfather John Smith might easily have been a part of that number. Within a generation, these people would spread their settlements in every direction across the Carolina Piedmont and into eastern Georgia so that, by the time of the American Revolution, perhaps one American in ten was of Scots-Irish descent. [8]

As the Revolution boiled up in the 1770s, the Scots-Irish would also form the backbone of the colonial forces in the South. Indeed, it was a contingent of Scots-Irish from the area around Orange County in the central Piedmont of North Carolina, who fought one of the first skirmishes in that war when they battled royal forces at Alamance in May 1771. And, in May 1775, it was the Scots-Irish of Mecklenberg County, North Carolina, who made the first colonial declaration of independence from the British Crown. [9]

Colonial victories at Kings Mountain, where Tullie's third great-grandfather William Robertson was wounded, and at Cowpens, Kettle Creek, and many other battles and skirmishes on the southern frontier owed much to the efforts of the Scots-Irish. In them were found few of the conflicting interests that made Tories out of some of their more comfortable Anglican neighbors.

The Smiths in North Carolina

The westernmost branch of the Great Wagon Road ran generally to the southwester out of Salisbury, North Carolina, and provided the white settlers a ready route to the foothills of the Blue Ridge in western South Carolina by the 1750s. By the close of the French and Indian Wars in 1763, the Catawbas and other Native American tribes of the Carolina Piedmont had been driven on to "reserves" or exterminated entirely as the white "frontier" was pushed relentlessly forward. In the

western Carolinas, settlement was made easier by the fact that the old Indian hunting grounds west of the Catawba River were largely uninhabited. Only much further south and west, around the headwaters of the Savannah, Chattahoochee, and Little Tennessee Rivers did one encounter the several towns of the Cherokee.

Into this void rushed the land-hungry pioneers, some recent Scots-Irish immigrants, but also many earlier settlers, including some of Tullie's ancestors, from western Pennsylvania and the Shenandoah Valley who sought to escape the Indian depredations that were ravaging the countryside there. A few were even of English heritage from Virginia and eastern North Carolina, seeking to improve on old fields worn out by tobacco production; some were younger sons of planters who by the tradition of primogeniture were left to seek their fortune as they might.

The first land grants west of the Catawba River were made in 1754, but the turmoil of the French and Indian Wars delayed real settlement until the mid-1760s. When Mecklenberg County, North Carolina, was organized in 1762, it encompassed an area from Charlotte to the Blue Ridge and included much disputed Cherokee territory in South Carolina. By 1769, there were so many new settlers that the royal governor of North Carolina organized a large area of what is now western North Carolina and upstate South Carolina into Tryon County. Settlement continued apace, so that in 1779 that county was split into Rutherford and Lincoln Counties, and in 1791 the western half of Rutherford County was hived off as Buncombe County. [10]

John Smith, who died about 1814, and William Robertson, who died about 1803, were Tullie's third great-grandfathers and her earliest documented ancestors. Both appear in the early records of Rutherford and Buncombe Counties, where one may also find the surnames Willis, Suttles, and Medlock, all prominent in the early history of DeKalb County. Like many of their neighbors, they or their parents had settled first in Pennsylvania in the 1730s, then moved into the Shenandoah in the 1740s, and by mid-century onto the Carolina Piedmont. By the 1760s, they were settling Rutherford County, where Tullie's second great-grandfather Robert Smith was born about 1765.

John Smith was a relatively large land-owner for the area, but as new lands to the south and across the mountains in Tennessee were opened after the Revolution, all of his children except one left North Carolina. Two went to Kentucky, another to Indiana, and two disappeared from the record entirely. John's son. Robert Smith married Elizabeth Robertson in 1789 and they raised a large family before her death. Subsequently, Robert moved to Georgia, remarried in 1823 and with two of his sons was one of DeKalb County's early pioneers.

All of Robert and Elizabeth's children grew to adulthood in North Carolina and the youngest son, Robert Hiram Smith, remained in North Carolina until 1845. The Smiths were prosperous enough that Nathaniel could be educated as a doctor, and it may very well have been family money that provided William R. and the other sons with the "nest egg" that formed the foundation of their own personal successes.

John Smith

For a genealogist, the name "John Smith" is a nightmare. The combination of the most common surname with the most common given name in a culture where all names are simple and are repeated generation after generation, as they often were, makes it unusual perhaps that Tullie's lineage has been proven to her third great-grandfather John Smith, even if his life remains only sparsely documented. [11]

The federal census data suggests that John Smith was born before 1755, but where has not been discovered. The name of his wife has also been lost, but with her he had at least eight children. Her maiden name may have been Black, which would account for the name of one of their grandsons, John Black Smith, who died in 1794. Black is also a name which appears in proximity to the Smiths in several documents, including the First Federal Census in 1790. John Smith and his family must have been in Rutherford County at least by the

early 1770s, and he was certainly there when the Patriot "Overmountain" militia marched through the county in 1780 on their way to defeating Tory militia at King's Mountain, some forty miles to the east. [12]

Rutherford County deed books record John Smith's several purchases of land in apparently adjoining parcels along the First Broad River in eastern Rutherford County between 1776 and 1785. Two of the four parcels were originally patented in the late 1760s and one in the 1770s; the last was patented to John Smith himself in 1783. Rutherford County deeds also record John Smith's sale of one of the parcels to Robert Smith "planter" and Robert Smith witnessed one of John Smith's deeds in 1785. This Robert Smith could have been a brother of John Smith. [13]

In 1782, John Smith was listed on the county tax rolls as owning 1,050 acres of land, 11 horses, and 23 cattle. Like the vast majority of his neighbors at that time, he had no slaves, and it appears that he never owned any then or later. His considerable acreage was located in the northeastern part of present-day Rutherford County and northwestern Cleveland County and made him one of the county's largest landowners.

The First Federal Census, in 1790, showed a national population of just under 4,000,000; it also provides one of the first reliable "snapshots" of the Smith family. Rutherford County was enumerated in fourteen "companies," each representing convenient groupings of anywhere from 50 to 145 households. The total population of the county was 7,811, which included 609 slaves. The "Fifth Company," where the Smiths were counted and which probably encompassed the First Broad River and its tributaries, counted 100 heads of household. Within these households were 97 "free white males of 16 years and upwards," 139 males under 16, and 235 "free white females" of all ages. There were also 22 slaves listed in the Fifth Company census, a significantly lower proportion than for the county as a whole. Slave ownership was not the norm either in western North Carolina or in the upper Piedmont of South Carolina and Georgia. Even after the boom in cotton production created a corresponding demand for slaves that engulfed the South after 1800, the smaller farmers here and in other areas of the upper piedmont were always

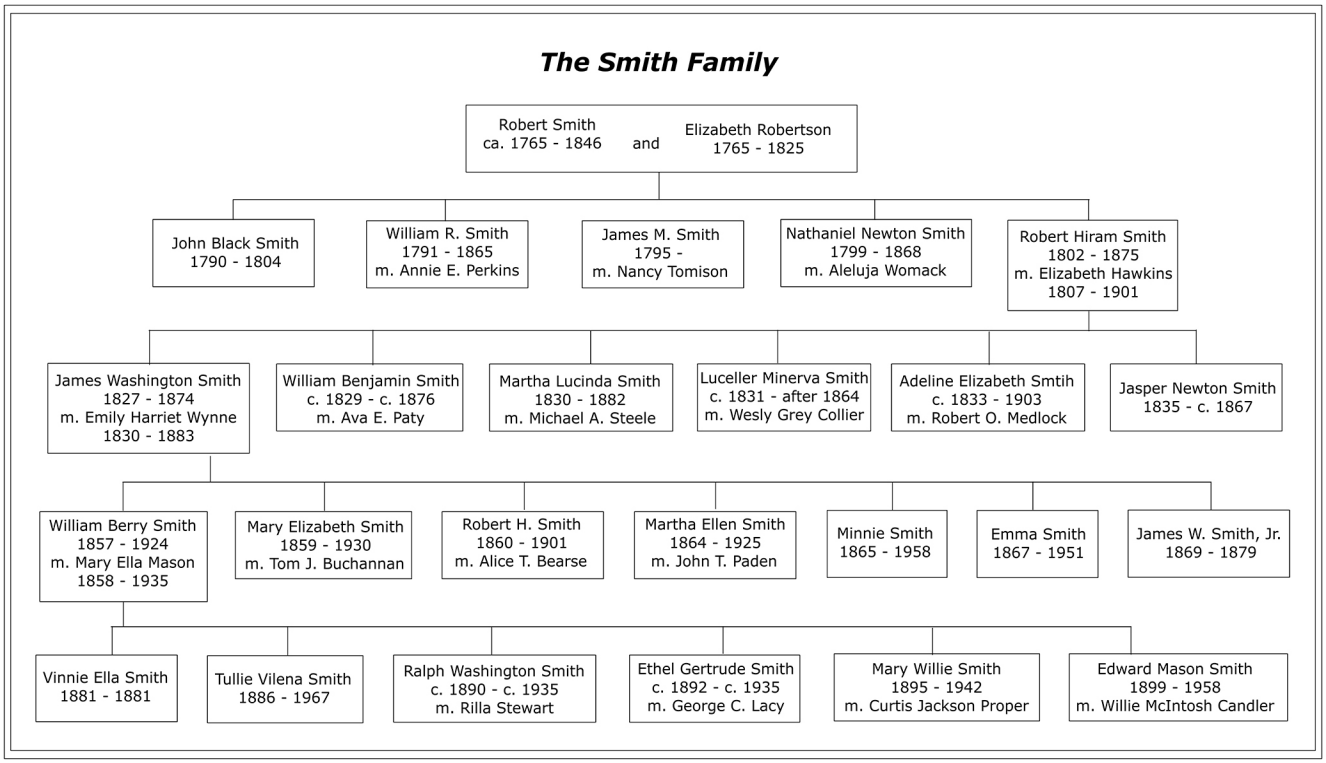

Figure 2. A family tree for five generations of Smiths, from North Carolina to Georgia. (Author's drawing)

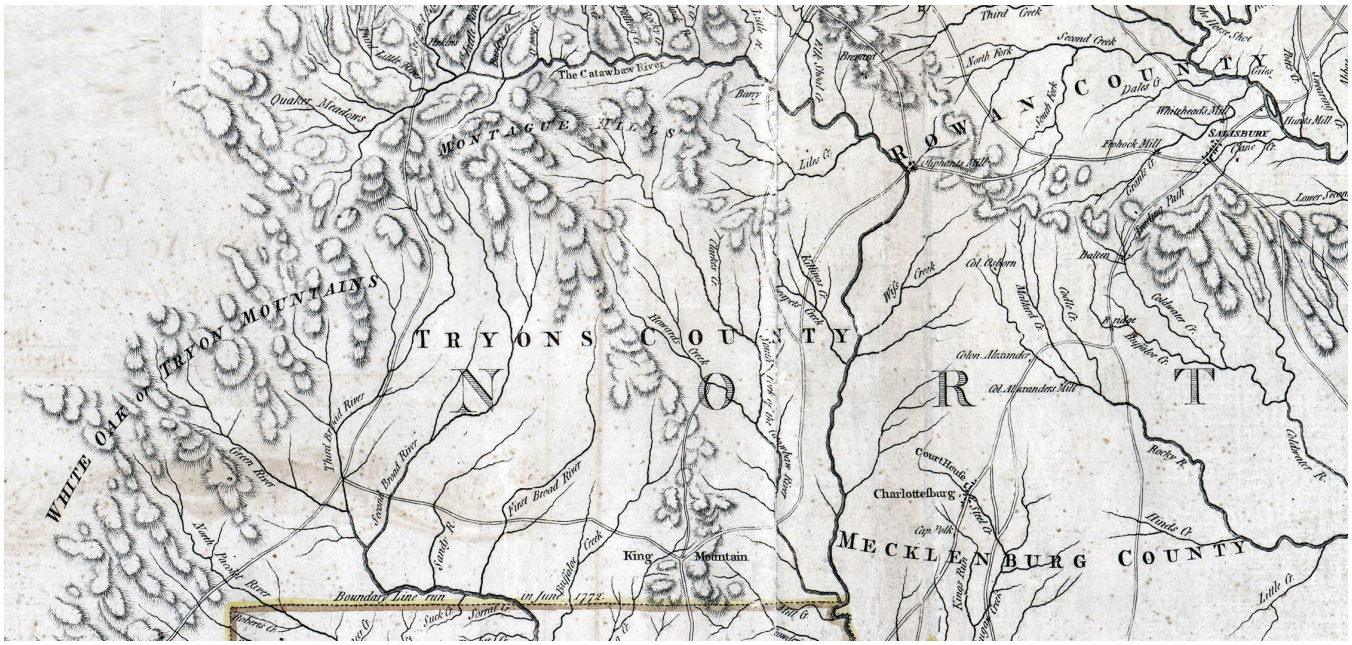

Figure 3. Detail from "An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina with their Indian Frontiers. . . ," by Henry Mouzon, London, 1775, about the time Tullie Smith's ancestors were settling on the Carolina frontier. (North Carolina Office of Archives and History)

less likely to own slaves than the larger planters in the lower piedmont and the coastal plain.

John Smith's family remains poorly documented, illustrating a pattern that is repeated over and over as one researches those who pushed the American "frontier" steadily westward in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Scots-Irish penchant for moving coupled with the poor communication of the period insured that families, once separated, could rather quickly lose contact with one another. Births and deaths recorded in one or two family Bibles and perhaps a few grave markers were inevitably lost to succeeding generations.

In 1798, the South Carolina State Road was begun as a joint venture with Tennessee, which had entered the Union two years earlier. Built through the French Broad River valley along the western side of Rutherford County, it provided a convenient gateway into Tennessee, Kentucky, and the rapidly expanding frontier of the old Northwest Territories beyond the Ohio River. With Jefferson's "Louisiana Purchase" in 1803 and the steady squeeze being placed on the Native Americans of Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, the pull of the "West" was irresistible and the Smiths, like many of their neighbors, moved on again. [14]

In 1859, in the course of settling the estate of the widow of John Smith's son "Major" James Smith, who had died around 1848, without heirs an attempt was made to locate the children of John Smith. By that time, all were dead and descendants of only two of them—those of Robert, "who died in Georgia," and those of one of his sisters, who were in Indiana—could be located. Of John Smith's sons Hugh, John, and William, it was noted that "two of these dec'd. [deceased] in Kentucky" and that the other "has not been heard from for many years" and, in any case, had not "applied for any part of the Estate."

As for the heirs of daughters Elizabeth and Margaret, the documents state simply that "names and residence of all [are] unknown." The court concluded that it was "impossible to say to whom and in what proportions the proceeds [of Major Smith's estate] should rightfully be paid." Clearly, the Smiths had continued the "Great Migration" that started in Ulster a hundred years before. In that, they were not unusual.

In the 1790 census, John Smith is listed as head of a household of six, including himself. These included

one other white male over 16 and one under 16, probably his sons—John and James—but possibly older family members or even boarders, although the latter is probably not likely. Sons Robert, William, and Hugh must have already married and were also enumerated as being heads of household in the Fifth Company of Rutherford County. No age is given for the two white females, but they may have been John Smith's wife and one of his three daughters, perhaps Elizabeth. Margaret appears to have already married a "Walburt", perhaps one of the Wolberts [sic] listed in the Ninth Company in that census. The other daughter, whose name is lost, married one Tom Miller and may be listed with "Thom. Miller" in the census of neighboring Lincoln County. In 1800, John Smith and what were probably most of his children, including Robert Smith, appear in the census of Rutherford or neighboring Buncombe County. By 1810, the family may have already begun to disperse since Hugh Smith is absent from the Rutherford County census that year. [15]

John Smith died in the early spring of 1814. In his will, which he signed on 7 March and which was filed for probate on 6 April, Smith directed the sale of "all my property that is the land I now occupy and my stock of hogs and cattle and all personal property." The proceeds of the sale were "to be returned for the use of my beloved wife in her lifetime" and, after her death, "to be equally divided amongst all my children." The single specific bequest was to his grandson Nathaniel Newton Smith, to whom he gave fifty dollars with the stipulation that it be taken "from his father's part" of the estate. [16] He named as executor his "worthy friend James Smith," who may have been his brother. The will was witnessed by William Smith, perhaps another brother, and James McFarland, one of a family that was numerous in the Smith's neighborhood. [17]

Robert Smith and Elizabeth Robertson

Of John's son Robert (ca. 1765–1845), a second great-grandfather of Tullie, a little more is known than of his father. The date of his birth is uncertain, but it was perhaps about the time John Smith was moving his young family into Rutherford County. One of eight children, Robert grew to adulthood in Rutherford County if he were not actually born there. [15]

Nothing is known of Robert's youth before his marriage on 16 October 1789, in Rutherford County, to Elizabeth Robertson (1765–1825), daughter of William Robertson (1725–1790), one of Rutherford County's pioneers. Early members of Brittain Presbyterian Church, the Robertsons lived near there and gave their name to the creek that runs five or six miles east and southeast of the church.

William Robertson fought with the Patriots at King's Mountain in 1780, a battle that is considered a turning point in the Revolutionary War. Badly wounded, he was carried back to Rutherford County on a cowhide stretcher that his descendants preserved for generations. He died in 1803, leaving a will that named his wife Elizabeth, Jonathan Hampton, and his son-in-law Robert Smith as executors. [16]

Robert and Elizabeth Smith's first child was born in 1790, just in time to appear in the census of that year. He was named John Black Smith, in whose honor we do not know, although Elizabeth's maiden name may have been Black, who like the Robertsons, were early pioneers in Rutherford County and neighbors of John Smith's along the First Broad River. He did not survive childhood. Their second son, William R. Smith (ca. 1791–1865), was born about 1791. It is quite likely that his middle name was Robertson, in honor of his maternal grandfather. The Smith's third son, James M. Smith, was born about 1795, followed by Nathaniel Newton Smith (1799–1868). Their fifth and final child was also a boy, born in 1802 and named Robert Hiram Smith (1902–1875). Robert and Elizabeth Smith may have set up housekeeping near his father's farm. He along with Hugh and William Smith, who were likely his brothers, are all listed in the 1790 census of the Fifth Company of Rutherford County near the elder John Smith at his farm on the upper reaches of the First Broad River. Perhaps as early as 1794, when William Robertson's heirs sold some of his property along the Second Broad River, Robert Smith and his family acquired part of his father-in-law's old lands on

Robertsons Creek, southeast of Brittain Church, and moved there. [20]

The Smiths may have been living there when their first-born son died in 1794 and was buried at Brittain Church, where his grandfather William Robertson had been buried in 1790. By then, the Smiths were prosperous, and Robert is listed in the 1810 census as owning five slaves. Although there were over a half million slaves in North Carolina in 1810, Rutherford County itself had less than 1,000 and most of the farmers there did not own any slaves at all.

Robert Smith is also listed as owning a loom in 1810, an item that was quite common in many households of the period. Homespun fabric was so important that the 1810 census inquired into the "quantity of yards of homespun annually made in the family" and requested its valuation. The Smiths made no listing of quantities or valuation, perhaps because all that was produced was for the family's own consumption.

Considering the relative prosperity of the Smiths, at least in terms of slaves and land, it is interesting to note how their son Nathaniel's childhood in Rutherford County in the early nineteenth century was characterized in later years. When he died in 1868, Nathaniel's obituary stated that he was "born poor" and that "the only college to which his worthy father felt himself able to send his son was the old field school. He could only bequest young Nat with good principles, good habits, and prepare him to earn his living by the sweat of his brow." While that was all probably true relative to the wealth and status that Nathaniel later acquired, it overlooks the relative affluence of the Smiths when compared to most of their neighbors in the early nineteenth century. [21]

"Old field schools" formed the beginnings of public education in the United States. Often located on worn-out fields, they were generally privately supported within the community, members of which would often donate the land, build the building, hire the teacher, and generally bear the expense of running the school. Students were generally those whose parents could afford to support the school, although some counties had poor school funds to support a few indigent scholars. Although the old field school provided only an elementary education, that alone conferred an advantage that was recognized by Charles H. "Bill Arp" Smith who once said that "but for my town raising [in Lawrenceville, Georgia] and old field school education, I too would have made a very respectable cracker." [22]

Whatever the limitations of education on the southern frontier, Robert Smith could both read and write, something his father apparently never learned. [23] He owned a number of books and, in fact, mentions them at three different points in his will. Sadly, the titles of the books were never inventoried, although they did include "two large dictionaries." Clearly, Robert Smith went well beyond the requirements of simple literacy and was unusually well-educated for one of his generation.

In January 1816, two years after his father signed a will, Robert Smith himself made a will, which is one of the strangest documents to surface in connection with the Smiths. Stating that "finding my business calls me to the Western Country," he gave his property to his wife and sons, in whom he had "full confidence" that they would "secure this property with which it has pleased God to bless me." He also ordered his wife "to deliver up to me upon receipt" of the will his "horse, bridle, [and] wearing clothes" as well as "one half the money we have on hand." Robert Smith was probably then a man in his fifties or even early sixties and a will would have been in order, but most likely this will was drawn up as a precautionary measure as he embarked on an extended trip at a time when long-distance travel was still taken at one's peril.

The object of Robert's journey in 1816 is not known, but it may have taken him to Tennessee or Alabama. The War of 1812 had ended in December 1814, and cessions by the Creek and the Cherokee opened up large tracts of land in both states to public sale in 1816. Whatever his business or his intent in conveying his estate to his wife and sons, Robert was back in Rutherford County and listed with what is apparently the rest of his family in the 1820 census.

Figure 4. Robert Brazier's map of North Carolina, published in 1833, annotated with a red arrow to locate the site of Brittain Presbyterian Church, near which Tullie Smith's ancestors lived in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (Library of Congress Geography and Map Division)

By then, Robert and Elizabeth Smith's four surviving sons were all grown and away from home, if not yet married. With six slaves, the elder Smiths were probably still farming on Robertson Creek that year; but by late 1821 they had moved across the Blue Ridge to Buncombe County, North Carolina, probably southeast of Asheville. In December, as a resident of Buncombe County, he conveyed his farm on Robertson Creek, which included a part of William Robertsons old estate, to his sons William R. and Nathaniel N. Smith, both of them then young men in their twenties and apparently still in North Carolina.

Elizabeth Robertson Smith, died in December 1825, according to her apparently contemporaneous gravestone in the cemetery at Brittain Church. Yet in August 1824, Robert Smith conveyed to one of his sons title to property in the vicinity of his old homestead on Robertsons Creek in Rutherford County; the deed gave his place of residence as Gwinnett County, Georgia. It may be that he was in Georgia making preparations to move the family when she died. In addition, a marriage license was issued to a Robert Smith and one Rachel Anderson in Hall County, Georgia, in July 1823. The contradictions in that chronology are obvious, although it is always possible that the dates have simply been confused or recorded incorrectly in the historical record. [24]

Perhaps the "John Shambly old place," which was located in the vicinity of Sweetwater Church on Pleasant Hill Road a mile or so east of Norcross and which Robert Hiram Smith left his widow in 1876, was inherited from his father but that has not been proven. Most likely Robert Smith knew people in Hall and/or Gwinnett Counties since the early settlers so typically did not move alone. With so many Smiths to choose from, however, the quest for Smith relatives can only be somewhat narrowed by a focus on those that came from

North Carolina. Unfortunately, unless they lived to be included in the 1850 census, that cannot always be known. A well-known clan of Smiths was established early in DeKalb County near Ben Hill (present-day Southwest Atlanta), where they were associated with the Suttles and Baker families. The family of William Suttles (1732–1839) may be the same family that was listed in the 1790 census of Rutherford County, but that can only suggest the possibility that he and his son-in-law Rev. John M. Smith (1789–1863) might have been related to Robert Smith. [25]

The Smiths at Stone Mountain, most notably George K. Smith (1820–1865), may have had something more than a casual relationship with the Robert Smith family, including purchase of items from Robert Smith's estate when he died. However, those of the Stone Mountain Smiths who appear in the census were from South and not North Carolina, although the vagaries of the state boundaries in the western Carolinas may obscure a closer connection between the two families. [26]

Finally, Charles H. "Bill Arp" Smith (1826–1903), the famous writer, who was born in Lawrenceville, Georgia, was the executor of William R. Smith's will in Rome in 1865, and there is the possibility that the two men were cousins or other kin. Amid that speculation, it should be noted that both George K. Smith and Charles H. Smith were noted lawyers, which alone may have been the basis of their relationship with Robert Smith's family, with the family names being only coincidental. [27]

The Smiths in Georgia

Documentation of the Smith family's history in Georgia is severely limited by the courthouse fires in Gwinnett and DeKalb Counties, which destroyed nearly all of the early county records. As a result, no documentation has surfaced that might indicate how well-settled, if settled at all, Robert Smith might have been in Gwinnett County. Perhaps the "John Shambly old place," which was in the vicinity of Sweetwater Church on Pleasant Hill Road a mile or so east of Norcross and which Robert Hiram

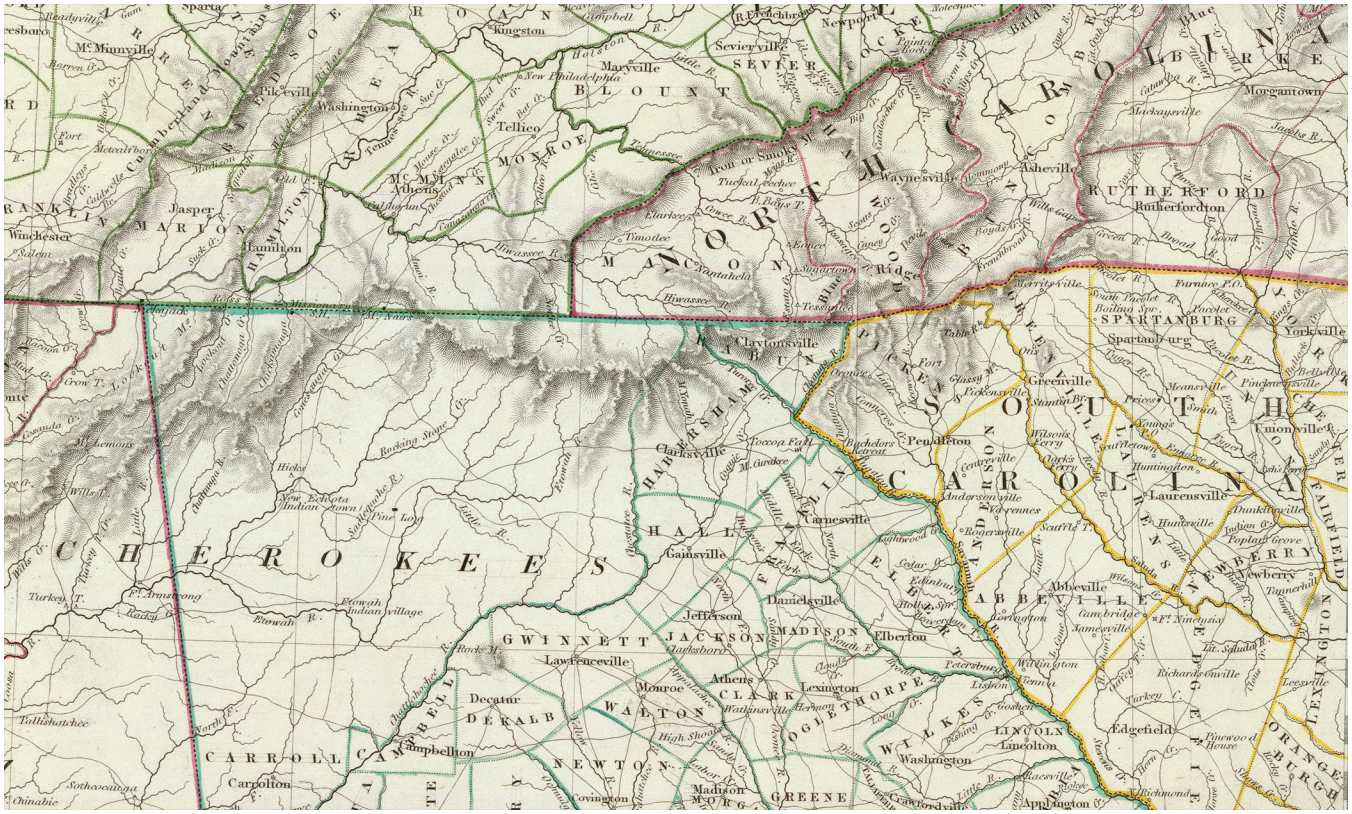

Figure 5. Detail from Sheet XII of Baldwin and Craddock's atlas of North America, dated 1833, around the time the Smiths were moving to Georgia. Rutherford County, North Carolina, is at upper right, DeKalb County, Georgia, at lower left. (Cartography Associates, David Rumsey Map Collection)

Smith left his widow in 1876, was property inherited from his father, but that is only speculation.

The first certain record of Robert Smith in DeKalb County is the 1830 federal census, but other bits of historical documentation suggest that he might have been in DeKalb County before that, but for whatever reason, the earliest historical documentation for the Smiths in DeKalb County concerns his sons William Robertson Smith (ca. 1791–1865) and Dr. Nathaniel Newton Smith (1799–1868).

William R. Smith

William R. Smith, the eldest of the Smith brothers to survive childhood, was an early and quite successful merchant in Decatur, where he lived from about 1827 until the mid-1840s. He owned extensive property in DeKalb County, including four contiguous land lots located on what is now N. Druid Hills Road, land in which his father and stepmother had a life estate. Of all the Smith brothers, William R. Smith appears to have come closest to true "planter" status, with numerous slaves and hundreds of acres in cultivation. By the time he died in 1865, he owned over 600 acres along the Etowah River just east of downtown Rome. He was often called "Long Billy," some say for the fact that he wore his long hair tied back in a pigtail, and was a prominent figure in the early history of both Decatur and Rome.

Levi Willard, writing in 1879, stated that Smith came to Decatur in 1826, which could have been about the time that his brother Nathaniel and their father arrived as well. The brothers' mother had died in late 1825, and they may have taken that occasion to relocate to Georgia. William appears to have left his wife and young son in North Carolina, probably intending to send for them, but she died in 1828 before that happened. [28]

The original source of William's wealth has not been documented, but he must have been a man of some means even in the early 1830s. Willard credits him with being one of Decatur's early dry-goods merchants and, incidentally, according to Willard, the only one who would not sell whiskey. [29]

He also operated a store in Rome for a number of years after he moved there, and considering the typical importance of merchants as a source of not only material goods but also credit for a great many people throughout the nineteenth century, his occupation could have certainly formed the basis for a fortune. Minute Book "A" of the DeKalb County Inferior Court, the only county records that were not burned in 1842, documents several suits brought by Smith between 1831 and 1844 to recover money owed him. This perhaps confirms Willard's statement that "at one time . . . DeKalb County people owed him forty-four thousand dollars," a small fortune at the time. [30]

Willard also makes note of the fact that Smith's "rule for shaving notes was to cut them into two equal parts and take one-half. He tried to come as near to the rule as possible." [31] There was a common practice of cutting bank notes in half for security in mailing. One half would be mailed and when receipt was confirmed, the other half was then mailed, with the two halves taped back together at the other end. It would appear, however, that Willard is making a small pun, since "shaving notes" is also a term for purchase of promissory notes at a discount rate that is greater than the law allows. The Inferior Court suits are probably over promissory notes that Smith purchased at a discount and then sued in court to recover the full amounts, which ranged from less than $100 to as much as $750. If Willard is right, Smith must have made a lot of money in DeKalb County in the 1830s and 1840s.

DeKalb County was not his only interest either as Smith was one of those who intruded on the sovereignty of the Cherokee Nation in the 1830s. Illegally as far as federal law was concerned, Georgia nevertheless surveyed Cherokee land and distributed it by a lottery in 1832; in February 1833, William R. Smith bought Land Lot 273 in the 3rd Section of the newly-created Floyd County. The following summer he bought Land Lot 254 in the same district and less than a mile east of the first, both lots being near the confluence of the Etowah and Oostanaula Rivers. [32]

That same year, 1834, another William Smith, called "Black Bill" for his swarthy complexion, owned Land Lot 245, which was just a short walk from either of William R. Smith's lots. It was

"Black Bill" Smith who helped found the city of Rome that year and upon whose land the town was initially established. William R. Smith also bought large amounts of property near Rome and in other parts of Floyd County, was one of the county's largest landowners by 1860, and participated in significant ways in the growth of Rome. The new town was, according to one source, "overrun by vigilance [sic] committees, outlaws, land speculators and unruly Indians" in the 1830s. While that might have been hyperbole, Smith still may have preferred residence in the more settled environment of Decatur until the early 1840s. [33] By then, he had probably also begun farming, since his property on the east side of Rome contained some of the richest river bottom land in northwest Georgia. By 1850, Smith owned over two thousand acres in Floyd County, 300 of which he listed as being improved for agriculture.

Besides his mercantile and farming interests, Smith was the first president of the Rome Railroad, which was organized in 1839 as the Memphis Branch Railroad and Steamboat Company of Georgia. By 1845, as the predominance of railroads over steamboat traffic became clear, the company was reorganized as the Rome Railroad and built a railroad from Rome to the State-owned Western & Atlantic Railroad at Kingston, a link that made possible much of Rome's subsequent development. Smith is also credited with early bridge-building in Rome, including a bridge over the Etowah at a point where he may have already been operating a ferry. [34]

In the early 1840s, Smith began selling off his property in DeKalb County and relocating to Rome. He had remarried by that time, too, to a widow named Anne Perkins, the daughter of "Mr. Patton of Asheville," according to Willard. Part of his personal disinvestment in DeKalb County occurred in January 1842, "in consideration of the natural love and affection" he held for his youngest brother, he gave Robert Hiram Smith, who was still living in North Carolina, all of Land Lot 4 on the South Fork of Peachtree Creek, some of the best land of the several hundred acres that he owned in DeKalb County. Then in May 1843, again for "natural love and affection," he gave title to four land lots on the North Fork of Peachtree Creek in DeKalb County—152, 153, 156, and 157—to Robert Hiram Smith, but gave his father and stepmother a life estate in the property. In August, William Smith sold his two town lots in Decatur, which was probably about the time of his move to Rome. He did not sever all of his ties to Decatur, however, and continued to buy and sell property there into the 1860s. [35]

By 1850, Smith must have been living in Rome, although he cannot be located in the schedules for the federal census of Floyd County that year. Eighteen of his slaves are listed in the 1850 census of Floyd County, a sharp increase from the three slaves that he listed in the DeKalb County census in 1840. Also listed in the 1850 census is William's step-son, James P. Perkins, head of a household that included William's twenty-three year old nephew James Washington Smith (1827–1874), Tullie's grandfather. It is not clear if William R. Smith ever had other children besides the one buried at Brittain Church. If he did, they have not been documented, and it seems likely that, in fact, he did not have any more children. This might explain his gift of property to his stepson's young daughter in 1858 and the fact that no Smiths were listed in the sale of his estate after the Civil War. [36]

In 1860, William R. Smith was nearly seventy years old, living alone with his wife, Anne Perkins Smith, who was then sixty-five years old. He then owned some three thousand acres of land (only a fraction of which was improved for farming), worth $100,000, and still had nineteen slaves, who probably accounted for the bulk of his $72,000 in personal wealth. William R. Smith had certainly made a success of business and farming and was, in 1860, among a relatively small number of Georgians who profited in a big way from the ruin of the Cherokee Nation. [37]

Dr. Nathaniel Smith

Having grown up with his brother William in Rutherford County, Robert and Elizabeth Smith's son Nathaniel N. Smith (1799–1868) attended Greeneville College (now Tusculum College) in Greeneville, Tennessee, in 1820–21. He served as

president and treasurer of the Dialectic Adelphic Literary Society, but it is not known if he actually graduated from the college. According to his obituary, he received his medical degree "in Kentucky and Philadelphia"; a more recent source states that Smith received his degree from Transylvania Medical College in Lexington, Kentucky. [38]

Nathaniel Smith left the fewest traces in the public records of DeKalb County, but he was certainly there by 1827, and probably lived in Decatur for a few years in the late 1820s and early 1830s. Levi Willard, writing in 1879, reports that Dr. Smith bought the house "formerly owned by John Simpson and used as a tavern and boarding house, and lived in it for some years." This was probably the two town lots that Smith sold to William Ezzard, future mayor of Atlanta, in May 1842. [39]

Weaver's twentieth-century history of DeKalb County doctors also places Nathaniel in DeKalb in the late 1820s when he noted that Dr. Smith had failed to appear at the 1827–28 session of the county's Board of Physicians. The source of Weaver's information is not known, but he states that "the following year," probably 1829, Dr. Nathaniel N. Smith did appear and got his "permanent license." He was in DeKalb County at least through January 1834 when his name was included on a list of potential grand jurors. [40]

Although Nathaniel and his brother William both owed property in Decatur, only William's name appears in the 1830 census. Both of them were unmarried (William's first wife was dead by that time), and they may have been sharing a household when the census was taken.

Around 1835, Dr. Smith moved to LaGrange where he married a young widow by the name of Alelujah B. Womack in February of that year. Alelujah brought her own wealth, including ten slaves, to the marriage thanks to her first husband Henry Rogers, a locally prominent and successful builder who had died the year before. Their first child, Robert S. Smith (1836–1862), was followed by three sisters—Wiley, Anne and Aley—but the last birth, in October 1842, must have been difficult since the mother died a month later.

Figure 6. Detail from Breese and Morse's map of Georgia in 1842, not long before Robert Hiram Smith moved to DeKalb County. The map locates Standing Peachtree, but not Atlanta, which did not yet exist. (Author's collection)

With an infant and three other young children, Dr. Smith soon remarried, this time to Eliza S. McBride. Their marriage record has not been located, but she may have been related to the large McBride family in Fayette County. Coincidentally or not, one Andrew McBride was the original fortunate drawer in the 1820s for Land Lot 156 in DeKalb County, the land lot on which, twenty-five years later, Tullie Smith's ancestors built the house that now bears her name.

Dr. Smith lived in LaGrange on Smith Street, which was posthumously named for him in 1889. Located on the northern edge of the original town limits, his was "a large two story home situated on 100 acres of beautiful grounds," according to a local historian. He may have had other property as well since he was a relatively large slave holder. By 1860, he had sixteen slaves and held another twenty "in trust for minors," presumably his own children. He had amassed a significant fortune of $44,000 (around $1,340,000 in 2019) in personal property, much of which was probably the value of his slaves, and $8,000 (about $250,000 in 2019) in real estate. [41]

His son Robert S. Smith, by then a young man of 24, was a merchant in LaGrange and had $4,000 in personal property of his own. When Dr. Nathaniel Smith died in December 1868, the local newspaper stated that he "had gained for himself the reputation of being an eminently learned and skillful physician [and] commanded an extensive practice." It also noted that he had "accumulated a handsome independence—not to say fortune." [42]

Robert and Rachel Smith

The earliest documentation for Robert Smith in DeKalb County is the federal census of 1830, in which he is enumerated with a single female who is almost certainly his second wife, Rachel. There is also in the household a male between the ages of 20 and 30 who may have been their son Nathaniel. There were also five slaves, perhaps in two families, whom he had probably brought with him from North Carolina. It is not clear where he was living in 1830, but his location in the census list is very near Loughlin Johnson, a noted pioneer in DeKalb County whose plantation near Panthersville in south DeKalb was, according to Franklin Garrett, the county's "finest." If the relative position in the census list is an indicator of close neighbors, and that is not always the case, then Robert may not yet have been living on Peachtree Creek northwest of Decatur in 1830. [43]

Again the possibility of confusion arises with the census. A Rachel Smith of the approximate age of Robert's wife is listed in 1830 next to Isaac Steele, whose son would later marry a daughter of the Smiths. Steele's farm lay in Land Lot 107 and 108 just southwest of the Smith's land on Peachtree Creek, although it is not known exactly when he moved to that location. The only male in Rachel's household is 10-15 years old but there are four girls under the age of 20. Her identity is not known and, since there is a woman in Robert's household who is the right age to be his wife, this Rachel Smith only contributes to the uncertainty about Robert Smith's marriages, travels, and early history in Georgia.

In November 1833, a spectacular Leonid meteor shower was seen across north Georgia, provoking comment in Decatur from a frightened preacher who saw it as a sign that "the end of the world was at hand." It is from that same year that the first reasonably certain documentation for Robert Smith's residence on Peachtree Creek is found. On 4 June 1833, the Inferior Court of DeKalb County ordered a review of "the two roads, one crossing Peachtree Creek at Robert Smith's and the other crossing said creek at Johnston's Mill and report to the Inferior Court on which road a bridge would be of most public utility." [44]

By this time, Robert Smith was almost certainly living on Land Lot 156, although there is no way to know exactly where on the lot. Johnston's Mill was located in the southwest corner of Land Lot 197 and the road referred to in the Inferior Court Minutes can be identified in the present routes of Mt. Moriah Church RRobert Smith is listed in the 1840 census of DeKalb County with a household consisting of himself, his wife, and a boy ten to fifteen years old. The latter may have been William Benjamin Smith (ca. 1829–1876), second son of Robert Hiram Smith, who had come down from Rutherford County to take care of his aging

grandparents. Although the census does not list Robert Smith with any slaves, he had owned several, although he probably had already divided them among his children even if he had not yet given them formal title. [45]

By 1843, Robert Smitih's son Nathaniel had been living in La Grange for eight years and his eldest son, William R., was making preparations to move to Rome, if he had not already done so. Robert Smith was now in his late seventies and, although his young grandson William Benjamin was there, his other two sons, James Madison and Robert Hiram, were still living in North Carolina. The family must have already been discussing Robert Hiram Smith's move to DeKalb County when, on May 14, 1843, William R. Smith gave his father and stepmother a life estate in the farm that they had probably been living on for at least ten years. Title included the four land lots on Powers Ferry Road "lying on the Big Peachtree Creek [the North Fork of Peachtree Creek] and now known to be the Farm on which Robert Smith now lives, together with and singular the houses and improvements." At their death, the property would pass to their son, making this the third time that Robert Hiram Smith benefited from the generosity of his oldest brother. [46]

Unfortunately, Rachel Smith died not long after that, although exactly when has not been documented. Surprisingly perhaps, in January 1845, Robert Smith, who was then nearly 80 years old, married for a third time. His bride was 32-year-old Lucinda Jett, who was probably the daughter of Stephen Jett, an early pioneer in DeKalb County whose family gave its name to Jett Road in northwest Atlanta. [47]

By the fall of 1845, if not before, Robert Smith was in failing health and, in November, proceeded to make his last will and testament. Since William had only given him a life estate in the farm, Robert's will dealt only with personal property. To his "beloved wife Lucinda," he willed three hundred dollars in cash, his carriage, "the horse I usually turned to the land" along with a saddle and bridle, a cow and a calf, a sow and its pigs, a loom, and a life estate in "the youngest child of Rachel (my Negro woman) known by the name of Berry." [48]

Robert also divided his household furniture which included four "beds and furniture" between his four sons, but the bulk of his will dealt with disposition of his seventeen slaves, which he carefully divided among his sons with the admonition that "I desire that each of my sons keep the aforementioned Negroes in their families as long as they can." He also gave "my old Negro Winny permission to live with either of my sons whom she may select & I enjoin upon such son that he take care of her & treat her well during her life."

Robert Smith probably died in April 1846, since wills were usually probated soon after death and his sons applied for probate of the estate on May 8 of that year. Robert Smith's grave has been lost but it was perhaps in the Decatur Cemetery, since Rock Spring Church, where his son Robert Hiram is buried, had not yet been founded. It is possible, too, that he followed the more typical pattern of burial for rural Georgians and was buried in a family cemetery near his house. It seems unlikely, however, given the continuity of land ownership, that a family cemetery on the property would have been forgotten or at least never mentioned by subsequent generations.

In May 1846, Robert Smith's neighbors and friends Isaac Steele, John Nelson Bellinger, John M. Ridling, and Jackson H. Johnson made an inventory and appraisal of Robert's estate. Included "on the property of the deceased" were $391.76 in cash and over $300 in promissory notes from neighbors and others. Five bedsteads and furniture were inventoried along with a "lot of books," trunks, and a wide variety of other household furniture and other items. [49]

The inventory included only eleven slaves, indicating perhaps that he had already given seven of those listed in his will to his sons before his death. Smith's will directed that the remainder of his property not specifically distributed in the will be sold and the proceeds divided between his sons. On 25 June 1846, an auction was held of these items, which included most of the contents of Robert Smith's house, his livestock and supplies, and a wide variety of farm tools and other implements. Along with Robert Smith's last father-in-law, Stephen Jett, Smith's neighbors Meredith

Collier, James Guess, Samuel House, John Bellinger, James W. Reeve, and Sterling Goodwin also bought items from the estate.

It was Robert Smith's oldest son, William R. Smith, who bought more than any other, including most of the farm tools and equipment, yearlings, and sows, two hundred pounds of which were already bacon. He also purchased most of the contents of the kitchen, including the cast-iron cooking pots and skillets, cups, plates, ten split-bottom chairs, and a painted cupboard. None of the other brothers are recorded as buying anything from the estate that day and, although William may have been buying for himself, it is also possible that he was buying with the intent of distribution among the family.

William R. Smith's deed of the property to his father in 1843 was formally recorded in July 1846 but final settlement of the estate, as might be expected, took somewhat longer. One of the final entries in the annual returns for Robert Smith's estate was in March 1849 when $286 was received from the estate of Robert's brother James Smith, who had recently died in Cleveland County, North Carolina. Apparently the last of John Smith's sons, Major James Smith left no children but named his nephew Robert H. Smith executor of his estate. [50]

Robert Hiram Smith and Elizabeth Hawkins

Robert and Elizabeth Robertson Smith's youngest son and Tullie's great-grand father, Robert Hiram Smith, was born on August 1, 1802, in Rutherford Coun-ty, North Carolina. [51] Beyond the simple fact that he grew up in Rutherford County, absolutely no other details about his childhood are known. On three separate occasions, William R. Smith gave his youngest brother Robert Hiram Smith substantial amounts of property. Part of the reason for this generosity may have been that, as the youngest brother in a family with no sisters, he took the responsibility of car-ing for Elizabeth Robertson Smith after his father moved to Georgia and until she died in 1825. Whatever the circum-stances of his parents' marriage, their youngest son apparently remained close with both of his parents since William Benjamin Smith, Robert Hiram's sec-ond son, moved to Georgia as a teen-ager around 1840 to care for his aging grandfather and step- grandmother.

The same year that his mother died, 1825, young Robert married Elizabeth Hawkins. The daughter of Benjamin Hawkins of Buncombe County, she may have met Robert through his father's previously-mentioned move to Bun-combe County in the early 1820s. By that time, Robert, Sr., had already moved to Georgia and, by 1827, William and Nathaniel Smith had moved to DeKalb County. So, on the Fourth of Ju-ly in 1827, Robert's brothers gave him their father's old place on Robertsons Creek in Rutherford County, the consideration being but $55 and "natural love and affection." [52]

Robert Hiram and Elizabeth Hawkins Smith had probably been living on Robertsons Creek since their marriage, and it was probably there that their first child was born four days after that deed was made. Named James Washington Smith (1827–1874) , this child was the first of six children that would be born to the Smiths, the others being William Benjamin (1829–1876), Martha Lucinda (1830–1882), Luceller Minerva (ca. 1831–ca. 1863), Adeline Elizabeth (1833–1893), and Jasper Newton (1835–ca. 1867). [53]

By 1840, Robert H. Smith may already have been considering a move to Georgia. His son William Benjamin was staying with his grandparents in DeKalb County and, with the railroads coming through, Georgia may have looked more promising a situation than the still-relatively isolated hills of western North Carolina. In January 1842, William R. Smith again gave his brother property, this time Land Lot 4, Seventeenth District in DeKalb County, perhaps as an enticement to move to Georgia. That land lot was bisected by the South Fork of Peachtree Creek and would have been considered some of the county's prime farm land. Portions of this land lot, which encompasses land south and east of Cheshire Bridge Road and through which Lenox Road was cut between Highland Avenue and Cheshire Bridge Road about 1914, was still

owned by Smith descendants, including Tullie's mother, up to World War II. [54]

There is no record of how Robert and the rest of the family viewed their father's late marriage, but by the spring of 1845, he must have been making plans to leave North Carolina. In late March, he paid Tillman Harrison $200 for Land Lot 50, directly west of the land lot that William had given him three years earlier. While this lot did not contain the quality of farmland found in Land Lot 4, it did encompass the intersection of two important roads, the Montgomery Ferry Road and Plaster's Bridge Road. There is no documentation for any improvements made to either of these land lots prior to this time, even though William R. Smith may have owned #4 for ten years or more. Farming of Land Lot 4 seems likely to have occurred, however, given the richness of the land. Neither lot was really far removed from Land Lot 156, which was less than two miles away via Briarcliff, Sheridan, and Cheshire Bridge Roads, all of which follow routes that were mostly in use by the 1840s. [55] The precise extent of the Smith family's early real estate transactions can no longer be documented since nearly all of DeKalb County's early records were lost when the courthouse burned in 1842. They were large landowners, that much is certain. By the 1850s, Robert Hiram Smith owned at least six land lots encompassing over 1,200 acres along the north and south forks of Peachtree Creek, and much of that he had inherited.

In July 1845, Smith sold the old homestead on Robertson Creek in Rutherford County, where he had spent much of his life. He got $2,000 for the 600-hundred-acre tract and was almost certainly in DeKalb County by November. He must have built his new house, now known as the Tullie Smith House, about that time. [56]

When they moved to DeKalb County, Robert Hiram and Elizabeth Hawkins Smith were middle-aged parents of six children. The oldest, James Washing-ton, was nineteen; the youngest, Jasper Newton, was ten. Although it would not have been out of the ordinary for such a large family to occupy what, by modern standards, is a small house, it is likely that the entire family occupied the house for only a short period of time. At least by 1850, only the two youngest children, Adeline Elizabeth and Jasper Newton, remained as the older children married and moved away from home.

Luceller Smith and Wesley Collier

In October 1847, Luceller Minerva Smith, the Smiths eldest daughter, then barely sixteen years old, married Wesley Grey Collier (1824-1906), son of one of the Smiths' neighbors further down Peachtree Creek in what would become Fulton County. Wesley's parents, Meredith Collier and Elizabeth Grey, had been born in Randolph County, North Carolina, in the central Piedmont, in the 1780s. Following their marriage in 1806, they had moved into Jackson County, Georgia, and, after 1818, into Gwinnett County. From there, the Colliers had moved to DeKalb County, perhaps even before its formal organization in 1822, and settled along Peachtree and Clear Creeks in Land Lot 105. In marrying Wesley Collier, Luceller united the Smiths with one of the area's most prominent pioneer families and one that was typically large. Meredith and Elizabeth Collier had fourteen children before his death in 1863, and they and their descendants appear repeatedly through the annals of local history. In the 1830s, Collier was postmaster at one of the county's earliest post offices out of his own house on Clear Creek.

Three of Meredith's sons—George Washington, Andrew Jackson, and Wesley Grey—bought additional property along Peachtree Road so that, by the time of the Civil War, Colliers owned most of the frontage along Peachtree Road from present-day Fifteenth Street to West Wesley Road. In addition to owning the land lot on which Ansley Park and Sherwood Forest would be developed, George Washington Collier was Atlanta's first postmaster and bought property at Five Points as early as 1845. As the city grew, he made considerable profits from the sale and development of real estate in the last half of the nineteenth century, although, as was typical, it would be his descendants in the twentieth century who would reap the real fortunes.

Like the Smiths and the vast majority of his neighbors, Wesley Collier's principal occupation was

farming, although he is listed as being a "gunman" in the 1850 census. The Collier's farm consisted of over six hundred acres that fronted the west side of Peachtree Road for a mile and a quarter north of Peachtree Creek and included all of Land Lot 111 north of the creek as well as Land Lot 112 and 113. When Habersham Road was laid out in the early twentieth century, it bisected the old Collier farm and West Wesley Road, which follows the land lot line between Land Lot 112 and 113, was named in honor of Wesley Col-lier. The Colliers' house, which they may have built about 1850, stood on the west side of Peachtree Road north of Muscogee Avenue and near the center of their large farm. [57]

Martha Smith and Michael Steele

In January 1850, two more of Robert and Elizabeth Smith's children, Martha Lucinda and William Benjamin, married. The first was Martha, who married Michael Steele (1821–1907), the son of another notable DeKalb County pioneer Isaac Steele. The elder Steele (1786–1865) was born in the Pendleton District of upstate South Carolina but moved to DeKalb County in the late 1820s where he settled on Land Lots 107 and 108, south of what is now Lavista Road between Briarcliff and Cheshire Bridge Roads. Although the exact location of their dwelling is not known, Isaac and his wife Cynthia had ten children, three of whom died very young and were buried in the family cemetery near where the railroad now crosses Cheshire Bridge Road. They were among the Smiths closest neighbors and, as with the Colliers, it is not surprising that their children married one another. [58]

A week after Martha's marriage, Robert Hiram Smith bought the east half of Land Lot 101, 18th District, DeKalb County, and sold it to Michael Steele. Located about three miles east of the Smiths, the Steele farm lay along the South Fork of Peachtree Creek northwest of the Lawrenceville Road and just southwest of today's North DeKalb Mall. The property included an additional ten acres off Land Lot 62, which adjoined Land Lot 101 to the south and which may already have had a house on it. In 1854, Robert Smith sold his son-in-law the west half of Land Lot 101 and the following year Steele bought the north half of Land Lot 102 as well. [59]

Although he is always listed in the census as being a farmer, Michael Steele is reported to have begun his working career with William Wadsworth, the Decatur tinsmith, about 1841. For the next six years, he drove a "two-horse wagon" over the state, selling tinware from Wadsworth's shop. He is also reported to have been a carpenter and to have operated one of the county's many steam-powered sawmills of the 1850s. Martha and Michael Steele's house, now known as the Steele-Cobb House and located at 2632 Fox Hills Drive in Decatur, is listed in the National Register of Historic Places in spite of being heavily damaged by fire in the early 1960s. [60]

William B Smith and Ava Paty

On 24 January 1850, two weeks after Martha's marriage, Wesley Collier's brother Edwin, justice of the peace, performed the wedding of the Smith's second-born son William Benjamin, who had probably been the first of his siblings to move to DeKalb County when he came to stay with his grandparents in the early 1840s. His bride was Ava E. Paty (1830–after 1870) or Patey, as the name is listed in DeKalb County marriage records. She was probably the daughter of Miles Paty (1806–1836), a brother-in-law of DeKalb County pioneer Meredith Collier, and granddaughter of Elijah Paty (1775–1849), who is listed next door to Robert Smith in the 1830 DeKalb County census. In 1834 Elijah Paty sold pioneer Samuel Walker most of the land now encompassed by Piedmont Park and moved to Cherokee County, Alabama. [61]

In 1850 the only Patys to be enumerated in the DeKalb County census were Miles' two teenaged girls, Nancy and Georgia Ann Paty, who were recorded in the 1850 census with John N. Bellinger, the well-known lawyer who helped appraise Robert Smith's estate in 1846. The newlyweds William Benjamin and Ava Paty Smith were living next door to Bellinger, but sometime after the birth of their second child in 1852, they moved to Cherokee County, Alabama, where they both died and are buried.

With William Benjamin's marriage, Robert and Elizabeth Smith were probably left with only their two youngest children, teenagers Adeline and Jasper, at home. Their oldest son, James Washington, was already grown, though not yet married in 1850, and was working as a clerk and, perhaps, reading law in Rome, Georgia. He was living with his uncle William R. Smith's step-son James P. Perkins.

Adeline Smith and Robert O. Medlock

On 31 July 1856, Adeline Elizabeth, the Smith's youngest daughter, married Robert O. Medlock (1832–1923), quite likely in a ceremony in her parents' home. He was the son of John Williams Medlock (1803–1882), whose father, Isham Medlock (1777–1852), had been among the first pioneers in Gwinnett County in 1818. John Medlock and his wife Sarah Jemison Ware moved their young family into DeKalb County in the 1840s, establishing a farm in Land Lot 48, 17th District, of what would become Fulton County. Medlock, while mainly a farmer, also owned a store at 22 Peachtree Street that was operated by his nephew. The Medlocks' house, where he and his wife raised a family of thirteen children, stood near the present intersection of Ponce de Leon Avenue and Monroe Drive; their 202½-acre farm lay along the upper reaches of Clear Creek and included the present sites of City Hall East, Grady High School, Ponce Square, and much of the eastern side of the Midtown neighborhood. After the Civil War. [62]

Robert and Adeline Smith Medlock established their homestead in Gwinnett County where his grandfather had recently died but where numerous Medlock relatives were still living. They lived on what is now Holcomb Bridge Road about two miles west of Norcross but apparently owned more than one farm along the Chattahoochee River, land which his sons grew up to farm as well. One of Robert and Adeline's sons, William Oliver Medlock (1866–1934), also operated Medlock's Ferry, and the present Medlock Bridge Road honors the family name. Many of the Medlock family, including Adeline and Robert, are buried in the Kirkland family cemetery on Holcomb Bridge Road. [63]

James Washington Smith and Emily Harriet Wynn

Born in North Carolina about the time his grandfather and uncles were moving to DeKalb County, the Smith's eldest child and Tullie's great-grandfather, James Washington Smith, was the last to marry. In 1850, as noted earlier, he was living in Rome with his uncle William's stepson and was working as a "clerk," probably in his uncle's "Continental Shop," which appears to have sold imported dry goods.

Considering the Smith family's other educational attainments and his father's resources, it would not be surprising for James Washington Smith to have received some sort of higher education, although none has been documented. His occupational listing as "clerk" in the 1850 census may mean that he was reading law, although again that cannot be substantiated. He must have been successful in whatever he was doing since he seems to have acquired substantial property more quickly than most young men.

By the mid-1850s, James was back in DeKalb County, and may have been contemplating marriage when, in September 1856, he paid his father $3,000 for Land Lots 4 and 50 just across the county line in newly created Fulton County. The purchase price indicates that the property had already been improved, probably with a house, thought to have been of log construction, located near the present railroad overpass on Cheshire Bridge Road. It is even possible that a house was there as early as the 1830s, since both land lots are traversed by Cheshire Bridge Road, one of the area's earliest roads. James' uncle William R. Smith may have owned Land Lot 4 as early as the 1820s, although he is thought to have lived in Decatur at that time. [64]

On 8 January 1857, the anniversary of his sister's marriage in 1850, James Washington Smith married Emily Harriet Wynne (1830–1883), probably at her mother's house in Gwinnett County. Her father, Thomas Wynne (1778–1838), who had died in 1838, was born in Virginia before moving to Greenville County, South Carolina, before the War of 1812. There he married Mary Prince Benson

(1796–1866), with whom he had seven children before moving to Gwinnett County and buying land in what is now Lilburn, not far from the Smiths' "Shambly Old Place" property on Pleasant Hill Road. They had seven more children after moving to Gwinnett County, including their tenth child, Emily Harriet, who was born 2 September 1830. [65]

On 2 December 1857, James and Emily Smith's first child was born. Named William Berry Smith (1857–1924), he was the first of seven children born at the Smiths' home on Cheshire Bridge Road. Listed as a farmer in the 1860 census, James Washington Smith, who at times went by his middle name, bought additional property in the vicinity of his Cheshire Bridge land and elsewhere in Fulton County over the next fifteen years, including 80 acres in Land Lot 5, which adjoined his farm on the north, and 25 acres a mile or so to the north of that in Land Lot 8.

Jasper Newton Smith

The Smiths' youngest son, Jasper Newton Smith, apparently never married and remained at home with his parents until beginning his own career as a farmer when he was in his early twenties. In October 1857, he paid Isaac Steele $2,250 for Land Lot 107, which adjoined Land Lot 4 on the east, and sixty acres off the south side of Land Lot 108, all in DeKalb County. Steele bought the property in the 1820s and was thus an early neighbor of Robert Smith, but he was moving on to Mississippi, probably following some of his children who were seeking more and better land on which to start their own farms. About the same time, Jasper Smith's older brother William Benjamin was also pulling up stakes in DeKalb County and moving to Cherokee County, Alabama, illustrating again the insatiable quest for fresh lands that drove settlement westward throughout the nineteenth century. [66]

Jasper's new farm, which lay between his father's farm on Powers Ferry Road and his brother James' farm on Cheshire Bridge Road, ran between Paces Ferry Road from Decatur (now part of LaVista Road) and Peachtree Creek just west of Durand's Mill and what is now Briarcliff Road. He probably moved into Steele's old house, the location of which has not been documented, and continued to cultivate his fields and, perhaps, make his own improvements. In January of 1858, Jasper bought 25 acres in the southeast corner of his brother James' property in Land Lot 4, which included at least part of a peach orchard. Probably planted on the hillside above the creek, the orchard is another indication that Land Lot 4 had already been improved before James and Jasper Smith began working the land in the late 1850s. [67]

So, by 1860, Robert Hiram and Elizabeth Smith had seen all of their children grown and, if not married, supporting themselves. They now occupied the house alone, except for one Eliza Kenada, a middle-aged white woman about whom nothing is known. The farm was in full operation, even though production was down somewhat from 1850, and they still owned eleven slaves. For them and the rest of the South, however, the world was about to be turned upside down.

Notes

1. See David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989) for a comprehensive overview of colonial immigration.

2. Roy Brooks, *Bridges to The Past, Vol. 1* (Forrest City, NC, 1976), 171.

3. Scotch-Irish Society of America, *Proceedings and Addresses of the Fourth Congress at Atlanta, April 28 to May 1, 1892* (Nashville: Methodist Episcopal Church South, 1892), 126.

4. See James G. Leyburn, *The Scotch Irish: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962) for most of the supporting material on the Scots-Irish. See also F. A. Sondley, *A History of Buncombe County, North Carolina* (Spartanburg: The Reprint Company, 1977).

5. Leyburn, *The Scotch-Irish*, 162, 183.

6. R. I. Dickson, *Ulster Emigration to Colonial America, 1718–1775* (Belfast UK: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1966, fourth printing 2001).

7. Dickson, *Ulster Emigration,* 199.

8. Dickson, *Ulster Emigration*, 215. In the eighteenth century, the "Irish" in the colonies were overwhelmingly Protestant immigrants from Ulster. The massive immigration of Catholic Irish in the mid-nineteenth century redefined who comprised the Irish

and gave rise to the distinguishing term"Scots-Irish."

9. Sondley, *Buncombe County*, 370-71.

10. Benjamin Hawkins, Tullie's second great-grandfather, thus, appears in the 1790 census of Rutherford County and in 1800 in Buncombe County, without having moved. In 1845, the eastern part of Rutherford, including most of the watershed of the First Broad River, was incorporated with the western part of Lincoln County to form the new Cleveland County.

11. Rutherford County, NC, Will Book C, 12, records John Smith's will; Will Book C, 36, records the will of his son Robert Smith; and grave markers at Rock Spring Presbyterian Church in Fulton County, Georgia, prove Tullie's ancestry to Rutherford County.12. The age range given for John Smith in the 1790 and 1800 census is approximate. The 1830 and 1840 censuses put his son Robert's birth at 1760–1770, and John Smith would likely have been at least twenty at that time. In addition, his death date of 1814 makes a much earlier birth date less likely, although it is certainly possible that he died a very old man.

13. Rutherford Deed Book A-D, 22, 241, 426, and 479.14. Note that James Medlock appears in the 1790 census of Rutherford County, North Carolina, as do Willis, Suttles, Hildebrand and other names significant to the early settlement of DeKalb and Fulton Counties in Georgia.

15. The names of John Smith's children are shown in documents related to the death of James Smith's widow in the 1850s in Cleveland County, Tennessee, probate records. 16.

17. Rutherford County Will Book C, 12.

18. His marriage in 1789 is recorded, suggesting that he was at least 19 or 20. The census implies a birth date between 1761 and 1770.

19. Brent Holcomb, *Marriages of Rutherford County, North Carolina, 1779-1868* (Baltimore, 1986), 138; Brooks, Bridges to the Past, 171–72.

20. Rutherford County Deed Book 35, 101. Robert Smith Paden stated in his oral interview in 1970 that Robert Smith was "from Black Mountain which is beyond Asheville," although all sources put Robert Smith in Rutherford County at the time he moved to Georgia.

21. Glenda Major, *Paid in Kind* (LaGrange, 1989), 6–8.

22.Scots-Irish Society, *Proceedings,* 132.23. The assumption of illiteracy is based only upon the lack of a signature on his will.

24. Rutherford County Deed Book 39–40, 219.

25. Franklin M. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of its People and Events*. Vol. 1 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1969 reprint of 1954 edition) 171; 1850 DeKalb County census, Stone's District, #105.

26. 1850 DeKalb County census, Stone Mountain District, # 39.

27.Kenneth Coleman and Charles Gurr, *Dictionary of Georgia Biography, Vol. 2,* 894–895.

28. Levi Willard, "Early History of Decatur Written Many Years Ago," *Dekalb New Era,* 20 December 1920, 28.

29. Ibid.

30. DeKalb County Inferior Court, Minute Book A, 92–93, 110, 117, 301.

31. Willard, "Early History," 28–29.

32. Floyd County Deed Book A, 191, 320–22.

33. Phinizy Spalding, *Georgia: The WPA Guide to Its Towns and Countryside* (University of South Carolina, 1990 reissue of 1940 edition.), 444; DeKalb Deed Book L, 40, and Book H, 201, probably record Smith's departure from the county.

34.George Magruder Battey, *A History of Rome and Floyd County. Vol. 1.* (Atlanta: The Webb and Vary Company, 1922), 147; Battey's story about a locomotive named the "William R. Smith" being involved in the "Great Locomotive Chase" of 1862 is apocryphal, according to other sources. Roger Aycock, *All Roads Lead to Rome* (Rome: Rome Heritage Foundation, 1981), 52–53, 64.

35. DeKalb Deed Book L, 40 and 475; H, 437 and 589; Book P, 206, 219–220.

36. 1850 Floyd County Slave Census, Subdivision #30; 1840 DeKalb County census, 28; 1850 Floyd County Census, Rome District, #486. Floyd Deed Book P, 154, names Perkins as William R. Smith's step-son.

37. 1860 Floyd County census, Rome District, 81, dwelling #535.

38. Calvin Weaver, "One Hundred Years of Medicine in DeKalb County" (unpublished MSS at DeKalb Historical Society, 1952), 71.

39. Rutherford Deed Book 37, 79, gives DeKalb County as the residence of William R. and Nathaniel N. Smith in July 1827. Willard, "Early History," 30; DeKalb Deed Book H, 102, 157.

40. Calvin Weaver, "One Hundred Years of Medicine in DeKalb County" (unpublished MSS at DeKalb Historical Society), 71; DeKalb County Inferior Court, Minute Book A, 118.

41.Family Tree Publications, *Troup County, Georgia, and Her People, Vol. 2,* #1 (LaGrange: Family Tree Publications, 1982), 8.

42. Major, *Paid in Kind* , 6–7; for birth and death dates see Forrest Clark Johnson, *Memories in Marble: Hill View and Hill View Annex Cemeteries* (LaGrange, Georgia. Sutherland-St. Dunston Publications, 1993), 38.

43. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs, Vol. 1*, 57.

44.Willard, "Early History," 19; Battey, *History of Rome,* 15, and Rebecca Latimer Felton, *Country Life*

in Georgia, both of whom commented on this event. Robert Smith is mentioned in Minutes of DeKalb Inferior Court, Book A, 115.45. In his will, Robert Smith leaves a bequest to William Benjamin Smith, conditional on the boy's continuing to live with him until his death.

46.DeKalb County Deed Book L, 40–41.47. DeKalb County Marriages, 1840–1848, #125.

48. Robert's will was not indexed or recorded in the DeKalb County will books, although its existence is mentioned in other indexed and recorded documents related to the settlement of his estate. In the 1980s, Mary Gene Elliot discovered the will filed in miscellaneous papers of the DeKalb County Probate Court.

49. DeKalb Inventory and Appraisals, Book A, 45, 95.

50. Deeds were often executed and witnessed without the document being formally recorded at the courthouse until much later, sometimes many years later. Although easier to challenge until formally recorded, deeds were considered in force from the moment they were signed and witnessed. Note that Cleveland County was created out of the eastern side of Rutherford County in the early 1840s and included part of the First Broad River watershed. It is possible that James Smith was still living on part of his father John Smith's old lands from the 1780s.

51. Robert Hiram Smith's gravestone at Rock Spring Church gives the date and place of his birth.

52. No marriage record has been located but Elizabeth Hawkins Smith's obituary states that they were married in 1825. Robert Hiram Smith's will in 1875 implies a marriage date of 1832 but that cannot be right since their first child was born in 1827. Most likely, the will was drafted some years earlier and the discrepancy in the dates was overlooked when the will was finally signed and witnessed in 1875. See Rutherford Deed Book 37, 79.

53. Names of Robert's children are proved through his will and various deed records. The graves of James Washington and Martha Lucinda have been located; Adeline's tombstone does not contain exact dates; and Jasper Newton's birth date is extrapolated from his muster-in roll card, which gave his age in August 1861 as "25.7" years, suggesting a birth date of January 1836. The Federal census consistently shows all of Robert Hiram Smith's children having been born in North Carolina.

54. DeKalb County Deed Book H, 437.

55. DeKalb County Deed Book H, 524.

56. The deed for Land Lot 50 was recorded in DeKalb County on November 25, 1845.

57. It is not certain what was meant by the listing in the census of his occupation as "gunman," but most likely he repaired or made guns. See Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs, Vol. 2*, 563; obituary of Wesley G. Collier, *Atlanta Constitution*, 2 March 1906, 5.

58. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs, Vol. 1*, 133; Franklin Garrett "Atlanta Necrology," Atlanta History Center.

59. DeKalb Deed Book O, 92–93; plat of Michael Steel estate in Plat Book 3-I, 325.60. Carl T. Hudgins, "Mills and Other DeKalb County Industries and Their Owners," paper presented at DeKalb County Historical Society in 1951, 9, 16.

61. Many names were spelled phonetically, so that Paty could quite easily be recorded as "Baty" or "Batey," both of which are in the 1850 DeKalb County census near the Smiths. In some cases, too, different branches of the same family, with varying degrees of literacy, might evolve totally different spellings of the same name, as happened with the local Eidson family, one branch of which now spells its name "Hitson" and another "Itson." Thus, the David Baty, born in North Carolina in the 1770s, who is recorded near Robert Hiram Smith in the 1850 census, may have been a relative of Ava as well.

62. For more detail on the Medlocks, see Alice S. McCabe, *Gwinnett County Families, 1818–1968* (Gwinnett Historical Society, 1988), 341–344; DeKalb County, 1850 census, Atlanta District, #410.; Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, Vol. I, 881–83.

63. McCabe, *Gwinnett County,* 342.

64. Fulton County Deed Book C, 391; Andrew Sparks, "Oldest House Comes to Town," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine*, 9 November 1969, 22.

65. Thomas Wynne was born Sussex Co., VA. Elisha Winn, whose house is now operated by the Gwinnett Historical Society as a house museum, was born in Lunenberg Co., VA, just east of Sussex Co. The different spellings of the same phonetics (as in Eidson/Hitson/Itson noted above), may obscure a relationship between the two families. The house Thomas Wynne built is still standing in Lilburn and has been listed on the National Register of Historic Places. See McCabe *Gwinnett County Families,* 557–560; 1850 census, Gwinnett County, Berkshire District, #98.

66. DeKalb County Deed Book O, 284.

67. Fulton County Deed Book C, 512.

II. Antebellum Life

Like the area west of the Catawba River in North Carolina in the eighteenth century, the region along the Chattahoochee River through the upper Piedmont of Georgia, including what would become the City of Atlanta, was at the edge of the frontier and only sparsely inhabited in the early nineteenth century. The Chattahoochee was the boundary between the Cherokee and Creek lands and there were not here the broad river bottoms that attracted the larger Indian settlements such as at Etowah, Ocmulgee, and elsewhere. There were, however, Creek villages on the Chattahoochee River, with Standing Peachtree and Buzzard's Roost being among the best known around what is now the City of Atlanta. Smaller villages may have also been located along the larger streams, including one noted by Walter G. Cooper in his history of Fulton County between the forks of Peachtree Creek, very near where the Smiths later settled. [1] The absence of large Indian settlements in the area accelerated white settlement of old Indian hunting lands, which the settlers viewed as not being used, and made squatters a particular problem even before the Creek Nation had made its formal cession.

In 1817, the Creeks ceded their claim to lands north of the Hightower Trail (approximate present eastern boundary of DeKalb County), out of which the state organized Gwinnett, Hall, Walton, and Habersham counties in 1818. By the time the United States census was taken in 1820, Gwinnett County already had a population of over 4,000, including a number of settlers who would soon pioneer DeKalb County. Meredith Collier, John Evans, Benjamin Plaster, Isham Medlock, and Tullie's maternal great-grandfather Abraham Chandler were just a few of the pioneers who were pressing the frontier in Gwinnett County in 1820 and would soon move on to DeKalb County where their lives would intertwine with the Smiths. In 1821, the Treaty of Indian Springs in 1821 gained the State some 4.3 million acres of Creek territory, including the future site of Atlanta. The land was surveyed and platted into districts and land lots in the summer and fall of 1821 and distributed by lottery in December 1821.

Dekalb County

In December 1822, with several thousand pioneers already in residence, including some of Tullie Smith's ancestors, the state organized a new county from the northern portions of one of the original 1821 counties. Called DeKalb in honor of Revolutionary War hero Baron Johann De Kalb, who had died at the Battle of Camden in 1780, the new county encompassed all of what is now the City of Atlanta.

By the summer of 1823, the justices of the county's inferior court had laid out the county seat in Land Lot 246 of the 15th District, around where two ancient Indian trails crossed paths on the Eastern Continental Divide, and a log courthouse was under construction. [2] The new town was named Decatur, in honor of Commodore Stephen Decatur (1779–1820), a hero in naval battles during the Barbary War and the War of 1812. In February 1825, the county's first post office was established at Standing Peachtree; not until May 1826 was a post office established in Decatur. When the Rev. Adiel Sherwood published the first edition of his famous Gazetteer of Georgia in 1827, he reported that Decatur "contains C[ourt] House, Jail, Academy, & 40 houses, stores, &c. Many bldgs are now erecting and it bids fair to be a large town." The population of the county, which encompassed

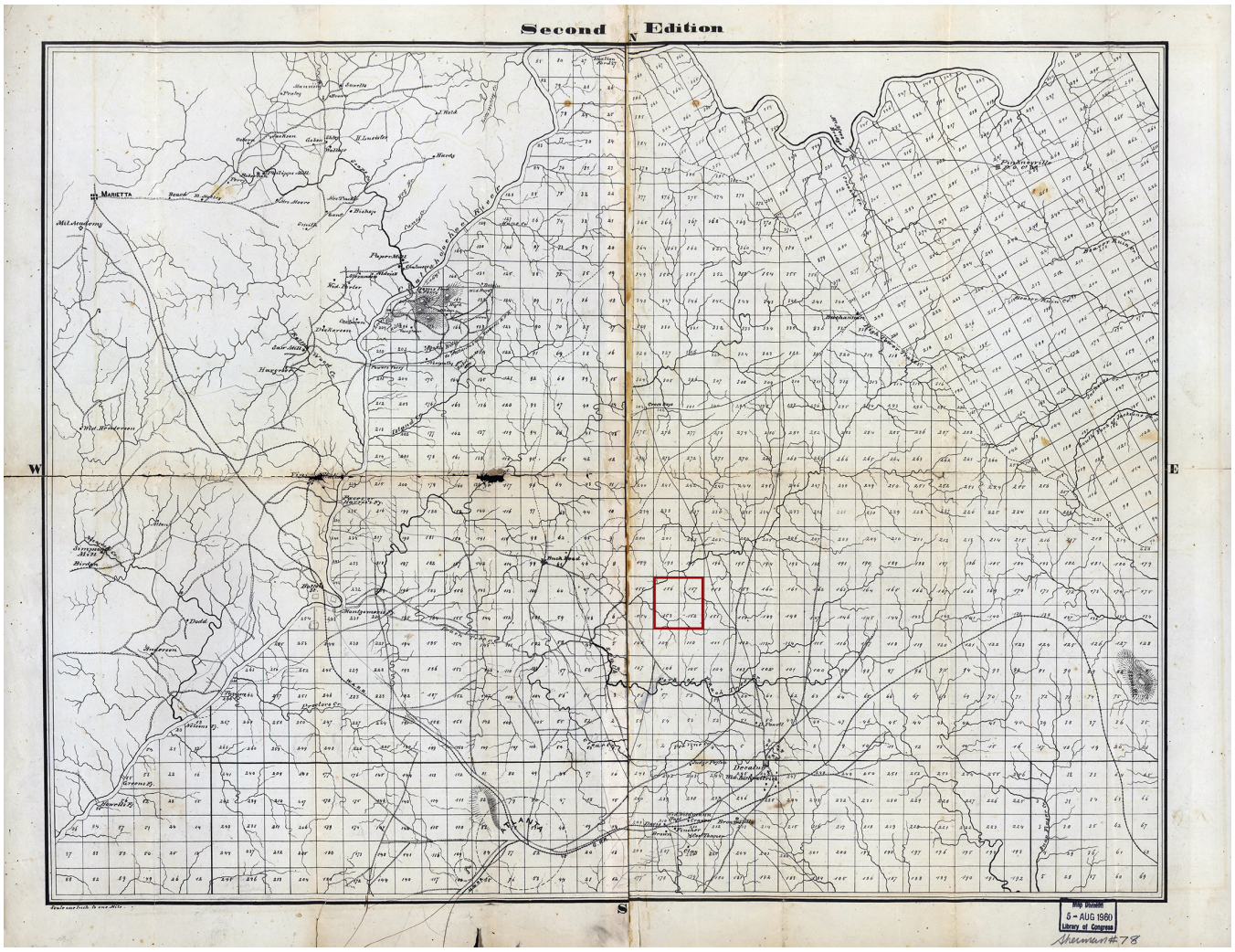

Figure 7. A land-lot map of the area comprising the northern portion of the original DeKalb County, annotated in red to locate the Smiths' four land lots. The diagonal land-lot lines at upper right in this image were drawn after the 1818 Creek cession; the land-lot lines oriented to the cardinal points were drawn after the 1821 Creek cession. (Library of Congress Geography and Map Division)

most of present-day DeKalb County as well as central Fulton County and the City of Atlanta, was 3,569.

Early Roads

During the War of 1812, the Georgia frontier was roiled by attacks from a faction of the Creek Nation allied with Great Britain, which led the army to rebuild an old fort at Hog Mountain in northeastern Gwinnett County, then the westernmost point in the state, and to build a new log fort at "the Standing Peachtree" on the Chattahoochee River at the mouth of Peachtree Creek. Connecting the forts, the Army created a wagon road along the trace of old Indian trails, which was completed in early 1814 and called, from the beginning, "Peachtree Road." In the years after the War of 1812, Peachtree Road and its connections to the river crossings on the upper Savannah River in Franklin County was the route followed by many migrants from the Carolinas into the Georgia Piedmont and DeKalb County.

With the influx of white settlers, new roads were developed, many in an ad hoc way to satisfy purely local needs. Other roads, between more important destinations, were formally authorized by the justices of the county inferior court, who had most of the responsibilities now associated with the modern county commissioners, including authorizing county-maintained roads and bridges. At its first

meeting in May 1823, the court ordered "that the road leading from standing peachtree to . . . hog mountain road be a public road and that the same be kept and put in repair." [3]

A number of new roads were authorized to connect Decatur with neighboring county seats and with important ferries and fords. The Shallow Ford Road, as it was generally called, was one of the first of these new county roads, connecting Decatur with Shallow Ford, an important river crossing into the Cherokee country near present-day Roswell.

Two months later, the court ordered construction of a public road from Decatur to Standing Peachtree. As with many other early roads, a large part of what became known as Montgomery Ferry Road incorporated much of the ancient Indian trail between Decatur and Standing Peachtree. Roads from Decatur to surrounding county seats at Lawrenceville, Covington, McDonough, Fayetteville, and Newnan were also authorized by the court, but such was the clamor for other roads, the court empaneled citizens to review requests for new roads and present them to the court for final approval. At the July term in 1823, the court found that "good roads tend greatly to facilitate the community at large and promote the interest of the public generally" and generally granted petitions of new roads "so far as appears reasonable [and] found to be of public utility." Without the imprimatur of the county court, a road would be designated a "settlement road," maintained, if at all, by those who used it, with no help from the county.

Peachtree Road and all of the other roads in the area were rudimentary at best in the 1820s. James Stuart, traveling in north Georgia in the early 1830s, noted that "[a] great part of the road for some days past has been a mere track in the forest, in which many of the stumps of the trees still remain." [4] Another traveler observed that the road on which he had just traveled was

> *the worst we had ever yet traveled over, it being formed apparently by the mere removal of the requisite number of trees to open a path through the forest, and then left without any kind of labour being employed, either to make the road solid in the first instance, or to keep it in repair. [5]*

Complaints regarding poor road conditions remained common in DeKalb County Inferior Court records throughout the antebellum period. Outside cities and towns, roads would remain in generally poor condition well into the twentieth century.

One of the first ferries in the county was established near Shallow Ford in 1824. Its proprietor, Jacob Brooks, ran the following ad for the new ferry in newspapers in Milledgeville, Augusta, Columbia, and Raleigh that year:

> *The subscriber has established a Ferry across this river at the place commonly known as the Shallowford in the upper part of DeKalb County. Travelers from the Carolinas to the Alabama, coming by way of Augusta, Madison, Rockbridge, etc., will find this much the nearest and best route. Bridges will be placed over the water courses beyond the ferry.* [6]

The route of the Shallow Ford Road from Decatur approximated the present route of Clairmont Road to Oak Grove Road to modern Shallowford Road.

Another early road, authorized by the county in 1825, ran between Decatur and Standing Peachtree, nine miles west of Decatur. With the Shallowford crossing, the crossing near Standing Peachtree was one of the most important in the area and, likewise, was soon served by a ferry, operated by James McConnell Montgomery. It left the Shallowford Road a mile or two north of Decatur and survives generally in the existing routes of North Decatur Road, Rock Springs Road and the small remnant called Montgomery Ferry Road that runs through Ansley Park. West of Peachtree Street, the present DeFoor's Ferry Road, named for a subsequent ferry operator at Standing Peachtree, continues the route of the old Montgomery Ferry Road. [7]

Many other ferries came and went in the intense competition to provide the best route into the Cherokee Nation in the 1820s and 1830s. The ferry established by Hardy Pace (1785-1864) in the early 1830s was one of the best known of these and led to creation of a road between it and Decatur, which was certainly in existence by 1835. It branched off the old Montgomery Ferry road (now North Decatur Road) and, following the present routes

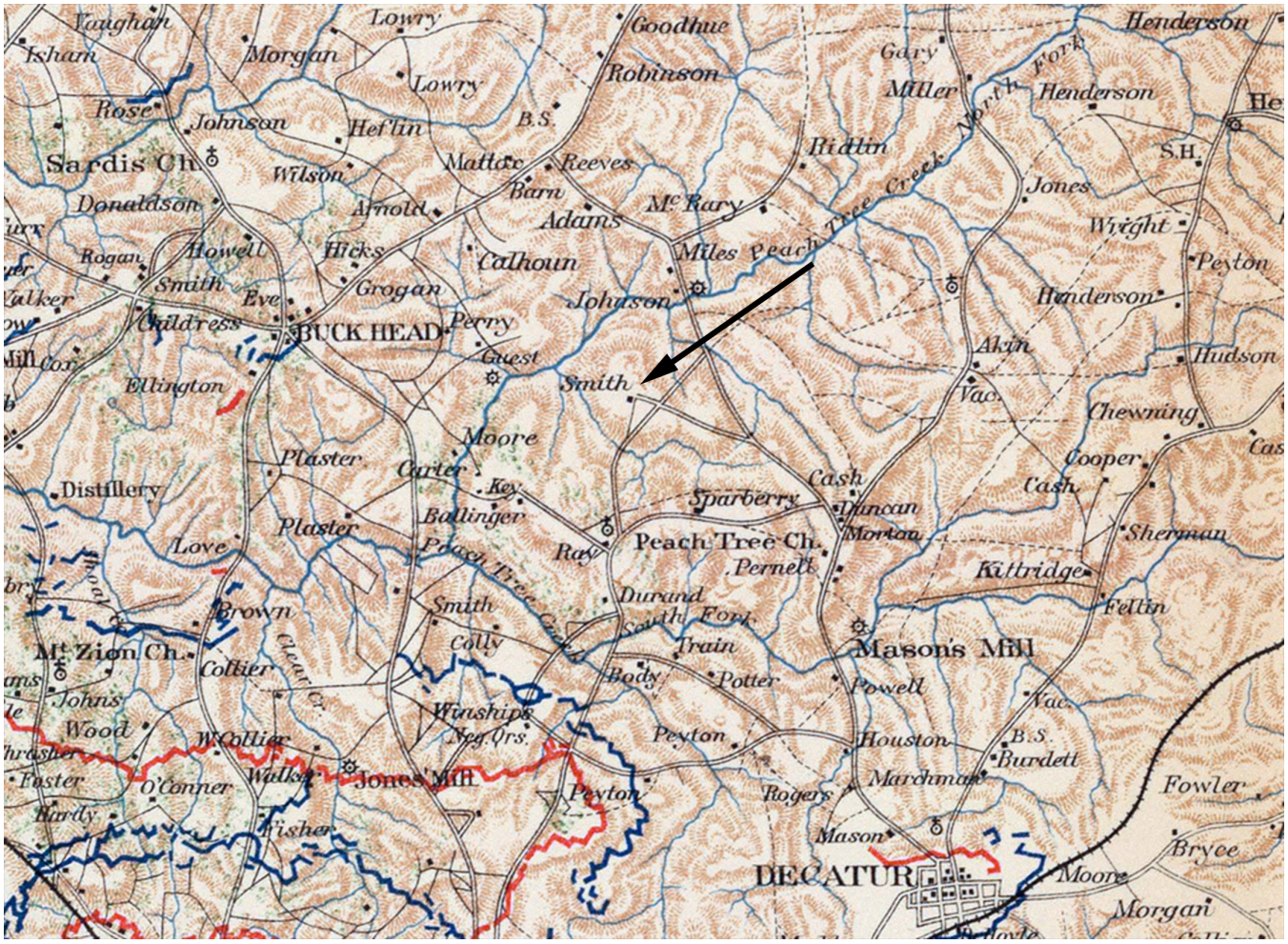

Figure 8. Detail from Plate LX of the Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, depicting the Smiths' neighborhood between Decatur and Buckhead, annotated with an arrow to locate the Smiths' house on the old Powers Ferry Road, now North Druid Hills Road. (Library of Congress Geography and Map Division)

of Haygood Road, Clifton Road, Briarcliff Road, and Shepherd's Lane to Lavista Road, crossed Peachtree Creek somewhere near the present Lindbergh Drive bridge. From there it continued northwest toward Buckhead, with the present Old Decatur Road south of Buckhead Avenue marking part of the original route of this early road. [8]

Between Montgomery Ferry and Paces Ferry Roads lay Land Lot 4, 17th District of what is now Fulton County, the lot which William R. Smith gave to his youngest brother, Robert Hiram Smith, in 1842 but that he himself may have actually purchased as early as the 1820s. The land lot was subsequently conveyed to Robert's eldest son, James Washington Smith, and parts of it remained in the Smith family into the twentieth century.

In March 1828, the Inferior Court authorized a road "from the three mile post leading from Decatur towards Peachtree to Peachtree at or near James Hooper's on said Peachtree Road." This was probably the genesis of the road that traversed the northeastern part of the Smith's farm and was described in 1833 as crossing Peachtree Creek "at Johnston's mill." [9] The mill lay in Land Lot 197, adjacent to the Smith's lands in Land Lot 157, and the road was an important connection between Decatur and Cross Keys in the vicinity of present-day Brookhaven. The historic route of this road generally followed that of what is now North Druid Hills Road north of LaVista to Mt. Moriah Road. Now dead-ended and surrounded by residential and commercial development, Mt. Moriah Road is a tiny, one-lane fragment of the old road

to Johnston's Mill that, more than any of the others now in existence in the vicinity of the site of the Smiths' house, still offers a feeble glimpse of the narrow country roads of nineteenth century DeKalb County. From there, the road followed the route of modern Cliff Valley Way on the south side of I-85 and, on the north, Old Briarwood Road, Briarwood Road, and the last few blocks of North Druid Hills Road at Peachtree.

In July 1832, a road to James Power's new ferry across the Chattahoochee was authorized by the county court and, although the authorized segment simply connected the ferry with Mt. Vernon Highway, an extension of the Powers Ferry road to Decatur must have been in use about that time, if not before. [10] Powers Ferry Road, whose southern length was renamed North Druid Hills Road in the twentieth century, followed generally the modern routes of North Druid Hills Road west of Mt. Moriah Road to Roxboro Road, Wieuca Road, and the present Powers Ferry Road at Roswell Road. It was this road upon which the Tullie Smith house was built.

As noted earlier, the route of the road through Land Lot 156 varied somewhat over the years. Aside from citizens' apparent lack of willingness to work on the roads, road building in DeKalb County was hampered by the topography which necessitated fording or bridging several major creeks, especially the two branches of Peachtree Creek. Wooden bridges tended to be rather short-lived if left uncovered, and the actual point of crossing shifted back and forth within a general area as each new bridge was built.

The early crossings of both forks of Peachtree Creek in the vicinity of the Smiths' property changed several times, even before the Civil War, and are difficult to trace today. The earliest route of what is now North Druid Hills Road seems to have crossed the creek about two-tenths of a mile upstream of its modern crossing, where James Guess built a bridge in 1835. By the 1840s, the route had been shifted south to its approximate location today. In the late nineteenth century, the route shifted back to the north about two hundred yards after Guess' mill, located just downstream, repeatedly flooded the old road. Highway improvements after World War II brought the road back closer to what it had been when Robert H. Smith built his house in the 1840s.

It appears that the Powers Ferry Road bridge that Guess built in the 1830s was no longer in existence in the 1850s and, as a result, the road was not always open. In 1857, Robert H. Smith and others of his neighbors were appointed to review the roads in the area. Their report back to the Inferior Court complained about the state of Powers Ferry Road: "There is no trail and in fact cannot be as James Guess' mill dam &c. has entirely stopped up the ford." [11] The condition may not have been corrected until after the Civil War since maps made of the Atlanta campaign show Powers Ferry Road at a dead end at the Smith's house. [12]

When the Smiths came to DeKalb County in the 1820s, travel was slow, difficult, mostly on foot, and over roads that were little more than footpaths through the wilderness. While these "roads" were eventually improved to the point that they could be used as wagon roads, most of them remained in poor condition until at least the late nineteenth century.

In spite of their generally poor condition, roads were extremely important in the antebellum South and not just as a means for transportation. To live on a well- traveled public road, or later a railroad line, was considered a great thing not only for convenience but also for the chance of social interaction, at least until fears of abolitionists in their midst made Southerners more wary of strangers in the 1850s. As John Stilgoe notes,

> *Southerners treated their roads as extensions of church, courthouse, and store, seeing in them the potential for excitement that northern city dwellers found in streets. Strangers, especially Europeans and "Yankees," failed to understand the extraordinary importance of the road in southern culture because they searched for the towns or hamlets so uncommon south of Pennsylvannia and ignored the roads and waterways that substituted for towns.* [13]

For that reason, antebellum houses were almost always built within sight of the road, if not actually within a very few feet of it, and so it was with the

Smith house. And while Powers Ferry Road was not always open, Johnstons Mill Road and Durand or Williams Mill Road, after 1850, both of which passed through their farm, were important local roads even if they were not comparable to the main thoroughfares such as Peachtree Road or the roads that led from Decatur to adjacent county seats.

Landscape

Progress was slow as the pioneers cleared their lands, first for a home site and then, as labor and circumstances permitted, additional fields for planting. As elsewhere, the pioneers in DeKalb County of the 1820s and 1830s needed cleared land quickly upon which to plant crops, and the most popular technique for clearing was simply to girdle the bark of the tree and let it die in place. In spite of the hazards created by falling branches from the dead trees, and the general ugliness of the landscape that resulted, the technique was widespread, especially until sawmills and a higher demand for sawn lumber was created as the region became more settled. [14]

James Silk Buckhingham's description of the countryside in Franklin County in 1838 could easily describe that in DeKalb County during the same period:

> *Our road lay, as usual, through the thickly-wooded forests, with which all parts of this country are covered, save the few cleared patches of cultivation that are seen at long and distant intervals. Instead of the endless pine-trees of the low-country, however, we had here a great variety of wood, and the roads being hilly . . . presented fine masses of vegetation in a great variety of shades of green. The population was so scanty, that for the first ten miles we did not see a single human being, though a flock of fine sheep, and a herd of long-bearded goats, were observed grazing without keepers, while hogs abounded in all parts of the woods, where they roam at large during the day, and return to their log-pens at night. [15]*

It is difficult today to imagine the great forest that once covered virtually the entire Piedmont, since only a few scattered remnants, such as Fernbank Forest in DeKalb County, survive today. Though much of this was beginning to disappear by the 1850s, one traveler out of Macon in 1857 still noted that

> [E]*very step one takes, one is struck with the rough look of the whole face of civilization. The country is nowhere well cleared; towns and villages are few and far between, and even those which you see have an unfinished look. I have been traveling for the most part in sight of the primeval forest of the continent.* [16]

How quickly the Smiths cleared their land is not known but it is worth noting that Robert Smith never listed more than one-fourth of his acreage as being "improved," presumably meaning cleared of trees at least. Since they also did not raise a great number of livestock, except hogs, the Smith farm may have retained a substantial portion of its original tree cover until the Civil War.

Town vs. Country

As already noted, "Bill Arp" saw his "town upbringing" in Lawrenceville, Georgia, of the 1820s and 1830s as an important advantage in life. Decatur, like most county seats, attracted merchants, lawyers, and other professional people for the same reason that towns have always done so. William R. Smith, the dry goods merchant, and Nathaniel N. Smith, the doctor, were both living in Decatur in the 1820s and both appear to have lived in or near towns through most of the rest of their lives. Although both farmed and William R. always listed his occupation as "farmer," neither Nathaniel nor William depended totally on agriculture for their livelihood. This no doubt contributed to their greater financial success relative to that of their younger brother Robert Hiram Smith, who seemed to have always depended on his farm for his livelihood.

Decatur was never a large town and, contrary to popular belief, did not prohibit the railroad from being built through town in the 1840s. In fact railroads almost always were built along the edge of existing towns (e.g., Madison, Covington) and it was only in towns like Atlanta, which grew up after the railroad was constructed, where the railroad ran through the center of town. The railroad no

doubt benefited Decatur and provided its farmers easier access to outside markets than many counties enjoyed before the Civil War. Decatur was even able to support some small industry, most notably that of William Wadsworth, the Decatur tinsmith for whom Michael Steele peddled wares all across the state in the 1840s. [17]

Even before the Civil War, however, Decatur had been eclipsed by Atlanta. White's Gazetteer of 1849 noted that Atlanta's population "may be put down at 2,500, and this number is constantly augmenting." The official census the next year enumerated 2,572 individuals in the county, while only 744 in Decatur. Because of that growth, Fulton County was created out of the western half of DeKalb County in 1853, with Atlanta as county seat. Atlanta grew quickly through the 1850s; White stated in the 1855 edition of his Gazetteer that the population of Atlanta was "placed by none under 4,500 and still increasing."

Because of its proximity to the railroads and Atlanta, Decatur was not a typically isolated rural county seat, although it certainly had many of those characteristics. Several businessmen and professionals in Decatur owned land and had professional interests in Atlanta, including William Ezzard, one of Atlanta's early mayors. After the Civil War, while land values in the rest of the state plummeted, they increased in DeKalb County, an early indication of the impact that Atlanta's astounding growth had on the farmers of DeKalb County, including the Smiths.

Family, Friends, and Neighbors

The upper Piedmont around Atlanta in the nineteenth century was a long way from the "moonlight and magnolia" myth of the twentieth century. As Charles Murphy Candler noted in his history of the county in the early 1920s:

> *The early settlers of DeKalb were plain people of English, Scotch and Irish descent, coming directly and indirectly from Virginia and the Carolinas. They were poor, not highly educated, generally industrious and temperate. They were small farmers, owning their homes, which were generally log cabins and owning few slaves, many of them none at all.* [18]

The generation of Smiths, Colliers, Steeles, Walkers, Johnsons, Padens, Masons and others who grew to adulthood on the farms that their parents had built in the 1820s and 1830s frequently intermarried as did their children and grandchildren. When families and groups of families moved together and settled together, the relationships soon multiplied and expanded into confusion but a few of those relationships were so important to the Smiths that they should be mentioned here.

In addition to the Smiths themselves, outlined in the previous chapter, among the earliest pioneers in DeKalb County were many of Tullie's ancestors, including all of her mother's grandparents. Their direct relationship with the Smiths stretches back to the friendship of Mary Ann Chandler Mason (1818–1894) with Tullie's great-grandmother Elizabeth Smith before the Civil War. Tullie's great-grandfather Abraham Chandler (1780–1847) had been born in Newberry County, South Carolina, in the midst of the Revolutionary War and had presumably grown up there. In 1813, he married Mary Harris (1792–1854) in Morgan County, Georgia, and by 1820 they were in Gwinnett County. They probably moved soon after that into the new DeKalb County where he bought Land Lot 5, 17th Dist., on the Paces Ferry Road from Decatur and immediately north of William R. Smith's Land Lot 4. The 202½ acres in the lot encompassed what are now the intersections of Cheshire Bridge Road and LaVista Road as well as Cheshire Bridge Road and I-85, west to Lindbergh Plaza. He built a house and operated what was probably a blacksmith shop, near the present intersection of LaVista and Cheshire Bridge.

By 1835, another road was in existence, branching off the old road at "Chandler's shop" and probably the precursor for the modern Cheshire Bridge Road. A bridge was built there as well, perhaps by Chandler himself, but like so many others was probably too-cheaply built and not well-maintained. The DeKalb County Grand Jury at its September term 1841 complained about "the bad state of the bridge across the Peach Tree Creek generally known as Chandler's Bridge and recommend

to the proper authorities to have the evil speedily remedied." [19] By then, the Chandlers may have already moved to Cass County (now Bartow County), Georgia, where he died in 1847. His name lived on, however, as the DeKalb Grand Jury in 1848 again noted the bad repair of the bridge at "Chandler's old place." [20]

In 1832, in DeKalb County, Chandler's daughter Mary Ann married William Pinkney Mason (1800–1879), the oldest son of DeKalb pioneer William Mason (1776–1843) and his wife Hannah Caroline Hudson (1778–1840). William and some other of his Mason kin had moved from the Greenville District of South Carolina to DeKalb County before 1830, settling first near Stone Mountain. [21]

William Pinkney and Mary Ann Chandler Mason had at least six children, the youngest of which was Tullie's mother, Mary Ella Mason (1858–1935). The Masons had a 600-acre farm about three miles north of Decatur on what was then known as Shallowford Road near where the present Clairmont Road crosses the South Fork of Peachtree Creek at the Veterans Administration Hospital. [22]

Ezekial Mason (1779–1879), one of William Pinkney Mason's brothers, was also an early Decatur pioneer. After teaching school in Morgan County in the early 1820s, Ezekial moved to Decatur in 1827 and bought a general store at the corner of McDonough and Sycamore Streets. He was an active member of the Decatur Presbyterian Church and contributed "liberally" to the construction of the new brick church in 1846. According to Levi Willard, in his chronicle on early Decatur, Ezekial Mason "succeeded better than most in the village," perhaps due to the "many old friends" from South Carolina that "patronized him." He was also, it is said, one of the largest landowners in the county. Another brother James Mason (1779–1879) married Mattie Sprayberry, whose family lived on what is now LaVista Road west of Briarcliff. [23]

Of all Tullie's grandparents, only her grandmother Mason was alive when Tullie was born in 1886. Although the extent of their contact cannot now be documented, it is worth noting that Tullie surely knew her and heard stories from the old woman of the early days of DeKalb County's settlement. The Masons are buried in the Decatur Cemetery, sharing a plot with Tullie's parents. Mason Mill Road and Mason Mill Park are reminders of Tullie's Mason relatives and of the mill that Ezekial Mason operated there in the mid-1800s.

Among the Smiths' neighbors were several other families who also came to DeKalb County in the 1820s and 1830s, and whose history mingled with that of the Smiths throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Particularly interesting to the present story are those who settled along Peachtree Creek and its tributaries. They represented a group of people who could afford the rich bottom land of the creeks and who tended to own at least some slaves. They and their descendants would generally profit from the mere fact that Atlanta grew up in the middle of their farms.

To the east of the Colliers, near where Piedmont Road now crosses Peachtree Creek, were the Plasters, probably the largest landowners in the area. Benjamin Plaster (1780–1836) had been born in Rowan County in the central Piedmont of North Carolina, where he married Sarah "Sally" Sewell (1789–1858) in 1802. Shortly afterwards, they moved to Franklin County in northeast Georgia, where several of their large family were born and where Plaster enlisted in the Georgia Militia during the War of 1812. About the time DeKalb County was created, the Plasters moved from Franklin County and built a house on a hilltop near where Piedmont Road now crosses Peachtree Creek. His will, dated 1836, is the oldest of record in DeKalb County and shows a farm of over 1,000 acres, encompassing the present sites of Peachtree Hills, Peachtree Heights, the eastern part of Brookwood Hills, Armour Station, Lindbergh Plaza and a large part of the Rock Springs community. [24]

Others of the Smiths' neighbors were the Johnsons, Archibald and Daniel. Archibald Johnson (1761–1831), was born in Scotland and emigrated to the United States about 1775. He settled first in Iredell County, North Carolina, but by the early 1790s, he had moved on to Elbert County, Georgia, where his son Daniel (1800–1894) was born. By 1830, both were in DeKalb County where, in 1832, Daniel married Elizabeth Harris Chandler (1814–1851),

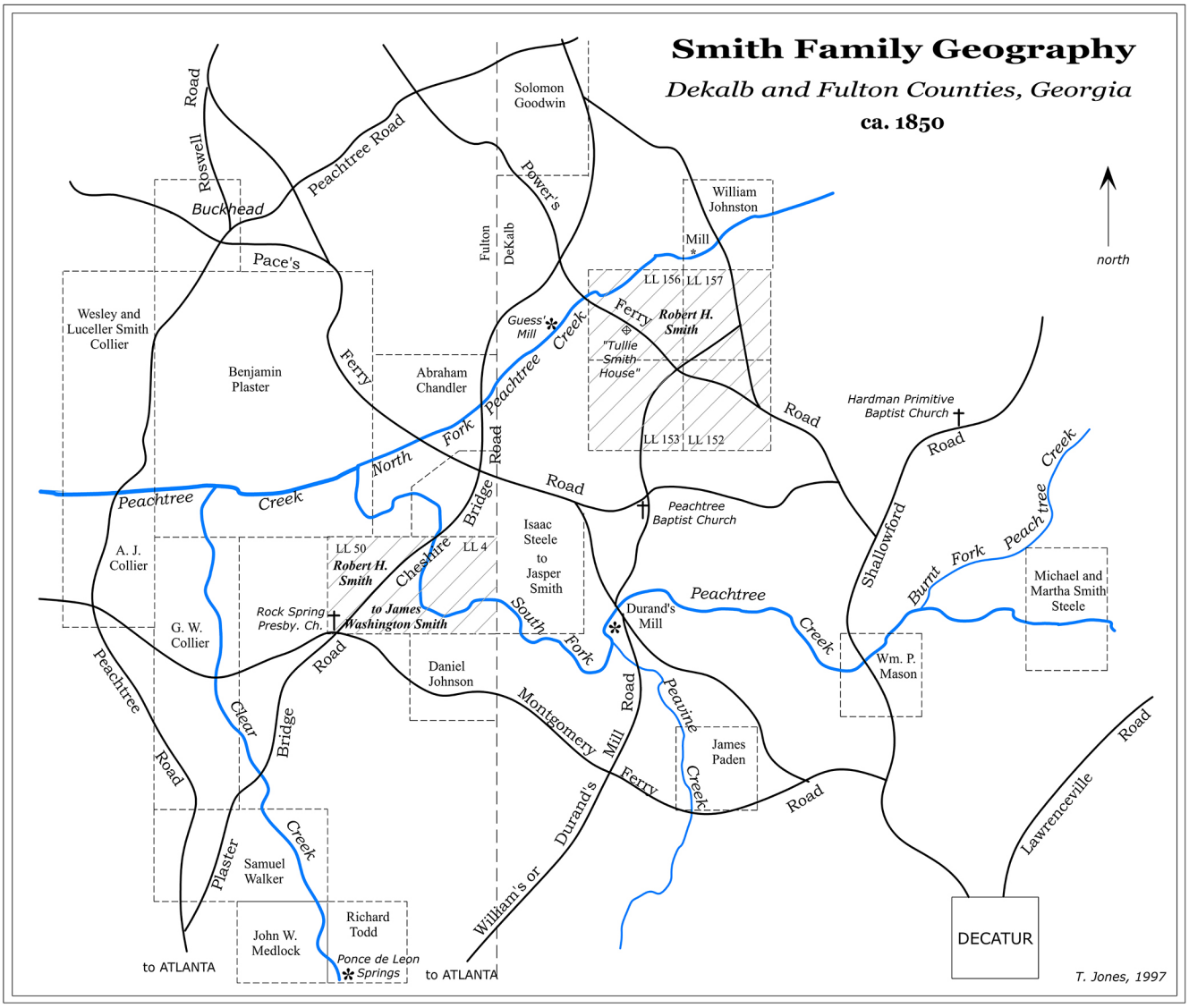

Figure 9. A sketch depicting the various land lots, people, and places associated with the Smith family in the nineteenth century. (Drawing by author, 1997)

another daughter of Abraham Chandler. According to one source, Daniel Johnson bought five land lots southeast of the Plasters, encompassing most of what is now Johnson Estates and Morningside. [25] In 1838, he also sold Henry Irby the land lot upon which Buckhead developed. Daniel Johnson was one of the early members of Decatur Presbyterian Church, where he was an elder in the 1840s, and with his neighbor James Washington Smith, he would also be one of the original elders of Rock Springs Presbyterian Church when it was organized after the Civil War. Another elder in the Decatur church and neighbor of the Smiths was Judge James T. Paden (1777–1864), one of DeKalb's earliest settlers. In 1833, it was Paden who sold Hardy Ivy Land Lot 51, 14th District of DeKalb, upon which Atlanta would rise a decade later. Paden's house, which was a landmark in the Civil War, stood at the northwest corner of what are now North Decatur and Clifton Roads and his farm encompassed most of the present campus of Emory University. He and his son Thomas N. Paden (1818–1892) were contemporaries of Robert Hiram Smith and, in the late nineteenth century, his grandchildren would marry Smith grandchildren.

Along Peachtree Creek just west and just north of the Smiths' Land Lot 156 were two of the many antebellum grist or corn mills that operated in

DeKalb County. The mill of William Johnston (1790–1855), just north of the Smiths, was in operation by 1833 and apparently continued operating through the Civil War. He and his son Jackson F. Johnston witnessed Robert Smith Sr.'s will in 1845.

Just to the west of Land Lot 156 was the millpond of James Guess (1791–1876), which sometimes flooded and made the crossing of Powers Ferry Road impassable. He and his wife Elizabeth (1792–1874) had come to DeKalb County from South Carolina in the 1820s, perhaps after a short residence in Franklin County. He built a bridge over Peachtree Creek "at Robert Smith's" in 1835 but may not have begun operating a mill there until the 1840s. James' son Francis L. Guess (1845–1912) was county surveyor in the late nineteenth century and had a number of recorded land transactions with Tullie Smith's parents in the 1880s and 1890s.

The "neighborhood" for the Smiths and for any family in a dispersed rural community might be perhaps the area within a four- or five-mile radius, a distance that could be walked in an hour and a half or so. To them, walking to Decatur or the post offices at Clear Creek, Buckhead, or Cross Keys would not have been a major event. In between those destinations and home, the Smiths would have probably considered themselves at least acquainted with most of the families over a considerable area of DeKalb County. There were many other people in the Smiths' neighbor-hood who we do not know, including many of the families who owned small farms of a few dozen acres around the Smiths. There also must have been tenants and other of the landless poor whose lives were a good deal more difficult than that of the small farmer or the Smiths.

Religion

In his will in 1875, Robert Hiram Smith speaks first of the "religion that I have professed and I hereinby [sic] trust en-joyed for forty years," an unusual variation on a declaration of faith that is fair-ly typical in wills. Remembering the discrepancies with the stated date of his marriage in the same document, this statement may indicate that Smith formally joined the church about 1828, probably at Brittain Presbyterian Church in Rutherford County. However, it should be noted that this was probably not a new conversion but rather a formal acceptance of a young person into the congregation.

From their origins in Rutherford Coun-ty, North Carolina, the Smiths carried their Presbyterianism with them wherever they went. For several generations—at Brittain Presbyterian in Rutherford County, North Carolina (organized 1768), at Decatur Presbyterian in DeKalb County, Georgia (organized 1825), at La Grange Presbyterian in Troup County, Georgia (organized 1834), and at Rock Springs Presbyterian in Fulton County (organized 1868)—the Smiths remained consistently Presbyterian. If their relative wealth, at least in terms of land and often in terms of cash as well, set them apart from most of their neighbors, so too did their Presbyterian faith. Of course, without letters or other such documentary evidence, there is little specific that can be said about that faith, but a sense of the kinds of differences that might be implied can, perhaps, be had by a brief comparison of the Presbyterian church with the Baptists and the Methodists churches. [26]

Although vastly outnumbered by Baptists and Methodists today, the Presbyterians played an extremely important role in the early settlement of the Carolinas and Georgia. A Calvinist cousin to the Dutch Reformed churches and the French Huguenots, the Presbyterian church had been established as the Church or Kirk of Scotland by John Knox in the late 1550s. A hallmark of that church was its strong support of education, particularly that of its clergy. Before authorizing formation of a new congregation, the Presbyterians demanded an educated clergyman and insisted on a list of subscribers committed to the support of the minister and the church.

The Presbyterians' support of education had a tremendous influence on the Scots-Irish in the Old World and continued to do so in the New. Of the 207 permanent colleges founded in the United States before the Civil War, for example, forty-eight were organized by Presbyterians, thirty-four

by Methodist, twenty-five by Baptist and twenty-one by Congregationalists. Recognizing that the Baptists and Methodists drew their strength from the descendants of the Scots-Irish, the impact of these people on the development of education in America was significant. What role James Washington Smith played, if any, in the establishment of a school at Rock Springs in DeKalb County in the 1870s is not known, but it would certainly have been in character for him to have not only donated the land but perhaps built the building as well. [27]

Yet, the Presbyterians' refusal to relax educational requirements for their ministers severely limited the church's ability to meet the tremendous demand created by the constantly expanding American frontier, especially after the second "Great Awakening" that swept the county in the early nineteenth century. The emotional approach to religious worship that defined the era appealed to the Methodists and the Baptists in a way it did not to the more rigorous, intellectual approach of the Presbyterians. With the Presbyterians' continued strict educational requirements for their clergy and demand for subscribers to the support of each new congregation, the religion-hungry pioneers of the upcountry inevitably turned to the Methodists and the Baptists, whose organizational requirements were far less strict. [28]

With that, the Presbyterianism that had nurtured the Scots-Irish for two and a half centuries began a long period of slow decline in the United States. While a few congregations managed to flourish, many more simply ceased to exist. When Levi Willard, for instance, joined the Decatur Presbyterian Church in 1826, it was noted that his letter of membership from his old church in Eatonton could not be gotten "as it [the church] had become nearly extinct." Even the congregation of the great Mt. Zion Presbyterian Church in Hancock County, which had been the center of a flourishing Presbyterian community in the early 1800s, sold their building to the Methodists and merged with the Sparta Presbyterian Church in the 1840s.

In a way, it is the Second Great Awakening and the Presbyterians' response to it that marked the

Figure 10. Rock Spring Presbyterian Church. The mausoleum for Tullie's grandfather James Washington Smith is partially visible at lower right. (Author's photograph)

birth of the "Bible Belt" of Baptist and Methodist congregations that we know today. In spite of poor training and even poorer pay, the Baptists and the Methodists were tremendously successful in evangelizing the South. By 1850, nearly 50% of Georgia's churches were Baptist and another 43% were Methodist; only 5% were Presbyterians.

The Smiths, then, were clearly in a minority in terms of religion and, by implication, other ways as well. Again, while little can be said about the specifics and the depth of fervor of their faith, the persistence of their membership in the Presbyterian church over several generations must mark a clear difference between them and many of those around them. Granted, it is not the difference between Catholic and Protestant or Gentile and Jew, yet, in subtle ways, it surely colored their lives to a significant extent. It is probable that the Smiths were early if not charter members of Decatur Presbyterian Church, but all of the early records of the church were lost in a fire in 1889, and the Smiths are not mentioned in the official history of the church. Willard does not mention them either, but he does note that James Paden was an elder of the church in 1830 as were his son Thomas and his neighbor Daniel Johnson in 1845. As might be expected, it was the Decatur Presbyterian Church that, in the 1820s, organized the DeKalb Male Academy, one of the county's first schools, although there is no documentation for which, if

any, of the Smith family might have attended the academy. The church had a significant influence on the development of the county and, even one hundred years later, Decatur was still considered one of the state's strongest Presbyterian communities. [29]

According to tradition, Robert Hiram Smith's son James Washington Smith spearheaded organization of Rock Spring Presbyterian Church in 1870 "because he was tired of driving his buggy to Decatur for services." Elders from the Decatur church organized the congregation on 3 November 1870, in a one-room school house near the intersection of what are now Rock Springs Road and Morningside Drive. James Washington Smith, who was one of the new congregation's original elders, donated an acre on Plaster Bridge Road, now Piedmont Avenue, in the extreme southwest corner of Land Lot 50 for the new church. The new building, which was frame, was dedicated 13 December 1871. [30]

Although Robert H. Smith's name does not appear in the list of charter members of Rock Spring Presbyterian Church, his wife's does along with members of the Plaster, Head, Goodwin, Cheshire, Liddell, Bearse and Reeder families. Most of James Washington Smith's children and many of his grandchildren, including Tullie Smith, were members as well, as were his sister and brother-in-law Michael and Martha Steele. The Steeles, Robert H. and Elizabeth Hawkins Smith, James Washington and Emily Wynne Smith, and most of their children are buried in the churchyard at Rock Spring. In the present building, which dates to 1923, are memorial stained glass windows dedicated to Tullie's grandparents James Washington and Emily Wynne Smith and several of their children, including William Berry Smith, Tullie's father. [31]

Several Baptist churches in the neighbor-hood would have been familiar to the Smiths, including Nancy Creek Primitive Baptist church on Peachtree Road, which was organized in 1824. Hardman Primitive Baptist church, organized in 1825 about two miles southeast of the Smiths, behind the present Veterans Administration Hospital on Clairmont Road. John Johnson, William Towers, Dr. Chapman Powell, Benjamin Burdette, and John and Allen Hardman were a few of the Smiths' neighbors who were members there. Finally, Peachtree Baptist church was organized in 1847 on Williams Mills Road, now Briarcliff Road, just south of the Smiths. William Pinckney Mason's brother James was a member there, although most of the Masons belonged to Decatur Presbyterian.

The Methodists were the first to build churches in both Decatur (1823) and in Atlanta (1847) and several rural churches followed. Prospect Church at Cross Keys, of which the Bellingers were members, and Sardis Church on Powers Ferry Road just north of its intersection with Roswell Road, to which Robert H. Smith's daughter Luceller and her husband Wesley Collier belonged, were two of the early Methodist churches in the Smiths' neighborhood. Another of Smith's daughters, Adeline, also may have joined the Methodist church, since her husband Robert O. Medlock was on the building committee for construction of the Norcross Methodist Church in 1870. [32]

There were no black churches in DeKalb County until after the Civil War, except perhaps for the congregation at Rocky Head in what is now south Fulton County, which may have been organized in the antebellum period by the white congregation at nearby Owl Rock Methodist. After the Civil War, a number of black congregations were founded, most of them Baptist or Methodist. In May 1884, the Mt. Moriah Baptist Church was organized and a building constructed on land sold for that purpose out of Robert H. Smith's old farm. [33] The cemetery of that church is large although most of the graves are unmarked. Many if not most of the early members of this church, including Tom Johnson (1850–1914) whose grave is well-marked, were probably former slaves of the Smiths and their neighbors.

Economy and Agriculture

DeKalb County, like most of the rest of the state in the nineteenth century, had an economy that turned almost entirely on agriculture. Throughout most of the nineteenth century, DeKalb was rural and the vast majority of its residents engaged, somehow, in farming. The nature of farm production

	1850	1860	1870	1880
total population	906,185	1,057,286	1,184,109	1,542,180
black population (% of total)	42%	44%	46%	47%
number of farms	51,759	62,003	69,956	138,626
total land in farms	22,821,379	26,650,490	23,647,941	26,043,282
acres of improved land	6,378,479	8,062,758	6,831,856	8,204,704
average size of farm	441	430	338	188
national average size of farm	203	199	153	134
dollar value of farms	$95,753,445	$157,072,803	$94,599,468	$111,910,540
dollar value of livestock	$25,728,416	$38,372,734	$30,156,317	$25,930,352
mules and asses	57,379	101,069	87,426	132,078
working oxen	73,286	74,487	54,332	50,026
milk cows	334,223	299,688	231,310	315,073
other cattle	690,019	631,707	412,261	544,812
sheep	560,435	512,618	419,465	527,589
swine	2,168,617	2,036,116	988,566	1,471,003
bushels of sweet potatoes	6,986,428	6,508,541	2,621,562	4,397,778
bushels of corn	30,080,099	30,776,293	17,646,459	23,292,018
bushels of oats	3,820,044	1,231,817	1,904,601	5,548,743
bales of cotton	499,091	946,227	846,947	1,289,560
pounds of wool	990,019	946,227	846,947	1,289,560
value of real estate		$210,098,682	$143,948,216	
value of personal property		$476,227,404	$83,271,303	

Figure 11. Selected agricultural statistics for Georgia compiled from the federal census. (Chart by author)

would change somewhat, especially after the Civil War, as the extraordinary growth of Atlanta would begin to make its influence felt on DeKalb County. In the meantime, it seems clear that Robert Hiram Smith's main occupation throughout his life was that of "farmer," as he is consistently listed in the Federal census.

Planters and Farmers

DeKalb County is located in the upper Piedmont of the state in what Stephen Hahn and others have described as the "upcountry" of Georgia. Here the hilly terrain necessitated smaller fields which were not conducive to the use of gang slave labor and, in addition, a relatively short growing season limited the potential for successful cotton production before the advent of hardier hybrids. For these reasons, the great cotton plantations of myth and lore never developed in the upper Piedmont, alt-hough here and there were the occasional large farmers working more than 500 improved acres with 30 to 100 slaves and whose status approached that of some of the smaller planters in the plantation belt of east and middle Georgia.

Charles Howard Candler noted in the 1920s in his history of DeKalb County,

> *I do not suppose there was in the entire county a single land and slave owner, who because of the size of his holdings or farm operations, could have been called a planter, such as were known in the older East and Middle Georgia counties. [34]*

In fact there was one resident, Edward Taliaferro in south DeKalb, who had a plantation of more than 1,000 acres in 1860, but there were only eight others whose improved farm land exceeded 500 acres. By contrast, there were 30 of these largest planters in Henry County, which adjoined DeKalb on the south, and 69 in Newton County, which then included modern Rockdale County adjoining DeKalb to the east. In Morgan County, forty miles east of Decatur, there were 104 large planters while in Burke County on the coastal plain in southeast Georgia, that number jumped to 171.

The best agricultural land in the county was along the relatively flat, well-watered, valleys of the major creeks and rivers, particularly Peachtree, Nancy, and Utoy Creeks and on the Chattahoochee and the South Rivers. These were some of the first lands bought and put to the plow by the early settlers. White noted in 1849 that these "rich lands . . . have been known to produce 1000–1500 pounds of cotton per acre," which was twice what could be expected from the "grey lands" elsewhere in the county. [35]

In addition, these creeks and their smaller tributaries like Clear Creek and Peavine Creek also provided sites for a number of grist mills which became landmarks in the nineteenth century landscape. The Smiths, Steeles, Chandlers, Colliers, Plasters, Walkers and Padens all owned farms that were watered by Peachtree, Peavine, or Clear Creeks. Land Lot 4 and Land Lot 156, which William R. Smith gave to Robert Hiram Smith in the early 1840s, would have certainly been considered good farmland.

Although Robert Smith owned six land lots in DeKalb County in 1850, he claimed only 810 acres in the agricultural census that year, of which only 100 acres were listed as improved for cultivation. If those figures are an accurate reflection of Smith's farm, then he put a much lower percentage of his farm land to the plow than was the average statewide. In DeKalb County as a whole, about 30% of the farm acreage was listed as "improved." Barely 16% of Smith's acreage was listed that way. [36]

In 1860, Smith listed 150 improved acres or 22% of total acreage. By that time, he had sold Land Lots 4 and 50 to his eldest son, which probably accounts for the $2,000 reduction in the value of his real estate between 1850 and 1860. The actual acreage of his farm is uncertain, but he is presumed to have owned and farmed all of Land Lots 152, 153, 156 and, probably, 157 throughout the period.

The land along Peachtree Creek in LL 156 and along the branch that ran behind the house was probably the best of Smith's fields. The two land lots, 4 and 50, which fell in Fulton County after 1853, were probably also farmed, although to what extent is not known. Robert H. Smith sold these two land lots to his son James Washington Smith in 1856, shortly before the latter married. When James sold part of Land Lot 4 to Jasper Newton

Smith two years later, the survey indicated a peach orchard near the southeast corner of the land lot. [37] Since the land had been owned by the Smiths since at least the 1830s and LL 4 consists almost entirely of bottom land along the South Fork of Peachtree Creek, it seems likely that these might have provided the Smiths, including Robert Hiram Smith, with some of their most productive lands.

While it did not have a large class of true "planters," DeKalb County did have a large number of farmers who made up what Willard Range has called a "powerful, virile 'middle class' of farmers." These families—and they should be thought of as families and not as individuals—generally had farms of from 100–500 acres of improved land and owned fewer than 30 slaves. There were approximately

	1850	**1860**	**1870**	**1880**
total population (DeKalb County only)	14,328	22,233 (7,806)	43,150 (10,014)	63,634 (14,497)
black population (% of total) DeKalb County only	2,294 (20%)	4,994 (22%) 2,008 (26%)	17,944 (42%) 2,662 (26%)	25,385 (40%) 4,543 (31%)
number of farms	1,019	1,289	1,906	2,992
total land in farms	221,731	234,742	227,609	382,281
acres of improved land	67,992	73,718	67,000	103,709
average size of farm (acres improved)	217 (67)	182 (57)	119 (35)	128 (35)
dollar value of farms	1,119,181	1,653,251	2,161,768	2,930,858
dollar value of livestock	285,965	426,467	469,480	427,138
mules and asses	519	891	1,382	2,341
working oxen	1,173	1,354	1,028	383
milk cows	2,500	2,471	2,670	3,682
other cattle	4,146	4,308	2,758	4,013
sheep	5,468	4,044	3,029	2,686
swine	24,449	17,503	12,879	15,875
bushels of sweet potatoes	73,070	63,640	42,526	65,326
bushels of corn	432,435	345,887	291,091	448,118
bushels of oats	86,047	12,837	24,949	85,606
bales of cotton	2,397	2,054	2,575	12,293
pounds of wool	8,820	5,607	8,421	5,252
value of real estate (Dekalb only)		1,288,032	1,229,547	
value of personal estate		2,070,093	411,456	

Figure 12. Selected agricultural statistics for DeKalb County compiled from the federal census. (Chart by author)

19,000 of these farms across the state in 1860, representing about 30% of the state's total number of farms. [38]

In DeKalb County in 1860, 634 heads of household listed their occupation as "farmer" although the census listed only 506 farms of three or more acres. Of those farms, only eight or less than 2% had over 500 acres of improved land. About 42% claimed 100-500 acres of improved farm land, a category which included Robert H. Smith's farm. The category also included some of the Colliers, the Plasters, the Steeles, the Medlocks, the Padens, and the Walkers. Another 31% of DeKalb County farmers claimed 50–100 acres of improved farm land while 20% more could claim only 20–50 acres. In this last category were the many more smaller farmers occupying the higher, generally less desirable ground away from the creeks. Solomon Goodwin, whose will Robert H. Smith witnessed in 1847 and who was probably more prosperous than most of his class, is perhaps the best known of these in the vicinity of the Smiths. Although moved in the 1960s, his house still stands on Peachtree Road just south of North Druid Hills Road, not far from where it was originally built about 1830.

In addition, perhaps 20% of DeKalb County farmers owned less than 3 acres or no land at all but, rather, worked out some variation of a tenancy arrangement either with family members or other unrelated farmers in the area. Unrecorded except in the occasional family history, the lives of most of these farmers are probably the least understood of all but were certainly a good deal more difficult than those of the Smiths.

During the antebellum period, DeKalb County generally followed the same trends that characterized agriculture elsewhere in the Piedmont and in Georgia as production shifted increasingly to cotton. Over the ten years between 1850 and 1860, there were significant declines in production of most crops, including sweet potatoes, corn, and oats, in part because of the availability of cheap grains from the Midwest pouring into the South over the new railroads. As a result, it was possible to devote more and more land to the production of cotton, so that Georgia's annual production rose from nearly 500,000 bales in 1850 to just over 700,000 in 1860. [39]

With the increasing use of chemical fertilizers after 1850, some of the limitations of worn-out land could be overcome. Soil exhaustion and erosion were already a serious problem in many parts of the older and not-so-old cotton growing regions of the state. In 1851, for instance, barely 25 years after the county's founding, a Troup County planter wrote that "We are awfully bad off up here, having nearly worn out one of the prettiest and most pleasant counties in the world." He, like many others in the period, bemoaned the look of "some of our large plantations, when he looked out upon the waving broom sedge, the barren hillsides, and the terrible big gullies." In the upper Piedmont, the situation was not so dire, perhaps because of the preponderance of small farmers and the limitations of climate, soil and topography on the wasteful, slave-dependent system that characterized most of the South's large plantations. [40]

Chemical fertilizers also allowed the growing season to be effectively shortened, thus allowing for increased production in the upper Piedmont, including DeKalb County. The county, too, produced significantly less corn, oats, and sweet potatoes in 1860 than it had in 1850, but the apparent failure of the cotton crop in Gwinnett, Henry, and DeKalb Counties that year illustrates the uncertainties of agriculture in general and cotton production in particular.

Livestock production generally declined throughout the period as well, as cotton sapped more and more interest and resources. Cattle and milk cows declined by 100,000; hogs by 150,000 and sheep by 50,000. Oxen increased only slightly as they were rapidly being replaced by mules as the draft animal of choice in the South. In DeKalb County, sheep and swine production declined sharply while milk cow production declined only slightly and other cattle actually increased.

Robert H. Smith's agricultural production appears to have generally followed these same trends and, in most respects, his crops and livestock mirrored

	1850	1860	1870
dollar value of farm	$6,000	$4,050	———
dollar value of livestock	$547	$575	$400
mules and asses	0	0	0
working oxen	4	2	0
milk cows	6	6	4
other cattle	12	8	2
sheep	15	0	3
swine	70	50	20
bushels of sweet potatoes	150	100	10
bushels of corn	1500	1200	400
bushels of oats	300	25	20
bales of cotton	3	0	0
pounds of wool	33	0	5
value of real estate	$6,000	$4,000	$8,000
value of personal estate	———	$12,200	$4,650

Figure 13. Selected agricultural statistics for Robert H. Smith compiled from the federal census. (Chart by author)

that of his neighbors. Oddly, Smith never listed mules as part of his livestock, even after the Civil War when working oxen had been largely replaced by mules, but in most other respects his agricultural production seems to have been fairly typical. Unusual, perhaps, is the fact that Smith seems to have reduced his planting of cotton after 1850, indicating that he, unlike many of his neighbors, may not have depended as much on the vagaries of "King Cotton" to earn his livelihood.

Entrepreneurs

Although the vast majority people in antebellum DeKalb County were engaged in agriculture in one way or another, there were also a number of entrepreneurs who at least supplemented their livelihood with other pursuits. Sawmills were one of the more popular enterprises. Peter Brown, a farmer and blacksmith in southwest DeKalb County, is reported to have moved from Franklin County with his father into the new DeKalb County in the winter of 1822. Sometime before his death in 1840, he is said to have established on Entrenchment Creek the county's first sawmill. In addition, in 1844, Jonathan Norcross established a sawmill on Decatur Street, thought to be Atlanta's first manufacturing enterprise. [41] In addition to Robert Smith's neighbors William Johnston and James

Guess, both of whom operated grist mills on Peachtree Creek, one of the county's most significant manufacturing enterprises was established along the South Fork of Peachtree Creek two miles south of the Smiths. Known first as Durand's Mill after its operator Samuel A. Durand, the mill was located next to Isaac Steele's farm near the present intersection of Clifton and Briarcliff Roads. Besides sawing lumber, a factory also produced furniture and the site was an important landmark in 1864. Operated after the Civil War by Frederick A. Williams and, later, J. F. Wallace, Williams or Wallace's Mill was also an important landmark to the Smiths. The road to the mill, which was opened in 1850, was the predecessor of modern day Briarcliff Road.

Slavery

Although James Oglethorpe had prohibited slavery when he founded the colony of Georgia in the 1730s, that part of his "noble experiment" was abandoned in 1750 and, by 1790, 35% of the state's population was enslaved. In spite of the state's ban on importation of slaves in the new Constitution of 1798 and the Federal ban in 1808, illegal foreign trade continued until the eve of the Civil War. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, however, the vast majority of the slave population was native-born. [42]

Typical Patterns

The slave population was not evenly distributed across Georgia, however, but was rather concentrated along the coast, in southwest Georgia, and in a "Black Belt" across middle Georgia. In those regions, where the soil, terrain, and climate lent themselves to large-scale cotton and rice production, the black slave population often outnumbered the white population by a significant percentage. Troup County, for instance, where Dr. Nathaniel Smith owned 16 slaves and held another 20 in trust for his children, showed a population that was 62% slave in 1860 while nearly three-fourths of the population of Liberty, McIntosh, and Glynn counties on the coast was slave in 1860.

In DeKalb and other counties in the upper Piedmont, there were significantly fewer slaves as a proportion of the population (see Table 4). Neither the climate nor the topography lent themselves to the development of large-scale cotton plantations worked by large numbers of slaves. In DeKalb County, barely 16% of the population in 1830 were slaves and only in 1850 did the proportion of slaves reach 20%. On the eve of the Civil War, DeKalb County had nearly 2,000 slaves, representing 26% of the total population. Though Fulton County and Atlanta had nearly 1,000 more slaves than DeKalb in 1860, that still represented an even lower percentage (20%) of the total population. In Cobb, Campbell, Fayette, and Clayton counties to the west and south, the figure ranged around 25%, while to the north in Milton County it was 15% and in Gwinnett 18%. Only to the south in Henry County, with a population 42% slave, and to the southeast in Newton County, with 46% slave, could the plantation belt be said to begin. [43]

Throughout the upper Piedmont region, two-thirds to three-fourths of the white families owned no slaves at all and, of those who did, perhaps half owned fewer than five. Only one slave owner in ten could be expected to own as many as twenty slaves. In DeKalb County, nearly three-quarters of all households owned no slaves and, of those who did, nearly 60% owned fewer than five while only 20% owned more than ten. In the entire county, barely 5% of the actual slave-holders owned as many as twenty slaves. This contrasts sharply with Morgan County, for instance, and other plantation-belt counties where three-fourths of the households were slave-holders, with nearly one-third owning more than ten slaves. [44]

Only a handful of DeKalb County farmers--those who could afford the purchase of extensive bottom land and numerous slaves--could have any pretensions to being "planters," with the Birds and the Taliaferros in south DeKalb County probably being the largest. By 1850, John Bird had acquired several hundred acres of choice bottom land on the South River and owned at least forty-three slaves, making him probably the largest slave owner in DeKalb County at that time. The next year, however, John's son Elijah murdered his brother-in-law Dr. Nathaniel Hilburn and, although a pardon was ultimately granted by the Legislature, the legal

costs bankrupted John Bird, forcing him to sell his plantation. [45]

Richard Taliaferro, who was in the county by 1830, also owned a plantation in south DeKalb County and, in 1850, owned twenty-seven slaves. By 1860, his son Edward, who would represent the county in the legislature of 1868, utilized the labor of twice that number of slaves on the Taliaferro plantation on the headwaters of the South River.

The largest slave owner in DeKalb or Fulton County in 1860 was Ephraim Ponder, who had only moved to Fulton County in the late 1850s. In 1860, he was enumerated with fifty-seven slaves but most of these were allowed to hire themselves out as mechanics, carpenters, and other skilled labor. The large house that he built on the Marietta Road, now Marietta Street near Means Street, was considered one of the area's finest before its ruin during the siege of Atlanta in August 1864. [46]

Not many of Ponder's slaves were engaged in agriculture nor were many others on similar plantations. As one advertisement stated, slaves could be had as "cooks (meat and pastry), washers and ironers, house servants, and seamstresses, blacksmiths, carpenters, field hands, shoemakers, plow boys and girls, body servants, waiters, drivers, and families." The slaves of Ponder and others competed directly with the white laborers and craftsmen in Atlanta, provoking a petition from two hundred white citizens in 1858 complaining about competition from "negro mechanics." Even white professionals were not immune from this competition. In 1859, Atlanta's white dentists complained to city council about a black dentist named Roderick D. Badger, an unusual example of the commercial competition that many whites feared. [47]

Control of a slave population was always a problem for the free population, especially when the slaves outnumbered the whites, as they did in the tidewater and many parts of the lower Piedmont. Nat Turner's rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia, in August 1831, killed sixty whites and frightened the white population throughout the slave-holding districts. Although DeKalb County did not have a great number of slaves, control of those that were in the county was a cause for special concern throughout the antebellum period.

As early as September 1837, a DeKalb County grand jury that included William Smith, Meredith Collier, James Paden, and Lochlin Johnson issued presentments that called for "a more rigid enforcement of the patrol law" that required passes for slaves, believing that "would produce salutary results in our slave population." The grand jury also noted specifically their concern with conditions in the Town District, north of Decatur, an area that included Robert Smith's farm. Apparently harboring of fugitive slaves was a concern since they recommended "especially to the Town Dist., to be vigilant in paying the proper attention to Houses occupied and controlled by slaves only." [48]

In 1843, the grand jury again issued complaints, this time being "that slaves and free persons of Color are permitted to reside in the Town of Decatur contrary to law, and if the people of the Town and citizens of the County have not yet felt the injury resulting from such open violation of law, this jury believes it their duty to guard them against the future evils and damage of its continuance." Clearly fugitive slaves and threats of rebellion were perceived as a problem even in DeKalb County. [49]

In spite of these concerns, outright rebellion and murder were rare, although other forms of resistance might be common. According to Garrett, a master was murdered by his slave only once in DeKalb County history, when William Graham, a "notorious Negro trader" in Stone Mountain, was killed by one of his slaves. Whites murdering whites, however, was a bigger problem, making it clear that rebellious slaves were not the only threat to law and order in antebellum DeKalb County. In 1853, for instance, the Grand Jury, with James Paden as foreman, reported that "the perpetration of crimes are like the plagues sent upon Egypt. When one is removed from jail to be hanged or sent to the penitentiary [in Milledgeville], there is another ready to step in. Are these things to continue? Is the County of DeKalb to be pointed at from all parts of the State and elsewhere as the county famous for the commission of crimes?" [50]

Not surprisingly, the laws, even for minor offenses, were much harsher for blacks than for whites. The 1863 Code of the City of Atlanta, for instance, specified a twenty dollar fine for any white person caught "drumming" (i.e., soliciting business) at the railroad station. However, if the infraction involved "a person of color, he or she shall receive not exceeding thirty-nine lashes." The punishment for blacks was the same for smoking in public or for walking with "a cane, club, or stick (unless blind or infirm)." In addition, little leniency could be expected from the county courts. Of the four new judges in Fulton County Inferior Court in 1861, for instance, two were slave dealers and another was Edward Taliaferro, one of the largest slave holders in the county [51].

The Smiths and Slavery

While John Smith does not appear to have been a slave owner, his son Robert Smith had acquired six by 1820, a number that increased to seventeen by the time he made his will in 1845. By 1850, his sons Robert H., William R., and Nathaniel N. Smith owned fourteen, eighteen, and sixty-six slaves respectively. By 1860, Robert H. Smith had reduced his number of slaves to eleven, probably having given some to his children as they married and set up farms of their own in the 1850s. [52]

While Robert Smith's slave holdings were relatively small when compared to the plantation belt in the eastern and lower Piedmont, they nevertheless placed him in the top 20% of slave owners in DeKalb County, although just barely. This small group, representing only 5% of the total free white population, included a little over five dozen individuals such as James Paden, Meredith Collier, Benjamin Plaster, Samuel Walker, Daniel Johnson, William Johnson, and Samuel House. Three-fourths of Robert Smith's neighbors owned no slaves at all and most of the rest owned fewer than ten. These included Robert Smith's sons Jasper Newton and James Washington, both of whom had acquired a few slaves by 1860. Of Robert Smith's neighbors in the Town District, Benjamin Burdette and William Johnston, with nineteen slaves each, were the largest slave owners. Many more were like James Guess, who had acquired only a single slave by 1860.

As difficult as it is to put a face on Robert Smith and his family, the task of doing so with his slaves yields pitiful results. The names of thirteen of the seventeen slaves of Robert Smith are recorded in his will--Berry, Rachel, Jerry, Judy, Miles, William, Peggy, Adaline, Joseph, Ginney, Peter, Lewis and Winny--but that is all. Divided among his children, these slaves have not been accounted for in subsequent records.

The fourteen slaves listed for Robert H. Smith in the 1850 slave census appear to represent two families with six children under twelve. The original census manuscript entry is smudged but seems to indicate that Smith had two slave houses on his property. According to Robert Paden's interview in 1970, "the Smiths brought three slaves with them from North Carolina. Aunt Gracie lived with them her entire life and looked after the elder Mrs. Smith." The identity of this woman has not been determined but a careful search of the 1870 census might reveal her presence. Gracie was probably one of the five "old negroe slaves [who] added to the charm" of Elizabeth Hawkins Smith's ninety-third birthday reunion in 1900. [53]

In the 1870 census, two doors away from Robert H. Smith and probably living on his farm, is Caroline Smith, a black woman born about 1816 in North Carolina. She was probably living in one of the old slave houses or else in a newer tenant house on the Smith's farm and might possibly be one of the children of "Ginny" that Robert Smith left his son in 1846. She is the only person in the 1870 census that can be readily identified as a possible ex-slave of the Smiths.

In 1863, S. P. Richards, the noted Atlanta diarist, wrote, "I must make out descriptive lists of my darkies and record in my journal for future reference. It is said, and I think with truth, that when we come to a successful end to this war that negroes will command very high prices, as there will be so much demand for labor to raise cotton, and a great many will have been taken away by the Yankees." Richard's cynicism would not pay off, as he himself realized as early as December of that year when he wrote that he was "disgusted with negroes" and that he felt "inclined to sell what I have. I wish they were all back in Africa, or Yankee Land. To think

too that this cruel war should be waged for them!" [54]

While many Southerners would probably have agreed with Richards and thought of their slaves only in terms of a piece of property and an investment, a benign paternalism might have been more typical. As a Louisiana planter wrote upon the death of a trusted slave, "Now my heart is nearly broke. I have lost poor Leven, one of the most faithful black men ever lived. [H]e was truth and honesty, and without a fault that I ever discovered. He has overseed [sic] the plantation nearly three years, and done much better than any white man ever done here, and I lived a quiet life." [55]

The bulk of Robert Smith's will in 1845 is consumed in directives regarding his seventeen slaves as he divides them among his sons. His bequests include a statement of his "desire that each of my sons keep the afore mentioned Negroes in their families as long as they can." While that may just be an indication of a belief in slaves as a good investment, Robert also gave his "old Negro woman Winny" her choice with which of his sons she would live and included the admonition that "they take care of her and treat her well during her life." That Winny's children or grandchildren might have been among those who celebrated Elizabeth Smith's birthday in 1900 can only be suggested as a possibility. The fact that any ex-slaves at all were there is an indication of the complexities of the relationships between black and white southerners.

Clearly, the Smiths felt some sense of moral obligation to their slaves even if it might have been predicated on a belief in their basic inferiority as a race of human beings, a not-uncommon belief among his whites contemporaries whether or not they owned slaves or believed in the abolition of slavery. This sense of obligation was especially true in those small farmers who owned only a few slaves and where master and slave frequently worked side by side and whose material condition, at least in the case of the poorest farmers and their slaves, might differ little, in absolute terms, from one another. [56]

The Civil War

Where the slave-owning Smiths stood in terms of the great national debate over slavery and secession is uncertain. DeKalb County was known as a Union county and elected Union delegates to what became the secession convention in Milledgeville in January 1861. When the Legislature passed the ordinance of secession on 18 January 1861, by a vote of 208-89, DeKalb County's only delegate present was Stone Mountain lawyer George K. Smith and he voted "no." Whatever his misgivings, once the ordinance had passed, he, along with the other DeKalb delegate Peter Hoyle, signed it anyway and, presumably like most Georgians, rallied behind the new Confederacy.

With the South's firing on Fort Sumter and Governor Brown's call for volunteers in April, civil war began. In both North and South, response was strong and, by October 1861, 25,000 Georgians were in the Confederate service. Among these was the Smith's youngest son, Jasper Newton Smith, who volunteered in Decatur in August, perhaps buoyed by the news of the Confederate army's smashing victory at Bull Run less than two weeks earlier. Unmarried and one of the enthusiastic young men who volunteered for the duration of the war, Smith was enlisted as a private by Luther J. Glenn, who had gone to Missouri earlier that year as part of a Confederate delegation sent to solicit support from the non-secessionist border states. Smith was an infantryman in Company "B" of "Cobb's Legion," which consisted of an infantry battalion of seven companies and a cavalry battalion of four companies. [57]

The Smith's eldest son James Washington Smith was, according to family tradition, a colonel in the Confederate army. [58] A James W. Smith enlisted in Company F, 8th Regiment of the Georgia Volunteer Infantry, known as the "Atlanta Grays," and was made second sergeant on 22 May 1861. The following October, he was elected 2nd lieutenant but resigned in late June 1862 and so presumably missed the unit's fighting at Second Manassas in late August. It is likely but not certain that this Smith is James Washington Smith, who was then living in Fulton County on Cheshire

Bridge Road and could have easily gone to Atlanta to volunteer.

As 1862 opened and it became clear that the war would not be short, the euphoria of 1861 soon worn off, especially as the casualty lists began to grow. One of these early casualties was Emily Smith's brother James D. Wynne, who was killed in northern Virginia in August 1862. Then in September, Robert S. Smith, the oldest son of Dr. Nathaniel Smith, was killed at Antietam Creek in one of the bloodiest battles of the Civil War. In both instances, word might not have reached the families for several weeks or they may have found out in a few days.

It is not clear how or even if the other adult males of the Smith family served the Confederacy but it is more than likely that they did. When the "Joe Brown" census of adult males in each of the state's militia districts was made in early 1864, neither Robert H. Smith nor his sons are listed in either DeKalb, Fulton, Gwinnett, or Floyd County. Smith's son-in-law Robert O. Medlock is thought to have been in Gwinnett County's "home guard mounted cavalry" but the other members of Smith's family remain a blank. Some may have intentionally avoided the 1864 census, as many did who saw "a rich man's war but a poor man's fight," or else refugeed away from the war as it drew close to Georgia.

Much went unrecorded as the war dragged on, including the death of Robert Smith's daughter Luceller Collier, who was barely thirty years old. The circumstances of her death and burial are not known, but she was probably buried at Sardis Methodist Church, where her husband would later be buried. She left Wesley at their house on Peachtree Road with four small children to see through a war that became more and more hopeless after the fall of Vicksburg in July 1863. [59] By October, Col. Lemuel P. Grant had nearly completed initial construction of a series of fortifications around Atlanta, fortifications that would be constantly improved as Sherman began his slow progress toward Atlanta in 1864.

For people in the Atlanta area, Chickamauga, Ringgold, Dalton, and Resaca soon became more than just stops on the Western & Atlantic Railroad as the Confederate forces were slowly outflanked and outfought. After the long battle at Kennesaw Mountain in late June 1864, the Confederate forces retreated to the south bank of the Chattahoochee River and, by then, everybody in Atlanta knew what was coming.

The Smiths were more fortunate than some other parts of DeKalb, Fulton, and Clayton counties which were turned into battlefields in summer of 1864. The Hurts along the Georgia Railroad and the Ponders on the Marietta Road were two who were not so lucky and found their fine houses and plantations totally destroyed in the battle for control of Atlanta. Others, like Robert Smith's neighbors James Paden and Samuel House, saw their houses commandeered by the invading Federal army, usually as officer's headquarters.

More likely, the Smiths saw what most of the farmers in the area saw and that was the loss of most of their livestock, fodder, and food to conscription by one or the other army. How much faith they had in the receipts for future reimbursement that they were supposed to received is not known. Whether or not they could protect their other personal possessions from the marauding troops, deserters, and common thieves who also plundered the countryside cannot be known either. Their house and perhaps the barns and other buildings probably survived the war intact, since the only arson noted in the area was the Confederates' torching of the bridge at Durand's Mill.

With the Confederate forces forming a defensive line on the south side of Peachtree Creek beyond Durand's Mill, the Smiths lay in the path of the Federal forces as they circled Atlanta on the east toward Decatur and the Georgia Railroad. Crossing the Chattahoochee at Heard's Ferry on 8 July, General Schofield's Army of the Ohio was at Old Cross Keys and Samuel House's plantation by the 17th and camped that night at Johnston's mill. The next day, Stanley's division was camping behind breastworks no more than a half mile west of the Smith's house. [60]

In addition, according to family tradition, the Smith's house was used as regimental headquarters

during that time. [61] Then, especially, the Smith farm must have been swarming with "Yankees," and one can only wonder at what they experienced in those terrible days. Like many others, they may have joined the thousands of refugees trying to get out of the way of war and hoped for the best as far as their property was concerned. If they were still in their house, they would have witnessed the effective destruction of their farm. Fences and small outbuildings that could be easily torn down furnished fuel for the thousands of campfires that must have dotted the countryside as the troops encamped. Certainly nothing edible would have been left, including livestock and that year's crop of corn and sweet potatoes. From behind Federal lines, the Smiths, if they were at home, endured a long August as the siege guns pounded Atlanta into surrender on September 2.

They were at home in November when Atlanta finally went up in flames, an event that was remembered by Tullie's mother and quoted in her obituary in 1935. Then five years old, Mary Ella Mason had walked with her mother the two and a half miles from their house on the Shallowford Road at Peachtree Creek to spend the night with the Smiths, bringing with them letters from the men away at war.

> *We were reading over the letters and some of them were very long letters, you may be sure, for the boys had not much chance to write. Suddenly, through a window, my mother saw a red flare in the sky, over toward Atlanta, six miles away. . . . Mother and I didn't sleep much that night. We got up long before day, next morning, and started back home--we saw the moon set and the sun rise. But there was a sort of heavy cloud over everything, though the morning was bright. And there was smoke over Atlanta in the distance.* [62]

The next months were hard for everyone. With the countryside "pretty well cleaned out," in the words of Mary Gay, scavenging was a common activity, even for formerly prosperous citizens like Mrs. Gay. Although Tullie's mother and grandmother did not walk to Madison for supplies, as Gay did on two separate occasions, they did walk the six miles

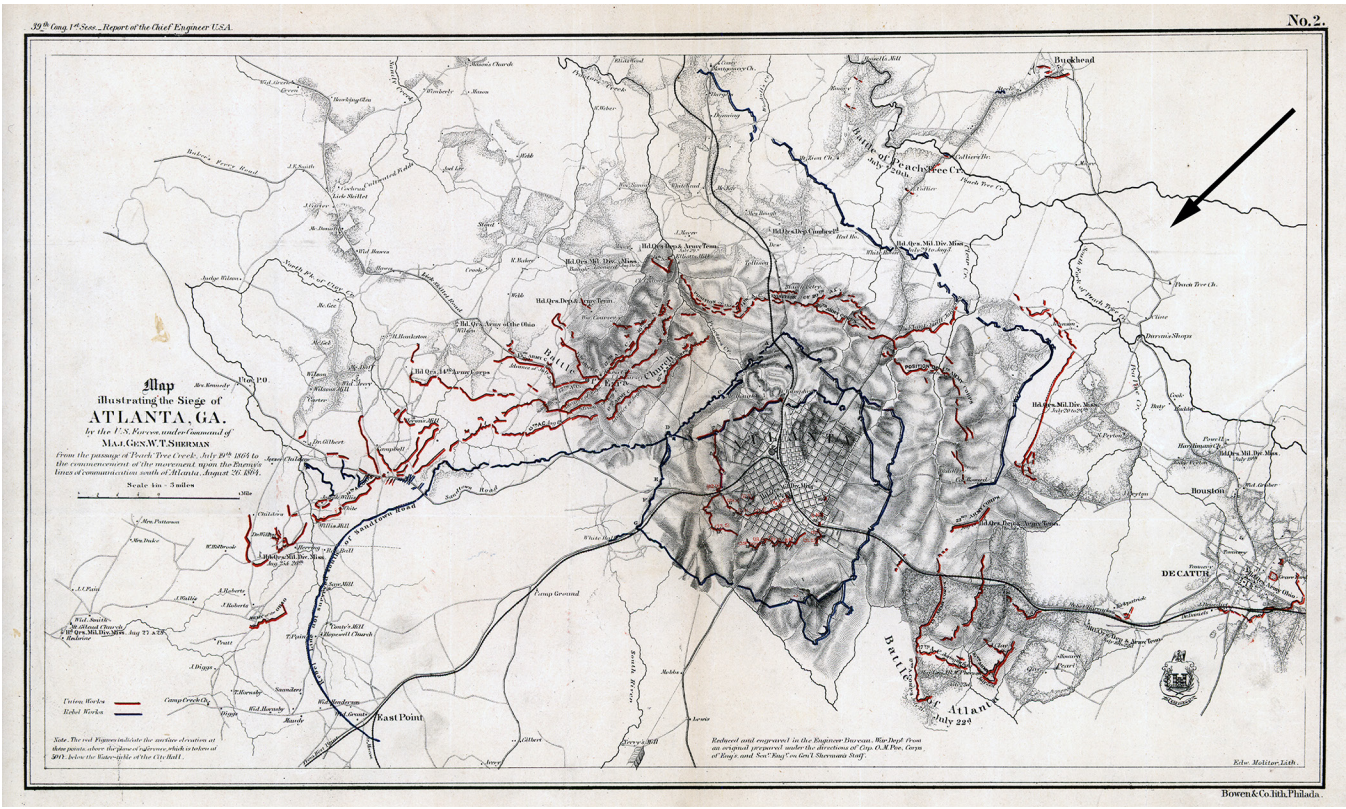

Figure 14. Orlando Poe's "Map illustrating the Siege of Atlanta" in July and August 1864, annotated with an arrow to denote the approximate location of Robert and Elizabeth Smith's house. (Library of Congress Geography and Map Division)

to Atlanta to buy salt and assembled a wheelbarrow in which to trundle it back home. Mrs. Mason also remembered taking "ragged blankets and other bits of material" that they scavenged from the camps and piecing them together into quilts to replace those looted from their house. Her brother came up from Wilcox County and helped plant winter wheat that offered at least the promise of bread in the spring. [63]

As bleak as their situation was, the Smiths and Masons still had their houses. Adeline Smith's in-laws, the Medlocks, did not fare nearly so well, as evidenced by a letter that Sara Medlock wrote in 1866 describing the status of their old farm along Clear Creek near what is now the intersection of Ponce de Leon Avenue and Monroe Drive.

> *We left home in July '64. We left our furniture. We took a few chairs and bedding, the best or the most of our clothes--our cattle we sold to the government except three cows and calves. We have one cow and calf is all the stock except 2 mules. We lost our hogs and horses. We refugeed to Washington County, stayed there until November '65. The fighting was mostly from Peachtree Road around to Decatur. Our houses burned, our timber cut down on the home lot, our shade trees--pretty well all of our fruit trees. There has been thousands of pounds of lead picked up on our land. People supported their family picking up lead [as did Mary Gay]. They got 50 cents a pound before the surrender. The bombshells is plenty, many with the load in them. [64]*

The situation was desperate for most during the winter of 1864 and 1865. As Mary Gay wrote, "Every larder was empty, and those with thousands and tens of thousands of dollars, were as poor as the poorest and as hungry, too." She, like so many others, had invested "all we possessed except our home and land and negroes, in Confederate bonds," which were all but worthless well before Appomattox. It is doubtful that the Smiths saw much exception from these general conditions. [65]

Notes

1. Walter G Cooper, *Official History of Fulton County* (Spartanburg, SC: The Reprint Company, 1978 reprint of 1934 edition), 17.

2. Charles Murphy Candler, "DeKalb County, Georgia, Centennial Celebration . . . Historical Address" (Decatur: DeKalb County Centennial Association, 1922), 3, 19.

3. DeKalb County, Inferior Court Minutes, Book A. This book is the only public record not destroyed in the 1842 courthouse fire.

4. Mills B. Lane, *The Rambler in Georgia* (Savannah: Beehive Press, 1973), 90.

5. Ibid., 148.

6. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs, Vol. I*, 43.

7. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, Vol. I, 30; the Sandtown Road, not the Montgomery Ferry Road as suggested by Garrett, probably left Decatur via W. Ponce de Leon.

8. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs, Vol. I*, 133

9. Ibid., 69.

10. Ibid., 109.

11. DeKalb County Inferior Court Minute Book A, 584, November 1854.

12. Maj. George B. Davis, *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War* (New York: 1978), Plate LX, #1.

13. John R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscape of America, 1580-1845* (New Haven, 1982), 74.

14. Ibid., 172–174.

15. Lane, *Rambler in Georgia*, 172.

16. Ibid., xxiii.

17. Caroline McKinney Clarke, *The Story of Decatur, 1823-1899* (Fernandina Beach, FL: Wolfe Publishing, 1996 reprint of 1973 edition), 14.

18. Charles Murphey Candler, "Historical Address," DeKalb County Centennial Celebration at Decatur, Georgia; 9 November 1922 (DeKalb County Centennial Association, 1923), 3.

19. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs, Vol. I*, 133, 180.

20. Ibid., 268. Also see Garrett's "Necrology."

21. There is an unsubstantiated story that William Mason's father lived in Virginia and was killed by a lightning bolt "while sitting near the chimney reading his Bible."

22. See Mary Ella Mason Smith's obituary, *Atlanta Journal*, 15 October 1935.

23. Willard, "Early History," 4, 30; Garrett's "Necrology."

24. Sally Sewell Plaster's half-brother William Sewell and his sons settled in the western part of the county and gave their name to Sewell Road, now Benjamin Mays Dr. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs, Vol. 1,* 141–143; Garrett's "Necrology."

25. This Daniel Johnson should not be confused with Daniel W. Johnson (1862–1935), son of John Geredine Johnson (1817–1883), whose family were pioneers in the Cross Keys district of Dekalb County. The two Johnson families were apparently not related although they were friends. Two of the existing roads in Druid Hills—Dan Johnson Road and Vilenah Lane—are named for Daniel W. Johnson and his wife Willie Vilenah Medlock, both of whom were cousins of Tullie Smith. Willie Vilenah's name, like Tullie Vilenah's name, honored their aunt Antoinette Vilenah Mason (1845–1885).

26. See Frank S. Mead, *Handbook of Denominations* (Nashville, 1980) for denominational descriptions.

27. Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish,* 320–21; the precise location of the school is uncertain, but it may have been across the Piedmont Avenue from the present church.

28. Leyburn, *Scotch-Irish,* 282; Clarke, *Decatur,* 2.

29. Willard, "Early History," 10, 184; Lucian Lamar Knight, *Georgia's Landmarks, Memorials, and Legends* (Atlanta: Privately published, 1914), 704.

30. Springs were located on both sides of Piedmont Road at Rock Springs Road, but since only one of them was located on the west side of the road, the church chose the singular name "Rock Spring" while the road and community take the plural "Rock Springs." The deed was not recorded or, apparently, even conveyed until Emily Smith did so in 1878. The church has a copy of that deed.

31. Emily Wynne Smith's father, Thomas Wynne, was one of the founders of Liberty Baptist Church in Gwinnett County.

32. Alice Smythe McCabe, ed. *Gwinnett County, Georgia, Families, 1818-1968*. {Lawrenceville, GA: Gwinnett Historical Society, Inc., 1988), 342.

33. DeKalb Deed Book AA, 556; also see building cornerstone.

34. Candler, "Historical Address," 3.

35. George White, *Statistics of the State of Georgia* (Savannah: 1849), 205.

36. In 1860, Smith listed 150 improved acres or 22% of total acreage. By that time, he had sold Land Lot # 4 and #50 to his son, which probably accounts for the $2,000 reduction in the value of his real estate between 1850 and 1860. The actual acreage of his farm is difficult to calculate since the land lot lines were irregularly drawn but he is presumed to have owned and farmed all of Land Lot 152, 153, 156 and, probably, 157 throughout the period. Robert Smith also bought and sold property elsewhere in the county which he may have rented, since no record other than his ownership of the land has been located.

37. Fulton Deed Book C, 512.

38. Willard Range, *A Century of Georgia Agriculture, 1850-1950* (Athens, 1954), 11.

39. All agricultural statistics in this section were taken from the federally published census summaries and individual census schedules.

40. James C. Bonner, *A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860* (Athens, 1964), 64–65.

41. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs, Vol. I,* 176; Garrett's "Necrology."

42. Only one slave, owned by James Paden, out of the 2,000 listed in the 1860 census of DeKalb County, was born in Africa. See also Robert William Fogel & Stanley L. Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of Negro Slavery* (Boston, 1974), 22–29.

43. Thomas W. Holder, *The Atlas of Antebellum Agriculture* (Athens, 1986), p. 84; statistical information compiled from Francis Walker, *The Statistics of the Population of the United States: Ninth Census, Vol. 1* (Washington, 1872).

44. Precise enumeration of slaves can be difficult since ownership was often split between several family members although the slaves might all work the same land. Failure to accurately report slave ownership, either by the owner or the enumerator, complicates the issue. The original manuscript (on microfilm) of the slave schedule for DeKalb County in 1850 and 1860 and for Fulton County in 1860 is the source for most data on individual slave owners.

45. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs, Vol. I,* 336–38.

46. Ibid., 513–15.

47, Ibid., 453, 586.

48. Ibid., 152.

49. Ibid., 201.

50. Ibid., 358.

51. Ibid., 495, 553.

52. The fact that neither Robert nor William R. Smith is listed as owning slaves in 1840 may indicate that they, like others, sometimes distrusted the motives behind enumerating slaves. Most realized, however, that an undercount of the slave population would reduce the state's Congressional apportionment since three-fifths of the slave population was counted toward the State's aggregate population for apportionment purposes.

53. "Mrs. Elizabeth Smith," *Atlanta Journal*, 11 May 1900.

54. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs, Vol. I,* 557.

55. Fogel and Engerman, *Time on the Cross*, 77.

56. Ibid., 216.

57. See muster rolls for "Cobb's Legion," Georgia

Department of Archives and History; fifteen muster roll cards on "Jasper N. Smith" provide some clues as to his movements.

58. See letter to the editor from Mrs. Nancy Mason, a distant cousin of Tullie Smith, *Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine*, 25 January 1970.

59. See Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs, Vol. I,* 564–565, for an interesting description of an incident endured by Wesley Collier and his family in February 1864. Note that Collier does not appear, as his brothers do and as he should if Garrett's birth date is correct, in the "Joe Brown" census of that year. The story is also interesting for its description of the Collier's house, which stood in what is now the 2100 block of Peachtree Road and which was probably much like Robert Hiram Smith's house.

60. Maj. George B. Davis, Leslie J. Perry, and Joseph W. Kirkley, *The Official Military Atlas of the Civil War* (New York, 1978 reprint of 1891 edition), Plate LXII.

61. See *Atlanta Journal-Constitution Magazine,* 25 August 1969, letter from Nancy Mason.

62. Obituary for Mary Ella Mason Smith, *Atlanta Journal*, 29 October 1935.

63. See Mary Gay's *Life in Dixie During the War* and Mary Ella Mason's obituary. Salt was a necessity not only for seasoning but also for preserving quantities of meat and other food.

64. McCabe, G*winnett County*, 342.

65. Gay, *Life in Dixie,* 255.

III. A New South

The Civil War wiped out two-thirds of the taxable wealth of Georgia, including one third of the value of real estate and 80% of the value of personal property, most of that in the form of freed slaves. In 1860, the state's 465,000 slaves had been valued at $302,694,885 or twice the valuation of the state's agricultural lands.

Robert H. Smith fared better than most in recovering from the war's losses although he, too, lost more than 60% of his personal wealth with the loss of his slaves. Nevertheless, he had personal wealth, if only $4,650 in 1870, when many of those around him did not. In addition, he and the rest of DeKalb County had an advantage that many parts of the state did not. Across Georgia after the Civil War, property values fell sharply, beginning what some have called "the Long Depression" that lasted until the turn of the century.

Simply because of proximity to Atlanta and the railroads, DeKalb County was somewhat insulated from the plummeting land values experienced elsewhere in the state. Values in Fulton County increased sharply as would be expected by the tremendous growth of Atlanta after the war. Significantly, while land values fell by a third in Campbell County and by over 40% in Henry, Cobb, and Gwinnett Counties, in DeKalb County the valuation of real estate fell less than 5% between 1860 and 1870. While some white people may have lost the value of their slaves, the citizens of DeKalb County at least did not also lose the value of their land.

Reconstruction

Robert H. Smith was even able to double the value of his own real estate during the period, partly through purchase of additional acreage elsewhere in the county. Even in September 1866, Smith was able to pay Samuel Davis $600 for his farm along what is now Dresden Drive east of Brookhaven. [1] How he was able to do this and repair the severe damage that his farm certainly suffered is not known but it seems a clear indication that Smith survived the Civil War in better shape than many of his contemporaries. His older brother William R. Smith died in September 1865, intestate, so we do not know if, once again, Robert H. Smith benefited from his brother's generosity. The estate was administered by Charles H. "Bill Arp" Smith and William's widow Annie E. Smith. In addition to twelve land lots on the northeast side of Rome, the estate included forty shares of stock in the Rome Railroad. [2]By 1867, Robert and Elizabeth Smith's youngest son, Jasper Newton Smith, was dead. The muster rolls indicate that he continued in service throughout the war but that he was "detailed to Georgia" to buy a horse in February 1864. The last entry in his company records, dated 20 September 1864, shows him apparently alive and still on "horse detail" in Georgia. Unfortunately, although a photograph of him in Confederate uniform has survived, both the date of Jasper's death and the place of his burial have been lost. He, too, died intestate and his brother-in-law Michael Steele was appointed executor of the estate when a letter for administration of the estate was requested in September 1867. [3] Perhaps Jasper Smith was lost in battle and the family waited till 1867 to settle his affairs, but that is not likely. Although he was barely in his thirties by that time, there was a host of diseases and accidents that could have claimed his life. His stint in the hospital for dysentery in 1862 may even have been an indication that he was not a healthy man. As with any war, the Civil War produced its share of veterans who were unable to cope with the horrors of war or the return to civilian life. Robert Medlock's older

brother, Thomas, for instance, committed suicide while home on furlough in 1864. Another brother was severely wounded and thought lost for months. The circumstances of Jasper's death remain undocumented.

The inventory of Jasper Smith's estate, taken in November 1867, included his land in Land Lots 107 and 108, his buggy, and crops, but no household goods or farm implements. In the fall of 1868, Jasper's farm was finally sold, with Henry West buying the land in Land Lots 107 and 108 and James Washington Smith buying back the twenty-five acres in Land Lot 4 that he had sold his brother in 1857. Michael Steele continued to administer Jasper's estate until it was finally settled in 1870 but, in the meantime, when his and Martha's fifth child was born in November 1868, they named him in honor of her late brother. Leslie Jasper Steele grew up to become mayor of Decatur and was a U. S. Congressman when he died in 1929. [5]

Then, in December 1868, Dr. Nathaniel Smith died in LaGrange, leaving Robert H. Smith the only one of old Robert Smith's sons still alive. Dr. Smith, too, died without leaving a will, which is somewhat surprising considering his age and circumstances in life. His passing was marked by a lengthy obituary in the *LaGrange Reporter* on 8 January 1869. He, too, probably left an extensive estate although there is no reason to believe that his brother received any portion of it.

Also in January 1869, Robert Smith bought another farm, this time from the estate of Robert W. Cobb in south DeKalb County, but he sold it the fol-lowing year. In 1871, Smith bought more acreage from Roland and Rebecca Hines in eastern DeKalb County. Although Robert Smith, along with everybody else, had lost a significant part of his personal wealth with emancipation of his slaves, he still somehow managed to increase the remainder of his estate through the difficult decade of the 1860s. He continued farming, although not as productively as he had before the war. By 1870, he was sixty-eight years old and probably semi-retired, since he had no working oxen or mules listed in the agricultural census of that year. He, like many for-mer slave owners, probably had replaced his slave labor with tenant or sharecropper arrangements, either with some of his ex-slaves or with other landless neighbors. In return of the use of his land, he received either money or a share of the crop. [6]

It must have been a blow to Robert and Elizabeth Smith when their oldest son, James Washington Smith, died in November 1874 at the age of forty-seven. While Robert and his father had both lived long lives, James was the third of their six children to die prematurely. He died intestate and left seven children, the youngest less than ten years old, and it is likely that Robert and Elizabeth Smith helped his widow Emily considerably in caring for their brood. [7]

By the following spring, Robert Hiram Smith's health was failing, and on April 22, 1875, he made his last will and testament, appointing his sons-in-law Robert O. Medlock and Michael Steele executors of his estate. A week later, he was dead. He was buried at Rock Spring Church next to his son James Washington Smith.

In June 1875, Smith's will was proven and recorded in DeKalb County Probate Court. [8] The only property mentioned specifically was the "John Shambly old place" in Gwinnett County, which included 270 acres in Land Lots 184 and 185, 6th District. Lying along Beaver Ruin Road where it crosses Beaver Ruin Creek, the land was left as a life estate for his "beloved wife Elizabeth." His widow also received "one black horse buggy and bridle," her choice of household furniture, one year's financial support, and $500. The remainder of his property, Robert Smith 's will directed, was to be sold, his debts paid, and the residue divided "equally with all my heirs."

An inventory was made of the estate by J. W. F. Tilley, D. Y. Hicks, James Polk, and W. R. Peavy. [9] In addition to a carriage and a wagon, the inventory included a large lot (probably all) of his farming and blacksmith tools, his guns, the small amount of livestock that he owned, two bales of lint cotton and a large lot of corn. No household furniture or other possessions were inventoried since Elizabeth was still living in the house, but

the inventory does include twenty-four promissory notes from friends, neighbors, and family that totaled $6,833.35, or close to $160,000 in terms today's dollar. Although one of the notes was for only $4.92, several were for $500 or more, with one to William Wright for $725. Also inventoried were $1824.50 in silver and gold coins and $1018.25 in United States currency, a significant amount of money in the depressed agricultural economy of the 1870s. On July 27, 1875, all of the farm implements and perishable property from the estate were sold at auction. On December 1, the remainder of the personal property was auctioned, including the produce from that year's fall harvest. None of the Smith family made purchases at this sale, although some of Smith's neighbors did.

It was nearly two years, however, before Robert and Elizabeth Smith's farm itself was finally sold. Their second son, William Benjamin, died in 1876 in Cherokee County, Alabama, and James' widow may have been having a difficult time financially during that period. By that summer, the family had begun sorting out powers of attorney and individual interests in the estate and, by the end of June 1877, had subdivided the farm for sale.

The bulk of the property was sold to Robert H. Richards for $3,120, with Emily Smith, Thomas Paden, and others buying smaller portions of the property. [10] Included in Richard's purchase were Land Lot 156, including the house and other outbuildings, all except the southeast quarter of Land Lot 152, and the southwest quarter of Land Lot 157. Richards, a well-known Atlanta attorney, was already familiar with the farm and bought a large lot of fodder, corn, and potatoes at the final auction of Robert H. Smith's estate in December 1875.

His real interest was speculative, however, and he immediately sold the farm to William G. Herndon for $3,500. It is possible that Herndon made improvements to the house during this period since he was able to sell the property again less than a month later for $4,500. The new owners, who presumably lived on the premises, were Sarah E. Simmons and her children Brantley, Lewis W., Charles C., and Henry T. [11]

William Berry Smith and Mary Ella Mason

The eldest of the seven children of James Washington Smith and Emily Harriet Wynne was William Berry Smith, born in 1857 at their log house on Cheshire Bridge Road. Although he left no reminiscences of his early days nor did Tullie record any, as she did with her mother, William's childhood was also marked by the trauma of civil war. As with his father and many others, the family farm was in the direct line of march and encampment in the summer of 1864, even if it was not torn by actual battle.

There was apparently a school at Rock Springs which William likely attended. The school property is noted on early twentieth century plats of the area directly across what is now Piedmont Road from Rock Spring Church and may have been originally established on Smith lands.

With his father's death in the spring of 1875, the 18-year-old William would have certainly had additional responsibilities in helping his mother run the farm. Sometime during 1876, the last of his uncles, William Benjamin Smith, died in Cherokee County, Alabama, and by the following spring the family decided to sell the old Smith homestead on the Powers Ferry Road. Considering subsequent events and his probable past associations with the place, the partitioning and sale of his grandfather's farm must have been a source of some pangs of sentiment to the young William. In August 1878, his mother sold the last of her inherited share of the property, perhaps in part to pay for her son's education;.after a half century, Smiths no longer owned land on Powers Ferry Road.

William Berry Smith graduated from what is now North Georgia College in Dahlonega in 1880, at a time when a college education was a rare thing except among the most prosperous families. It

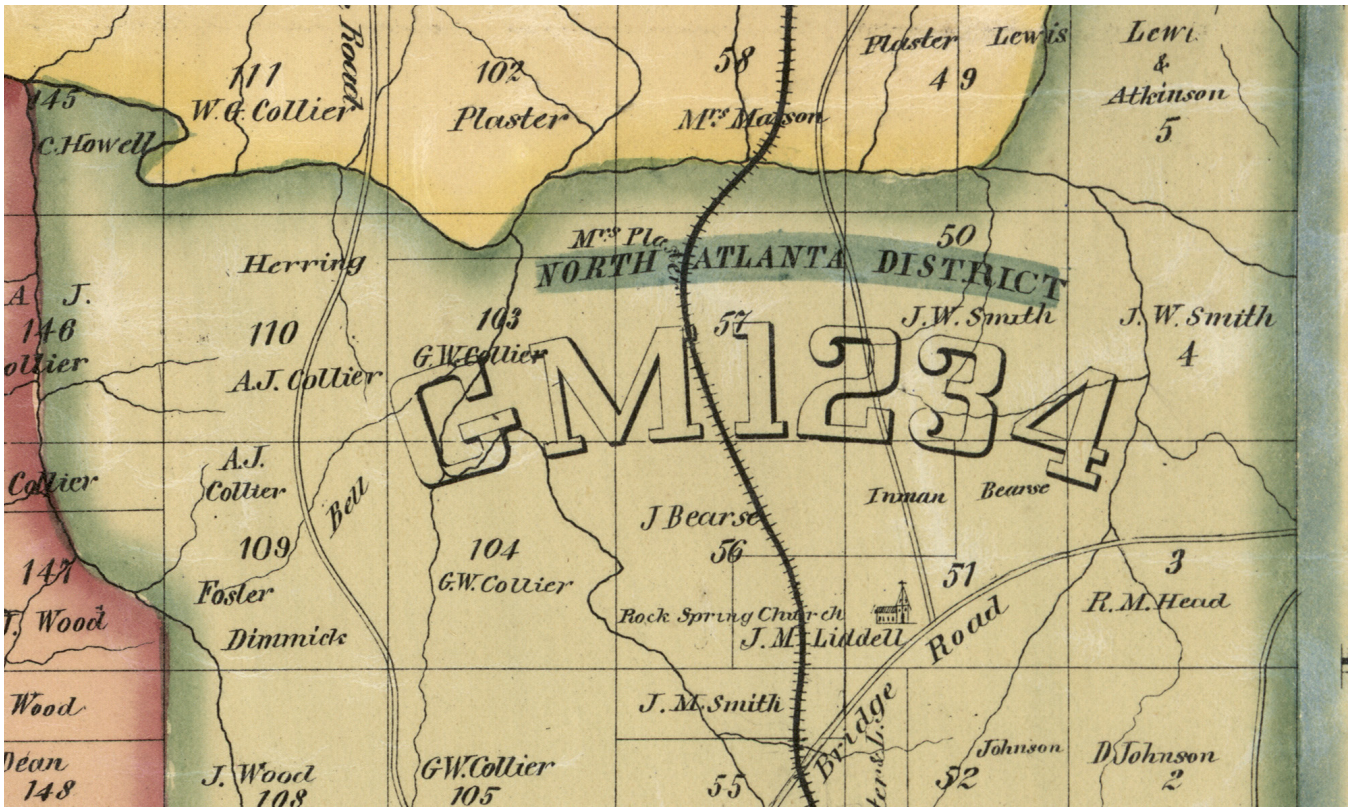

Figure 15. Detail from Pittman's Map of Fulton County*, 1872, showing ownership of property. James Washington Smith's property in Land Lots 4 and 50 can be found at upper right.*

may have been as early as the spring of 1876 that he first enrolled at the North Georgia Agricultural College but more probably it was in the fall of 1878. One of several state-supported "branch colleges" that were organized in the 1870s to broaden the state's educational base, it is now known simply as North Georgia College. The college, located at Dahlonega, was a two year school and, in the eyes of one proponent of its establishment competed with "that Scots-Irish preacher's college of Latin, Greek, &c" in Athens. [12]

On January 15, 1879, William Berry Smith married Mary Ella Mason, the little girl who with her mother had walked to his grandfather Smith's house the night that Sherman burned Atlanta. The daughter of William Pinkney Mason and his wife Mary Ann Amanda Chandler, she had attracted attention as a child for her ability to re-cite multiplication tables "backwards and forwards," according to her obituary. By 1870, she was "assisting her teachers with their classes, in order to acquire a better knowledge of grammar and geography and other subjects. By 1874, "she had a school of her own, with thirty-six pupils." [13]

About 1878, Mary Ella Mason decided to give up teaching and went to Atlanta "with another girl her age" to study "the art of dressmaking from a modiste, Mlle. Labon, who lately had come to this city from New York." It was during this time that her lifelong friendship with William Berry Smith bloomed into marriage. Whether Mary went back to Dahlonega with William while he finished school is not known, but the couple lived with his widowed mother for the first two years of their marriage. Life could not have been easy for Emily Smith, especially when her youngest son, James Washington Smith, Jr., died in December 1879 at the age of ten. Nevertheless, somehow William Berry Smith managed to get through school, a notable accomplishment for anyone in those days, and he graduated in the spring of 1880.

In November 1880, Smith sold the fifty acres at Rock Springs that he had inherited from his father as well as a house on Larkin Street in Atlanta.

The Rock Springs property was north and east of the intersection of Rock Springs Road and Plaster Bridge Road (now Piedmont Avenue) and excepted the one acre tract on which the Rock Spring Church had been built ten years before. It was part of Land Lot 50 that Robert Hiram Smith had bought in 1845, about the time he arrived in DeKalb County. [14]

In April 1881, William and Mary Ella Smith's first child was born. The two-room house that he built about this time, probably on Land Lot 50 near his mother, was probably in anticipation of his new family. Joy was short-lived, however, as the baby, named Vinnie Ella, died on 29 July 1881. [15]

Returning Home

In November 1881, William Berry Smith realized what was, perhaps, a dream that he had held for several years when he bought back into the family Land Lot 156, the core of his grandfather Smith's old farm. He had to pay $4,000 for the land lot even though the family had gotten only $3120 when they sold it and another 200 acres only four years earlier. By the end of the year, he and Mary Ella had moved from their new house into the old house Robert Smith had built in the 1840s. [16]

Atlanta in the 1880s and 1890s was a long way from the backwoods crossroads that it had been when the Smiths first came to DeKalb County more than fifty years earlier. Now it was the state capital and the "Gate City of the South" and had a population that rose from less than 40,000 in 1880 to over 65,000 ten years later. Slowly the area's old antebellum farmers or their children were beginning to profit from something other than a good crop of cotton. Meredith Collier's sons, for instance, were still farming their lands along Peachtree Road, but George Washington Collier, who had bought property at Five Points when the town was still called Marthasville, would also be building the Aragon Hotel on Peachtree at Ellis in 1890.

Others of the antebellum farmers sold out completely. In 1887, Benjamin Walker, an old neighbor of James Washington Smith, sold all of his 189-acre farm, which was part of the land that his father Samuel had bought in 1834, to the newly-formed Gentlemen's Driving Club. That October, the old Walker house (c. 1868) officially opened its doors as the clubhouse for the Driving Club, which soon came to be known as the Piedmont Driving Club. At the same time, the city's second Piedmont Exposition opened where Sam Walker's old cornfields had been and where Piedmont Park is today.

The effects of the city's rapid growth were being felt in DeKalb County, too, when Shole's Gazetteer of 1886 described Decatur:

> *[a] suburb of Atlanta, 6 miles northeast of that city. It is celebrated for its healthy and pleasant surroundings, excellent society, and pure water. Many of the business and professional men of Atlanta have their homes here, it being easily accessible by rail . . . . 900 inhabitants, three white churches—Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian—two colored—Baptist and Methodist . . . a weekly paper. . . mail daily. [17]*

Whether or not Smith intended to be a farmer, as his fathers before him had been, is not known. His agricultural college education surely exposed him to the latest in agricultural practices but it is not at all clear that Smith actually farmed himself after the early 1880s. It seems likely that Smith, like so many others during the period, allowed ten-ant farmers to work his land, leaving him free to pursue other business opportunities. [18]

In March 1883, he paid his neighbor Francis L. Guess, son of the old pioneer and long-time Smith neighbor James Guess, $600 for 50 acres adjoining Smith's property along the south side of Peachtree Creek, "subject to a right-of-way already granted W. J. Houston and F. L. Guess." The Houston tract included James Guess' old mill site. Hudgins, in his modern account of DeKalb County mills, credits Smith and Maj. Washington J. Houston with operating a "corn and wheat mill" there and Tullie's notes, as quoted by Sparks, say that he had not only a grist mill but a cotton gin as well. Houston is best-known for the mill that he operated and that is still standing in part on Houston Mill Road, north of Decatur. [19]

In 1886, a second child was born to the Smiths, for whom they picked the unusual name of Tullie Vilenah. The middle name, which has been often misspelled, is certainly in honor of Mary Ella's

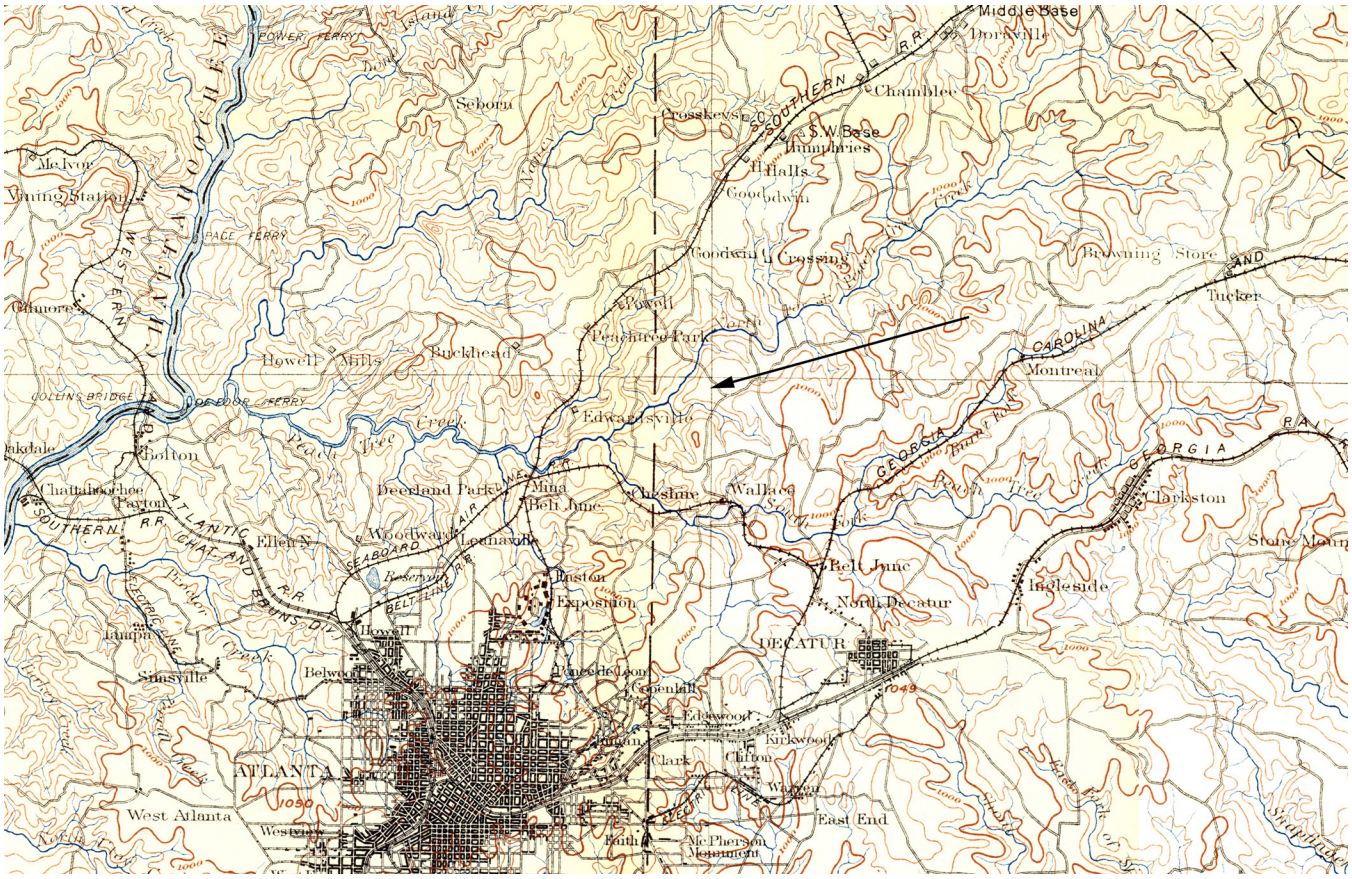

Figure 16. Detail from US Geological Survey, "Atlanta Sheet," edition of 1895, annotated with an arrow to locate the site of Robert H. Smith's house. (Library of Congress)

oldest sister, Vilenah Antoinette Mason, who had died earlier that year. The first name, however, is an old Irish name, made famous by Tully Castle in County Fermanagh, the scene of a notorious massacre of Protestants on Christmas Day, 1641, during an uprising that began the Irish Confederate Wars. In addition, Tully Choice was one of DeKalb County's early state legislators and, with his brother Ezrus Choice, were among the early pioneers in Gwinnett County where they operated a store on Peachtree Road just across the county line from DeKalb. In the 1820s, they moved to Decatur and opened another store, and Tully Choice served as senator from DeKalb County in 1826-1827. [20]

William and Mary Smith must have seen a certain amount of prosperity during this period as well enabling them to buy additional land adjacent to Land Lot 156 and per-haps to start oth-er business ventures. In November 1888, they bought 84½ acres from their neighbor John T. Tuggle, whose father Ludowick Tuggle had helped pioneer DeKalb County in the 1820s. The Tuggles had not sold out completely, however, but would operate their dairy at the corner of N. Druid Hills and Briarcliff Roads until well into the twentieth century. [21]

The land Smith bought lay south of the parcel that he had already bought from Frank Guess in 1883 and, with an additional purchase of six acres "along the public wagon road" from Guess in 1890, brought the Smith farm to a total of about 350 acres. That same year, 1890, the Smiths' second child, Ralph Washington Smith was born and, two years later, their third child, Ethel Gertrude Smith. Two more children followed: Mary Willie in 1895 and Edward Mason, in 1899.

A New Career

By that time, Smith was clearly no longer farming himself but had gone into partnership with Henry T. Head and opened a coal yard on Edgewood Avenue. Located between Bell and Fort Streets,

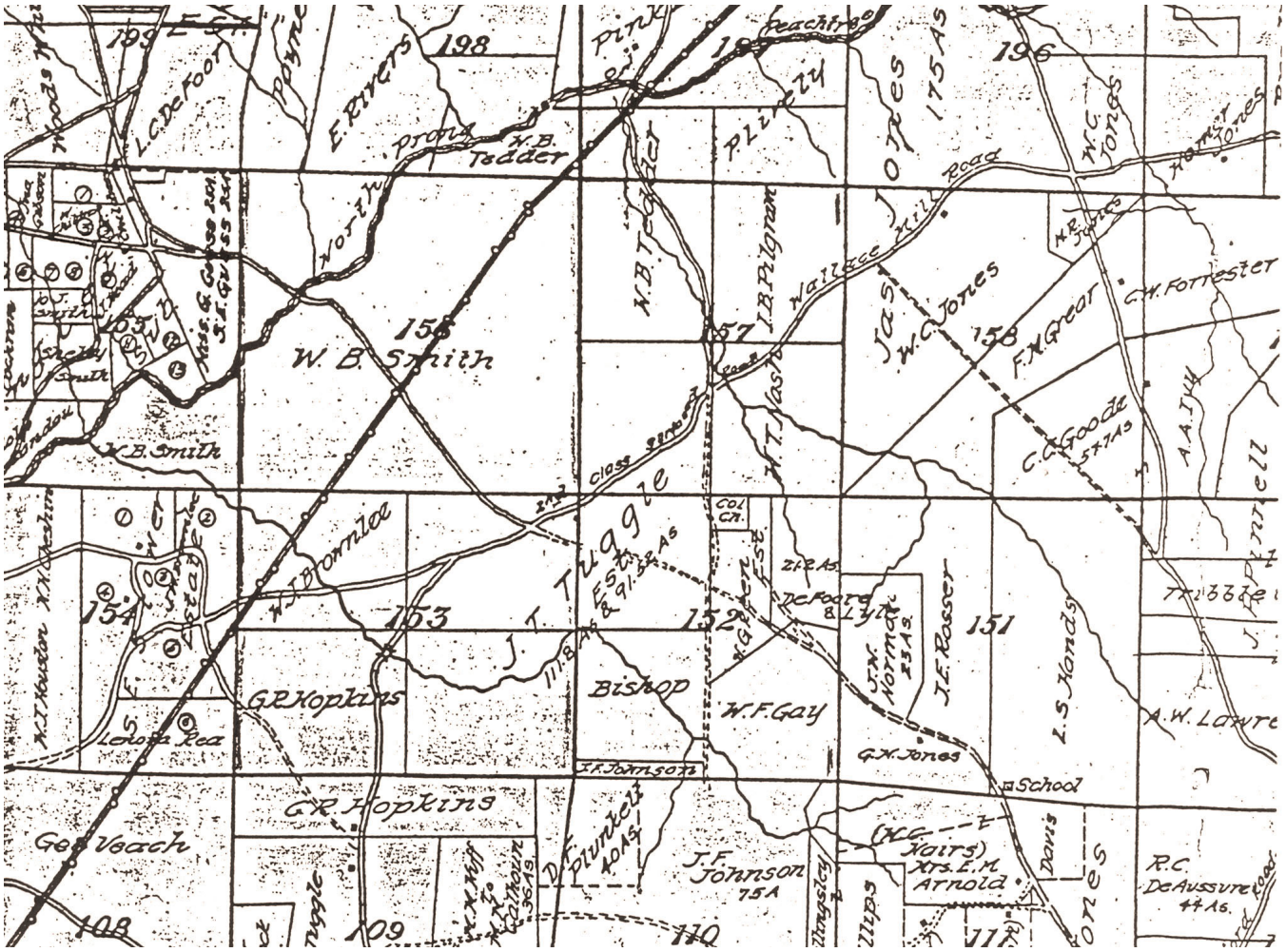

Figure 17. Detail from DeKalb County's plat map of 1915, showing the old Smith farm and how it had been subdivided by that time. (DeKalb Historical Society)

Smith operated the yard until about 1900. Tullie also wrote that he "had a brick yard near Decatur on the Powell's place," which would probably have been somewhere near what is now Clairmont and N. Decatur Roads. [22] No other details of these business ventures have been documented.

During that period, the Smiths began to live, at least part time, nearer Atlanta. In 1890, they were listed in the Atlanta city directory as living in the "county" and, in 1899, in the "country," both probably meaning the farm in DeKalb County. In between those listings, however, they were listed as residing on Highland Avenue beyond the city limits in the midst of the city's first "street-car suburbs." [23]

In 1889, Joel Hurt's Inman Park, serviced by the city's first electric street car line, had opened on the antebellum farm of his cousin Troup Hurt on the Decatur Road two miles east of Five Points. The next year, on cousin Augustus Hurt's farm, rival developers had begun development of Copenhill and opened the "Nine Mile Circle," the city's second electric streetcar line. In the early 1890s, real estate was already a booming business across the northeast side of Atlanta.

Probably because he was now operating a business, in 1891, William Berry Smith transferred title to the farm to his wife, who subsequently seems to have held title to all of the family's property. In 1892, Mary Ella Smith sold 68 acres of their land

in Land Lot 155 to John W. Englett for $4500, a considerable profit for an investment of less than $1000 ten years earlier. She still, however, owned the east half of Land Lot 4, land that William R. Smith had given to Robert Hi-ram Smith in the 1840s and his sons had farmed in the 1850s and

1860s, as well as parts of Land Lot 50 and Land Lot 5, most of which was still undeveloped farm and wood land. [24]

William Berry Smith may have worked as a carpenter around 1892, if the 1893 city directory listing is correct. His father was a carpenter, according to family tradition, and William may have tried his hand at that as well. William's listings in the Atlanta City Directories in the 1890s vary as to occupation, including that of railroad conductor. Out of this might have grown his experience as a "contractor," which first appears as his occupation around 1902. Ultimately, however, he found his career in what is now called "site preparation" but then was called simply "grading."

By the time city directory information was compiled in 1908, the Smiths are listed as residing on Highland Avenue just north of North Avenue. According to Tullie's notes, her father built an eleven-room house where they lived "after Mrs. Mason died," which was in 1894. Although the erratic city directory listings from 1891 until 1908 as that section of Highland Avenue was beginning to develop make locating the house difficult, Tullie wrote that it was "on Highland and Blue Ridge." In the city directories, it appears as old 740 Highland Avenue in the years just be-fore World War I. According to Tullie's family, the Smiths ultimately treated the old farm house as country or week-end retreat, since the Highland Avenue location would have been more convenient not only for William's work but also for the children's schooling. [25]

Smith was active in the development of several in-town neighborhoods, including Ansley Park, development of which began in 1904 on part of George Washington Collier's old farm on Clear Creek, and perhaps Peachtree Heights Park, which began development four years later on Wesley Gray Collier's several hundred acres on Peachtree Road north of the creek. The subdivision of the Smiths' old lands in Land Lot 4 and Land Lot 50 was also underway by that time, including the opening of what is now Lenox Road between Rock Springs and Cheshire Bridge about 1914. [26]

After a hiatus during World War I and fueled by the great increase in automobile ownership in the 1920s, suburban development mushroomed in the 1920s with the completion of development of Ansley Park and Morningside and the beginnings of Johnson Estates. The old farm houses, some of them antebellum, fell one by one and, in the case of the Johnsons, the Walkers, and the Todds, the old family cemeteries were exhumed and relocated. [27]

About 1915, the Smiths "broke up house- keeping," as Tullie wrote, at the Highland Avenue house and returned to the country house. They apparently kept the in-town house but did not rent it until it burned, along with "things" they had stored there, sometime before 1920. By that time, Smith's grading business had taken him to Charlotte, North Carolina, where he lived at least part of the time and where he made the headquarters for his business. Although this portion of his career has not been thoroughly researched, his most nota-ble project during the period seems to have been his contract grading the Daniel Boone Highway in North Carolina, one of a series of early Federal highway projects that included the Dixie High-way through Georgia. [28]

In 1924, William Berry Smith was taken ill and, on August 24, died in "a private sanitarium" in Charlotte. The body was transported back to Atlanta where H. M. Patterson's handled the funeral. With Reverend Russell K. Smith officiating, William was buried in Decatur Cemetery next to his wife's parents.

Notes

1. DeKalb County, Deed Book P, 487.

2. Roger Aycock, *All Roads Lead to Rome (*Rome: Rome Heritage Foundation, 1981), 470.

3. DeKalb County, Estate #3234; Minute Book B, 383, 398.

4. Alice Smythe McCabe, ed., *Gwinnett County, Georgia, Families, 1818–1968* (Lawrenceville, GA: Gwinnett Historical Society, Inc., 1988), 341. The cemetery at Rock Spring Church is thought by some to have had its beginnings in the 1860s before the church was founded. Perhaps Jasper Newton Smith was buried there, raising the intriguing possibility of the present Rock Spring Cemetery having its beginnings in a Smith family cemetery.

5. DeKalb County, Inventory and Appraisements, Book D, 436, Book E, 45, 47, 63, 75; Returns, Book E, 31, 133, 169. U. S. Government Printing Office, "Memorial Services Held in the House of Representatives . . . Leslie J. Steele," 1930, DeKalb Historical Society archives.

6. DeKalb County, Deed Book G(Q), 344, 426; Deed Book R, 154.

7. Fulton County, Minute Book C, 24; Inventory and Appraisals, Book B, 317; Annual Returns, Book G, 99, 497, 590.

8. DeKalb County, Estate #3252, Will Book B, 51–53.

9. DeKalb County, Inventory and Appraisements, Book E, 314–315.

10. DeKalb County, Deed Book U, 332; W, 383–384; V, 577.

11. DeKalb County, Deed Book p. 518. The Eleanor Simmons listed in the 1850 census, Town District #54 near the Smiths, might be related to these Simmons.

12. According to the college's Alumni Office, the date of beginning classes may be the result of an automatic entry when the historical data was computerized and can, therefore, not be considered absolutely reliable. William Ivy Hair, *A Centennial History of Georgia College* (Milledgeville, 1979), 6.

13. "Mrs. Mary Ella Smith Dies at 'House on the Hill," *Atlanta Journal*, 29 October 1935.

14. Fulton County, Deed Book FF, 435, 567.

15. See Andrew Sparks, "'Oldest House' Comes to Town," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine,* 9 November 1969, 22.

16. DeKalb County, Deed Book X, 7–8.

17. A.E. Sholes and J. H. Estill, *Georgia State Gazetteer, Business and Planters, 1886-1887.* (Savannah: Morning News Printing House, 1886), 476.

18. The 1926 plat of the property shows two houses on the property marked "tenant houses."

19. Sherman's orders to destroy mills, etc., specifically excluded the many small mills, like Guess', that were primarily for local consumption. DeKalb County, Deed Book X, 10; Plat Book 15, 139; Carl T. Hudgins, "Mills and Other DeKalb County Industries and Their Owners" (paper presented at a meeting of the DeKalb Historical Society, November 1951), 14.

20. Levi Willard, "Early History of Decatur Written Many Years Ago," *The DeKalb New Era*, 2 December 1920, 27. A Tully Choice, probably father or uncle of the Decatur storekeeper, was one of the first nine militia district captains in Hancock County, in 1793. Also interesting is the notation in Battey's *History of Rome*, 257: "William R. Smith's 'Continental Shop' was on the corner above the Choice House" in Rome, Georgia.

21. DeKalb County, Deed Books LL, 155; BB, 268.

22. Sparks, "Oldest House," 22.

23. See Atlanta City Directories. Note the presence of another William B. Smith in the directories from the 1890s.

24. DeKalb County, Deed Book DD, 497–8; FF, 747.

25. Interview with Edward M. Smith Jr. in November 1996.

26. Fulton County Plat Book 6, 38–39, "Proposed Road from Highland Avenue to Cheshire Bridge Road," filed 1913.

27. See obituary for Smith, *Atlanta Constitution and Atlanta Journal*, 25 August 1924.

IV. Tullie Vilenah Smith

Little is known about Tullie Smith's childhood beyond her birth in 1886 at her great-grandfather's house on the old Powers Ferry Road. As noted above, the family did not live there long and Tullie must have spent much of her formative years on Highland Avenue, although with frequent stays in "the country." The earliest record of her apart from her parents is the 1906 Atlanta City Directory that lists her boarding on Spring Street with Joseph M. Weston. Then 19, it is not known what her occupation, if any, was during that time.

The details of Tullie's life before the 1920s are sparse, not surprising since she rarely talked about herself. Among the details of which even many of her family members were unaware was the fact that "Miss" Tullie Smith had been married. On 12 November 1906, she and Benjamin F. Mitchell (1883–1915) took out a marriage license in Fulton County and, three days later, they were married, with James B. Ricklen officiating. [1]

The son of J. W. Mitchell, Benjamin was born in Georgia but other details of his early life have not been researched. In the 1905 Atlanta City Directory he is listed as secretary of the Farmer's Exchange, with a residence at old 443 Edgewood Avenue. It is not known how he and Tullie met.

Figure 18. Undated photograph of Tullie Smith at her mailbox. (Atlanta History Center)

For at least a time, they lived on Highland Avenue, perhaps with her parents, while Mitchell worked as secretary for the Farmer's Exchange. By 1908, they were living at old 123 Bryan Street in Grant Park, where they lived at least through 1910. By the fall of 1911, when information was gathered for the 1912 directory, they may have already separated since Mitchell is listed at the Bryan Street address with a wife named "Estella," although that could easily be a misspelling of Tullie's name. Mitchell's occupation was now listed as "real estate."

Although her niece believed that the marriage "did not last long," in fact it must have lasted at least through 1915, as DeKalb County records show Tullie still using her married name that year. After 1912, however, neither of them can be identified in the Atlanta City Directories and the circumstances of their relationship cannot be documented after 1910. [2]

Ben Mitchell died early on 24 April 24 1915, "following an illness of three months," according to the a brief obituary published in the *Atlanta Constitution* that morning. Although still carrying his name, Tullie was not listed as one of his survivors, either in the obituary or the funeral notice published the next day for his burial. He was buried in an unmarked grave at Westview Cemetery. [3]

Whatever the circumstances of the marriage, they were such that Tullie never mentioned it during the numerous times in which she was interviewed by the newspapers and others later in life. In addition, at least by the time of her father's death, she

was again "Miss" Tullie Smith, at a time when the traditional nomenclature of widowhood (to which she was at least technically entitled) required the use of "Mrs." Perhaps there was a good reason for the comment by her neighbor many years later that "[s]he was a woman that did not trust many men. She said they only was [sic] after her land or wanted to borrow money." [4]

It may, in fact, have been Mitchell's death that precipitated Tullie and her mother's move back to the country house, an event that occurred about 1915 according to Sparks' article but that must have been a little later. By the time the 1916 directory information was compiled in the fall of 1915, Tullie's parents had moved from Highland Avenue to 28 E. Georgia Avenue while Tullie herself, still using the proper title of Mrs. Mitchell, was living on Highland Avenue, either in her parents' house or across the street. Next door was her sister Gertrude and her sister's new husband George C. Lacy. Tullie's occupation in the directory was listed as bookkeeper. That is the last listing for Tullie or her parents in the Atlanta city directories although they do appear in some of the later suburban directories. Certainly by the fall of 1917, they were no longer living in Atlanta and had probably returned to DeKalb County.

By the time of her father's death in 1924, Tullie had probably already begun the photography business in which she is reported to have been engaged during that period. Although her nephew recalled her studio as being located in the old Kimball House, no listing for it either under her married or maiden name can be found in the city directories for that period. According to a newspaper interview in the late 1940s, Tullie found the business "interesting and lucrative and gave it up only when she gave everything else up to devote herself entirely to her mother. Among other things, her

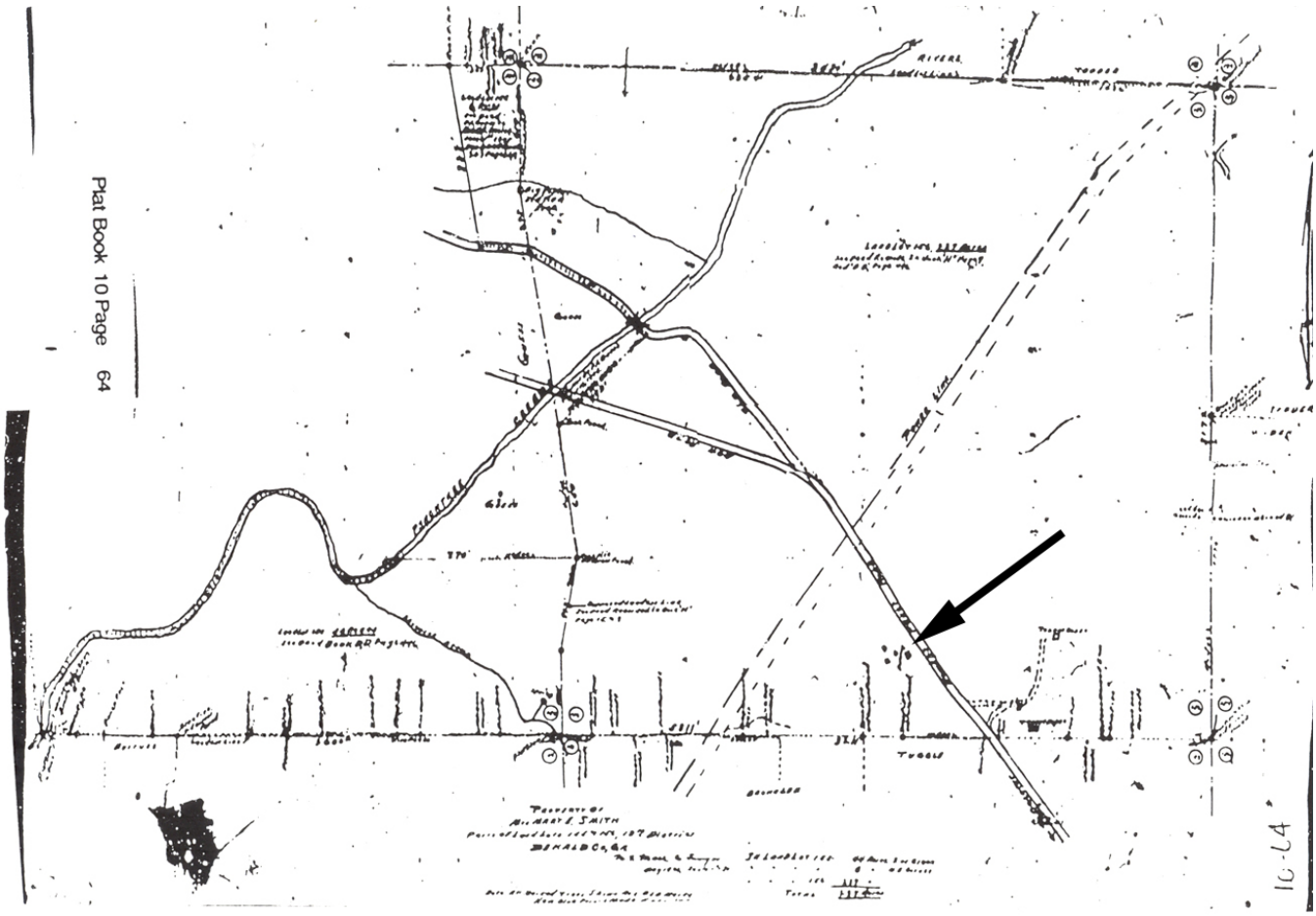

Figure 19. Plat of the Smith farm made in 1925, annotated with an arrow to locate Tullie Smith's house. (DeKalb County Courthouse)

studio initiated the custom of going to the bride's home prior to the wedding ceremony and taking pictures of the wedding party." [5]

In 1924, Tullie's mother, Mary Ella Smith, had a plat made of her property. Although the quality of the printed copy of the plat at the DeKalb County Courthouse is poor, the document is useful and is the earliest plat of the property that has been located. [6]

In April 1932, with her health probably failing, Mary Ella Smith deeded to Tullie the 287 acres in Land Lot 155 & 156 that William Berry Smith had assembled in the 1880s and which, by the 1930s, had been in the family for most of the preceding one hundred years. [7] The house had probably been little changed since the 1880s and it still had no modern conveniences, including electricity, although a telephone was installed in the early 1930s. A new kitchen had been created off the old one which was now used as a dining room but a pair of two-hole privies a short distance from the rear of the house still provided the only sanitary facilities for the house. Living in the house in the 1920s and early 1930s was little different from what it had always been.

By that time, too, the house had become, if it had not always been, something of a landmark on what had, by then, become known as North Decatur Road and what is now North Druid Hills Road. Although Robert H. Smith had sited the house on a natural elevation, the old Powers Ferry Road had followed the natural contours of the land so that road and house were essentially on the same plane. Road improvements in the 1920s, however, had reduced the grade of the road to such an extent that it now sat on a small hill overlooking the road and had become known as "the House on the Hill."

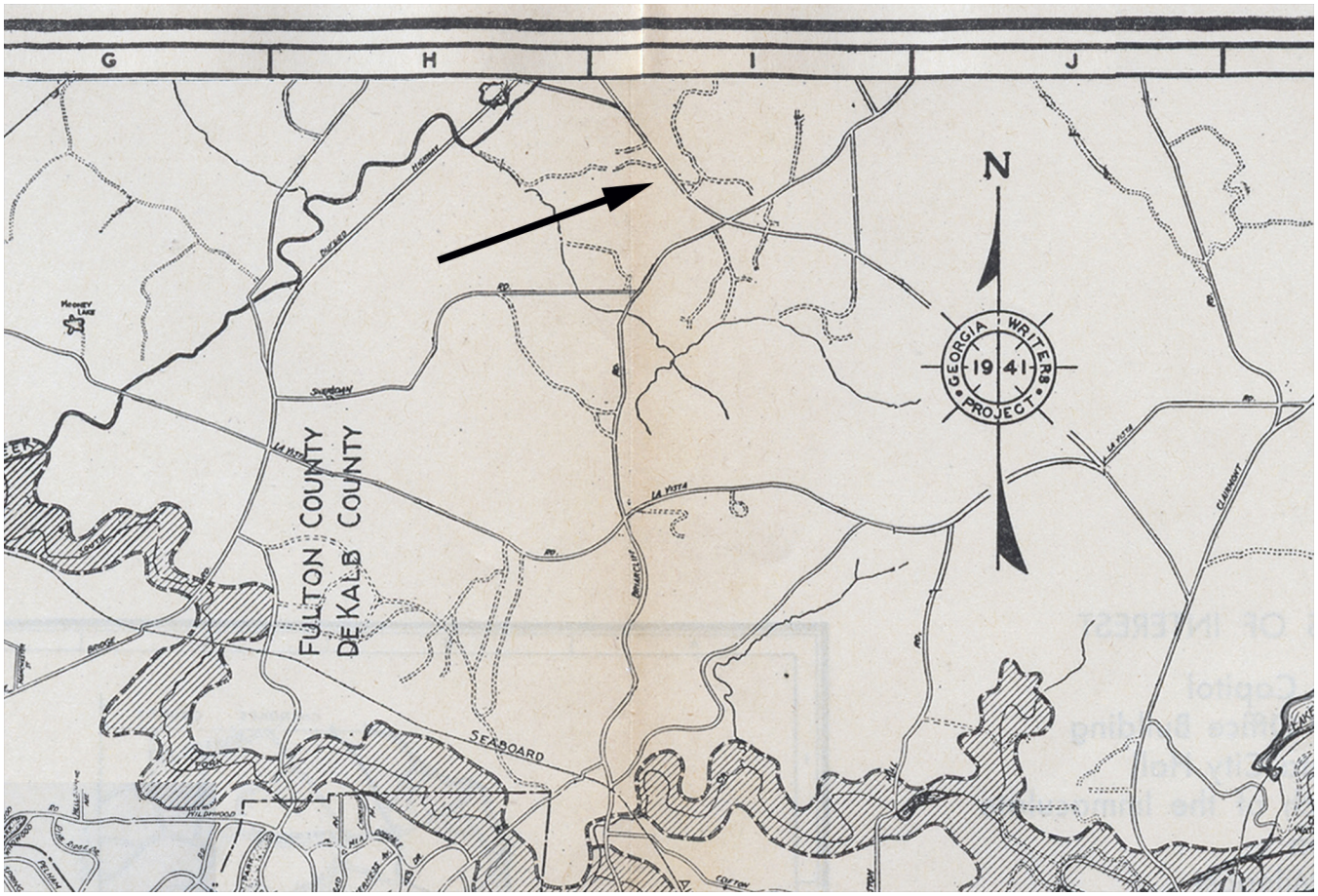

Figure 20. Detail from Georgia Writers Project map of Atlanta, included in the American Guide Series guidebook to the city, published in 1942, annotated with an arrow to locate the site of Tullie Smith's house, upper center.

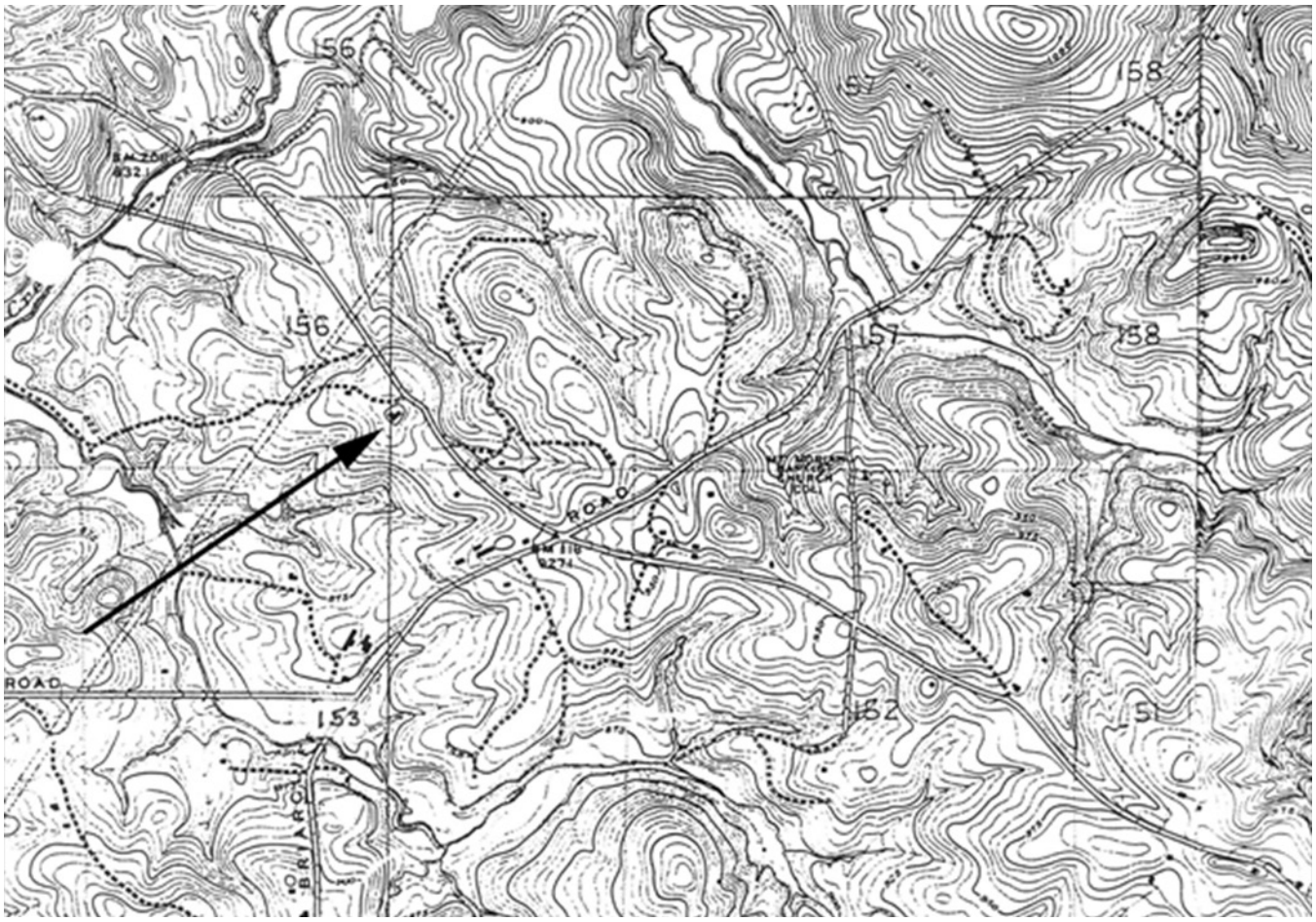

Figure 21. Detail from USGS cadastral map of Atlanta, 1927, annotated with an arrow to locate Tullie Smith's house. (Emory University)

On 28 October 1935, Mary Ella Smith died at her home at the age of 77, "with her devoted family about her," according to a long obituary by O. B. Keeler that was published in the *Atlanta Journa*l the next day. "With her," said Keeler, " passed one of the true women of the Old South, whose early childhood was before the War Between the States and whose first recollections were indelibly associated with the invasion by the army under General Sherman, in his march to the sea." She was buried next to her husband and parents in the Decatur Cemetery.

After her mother's death, Tullie "took a much needed rest but soon began to get restless and before she knew it was head over heels in civic affairs in DeKalb County," according to a 1947 newspaper interview with her. She was a member of both the Atlanta and the Decatur Woman's Club, several garden clubs, and was once director of the DeKalb County Chamber of Agriculture and Commerce. She was also head of the DeKalb County Community Chest and a well-known fundraiser for various charities in the county. Throughout, she continued to be active in the Rock Spring Presbyterian Church, which her grandfather had helped found in the 1870s. No doubt, she was responsible for the memorial windows to her parents that were installed after the present church building was completed in 1922.

Tullie was a person that many people remembered, not only for her striking personal appearance but also for her generous human qualities. The 1947 interview described a Tullie that most people would have recognized:

> *Miss Tullie is six feet, one inch—plus—and her general build fits her height nicely. Her auburn—if you asked her she would promptly say "red"—hair is worn in a braid around her*

> *head and she definitely knows how to dress a tall woman. It is amusing to hear her hearty laugh ring out when she compares her size to that of Stone Mountain, "the two largest things of their own kind in DeKalb County," adding that the chief difference is that she is movable but "the Rock" isn't. Her outstanding qualities are an unlimited kindliness of heart and a keen sense of humor, which can as readily appreciate a joke on herself as on the other person. . . . Miss Tullie Smith is "Good Medicine," for laughter constitutes two-thirds of her make-up. A raconteur of no mean ability, her stories range from man-size yarns that may bring tears to one's eyes—from laughter—to stories that bring tears to one's eyes because of pathos.* [8]

With her mother's death, Tullie began to make improvements to the house, including having it wired for electricity in 1936 and adding a modern bathroom on the old breezeway shortly after World War II. She also kept a "generous vegetable garden," but the rest of her old farmland, like so much southern farm land after the onslaught of the boll weevil, had grown up in "what probably will be a most profitable crop of pines." [9]

Even before World War II, Atlanta's suburban development was beginning to transform the countryside around Tullie Smith's house. The road on which she lived had been improved and renamed again, this time to N. Druid Hills Road. Suburban development centered around Brookhaven was occurring all along Roxboro and N. Druid Hills Roads north toward Peachtree Road. Down Briarcliff Road, Daniel Johnson's old cemetery was being moved and his farm subdivided for Johnson Estates, one of Atlanta's few suburban developments during the Great Depression.

Among Tullie's new neighbors from the late 1930s was a man named J. Harold Street, and the two soon became good friends. His reminiscences of "Miss Tullie" that were published in the Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine in 1969 are some of the best of the several that were published in the local papers beginning in the late 1940s. To the new, post-World War II suburban community that was fast growing up to her very doorstep, Tullie now represented a time long past as the character of the entire county was rapidly transformed from rural to suburban.

Tullie apparently resisted the urge to profit from the suburban residential development, although she did sell a small parcel to a blasting powder company along with easements to Georgia Power for high-tension power lines in the 1940s. She did not like apartment buildings, according to one account, and said, as commercial development was going up around her in the 1950s and 1960s, "I could have ended up surrounded by dirt daubers nests." Instead, Tullie saw to it "way back," according to her niece, that the property was zoned for commercial and industrial use. [10]

Work had begun on Atlanta's "Metropolitan Expressway System" in 1948 and, by the early 1950s, ten and a half miles of it had been built, although there was still no "downtown connector" between the north and south legs of the expressways, as they were then called. In July 1951, $400,000 of state and federal money was appropriated for acquisition of right-of-way for the 3.4 miles of the "Northeast Expressway," which initially terminated at North Druid Hills Road. With four lanes and room to expand to six, "if needed," the expressways were already carrying more traffic in 1957 than had been projected for 1970. With improvements to Buford Highway, which had been built through part of Tullie's Peachtree Creek bottomland in the 1930s, land values in the area doubled and tripled to as much as $1,200 an acre. [11]

With completion of the Northeast Expressway, the time was ripe for the kind of development that suited Tullie Smith and, in January of 1960, she sold most of her land in Land Lot 156 to Roscoe Pickett for an undisclosed sum of money. By April 1965, development of Atlanta's first suburban office park was underway on a 109-acre tract that included some of the land that she had sold in 1960. [12] Designed by the Atlanta architectural firm of Stevens and Wilkinson with landscape design by Sasaki, Dawson, and Demay, the development of Executive Park turned Robert Smith's old antebellum farm into the first of many such developments that would, over the next twenty years, help drain the life from downtown Atlanta.

Even as she was selling her land, however, Tullie's house was appreciated as an important part of the county's heritage. Besides her friendship with Franklin Garrett, with whom she had extensive talks on local history, Tullie became acquainted with Mills B. Lane, then president of Citizens and Southern National Bank and considered "Mr. Preservation" in Savannah. He had recently acquired the Swanton House, one of Decatur's oldest structures, and his natural interest in preservation provoked him to call on Tullie, "cold turkey" as he put it, to discuss the future of her house. His initial plan was to see the house restored as part of the new office park but Tullie had apparently already been considering donation of the house to what was then known as the Atlanta Historical Society. [13]

In spite of her apparent interest in insuring the house's preservation, Tullie never got around to making a formal gift of the house to the historical society. Her will remained essentially as it had been written in August 1961, with a minor codicil added in 1964, and left most of her estate to her one surviving sibling, her nieces and nephews, and their children. Nearly $200,000 was earmarked for distribution to them along with $10,000 to Dr. C. A. N. Rankin, presumably her doctor, and lesser bequests to her friends Mrs. Rosa Lee and Mrs. Alice Bracewell. The will also outlined distribution of the remainder of the estate, which Tullie assumed would amount to several hundred thousand dollars more, into trust funds for the children of her brother Edward—Edward M. Smith Jr., Jean Smith Holman, Mary Ella Ackerly (later Johnson), and William Berry Smith. Roscoe Pickett, the lawyer who appears to have brokered the sale of her property, was made executor of her will. [14]

Tullie Smith died on 27 July 1967 at the "House on the Hill." Probably because the Mason lot where her parents were buried was full, she was buried two days later in the Mausoleum at Westview Cemetery DeKalb County had lost one of its great citizens and one of its great landmarks now sat vacant in the middle of one of the biggest commercial developments the city had ever seen. [15]

Notes

1. Fulton County Marriage Licenses, Book N, 563.

2. DeKalb County Bench Dockets, Book C, p. 203 and 207, lists suits brought by Tullie under the names "Mrs. T. V. Mitchell" in 1912 and "Mrs. B. F. Mitchell" in 1914 and 1915.

3. Westview Cemetery records show him buried in Section 12, Lot 166, grave #4.

4. J. Harold Street, "My Friend Tullie," Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine, 14 December 1969.

5. Mary Margaret Lindsay, "Patchwork," Suburban Gazette, 17 April 1947. No further documentation for Tullie's photography career nor any of her photographs have been located.

6. DeKalb County Plat Book 10, 64.

7. DeKalb County, Deed Book 337, 33.

8. Lindsay, "Patchwork," 17 April 1947.

9. Ibid.

10. Sparks, "Oldest House," 22. Mary Ella Mason Smith Johnson was interviewed extensively by Sparks. Recently deceased, she was the de facto family historian and appears to have inherited all of the Smith family papers. The whereabouts of those documents is not known in 1996.

11. Harold H. Martin, Atlanta and Environs Vol. III (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 269.

12. DeKalb County, Deed Book 1481, 13; Book 1497, 537; Plat Book 30, 103. The details of Pickett's involvement in the development of Executive Park are not known.

13. Sparks, "Oldest House," 22.

14. DeKalb County, Estate #67–810; Will Book U, 1051. The trust that Tullie placed in Roscoe Pickett, who gained some notoriety for his ill-fated campaigns for public office, is interesting.

15. Atlanta Journal, 28 July 1967; Westview Cemetery, Crypt 493, Tier DD.

Part II

Architecture

V. Architectural Context

The first part of this report has been a history of the Smith family, outlining the family's early roots in Rutherford County, North Carolina; their move to Georgia beginning in the 1820s; and some of their contribution to the pioneer development of the state and of DeKalb County. In this second part, attention is turned to the historic building itself where its architectural style, plan, structure, and materials provide another form of documentary evidence that is critical to interpreting its historical and architectural significance.

Historical Documentation

One of the main goals for this study of the Smith family's history was to better document the date of construction of the house itself. Even after an exhaustive examination of deeds, wills, and other information that has been compiled on the Smiths since 1970, the historical evidence for the date of the house's construction remains circumstantial. That is not surprising since, except for a few high-style or public buildings, establishing a precise construction date for a pre-1900 building based on historical information alone is usually an exercise in frustration. Deeds and wills may help establish a chain of title for the land but they do not always or even usually document the existence of a house.

In this instance, deeds and wills have established a clear chain of title to the Smith's land but have not provided substantial documentation for construction of the house. Indeed, they have documented more than one house on Land Lot 156 at various times although none of the nineteenth century instruments provide clear proof of the main house's existence. The 1926 plat of the Smith's farm (Figure 12), which remains the earliest publicly recorded documentation for the house's existence on its original site, depicts the locations of the Tullie Smith house along with three outbuildings.

It has been suggested by some sources outside the family that Robert Smith Sr., who was almost certainly living on Land Lot 156 as early as 1830, built the Tullie Smith House. While this remains a possibility, the historical evidence suggests that it is unlikely that Robert Hiram Smith and his family would have simply moved in with his aging father. The old man had a 34-year-old bride and his grandson William Benjamin Smith living with him already and could not have really needed the additional companionship. In addition, the family does not appear to have had significant financial restraints to building a new house so that there seems to be little historical evidence to dispute the family's traditional attribution of the house to Robert Hiram Smith. [1]

Robert Hiram Smith probably followed the typical pattern of building close to his father, and there is at least the possibility that his father's house survived into the twentieth century. Mary Ella Smith's 1926 survey of Land Lot 156 shows across the road from her house and a few hundred feet further south-east, the Y-shaped intersection of a road along which is a structure marked "tenant house." In the U.S. topographical maps from 1927, the tenant house in the survey appears along with other houses on a more accurate representation of that old dirt road, which ran north through the western side of Land Lot 156, crossing Peachtree Creek, probably by ford, north of the Smith property. Although the evidence is circumstantial at best, Robert Hiram Smith may have followed another typical pattern and recycled his father's old house from the 1830s as a tenant house that could have easily survived into the twentieth century.

The historical documentation for the date of Robert Hiram Smith's move to DeKalb County and, thus, the date of the house's construction is conflicting. One of Elizabeth Hawkins Smith's obituaries in 1901 states that they moved from North Carolina in 1837, "buying a farm in DeKalb County five miles north of Decatur." While that fits the actual location of Land Lot 156, the date contradicts the recorded deeds in DeKalb County and Rutherford County, North Carolina, which indicate Robert H. Smith was a resident of Rutherford County until 1845.

When Tullie was interviewed in 1947, references to her then "century-old house," appear to indicate a later construction date; but by the time Andrew Sparks wrote his article on Tullie Smith in 1969 and Robert Paden Smith was interviewed in 1970, the date for the Smiths' move to Georgia and construction of the house was given as 1833. None of the interviews or newspaper articles remembered the old pioneer Robert Smith at all, and all consistently stated that Robert Hiram Smith built the house when he moved Georgia in 1833.

Figure 23. Solomon Goodwin House, ca. 1835, Peachtree Road at North Druid Hills Road, Dekalb County, Georgia, destroyed. A one and a half story log house with later wood-framed addition (Photo by T. Jones, 1996)

The most logical interpretation of this muddle, since it is almost certain that Robert H. Smith did not arrive in Georgia until 1845, is that family tradition combined and compressed history, as it often does in the retelling through several generations. [2] However, since the first sure record of Robert smith Sr. in DeKalb County is also from 1833, that date may have real significance as the date he constructed his house, no longer extant, in Land Lot 156. Because she did not know her Smith grandparents and was, according to some relatives, not particularly close to her father, Tullie heard most of her family history from the Mason perspective and, probably, only bits and pieces from the Smith family. It is not surprising that neither she nor her cousin Robert Paden Smith knew of their great-great-grandfather Robert Smith

The general character of the Tullie Smith House itself supports the conclusion that the Tullie Smith House was built about 1845 since various aspects of the historic building place it within the broader context of Georgia's antebellum architecture. [3] Totally vernacular in concept, design, and construction, it is a building that could have been built almost anytime in the first half of the nineteenth century. In it are found little sense of stylishness or exposure to new technology that might characterize buildings from the 1850s and later when the effects of the new railroads began to transform DeKalb County.

On the other hand, the relatively high quality of its construction do not suggest a building from the earliest days of settlement when saw mills were few and far between and most buildings, even the county courthouse, were being constructed of logs. Until it was destroyed in the early twenty-first century, the log house built by Solomon Goodwin or one of his sons in the 1830s was one of the best example of the earliest houses in the area and is the sort of house that one would expect Robert Smith to have built when he first came to DeKalb County in the early 1830s.

While Peter Brown established one of the county's first sawmills, probably in the 1820s, the earliest demand was not for framing lumber, since logs were so easily had and so easily put up into a substantial building. Covered with siding on the outside and boards on the inside, both produced by the early sawmills, log construction was extremely popular and could be virtually indistinguishable from the more expensive frame construction used in the Tullie Smith House.

No documentation has been located that would suggest who actually built the house or how its construction was managed. The knowledge of traditional building practices like those exhibited in the Tullie Smith House was wide-spread and widely practiced. Although necessity made part-time carpenters out of many farmers, if only to build for themselves, the quality of the joinery in the framing of the Tullie Smith house suggests the work of a skilled craftsman. While Michael Steele and James Washington Smith were both said by some to have been carpenters, neither worked full time at the profession and were both probably too young to have built Robert Hiram Smith's house.

Plantation Plain Style

The architecture of the Tullie Smith House is commonly called "plantation plain style," a term used to describe a house, either wood-framed or log, sided with clapboard, two stories high and one room deep, with end chimneys, a full-length front porch, and a range of one-story, shed-roofed rooms and/or porch across the rear. These were perhaps the most common Southern farm houses before the Civil War and continued to be built occasionally through the remainder of the nineteenth century. Numerous examples of this style survive, with the Steele-Cobb House, built by Robert Hiram Smith's son-in-law near North DeKalb Mall, and the Wynne-Russell House, built near Lilburn by Tullie's maternal grandfather, being excellent local examples. [4]

The James Oliver Powell House was located on what is now Clairmont Road just south of the Mason's farm along the South Fork of Peachtree Creek. In its size and form, including the room on the front porch, the Powell House was quite similar to the Tullie Smith House. Others of these houses survive, although often buried beneath later remodeling and additions. [5]

The plan of these houses varied somewhat with the earliest, including Tullie Smith, tending toward a repetition of the traditional "hall-and-parlor" plan that had its roots in medieval England and, according to Nichols, was "typical of the smaller manor house in England." The plan consisted of two rooms with one slightly larger than the other, the larger "hall" being typically used as a living room and dining room and the smaller "parlor" as a bedroom. Quite often, the plan included two front doors. In the wall between the two rooms (and it was usually little more than a simple board partition) or in one corner of the hall, a steep stairway gave access to a second floor loft, or attic that provided additional sleeping space. [6]

Gradually, these simple two-room houses came to be built with rooms of more equal size and with a central hall, reflective of the influence of the

Figure 24. Wynne-Russell House, Lilburn, Georgia. (Photo by T. Jones, 1996)

Georgian fashion for symmetry. These houses could be a single story high, a story and a half, or a full two stories, with the two-story, center hall plan predominating by the middle of the nineteenth century. They usually included a shed-roofed front porch, although hipped roofs were seen occasionally, and a one-story addition of rooms and/or porch across the rear. [7]

An extremely fine example of an existing structure that is more or less contemporaneous with the Tullie Smith House in several of its aspects was the Burdette House in Meriwether County, Georgia. Built in the 1840s by John Greene Burdette or his father-in-law John Pierce Sewell, both of whom had relatives who were neighbors of the Smiths, the house is also significant in that much of its original material remained in spite of its near-ruinous condition.

The original porch roof was a dropped shed like the Tullie Smith porch roof but had been replaced by a full-slide roof from the main house with pole rafters. This later roof also hid a boxed cornice similar to that on the Tullie Smith House. At the rear was a detached kitchen, later connected by a dining room with a back porch in the el. The Burdette House retained many of its other original features, including the distinctive moon-and-star, latticed porch column, and offered many useful comparisons to the Tullie Smith House until it was destroyed in the early twenty-first century.

Structure and Materials

The Tullie Smith House is built with a traditional braced wood frame. As it developed in colonial America from medieval English origins, this framing system utilized members that were under-sized by traditional English standards of heavy timber-frame construction and eliminated some of the more complicated joinery required of the English system. Although changes in materials and technology, most notably the perfection of mass-produced cut nails and standard-dimensioned, sawn lumber, began to effect building practice by the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, this modified braced frame, laboriously joined by mortises, tenons, and pegs, continued to dominate new construction until the middle of the nineteenth century. [8]

The joinery in the Tullie Smith House is exceptionally well-made. A short video made during replacement of the flooring on the first floor of the house in 1989 shows some of the quality of this work, including fine half-dovetail connections that tie every third or fourth joist into the main sill of the house. While the exact detail of most of this joinery cannot be observed without removing floor and wall finishes or disassembling the building entirely, the basic mortised, tenoned, and pegged connection can be seen in the basement where the joists meet the sills and in the attic above the rear addition. A single peg and some of the holes in the

Figure 25. Elevations of the John Greene Burdette House as it was originally built ca. 1860. (Drawings by T. Jones, 1996)

center beam beneath the first floor partition wall are also evidence of these connections.

According to one account, Robert H. Smith cut timber from his own property to build the house, although there is no mention that it was actually milled there. [9] More likely, Smith took his timber to a local saw mill, although to whom or where is not known. Perhaps he dragged it just the short distance down the road to his next-door neighbor James Guess' mill or across the way to Johnston's Mill. Because transportation of materials was so difficult and expensive until the coming of the railroads, virtually all timber outside the coastal cities was cut and milled locally before the Civil War.

Saw mills were common in the 1840s, although they were often an off-season operation of a grist mill's regular operation. Peter Brown, who died in 1840, is reported to have operated one of the first sawmills in DeKalb County at his farm on Entrenchment Creek. Although no dates have been documented for its operation, Brown moved to DeKalb County in the early 1820s and the mill was probably in operation later in that decade. Water power was not the only means of powering a mill, however. Garrett reports that Atlanta's first manufacturing enterprise was a horse-powered sawmill operated by Jonathan Norcross for about a year in 1844. [10]

In the way that it is sawn, the lumber itself places construction of the Tullie Smith House within a certain range of time. The earliest sawn lumber was produced by hand by skilled sawyers, a method of production which by its very nature limited the kinds and amount of lumber that could be produced. By the late eighteenth century, water-powered saw mills were becoming more common, and water power dominated the industry until improvements in steam technology allowed practical steam-powered saw mills to become widespread in the mid-nineteenth century. [11]

The characteristic vertical saw marks left by the reciprocating (i.e., up and down) motion of these water-powered "sash saws" are visible on virtually all of the original material in the Tullie Smith House. After about 1850, improvements in the circular saw blade, which was introduced into America in 1814, made its use more widespread although it did not completely replace sash-sawn lumber until the late nineteenth century.

Because most of the water-powered saw mills were limited in the thickness and length of lumber that

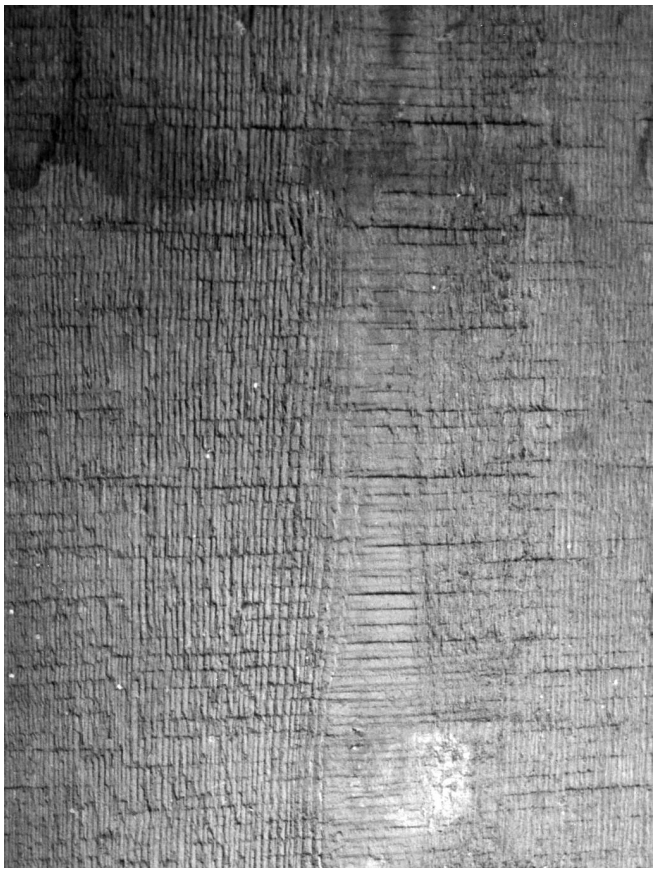

Figure 26. Saw marks found on all original framing material, typical of the antebellum period. (T. Jones, 1996)

Figure 27. Typical hewn sill. (T. Jones, 1996)

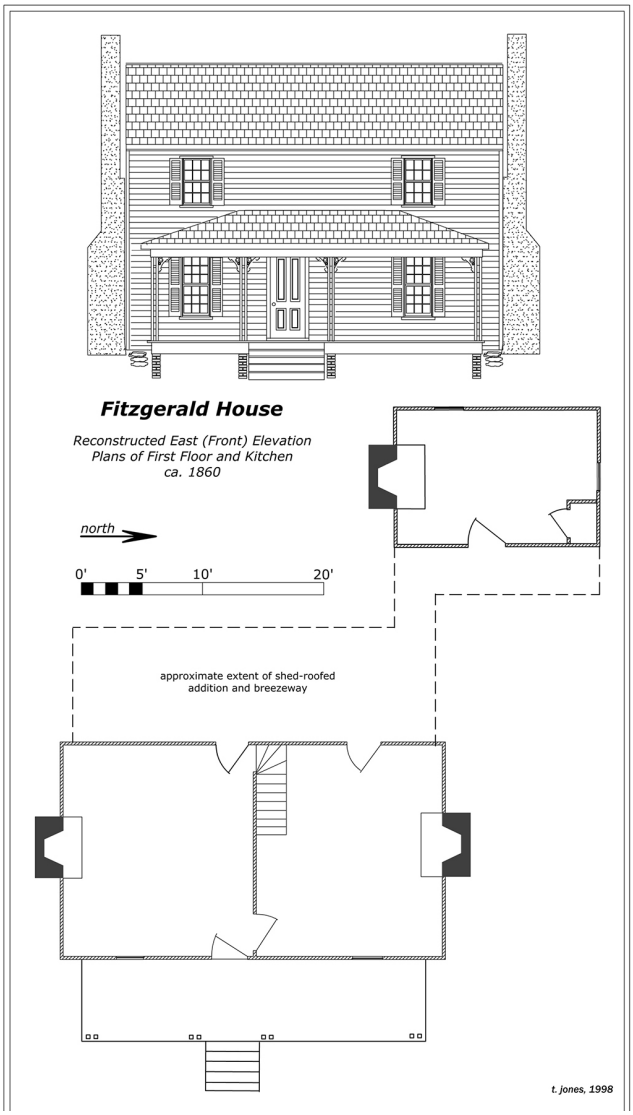

Figure 28. Philip Fitzgerald House, built by Margaret Mitchell's great-grandfather in the 1830s. (Drawings by T. Jones, 1998)

could be produced, early production tended to be limited to the lighter boards used for walls, ceilings, trim, and siding. Most antebellum builders continued to use sills, corner posts, wall plates and tie beams that were hewn and so it was with the Tullie Smith House, where the sills (all approximately 9″ by 10″) and corner posts were all hewn by hand. [12]

The use of the modern "balloon frame," which was developed in Chicago in the early 1830s, spread rapidly in the 1840s and almost completely replaced the braced frame after the Civil War. Demonstration that the size of sills and other framing members could be reduced without seriously compromising the structural integrity of the house and improvements in saw mill technology that allowed milling of longer lengths and thicknesses of lumber led to the gradual disappearance of hewn framing members in new construction. Until 1860, however, fully hewn sills, corner posts and other large members along with the use of logs flattened on one side for floor joists were quite common. The Goodwin House, the Burdette House, and the Wynne-Russell House all had hewn sills and log joists as part of their original construction. At Tullie Smith, however, the presence of sawn joists distinguishes it from these earlier houses and is a good indication of a later date of construction. [13]

Until the middle of the nineteenth century, too, all but the narrowest pieces of trim wood were dressed using hand planes. Because its production was such a laborious process, planed wood is typically found only where smooth-finished surfaces were absolutely necessary. The door panels of the original doors at Tullie Smith, which were wider than what could usually be machine-planed, were planed by hand. While that was typical, the smooth planing of the joists under the two front rooms, which also appears to have been done by hand, was not typical and is a strong indication that the cellar was originally intended as a living and/or work space. [14]

One of the limitations that perpetuated the use of traditional methods of joinery in braced framed. construction was the expense and quality of nails, which were all laboriously hand-wrought by blacksmiths throughout the colonial period. Used exclusively for attachment of siding and trim to the basic mortised and tenoned structure, these nails were held dear but not to the extent that buildings were sometimes burned down to retrieve the nails, as is often thought. [15] Square, machine-made, cut nails were introduced in the 1790s although they continued to be headed by hand until machine-headed nails were developed early in the nineteenth century. Even then, the quality of the cut nails was such that wrought nails continued in use for many applications into the 1830s, especially where the nail's ability to "clinch," (i.e., hold securely against racking pressure) was important. By the 1830s, cut nails were being produced with

sufficient tensile strength and at a low enough cost that they quickly superseded the use of any hand-wrought nails. [16]

At Tullie Smith, all of the nails that have been observed are machine-cut and machine-headed nails of a type common after the late 1830s and not readily distinguished from cut nails still made today. However, the architectural record is now somewhat confused, since many cut nails were probably used in historic repairs and modifications to the house in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and they were certainly used in the house's restoration and in subsequent repairs. In addition, the complete and essentially undocumented dismantling and reconstruction of the second floor when the house was moved necessitated removal of most if not all of the historic nails in the upper half of the house.

However, if the Mueller drawings (see below) are accurate, and they probably are, it appears that the roof framing as reconstructed repeated the original techniques. This offers a significant clue to the building's date of construction since the roof rafters were joined by large cut nails with no ridge board. The lack of a ridge board is to be expected since it was a feature of the balloon frame but not always of the heavier braced frame. The use of nails to make connections to the rafter ends, however, was also typical of the balloon frame but not of the braced frame where, as at the earlier Goodwin House, rafter ends are connected by mortised-and-tenon joints. The presence of nailed connections in the rafters in the Tullie Smith House may be an indication of the transition from the traditional braced frame and log houses that were typical in the early nineteenth century to the modern balloon frame that began in Chicago in the early 1830s and, by the late 1840s, was widely known. [17]

One aspect of the Tullie Smith House that has not been analyzed but that might provide clues to its origins and subsequent evolution is its painted finishes. Significant amounts of original material have been lost from the house since its original construction, but much remains in place along with at least some of the layers of paint that have covered those surfaces. In addition, the restoration committee noted the possibility of painted graining on at least one of the mantels, which would not be a surprising find in a ninteenth-century house. Enough undisturbed material remains on the house so that a program of sampling and analysis could be designed that could help insure authenticity in both interior and exterior paint colors and offer further clues to the Smiths' lives there.

Notes

1. The newspaper interviews with Tullie and with Mary Ella Smith Mason Johnson consistently refer to Tullie's great-grandfather Robert H. smith as the building of the house.

2. All of Smith's children, including the youngest born in 1836, are listed in the census with a North Carolina place of birth. Smith sold his farm in North Carolina in July 1845, and the wording of his father's will, which was made in November 1845, suggests that he was in Georgia by that time. He was certainly there when his father's estate was settled in 1846.

3. The general patterns of historic building and typical styles in the Georgia Piedmont are well-established, beginning with the pioneering work of the Historic American Building Survey in the 1930s and 1940s and the publication of Frederick Doveton Nichols' *The Early Architecture of Georgia* in 1957. John Linley's *The Georgia Catalog* (Athens, 1982) and his *The Architecture of Middle Georgia: The Oconee* (Athens, 1972), and Mills B. Lane's *The Architecture of Georgia*, (Savannah, 1986) also provide excellent outlines of the state's architectural history.

4. Lane, *The Architecture of Georgia*, 39.

5. *Harper's Weekly* (August 27, 1864, 557). Wilbur Kurtz coll. (MSS 130) at Atlanta History Center, Box 50, Folder 2, for notes on construction.

6. Nichols, 122. Also see Henry Chandlee Forman, *The Architecture of the Old South: The Medieval Style, 1585–1850* (Harvard University Press, 1948), especially 180–184.

7. Henry Glassie, *Pattern in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States* (Philadelphia, 1968), 67. Catherine Bishir, et. al., *Architects and Builders in North Carolina: A History of the Practice of Building*. (Chapel Hill, 1990), 54, 136; Nichols, *Early Architecture of Georgia*. 122.

8. Bishir, *Architects and Builders in North Carolina,* 16. See Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, editors, *Common Place: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture* (University of Georgia Press, 1986), 159–180, for an overview of the development of various wood construction methods. Also Dr. Paul E. Sprague, "Chicago Balloon Frame," in Ward Jandl, *The*

Technology of Historic American Buildings: Studies of the Materials, Craft Processes, and the Mechanization of Building Conservation (Washington, DC: Foundation for Preservation Technology, 1983), 35–50, for an excellent outline of the evolution of light wood-frame construction techniques.

9. "Old House Once Saw Bee Swarm Marauding Yankee Soldier," *Suburban Gazette, Vol. 5*, #1, 15 November 1961. The headline implies that the soldier was attacked in the Tullie Smith House when, in fact, Tullie was telling a story about her Grandmother Mason's house.

10. Bishir, *Architects and Builders in North Carolina* 196–197; Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs Vol. 1*, 176–177, 206. Hudgins' study of DeKalb County mills provides almost no dates for mill operations in the county.

11. Bishir, *Architects and Builders in North Carolina,* 205–06.

12. The corner posts at Tullie Smith are visible in the 1989 video of the floor replacement project. Although the narrator refers to them being sawn, they appear to have in fact been hewn.

13. Bishir, *Architects and Builders in North Carolina,* 199.

14. Ibid., 212–13.

15. John Obed Curtis, "Old-House Myths," *Journal of Early American Life*, February 1995, 62.

16. Lee Nelson, "Nail Chronology As An Aid to Dating Old Buildings, Technical Lcaflet 48," *History News Vol. 24*, No. 11, November, 1968.

17. Ibid; Sprague, "Chicago Balloon Frame," above, for use of nails in structures from the period of transition from the traditional braced frame to the modern balloon frame in the 1830s and 1840s.

VI. Building Evolution

Beyond the general considerations of Tullie's architectural style, floor plan, structure, and the materials used in its construction, the specifics of the house emerge from a description of its evolution from the time of its original construction about 1845, through the alterations, additions, and other improvements that were made over the next one hundred twenty years, to the move and restoration of twenty-five years ago.

Much information that would normally have been available in developing an evolutionary history of the house was lost in 1969 when the it was moved from its original site and during the course of the restoration and subsequent repairs. Nevertheless, the drawings and photographs of the house that were made in 1969–1971 provide a wealth of details about the house. Located in the History Center's "in-house" archives and, unfortunately, not available for research by the general public, these are tremendously useful in attempting to determine the building's evolution and document its restoration. A series of measured drawings and sketches were made by the late Harold Mueller (1919–1978), the job foreman for the moving contractor. Although the original documents have not been located, copies of his drawings were included in the restoration committee's reports. They provide many details about the house that would otherwise have been lost. In addition to these drawings are the numerous, but uncatalogued, photographs of the house as it was being dismantled, moved, and restored. These are scattered through several locations in the History Center's in-house files but also can help answer a wide array of questions that have been posed about the house over the years.

Finally, interviews with restoration committee members Mrs. Ivan Allen, Mrs. Betty Jo Cook Trawick, Mrs. Paul (Sally) Hawkins, and Mr. and Mrs. William Griffin; consultant William R. Mitchell Jr.; Tullie's niece Jean Smith Holman and her nephew Edward M. Smith Jr. were all helpful. Especially helpful was William Thomas Moore, the carpenter for the project after the house was moved and reassembled. Born in Mississippi about 1917, Moore came to Georgia in 1959 and worked extensively with Atlanta architect Tom Little on several restorations in Washington/Wilkes and other places. Employed later by the Georgia Historical Commission, Moore supervised the restoration of Traveler's Rest, the Vane House and other sites for the Commission during the 1960s, during which he accumulated a large store of knowledge about Georgia's early buildings.

Original Construction, ca.1845

The existing two-over-two plan with two rear shed rooms appears to have been built all at once and not in stages. There are no visible signs in the attic above the rear rooms of siding having been removed from the back side of the main house, which would be expected if the rear rooms had been added after initial construction. In ad-ition, the framing members appear to be identical in size and detail to those used in the main part of the house. The probability that it was built more or less in one building campaign makes Tullie Smith somewhat different from some other antebellum houses, like the Solomon Goodwin and Wynne-Russell Houses, which probably reached their existing plantation-plain-style configuration as the result of several additions and alterations to an earlier structure. [1]

The basic layout of the four original first floor rooms at Tullie can be identified by the placement of the two hewn beams that tie the main sills (front, back, and center) together. Although not

really required for load-bearing purposes, these large beams (approximately 9″ x 10″), which are typical of the oversized framing members seen in braced frame construction, mark the locations of the curtain walls that created the four rooms. In addition, the center beam running between the two front rooms still has peg holes (along with modern, drilled holes for wiring), with one peg still in place, where the curtain wall between the two front rooms was mortised into the beam on either side of the door between the rooms.

Because all of the present porch material dates to the 1970s restoration of the house, the restoration committee reports, Mueller's drawings, and the photographs are the only source of information for details of the front porch that existed in 1969. The committee found "clear evidence," including differences in the mortised joinery between the porch joists and the front sill of the house, that the original porch did not run the full length of the house but that it was extended at a very early date. The photographs confirm that, indeed, the two center mortises are substantially larger than those on the ends. [2]

The committee also found evidence of a smaller porch roof, with the present shed-roof configuration created when the porch was extended. Exactly what was the observed evidence for the first roof line cannot be determined but it was probably one of the photographs of the porch being dismantled that shows siding cut at an angle beneath the rafters of the later shed-roof. [3] Another photograph, taken in 1970 or 1971, shows what appears to be the longest of these pieces of siding placed against the front of the house to show how it corresponds with one of the center porch joist mortises. Another slide shows boards nailed to the side of the house to represent the outline of the narrow porch roof suggested by the cut of the siding. However, the placement of the four runs of siding in the

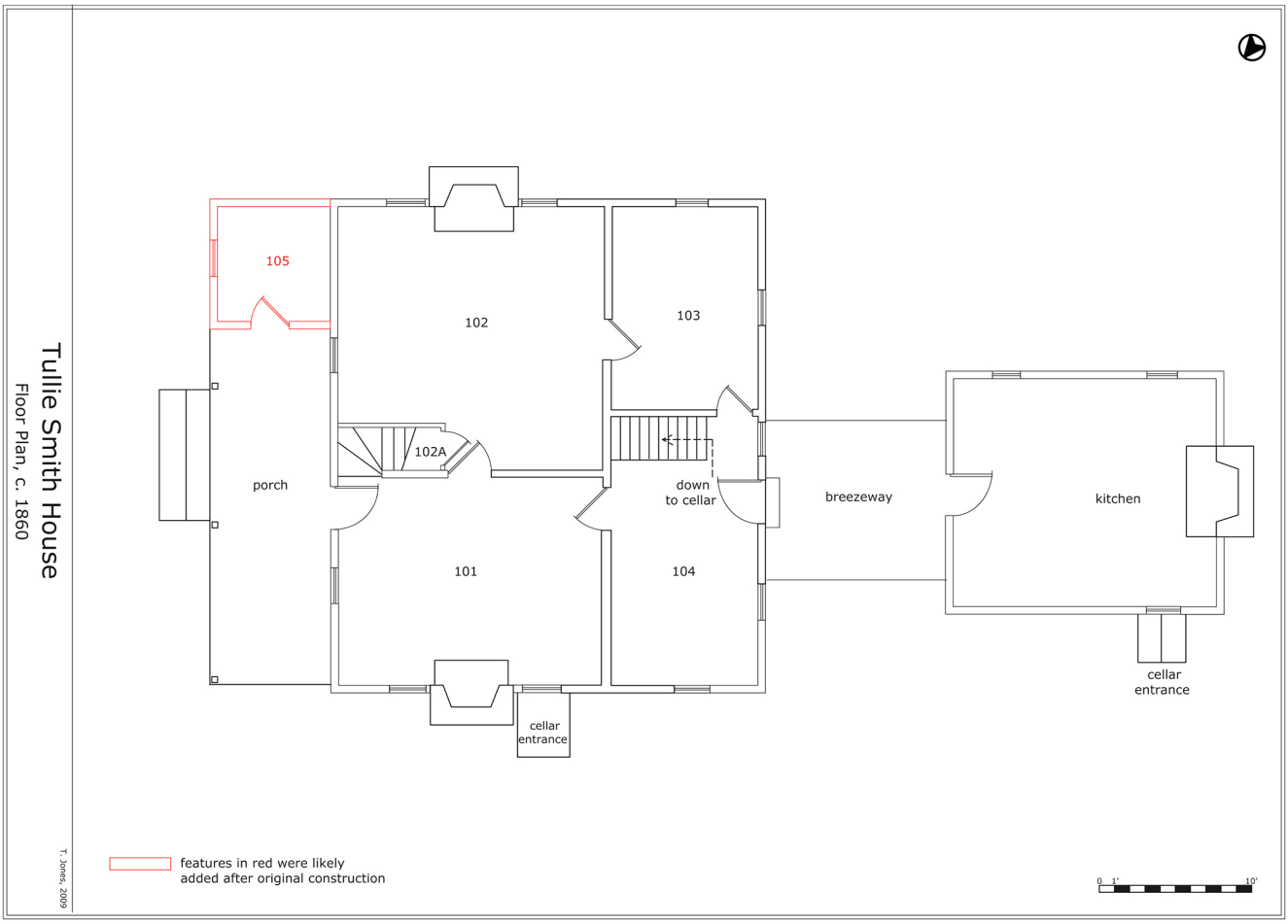

Figure 29. Floor plan as house probably existed in 1860. (Drawing by T. Jones, 2009)

photograph is confusing. The angle of the three upper boards appear to outline a roof that would have covered the windows in the front rooms and that could have been a hipped roof extending perhaps two-thirds of the facade's length and of a type often seen in nineteenth-century architecture. Unfortunately for this theory, only four mortises are visible in photographs of the front sill of the house, and none of them would have supported such a structure.

The longer board, below these and also cut at an angle, would more closely match a narrow entry porch corresponding to the two center sill mortises noted above but its evidence is contradicted by the presence of the shorter runs of siding. In any case, there was no physical evidence to suggest that the Tullie Smith House had the type of gable-ended porch suggested by Jimmy Means' drawing. It can only be said that one and possibly two earlier porches, of unknown configuration and detail, preceded the shed-roof porch.

As to when the change to a shed-roofed porch occurred, there is no real answer, except to note that it was there when the house was first photographed around 1880. [4] However, the use of hewn sills and joists and pole rafters in its construction points to a conclusion that the shed-roofed front porch dismantled in 1969 was created no later than the late 1860s. In addition, one of the restoration photographs clearly shows a circular-sawn board in the framing of the porch ceiling. None of the wood that can be clearly identified as part of the original construction of the house was circular-sawn whereas some of the material related to later alterations was identified during restoration as being circular-sawn and, presumably, all of it was. Since circular-sawn lumber, though perhaps not common, was certainly available in the 1850s, it is entirely possible that the porch was altered before the Civil War, although this could have been limited to changing an early hipped roof to a shed-roof on an already existing full-length porch.

When the house was moved and restored, there had not been a room at the end of the porch within the span of anyone's memory and there was, in 1970, apparently no physical evidence that there had been a room on the front porch. Only the single nineteenth century photograph of the house provided proof that it had existed. Like the porch itself, the date of the room's construction has not been documented. The James Oliver Powell House mentioned above had such a room in 1864 and Goodwin's had one at the turn of the century. The Burdette House also had one and, although it was clearly added to the house, its materials and detailing closely match those in the main house and suggest that the room was added there before the Civil War.

Clearly, rooms on the front porch were not always later nineteenth-century additions, as some have speculated. These added rooms on front porches appeared frequently in antebellum architecture, according to Linley, and there is no reason to believe that Robert Hiram Smith did not make this change to his house himself. [5] Likewise, there is no reason to dispute the assumption that the porch room was an antebellum addition to the house, contemporaneous perhaps with other changes to the front porch, although it is possible that none of these changes occurred until after the Civil War.

An enclosed interior staircase was typical of these houses, although its placement within the house might vary. [6] The Goodwin House stair, for instance, although now open, was originally enclosed and, like the Tullie Smith stair, rose from behind the front door. At the Burdette House and at the Wynne-Russell House, however, the staircase originally rose in the back corner of the "hall" or principal room in the house.

Unlike most hall-and-parlor plans, including Goodwin's and the Wynne-Russell houses, the stairs at Tullie Smith do not rise from the largest room, which was usually the "hall," but rather from the smaller of the two rooms, which was usually the "parlor." The hall was generally used as a common living and dining area while the smaller parlor, which should not be confused with the formal "parlor" of the Victorian era, was used as a bedroom by the adults, with children generally bedded down in a loft or rooms in the attic or second floor.

In any of these houses, the nature of the construction of these stairs and of the curtain wall

between the two rooms makes it extraordinarily difficult to as-certain the direction in which the steps turned into the rooms below once they have been removed or altered, as they had been at the Tullie Smith House in the late nineteenth century. At Tullie Smith, if the stairs had originally turned into the larger room (102 on plan be-low) rather than the smaller room (Room 101) as they do now, one would also expect a door from the porch into 102 but, as with the porch itself, there is not clear evidence to definitively prove either configuration since doors changed to windows are very difficult, if not impossible, to identify without dismantling the entire frame.

To add to the confusion is Mr. Moore's certainty that there had originally been a single door opening onto the porch from Room 102 where the porch room was later constructed. If this were so, it would produce a unique facade and one that would not fit with either of the early porch configurations discussed above. However, if Mr. Moore's memory of a door opening is correct but the location confused, then there is the possibility of a second front door, located where there is now the front window in Room 102. Two front doors were a fairly common occurrence except in single-pen log construction as at Goodwin's. The Burdette House has two front doors and no front windows. The Wynne-Russell House probably had two front doors that were changed to windows when the central hall was created in the 1860s.

The original cellar at the Tullie Smith house was unusually large, encompassing the entire area underneath the main two rooms of the house. Although kitchens often had cellars, few houses in the area appear to have had cellars under the house itself. At some point, perhaps originally, the Smith's partitioned their cellar into two unequal parts using vertical tongue-and-groove boards similar to the floor boards in the main part of the house. The larger area was plastered and white-washed, as can be clearly seen in the photographs made on the original site. [7]

The original cellar was entered from the rear, an entrance that appears in photographs of the cellar after the house was moved, and for which there is still some physical evidence in the sills at that location. [8] Located beneath the present bathroom, the stairwell was lined with rock and allowed for a steep set of stairs to the cellar from room Room 104. Although the stairwell for these stairs was partially recreated in the new foundation when the house was moved, it was not identified as an early feature of the house.

In addition, all of the joists in the cellar were hand-planed and not left rough-sawn like the rest of the framing lumber in the house. The effort to plane these joists would probably not have been undertaken had not this space been meant for something more than casual storage of food and other supplies. The cellar also had (and has) a fire place at one end as well as two large openings in the foundation that provided ventilation and some light to the space. There is, therefore, the strong possibility that the room was intended as a basement or "winter" kitchen or as living quarters and that it could be reached by a staircase from Room 104. Supporting this, perhaps, was Tullie's niece's memory that "when there was illness in the family long ago, one of the slaves slept there to be near." [9] While basement kitchens or living quarters are not unheard of in the Georgia Piedmont, they were unusual, and, if this interpretation of the evidence is accurate, would be a highly significant feature of the house.

While there may have been a kitchen in the basement, the detached kitchen was probably in place at a very early date, since its construction and materials differ little from those of the main house. Probably, the Smiths found the liabilities of a basement kitchen or living quarters (fire hazard, servants in the house, etc.) greater than the benefits (convenience and security against theft of foodstuffs) and discontinued use of the basement kitchen at an early date. Unfortunately, the lack of any photographs of the interior of the outside kitchen prior to its being moved and the amount of old materials that was replaced during its restoration makes comparison and dating relative to the main house difficult at best.

The breezeway (like "crossing the Potomac" in cold weather, Tullie said) may not have been an original feature of the house but, like the front porch, it was probably an early addition. One of the restoration

photographs of the upstairs newel post was taken against the back of the house and shows what appears to be the point where the breezeway was attached to the house. Unfortunately, the lower runs of siding which were carefully cut around the breezeway's wooden floor were replaced during restoration so that it is no longer possible to tell how much, if any, of the breezeway might be contemporaneous with the house and kitchen.

These connectors between main house and outdoor kitchen, which were quite common, were not just walkways but functioned as a back porch and work area. Tullie's breezeway always included a swing and it was wide enough, over eleven feet, that a part of it next to the rear of the house could be enclosed in 1946 for the house's first indoor bathroom. While the structure that was removed and not reconstructed in 1970 may not have been original to the house, there is a good possibility that some sort of covered walkway/porch existed at an early date. Like front porches, rare was the mid-nineteenth century house that did not have some sort of covered, outdoor work area, often a side or rear porch, and it is likely that Robert Hiram Smith's house did as well.

Renovation and Remodeling, ca. 1885

While initial research on the house in 1970 concluded that the first major renovation of the house occurred in the early twentieth century, it seems likely that it actually occurred in the 19th century since Tullie never mentioned its having happened during her lifetime. The significant increase in the sale price for the property when it was sold to the Simmons family in 1877 is a possible indication that the house was improved at that time but, if so, then the first photograph of the house is earlier than the generally accepted 1886 date. That may be the case since no one today can surely identify the people in the photograph. It is entirely possible that the photograph dates from 1881, when William and Mary Ella Smith first bought the house, and that the baby is not Tullie but rather the Smith's first child, Vinme, who died when just a few months old. Clearly, however, the photograph documents the house prior to the addition of a central hall to its original two-room plan, a change that marked the next major step in the historic evolution of the house.

As noted above, basic hall-and-parlor plans came to be built with central halls at an early date and many original two-room plans, like that of the Wynne-Russell House, were later altered to include a cen-tral hall. Dog trot plans were also easily altered to fit this "Georgian" plan by enclosing the dog trot into a central hall. Although some ver-nacular houses continued to be built without a central hall in the last half of the nineteenth century, most builders opted for the more fashionable central hall plan. By the 1880s, the house was thirty or forty years old and very much out of fashion, at a time when such considerations were overwhelming the traditional, vernacular way of building and living. The Smiths may have lived in the house for a time with no alterations, but a family with their means would probably have been unwilling to live there long without a thorough remodeling.

To create the central hall, the stairs had to first be relocated or rebuilt, especially if they had been at the front of the house as they are now. Unlike at the Wynne-Russell House in Lilburn or the George Washington Collier House in Atlanta, where the original enclosed stairs, which were quite steep, were replaced with a new open staircase with banister descending toward the front door in the conventional fashion, the Tullie Smith stairs were left enclosed and simply turned to descend to the rear into Room 104 rather than into the hall itself. In doing so, most of the original material, including stringers and banisters, were apparently reused. Beneath the relocated stairs, as there probably had been under the original stairs, was the house's only closet, with a door opening into the new hall.

Since the old front door would not open into the new center hall, the door was moved to more or less the center of the facade while the door between Rooms 101 and 104 was also moved closer to the center of the house. The door was probably replaced with a more up-to-date door, a common change to many antebellum farm houses. Relocation of the stairs and doors then allowed for creation of a central hall by construction of a new curtain wall in Room 102 and relocation of the old one in Room 101. The

"ghosts" from both of these walls are still clearly visible on the present ceilings of both rooms. The position of the original partition wall and its position relative to the relocated doors is also clearly identifiable in the restoration photographs since, when the central hall was created, the seam where the original curtain wall had stood was simply covered by a clearly visible piece of trim.

As noted above, the change in the run of the stairs necessitated closure of the interior stairs to the cellar and it was probably at this time that the exterior side entrance was created. This may also have been the period in which a large room was added to the south side of the outside kitchen, probably as a dining room. With a door to the outside and at least one between it and the kitchen, these were typical additions to outside kitchens in the late nineteenth century and may have occurred in conjunction with the addition of a cook stove in the kitchen itself, another typical addition in the years after the Civil War.

The final change that probably occurred in conjunction with the creation of a central hall was the removal of the front porch room in order to create a full-length front porch. Perhaps the change only involved removing the outside walls of the room and installing another corner post for a shed roof that was already in place. It could have involved, however, total restructuring of the roof from hipped to shed-roof, which, if that were the case, is an indication of the earlier, undocumented changes to the house that were discussed above.

The result of these changes was a house that, in most respects, would have been considered up-to-date and comfortable. It was still a small house, however, which may have been one reason that the Smiths, with their five children, built a new house on Highland Avenue, probably in the early 1890s, and began to treat the old house as a weekend retreat or country home.

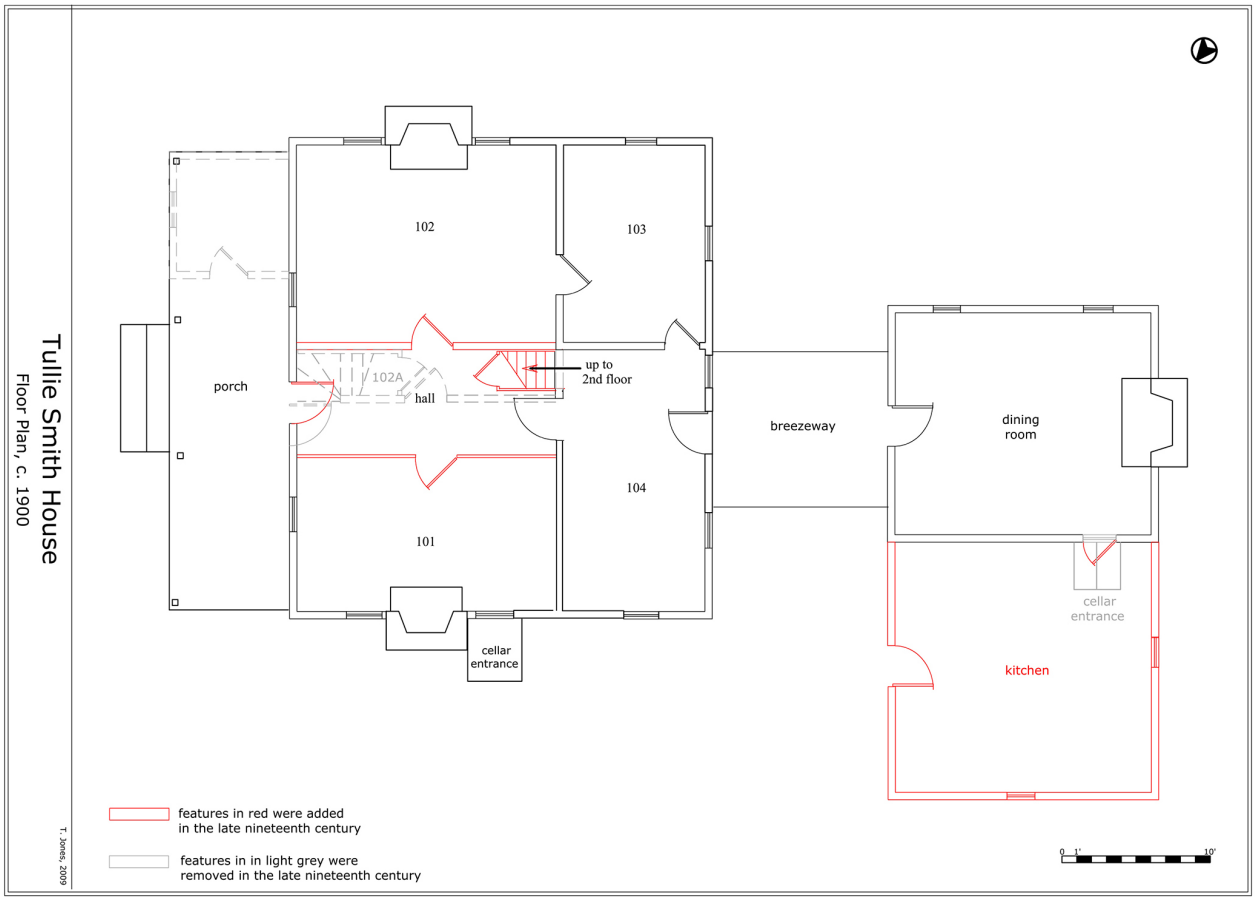

Figure 30. Floor plan as house probably existed in 1900. (Drawing by T. Jones)

Twenty-Century Renovations

Because the house was not their primary residence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it seems unlikely that the Smiths made many alterations to it during that period, although the 1947 newspaper interview mentions that the crepe myrtles were then fifty years old, indicating that the Smiths were at least paying attention to the landscape around the turn of the century. Cooking continued to be done in the outside kitchen, although almost certainly using a wood stove or, if Tullie's niece is correct, a kerosene stove rather than the old fireplace and open hearth. So few were the changes that the outdoor privy continued to serve its age-old function until after World War II.

Although the Smiths may have begun using the house again as their primary residence as early as 1915, it might not have been until after William Berry Smith's death in 1924 that major changes were made. One of these changes was a new front door, which is visible in some of the restoration photographs and was of a type that was quite popular in the 1920s. The two windows in the front of the house were also lengthened, presumably in the 1920s, although they could have been changed when the house was first remodeled in the 1880s. None of the other windows in the house appear to have been altered.

The original board floors were overlaid with modern, 3″-wide, tongue-and-groove flooring by the time of Tullie's death. Since none of this material has survived, it is not known when it might have been installed. It seems most likely that it was installed along with the replacement of the front door and changes to the windows in the 1920s. By the 1930s, and probably long before, a new kitchen, with a kerosene stove, had been created in the nineteenth-century addition to the original kitchen, which itself the Smiths now used as a dining room. A telephone was added before Mary Ella Smith's death and electricity shortly after her death, using poles installed by the Smiths themselves and wires strung from Briarcliff Road.

It was probably after Mary Ella Smith's death in 1935 that Tullie had the curtain wall that had been installed in room 101 to create the central hall removed. This would have been fairly easy to accomplish and, besides creating a larger living room, would have also created a floor plan more in tune with the twentieth century when central halls were no longer in fashion. Indoor plumbing was not added until after World War II when a single bathroom was installed on the breezeway just outside the back door of the house.

Sometime in the 1950s, Tullie added another room to the rear of the kitchen addition and created an apartment out of the old kitchen/dining room building. Probably at the same time, she had a kitchen constructed in Room 104 and a bathroom in Room 103 for her own use. These were, perhaps, the last alterations that were made to the house that her great-grandfather had built in the 1840s.

Relocation and Restoration, 1969–70

Although Tullie had expressed concern for the fate of her house, she did not complete arrangements for its preservation prior to her death. Two years later, it still sat vacant at the edge of Executive Park. The family had apparently contacted the DeKalb Historical Society about moving it to another site, but the Society was unable to fund such a project. [10] By early 1969, Tullie's executor Roscoe Pickett (1917–1994) had contacted Mills Lane, who continued to be interested in the house. In a newspaper interview in the fall of 1969, Lane summarized his conversation with Pickett and the deal that was finally struck by the end of March 1969:

> *If members of the family and the executor of the estate want to see the house moved and preserved, if you'll give the house to the* [Atlanta] *historical society, I'll give the money for moving it. The family gave the house and the* [C&S] *bank made a gift to the historical society of $25,000 to pay for moving the house and a little bit more.* [11]

The Atlanta Historical Society

Under the leadership of Mrs. Ivan Allen Jr. the Atlanta Historical Society mobilized its resources and, by September 1969, was working with landscape architects Ed Daugherty and Dan Franklin

to create a site for the house on the grounds of the 26-acre Swan House property, which the Society had acquired only a few years before. "Eventually we hope to work out a little woodland path," Mrs. Allen told reporter Andrew Sparks in October 1969. "Visitors will walk down it from the main house and come upon this precious little farmhouse in the woods . . . . Our hope is to restore it to as near its original condition as possible, in the 1830s or 1840s period. [12]

By that time, the society had also contracted with Marvin Black to move the house, although the actual moving was done by his subcontractor Sullivan Movers. With a good knowledge of old buildings, Black's foreman Harold Mueller made detailed drawings of the house before it was dismantled. Depicted in these invaluable drawings, which are included in the appendices of the present report, are details of the framing of the house and kitchen and of the three chimneys, all of which were constructed somewhat differently. Placement of windows and doors and other details were also included but, except for a plan of its footprint, none of the breezeway.

In order to move the house, the entire second floor as well as the front porch were removed. The corner posts of the house, which ran the full height of the structure, had to be cut just above the second floor level but the rest of the second-story walls, the ceilings and the roofs were simply taken apart and numbered for reassembly at the new site. The additions to the outside kitchen, the breezeway, and apparently the post-World War II additions to the interior of the house itself were all removed and discarded without documentation. Only the floor framing and roof rafters were salvaged from the front porch. The kitchen and its chimney were moved without dismantling.

By November, 1969, the house and kitchen were at the new site and, by the end of February the following year, reconstruction was well underway. Both buildings were set on recreated foundations and cellars that reused original material

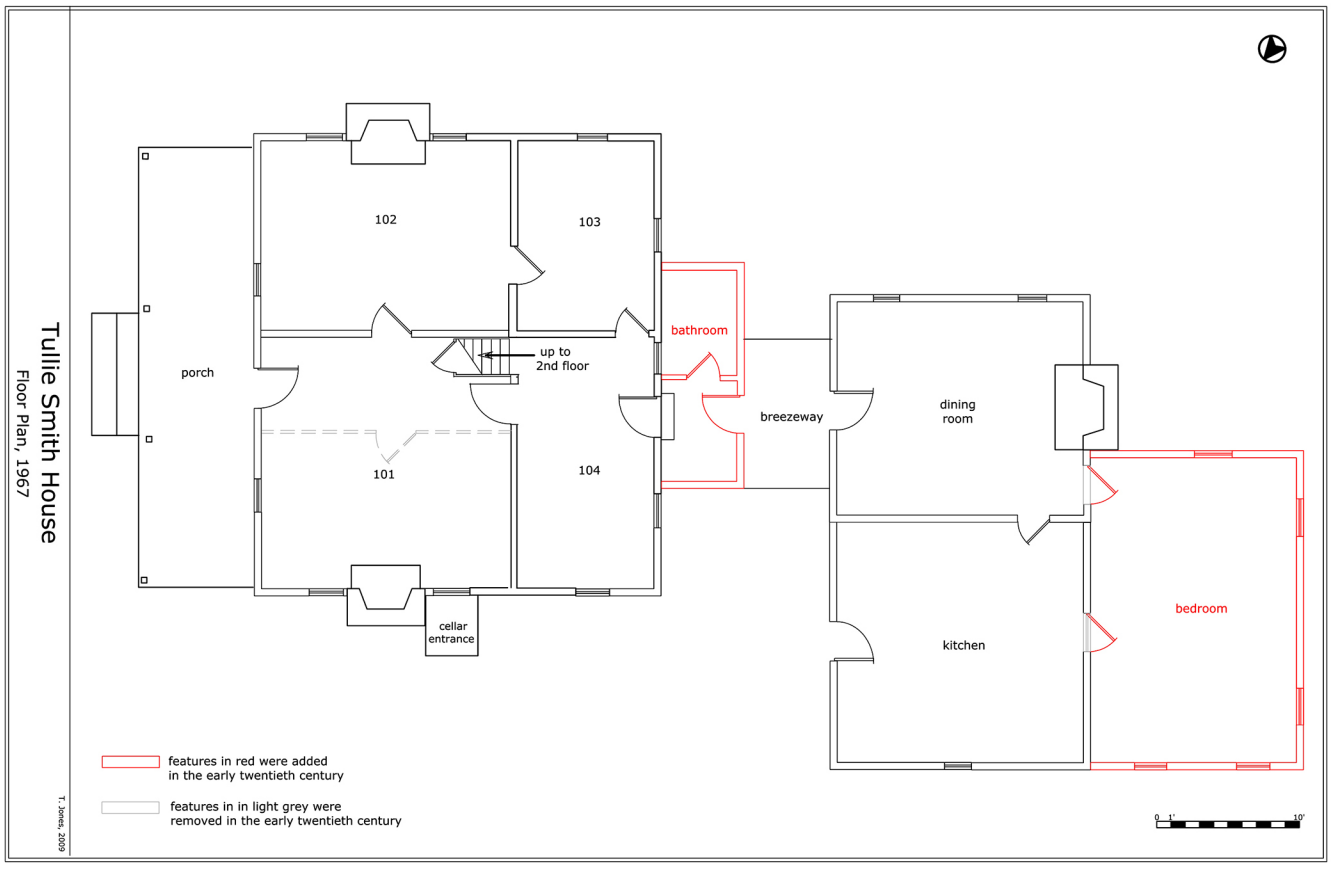

Figure 31. Floor plan as house existed in 1967. (Drawing by T. Jones 2009)

and that presumably matched the original cellars. The upper floor and roof of the house were reassembled and both buildings got new wood-shingle roofing over what appears to be the original rafters and roof decking. Windows and doors were reinstalled as they had been on the original site but the porch, cellar entrance, and breezeway were not reconstructed, pending finalization of the society's plans for the house.

The expenses of the move and reconstruction were greater than expected, however, with the move alone costing $31,452.78, according to the society's financial report on the restoration. Demonstrating his continued support for the project and, no doubt, familiar with the cost over runs that often plague restoration projects, Mills Lane made an additional gift of $25,000 to the society in January 1970, which allowed Black to complete his work on the project by the end of March of that year.

The Restoration Committee

With expenses covered, at least for the time being, the society's president Beverly Dubose appointed a committee in January 1970 to oversee the actual restoration of the house. Chaired by Bettijo Hogan Cook (now Trawick), the original Tullie Smith Restoration Committee included Mrs. Ivan Allen Jr., Mr. Edward Daugherty, Mr. Dan Franklin, Mrs. Mary Gregory Jewett, Miss Isabelle Johnston, Mrs. Mills B. Lane, Mr. James Means, Mrs. Thomas E. Martin Jr., Mr. William R. Mitchell Jr., and Mrs. John C. Symmes. On 21 January 1970, they held their first meeting. [13]

At that first meeting, the committee adopted Mr. Daugherty's motion that "the primary object of the Committee be to redevelop the Tullie Smith House as a teaching tool to show Atlanta and its environs as they were in the decades of 1830 and 1840." The committee discussion also "brought forth" these additional points:

1. The Committee must be convinced that the building, and the work being done to it, is [sic] accurate and correct before proceeding.

2. The Tullie Smith House is to be restored as a general example of a house of the period.

a. The house and archaeological evidence must speak for itself.

b. If the house gives evidence for correct restoration itself, we will follow that. If not, we will follow a typical manner of that period.

c. The "cut off' date of the restoration be placed at ten years after date of construction of the house.

3. A plan for research could be very important to the project.

4. A story for publication should be prepared as soon as possible about the house.

5. Plans should be made to follow up offers of appropriate material for Tullie Smith House. [14]

That these items were recorded as points of discussion and not as formal motions of the committee is an indication of the conflict that occurred as the committee sorted out its agenda. The meeting had begun with architect James Means introducing a drawing of the house that proposed a gabled portico of the "Virginia cottage type." [15] This, no doubt, precipitated the additional statement in one of the committee reports "that literary license could not be used in restoration of the house, that the house could not be romanticized to fit someone's personal view of the past, but rather it must be an historically accurate representation of early farm life in Atlanta, a little-researched field of local history. [16] With the exception of William R. Mitchell Jr., a young architectural historian working for the Georgia Historical Commission, the committee members had little experience with historic preservation and, in spite of their commitment to learn, did not really understand the extent of research and investigation that the project would require if they wanted to fulfill their goals. Nevertheless, Mitchell and his volunteers were able to conduct a substantial amount of historical research into the family's history during 1970.

A $9,000 grant was secured from the Atlanta Junior League in the June of 1970 but, although it allowed the committee to hire Mr. Mitchell to head the research project and included the use of four Junior League volunteers, over $2,000 of the grant was used for rebuilding one of the chimneys—which had been built incorrectly—for a weathervane and for other restoration materials.

Another $3,000 was reserved for development of educational programs, which meant that less than half of the grant from the Junior League was actually used for research that could guide the restoration. Two reports and the committee's annual report from 1971 summarized their findings but no comprehensive history of the building's evolution was ever compiled.

Almost entirely missing from the committee's work was the use of professionals for any systematic investigation of the building or for archaeology at the original site. The importance of both of these activities was discussed within the committee but never funded, although William Seale, Frank Welsh and other professionals were called on to make brief and very cursory visits to the site while they were in town on other business. William Kelso and archaeology students from Oglethorpe University were also reported to have made an archaeological investigation of the site after the house was moved but the data and artifacts from that investigation have been lost.

The committee did use its combined expertise in historic preservation and met at the house on two occasions in February 1970 to investigate the building, but the results of those meetings were inconclusive. Mr. Mitchell's two reports on these meetings, while some-times contradictory, offer insight into the committee's difficulties in determining the building's evolution and, therefore, what would be required to restore it to its antebellum appearance. Enough information was gathered that Mitchell was able to complete the Tullie Smith House's nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, a designation that was made official in October 1970. Although this made the site eligible for matching grants, according to Ms. Cook, "the Atlanta Historical Society declined the funds because of its desire to exercise complete control over the restoration."

The Restoration

By the time that the committee met again on 27 January 1971, Mitchell had completed his recommendations for restoration, which the committee promptly accepted. Contractor W. Adrian Leavell of Marietta, Georgia, was hired for the work and specifications completed that winter. Work commenced before the end of March. A third gift of $25,000 was made by Mills Lane that month as well plus a little over $6,000 from Roscoe Pickett, presumably from Tullie's estate.

By the end of 1971, the restoration was complete and the house and its kitchen stood more or less as they do today. Total cost of the restoration of the house, which was in addition to the cost of its move and reconstruction, was put at $42,147.65. With landscaping, construction of the well house and other expenses, the total project cost came to just over $88,000.

While there are some aspects of the way the society managed restoration of the Tullie Smith House that could be faulted, a long list could be quickly compiled of sites restored by local historical societies in much the same way. It is likewise true of the results of that process. In the 1960s and 1970s, there was very little restoration experience in the state and, when there was, too often, the basic approach was to gut the historic building and "restore" it with modern materials. The old Executive Mansion (1838) in Milledgeville, for instance, was treated in that way, so that the Atlanta Historical Society's relative sensitivity to the importance of preserving original material looks good by comparison. If there were instances where the society's work went too far in disguising the look of new material so that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish old work from new, that too was typical of the period and is even somewhat defensible in light of the basic objectives for the site.

Whatever shortcomings the restoration might have, they should not obscure the fundamental importance of what the society did. Had they not acted, the house would have almost certainly joined the ranks of dozens of other antebellum houses that have been destroyed by Atlanta's sprawling growth. Atlanta is richer for their pioneering efforts in historic preservation.

Notes

1. Moore did not think the rear rooms were additions but, when interviewed in 1996, he could not recall his reasoning for that belief. Although the entire second floor was dismantled and rebuilt when the house was

removed, the framing appears to have been reinstalled as it originally existed.

2. Tullie Smith "In-House" Files Box 1, folders 2, 3, 15; Box 2, folders 1-5.

3. Tullie Smith "In-House" Files, Box 2, folder 4.

4. The date for that early photograph is uncertain. Although Tullie's niece Mrs. Johnson identified the baby in the photograph as Tullie, which would date the photograph to 1886, clothing suggests that it could be as early as the 1870s. Given other historical details of the family, it seems quite likely that the photograph was made around the time that William B. Smith acquired the property in 1881 and that the baby is his first-born daughter, Vinnie Ella Smith, who died that year.

5. John Linley, *The Georgia Catalog* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982) 22.

6. A staircase from the back porch to the second floor was used sometimes but these have not been documented in the Atlanta area. Several examples of enclosed interior staircases have been documented, including at the Goodwin House and at the Wynne-Russell House in Lilburn, although the staircase at the Burdette House near Lone Oak in Meriwether County is the only extant, original example identified during this project.

7. See Mueller drawings. The cellar is also described in Sparks, "'Oldest House' Comes to Town," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine,* 9 November 1969, 22.

8. Tullie Smith "In-House" files, Box 2, Folder 2.

9. Sparks, "Oldest House," 12.

10. "Atlanta History [sic] to Restore Late Miss Tulllie Smith's Homestead," *Dekalb New Era,* 23 October 1969.

11 Andrew Sparks, "'Oldest House' Comes to Town," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution Magazine,* 9 November 1969, 22.

12. Ibid., 11.

13. The master's thesis written in 1976 by Jody Cook, the daughter of the committee chairman, provides an excellent administrative history of the committee's activities as they developed a plan for restoration of the Tullie Smith House and should be consulted for those interested in the details of the committee's deliberations. See Jody Cook, "Tullie Smith House Restoration: A Realistic Interpretation of the Plantation Plain Style," unpublished masters thesis, University of Georgia, 1976, in Atlanta History Center Library, 48–61.

14. Restoration Committee meeting minutes, 21 January 1970.

15. The drawing is filed with the McElreath Hall drawings in the Atlanta History Center archives.

16. Cook, "Tullie Smith House Restoration," 51–52.

VII. Architectural Details

The Tullie Smith House is a two-story, brace-framed building occupying a footprint about 32′ north to south and 36′-8″ east to west. Set on a stone foundation with a large cellar, the house is raised about two feet above grade, the house rises 18½′ from sill to front cornice. Originally oriented toward the northeast, it now faces almost due west. [1]

Foundation

The existing stone foundation of the house appears to be a faithful recreation of the original foundation, including its height. Mueller noted the presence of "a large stone" covering a large area of the cellar floor under Room 102 that appears to have been the granite that underlies much of DeKalb County. Mueller also noted that "many layers" of that stone had been removed and "perhaps used in cellar walls." No record of an analysis of the original mortar has been located but the existing mortar is thought to visually match the original.

At least as early as the 1920s, the exterior of the foundation was white-washed, according to Tullie's nephew. It is not known if the foundation was also kept whitewashed in the nineteenth century, but it

Figure 32. Exterior, looking to the northeast. (T. Jones, 1996)

may have been. The four foundation vents, two on the front of the house and two on the back, were features of the original foundation, although the material is modern. They are an unusual feature and another mark of the high quality of the design and construction of the original house.

Chimneys

Both chimneys on the main house had stone foundations with, according to Mueller's notes, "clay mortar" like that on the rest of the foundation. The chimneys, which were constructed of brick, were built to match each other although they varied slightly in their exact dimensions. The use of brick for the fireplace and chimney construction is another mark of the relatively high quality of the building's original construction. The fireplaces of most of the early pioneer houses, like Goodwins, were of stone, which could be had for only the cost of gathering it. More expensive brick was usually reserved only for the chimney stack itself, sometimes replacing an early mud-plastered wood chimney. Although the brick chimneys were in place by the time the first photograph of the house was taken in the 1880s, it is impossible to say if they were original or if they were an early improvement to the house along with, perhaps, the early changes to the porch.

Although original brick was used in the reconstruction of the chimneys in 1970, no attention was paid to whether the brick being used had been originally laid on the inside of the flue or as "face brick." This, according to Moore, and other faults in the initial reconstruction of the chimneys by Black, necessitated partial rebuilding of both chimneys by Leavell in 1971. In order to "blend the texture" of the mix of old and new brick, Leavell sandblasted both chimneys once reconstruction was complete.

Framing

As noted above, the house is built with a modified braced frame typical of the second quarter of the

Figure 33. Exterior, looking to the southwest. (T. Jones, 1996)

nineteenth century. Much of it could not be directly observed in the course of the present study, but it is assumed to be mostly Southern yellow pine thought to have been cut and milled locally. Sills and corner posts are hewn; rafters, joists, and studs are sash sawn (i.e., using a reciprocating saw). First and second floor joists are about 3″ by 6½″ to 7″; second floor ceiling joists are about 3″ by 5¾″ to 6″. Rafters and studs measure around 3″ by 4″, typical of dimensions before the middle of the nineteenth century.

Roof

Although there is always the possibility that the roof dismantled in 1969 and reconstructed in 1970 had been rebuilt at an earlier date, that is not likely; it appears that nearly all of the existing rafters and roof decking on the house are original. The individual members are not, however, necessarily in the same position on the house as they might have been before the house was dismantled.

Some of the decking is about 13″ to 19″ wide and, since the boards were sawn from the outer parts of the tree and still include some bark, they give an indication of the large size of the trees from which the lumber was sawn. They also offer the possibility for samples suitable for dendrochronological analysis, which could establish the date at which the lumber was actually cut. This would be an expensive procedure but might offer an invaluable clue toward confirming the date of the house's construction. Note that the 1994 Grashof building inventory assigns a low value to this decking.

The rafters (all approximately 3″ by 5¾″) are nailed at the top and where they join the wall plates around the perimeter of the building and were probably so attached in the original building. The roof has no wind braces.

The house was originally roofed with wood shingles, which likely would have been mass-produced and machine sawn. The split oak shingles that were installed in 1970 did not last long, because,

Figure 34. Exterior, looking to the southeast. (T. Jones, 1996)

said Mr. Moore, they were cut from sap wood and not from heart wood. They were replaced prior to 1976 and have been replaced again in recent years.

Prior to the advent of galvanized metals in the mid-nineteenth century, few could afford the expense of anything but a wood-shingle roof. After the Civil War, however, galvanized roofing allowed many Georgia farmers to install "tin" roofs. Usually installed in panels with flat seams, these roofs were actually composed of sheet iron or steel coated with a thin layer of tin or zinc alloy to protect against rust. Far cheaper than copper or lead, these roofs eliminated many of the maintenance headaches and all of the fire hazard inherent in wood shingled roofs. The Tullie Smith House had a "tin roof" in 1969 that had probably been on the house since at least the turn of the century. It could have even been installed as early as the 1870s when Robert H. Smith was alive. The photographs and Mueller's drawings show that the present roof cornice was accurately restored. It is not clear how much of it is original material but substantial amounts of it are.

Exterior Finishes

The original siding on the house was ½″ thick and 6″ wide, laid with the usual lap of about 5½″. Much of it remains on the house but much has also been replaced. All of the original siding on the front of the house was replaced in 1970 along with significant amounts of the lower courses all around the house, especially on the rear. The 1969–1970 photographs also suggest that siding had been partly replaced across the rear prior to 1969.

The historic siding and other wood trim is fairly easy to distinguish by the paint build-up on its surfaces, although that difference will diminish with time as the building is repeatedly repainted. Future repairs should endeavor to preserve the existing material or, if that is not possible, to record its dimensions, placement, method of attachment, and paint layering for further study.

According to the specifications, the exterior siding of both the house and the kitchen was sandblasted after new wood was installed in order, as with the masonry, "to blend the texture of new and existing

Figure 35. Exterior, looking to the northwest, with the kitchen at right. (T. Jones, 1996)

surfaces." This operation apparently did not have the intent of removing all of the historic paint from the exterior of the house, and so some still remains.

Windows

With the exception of the two front windows on the first floor and the two small windows at the rear of the second floor, all of the windows in the house appear to be original. Some of the original sash may have been repaired, with the thicker (approximately ⅝") new muntins of the new sash and repaired sash contrasting with the thinner (approximately ½") muntins on the original sash. The windows were not double-hung and only the lower sash could be raised. One of the photographs taken prior to restoration shows a detail of one of the original windows in Room 102, complete with the typical wooden sash stop on the left stile of the lower sash.

The front windows on the first floor were lengthened to 9/9 windows either in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. These were replaced with new sash and trim when the house was restored. The windows on the first floor are 9/6, approximately 2′-4" by 4′-8"; those on the second floor are 6/6, approximately 2′-4" by 3′-10", except for the two on the rear which are fixed, 6-light sash approximately 2′-3" by 1′-11". Antique glass was used to replace all modern glass in 1970 so that it is no longer possible to distinguish the original glass.

The abundance of windows in the Tullie Smith house is another clue that the house was constructed after the 1830s, when board-and-batten shutters and no window sash were still quite common. In 1839, James Silk Buckingham was told that Jarrett Manor, the famous inn near Toccoa, would be easy to find because it was "the only house with glass windows in it on the road." Sash were usually added when economics permitted and they were often changed or enlarged later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Doors

The front door in 1969 was of a type popular in the 1920s and 1930s but it very likely replaced a door

Figure 32. Cellar, looking to the northeast at the juncture of the rear foundation and the reconstructed stairwell that is now under the bathroom. (T. Jones, 1996)

Figure 33. Cellar, looking to the southwest under Room 102, showing typical sawn joists and hewn sill.

Figure 34. Attic over Room 104, looking southeast showing typical sawn rafters, studs, and decking. (T. Jones, 1996)

that was in-stalled when the central hall was created in the 1880s. The back door, too, had surely been replaced by 1969 since no mention of an original door at that location can be found.

Since neither the front nor the back door existed in 1969, the documentation for the design of the existing exterior doors is not known. These six-paneled doors may accurately represent the design of the original. However, a simpler two or four-panel door like the back doors at the Wynne-Russell House or tongue-and-groove and cross-braced door without panels like the doors at Goodwins were probably more typical.

Front Porch

All of the existing material on the front porch, probably including the roof framing, dates from 1971 or later. The restoration committee's deliberations over the original configuration of the front porch included some study of the boards removed from beneath the shed roof when the house was dismantled. One of these is shown placed against the front window in Room 101 so as to allow comparison with the mortises for the porch floor beams. A slide taken by Mitchell in 1971 shows boards nailed to the front framing of the house that appear to replicate the roof angles suggested by the pieces of siding, which would produce a porch similar in size to that shown on the Means drawing. However, they also had photographs of hipped-roofed front porches and must have known that there was no way to know if Means' gabled porch roof or the perhaps more common hipped-roof porch was the correct solution. Ultimately, the committee decided to recreate the porch floor framing as it existed in 1969 and presumably had existed since before the Civil War and to use the 1880s photograph to guide reconstruction of the remainder of the porch, including the small room at the north end. A relatively minor aspect of that reconstruction that cannot be documented is the exact placement of the door to the small room.

Figure 35. Attic, looking to the north. (T. Jones, 1996)

The porch room, which was built for itinerant "parson's," "preacher's," "deacon's," "prophet's," or just plain travelers, depending on who one asks, was no doubt used to house all of those people at one time or another. It actually functioned as a sort of guest room for visiting family members or friends or even for strangers. Because of its small size, which was typical of these rooms, it was probably used mostly for sleeping.

Attic

The entire second floor, attics, and roofs were dismantled for the move and have been completely reconstructed although probably using most of the original materials. Access to the main attic is through a scuttle-hole, which existed in 1969, in the ceiling of Room 202. The attic has no flooring, although it was insulated with batts of fiberglass insulation in 1971. Access to the attic above Rooms 103 and 104 is through a small door beneath the rear window in Room 202. It, too, is visible in the 1969 photographs and both openings were probably original to the house. Part of the existing HVAC equipment is installed in the rear attic.

Cellar

As noted above, the finished nature of this space—planed joists, plastered and/or whitewashed walls, and stone floor—suggest that the cellar under Room 101 and, originally, all of Room 102, was intended as liveable space. While the fireplace does not appear to be large enough to be useful for cooking, it could have served as temporary living quarters for slaves or servants or for a number of other uses. Rebecca Latimer Felton recalled her grandmother's basement from the mid-nineteenth century:

> *In that brick basement there were three spacious rooms. The principal room was used for the family meals, with capacious fireplace and safes stationed around the wall. In these safes and cupboards there was storage*

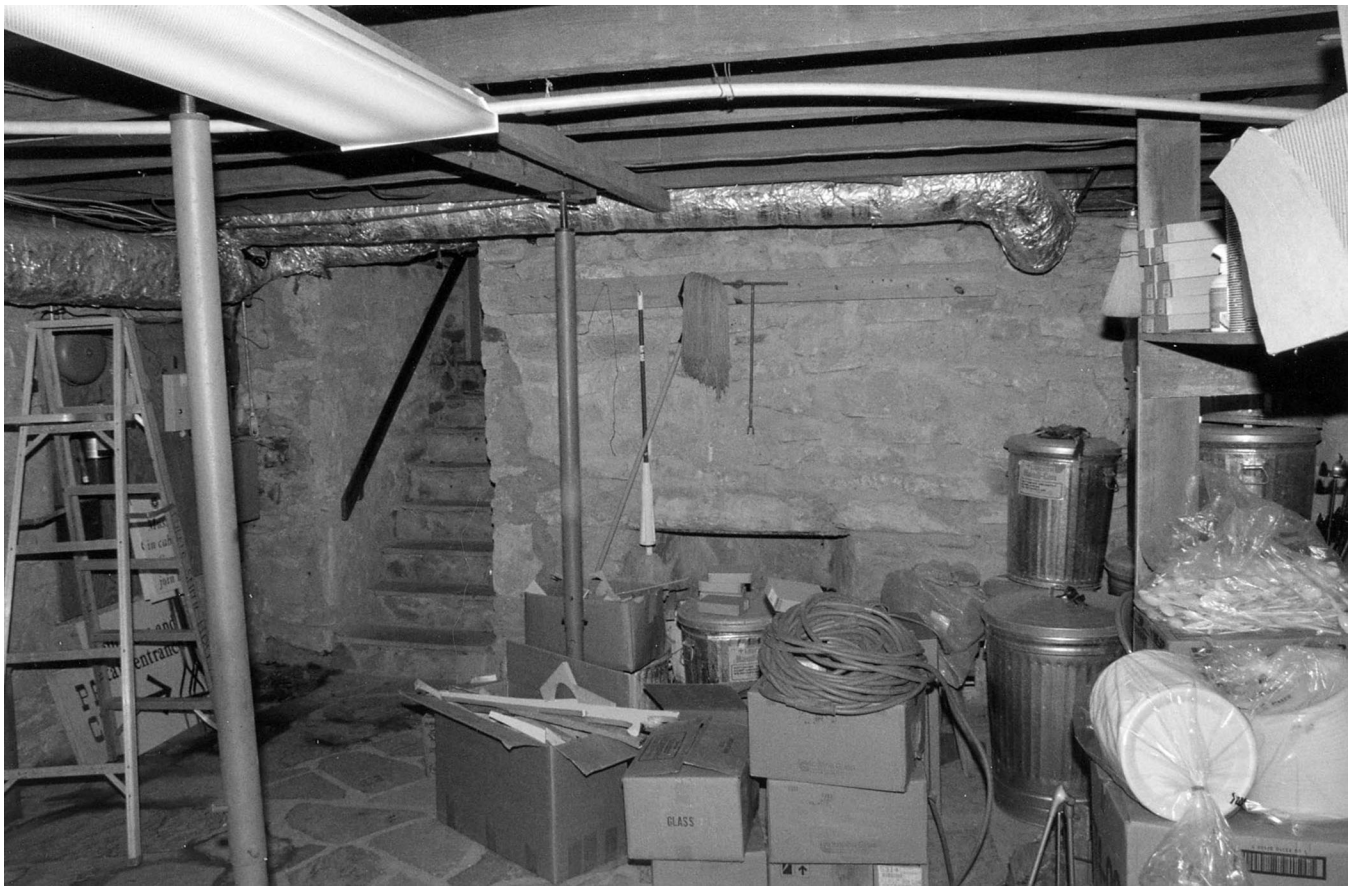

Figure 36. Cellar looking to the northeast. (T. Jones, 1996)

> *room for all sorts of domestic supplies. The middle room was a "loom room," the third was the kitchen, with wide hearth, cranes in chimney for hanging pots and kettles.*

Although that basement was partly raised and big enough for three rooms, Felton's description may offer insight into the way the Smiths might have used their cellar. While they probably did not use the room as a dining room, the Smiths could have easily used it for the kind of storage that Mrs. Felton described. Theft was always a fear among those fortunate enough to have slaves or servants and the Smiths would certainly have kept their valuable supplies and foodstuffs under lock and key, with the kitchen cellar outside, if there was one, being used as a sort of "root cellar" for storage of sweet potatoes and other staples of antebellum life.

The existing cellar was recreated in 1969–1970 based upon Mueller's drawings, notes and photographs of the original cellar. It faithfully recreated most aspects of that cellar, including the fireplace, except for the partition wall that Mueller noted as being constructed of vertical, 2″ by 6″, tongue-and-groove boards. Its location is marked in the present cellar by the single joist on the north side of the center tie beam on which can be found remains of whitewash. The walls in the main part of the cellar were plastered and whitewashed. Mueller noted a door in the middle of the tongue-and-groove wall which opened into the unfinished area of the cellar that originally extended under all of Room 102. The existing stone floor may recreate with new materials something of the character of the original basement floor, although no documentation, other than Leavell's specifications, can be found for that.

The existing rear sill of the main house is widely chamfered at the original rear entrance to allow additional headroom for the descent of the stairs and there is evidence of where a door jamb was attached at one time. In addition, the connection of the joist that intersects the chamfered sill from the rear is different from that of adjacent joists, indicating that it was probably installed when the stairs were covered over. Whitewash can also be identified on the back (present east) side of the chamfered sill but not on the sill where the present stairs enter the basement, all of which is an indication that the partitioning and whitewashing of the cellar were contemporaneous with a rear entrance.

Because the side cellar entrance seems so typical and because of the larger questions surrounding placement of the stairs, configuration of the front porch, etc., the committee apparently did not question the location of the entrance to the cellar or the structure that covered it and reconstructed the cellar entrance as it had existed in 1969. While the side walls and "ramp" that Mueller and the photographs documented in the original structure were accurately reconstructed and the chamfered sill remains to mark its location, the stairs were not recreated. It seems probable that these stairs were an original feature of the house and remained in place until the staircase to the second floor was changed in the 1880s.

Family members recalled a hole in the floor of the closet (as it existed in 1969) through which Tullie could pull things up from the basement. Since, according to Tullie's niece, there "never were" in-side stairs to the basement, Tullie could avoid carrying things around the house by using a rope to lift them through some sort of trap door.

Whether or not there was always a side existence to the cellar, Mary Ella Johnson remembered that the cellar entrance during her childhood in the early twentieth century was not covered but had "just flat doors that we had to lift up," perhaps similar to the kitchen cellar entrance that was created in 1971. In addition, Tullie's cellar entrance was sided in 8" siding, which did not match that on the main house, although it could have just replaced an earlier lap siding. It may be that the existing cellar entrance, which was reconstructed in 1971, duplicates an entrance that did not exist prior to the 1930s.

Interior

tempting to determine how the rooms in the Tullie Smith House were used, it is a mistake to think of specific rooms for specific purposes. As William Seale has pointed out, while "house-planning,

especially after the mid-eighteenth century, began to change toward the inclusion of more rooms and passages, creating more privacy," old habits died hard and, not until the late nineteenth century, did increasing wealth and the fashion for more rooms and greater privacy alter in a wide-spread way the multiple uses to which rooms were generally put. In a small house like Tullie Smith, this would have been especially true, at least until Robert and Elizabeth Smith's children were grown and married.

In addition, use certainly changed over time. When the house was new in the late 1840s, it was briefly occupied by a family of eight, and certainly every room was constantly in use at that time. By the eve of the Civil War, however, Robert and Elizabeth Smith may have been living alone in the house. The second floor rooms might have ceased to be used at all or only on an occasional basis and certainly there would have been less need for a formal dining area, for instance, than there had been when the family was together.

In 1838, Fanny Kemble, the famous English actress turned journalist, described her husband's "plantation house" on the Georgia coast. While, as Seale noted, generalizations about room usage are risky, her description is still useful as a certain point of reference for the Tullie Smith House, not only for the way in which rooms were used but also for the general character of those interiors. She wrote:

> *Three small rooms, and three still smaller, and a kitchen detached from the dwelling—a mere wooden outhouse. Of our three apartments, one is sitting, eating and living room, and is sixteen by fifteen. The walls are plastered indeed, but neither painted nor papered; it is divided from our bedroom by a dingy wooden partition covered over with hooks, pegs, and nails, to which hats, caps, keys, &c. are suspended. . . . The doors open by means of wooden latches, raised by means of small bits of thread. The third room, a chamber with sloping ceiling, immediately above our sitting room and under the roof, is appropriated to a nurse and my two babies. Of the closets, one is the overseers bedroom, the other his office.*

While that house may have had more rooms than Tullie Smith, it must not have been much larger. Although it certainly failed to impress the

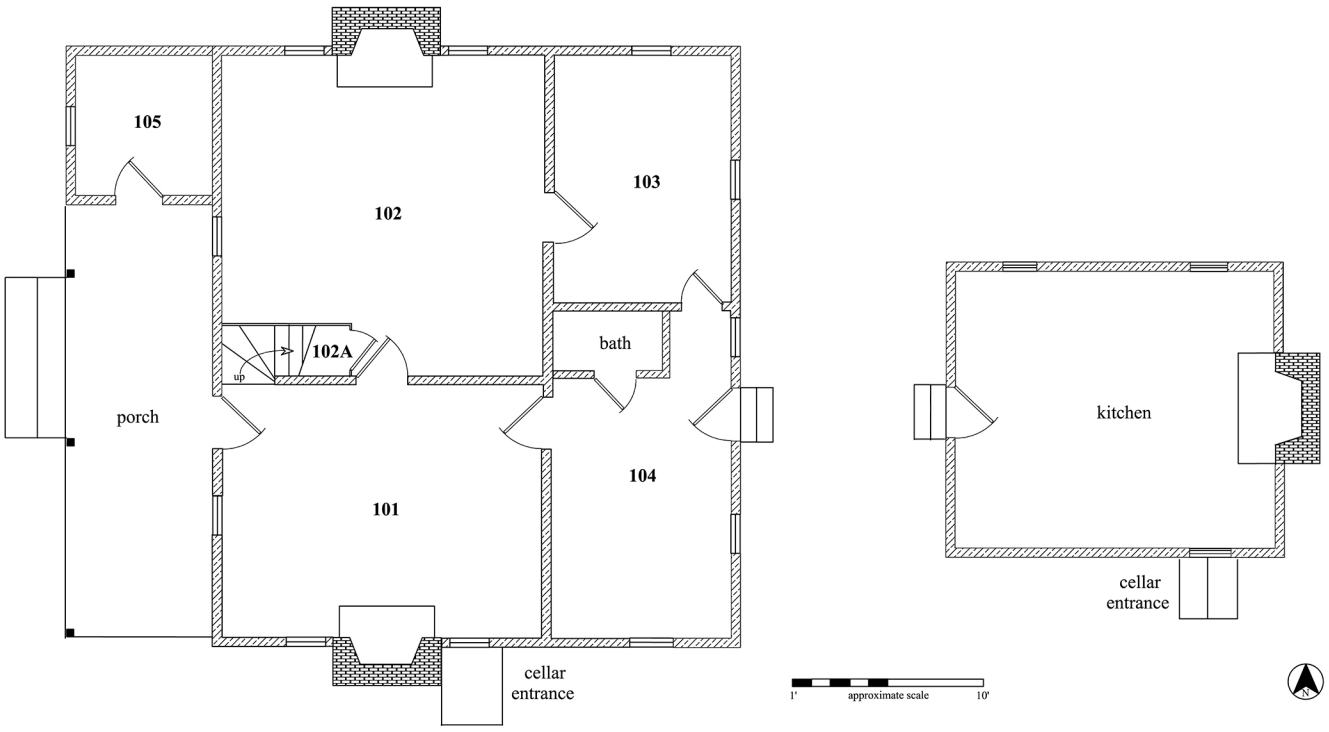

Figure 37. Floor plans of the existing house and kitchen. (T. Jones, 2019)

sophisticated Kemble, such a house would have looked far different to most people, including the Smiths, who in it would have seen much that was familiar.

The plan of the house tells something about how the Smiths used their house. If it did, in fact, have only one front door as it does now, then certainly the Smiths used the smaller of the two main rooms, Room 101, as the communal sitting room where the family gathered and visitors were greeted and entertained. On the other hand, if the house could be shown to have had a second front door into Room 102 and the stairs descending into that room instead of as they do now, then the more common practice of using the larger room as the "hall" or common sitting room would be more likely to apply.

Based upon existing information, however, it would appear that Room 101 was used as the "hall," or main living room, where the family sat, visited, and worked. Particularly in cold weather, this room might also have been used for spinning, quilting, and other such chores, although probably not for food preparation. Garrett's description of Wesley Collier's house indicates that it was probably much like the Tullie Smith House in its plan and includes mention of the family gathered together at night with "a servant girl" (i.e., a slave) spinning in the same room.

The "dingy wooden partition" that Kemble described certainly has a potential counterpart at Tullie Smith. While not arguing the likelihood that the original Smith house would most likely appear "dingy" to modern eyes, the utility of the wooden partition in the manner described by Kemble is clear. Hats and keys are just a few of the things that might have hung there and, on the opposite side in the bedroom, an equally impressive array of clothing and other articles might be expected since there was only one closet and it was not really designed for hanging clothes. There was probably no wall in the house upon which was not hung some utilitarian object and probably very few upon which were hung objects of purely decorative interest.

Clearly, if Room 101 was the "hall" then Room 102 was the "parlor," although not in the sense of the formal Victorian parlor of the late nineteenth century but in the sense of the main bed chamber in a traditional hall-and-parlor house. This would have been the room most likely to have been used by Robert and Elizabeth Smith as their bedroom. Because it is the largest room in the house, it would surely also have been used as a sitting room, a common occurrence according to Seale. There might even have been more than one bed in this room, which would probably have been limited to a single bed for a grandchild or servant to sleep on from time to time.

The earliest recorded memories (and there is nothing else) of the use of the house recall it from the early twentieth century, when the house, its use, and its furnishing may not have changed that much since the 1880s or 1890s. By the time anyone alive in 1970 remembered the house, however, it had already been remodeled into a central hall plan. In what had been Robert and Elizabeth's old bedroom, William B. and Mary Ella had probably created some semblance of a Victorian-style parlor, furnished mostly for show and not for utility, and "where we children were never allowed to go," according to their granddaughter. In the slightly smaller room to the right of the central hall in what remained of the old "hall" was their bedroom. Something of the variability of furnishing and use that was typical in the nineteenth century can be seen when one contemplates the granddaughter's recollection that "the piano was in there, and her bed and her chair."

The two rooms on the second floor were probably always used mostly as bedrooms, although the fireplace in Room 201 suggests the possibility of additional uses. Quite often, these second floor rooms were not heated, as at Goodwin's and the Burdette House, and it is perhaps as significant that there is a fireplace in one room as it is that there is not a fireplace in the other.

Although the Smiths may have taken many or even most of their meals in Room 101, they could have easily used Room 104 as a more permanent dining room, at least until construction of the kitchen addition after the Civil War. A table large enough

for the entire family would have probably taken up too much space in Room 101 given the other uses for which the room was needed, whereas it could be placed in Room 104, which was unheated but well-lit, and been available for a variety of purposes, including family dining. In one corner of the room were the stairs to the cellar, where dishes, preserves, and other such supplies were probably kept, even if no cooking was done in its fireplace. Out the back door was the kitchen, which was close enough that, with or without a breeze-way, it was easy to serve.

Dining was probably not the only use to which the room was put, however. Dining rooms "often" served as sitting rooms, according to Seale, and Room 104 probably did, too. Originally oriented toward the southwest, it would have gotten better light than the front rooms, a tremendously important consideration in the days before electric lighting. According to the Robert Smith Paden interview, Elizabeth Smith never even used a kerosene lamp in the house and, knowing of the family's literacy, a well-lit room, as Room 104 was originally, would have been frequently used.

With that in mind, the small window that was on the front of the kitchen begins to make sense as a means of visual communication between this room and the kitchen, even in bad weather when the doors might be closed. Sitting at the end of a dining room table or at a small desk angled between the windows, in a manner suggested by Seale, Elizabeth and Robert Smith could have easily carried on their other work in a well-lit room while still keeping an eye on the comings and goings in the kitchen. In addition, the present south-facing window in this room faced in a northwesterly direction on the original site, looking in the general direction of the barns and slave houses down the hill toward the creek. The room was a natural vantage point for the Smiths' supervision of the work on their plantation.

The uses to which the other room on the rear might have been put are more difficult to suggest. Like Room 104, Room 103 was relatively well-lit and had a view of the kitchen and, perhaps, of the kitchen garden as well. It may also have functioned as an office, although Room 104 seems a more likely candidate for that. It seems unlikely that it would have been used for weaving by the Smiths but that is certainly not out of the question either. It could have even been used as a servant's room, although that arrangement would probably have not been typical. Perhaps it was just a spare room, used alternatively for a variety of tasks or, in later years, simply as a dressing or wash room for Robert and Elizabeth Smith.

General Characteristics

All of the walls and ceilings in the house are finished in tongue-and-groove boards, approximately ¾″ thick and ranging between 6½″ and 7½″wide. Ceilings on the first floor are set at 8′-10″ and those on the second at 8′.

As with other finish material, it is unclear if the individual boards on the second floor were replaced in their original positions although most of them were probably replaced in the same room in which they originally existed. A large amount of new material was introduced during the course of the restoration but all of it appears to have replicated historic material that remained intact and in place somewhere else in the house.

Although Tullie's remark that all of the flooring had been replaced because it "wore out" has led to the belief that none of the original material remains in the house, in fact some of it does. Probably in the early twentieth century, the original wide-board flooring were simply covered with narrower tongue-and-groove flooring, which was then removed in 1971. The flooring in Rooms 103 and 104, which Tullie had converted to a bath and kitchen, respectively, had probably been too damaged by those installations and hard use and was completely replaced in 1971. Material salvaged from those floors was then used to repair the floors in Rooms 101 and 102.

Unfortunately, the original flooring in Rooms 101 and 102 was almost completely replaced in the mid-1980s because it was felt that its appearance was unacceptable after fifteen years of tourist traffic. Only the flooring under the closet remains of the original first floor. At least some of the flooring

on the second floor appears to be original, although it must have been heavily repaired in 1971.

An unknown number of the original interior doors had been relocated or replaced in the course of changes to the building prior to 1969. Visible in the photographs, for instance, is a door with six horizontal panels of a type widely used in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but it is not known where it was originally installed. Mitch-ell's reports suggest that the door between Rooms 102 and 103 was the only original door and states that it was used as the model for new doors. Photographs from 1969, however, clearly show similar doors between Rooms 101 and 104 and at the closet and suggest that one was in place between Rooms 101 and 102 as well. There is some evidence that there was a door at the base of the stairs to the second floor.

While many of the door openings were relocated during the course of earlier remodelings, it seems likely that the original interior doors were re-used since there was no change to plastered walls or other finer finishes that might have indicated a change to a more sophisticated door. The many layers of paint build-up, much of it alligatored, and the "ghosts" of old surface-mounted locks suggests that the existing interior doors are original, with the exception of the door to the bathroom and the door between Rooms 201 and 202 which date to 1971.

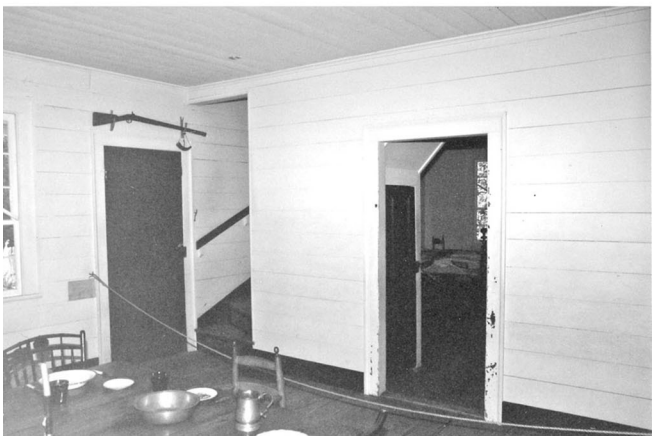

Figure 38. Room 101, looking to the southeast, top, and to the northwest, below. (T. Jones, 1996)

The existing cove molding at the juncture of the walls and ceilings may not be original. The molding appears in one photograph from 1969 but it is clear in that photograph that the molding was installed as part of the central hall con-figuration. Whether or not it matched an original cove molding is not known although, again, paint analysis might offer an answer to that question.

Room 101

The original placement of the staircase to the second floor is an aspect of the house's restoration that cannot be verified based upon existing information. It was thoroughly investigated by the restoration committee, since the existing stairs prior to restoration had obviously been relocated, but the reason for their decision to place it at the front of the house was not recorded. The fact that the door is in the center of the partition wall does not help in determining the original run of the stairs since it could be flipped in either direction and still work. In addition, though much of the partition wall is historic material, it may date to the 1880s and not to the 1840s, another question that might be resolved through paint analysis. However, committee members when interviewed in 1996 were adamant that "we just did not make it up," referring to the location of the stairwell, and that is no doubt true. Their own reports, however, suggest that there were questions about the room into which the stairs ultimately turned. That is not surprising since the lower turned or pie-shaped step treads were apparently discarded when the staircase was relocated in the 1880s.

The ceiling in this room is mostly original and, like other ceilings in the house, bears evidence of the house's evolution. The ghost of one of the

walls that created the central hall is clearly visible. A squarish cut in two of the boards in front of the fireplace is evidence of the installation of a ceiling-mounted light fixture when the house was wired in the 1930s. Its position and the position of similar cuts above the door to 102 and in 102 itself suggest that the central hall plan still existed at the time the house was wired.

Restoration of the original door locations in this room in 1971 required reframing of certain areas so that all of the boards on rear (now east) wall were replaced. A large area around the front door was also replaced, probably using material salvaged from the back wall.

The south or fireplace wall is mostly original material, including window sash, trim, and mantle. However, the boards are not continuous from end to end, being pieced with shorter pieces to the right of the fire place. A similar pattern can be noted on the fireplace wall of Room 102. Predating the move, they may be the result of inadequate lengths for these long walls when the house was originally constructed or they may be evidence of undocumented changes or repairs to the house.

The fireplace and hearth were reconstructed in 1970. Above the mantel piece is the famous bullet hole, with which Tullie regaled visitors with a tale of "postwar raiders." While the bullet was extricated and proven to be of the correct vintage, the rest of the story makes little sense. In the earliest version of this story in a 1961 newspaper article, Tullie is quoted as saying, "The funny thing about that story is that the girls were upstairs dressing" and that they inadvertently came down and sat on the sofa under which their father was hiding from the gunman. Since all of Robert Smith's daughters were grown and married even before the Civil War, Tullie's reference to "the girls" as if they were his daughters cannot be interpreted.

Room 102

The ceiling and walls in this room are similar to those in Room 101. On the ceiling is the ghost of the other wall that created the central hall, which was relocated in 1971 to its present location. The ghost on this ceiling is nearly twice as wide as the one in Room 101, possible because the latter wall, which was removed by Tullie after the mid-1930s, was constructed out of the thinner ¾″ tongue-and-groove boards typical of the late nine-teenth century and not out of the 1½″ to 2" stock used in construction of this wall.

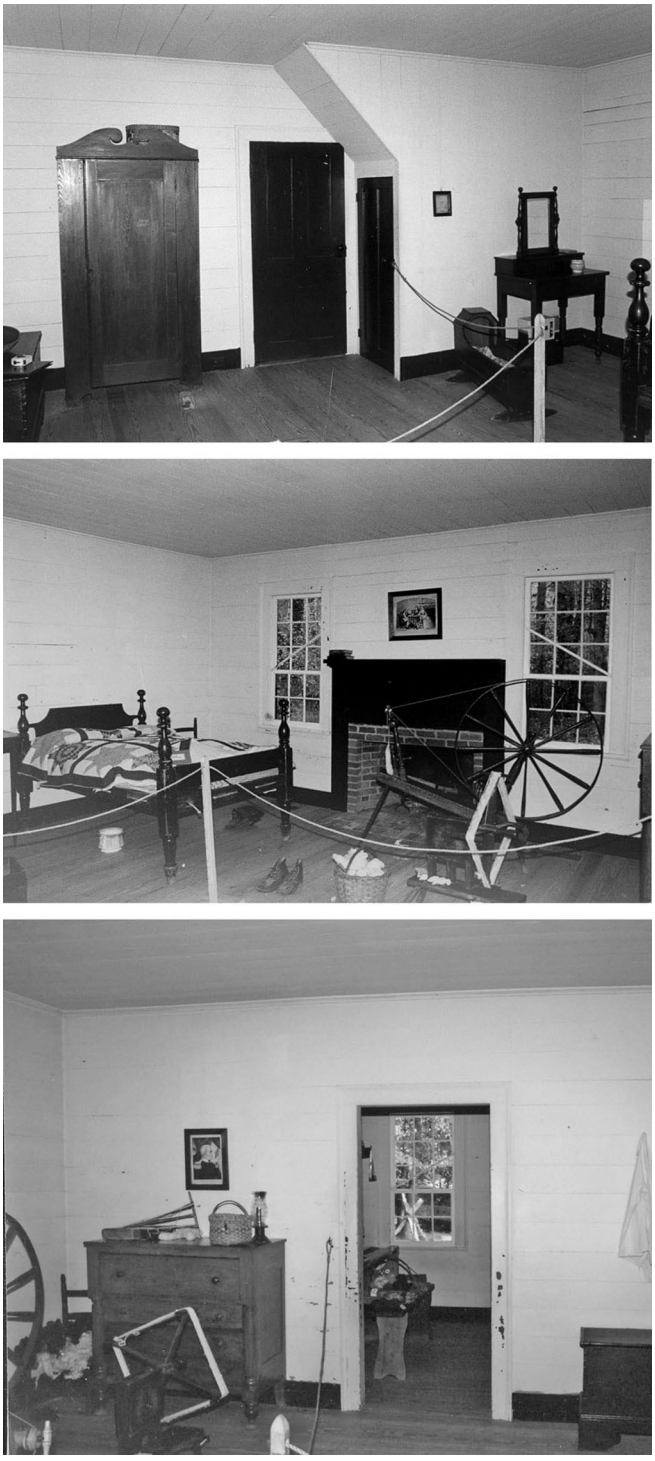

Figure 39. Room 102, looking to the southwest, top, to the northwest, center, to the east, below. (T. Jones, 1996)

Most of the north or fireplace wall is original material, although with the same unexplained seam in the boards to the right of the fireplace as was noted in Room 101. When the stairs and wall were relocated in 1971, the south end of the rear wall and the south side of the ceiling were pieced in a way that they were not originally but that did preserve most of the historic material. The west or front wall was pieced in a similar way, but it is not known when that occurred, since it does not appear to have been necessary for restoration to occur.

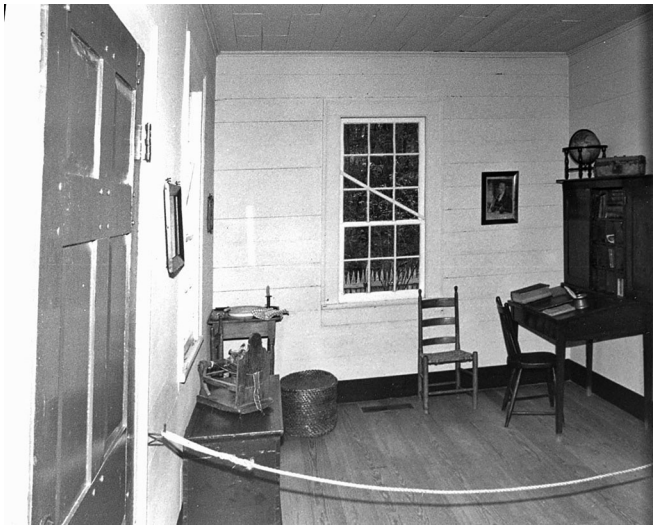

Figure 40. Room 104, looking to the south. (T. Jones, 1996)

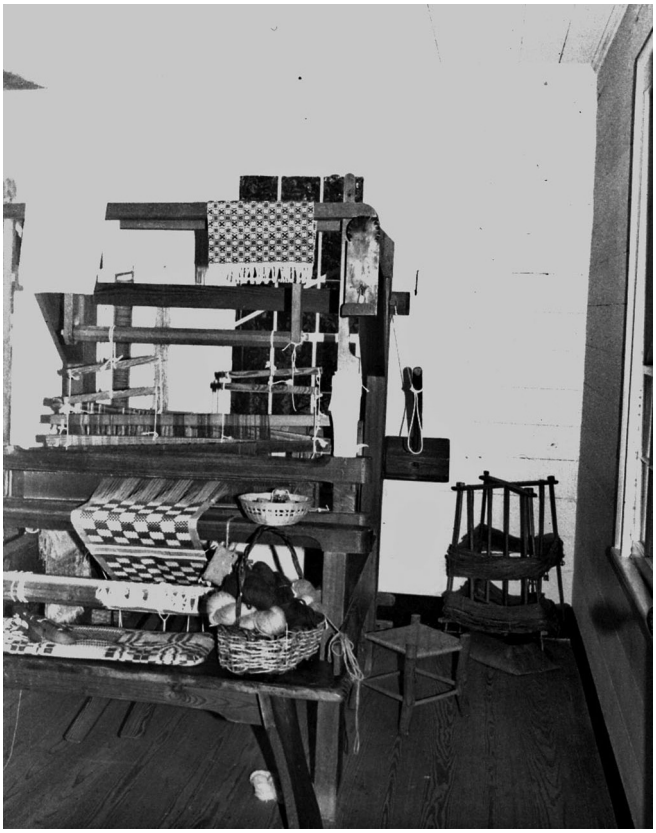

Figure 41. Room 103, looking to the north. (T. Jones, 1996)

Room 103

Converted to a bathroom by Tullie, this room was noted by the committee as having been little altered otherwise. Most of its woodwork appears to be original, except for the floor which dates to 1971. The lock on the door to Room 102 was thought by the committee to be the only original lock left and was used as a model for restoring the others. If the house did, in fact, have locksets and door knobs of this sort, that is another indication of the relatively high quality of construction in the house. More typical would have been Fanny Kemble's description of latches and strings. One of the 1969 photographs shows a wooden latch for the door to the second floor which would have gone well with Kemble's description and, even though the door had then been moved, raises the possibility that the locksets were later additions to the house, perhaps as late as the 1880s.

Room 104

This room was converted to a kitchen by Tullie after World War II, with the outline of the partitioning wall still visible in its ceiling. A door was cut into 101 at the south end of the west wall at that time and is one reason that both sides of this wall were resided with new boards in 1971. Like Room 103, the flooring here dates to 1971.

The original cellar stairs were located where the bathroom is now located. The stairwell would have had a balustrade, probably similar to the original balustrade at the second floor stair well.

Room 201

The plan of the second floor replicates the plan of the first floor with this room being the largest of the two. As noted earlier, all of the material above the floor level here was dismantled in order to move the house in 1969. Most of the original material was reused although there were also significant

repairs with at least the lower half of the rear or east wall being modern material.

Only part of the partition wall is historic material and it is not clear if any of it is original. The committee reports suggest that this wall may not have been in place in 1969 but it probably was.

The existing newel post and balustrade at the stairwell are not original although they do replicate the design of the original. The original post and banister, without the balusters or pickets, is stored in the back attic. Probably because of its relatively short height (about 30”), it was replaced by the present, higher balustrade in 1971. The stairs probably did not originally have a handrail.

The simple tongue-and-groove partition wall is like the one on the first floor. It is not clear how much of the material here and elsewhere on this floor was replaced in its original position because this entire floor has been dismantled and rebuilt. The door appears to be a modern replacement of the original.

Room 202

Originally constructed without a fireplace, this room was probably used least of all the rooms in the house, at least after the Smiths’ children were grown and married. With its access to both attics, it was probably much used for storage or not used at all. What is apparently an original scuttle hole to the attic is located in the ceiling near the east wall. The access door to the attic above the rear rooms is located beneath the window on the rear wall.

Kitchen

As noted above, construction of the kitchen appears to have been more or less contemporaneous with that of the main house. However, like most such buildings, it was subjected to numerous changes and additions over the years. One of the typical additions was a dining room, especially after Emancipation made convenience more of an issue. An addition was made to the present south side of the Tullie Smith kitchen that appears in all but the first photograph of the house. Except for a few photographs, this addition was not documented before its demolition in 1969 but it could have been built almost anytime after the Civil War.

If the roof decking is original and was reinstalled correctly, the patched areas in the southeast corner of the present roof could represent repairs that were made after removal of a stove chimney. Mounted on iron brackets between the ceiling joists, these small brick chimneys were a common feature in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with many antebellum, open-hearth kitchens being retrofitted with them as affordable cast-iron cook stoves came into widespread use after the Civil War. Perhaps this occurred in conjunction with construction of the kitchen addition and with boarding of the walls and ceilings. If such a chimney were ever a feature of the kitchen, how-ever, it had been removed by the 1920s or 1930s when the first photographs of the kitchen were taken.

Tullie’s niece remembered that, by the 1930s, the old kitchen was being used as a dining room and a new kitchen had been created in the addition with Tullie cooking on a six-burner kerosene stove. It is evident from the photographs that the end of the addition was resided with 8″ siding like that on the cellar entrance sometime before 1930, perhaps in conjunction with conversion of this room into a more modern kitchen in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

Sometime after the early 1950s, Tullie created a new kitchen for herself in the main house in Room 104 and added a new room to the rear of

Figure 42. Kitchen, looking to the east. (T. Jones, 1996)

the original kitchen and its addition. This created a complete apartment which, with the bathroom on the breezeway, was separate from the main house.

Although Moore remembered the kitchen and the chimney being moved without dismantling of the structure, the building was heavily restored in 1971. Only three of the seven joists in the structure are original and the entire floor is modern material. A significant portion of the wall framing was also replaced with original studs identified by the regular pattern of nail holes on their faces. These holes were left after removal of the 3½″ tongue-and-groove boards, visible in the photographs, with which the interior walls were finished in the late nineteenth century. Because the ceiling joists, rafters, and decking are blackened by smoke (with some of the newer wood disguised with black paint), it is difficult to tell old from new material but much of it appears to be original. Nearly all of the exterior siding dates to 1971, except on the east end where the siding on the north side of the chimney and in the upper part of the gable on the south side appears to be historic.

Mitchell believed that the 4/4 window (approximately 1′-10″ by 3′-9″) toward the rear of the present north wall of the kitchen was the only original kitchen window that had survived. The reasoning for restoration of the others is unclear. However, since period kitchens were usually constructed with opposing windows for good cross-ventilation across the hearth, it seems reasonable that the window opposite it on the south wall was there originally, although it had been replaced by a door into the addition prior to 1969. Although the framing around the south window had to be partially reconstructed in 1971, it would appear that the framing for it, the opposite window on the north wall, and the door were framed in a similar fashion with larger 4″ by 6″ posts placed originally on either side of each opening. The fact that no such posts exist at the other window opening suggests that the building may have originally had only the two windows at the east end of the building.

In 1969, a small 4-light sash located on the present south side of the door was not restored. Since such a small window did not require special framing, it could have been inserted between the two studs to the left of the door. This window would have been most convenient for the Smiths, allowing visual communication from the dining room into the kitchen in bad weather when the doors might be closed. Again, the committee's basis for not restoring it is unclear.

The documentation for creation of the present cellar under the kitchen in 1971 has not been located. No photographs of it were made on the original site and Mueller does not mention it. It is also not mentioned in Mitchell's notes although it was included in Leavell's specifications. However, in spite of the committee's failure to fully document their actions, it is very unlikely that they created this cellar without some sort of evidence to support its existence. If its existence on the original kitchen were documented, it might lend support to the theory that the cellar on the main house was used for something more than storage since the existence of two such cellars would be somewhat unusual.

Breezeway

Unlike the side cellar entrance, the breezeway, or "Potomac" as the family called it, was a feature of the house that the family appears to have taken as an original feature. Unfortunately, except for its basic plan as recorded by Mueller and some photographs that show most of its significant features including the juncture of its roof line and floor with the main house and kitchen, the breezeway was not documented prior to its demolition in 1969 and was not reconstructed in 1971. Like the window on the front of the kitchen, there is no record of precisely why the decision was made not to reconstruct the breezeway.

While breezeways between kitchen and house were not universal like front and back porches, they were very common throughout the nineteenth century. Used as a back porch, complete with rocking chairs and swing, the breezeway at Tullie Smith was a tremendously useful space, providing as it did the covered, outdoor work space so common in back porches all across the South and was where Mary Ella Smith, and probably Elizabeth Smith as well, sat to churn their butter. It was probably an

early addition, like the changes to the front porch, or occurred in conjunction with other changes later in the nineteenth century, since it is difficult to believe that the house had no such covered, utilitarian work space on the kitchen, the back of the house or both.

Notes

1. The purpose of the present report has been to compile a history of the Smith family and of the house but not to provide the kind of record of the building itself that is generally recommended for architecturally significant historic sites. That record should consist of large-format, black-and-white photography of the interior and of the exterior of the building and complete measured drawings. Among other things, such drawings could help ensure that the building could be properly repaired in the event of disaster.

In 1993, the entire Tullie Smith site was inventoried and the condition of the buildings assessed by Beth Grashof from the Georgia Institute of Technology. The building maintenance and repair plans that she developed for each building are invaluable tools for guiding continued preservation of the structures on the site. An executive summary of her inventory of the main house was very useful in the course of the present study, although in a very few instances the present study would suggest a higher valuation of the existing material of the house than that suggested by Grashof.

VII. Original Site and Outbuildings

The slight rise on which the Tullie Smith house originally sat is still discernible amid the mish-mash of commercial development that marks the course of N. Druid Hills Road through the Smiths' old farm. Now the site of a branch of Bank of America, it is numbered 2223, although Tullie's address was always given as 2222 N. Druid Hills Road. The existing bank property, with its young growth of trees around the perimeter, marks the core of the old Smith farm and the single parcel of it that Tullie still owned when she died in 1967.

This parcel was part of the four land lots (152, 153, 156, and 157) that William R. Smith had bought, perhaps as early as 1830 and upon which Robert Smith Sr. settled by 1833. Except for a few wooded acres along the branch at Briarcliff Road in the southwest corner of Land Lot 152, most of the Smith farm has been obliterated by highway construction through the valley of Peachtree Creek, commercial development up and down N. Druid Hills Road, and post-World War II apartments and subdivisions everywhere. Nevertheless, the old Smith farm site can, with some imagination, still be interpreted.

Several maps document the Smith's farm, including modern highway maps and the U. S. topographical surveys. Particularly useful is the topographical survey that was done in 1927. This survey shows the land lot lines, including the irregular way in which what were supposed to be four equally-sized land lots were surveyed. Land Lot 156, for unknown reasons, was actually surveyed in such a way that it contained 240 acres rather than the 202-1/2 acres that had been specified under state law.

In addition, plats have also been located for all of the Smiths' old farm except the northwest quarter of Land Lot 153 and the east half of Land Lot 157; these include one that Mary Ella Smith had done of Land Lot 156 in 1926. Although its printed quality is poor, the 1926 plat adds some detail that is not found on the topographical maps.

Although all of these documents date only to the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, they do show, among other things, the historic road pattern through the Smiths' farm. The most important of these was, of course, the old Power's Ferry Road, now N. Druid Hills Road, running from the southeast to the northwest and crossing all but Land Lot 157 of the old farm. The lower or southern crossing of Peachtree Creek shown on the 1927 topographical survey marks the route of the antebellum road and approximates the route of the modern road. The upper or northern crossing was created just before or just after the Civil War after the old ford was repeatedly flooded by Guess' mill pond, which was located just down stream.

Briarcliff Road, from the south to the northeast through Land Lot 153 and 157, marks the route of the antebellum road that the Smiths knew as Williams' or Durand's Mill Road in the nineteenth century and Wallace Mill or Wallace Station Road in the early twentieth century. Only in the 1920s did it become known as Briarcliff Road, after the estate that Asa Candler, Jr. built north of his brother's better-known Callanwolde along the southern reaches of the road in the early twentieth century.

The historic route of the road to Johnston's mill through Land Lots 152 and 157, which was mentioned in the same Inferior Court Minutes in 1833 that provide the earliest documentation for the Smiths' occupation of the property, is easily traced on the 1927 map. Today that route survives in Mt. Moriah Church Road, Cliff Valley Way south of I-85, and in Old Briarwood Road and part of Briarwood Road north of I-85.

The 1833 Court Minutes also mention a road crossing Peachtree Creek "at Robert Smith's" and most have assumed that to be the road that became N. Dru-id Hills Road. However, as noted in the historical overview, the point of crossings of Peachtree Creek tended to vary a great deal over time and the traces of an old road that are shown running north through the east side of Land Lot 156 on the 1927 topographical survey and the 1926 plat of the property may, in fact, have been that road.

What is now called Sheridan Road, running due west from Briarcliff in the center of Land Lot 153, was probably in use as well before the Civil War. It would have been well-traveled by the Smiths since it would have provided a direct route to Land Lot 50 along Cheshire Bridge Road, property that William R. Smith had given to his brother Robert Hiram Smith in 1843 and that was farmed by James Washington Smith beginning in the 1850s. It was certainly in use by the time Rock Spring Church was founded in 1871.

In addition to the historic roads, the map and the plats also show at least some of the structures that were stand-ing on the property in the early twentieth century. While many of these, like the Tuggle house and dairy that stood on Briarcliff just south of N. Druid Hills Road until the early 1980s, dated from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, some of them were probably of antebellum origin. If the old trace of a road noted above in Land Lot 156 is the route of the 1833 road, then it is quite possible that one of the structures shown on it in 1927 and marked "tenant house" on the 1926 plat was the antebellum home of Robert Smith, Sr. By the time Robert Hiram Smith built his new house about 1845, the Power's Ferry Road was the main road through the property and he picked a prominent lo-cation on it on which to build, but close enough that he might have been able to see his

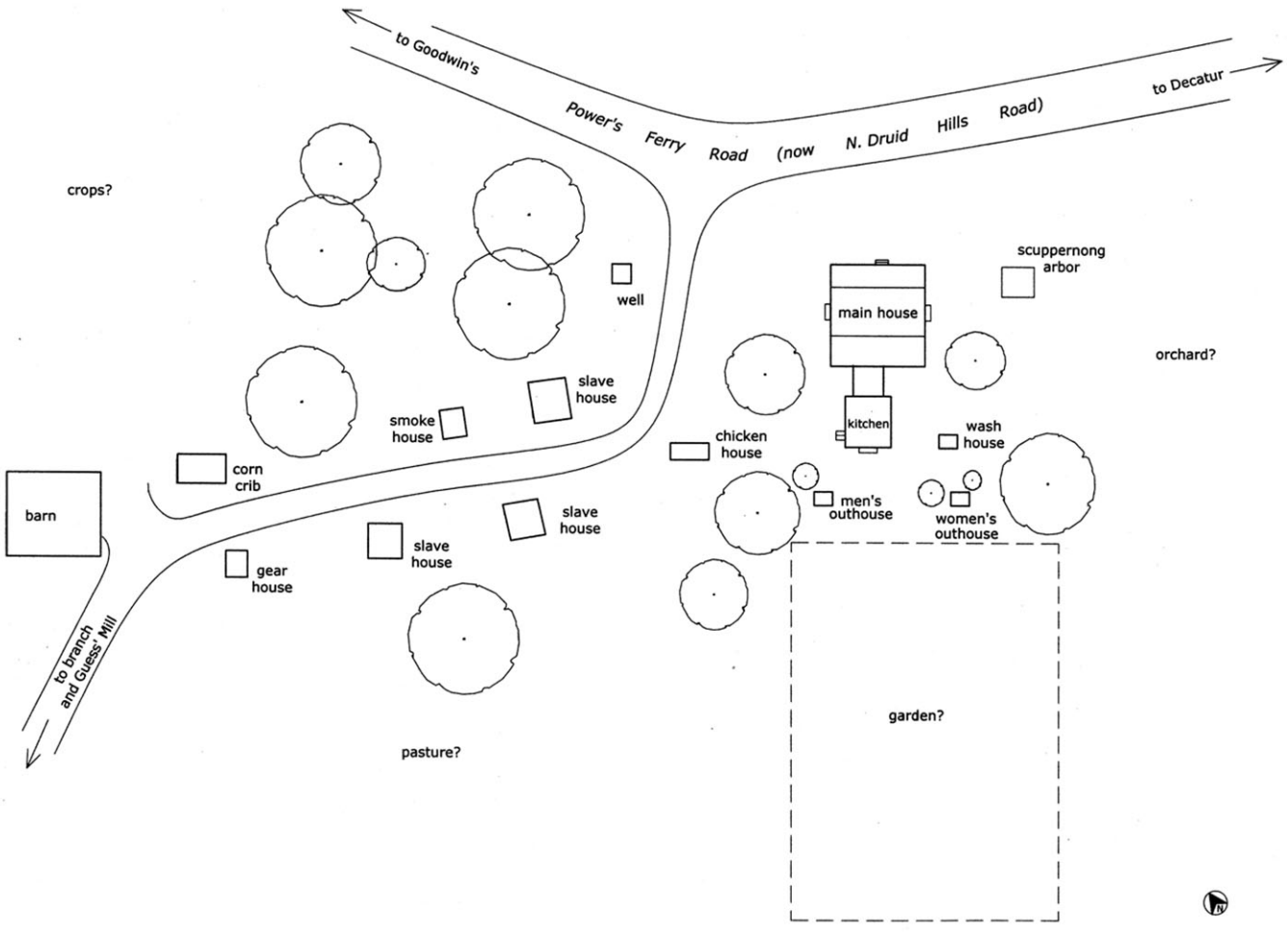

Figure 43. Reconstructed plan of Tullie Smith's farm. (T. Jones, 1996)

father's house across the fields opposite his new house.

While Robert H. Smith owned four land lots along the Power's Ferry Road, Land Lot 156 was always the "home lot," where he built his house, houses for his slaves, a barn and the other out-buildings that were necessary on any farm. Information is sparse on the buildings on the Smith farmstead and how they were arranged, but the general layout probably followed the typical pattern outlined by Hudson:

> *Traditional farmsteads had two centers, the house and the barn. The barn was usually the most distant structure from the house and the other farmstead structures were organized between the two. The differentiation between the two zones was reinforced by three principal yards: the front yard, the kitchen yard, and the barnyard. . . [T]he area in front of most farmhouses was a barren, undifferentiated landscape before 1840. . . The formal front yard was not popularly accepted in the Georgia Piedmont until around 1850.. . The absence of grass around the farm house was a mark of industry and pride on the part of Southern farm wives; some even sterilized the yard with salt.* [1]

A few of the historic photographs of the Tullie Smith House show structures in the immediate vicinity of the house, including the well house, part of the men's outhouse, part of a twentieth century garage, and a glimpse of the scuppernong arbor. Another photograph shows a small log building that was on the property in 1967. Mrs. Johnson's comments in the Sparks article "'Oldest House' Comes to Town" and a rough sketch of the layout of some of the buildings based upon a telephone conversation with her at a later date also offer some clues as to how the home lot was arranged.

The main road or drive onto the home lot probably always ran as it did in 1969, i.e., passing what is now the south end of the house. From there, according to the topo map, it meandered in a westerly direction along the pasture behind the house and down the hill to the barn. Along this road were located the slave houses and most of the Smith's other outbuildings, according to Mrs. Johnson's recollection. [2] From the barn, the road led to the branch running through the southwest corner of Land Lot 156 and may have continued on to Sheridan Road just west of Briarcliff.

After Tullie's death, Mrs. Johnson recalled some of the outbuildings, telling a newspaper reporter,

> *There was still a big log barn here when I was a child, with logs dovetailed together and fastened with wooden pegs. The place had a chicken house, a shed, a smokehouse, and little cabins which had been built for slaves.*

One of the slave cabins, she thought, was still on the site when Tullie died but had been moved to Stone Mountain. While there was a small log structure on the site that was moved to Stone Mountain, it was impossibly small for living, even for slaves. With a roof gabled front and rear, which was typical for barns and other outbuildings, it may have been the Smiths' nineteenth century smoke house or a gear house. Once moved, its condition was deemed so poor that restoration would be impossible, and it has now been lost.

The Smiths probably had three slave houses. The entry for Robert H. Smith in the slave census of 1850 is not entirely legible but indicates that he had two or three slave cabins. Since the 1926 plat shows three other structures, probably houses, on the property and Tullie's niece, when interviewed in the 1970s, remembered three slave cabins along the drive down the hill from the house, that is probably the correct number. The nature of their construction is not known but it may have been frame like the house, though certainly much smaller. [3]

No description of the Smiths' barn has been located, except for Mrs. Johnson's recollection that it was of log construction. A single uncatalogued photograph in the Tullie Smith House files shows an unidentified man on horseback that may have been taken in front of the Smith's barn. If so, it appears to have been a double-crib, log structure with a frame roof, similar in size but not configuration to the existing barn which was moved to the site in 1972.

One of the historic photographs (AHC #822) provides the best view of the drive and the yard. It is significant because it shows the site before the grade of N. Druid Hills Road was radically changed

in the 1930s. Off to one side is the well house, a simple open structure with a pyramidal metal roof set on four round, whitewashed, log posts. The existing well house, which was constructed with new materials in 1971, is a somewhat more refined version of the well house shown in the photograph.

Behind the well house, the chicken house is visible. It was apparently wood-framed, had a shed roof, and was finished with board-and-batten siding. It was probably a late nineteenth or early twentieth century replacement for chicken houses that Robert H. Smith might have had. [4]

A notable omission from the original Tullie Smith Farm complex was a privy, although one was added in the early twenty-first century. "We were a pretty rich family, I guess," Tullie's niece also recalled in 1969, "because there were two outhouses, both two-holers. Hollyhocks were planted on the path to the girls' and fig bushes on the path to the boys." These, too, were probably frame buildings, perhaps four by six feet and finished with board-and-batten siding. [5]

The only other documentation for the outbuildings at the site are a group of small snapshots, probably

Figure 44. Aerial view of the vicinity of Tullie Smith's house, ca. 1960, annotated with an arrow to locate the Tullie Smith House on its original site. (DeKalb Historical Society)

taken in the 1930s, that also show more of the historic landscape than any of the other photographs. In addition to the scuppernong arbor off what is now the north end of the house, these photographs show what appears to be a twentieth-century garage along the driveway beyond the well house and privy.

The sketch in Figure 43 is a reconstruction of the layout of Robert Hiram Smith's farm. The area encompassed in the sketched area was probably only about three or four acres. Typical of Georgia farmhouses, the house and outbuildings probably sat in a small grove of trees surrounded by fields and orchard. More fields probably existed across the road from the house and north toward the creek. Smith's "wood lot," if he had such, was probably to the east and south toward Williams' Mill Road.

Smith may have had additional buildings on the site but no documentation for them has been located. A "gear house" for storage of saddles, bridles, and other equipment was a typical farm building as was a corn crib. The small log building photographed on the original site could also have been a corn crib, since it is similar to several shown in Hudson's thesis. Also usually present were a variety of wood sheds, tool sheds, and probably a wash house. [6]

There may have been a dairy at the Smith farm, too, although Vlach notes that these were more typically found in the richer plantations where they were seen as a sort of status symbol. Although Smith did produce some 400 pounds of butter in 1850, he probably had little need for a special "dairy" building since either of his two cellars could have served much the same purpose. If

Figure 45. The bank built for the now-defunct C&S Bank on the site of the Tullie Smith House in the 1970s. (T. Jones, 1996)

he had one, it was probably just a simple wood-framed structure over a brick or stone-lined pit in the earth located somewhere near the kitchen. [7]

Notes

1. Karen Elaine Hudson, "The Historic Farmstead Architecture of Oglethorpe County," unpublished masters thesis (University of Georgia, 1988), 14.

2. Note that the direction of the route of the drive in the sketch map is not correct. When adjusted to match the topo map, however, the remainder of what she says makes sense.

3. See John Michael Vlach, *Back of the Big House: The Architecture of Plantation Slavery* (University of North Carolina, 1993), 18–32. Particularly interesting relative to Tullie Smith are the small houses illustrated on the frontispiece of this book.

4. Hudson, "Historic Farmstead Architecture," 89.

5. Sparks, "Oldest House," 22; Hudson, "Historic Farmstead Architecture," 99–100.

6. Hudson, "Historic Farmstead Architecture," 82, 96–98.

7. Vlach, *Back of the Big House,* 78–9.

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Inventory of Historic Photographs

A large number of photographs of the Tullie Smith House were taken between October 1969, when preparations were underway for its move from its original site, and 1972, when restoration was largely complete. These photographs are indispensable for understanding the building's original construction and subsequent evolution. Currently, a few of these images are uncatalogued but the bulk of them are included with a variety of other modern images in two "in-house" boxes (marked "1-53" and "1-54") and in the "in-house" slide collection. Because of their importance to the site, they should be seperated from the other images, sorted, sleeved and compiled into a single collection.

In-House Box 1 (labeled "1-53").

Only four of the two dozen or so folders in this box contain images taken before 1972. Most are repeated in the more extensive collection in Box 2, below.

Folder 1. Modern prints of 1870s and 1920s images.

Folder 2. Prints of house during restoration.

Folder 3. Prints of house during restoration.

Folder 15. Miscellaneous restoration photographs.

In-House Box 2 (labeled "1-54")

The following is not an exhaustive catalog of the images in this box but does reference the most significant groups of images.

Folder 1. Folder entitled "Tullie Smith House--Move." Color prints of house at original site, five dated August 1969 and six dated March 1970.

Folder 2. Photographs sorted into five separate folders.

a. Twenty-eight b/w prints, contact sheets and negatives, dated 2 March 1970, many annotated in pencil on the reverse side;

b. seven color prints dated November 1971 also annotated;

c. one polaroid dated 21 June 1971 of front of house before final painting.

d. One 8 x 10 print, view from backdoor through to front door; dated 2 March 1970 and annotated with comment "shows position of stairs before restoration."

e. Twenty-nine b/w copies of color polaroids in Folder 3 & 4, below.

Folder 3. Forty-five color polaroids of house at original site, 1969. Many are of front porch being dismantled. No interior shots.

Folder 4. Twenty-four color polaroids of house at original site, 1969; especially good of dismantling of front porch.

Folder 5. Eleven polaroids of exterior. Also Kenneth Rogers' photograph of Louise Allen and Mrs. Johnson at closet door inside the house, which with the photograph of the closet's interior are apparently the only interior photographs that were taken prior to the house being moved.

Folder 6-17 (Folder 10, empty); miscellaneous photographs since 1972.

In-House Slide Collection Before 1972

Images are scattered through the several folders in the Tullie Smith collection. Most of the photographic documentation for the outbuildings that were moved to the site after 1972 is in these slides.

Folder 1-A One of house at original site.

Folder 1-E Forty-two of various stages of house restoration.

Folder 1-F Barn on its original site.

Folder 2-A Smoke house and dairy, before and after, 1979.

Folder 2-B Corn crib on its original site in 1972.

Folder 2-C Smoke house and slave cabin, before and after restoration.

Folder 5-A Site work at History Center site after restoration.

Folder 8-A Duplicate numbers on two folders. Both include dairy, Hill House in Sparta, smokehouse and Treadwell House.