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On the cover:
*The **Model and Training School** was established in 1904 by black educator Miss Judia C. Jackson in a black community called "The Settlement" on the Danielsville Road. It offered both academic and vocational education to local students to prepare them for success. Closed in 1956, the building still exists, across the road from SAIA LTL Freight Company. Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, used with permission.*

Athens Historian Editorial Committee

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A Call to Remember: Three Generations of Jackson and Brydie Educators on North Finley Street

By Jane McPherson

North Finley Street, as it runs from Broad towards West Hancock, marks the eastern edge of what is now Athens's Reese Street Historic District.[1] On the east side of the street, massive new student apartment buildings—The William and The Rambler—rise. The new buildings—and their undergraduate inhabitants—overwhelm their surroundings and obscure the sky, along with the habits and memories of the Black community that developed and thrived in this space beginning just after Emancipation.[2]

Though the local Reese Street Historic District now protects the built environment in several blocks of the neighborhood, it could not protect the area from the forces—including racism, political disenfranchisement, and zoning classifications—that were already in motion, forces which combined to enable the displacement of a Black, native-Athenian community and to replace it with hundreds of transient, affluent, and largely white college students.[3]

If, as Ned Kaufman writes, the "ultimate goal" of historic preservation is to create "places where people can live well and connect to meaningful narratives about history, culture, and identity," then those goals are only partially accomplished on North Finley Street and in the adjacent Reese Street District.[4] While the University of Georgia students in the neighborhood appear to be living well, currently there is little to connect them with the area's history, culture, and

[1] There are two historic districts with slightly different boundaries that encompass the Reese Street District: The National Register Historic District was established in 1987; and the local historic district, which preserves the built environment by regulating how district structures can be remodeled or built, was established in 2008. North Finley Street functions as the eastern boundary for both districts, and in this paper, all references refer to the local district.

[2] Michael L. Thurmond, *A Story Untold: Black Men and Women in Athens History*, 3rd ed., (Athens, GA: Deeds Publishing, 2019).

[3] Amelia M. Andrews, "Reese Street's Last Stand: An African American Local Historic District's Fight to Retain Community and Identity," Master's thesis (University of Georgia, 2024).

[4] Ned Kaufman, *Place, Race, and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 1.

identity.[5] Still, it is not too late for Athens to preserve and celebrate the stories of this remarkable neighborhood, and to honestly explore the forces that enabled the dissolution of a once-thriving Black community.

In this paper, I will begin this project of preservation, celebration, and exploration with a few of the modest, family-sized houses that remain on the west side of North Finley. Facing their enormous new neighbors, these houses—at 193, 223, and 249 North Finley—stand like dutiful sentries or old souls guarding the gates of the Reese Street Historic District. What remarkable histories do these houses hold?

For me, those histories begin with Judia Jackson Harris (1870-1960).[6] Jackson Harris was an Athens-born educator who organized Black sharecropping families in rural Clarke County beginning in 1900.[7] Together, the farmers and Jackson Harris purchased land, improved farming practices, and built what she thought of as a "model rural settlement."[8] The Model and Training School she established there in 1903 still stands (reopened as a Rosenwald School in 1928) on the Danielsville Road, and her memory is honored in the name of the nearby J. J. Harris Elementary School, founded in 2009.

The more I learned about Jackson Harris's educational projects—rooted as they were in her belief in the power of collective action—the more curious I became about her family of origin, the collective that had launched her. Though Jackson Harris's name is memorialized on Athens's northern periphery, my explorations into her life and work led me back to North Finley Street in Athens's center.

Born in 1870, just five years after her parents and her four oldest siblings had been emancipated from slavery, Judia grew up on land that was owned by her

[5] There is at least one historic marker in the neighborhood. The Georgia Historical Society erected a marker for the Athens High and Industrial School at the corner of Pope and Reese Streets in 2010. See https://www.georgiahistory.com/ghmi_marker_updated/athens-high-and-industrial-school/.

[6] For more on Judia Jackson Harris, see Michael Thurmond, *A Story Untold*, and Jane McPherson, "Judia Jackson Harris," forthcoming in the *New Georgia Encyclopedia*.

[7] Judia C. Jackson, "The Upbuilding of a Community" *Southern Workman*, Volume 32, Number 5, 1 May 1903, 200-203. Online at https://virginiachronicle.com/?a=d&d=SWM19030501.1.10

[8] Jackson, "The Upbuilding of a Community," 200.

parents—Alfred and Louisa Jackson—in the home they built for their growing family at 188 River Street in the neighborhood known as Lickskillet.[9] Both Jackson parents were talented: Louisa was an able seamstress, and Alfred was known for his abundant fruit trees; Louisa sang in the choir, and Alfred played the clarinet.[10] But neither Jackson parent could read or write. Denied access to education during their own enslaved childhoods, they made it a priority to educate their six children. It is a testament to the Jackson parents' commitment to education that all six of their enumerated children could read and write, and three of their daughters—Camilla Jackson Brydie (1851-1925), Mary Jackson McCrorey (1867-1946), and Judia Jackson Harris—became respected educators.[11]

Figure 1. *The Jackson sisters: Camilla, Mary, and Judia. (Undated images from the Caroline Bond Day papers, courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/6/archival_objects/1373672.)*

Judia, therefore, was unique but not alone. She was one of three pioneering sister-educators, all of whom began their careers in Reconstruction-era Athens—and all of whom were drawn to Athens's Black educational center: the area we know now as the Reese Street Historic District. In this essay, I will tell the stories of these three sisters—Camilla, Mary, and Judia (see Figure 1)—and then locate them, as well as the two generations of Brydie and Gilbert educators who followed them, as they all hopscotched among the homes on North Finley Street.

[9] "Alfred Jackson", 1880 U. S. Census, Clarke County, Georgia.

[10] Judia Jackson Harris, *Forty Years of Experience in a Georgia Community*. (Unpublished memoir, 1954). Cited with permission.

[11] For more on Mary Jackson McCrorey, see Jane McPherson, "Mary Jackson McCrorey," forthcoming in the *New Georgia Encyclopedia*.

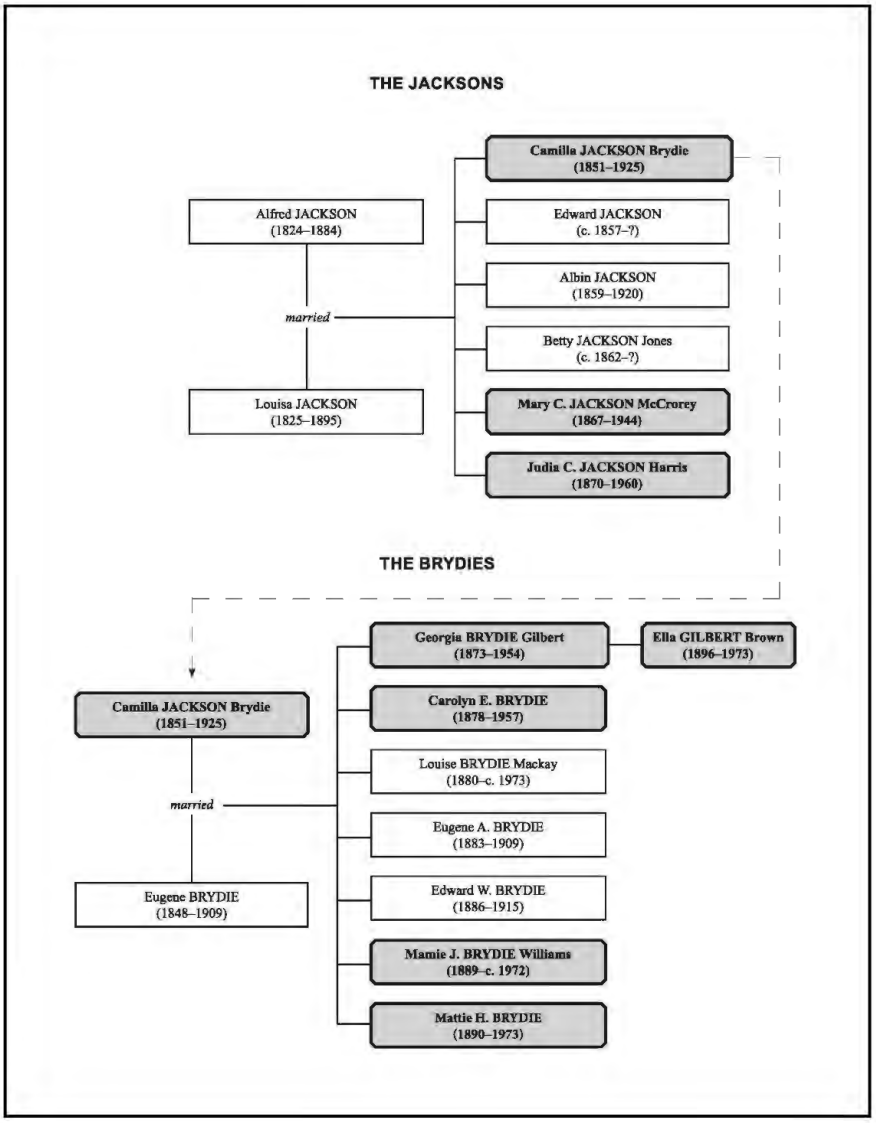

Figure 2. *The Jackson and Brydie family tree. Graphic design by Kat Farlowe.*

For at least seventy years—beginning by 1886 and ending around 1956, as the last of the Reese Street schools were closing—the Jackson sisters and their educator

descendants lived on North Finley Street and taught in schools nearby (see Figure 2 for a family tree). The house where family members lived at 101 North Finley is gone now, but their homes at 193, 223, and 249 North Finley Street remain. I like to think that they—the houses and the sisters—are ready for their stories to be told. The records are dry—the census, the city directory, wills, and land sales—so a little imagination will help to breathe life into the tale.

The Early Years: The Jackson Sisters in Athens

It makes perfect sense that this family, which so valued education, was drawn to the Reese Street neighborhood. Settled by newly-freed people just after Emancipation, the neighborhood became the home of the Knox School, Athens's first school for Black students, opened by the Freedman's Bureau in 1868. Reese Street quickly became an educational and cultural center, and Camilla, the eldest of the Jackson children, was part of the excitement.[12] Camilla had grown up in slavery in Athens and, though it was illegal to teach an enslaved person to read and write, she acquired the skills of literacy. At just 17 years old, she became an educator at the Knox Institute on the payroll of the Freedman's Bureau, serving from 1868 until 1870.[13]

It is quite remarkable to imagine young Camilla leaving the home she shared with her parents and siblings on River Street and walking the mile and a half through downtown to the newly-opened Freedman's school on Reese Street (perhaps even leading a younger sibling or two in tow?). What a thrilling experience it must have been for this very young woman to hold such a position of prominence during this hopeful time for her community! There is no evidence that Camilla's time as a paid educator extended beyond her few years with the Freedman's Bureau, but the fact that she and her family later moved to the neighborhood may well be evidence of a fondness she developed during those first heady years at Knox Institute.[14] In 1871, Camilla married Eugene W. Brydie, co-proprietor of Sapp & Brydie's Barber Shop, and began another life of caring for

[12] Thurmond, *A Story Untold*.

[13] Harris, *Forty Years of Experience*. Freedman's Bureau records are available on Ancestry.com.

[14] Judia was recommended for admission to Atlanta University by George V. Clark at Knox Institute. In his letter, he mentions Mary as well as Judia and writes that both are "bright girls." Letter from G. V. Clark to Horace Bumstead (Atlanta University), October 3, 1889. Atlanta University Presidential records. Horace Bumstead records. 0000-0000-0000-0017, Box 21, Folder 12. Archives Research Center, Atlanta University Center, Robert W. Woodruff Library.

family, tutoring her own children, doing laundry, and baking cakes—and perhaps planning her return to the Reese Street neighborhood.[15]

As far as we know, Camilla's younger sister Mary was the first Jackson to actually set up house in the Reese Street neighborhood. Mary had been the first Jackson child to be born after Emancipation and, like her sister Camilla, she embraced her calling as an educator as a young girl. In 1880, while living with Camilla and family—and perhaps after some years spent studying at Knox Institute—Mary began several years of teaching in the summertime sessions of Clarke County's rural schoolhouses. By the time she was just 13 or 14 years old, she was managing her own classroom of twenty-four Clarke-County second-graders, and in 1881, she began the teacher training course at Atlanta University. When Athens's new public school system opened in 1886, she put in an application to teach; then, when the teacher qualifying exams were tallied, Mary had made the highest score among all the applicants—both Black and white—scoring higher than one of the daughters of the family which had enslaved her mother and siblings.[16]

In 1886, Mary became the first Jackson family member to graduate college as well as the first Black public-school principal in Athens; she led at the short-lived Foundry Street School where she also taught first grade.[17] Adding to her list of firsts, in 1886, Mary became the first member of her family to purchase property in the Reese Street neighborhood. Setting down roots, she bought the lot at the northwest corner of Reese and North Finley Streets, the lot that would become 223 North Finley Street, and soon moved into a nearby house at 101 North Finley Street (presumably because a suitable house at number 223 had not yet been built).[18] Over the next fifteen years or so, the house at 101 North Finley would welcome the extended Jackson-Brydie clan, and it was the only home in the neighborhood that

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[15] "Sapp & Brydie's Barber Shop," *The Southern Watchman* (Athens, GA), Dec. 16, 1881, 2. Camilla Jackson Brydie's activities were recorded in the Clarke County, Georgia, censuses of 1880, 1900, and 1920.

[16] W. H. Crogman, "Mary C. Jackson" in *History of the American Negro and His Institutions, Georgia Edition*, A. B. Caldwell, ed. (Atlanta: A. B. Caldwell Publishing Company, 1917), 361. Online https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47df-bb4f-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99.

[17] Thurmond, *A Story Untold*, 86.

[18] Mary C. Jackson bought the land at 223 Finley Street from M. B. McGinty on September 13, 1886. The deed was recorded in 1890 in the Clarke County, Georgia, Deed Book HH, page 181, Clarke County Courthouse, Athens. Date verified by a 1945 letter in Shackelford & Shackelford records, ms1365, Box 2, Folder 26, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

housed all three Jackson sisters.[19] Unfortunately, this house does not survive; it was likely demolished when Broad Street was widened in 1938.[20]

When Camilla and Eugene moved into the house at 101 North Finley Street with their children in the mid- to late-1890s, Mary had already been lured away from Athens to Augusta, Georgia, to become the associate principal at Haines Institute, where she worked for 20 years alongside Lucy Craft Laney and helped to grow that school into the powerhouse it became.[21] It is not known why Camilla and Eugene Brydie chose this moment to move to North Finley Street. Perhaps they had an opportunity to occupy Mary's newly vacated space or perhaps they wanted their children to grow up in a community that was developing a reputation as an educational center? Whatever their reasons, when they moved to North Finley Street, several of their seven children were still at home and were likely in school, perhaps at the public West Athens School, about a mile away on Broad Street, or maybe even at the Knox Institute, a private school, right around the corner. It's easy to imagine the morning caravan from the neighborhood to both schools, as teachers and students made their commutes.

Though Mary was gone from Athens, Camilla's other teacher sister, Judia, took up residence with the Brydie family at 101 North Finley.[22] Like her sister Mary before her, Judia had begun her teaching career in rural Clarke County Schools as a young teenager, and then in 1889, when she was just nineteen years of age, she became a full-time teacher at Athens's Baxter Street School; also, like Mary, Judia completed the teacher-training course at Atlanta University, graduating in the Class of 1894. Returning to Athens, she continued teaching at both the East Athens and West Broad schools, covering first, second, fifth, and sixth grades until she was promoted to Principal of the East Athens School in 1902.[23] In 1901, during this same period while she was teaching in Athens and living with Camilla and family, Judia began her work with the farming families of rural Clarke County, the work she called "the movement out near Helicon Springs for the betterment of my

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[19] In 1889, the first *Athens City Directory* was published. Mary Jackson is the only resident listed at 101 North Finley, though it is possible that her widowed mother or another family member may have been living there with her. There are no residences listed at either 193 or 223 North Finley.

[20] Andrews, "Reese Street's Last Stand."

[21] Audrey Thomas McCluskey, *A Forgotten Sisterhood: Pioneering Black Women Educators and Activists in the Jim Crow South*.

[22] Eugene W. Brydie and Judia Jackson are both listed at 101 North Finley in the *1897-98 Athens City Directory*. https://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/data/dlg/acd/pdfs/dlg_acd_acd1897-98.pdf

[23] Minutes and Annual Reports (1886-1948), Clarke County Board of Education papers, ms3179, box 6, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

people."[24] As Judia wrote in her 1903 resignation letter to Athens City Schools, her intention was to open a Model and Training School "to help improve the home life of the individual, to teach the boys and girls who hitherto had few educational advantages and to help the rural teacher who has the real problem to deal with." She determined to give the work the "active service" and "self-sacrifice [that] must be given to change these conditions."[25] Over the next few years, Judia took up permanent residence on the Danielsville Road near her Model and Training School, but she was never far from the Reese Street neighborhood where her beloved sister and nieces lived (and later taught) and where her future husband, Samuel F. Harris, would shortly build his own school.

At the close of the nineteenth century, five past, current, and/or future Jackson and Brydie family teachers were living together in the house at 101 North Finley, including the Jackson sisters—Camilla and Judia—and three of Camilla's daughters, Carolyn, Mamie and Mattie Brydie. Judia would have been waking early to travel to her classroom, likely bringing her young nieces with her when she was teaching at West Broad. Carolyn was often away during these years studying at Atlanta University, but she would have been home on breaks to help with the work of the household.

Carolyn Brydie (1878-1957) was the last in the family to launch her teaching career from 101 North Finley Street. In 1899, Carolyn became the first family member to graduate with a B.A. degree, and after graduation, she returned home to teach 5th grade in Athens.[26] During the opening years of the new century, Carolyn spent time learning from—and with—her teacher aunts Mary and Judia. In 1901, she worked under the supervision of her Aunt Mary at Haines Institute's Peabody Summer Institute for teachers in Augusta; then, in 1904, the three Atlanta University grads—Mary Jackson, Judia Jackson, and Carolyn Brydie—spent the summer together studying at Harvard University in Massachusetts.[27] Carolyn

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[24] Judia Jackson provided a "101 North Finley Street" return address in a letter to Rev. M. W. Adams, president of Atlanta University, April 8, 1903. Atlanta University Presidential records. Horace Bumstead records. 0000-0000-0000-0017, Box 21, Folder 1. Archives Research Center, Atlanta University Center, Robert W. Woodruff Library.

[25] Judia Jackson, resignation letter to Athens City Schools, July 7, 1903. Cameron Douglas Flanigen papers, ms3, Box 1, Folder 5. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

[26] Carolyn Brydie taught briefly in the Athens schools. She is listed as teaching 5th grade in September 1899. 1899 Minute Book, Clarke County Board of Education papers, ms3179, box 21, 261. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

[27] "Peabody Institute Opened Yesterday at Lucy Laney School," *The Augusta Chronicle* (Augusta, GA), June 18, 1901, 8.

followed in her aunts' footsteps and then journeyed beyond them, earning a second undergraduate degree from the University of Chicago in 1908.[28]

When Carolyn set out for Chicago, her younger sister Louise was already in residence in the city, having trained there as a nurse and chosen to stay. Carolyn and Louise were not the first or only members of their larger family to seek opportunity beyond Athens. Of the six Jackson siblings, only Camilla and Judia—the eldest and the youngest—remained in Athens after Reconstruction was replaced by Jim Crow: Mary was in Augusta, and the other three—Edward, Albin, and Betty—had moved further south to Florida. Eugene's daughter, Mamie Brydie Williams (another Atlanta University graduate) left for Washington, DC. Though Carolyn moved permanently away from Athens, she remained connected to North Finley Street through her family ties and by her own upcoming land purchases.

The Public School comes to Reese Street

Back in Athens in 1909, the Brydie clan had become Mary Jackson's tenants in the house now built at 223 North Finley (see Figure 3). Camilla and Eugene's daughter Mamie Brydie was busy following in Carolyn's footsteps at Atlanta University studying for her B.A.; their youngest child, Mattie, was in school; and Camilla and Eugene's eldest child, Georgia Brydie Gilbert (1873-1954), who also began her working life as a teacher in the 1890s in Clarke County, had returned to Athens from North Carolina with her two young children to take up residence with her parents.[29] At 223 North Finley, they were a three-generational household comprising a barber, a baker, an insurance agent, a teacher, and several students.

These were busy years for the Jackson and Brydie families and for the Reese Street neighborhood. In 1912, Mamie graduated from Atlanta University and—in what was certainly a union of Black Athens's educational titans— Judia married Samuel F. Harris, an event that received notice in the local white-owned newspaper:

> Professor Samuel F. Harris, principal of the colored high school for colored students in Athens, is to be married…to Judia C. Jackson, the

[28] University of Chicago Convocation Program, August 28, 1908. Courtesy of University of Chicago Libraries. https://campub.lib.uchicago.edu/view/?docId= mvol-0447-1908-0828#page/4/.

[29] Clarke County Board of Education papers, ms3179, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

principal of one of the finest industrial schools in the state for colored youth—located in this county.[30]

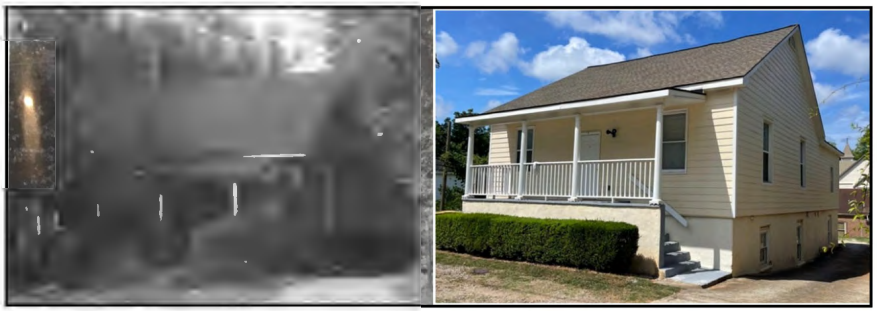

Figure 3. *The house at 223 North Finley sits on the northwest corner of Reese and Finley Streets, on the first tract of neighborhood land purchased by a Jackson-Brydie family. (1967 photo [left] Athens Heritage Foundation House Survey [Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library]; 2024 photo [right] Jane McPherson)*

I expect these events were celebrated at 223 North Finley. Perhaps these celebrations were even the occasion for Carolyn Brydie to make the trip to Athens from Kansas City, where she was teaching Latin and drama? And were these possibly the events that got Carolyn thinking about making a real estate purchase? Whatever her reasons, in 1912, Carolyn entered into a contract to buy the house at 193 North Finley Street (see Figure 4), just across Reese Street from the house belonging to her Aunt Mary, where her family was in residence.

Many changes in the neighborhood (and the family) were underway: Camilla Brydie, now widowed, moved her three-generation family for a final time across Reese Street to the house owned by her daughter Carolyn at 193 North Finley. Camilla's Athens-based teacher-daughters—Georgia, Mamie and Mattie, plus Georgia's daughter, Ella Gilbert, moved across Reese Street along with their mother and grandmother.[31] Ella who had finished school in 1913, studying the "classical course" under Samuel Harris—her great-uncle by marriage—was on the verge of becoming a teacher herself.[32]

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[30] "Well Known Colored Teacher to Marry," *The Banner-Herald* (Athens, GA), June 20, 1912, 4.

[31] *Athens City Directory*, 1914-15.

[32] Athens City Schools Annual Report for 1913. Clarke County Board of Education papers, ms3179, box 6. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

More consequentially, under Samuel Harris's supervision, the Athens Board of Education opened a new two-story frame school at the northeast corner of Reese and Church Streets in 1914. The Reese Street School (see Figure 5), as it was originally known, extended public education for Black students from first through tenth grades, and Camilla's daughters—Mamie and Mattie Brydie—were early members of that school's faculty, teaching seventh and fourth grades, respectively.[33] As the school evolved into the Athens High and Industrial School, Mamie held the prestigious position of science teacher and Mattie was part of the "teaching corps."[34]

Figure 4. *The house at 193 North Finley sits on the southwest corner of Reese and Finley Streets. This land was purchased by Carolyn Brydie in 1912. (1967 photo [left] Athens Heritage Foundation House Survey [Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library]; 2024 photo [right] Jane McPherson)*

I can imagine Aunt Judia sitting at the kitchen table in the new house at 193 North Finley, sharing teaching strategies with her nieces Mamie and Mattie Brydie, and perhaps trading family gossip with her sister Camilla. Samuel Harris famously worked a double shift at the high school, managing regular classes during the day and supervising adult learning at night, so I expect Judia would walk up Reese Street and visit him as well, perhaps with a picnic or some baked goods in her purse.[35]

The opening of the Reese Street School only added to the shine of the Reese Street neighborhood. The neighborhood had been a Black educational and cultural

[33] Minutes and Annual Reports, Clarke County Board of Education papers, ms3179, box 6. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.
[34] "Teachers Elected." *The Banner-Herald* (Athens, GA), May 28, 1914, 5; 1914-15 *Athens City Directory*.
[35] Harris, *Forty Years of Experience in a Georgia Community*.

center since the Knox School (later, Knox Institute) opened in the early years of Reconstruction, but with the opening of Reese Street School, the neighborhood was home to both public and private institutions, drawing even more Black educators, professionals, and families who were ambitious for their children.

Everyone must have celebrated in 1922, when Athens High and Industrial became the very first four-year Black public high school to be accredited in Georgia.[36] As one scholar writes, "Black Athenians viewed education as valuable capital, which served to benefit the community as a whole…[part of their] relentless struggle to resist White supremacy, anti-Black racism, and exclusion from predominantly White institutions."[37] The relationship went both ways: the community supported the schools, and the schools helped build the community.

Figure 5. *Alone among the historic schools of Reese Street, the Reese Street School still stands These images show the school in 1915 (left) and in 2024 (right). (The 1915 image is from the Jackson Davis Collection of African American Educational Photographs, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library. 2024 photo by the author.)*

The Brydie family at 193 North Finley Street was part and parcel of this community experience, full participants in the growth and change of the neighborhood, while absorbing the changes brought by marriage, death, and migration in their own family dynamics and structures. In 1917, Mamie left Athens and her position at Athens High and Industrial to marry Sidney Williams, a fellow educator and Atlanta University graduate.[38] Coincidentally, Mamie and her aunt Mary both left Georgia in 1916-1917 to marry men who would become North

[36] Amber M. Neal-Stanley, "For the Good of the Whole: Restor(y)ing the History of Georgia's First Black Public High School" in *Black Cultural Capital: Activism That Spurred African American High Schools*, Vanessa Garry, E. Paulette Isaac-Savage, and Sha-Lai L. Williams, eds. (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2023), 223-246.

[37] Neal-Stanley, "For the Good of the Whole," 223.

[38] Sidney David Williams graduated from Atlanta University with a B.A. in the class of 1914. (*AU Bulletin*, 1914.)

Carolina university presidents—and both Mamie and Mary retained their careers as educators after marriage. Ella Gilbert, stepping into her role as an anchor of the family on North Finley Street, began her 40-year career with Athens Public Schools in 1920, teaching sixth grade at Athens High and Industrial, while her aunt Mattie began teaching at the West Broad School.

Camilla Brydie, her daughters Georgia and Mattie, and Georgia's daughter, Ella, were all still living together at 193 North Finley in 1925 when Camilla died unexpectedly while "engaged in her daily duties at home." Camilla's death was announced in the local (white-owned) newspaper under the headline, "One of Athens' Most Respected Negroes Dies," but, of course, it was her family who mourned her most deeply.[39] The eldest of six siblings, Camilla had been a mother figure to Mary, Judia, and the others; as Judia wrote, "She was so lovely and motherly in her disposition, that we, her sisters and brothers, always regarded her as her own children did."[40] The death of the beloved family matriarch may well have brought the family together at 193 North Finley, perhaps for the last time. Judia signed Camilla's death certificate, so we know that she was there, but sister Mary would surely have come down from Charlotte, North Carolina, as well. Camilla's surviving children—all daughters—must have been there, also: Georgia and Mattie, based in Athens; Carolyn from Kansas City; Louise from Chicago; and Mamie from North Carolina. Though Camilla and Eugene Brydie had seven children, Camilla had only three grandchildren living at the time of her death, Georgia's children, Ella and Robert, and Louise's daughter, Virgil.

Camilla's death brought more changes. Mattie left Athens to make her home in the North. Ambition, education, and the Great Migration are all themes in the lives of Jackson and Brydie family members, as they were in the families of many of their friends and neighbors.[41] When Mattie made the decision to go North, she joined relatives in Chicago, New York, Kansas City, and Washington, DC, all of whom—as she did—left home in search of greater opportunity. After Mattie's departure, Judia Jackson Harris, Georgia Brydie Gilbert, and Ella Gilbert Brown were the only immediate Jackson and Brydie family members left in the Athens area, and Ella was the only educator left on North Finley Street.

And Ella's career was taking off. When Knox Institute closed in 1928, Samuel Harris moved his thriving high school into that historic school's empty campus on the other side of Reese Street, leaving the old Reese Street School to open as a

[39] "One of Athens' Most Respected Negroes Dies." *The Banner-Herald* (Athens, GA), Nov. 18, 1925, 8.
[40] Harris, *Forty Years of Experience in a Georgia Community*, 86.
[41] See Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns* (New York: Vintage, 2011).

"grammar school," serving students from first through seventh grades.[42] Ella became the senior teacher at the newly-restructured school, assigned to seventh grade, and she soon became the Principal of the Reese Street School.[43]

At the same time, even as their presence in the Reese Street neighborhood was shrinking, the family's landholdings were increasing. Mary Jackson McCrorey and Carolyn Brydie still owned their houses at 193 and 223 North Finley, plus Carolyn owned land directly across the street from 193 North Finley (part of the land now occupied by The Rambler student apartment complex); and in 1929, Georgia bought the house at 249 North Finley Street, and she and her daughter Ella vacated the house in which they had lived with Camilla and moved up the street towards West Hancock (see Figure 6).[44]

Figure 6. *The house at 249 North Finley Street was purchased by Georgia Brydie Gilbert in 1929. (1967 photo [left] Athens Heritage Foundation House Survey [Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library]; 2024 photo [right] Jane McPherson)*

The house at 193 North Finley had a curious second act after the Brydies moved out. In the spring of 1928, the American Missionary Association announced that the Knox Institute would be closed unless $5,000 could be raised locally.[45] It seems that Carolyn Brydie may have tried to support the school where her mother had taught after Emancipation by offering the use of the family's North Finley Street home. That fall, after Knox was forced to move out of its Reese Street campus, *The Banner-Herald* reported the opening of the school's new location at "the home formerly occupied by the Brydie family, corner Reese and Finley

[42] Andrews, "Reese Street's Last Stand," 34.
[43] "Plans Underway for Opening of Colored Schools," *The Banner-Herald* (Athens, GA), Sept. 2, 1928, 6.
[44] Clarke County, Georgia, Deed Book 53, page 320, Athens-Clarke County Courthouse, Athens, GA.
[45] "Knox Institute makes Appeal for Funds," *The Banner-Herald* (Athens, GA), Mar. 11, 1928, 9.

Streets."[46] No further mention of Knox Institute at 193 North Finley has been located, but the "Little Knox School" does seem to have found a home there. Little Knox is listed in the 1937 and 1938 city directories, and Callie Elder, a formerly enslaved person, got up from her 1938 Federal Works Project interview to usher her grandson off to "Little Knox." Also, Fannie Jordan, who was born in 1922, told an interviewer, "I went to private school first. It was called 'Little Knox.'[47] It was on Finley and Reese Street."[48]

During the 1930s, 1940s, and well into the 1950s, the Reese Street neighborhood thrived. The Athens High and Industrial School and the Reese Street School continued to be magnetic forces that drew people to the neighborhood, and the schools were in turn supported by the "distinctive communal ethos and practice" of the Black Athens community.[49] Historic preservationist Amelia Andrews writes, "Reese Street was shaped from within by its educated, goal-oriented and influential residents."[50]

Ella Gilbert Brown rode this wave of community support while serving as the principal of Reese Street School. Students recall Brown as a "very, very strict" principal who "didn't take any foolishness," but apparently, she was also capable of whimsy.[51] Odella Thompson, a student at Reese Street in the 1950s, remembers Principal Brown for "get[ting] us a sliding board and it was a pretty high sliding board and we were all so excited to be able to walk up that high ladder and slide down—swoop down—that sliding board. Everyone loved it!"[52]

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[46] "Knox Institute Opens Wednesday at New Location," *The Banner-Herald* (Athens, GA), Sept 4, 1928, 8; "Knox Institute Invites Public to School Today," *The Banner-Herald* (Athens, GA), Sept. 9, 1928, 4.

[47] *Federal Writers' Project: Slave Narrative Project*, Vol. 4, Georgia, Part 1, Adams-Furr. 1936. Manuscript/Mixed Material. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, <www.loc.gov/item/mesn041/>.

[48] "Interview with Fannie Jordan, July 12, 2013." *First Person Project.* Renee Donnell and Laura Dovecot, interviewers. RBRL324FPP-0015. University of Georgia Oral History Collections.

[49] Neal-Stanley, "For the good of the whole," 223.

[50] Andrews, "Reese Street's Last Stand," 110.

[51] Former Reese Street students quoted in Monica Dellenberger Knight, "Seeking Education for Liberation: The Development of Black Schools in Athens, Georgia from Emancipation through Desegregation," Dissertation (University of Georgia, 2007), 160.

[52] "Odella Thompson interviewed by William Breeding, June 15, 2023." Athens Oral History Project, Richard B. Russell Library, University of Georgia Libraries. https://russelllibraryoralhistory.org/RBRL361AOHP/rbrl361aohp-113.

The Schools Close and the Family Moves On

On a cold night in January 1944, a tragic housefire on the campus of Johnson C. Smith University in Charlotte, North Carolina, killed Mary Jackson McCrorey. Mary, then seventy-seven years old, had been ill and was trapped when flames rapidly engulfed the university president's house, her home for almost 30 years. Expressing the grief that must have been shared by her entire family, Mary's niece Carolyn Brydie wrote to Mary's widower, Dr. Henry Lawrence McCrorey, "Her [Mary's] death has been one of the great shocks from which I shall never recover...I cannot get it through my head that a large brick residence…could burn so suddenly and completely."[53]

Mary's death also began the unraveling of the family's tight land-holding connection to North Finley Street and the Reese Street neighborhood. Mary left the house at 223 North Finley to her sister Judia, and Judia sold it that same year. Judia had her own house on the Danielsville Road, and the Reese Street neighborhood may have evoked in her painful memories of loss: the death of her cherished sister Camilla in 1925; the death of her husband Samuel F. Harris in 1935; and now the horrific loss of her sister Mary.

Still, Georgia Brydie Gilbert and her daughter, Ella, remained in their house at 249 North Finley. The neighborhood schools continued to draw children and families, and Ella was solidly at the helm of the Reese Street School until the Athens School Board closed it after 1955. Multiple forces converged to relocate Athens High and Industrial outside the Reese Street neighborhood and to close the Reese Street School after the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, including pressures towards racial "equalization" and desegregation, as well as the consolidation of Athens City and Clarke County Schools into a unified system.[54] These same forces closed the Judia C. Jackson Harris School [the old Model and Training School] on Danielsville Road in 1956. The closure of the schools was a huge blow to these communities. As Michael Thurmond wrote, when "schools in traditionally black neighborhoods were phased out…traditionally African American neighborhoods lost their community focus."[55] Reese Street also lost its community members, including the last of the Jackson-Brydie clan.

In 1956, Ella traveled from Athens to Kansas City, Missouri, where she acted as witness to the legalities of Carolyn Brydie's sale of her North Finley Street

[53] Letter from Carolyn Brydie to Dr Henry L. McCrorey, January 30, 1944, President H. L. McCrorey Collection, RG-5, Johnson C. Smith University Library.

[54] Andrews, "Reese Street's Last Stand;" Knight, "Seeking Education for Liberation;" Thurmond, *A Story Untold*.

[55] Thurmond, *A Story Untold*, 93.

properties.[56] That same year, Georgia Brydie Gilbert died, leaving the home at 249 North Finley to Ella, who quickly sold it and moved to a home she purchased on West Hancock Avenue.[57] By the end of 1956, the family had relinquished its hold on North Finley Street and the Reese Street schools had relocated or closed. When ninety-year old Judia Jackson Harris died a few years later in 1960, Ella Gilbert Brown was the only one of her nine surviving nieces, grandnieces, and grandnephews who remained in Athens.[58]

It is easy to imagine a different history for the Reese Street schools—one in which the white school board maintained and expanded these excellent schools in a Black neighborhood, investing in them to develop new programs and resources. We can imagine Ella finishing out her career as Principal at Reese Street School, rather than having to take on the principalship of the newly opened North Athens School at the very end of her career. We can imagine more and more Black families being drawn to the Reese Street neighborhood and then celebrating as their children graduated and headed to college or developed new businesses in Athens. We can imagine Reese Street as a thriving community of Black homeowners—educators, professionals, and ambitious citizens—as it was 100 years ago.

But this alternate world can only be imagined because this is not what happened. Now, only six owner-occupants remain in the neighborhood, and students from the nearby University of Georgia vastly outnumber the members of families who have lived on and around Reese Street for generations.[59]

It is fortunate—and there is some hope at the end of this hard story—that the Reese Street Historic District will continue to protect the built environment of the historic Reese Street neighborhood, and that among those protected properties are the three Jackson and Brydie homes on North Finley Street and the still-gorgeous Reese Street School building, now home to the Athens Masonic Association (see Figure 7 for a map of the family's homes and schools). I am grateful that the City of Athens has protected these buildings, but I believe we must also find a way to preserve and promote the stories of the people these buildings once held.

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[56] Clarke County, Georgia, Deed Book 160, 508. Athens-Clarke County Courthouse, Athens, GA.

[57] Clarke County, Georgia, Deed Book 160, 420-421. Athens-Clarke County Courthouse, Athens, GA.

[58] "Funeral Notice (Colored). Harris, Mrs. Judia C. Jackson," *The Banner-Herald* (Athens, GA), Mar. 18, 1960, 2.

[59] Andrews, *Reese Street's Last Stand*, 71.

This essay is an offering in the direction of collective memory; it is an invitation and a challenge. Our community must find a way to recover, remember, and repeat the stories of the many educators and professionals who left their marks on the Reese Street community and on Athens. This paper tells the story of just one family; and there are many more.

As you are pondering how we might make these stories more visible in the built environment, please take a journey over to Reese and North Finley Streets, and as you visit, please remember the remarkable Jackson and Brydie family educators who once lived and worked there: the three Jackson sisters, Camilla Jackson Brydie, Mary Jackson McCrorey, and Judia Jackson Harris; Camilla's daughters, Georgia Brydie Gilbert, Carolyn Brydie, Mamie Brydie Williams, and Mattie Brydie; and Georgia's daughter, Ella Gilbert Brown. And think, too, of the many, many young people—the thousands of students—whose learning and lives were shaped by this remarkable family of teachers who once anchored this two-block concentration of aspiration, education, and attainment.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many librarians, historians, and individuals have helped me understand the lives of Judia Jackson Harris and her family. For this paper, I am particularly indebted to Amy Andrews, Bryant Barnes, Beth and Steven Brown, Gwen Russell Calderon, Maggie Carr, Alan Colón, Janine Duncan, Alana Harris (Paine College), Jon Jefferson, Joyce Law, and Mary Linnemann (Hargrett Library, University of Georgia), Brandon Lunsford (Johnson C. Smith University), Dr. Alisa Luxenberg, Eve B. Mayes, Dr. Barbara McCaskill, Jill Severn (Russell Library, University of Georgia), Fred Smith, Sr., Kat Stein (Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia), Michael Thurmond, Rebekah Wade, and Marie Wasnock (Peabody Museum, Harvard University).

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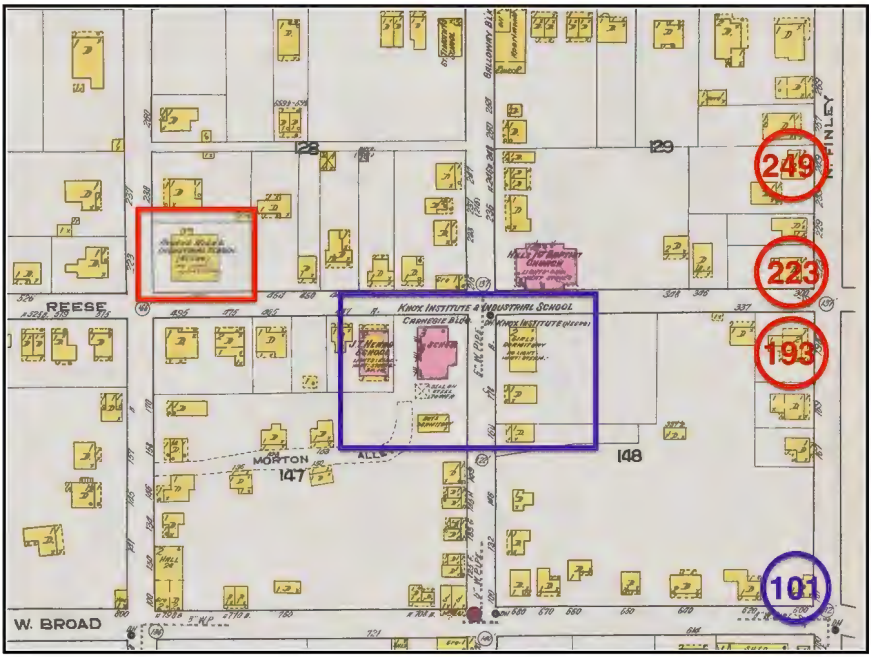

Figure 7. *This edited selection from 1918 Sanborn Fire map indicates the Jackson-Brydie family homes at 101, 193, 223, and 249 North Finley, as well as the educational institutions that anchored the Reese Street neighborhood—the Knox Institute, Athens High and Industrial School, and the Reese Street School. In 1928, Athens High and Industrial School moved into the Knox Institute campus and the Reese Street School took up residence in the building marked here as the Athens High and Industrial School. Existing buildings are indicated in red; absent buildings are outlined in blue.*

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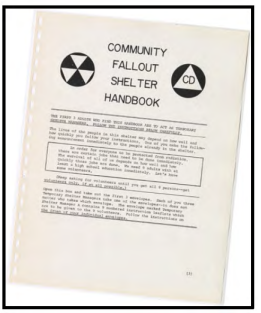
Protecting the Community? Fallout Shelter Occupancy Studies at the University of Georgia, 1962-1968

By Cal P. Bedenbaugh



The handbook developed by the UGA Civil Defense Research Division in 1962.

"Follow these instructions carefully. The lives of the people in this shelter depend on you." These, the opening words of the *Community Fallout Shelter Handbook for Untrained Management*, were written to the first person who, in the event of a nuclear attack, would find a marked copy of the book in public fallout shelters across the United States. Created by a team of researchers working for the University of Georgia (UGA), the *Handbook* runs over one hundred and forty-eight pages, giving step-by-step instructions to those who first volunteered and then were permanently chosen to lead the day-to-day operations of large, public fallout shelters.[60] These operations included, but were not limited to, radiation tracking, public safety, communications with the outside world, sanitation, and soothing the fears of citizens; the *Handbook* tasked prospective managers with protecting their communities in the event of a nuclear holocaust. Athens and the University of Georgia provided the impetus for and played a central role in producing the *Handbook* and national policy on civil defense through the document's nation-wide use.

From 1961 until 1968, the University of Georgia conducted research for the Office of Civil Defense under the direction of John A. Hammes and the Civil Defense Research Division on the occupancy of fallout shelters. This research first focused on the minimum survivability of fallout shelters to uncover the number of materials needed to be stocked in any given shelter. In 1964, the research quickly turned to shelter management. Phase II of the Shelter Occupancy Studies was tasked with the

[60] John A. Hammes and Thomas R. Ahearn, *Community Fallout Shelter Handbook for Untrained Management*. From now on, I will refer to the *Community Fallout Shelter Handbook for Untrained Management* as either the *Handbook*, or as it was referred to amongst the UGA Civil Defense researchers, the *Golden Book*.

goal of discovering a method by which those who gathered in a fallout shelter could manage themselves without trained personnel and wrote the *Community Fallout Shelter Handbook for Untrained Management* as a guidebook.

From the moment of the Soviet Union's successful nuclear test in 1949, the federal government created civil defense policies to protect from a potential attack from the USSR. At the federal level, the Office of Civil Defense (OCD) oversaw the funding and creation of policies and programs that best promoted the primary goals of the OCD and its partner state and local civil defense agencies: to educate the American public on nuclear war and its effects, set up early warning systems, and conduct fallout shelter construction programs.

Fallout shelters occupied the central position in the minds of the American public and government policy. Leo Hoegh, Director of the OCD in 1960, argued that "fallout shelters offer the best single non-military defense measure for the protection of the greatest number of our people."[61] Community shelters became the main line of civil defense in the United States during the Kennedy administration and increased dramatically in number around the country. By 1963, the OCD estimated that coupling the existing shelter capacity with a national community shelter-building program could "increase total survivors from 80 million to 120 million."[62] With these estimations, the OCD became interested in understanding more about how viable these shelters would be and commissioned millions of dollars' worth of research projects to fine-tune every aspect of the fallout shelter. Between 1962 and 1968, the University of Georgia, with grants from the OCD, conducted a series of twelve fallout shelter occupancy studies under the banner of a newly created department of "Civil Defense Research" (CDR). The department enlisted over 1,200 persons "aged 9 months–79 years" to live and be studied in simulated fallout shelters in Athens over eight years.[63] These tests were conducted to understand the "habitability of community fallout shelters" and to investigate if "community shelter occupants are capable of managing a shelter themselves."[64] Athens bought into these studies, with the city and University working together to provide potential shelters. Athenians readily accepted their role as test subjects.

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[61] Leo A. Hoegh, "Feasibility of Fallout Shelter (Materials, Designs, and Costs) Standards and Relation of Fallout Shelter to Radiological Defense, Evacuation, and Recovery."

[62] U.S. Department of Defense, Office of Civil Defense, "Highlights of the U.S. Civil Defense Program," June 1963.

[63] John A. Hammes and Thomas A. Ahearn, "Shelter Occupancy Studies at the University of Georgia, 1966 Final Report," 346. (Hereafter cited as Hammes and Ahearn, "1966 Final Report,")

[64] News Bureau, University of Georgia, "U.GA. Gets $214,000 for Fallout Study," 16 August 1962; Hammes and Ahearn, "1966 Final Report," 1.

Together, UGA's Civil Defense Research Division and the readiness of Athens to partake in it shed light on how the federal government approached civil defense preparedness and its possible effects on the populace.

In the year following the Berlin Crisis of 1961, Dr. John A. Hammes and other behavioral scientists and psychologists at the University of Georgia kindled an interest in the survivability of fallout shelters, steeped in the recent concerns for nuclear war. The group argued the impetus for the project came from an open letter to the American public from President Kennedy. In this letter, Kennedy announced that "in two years there will be adequate plans for community fall-out shelter facilities throughout the nation" driven by the estimated "97% survival figure" with proper precautions.[65] The researchers' main worry was that despite saving millions of people, what was the point if "the greater percentage…[might] emerge from this ordeal panic-stricken, dazed, sick, and psychologically unfit."[66]

The UGA Civil Defense Research submitted the shelter study project to the OCD in late 1961, who argued that it would better fit national policy if it focused on "group shelter" and "the importance of leadership and training in shelters" and required its use of "existing structures built or designated for use a shelter."[67] Once revised, Hammes and UGA CDR received a contract from the federal government to study community shelter habitability. More specifically, the University announced that volunteers from the community could expect to test "in-shelter activity programs, equipment, different survival diets, and in-shelter training programs" and that the findings would have a "bearing on plans for stocking supplies in community fallout shelters across the nation." [68]

This first eighteen-month contract, or what CDR dubbed "Phase I" of the Shelter Occupancy Studies, ran from the Fall of 1962 to December of 1963, in which the UGA CDR staff conducted "three preliminary pilot studies" and "four main experimental studies."[69] These preliminary tests ranged from four days (ES I) to two full weeks (ES II and III) for groups ranging from around 30 people aged seven to sixty-seven years old–chosen randomly based on census data and the demographic

[65] "Project SURVIVAL: An Experimental Program Designed to Insure Maximum Survival Value of Families in Fall-Out Shelters," 27 September 1961, 1.

[66] "Project SURVIVAL," 2.

[67] "Project SURVIVAL."

[68] News Bureau, "U.GA. Gets $214,000 for Fallout Study."

[69] These experimental studies were labeled as ES I, II, III, and IV, and will be referred to as such for the remaining eight experimental studies as well. John Hammes, "A Summary of the Final Report: Shelter Occupancy Studies at the University of Georgia, 1962-1963," 31 December 1963, 1-2. (Hereafter cited as Hammes, "A Summary.")

makeup of the American populace.[70] These shelter conditions were minimal, with the first study only allowing 315 calories per person per day in a wheat biscuit, with each shelteree sleeping on the concrete floor–before increasing the calories per day and providing cushioning in the sleeping areas.[71]

(Photo by Ray Londermilk)

LINDA KAY BURROW, a junior home economics major from Lumber City, stands in front of Fine Arts, one of 29 campus buildings currently being prepared as fallout shelters. Her two-week supply of peanut butter might come in handy in case of a nuclear attack.

Sixty-nine UGA buildings were authorized by President O.C. Aderhold to be modified and stocked to provide shelter to students and faculty. This sign in the Fine Arts Auditorium signified the shelter's existence for many years. (From the UGA The Red & Black, 27 Nov 1962, 2, DLG.)

The first phase of shelter occupancy studies produced a variety of findings that led directly to the OCD renewing the program for another year through 1964. First and foremost, Experimental Studies I–IV uncovered that the majority of "healthy men, women, and children can endure two weeks' shelter confinement" under incredibly spartan conditions "without suffering deleterious physiological or psychological effects." Secondly, the studies confirmed that the current National Shelter Program's supplies stocked in public fallout shelters were enough for shelterees to live in the shelters for up to two weeks.[72]

During this first phase, Hammes and the other researchers uncovered three areas for future research that continued the OCD's search for the "importance of leadership" in shelters. This shifted the OCD's vision for shelters to include preparations for protecting the populace for post-attack life. First, the findings showed the CDR that the need for "the development of an in-shelter activity program that would (a) help occupants to adjust rapidly to shelter life, and (b) prepare them for immediate adjustment to the post-attack world." Secondly, the findings showed a great need for shelter manager training courses. Thirdly, and most importantly, Hammes argued that there needed to be "the development of an in-shelter handbook for the use by groups without a trained shelter manager," which would probably be the case for most fallout shelters.[73]

[70] "A Confidential Report on University of Georgia Civil Defense Research," 2, 31 May 1963.

[71] Hammes, "A Summary," 2.

[72] Hammes, "A Summary," 6.

[73] Hammes, "A Summary," 7.

Hammes contends in the findings that if followed correctly, the manual would "insure [*sic*] in-shelter training and adjustment, as well as adequate planning for post-shelter emergence."[74] The creation of the handbook would center itself as the significant point of focus for the following eight shelter occupancy studies conducted by Hammes and UGA's Civil Defense Research staff from 1964 through 1968, which they christened as "Phase II" of the project.

These studies, named ES V–VII, were considerably larger than the prior four, beginning with 300 shelterees in ES VI, increasing to 504 participants by ES X, and reaching up to 1,000 shelterees, the largest fallout shelter test in the world to date in August 1967.[75] These tests were yet again of varying lengths, but none lasted longer than up to two weeks. The bigger tests only lasted for a weekend or three days and used the findings of ES I–IV to stock the fallout shelters with supplies to simulate the best conditions for an actual nuclear attack emergency. These studies were housed in existing buildings in two prominent locations: the Costa Building on West Washington Street in downtown Athens and the then-newly completed Stegeman Coliseum on the campus of UGA.

Experimental Study X was the most extensive study of this phase, which featured five hundred test subjects, and focused heavily on the new research initiatives. Conducted between July 22 and 24, 1966, the primary objectives of ES X were to test "management organization for a 500-person shelter" and "a shelter handbook for untrained management."[76] To do so, researchers gathered the five hundred people, split almost evenly by gender, and divided racially by "approximated 1960 U.S. Census figures that in reality came down to 87.3% white and 12.7% "non-white." This study was conducted on two floors of the Costa Building, and each shelteree had eight square feet of personal space.[77]

To best test the *Handbook*, UGA researchers placed it in the shelter, and shelterees were expected to manage the shelter themselves using it throughout the three-day study. Researchers required that the test subjects, whom researchers aptly named "shelterees," follow the *Handbook*'s guidelines to set up shelter management and in-shelter activities, to varied levels of success.

In terms of results of this study, CDR staff noted in the final report for the study that overcrowding was an issue in the early stages of the test. Most of the temporary staff members disregarded or did not closely follow the *Handbook*'s instructions—leading to various problems. For example, Hammes notes in the report that "the temporary staff ignored many *Handbook* instructions," such as

[74] Hammes, "A Summary," 8.
[75] Hammes and Ahearn, "1966 Final Report," 3.
[76] Hammes and Ahearn, "1966 Final Report," 74.
[77] Hammes and Ahearn, "1966 Final Report," 75.

appointing temporary staff rather than "advising volunteer recruitment" and "incorrectly distribut[ing] permanent staff leaflets prior to staff selection."[78] Furthermore, there were issues regarding not following instructions "on sexually segregated sleeping conditions" and on food and water distribution, which resulted in "*ad libitum* consumption" of food stocks (rather than being carefully rationed).[79] Despite the frantic start during the temporary staff phase, once the permanent staff were selected, the CDR reported that "negative opinion on shelter organization dropped from fifty-eight percent" to "twenty-four percent."[80] These results showed to researchers the frantic nature of a lack of competent shelter management, but in the end, a management that followed the *Handbook* was successful—at least at winning over the opinion of its inhabitants.

Throughout the second phase of the shelter occupancy studies, the research goals of developing in-shelter programming and a handbook for untrained management were successful—particularly the composition of the *Handbook*. In their 1966 report, Hammes contends that through ES X, the CDR's prototype "*Community Fallout Shelter Handbook for Untrained Management* [had] been tested and found feasible" for use in the ongoing National Shelter Program. Furthermore, Hammes argued throughout the studies that to "the greater extent the *Handbook* instructions are followed, the more successful is shelter management," and to that end, it was recommended for "adoption for 50– to 300–person shelter[s]."[81] Through the second phase of the shelter occupancy studies, the UGA CDR developed the *Handbook*, which the CDR and the OCD recommended for use in shelters across the country to govern shelters both during shelter life and in post-attack emergence. The pages of the local newspaper, *The Banner-Herald*, and regional periodicals such as the *Atlanta Journal* and the *Atlanta Constitution*, reflect both the fervor toward civil defense planning whipped up by the studies, as well as the impact of the studies on the citizens of Athens. From the very beginning, the town rallied around and supported the research in various ways, including sending "several hundred Athens civic leaders" into the shelters for Experimental Study VII.[82]

However, it was not just the civic elite of Athens who made their way into the shelters for the occupancy studies, but everyday men and women who made Athens their home. As they emerged from the shelters, their stories poured onto the pages of newspapers. *The Banner-Herald* records that despite the small payments of

[78] Hammes and Ahearn, "1966 Final Report," 169-170.
[79] Hammes and Ahearn, "1966 Final Report," 170.
[80] Hammes and Ahearn, "1966 Final Report," 173.
[81] Hammes and Ahearn, "1966 Final Report," 348, 350.
[82] "Civic Leaders and Families to Spend Night in Shelter," *The Banner-Herald*, 3 February 1965, 2.

Today's Chuckle

Wife to husband: "I scratched the front fender a little, dear. If you want to look at it, it's in the back seat."

THE ATHENS DAILY NEWS

The People Paper

The Weather

Partly cloudy and warm today, tonight and Sunday. High 86 to 90. Details in Almanac, Page 2.

Volume 3, Number 144 P.O. Box 1727 Athens, Ga., Saturday Morning, June 17, 1967 Phone 548-3182 WEEKDAYS 5c SUNDAY 10c

From Six Months to 79 Years

Shelter Test Lures Folks of All Ages

By GLENN VAUGHN
Editor, The Daily News

While news cameras clicked and buzzed, 750 persons, carrying as many personal belongings as each could pack into a standard-size grocery bag, filed into a downtown Athens building late Friday to spend the weekend in a simulated fallout shelter being peeked at.

The 750, ranging in age from six months to 79, will live for two nights and two days under emergency conditions being observed by experts in order to provide Civil Defense Authorities with a working knowledge of the problems of group shelter living.

This is the eleventh such study and the largest ever conducted in the series which is under the direction of the Civil Defense Research Staff of the University of Georgia.

The shelterees seemed to be in a jovial mood as they disembarked from buses and entered the Costa Building which is located on Washington Street next door to the offices of the Athens Area Chamber of Commerce.

Experts selected the 750 shelterees based on a scientific cross-section of the

'SENIOR CITIZEN' ARRIVES
79-Year-Old Man is Eldest Shelteree

(See SHELTER Page 2)

LOOKS OF BEWILDERMENT MARK FACES OF ARRIVING 'GUINEA PIGS'
Family, Loaded Down with Sacks of Goods, Prepares for Sheltered Weekend Here

The front page of The Athens Daily News on 17 June 1967 illustrated the willingness of Athens area residents from age six months to 79 years to test the simulated fallout shelter in the Costa Building downtown.

between $25-40 "for the weekend," depending on one's age and family status, the Civil Defense researchers had no problems finding "seven hundred and fifty persons ranging in age from 6 months to 79 years" for a 1967 study.[83] While some participated for the money, others were on the "quest for a new experience."[84] Whatever their reason for joining the Civil Defense Research, the majority of these volunteers, according to Jim Graham of the *Athens Daily News*, would "tell you that there were some definite low points…nearly every one of them will also tell you that they'd be willing to go back and do [the shelter study again]."

By the late 1960s, the CDR division at the University fizzled out. In a thank you letter to OCD leadership, Hammes wrote that "CDR eventually was phased out"

[83] Kathryn Johnson, "3-Day CD Test: Athens Seals Off 750 in Shelter," *Atlanta Constitution*, 17 June 1967, 1, 5.

[84] Jim Graham, "Shelter Not the Waldorf," *Athens Daily News*, n.d.

between 1968 and 1970, and he "shifted [his] work more to teaching and to administrative work" at the University.[85]

However, the legacy of UGA's Fallout Shelter Occupancy Studies lives on in the buildings that held it, both on-campus and downtown, and in the policies it inspired the federal government to adopt. And, while at one point "there [were] about 1,000 people around Athens who can tell you that a fallout shelter will never rival the Waldorf Astoria," Athenians and the University of Georgia rose to the occasion in the 1960s to help shape the way in which the federal government approached fallout shelters and their impact on the American population.[86]

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A T H E N S H I S T O R I A N

Planning a Dance, Taking a Stance: The Committee on Gay Education and the Gay Rights Movement at UGA

By David Kells Parker

A "Sign of the Times": Gay Rights Protests on College Campuses

Dean of Student Affairs O. Suthern Sims stood firm: "This is a cloudy issue. And the University is not going to solve it," he told the students gathered in his office. "I'm not a lawyer. You're saying your legal position is clear. I say it's cloudy."[87]

The room, ironically, was cloudy too. To pass the time, many of the University of Georgia's 35 student protestors—all of whom had clustered in Sims's office for a sit-in demonstration—passed around cigarettes, adding smoke to the rooms mounting tensions. To diffuse both, administrative assistants had taken to passing out ashtrays and typing up the assembled students' list of demands, reforms that included a statement of the university's public support for the repeal of Georgia's laws criminalizing same-sex intimacy ("sodomy," in the parlance of state statutes). Too, the assembled members of the newly formed Committee on Gay Education, demanded the use of the university's facilities for its upcoming dance, one catering to same-sex couples at UGA and throughout the region.[88]

UGA students had formed The Committee on Gay Education, or the "CGE," in the fall semester of 1971 to "build a bridge"[89] between the hetero and homosexual student populations on UGA's campus. Though the student group had not yet been recognized by Sims's office as an "official," university-approved organization, the club's members nevertheless had sought to reserve the Memorial Hall ballroom for its headlining—and controversial—event. Sims's office had rejected the request, drawing the ire of those students assembled in protest. Public perception was to blame. "I don't think the University can be a true institutor of social change without reprisal," Sims told the protestors. "Whether you like it or

[87] Fran Fulton, "Gays protest dance ban again," *The Red & Black*, March 2, 1972, 1.
[88] Fulton, "Gays protest."
[89] Jon Ham, "Gay students try for understanding," *The Red & Black*, November 10, 1971, 1.

not, the state owns this institution. Anybody that's got sense knows that this issue is hot politically."[90]

And so it was. The Committee on Gay Education's sit-in is just one example of the domestic unrest that rocked America's college campuses in the 1960s and 1970s, two decades of generational and historical activism against poverty, segregation and racial inequality, America's involvement in Vietnam, and the perceived repression of free speech inside public universities. The era's "sexual revolution" caused upset at universities, too, as social conservatives and young activists clashed over the morality of premarital sex and, more broadly, expressions of both hetero- and homosexuality in the public sphere.[91] Amidst the tumult, leaders of the nascent LGBT equality movement increasingly turned to public and aggressive forms of protest, inspired by the Stonewall riots of June 1969.[92]

This poster announced the first gay dance at UGA. Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, University of Georgia Libraries. (Used with permission.)

To harness the energies of the gay rights movement, the North American Conference of Homophile Organizations, or "NACHO," formed in 1966 to combine

[90] Fulton, "Gays protest."

[91] John D'Emilio and Estelle Friedman document the changes in American society's ideas about sexuality and explain the various sexual revolutions that preceded those developments in their book, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America*. In their overview of the twentieth century, D'Emilio and Friedman cite the feminist and gay liberation movements as significantly impacting public opinion.

[92] Martin Duberman, in *Stonewall*, has devoted special attention to the Stonewall riots, studying both their contemporaneous effect on the LGBT equality movement and their persistence in public memory. In Duberman's estimation, Stonewall's aggressive resistance signaled that the homophile movement—with its emphasis on respectability and public education—had given way to a more militant gay liberation movement.

and coordinate the efforts of those homophile or gay rights groups then operating in the United States.[93]

Undoubtedly having recognized the collective power of college activism throughout the Civil Rights Movement,[94] NACHO drafted a "Bill of Rights" for homosexual college students at its Fifth Annual meeting in August 1969. In it, NACHO explained that "in this age when social change has awakened consciences that have long condoned abuses," the most hopeful "sign of the times" was "the creation of student homophile groups on campuses throughout the nation," including those "homophile leagues at Columbia, Cornell, and New York University."[95]

Yet in NACHO's estimation, too few colleges had followed their lead, prompting the organization to send its draft "Bill of Rights" to "national student, faculty, and student personnel organizations, deans, campus editors, student governments, and others" in hopes that recipient colleges' feedback might trigger "wide debate" prior to NACHO's next annual conference. Among its demands, the Bill of Rights called upon campuses to eliminate punishment for consensual homosexual conduct, discontinue disciplining students entrapped into infringing antisolicitation laws by campus police officers, grant official recognition to student homosexual civil rights groups and social clubs, and assist LGBT advocacy groups in organizing campus social activities. The campaign's reach was indeed extensive: UGA received its copy of NACHO's demands in September 1969, and, with it, the pointed chance to prove itself "open to reason."[96]

That the University of Georgia was included in NACHO's initiative is noteworthy, especially since the three earliest homophilic student groups cited by NACHO originated on campuses in the Northeast and, moreover, since of the estimated 60 homophilic and gay rights organizations that existed in the United States prior to 1970,[97] nearly all existed outside the Deep South. Though it cited partnerships with independent, pro-LGBT groups in "New York, Philadelphia, Hartford, Washington, Cincinnati, Dayton, Kansas City, Chicago, Lincoln-Omaha,

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[93] Library of Congress, "Before Stonewall: The Homophile Movement," *LGBTQIA+ Studies: A Resource Guide*, accessed April 10, 2024, https://guides.loc.gov/lgbtq-studies/before-stonewall.

[94] John D'Emilio links the emerging gay movement to wider political changes, including those reforms won by the Black Civil Rights Movement, in his foundational book, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

[95] Correspondence from North American Conference of Homophile Organizations (NACHO) to the University of Georgia, 30 November 1969.

[96] Correspondence from NACHO, UGA LGBT Resource Center records.

[97] Library of Congress, "Before Stonewall: The Homophile Movement."

Houston, San Francisco, [and] Los Angeles," only one of the cities in its extended network—Houston—lay in the heart of that region.[98] NACHO likely recognized the cultural barriers that the South presented and, seizing on college activism as the most promising "sign of the times," hoped that inroads to equality, in the Bible Belt as elsewhere, ran first through its college's quads and courtyards.[99]

Yet in 1969, that hope indeed seemed far away, at least as reflected in UGA's campus activities, where homophobia and anti-gay rhetoric prevailed. For example, a few months prior to receiving NACHO's demands, one UGA faculty member, a professor of microbiology partnered, with two Athens-area physicians to warn students gathered at a forum about the dangers of sexually transmitted infections, citing the specters of "brain damage, heart damage, ulcers, blindness, insanity and muscle weakness" that undiagnosed, untreated, and undetectable gonorrhea and syphilis could occasion. To bolster the point, the forum's leaders went on to emphasize that that recent rise in Georgia's transmission rates for gonorrhea "paralleled the decline in sexual morality and the incline in homosexuality," falsely blaming same-sex attraction (without evidence) for a rising contagion. Without treatment, they warned, "venereal disease" would "continue to leave its ugly scar on many."[100]

"We Have Faith": UGA's Committee on Gay Education Forms

Perhaps drawing inspiration from the 1969 LGBT protests at Columbia, Cornell, and NYU (or perhaps having decided the local stigma against them was too much to bear), UGA students Bill Green and John Hoard, both Georgia natives, took one of Georgia's earliest steps toward equal recognition by banding together to form the campus's Committee on Gay Education (CGE) in 1971. *The Red & Black*, the

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[98] Correspondence from NACHO.

[99] NACHO was right: by the end of the 1970s, LGBT students at fourteen colleges and universities across the country would haul their institutions into court after newly established gay groups were denied official recognition and the use of campus facilities, with most emerging victorious. Historian Marc Stein has considered these cases, devoting brief attention to the CGE's efforts at Georgia as part of a larger study. Stein notes that the fourteen cases considered demonstrate a pattern: advocates for gay student groups won most of their battles by pursuing strategies of desexualization—i.e., denying that gay student groups encouraged same-sex sex—in response to administrators' claims that recognition would be tantamount to aiding criminal sexual activity (i.e., sodomy). As this paper demonstrates, CGE students at UGA did the same. Marc Stein, "Students, Sodomy, and the State: LGBT Campus Struggles in the 1970s," *Law & Social Inquiry* 48, no. 2 (May 2023): 531-560.

[100] Mary Ann Colson, "Doctors Talk About Syphilis," *The Red & Black*, March 2, 1972, 1.

university's student-led newspaper, credited the organization as an attempt to construct "the first bridge toward understanding between 'gay' people and 'straight' people."[101] Green characterized his work similarly, suggesting that the Committee would "work to get gay people adapted to straight society and to promote understanding between gay people and straight people."[102] The long-term goal, he added, was to "help society adapt to changes in sex roles."[103] Meanwhile, on campus, he hoped the visibility of the group's social activities for gay students might have the effects: after all, "[g]ay people pay activities fees too."[104] When asked whether they had any fears about exposing themselves as gay people, Hoard responded honestly: "Yes, but we have faith in society. We think it has the potential to change and we think it will."[105]

"My Mother Would Never Believe It": The Legal Fight for Campus Equality

Thus, undaunted, the CGE's ambitions flew high, even though it never received the formal recognition it sought as an "official" campus organization in the fall semester of 1971—i.e., one recognized and approved by UGA's Department of Student Affairs. Nevertheless, UGA's newly public community of homosexual students met anyway, out of the campus's closet while recruiting, organizing, and planning for their semesters ahead.

In the spring semester of 1972, CGE members sought new ways to expand their presence and outreach efforts. Sponsoring a same-sex dance was the obvious, yet fraught, choice. Then, as now, dances were the natural pastime of fraternity and sorority social gatherings alike, the preferred activity accompanying pop and rock concerts throughout the school's calendar year. Such events, however, catered most comfortably to heterosexual students; same-sex pairings on the dance floor, at best, invited prejudice and social condemnation, and, at worst, carried threats of arrest and violence—dangers made real at then-recent police raids at gay bars across the country. CGE's members undoubtedly knew that a dance of their own, one in conservative Georgia, carried the same, if not increased, risks. Nevertheless, the desire to enjoy collegiate conviviality in the same way as their straight peers, and the hopes of celebrating a night of fun alongside platonic and romantic partners

[101] Jon Ham, "Gay students try for understanding," *The Red & Black*, November 10, 1971, 1. (Hereafter Ham, "Understanding.")
[102] Ham, "Understanding."
[103] Ham, "Understanding."
[104] Ham, "Understanding."
[105] Ham, "Understanding."

alike, outweighed such fears and the dangers of visibility. CGE slated their own dance party for March 10, 1972.[106]

Members of the club hoped that one of UGA's readily available auditorium spaces might provide the venue. However, because the club still had never been approved as an "official" organization by the university's Department of Student Affairs, it was unable to reserve its preferred space, Memorial Hall. Thus, CGE brokered a partnership with Intersect, an approved student group formed to broker cooperation between on-campus organizations. Intersect submitted a reservation application for Memorial Hall's auditorium on CGE's behalf, intending to turn the space over to CGE after the application's approval by Student Affairs. The plan worked—the application, ostensibly submitted by Intersect, was initially approved by school officials.[107]

The agreement between Intersect and CGE, however, did not remain unnoticed. *The Red & Black* reported on the upcoming dance in a February 24, 1972, edition of the paper, with a headline reading "UGA Gays plan dance and fight for recognition." A follow-up piece to the flurry of coverage the group garnered in the previous semester, the article featured the bold proclamation from CGE member Bill Green that "[w]e have cooperated long enough," and, thus, "ought not to feel any guilt over the publicity we receive." Accordingly, the CGE expressed its intent not only to push administrators for official status, but to host "a dance for gays" on March 10, an affair open not just to UGA students but also to an unspecified "contingent from Atlanta" meant "to increase its ranks." The dance, "The first public gay function in the Southeast, should receive national publicity," said Bill Green, the CGE's Executive Director. "People are going to surprised and very interested. We'll get a lot of publicity."[108]

They did. This was especially true on campus, where the news of CGE's plans spread quickly—and with immediate consequences. Four days later, on February 28, John Cox, Director of Student Activities, withdrew his office's approval of Intersect's reservation for Memorial Hall after he learned its ballroom was to be used by the CGE.[109] Though Rick Gilbert, a member of Intersect, purported that the entire purpose of the Intersect was "to provide entertainment for organizations [like CGE] that are not recognized until such time as they become recognized," this cooperative goal came as a surprise to the Student Activities office, at least insofar

[106] Fran Fulton, "UGA Gays plan dance and fight for recognition," *The Red & Black*, February 24, 1972, 1.
[107] Mark Nickelson, "Gay Committee dance halted," 1. *The Red & Black*, February 29, 1972, 1.
[108] Nickelson, "Gay dance halted."
[109] Jon Hunt, "Gays Fight For Dance," *Athens Banner-Herald*, n.d.

as the language of the club's charter read. Had that been clear, Cox maintained, permission for the event would never have been granted in the first place since "it would provide criminal sanction for the solicitation of sodomy."[110] Cox's statement alluded to the Georgia Criminal Code's statutory provision criminalizing any conduct "aiding, abetting, condoning, or soliciting" the practice, though the CGE flatly denied their event was conceived for those ends.[111]

Events continued to move quickly following the school's revocation of the reservation. On February 27, an aggrieved Intersect and CGE staged a surprise sit-in in John Cox's office, where he reiterated his objections to those 15-20 students gathered in protest. After 2 hours, the confrontation changed locations when Cox, hoping to disperse the group, directed the protestors to the office of Dean Sims. There, Sims upheld Cox's decision, reiterating concerns that the university could be held liable for holding the dance under Georgia's criminalization of sodomy, as well as the fear that the university might face substantial backlash from "the other side" if the dance were held (i.e., opposition from donors, alumni, and state legislators opposed to homosexuality). Moreover, Sims told those gathered that "the only place the issue (of permitting use of University property by a group of homosexuals) can be settled is in Court and not in an educational institution."[112] Taking Sims at his word, Intersect and the CGE filed suit in the Superior Court of Clarke County, Georgia, on March 9—the eve of the big event.[113]

Two Athens attorneys, R. Bruce Lowry and Walter Henritze, Jr., agreed to represent Intersect and CGE before Judge James Barrow, listing a battery of defendants in their suit: University President Frederick Davison as well as Student Affairs officials Dean Sims, John Cox, and William Bracewell. Intersect and CGE, as Plaintiffs, filed an Equity Complaint, the avenue by which they might secure a temporary restraining order enjoining the Defendants from prohibiting the much-anticipated dance—legally speaking, the prevention of a future harm rather than compensation for a past injury. With no time to waste, Barrow had the Defendants served personally by the Clarke County Deputy Sherriff that same day

[110] Jon Hunt, "Gays Fight For Dance."

[111] Mark Nickelson, "Gay dance halted." The newspaper article containing Cox's statements cited the then-current statutory prohibition criminalizing sodomy as Section 26.801 of the Georgia Criminal Code. "Sodomy" (as defined by statute) is criminalized in Georgia today pursuant to Georgia Code §16-6-2.

[112] Mark Nickelson, "Gay dance halted."

[113] Equity Complaint filed by Bruce Lowry in the Superior Court of Clarke County, Georgia, March 9, 1972.

and issued an order that all parties should appear before the Court on March 10 at 3:00 pm, leaving but a few hours for both sides to make their case.[114]

In their Complaint, the attorneys for Intersect and CGE offered the full scope of the U.S Constitution's relevant civil rights protections, arguing that the denial of the dance violated the students' freedoms of speech and association, right to privacy (i.e., autonomy), and equal protection of the law under the 1st, 4th, 5th, 9th, and 14th Amendments. Moreover, because time was of the essence, the Complaint made clear that a restraining order was the only possible remedy. Lastly, and though not the most consequential of their contentions, the Plaintiffs alleged, too, that a failure to hold the event would cause a breach of contract, as CGE and Intersect had already secured both a band and noted Atlanta drag queen Lil' Diamond for entertainment.[115]

Georgia's Assistant Attorney General, Andrew Owen, Jr., represented UGA, accompanying Dean Sims and John Cox, who appeared on the institution's behalf. To begin, Owen stood by the institution's authority to control and regulate its own facilities per its stated policies and procedures— handbook of rules that, Owen noted, included the prohibition that only chartered (i.e., officially-recognized) student groups could secure campus spaces for their own use.[116] Having received Owen's opening statement, Barrow next proceeded to cross-examinations, and both Sims and Cox fielded questions from Intersect and CGE's attorneys.

In cross-examination, Lowry and Henritze repeatedly forced Sims and Cox to concede that the sexuality of the CGE's students motivated their decision to block their event, allowing Judge Barrow a clear basis to rule against that imposition of inequality on constitutional grounds. Legally speaking, these admissions were defining and dispositive; they directed the Court's attention to larger, consequential civil and privacy rights questions that, in turn, minimized misdirection into narrower (and far less important) administrative equivocations about the wording of the Intersect's charter or the scope of authority conferred under UGA's reservation policies. By maintaining a clear-eyed focus on constitutional violations, Lowry and Henritze exposed the biases and hyperbole of assuming, without reason, that a same-sex dance equated to sexual activity. After all, if that were true, Lowry mused at one point, shouldn't heterosexual dances be characterized in the same way? To be sure, other statutes forbid "fornication," and, moreover, sodomy (as defined by the statute) could technically be committed by heterosexual couples too:

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[114] *Rule Nisi* Order filed by Judge James Barrow in the Superior Court of Clarke County, Georgia, n.d., LGBT Resource Center records.

[115] Lowry, Equity Complaint.

[116] Transcript of Proceedings, UGA LGBT Resource Center records, 2.

Mr. Lowery: Dean Sims, as I understand your understanding there might be liability on the part of the university to allow any function which might lead to any crime - not just the crime of sodomy is that correct?
A: That is my understanding.
Q: Are you aware of the fact that the Georgia Code you have cited here also makes fornication a crime . . .
A: I have heard this.
Q: Are you also aware that sodomy is not involved exclusively in homosexual relationships?
A: Yes.
Q: Do you think you have ever allowed any other functions to go on the campus which might put you in a similar situation let's say?
A: I would assume you are talking about heterosexual dances?
Q: Yes.
A: Sir?
Q: Houseparties and various other things involving heterosexual activities?
A: Yes sir.
Q: Have you ever turned any other function down for fear that it might be aiding or abetting in some form of crime?
A: No sir.
Q: So, what you are saying is that this is the only time or possible crime you have ever invoked to stop a function. Is that correct?
A: Yes sir.[117]
. . .
Q: Essentially though, permission was refused because of the nature of the organization, not because they weren't chartered, isn't that true?
A: Well, I think it is partly true. [118]
. . .

Q: Were you suspicious of heterosexual fraternity dances would lead to acts of fornication?
A: Oh, I suppose if I thought about it I would be.
Q: The only reason you didn't think about it was that these people said they were homosexuals, is that right?
A: I think I sort of followed my own societal instincts.[119]

Thereafter, CGE's attorneys rested, having proven Sims willfully disregarded other "chances or dances where heterosexual impulses may be worked up."[120] Now three hours into the proceedings, Judge Barrow took stock of the situation. At 6:00,

[117] Transcript of Proceedings, UGA LGBT Resource Center records, 8-9.
[118] Transcript of Proceedings, UGA LGBT Resource Center records, 21.
[119] Transcript of Proceedings, UGA LGBT Resource Center records, 21.
[120] Transcript of Proceedings, UGA LGBT Resource Center records, 22.

with only two hours left until the dance was set to begin, he had heard only from the plaintiffs. The defendants, meanwhile, had been heard only through cross-examination. "Time is running out on us."[121] Confronted with the choice of either making a ruling or continuing the issue until the next morning (an option Owen's discouraged since the time for the dance would have already passed), Barrow pressed forward:

> I have not, I hope, prejudged this case. I understand that there are rules and regulations that an institution like the University of Georgia has to enforce. I also understand that we have the Constitution of the United States including its Bill of Rights that have been made applicable to the states by virtue of the 14th Amendment, and one of those rules and regulations that are applicable. . . is the right of the people to assemble peaceably in their own interest . . . Now I think it remains to be seen, based on evidence to be produced by the State, as to whether any of the people involved in this lawsuit are what are called in terms of Georgia law persons concerned with the commission of a crime which would make them subject to an injunction [to halt the dance]. Now we have spent the afternoon cross examining witnesses who are employees of the university, and I don't think I need to tell anybody here that there are very few people in Georgia that love the university more than I do nor respect its values more than I do; but, under the Constitution, I think these people have a right to assemble on campus tonight for the purposes which they have expressed.[122]

Thus, Athens's local court crested the horizon's edge of constitutional theory, articulating still-emerging legal rationale that compelled the equal recognition of LGBT civil rights. After brief closing arguments against it by Assistant Attorney General Owen, Judge Barrow then issued CGE's requested Temporary Restraining Order, thereby enjoining UGA from prohibiting the Deep South's very first same-sex dance on a college campus. With great fanfare, the party proceeded less than two hours later (notably, without incident) in Memorial Hall, attended by "approximately 500"[123] persons, a mix that included not only homosexual and heterosexual students, but curious spectators from Athens and Atlanta. Responses were, however, decidedly mixed. "Athens just isn't ready for this," quipped one attendee. "It's disgusting," commented another unidentified university employee." "This is greatest thing that's ever happened on campus," said yet another young

[121] Transcript of Proceedings, UGA LGBT Resource Center records, 47.
[122] Transcript of Proceedings, UGA LGBT Resource Center records, 48.
[123] Jon Hunt, "Gays Hold Dance," *Athens Banner-Herald*, n.d., LGBT Resource Center records.

spectator. In the end, perhaps one student summarized the spectacle best: "My mother would never believe it." [124]

Conclusion

In the 1960s and 1970s, college campuses served as early (and reluctant) spaces for the recognition of homosexual identity, the formation of identity-based community groups, and the organization of civil protest and legal activism—a pattern of social reform that LGBT historical scholarship has only just begun to recognize.[125] At their best, the activities of gay campus groups helped students overcome isolation, invisibility, and prejudice; provided social support and political solidarity; facilitated intimate friendships and relationships; and changed sexual prejudices.[126] Moreover, in the decades that followed, the momentum generated on university grounds frequently expanded into the off-campus community, forcing surrounding localities—Athens, Georgia, among them—to grapple with the inclusion of their LGBT populations.[127]

While University of Georgia students were among those who helped secure those legacies, early victories for the gay rights movement did not come easily. The Committee on Gay Education's success required it to marshal and compound the cooperation of numerous vocal, university-affiliated discontents: specifically, an assertive, independent, and highly visible student newspaper, as well as a cadre of campus leaders willing to harness the legal system to speak truth to power. Because they were savvy enough to identify UGA as a viable arena for the concerted activism sweeping the country—dancing into the future even as school officials dug in their heels—UGA's homosexual students expanded the reach and efficacy of the

[124] Jon Hunt, "Gays Hold Dance," LGBT Resource Center records.

[125] Much of LGBT historiography has been devoted to documenting the equality movement's emergence in large coastal cities, leaving the impression—through omission—that gay liberation was not happening throughout the country. Marc Stein, too, notes that LGBT student protests and legal challenges "have received little attention by recent scholars, despite the fact that they generated hundreds of media stories, dozens of legal rulings, and significant political effects." Stein, "Students, Sodomy, and the State," 532.

[126] Marc Stein summarizes these same legacies well. Stein, "Students, Sodomy, and the State," 537.

[127] Such was the case, for example, between the University of Wisconsin-Madison and the surrounding city of Madison. See Scott Seyforth and Nicole Barnes, "In People's Faces for Lesbian and Gay Rights: Stories of Activism in Madison, Wisconsin, 1970 to 1990," *The Oral History Review* 43 (2019): 81-97.

national movement for LGBT equality in both uniquely local and, ultimately, long-lasting ways.

This article is dedicated to all courageous trailblazers, inspired to make change in their own backyards, who are needed now more than ever.

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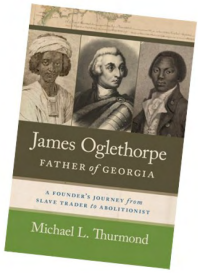
BOOK REVIEW

James Oglethorpe, Father of Georgia by Michael L. Thurmond, 2024



By Hannah Hamrick

Michael Thurmond's ***James Oglethorpe, Father of Georgia: A Founder's Journey from Slave Trader to Abolitionist*** discusses Oglethorpe's humanitarian legacy and how a man once indifferent to slavery became a prominent figure in one of the earliest abolitionist movements. Thurmond aims to answer one central question about Oglethorpe's life—had essential elements of Oglethorpe's humanitarian legacy been overlooked, marginalized, or possibly hidden?[128] He utilizes Oglethorpe's intellectual friendships with two formerly enslaved Black men, ***Ayuba Suleiman Diallo*** and ***Olaudah Equiano***, to mark this shift toward abolitionism.

While not a historian by trade, Michael Thurmond engages with and challenges the historiography in a very compelling way that competes with professional historians. Thurmond himself is a history maker. He is the son of a sharecropper, great-grandson of a Georgia slave, and the first Black candidate to win a statewide office in Georgia without first being appointed. His own personal experiences allow him to approach this topic through the lens of a Black Georgian—something that many historians cannot do.

Though Georgia stood as the only American colony where slavery was illegal, Thurmond makes a clear distinction between the terms "anti-slavery" and "abolitionism." Anti-slavery refers to individual or organized acts of resistance by enslaved Blacks through acts like violent reprisals and included efforts by primarily white evangelical Christians and Quakers to lessen the cruelties of enslavement through Christianization. Abolitionism, though, was the formal movement with a view toward ending the practice of slavery itself through two philosophical camps—immediatism or gradualism.

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[128] Michael L. Thurmond, *James Oglethorpe, Father of Georgia: A Founder's Journey from Slave Trader to Abolitionist* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2024), 2. https://ugapress.org/book/9780820366043/james-oglethorpe-father-of-georgia/

Oglethorpe's opposition to slavery in Georgia did not begin with true anti-slavery or abolitionist thought, but aligned similarly with other social reformers. They contended that slavery would "take employment away from poor white Georgia colonists," but were likely not concerned with the well-being of enslaved Africans. Something that struck me is the arc Thurmond creates with Oglethorpe's life—from indifference to enslavement to anti-slavery to zealous abolitionist. The shift, according to Thurmond, begins around 1732 when he came into the possession of a letter from an enslaved man in Maryland—Ayuba Diallo.

Diallo's letter is credited with Oglethorpe's shift in his thoughts about enslaved Blacks, as it had been translated as a desperate plea for help. Thurmond claims that, while Diallo and Oglethorpe likely never met in person, the letter "picked Oglethorpe's conscious and marked an important milestone in the evolution of his aversion to human bondage." This ultimately led to Oglethorpe selling his stock in the Royal African Company (RAC), resigning as deputy governor, and severing ties with the RAC altogether.

The origins of Oglethorpe's relationship with Olaudah Equiano is unclear, but this friendship provides "compelling evidence that Oglethorpe's anti-slavery activism has evolved into the uncompromising moral outrage that would define radical abolitionism." The two bonded over their disdain for slavery and detailed knowledge of Georgia as a colony. Thurmond uses these friendships to effectively make the case for Oglethorpe's drastic and radical evolution to abolitionism.

Thurmond is able to answer his main question through his various primary and secondary source materials and his own unique analysis of Oglethorpe's life and legacy. His evidence includes memoirs written by Granville Sharp, a young abolitionist attorney, discussing the Zong Massacre. Sharp claimed that ten African men "sprang disdainfully from the grasp of their tyrants" and embraced death over returning to the conditions of enslavement. It is evidence like this that affirms Thurmond's arguments about slavery and why Oglethorpe's interactions with Diallo and Equiano sparked such a drastic change in him.

Though meticulously researched and well-written, the most impressive part of this book is Thurmond's approach to Oglethorpe's story. He took a "solemn pledge" to his "known and unknown ancestors, to objectively pursue the facts wherever they might lead." Thurmond's unshakable desire to research, learn, and write from this objective point of view led him to one major conclusion—James Oglethorpe was one of the first white men in North America to oppose chattel slavery. Though slavery would become legal in Georgia in 1751, Oglethorpe's push for abolition did not go unnoticed by Thurmond.

This text forges a new path in Georgia's history is accessible to passive readers and professional historians alike, offering the "opportunity to emulate and celebrate

Oglethorpe's unique vision" people might have once been denied. From the remarkable content to the impressively organized bibliography, this text is certainly useful to specialists in the topic and those simply interested in understanding the history of Oglethorpe and Georgia. *James Oglethorpe, Father of Georgia* is a refreshing historical analysis that broadens the horizon of Georgia's history and the history of enslaved Black Georgians' fight for freedom.

Hannah Hamrick is an M.A. student who has worked on the history of alcohol in Native American communities. She is interested in researching the social and cultural damages inflicted by alcohol in Native American communities. Within this, she focuses on how alcohol was used as a trade commodity during the seventeenth and eighteenth century fur trade. This research interest includes the formation of negative stereotyping and advancement of settler colonialism in the United States through the displacement of Indigenous peoples.

Hannah is also a proud founding member of the Native American Student Association (NASA) at UGA, serving as the Vice President from 2021-2022 and the President from 2022-2023. She helped organize numerous events to highlight the Athens-Clarke County's rich Indigenous history, raise awareness for Indigenous issues, and create a safe-space and community for Indigenous students at UGA (and non-Indigenous students as well).

Prior to beginning her graduate degree, Hannah received her B.A. in History at UGA. As a native Georgian, it is imbedded in her DNA to attend UGA and constantly yell "Go Dawgs" and bark at people on game days.

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3. To promote historical research.
4. To promote preservation and perpetuation of historic sites.
5. To bring together those interested in the history of these areas.
6. To promote and stimulate public interest in and appreciation of the history of Athens and related areas, and to develop in every way an understanding of their historical past.