

Reflections



A Program of the Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources



Georgia African American
Historic Preservation Network

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PRESERVING AFRICAN AMERICAN HERITAGE ON ST. SIMONS ISLAND

St. Simons is one of several islands that form a natural barrier to the Atlantic Ocean. These “sea islands” extend from the coastal region in North and South Carolina through Georgia, into northern Florida. In Georgia, they are often called “the golden isles” due to their yellow marshlands, immersed between an intricate system of rivers and inlets separating them from the mainland and the sea.

Several centuries ago, Creek Indians settled on St. Simons, naming their village Asao. By the 1500s, Spanish explorers had established three missions on Asao, and one of these missions was named San Simon. When James Edward Oglethorpe began the settlement of Georgia in 1733, he chose St. Simons to build forts to protect the colonists. On the south end of the island, he built Fort St. Simon. On the west side of the island, Oglethorpe selected a site near a river bend that provided a natural vantage point against invasion. Fort Frederica, the river, and the town within its walls were all named in honor of Frederick, Prince of Wales. A diverse population of

British, German and Scottish settlers built Fort Frederica. Each colonist had a 50-acre homestead, while wealthier settlers received land grants that were developed into plantations near the town.

In 1742, Spanish forces invaded the Georgia coast, and Oglethorpe ordered the colonists to abandon Fort St. Simon and retreat to Fort Frederica. After easily capturing Fort St. Simon, the Spanish fought a British platoon that retreated into the woods.

Believing the skirmish had ended, the Spanish stacked their rifles and began preparations for an evening meal. The British, aided by Scottish Highlanders and Indians, led a surprise attack known as the “Battle of Bloody Marsh.” The site of this battle, the fort, and the town are today part of the Fort Frederica National Monument on St. Simons Island.



*This cottage in the Harrington community is the office of the St. Simons African American Heritage Coalition. The office lies on a nine-acre site known as the Sullivan tract. It was donated to the Coalition by Emory Rooks and Judith Stevens, descendants of Ben and Mary Sullivan. In the 1930s, the Georgia Writers Project documented Ben Sullivan's African ancestry in *Drums and Shadows*.*

Photo by Jeanne Cyriaque

After their defeat at Bloody Marsh, the Spanish destroyed Fort St. Simon and returned to St. Augustine, while the British assumed control of the Georgia coast. In 1748, following a treaty between England and Spain, Fort Frederica's military role was diminished, and most inhabitants left the island to settle on the mainland.

Several plantation owners remained on St. Simons to expand their estates. Captain Raymond Demere was left in command of the reduced garrison. His home was known as Harrington Hall, and the settlement that developed nearby was called Harrington. Retreat plantation was the property of Major William Page,

and subsequently Thomas Butler King. Captain Gascoigne established his plantation near a bluff downriver from Frederica. Gascoigne Bluff was a major wharf, and James Hamilton acquired this property and amassed a fortune through shipping and agriculture. When Hamilton left St. Simons, James Hamilton Couper purchased his plantation, while John Couper acquired Cannons Point.

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PRESERVING AFRICAN AMERICAN HERITAGE ON ST. SIMONS ISLAND

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These ruins were once the hospital for the slaves of Retreat plantation.

Photo courtesy of the National Park Service

These planters developed large plantations and imported slaves to toil rich fields of indigo and rice, crops grown in West Africa. The planters experimented with these crops, but ultimately they developed a variety of long-staple (sea island) cotton, conducive to production in the semi-tropical climate and sandy soil on St. Simons. The enslaved Africans produced the crop with little supervision, as the planters and their immediate families were often the only whites present, and few could afford an overseer. The continued growth of a predominant African population in isolation led to the preservation of African language and customs.



This Retreat plantation slave cabin is a gift shop today on St. Simons Island. Photo by Jeanne Cyriaque

Separated by the sea and salt marshes, these West Africans and their African American descendants maintained West African traditions including language, folklore, arts, and crafts through a creole culture and language known as Gullah, or Geechee in Georgia. In 1999, U.S. Congressman James Clyburn of South Carolina introduced enabling legislation leading to a three-year, special resource study of this endangered culture by the National Park Service (NPS). The study area extends from North Carolina to Florida, including Gullah communities in South Carolina and Geechee communities along the Georgia coast. In 2000, NPS held a series of meetings in neighboring states, St. Simons Island, and Savannah to gain community input for documentation of the Gullah/Geechee culture. NPS has completed extensive demographic analyses and gathered oral histories from study area communities. Also, NPS completed a historic resource inventory and mapped sites. This information, along with analysis of 2000 U.S. Census information, and input from additional community meetings, will be presented to Congress in March 2003.

By the 19th century, both the Georgia and U.S. Constitutions prohibited slavery, but the illegal slave trade continued to flourish. Slave ships could easily avoid detection in the rivers and isolated marshes of the coastal region. In 1803, the *York* landed at Dunbar Creek on St. Simons with captured Africans. The 75 Igbo (Ibo) tribesmen rebelled, and walked back into the creek in their chains. At least 13 Igbos drowned in this act of defiance at Ibo Landing. As late as 1858, the *Wanderer*, another slave ship, brought Africans to St. Simons.

When the Civil War ended, the Union Army destroyed the plantations of St. Simons, but many of the new freedmen had remained, or returned home. On January 16, 1865, General William T. Sherman's Special Field Order No. 15 set aside land for the former enslaved Africans. President Andrew Johnson rescinded the order eight months later, but many freedmen on St. Simons held on to their property, passing it on to their African American descendants.

Freedmen from Cannons Point plantation and Captain Demere's Harrington Hall estate settled in the Harrington community.



First African Baptist Church was founded in 1859. Photo by Jeanne Cyriaque



Emanuel Baptist Church was founded in 1890 to serve African American residents of South End. Photo by Jeanne Cyriaque

Amid majestic oak trees draped by moss, these residents built bungalows, businesses, and Emanuel Baptist Church.

During Reconstruction, some freedmen settled in a community across from the former Hamilton plantation property near Gascoigne Bluff. In 1876, the Dodge-Meigs Lumber Company purchased the plantation, developing it for a timber mill. The mill employed both African American and white residents. Jewish brothers Sig and Robert Levison established a store in the community, and it became known as Jewtown. Within ten years, the timber supply was depleted, and St. Simons began a new era as a resort community.



Since 1800, slaves and their descendants were buried in the King cemetery. This sacred place lies on the grounds of the Sea Island golf course today. Photo courtesy of the National Park Service



Hazel's Cafe provided meals for vacationers on St. Simons. Today it is used for banquets. Photo by Jeanne Cyriaque

At first, summer vacationers, mainly from Brunswick, reached St. Simons by boat. In 1924, the Torras causeway was built, making the island more accessible, and within ten years, the airport was completed. Newcomers flocked to St. Simons, and summer homes became subdivisions with permanent residences. Howard E. Coffin, a Detroit automobile magnate, purchased Retreat plantation, and developed it as a golf resort. Coffin was an owner of Sapelo Island and eventually developed the Cloister on Sea Island.

By 2000, the population of St. Simons had increased to 13,381, and the traditional African American communities of Jewtown, Harrington and South End became potential sites for new residential developments. Within the last decade, owners of "heirs" property in these communities were offered \$40,000 - \$50,000 for their homes, and new developments soon replaced them with \$250,000 estates. Due to increased taxes and insensitive development, the African American population on the island dwindled from 631 residents in 1990 to 494 in the last census, a 27.7% decrease.

Because of continuous encroachment in their communities, 100 residents organized a biracial coalition to save their historic resources and educate property owners. Since 2000, the St. Simons African American Heritage Coalition (the Coalition) has implemented several initiatives and partnerships to preserve their endangered communities. The Coalition conducted workshops to provide information to the community about managing "heirs" property. They organized summer programs for youth, educating them about St. Simons and other African American historic resources on Florida's American Beach and South Carolina's Penn Center. They collaborated with the Coastal Georgia Historical Society to document African American heritage on St. Simons.

In January 2002, the National Trust for Historic Preservation chose St. Simons



This South End boarding house provided lodging for African American domestic workers during the St. Simons resort era.

Photo by Jeanne Cyriaque



"Don't Ask, Won't Sell" signs are posted on properties throughout endangered communities by members of the St. Simons African American Heritage Coalition.

as a working laboratory for Preservation Leadership Training (PLT) participants. Amy Roberts, executive director of the Coalition, and Ruthie Cobb, Jewtown resident and vice president of the Coalition, joined a national team of preservationists for PLT. Shirley Roberts, a Harrington resident and president of the Coalition's board of directors, organized tours and meetings at historic African American resources. During this one-week intensive training program, the participants organized into teams, interviewed government and business representatives, and developed strategies and reports to recommend preservation solutions to assist the Coalition. Team projects included development of an African American heritage tourism plan and strategies for growth management, including zoning and land use.

In May 2002, the Coalition sponsored "Old Fashion Day" on the grounds of the Sullivan tract near their office in the Harrington community. By August, the Coalition revived the Georgia Sea Island Festival to promote heritage tourism. The festival featured traditional Gullah/Geechee arts and crafts, food, and musical performances, including the Georgia Sea Island Singers. The group performs African influenced plantation slave songs. Lydia Parrish, a white St. Simons resident, preserved their music in her 1942 book, *Slave Songs of the Georgia Sea Islands*. In 1948, Alan Lomax, filmmaker and folklorist, organized the group, led by Bessie Jones, a Georgia native. The Georgia Sea Island Singers achieved national acclaim with appearances at the Newport Festival and Carnegie Hall. Bessie Jones died in 1984, but Doug and Frankie Quimby continue her legacy, preserving sea island music into the 21st century.

The St. Simons African American Heritage Coalition achieved another milestone in August 2002 when they were certified as a 501 (c) (3) nonprofit organization. With this additional tool, the Coalition continues their partnerships with local preservation organizations to "educate, preserve, and revitalize African American heritage and culture." For membership and information, visit the Coalition website: www.ssafricanamerheritage.org or call them at 912/634-0330.



Photo courtesy of the National Park Service



Frankie and Doug Quimby lead the Georgia Sea Island Singers.

Photo courtesy of the National Park Service



The St. Simons lighthouse greets visitors to the island. Photo by Jeanne Cyriaque

YOUR VISION, YOUR MEMORY, YOUR CHALLENGE: PRESERVATION IS GOOD FOR YOUR AFRICAN AMERICAN NEIGHBORHOOD REVITALIZATION

Karl Webster Barnes, Chairman
Georgia African American Historic Preservation Network

In the West End neighborhood in Atlanta, where I have lived since 1974, there exists an excitement - a *sense and continuity of place and community*. There is a sufficient amount of intact cultural and built fabric that serves as a basic guide for revitalization efforts. This is remarkable when you understand all that has happened to West End in the past 165 years. Let's examine West End's story.



Karl Webster Barnes, GAAHPN chairman, has lived in the West End community for 28 years. His assessment of this Atlanta neighborhood led to its local, state and national designation as a historic district. Barnes received a MS in architecture from Georgia Tech, and a MBA from the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.

White Hall; this portion was renamed for the building. The Sandtown portion of the trail was the main route from the Creek Indian Village of the same name on the Chattahoochee River. The Stone Mountain trail intersected the Sandtown trail as they both converged at White Hall. These trails were part of an elaborate network of Indian "trading routes" that crossed early Georgia. The routes connected Augusta and Charles Town (Charleston).



The block that was once the site of the old White Hall tavern is featured in this circa 1950 photo. A branch of the First National Bank was located at the intersection of Ralph David Abernathy Boulevard (formerly Gordon Street) and Lee Street. Photo courtesy of Georgia State University Archives.

In 1835, the old White Hall (now known as West End) resulted from the Indian cession of the 1820s, and was part of old DeKalb County, as Fulton County was not created until 1853. The area was named after a two-story building painted white when most buildings of the period were unpainted. White Hall was the stagecoach stop, tavern, post office, home of the 530th Militia District, and election precinct. It was located at the convergence of three old Indian Trails.

White Hall was situated on a portion of the old Indian trail named the Stone Mountain/Sandtown Trail. The trail branched to Augusta and included Stone Mountain, the DeKalb County seat in Decatur, and Five Points at Underground Atlanta. From Five Points, a portion of the trail included White

Between 1835 and 1868, the demands of the railroad provided the White Hall area with significant potential for future growth. Before the Civil War, the tracks led to mercantile houses and depots in Atlanta, and carried food and cotton to the seaport of Savannah. After the war, during the period of federal occupation and town rebuilding, the rebuilt railroad tracks provided access to the McPherson Barracks for federal troops.

In 1868, the state legislature incorporated the town of West End, created from the old White Hall crossroad community. Since its beginning, West End had a main street and adjacent grid pattern streets. The original developers built West End to support their streetcar line. West End is the southern point on the Peachtree Ridge line. Consequently, today if you are walking or driving an auto in West End, you can make three right turns and end up exactly where you started. By 1870, in the first census that counted African Americans as U.S. citizens, fully one-half of West End's population was *colored*, and the other half was white.



This current view shows the historical plaque erected in 1937 at the site of the old White Hall tavern and post office in West End. A Wachovia Bank branch and the MARTA rail lines have replaced the First National Bank branch and the old rail terminals. Photo by Jeanne Cyriaque

The north end of West End housed federal troops and the freedmen who lived near McPherson Barracks. In 1886, shortly after the end of Reconstruction, the barracks moved two miles south and became Fort McPherson. The old barracks became the home of the *Spelman Seminary for Colored Females*. The streetcar developers excluded the north end from the new residential village of West End, and West End Avenue, a 56^{ft.} wide street, was the racial dividing line. On January 1 1894, West End was no longer a separate village, as it was annexed into Atlanta.

West End has experienced many changes in land use and zoning that impacted its cultural and built fabric. In the early 1910s, Atlanta enacted its initial segregation ordinances, later declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court. Next, to ensure racial segregation, the city engaged in new tactics involving land use, building types, and tenant categories. This strategy controlled the migration and growth of Atlanta's African American community and created barriers between white and black neighborhoods. In West End, this plan kept African Americans north of West End Avenue (south and west of Spelman College) and east of a proposed North-South Parkway. The proposed parkway connector - a racial



These circa 1900-1930 Craftsman-style bungalows are the most prevalent house type in the West End Historic District.
Photo by James R. Lockhart

After WWII, the city used numerous roadway and land use tactics (Urban Renewal and Model Cities) to manage the migration and growth of the African American community. Although the north-south parkway was partially built (the Southwest Connector), the post-WWII federal interstate highway program altered the concept. The Connector was a six-lane truck route that was planned to connect railroad freight yards in northwest Atlanta to warehouses and the airport. Some of these warehouses replaced two former West End golf courses.

The West Expressway (Interstate 20) replaced the parkway connector concept for racial segregation. White citizens lived south of I-20 (West End and southwest Atlanta) while black citizens resided north of I-20 in the Washington High School area. Another buffer was inserted between the interstate and the black community when the city built a white public housing project (Joel Chandler Harris Homes) in 1957. This public housing further separated West End proper from its African American neighbors to the north. In addition to race, this barrier introduced “class” into the equation.



Ralph David Abernathy Blvd. (formerly Gordon Street) is the major business corridor in the West End Historic District. Photo by James R. Lockhart

barrier - was planned to run parallel to the railroad west of the Washington High School area at the Hunter Street (presently M. L. King, Jr. Blvd.) railroad overpass. However, WWII interceded. During this period, Atlanta rezoned West End from single-family residential to duplex or two-family residential.



On this West End block, a two-story residence is adjacent to bungalows.
Photo by James R. Lockhart

All these programs significantly altered the cultural landscape, economic, and built environment in West End, and had a significant long-term impact to the city’s land use and transportation policies. While these programs were altering or destroying traditional African American neighborhoods and their presence and connectivity to the *urban memory*, the strategies had “unintended consequences.” White West Enders, protected by the artificial southern and western boundary, moved out of the city into suburbs, creating sprawl, and West End lost much of its *sense of place* through time.

In 1974-75, when Atlanta developed its first Comprehensive Development Ordinance, a new West End began to slowly take shape. After years of minimal African American presence, the black population again reached 50%. The new homeowner’s association, West End Neighborhood Development (WEND) was formulated to protect homeowner investments while preserving the local, regional, and national significance and memory of the community’s cultural landscape. When the Georgia General Assembly passed the Georgia Historic Preservation Act in 1980 that established a uniform procedure for use by counties and municipalities in enacting ordinances to protect historic communities, WEND was ready to act.



WEND placed a historical marker at the entrance to Howell Park. The site is located on the former estate of Evan P. Howell, mayor of Atlanta and owner of “The Atlanta Constitution.” When he died in 1905, he bequeathed ten acres of land to the West End community where he lived, and the site became known as Howell Park.

Photo by Jeanne Cyriaque

In 1989, WEND used Atlanta’s new preservation tool, with the assistance of the Atlanta Preservation Center, The Georgia Trust, and the Historic Preservation Division. We researched our history and documented our building design and types, land uses and zoning. We galvanized our neighbors and held public hearings on the benefits of historic preservation. By 1991, WEND presented an assessment to the Atlanta Urban Design Commission (AUDC). The AUDC, the local historic planning commission, recommended approval of the West End Historic District to the Atlanta City Council in 1991. The West End District, with its architectural controls, overlay zoning, and land use, was the **first** locally designated historic district in the City of Atlanta under the new and strengthened 1989 historic preservation ordinance. Subsequently, the West End Historic District boundary was expanded, and placed on the Georgia Register.

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In February 1999 the West End Historic District was placed on the National Register. Local AUDC designation provided land use, zoning and architectural guidelines. Through these local, state, and national designations, the West End Historic District was preserved.



Hammonds House is a gallery and resource center for African American art. This Queen Anne-style home was named to commemorate Dr. Otis T. Hammonds, an African American physician who renovated the former home of Madge Bigham, furnishing it with 19th century antiques and African American art. When Dr. Hammonds died in 1985, Fulton County purchased this West End community landmark building.

Today, there are different decision-makers at the table; however, they are slow in changing the region's re-occurring themes. All across Atlanta and Georgia, we are seeing a significant case of *removal of cultural memory*. Traditional African American neighborhoods are being systematically moved or removed from their historical locations adjacent to town centers. Historical African American neighborhoods are being *marginalized* and removed from their historical locations at a time when the region is developing strategies to increase heritage tourism. As preservationists, we can and must make a difference in our neighborhoods and stop the *marginalization* of African American memory from our cultural landscape. Your involvement and influence in these redevelopment discussions will benefit both your neighborhood and your community's anticipated town center's economic revitalization.

Atlanta is not much different than most communities across Georgia. Whether your community is a small town of 3,000 citizens or a metropolitan area of 150,000, the only difference between your community and this community is that Atlanta is comprised of more neighborhoods. In fact, in some parts of the state, your neighborhood may be larger than the West End neighborhood. This neighborhood has a population of less than 5,000 citizens and is located about 2^{1/2} miles southwest of the Georgia State Capitol, Fulton County Courthouse, Atlanta City Hall and the U.S. Courthouse. Since the early 1980s, the West End has been the *gateway* neighborhood adjacent to a prominent African American community in southwest Atlanta.

WEND members recognize that West End is now our neighborhood. We not only share the vision of its original developers, we share their challenges. For our neighborhood to be all that we want it to be, West End must be a *site of our cultural memory*. We must identify, protect, enhance and perpetuate the use of buildings and sites in the district. We must protect the historic interest in and aesthetic value of our neighborhood. Thus, we identified the benefits of designating West End a *local* historic district and ensured its inclusion in the city's Comprehensive Development Plan.

The local West End District provides a means to ensure that growth, development and change take place in ways that respect important architectural, historical, and environmental characteristics. Local designation encourages sensitive development in the District and discourages unsympathetic changes from occurring. In spite of the designation, West End still has challenges. Today, we fight speculators that have no vision of a "residential and commercial village," and garden apartment developers have flocked to our "undesigned" commercial area. These developers have no sense or perspective of urban scale and density. They build two-story suburban style walk-up apartments with surface parking and amenities. They do not understand or acknowledge that the West End Village is the southern portion of Atlanta's Central Business District and, like Midtown Atlanta is the gateway to Buckhead, West End is the gateway to southwest Atlanta. West End deserves the same quality and type of development as you see in Midtown. The city and the Atlanta Regional Commission should encourage mixed-use buildings that surround parking decks. By using our local historic preservation commission (AUDC), Georgia, and National Register designations in documenting our neighborhood, WEND has initiated a successful strategy to save our African American community's *spirit of place*.

In the next issue of *Reflections*, a second article will discuss current challenges and strategies the West End Historic District is implementing to improve land use and transportation initiatives to enhance the commercial corridor and surrounding historic neighborhood.



Brown Middle School (former high school) was built in 1923. The Romanesque Revival-style school was named in honor of Joseph E. Brown, governor of Georgia from 1857-1865. This community landmark building in the West End Historic District was one of the first schools in Atlanta to be integrated in 1961.

Photo by Jeanne Cyriaque

HISTORIC DESIGNATIONS THROUGH LOCAL PRESERVATION COMMISSIONS

*Christine Laughlin, Georgia Certified Local Government Coordinator
Historic Preservation Division*

In Georgia, there are primarily three ways to designate and protect irreplaceable treasures that make individual communities historic. The first is listing at the federal level in the National Register of Historic Places. The National Register is the official listing of buildings, sites, structures, and objects that have local, state, or national significance. National Register designation identifies properties and districts for general planning purposes. National Register designation does not restrict private owners from the use or sale of a property, or require conformance with design guidelines. National Register designation does not prevent demolition or stop federal projects. Like the National Register, the Georgia Register of Historic Places designates historic resources at the state level. Both National Register and Georgia Register listing may make certain properties eligible for federal and state tax credits, grants, and other incentives, but neither listing directly protects the owners' financial investment in historic properties or districts.



The Wren's Nest, located on Ralph David Abernathy Blvd. in the West End Historic District, was the home of Joel Chandler Harris, author of Uncle Remus and Critters tales. The Wren's Nest was designated a National Historic Landmark in 1962.

Photo by Jeanne Cyriaque

Local historic districts are designated and protected through ordinances enacted by the local governing body. Local designation provides the greatest level of protection because of a design review process. In some areas, historic resources are maintained because individual property owners understand and appreciate their historic and aesthetic value. In other cases, well-intended property owners make inappropriate changes that compromise the integrity of historic resources. Communities and interest groups often find that they cannot rely on the good intentions or promises of property owners, developers, or absentee landlords, and voluntary compliance with design guidelines is not enough. In these cases, a local historic district and design review are needed.

Through the process of design review, local governments maintain the architectural character of historic properties and districts. Home and business owners are assured that their neighbors will not make inappropriate changes that will adversely affect their financial investment. Local district designation can

also protect historic resources from demolition by neglect and severe deterioration that occurs when properties are not maintained.

Design review is not an arbitrary process: it is a very democratic and participatory community improvement strategy. Historic preservation commissions use established design guidelines to review proposed material changes in appearance to properties within local districts. A Certificate of Appropriateness (COA) is required for all material changes in appearance to properties within the district. Minimum maintenance and upkeep do not require COAs. Design guidelines are based on the historic fabric and character of the area. Design guidelines may include landscaping, signs, lighting, new construction, and other exterior features. Design review is rarely applied to interior features.

Local district designation is a two-step process. The first step is the creation of a historic preservation commission. The second step is the designation of local sites or districts. Designation is accomplished by a separate ordinance approved by the local government. Prior to implementation of a designation ordinance, the historic preservation commission must undertake an investigation and prepare a designation report. An architectural survey of the area is needed to determine the boundaries of the district.

Many local governments find that a combination of federal, state, and local designation programs work best. In Georgia, over 100 communities have historic preservation commissions. A historic preservation commission can apply for Certified Local Government (CLG) status, increasing eligibility for federal grants and additional technical assistance. Work with your local government to develop programs that ensure your community's character.

For further information about local preservation commissions and Georgia's CLG program, contact: Christine Laughlin at 706/583-8047 or laughlin@arches.uga.edu.

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ABOUT GAAHPN



The Georgia African American Historic Preservation Network (GAAHPN) was established in January 1989. It is composed of representatives from neighborhood organizations and preservation groups. GAAHPN was formed in response to a growing interest in preserving the cultural and ethnic diversity of Georgia's African American heritage. This interest has translated into a number of efforts which emphasize greater recognition of African American culture and contributions to Georgia's history. The Network meets regularly to plan and implement ways to develop programs that will foster heritage education, neighborhood revitalization, and support community and economic development.

The Network is an informal group of over 1,200 people who have an interest in preservation. Members are briefed on the status of current and planned projects and are encouraged to offer ideas, comments and suggestions. The meetings provide an opportunity to share and learn from the preservation experience of others and to receive technical information through workshops. Members receive a newsletter, *Reflections*, produced by the Network. Membership in the Network is free and open to all.

Reflections

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