

# ELAM ALEXANDER: ENDURING ARCHITECTURE IN MACON, GEORGIA

by

MAGGIE DISCHER

(Under the Direction of Mark Reinberger)

## ABSTRACT

Elam Alexander was a well-known early citizen of Macon, Georgia. He gained prominence as a patron of local rail lines, the endower of the city's first school system, and as an architect and builder. This work analyzes his story as well as the buildings attributed to him in an effort to refine his canon of works despite an absence of primary source information. His work shows a clear influence of pattern books and gradual refinement of a distinct Greek Revival style, typical of other inland and fall line towns in Georgia at the time.

INDEX WORDS: Elam Alexander, Macon Georgia, Master Builder, Greek Revival, Architectural History, Pattern Books.

ELAM ALEXANDER: ENDURING ARCHITECTURE IN MACON, GEORGIA

by

MAGGIE DISCHER

B.A., The University of South Carolina, 2013

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2021

© 2021

Maggie Discher

All Rights Reserved

ELAM ALEXANDER: ENDURING ARCHITECTURE IN MACON, GEORGIA

by

MAGGIE DISCHER

Major Professor: Mark Reinberger

Committee: James Reap  
Sonia Hirt  
Elaine Neal

Electronic Version Approved:

Ron Walcott  
Vice Provost for Graduate Education and Dean of the Graduate School  
The University of Georgia  
May 2021

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to those who helped me complete this work. In particular, the members of my thesis committee, Professor Mark Reinberger, Professor James Reap, Dean Sonia Hirt, and Elaine Neal, from whom I received enthusiastic support, thoughtful feedback, and even supporting research. In addition to my committee, I got invaluable support and direction from the College of Environment and Design and the Historic Preservation department's faculty and staff. Of additional encouragement during my writing period were the members of the Facilities Planning department at Georgia College and my wonderful family and friends.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	iv
LIST OF FIGURES .....	vii
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION .....	1
<i>Introduction and Methodology</i> .....	1
2 BACKGROUND .....	4
<i>Elam Alexander</i> .....	4
<i>Macon</i> .....	13
3 PUBLIC BUILDINGS .....	24
<i>Introduction</i> .....	24
<i>Second County Courthouse</i> .....	25
<i>Fulton Baptist Church</i> .....	30
<i>Central Railroad Company Bank</i> .....	34
<i>Monroe Railroad and Bank Headquarters</i> .....	42
<i>Wesleyan College</i> .....	47

<i>Old Female Academy</i> .....	54
4 PRIVATE BUILDINGS .....	57
<i>Introduction</i> .....	57
<i>Cowles Cottage</i> .....	58
<i>Woodruff House</i> .....	62
<i>Collins House</i> .....	68
<i>Randolph-Whittle House</i> .....	72
<i>Second Collins House</i> .....	75
<i>Holt-Peeler-Snow House</i> .....	78
<i>Leroy Napier House</i> .....	85
<i>Solomon-Speer-Coleman-Birdsey House</i> .....	93
<i>Hugenin-Proudfit-Birdsey-Domingos House</i> .....	95
<i>Napier-Small House</i> .....	97
<i>Raines-Carmichael House</i> .....	103
<i>Nesbit House</i> .....	106
<i>Cannonball House</i> .....	109
5 CONCLUSION .....	115
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	125

## LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: Elam Alexander .....	13
Figure 2: Survey of Macon shortly after 1821 cession .....	18
Figure 3: Early Macon Map.....	20
Figure 4: Macon in 1887 .....	23
Figure 5: Court House rendering ca 1860.....	27
Figure 6: Asher Benjamin’s “Plan and Elevation for a Courthouse” .....	28
Figure 7: Fulton Baptist Church.....	32
Figure 8: Methodist Church on Statehouse Square in Milledgeville .....	33
Figure 9: Central Railroad Company Bank .....	35
Figure 10: Central Railroad Bank Building ca 1880 .....	36
Figure 11: University of Georgia Chapel.....	37
Figure 12: Old Governor’s Mansion.....	37
Figure 13: Second Bank of the United States.....	42

Figure 14: Market Scene at Monroe Railroad and Bank Building .....	44
Figure 15: Monroe Railroad and Bank Building.....	45
Figure 16: Monroe Railroad and Bank Building after becoming City Hall .....	45
Figure 17: City Hall after 1920s renovation .....	46
Figure 18: Wesleyan engraving c. 1845.....	48
Figure 19: <i>Wesleyan Female College</i> .....	51
Figure 20: Early Photograph of Wesleyan.....	51
Figure 21: Wesleyan after renovation .....	53
Figure 22: Post Office in location of former Wesleyan .....	54
Figure 23: Old Female Academy .....	55
Figure 24: Cowles Cottage on Walnut Street .....	60
Figure 25: Portico detail on Cowles cottage.....	60
Figure 26: Cowles Cottage on Rivoli Drive .....	62
Figure 27: Woodruff House in the 1970s.....	63
Figure 28: Woodruff house entry and stair .....	65
Figure 29: Woodruff House later door .....	66
Figure 30: Woodruff House today .....	68
Figure 31: View of Coleman Hill with Collins and Cowles houses visible at top .....	70

Figure 32: Collins House on Coleman Hill.....	72
Figure 33: Randolph-Whittle House.....	73
Figure 34: Randolph-Whittle interior with arched openings.....	75
Figure 35: Second Collins House .....	76
Figure 36: Second Collins House c. 1900.....	77
Figure 37: Second Collins House today.....	78
Figure 38: Holt-Peeler-Snow House, 1939.....	79
Figure 39: Holt-Peeler-Snow House with raking coping.....	81
Figure 40: Sliding Door Design in Minard Lafever's <i>Young Builder's General Instruction</i> .....	83
Figure 41: Minard Lafever's doorway design in <i>The Beauties of Modern Architecture</i> .....	84
Figure 42: Asher Benjamin's acroteria on a pediment in <i>The Builder's Guide</i> .....	85
Figure 43: Leroy Napier House on Napier Avenue.....	87
Figure 44: Napier House in Olde Towne Morrow.....	88
Figure 45: Plan on Napier House .....	90
Figure 46: Stuart and Rivett's drawing of the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus .....	91
Figure 47: Asher Benjamin's Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus frieze and capital .....	92
Figure 48: Solomon-Speer-Coleman-Birdsey House c. 1936.....	94

Figure 49: Plan of Solomon-Speer-Birdsey House.....	95
Figure 50: Hugenin-Proudfit-Birdsey House.....	97
Figure 51: Napier-Small house, c. 1940.....	99
Figure 52: Napier-Small House plan .....	100
Figure 53: Simeon Burt House .....	102
Figure 54: Raines-Carmichael House.....	104
Figure 55: Central stair in Raines-Carmichael House.....	105
Figure 56: Plan and rendering from <u>The Architect</u> by William H. Ranlett .....	106
Figure 57: Nesbit House.....	108
Figure 58: Hanson house c. 1900.....	108
Figure 59: Hanson house c. 1950.....	109
Figure 60: The Cannonball house .....	113
Figure 61: Side of Cannonball house showing former raking coping.....	113
Figure 62: Old Christ Church Rectory .....	114
Figure 63: First National Bank Building.....	118
Figure 64: Sylvan Lodge .....	118
Figure 65: Brewer House .....	119

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### *Introduction and Methodology*

This work will examine the architectural legacy of Elam Alexander in Macon, Georgia. As a celebrated and prolific architect, builder, and businessman in Macon from 1826 to 1863, Alexander's built legacy appears throughout the historic business core of the city. This study seeks to describe the architecture and evolution of the buildings attributed Elam Alexander and to refine his canon of works.

Elam Alexander moved to Macon three years after its incorporation in 1823, during a period of dramatic growth brought on by the cotton trade along the Ocmulgee River. Accordingly, a great deal of change took place in the city during his lifetime. This thesis will look broadly at his work as an architect in Macon during the late Federal and Greek Revival period. His buildings have become landmarks within the city, and many have experienced changes in use. However, no inventory exists of his complete works, rendering his full impact on the city ambiguous. This analysis will expand existing historical research, seek to establish a catalog of his works, and look at how these buildings have evidenced and contributed to Macon's identity and built heritage.

Many buildings have been attributed to Alexander throughout Macon's history. He was a notable citizen and known for his role in constructing many of Macon's most recognizable Greek

Revival buildings. This thesis analyzes which of these buildings were most likely accurately attributed to him and which were merely guesses. Additionally, this work hopes to determine Alexander's creative role in the construction of this style in the area. He worked during a time when pattern books of Federal and Greek Revival style were circulated throughout the South, a factor which could create ambiguity regarding the attribution of various design elements. Though commonly called an architect, the profession was still in its infancy at the time. Additional analysis of Alexander's buildings should shed light on whether his career could be described as that of an architect's or if he could better be described as a master builder.

Unfortunately, because of the age of these buildings, little documentation from the time of construction has survived for most of them and much of the literature regarding his architectural career is based on conjecture. Therefore, many have relied on the same set of sources to create their narrative in a relative absence of primary source material. This work draws from these same resources but aims to take a critical look at the precedents established by them and to clarify this record where possible. Contextual data will create a foundation for this study, including regional and local architectural studies, local histories, and genealogical and biographical information on Alexander. Since this evaluation requires visual analysis and description, the research will utilize newspaper articles, historic photographs, National Register nomination forms, and local archival collections. These varied sources will allow the study to look at Elam Alexander's body of work and evaluate it regionally and locally.

Elam Alexander clearly had an impact on Macon's history as both a builder and a businessman. Although his name is locally known from his commercial and philanthropic endeavors, there is no published analysis of his architecture as a whole. While some research includes his design work in various surveys of Macon's architectural heritage, there is no

contemporary work looking at Alexander's life and architectural legacy as parts of the same narrative. In this scope, this research will contribute to local and regional knowledge.

Additionally, this thesis will create a new narrative of these buildings and a more holistic look at Alexander's architectural legacy. By analyzing how his architectural and entrepreneurial lives intertwined, the study seeks to provide a new method to look at the city's history and a fuller understanding of Elam Alexander's impact.

## CHAPTER 2

### BACKGROUND

#### *Elam Alexander*

Elam Alexander's personal story is largely unknown. The closest thing to a firsthand narrative of Elam Alexander is his will.<sup>1</sup> One of the few other sources of his history is the eponymous book written by John C. Butler in 1886.<sup>2</sup> Much of the narrative set forth in this book appears to have informed most of the subsequent papers and stories written about Alexander. Because his voice is largely lacking in his own story, much of Alexander's legacy is tied to the buildings and businesses in early Macon that he took part in. It is also tightly bound to the city's educational system. Although he was reportedly not highly educated, upon his death he used personal wealth to help establish the city's first school system. His name has been tied to the buildings of the city's school system, beginning with the Alexander Free School which was established seven years after his death and remains today with the continued operation of the schools Alexander II and the Elam Alexander Academy. These significant contributions to the city resulted in glowing accounts of his story, reflecting little impartiality or substance beyond his time in Macon.

Alexander was born on March 22, 1796 in Iredell County, North Carolina, which sits above Mecklenburg County, the home of Charlotte, North Carolina. Iredell is known for its copy

---

<sup>1</sup> Butler, John C. *The Alexander Free School, The Life of Elam Alexander*. Macon: J.W. Burke &, 1886,

<sup>2</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*.

of the Declaration of Independence that passed through the community in 1775. This document also substantiates the Alexanders' presence in the area with at least two members of the family whose signatures appear on the document.

Despite the presence of Alexanders on the local Declaration of Independence, little is known of Alexander's direct family. Walter Harris, in his article "Elam Alexander, the Builder," asserts that Alexander was related to Alexanders on both sides of his family, being the nephew of Abraham Alexander on his father's side and grandson of Ezra Alexander on his mother's side. Both Abraham and Ezra are said to have been signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.<sup>3</sup> However, Harris is the only source to claim this about the builder, leaving Elam's direct genealogy unclear, as there appears to have been a large population of Alexanders in the area at the time. The only mention of his direct family appears in his will, in which he bequeaths property to his brother Oswin in Tennessee and railroad stocks to his niece in Texas.<sup>4</sup>

Alexander was raised on a small farm in Iredell County that was common of the region in that era. In his youth, Alexander is believed to have attended the local county school for part of the year and assisted his father in his family fields the remainder.<sup>5</sup> Though it is commonly thought that Alexander was relatively uneducated, Harris argues that this would be unlikely for a family of higher stature, and that even if he had received little formal education, he certainly

---

<sup>3</sup> Harris, Walter Harris A. "Elam Alexander, the Builder." Elam Alexander Biography/Obit File., Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room, 1; *The Macon Telegraph and Messenger* (Macon), May 11, 1875. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn85038493/1873-11-20/ed-1/seq-4/>.

<sup>4</sup>Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 36.

<sup>5</sup>Smith, Mark. "Life of Elam Alexander: A Pioneer in Education." TS, Elam Alexander Biography/Obit File, Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room, 1.

would have spent time among educated people in his family and their social group.<sup>6</sup> Aside from his education, he developed an appreciation for “mechanical pursuits” and learned carpentry as a trade through his daily tasks on the farm.<sup>7</sup> Biographical accounts in newspaper articles after his death claim that he did pursue formal training, taking part in an apprenticeship with a carpenter in North Carolina before coming to Georgia to pursue the trade.<sup>8</sup>

At the age of twenty-four, Alexander made his way to Georgia. He first arrived in Augusta in 1820.<sup>9</sup> Shortly after, he ventured to Baldwin County and the state capitol of Milledgeville.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, there is little information of his activities or work in these two developing Fall Line towns. However, since the towns were founded in 1736 and 1804 respectively, he easily could have been exposed to master-builders such as John Marlor and Daniel Pratt.<sup>11</sup> By 1826, he appears to have briefly lived in Forsyth, Georgia before ultimately moving to the newly settled town of Macon and marketing himself as a mechanic and

---

<sup>6</sup> Harris, "Elam Alexander, the Builder," 2.

<sup>7</sup> Smith, "Life of Elam Alexander," 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Savannah Morning News* (Savannah), July 30, 1878. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn82015137/1878-07-30/ed-1/seq-1/>.

<sup>9</sup> *Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Gazette* (Augusta), June 0 1822. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn82014207/1822-06-03/ed-1/seq-2/>.

<sup>10</sup> Jackson, Edwin L. "Georgia's Historic Capitals." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. 14 August 2020. Web. 08 February 2021; *Union and Recorder* (Milledgeville), March 30, 1880. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn82015111/1880-03-30/ed-1/seq-1/>.

<sup>11</sup> Wilson, Robert J. "Milledgeville." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. 20 July 2020. Web. 05 February 2021; Cashin, Edward J. "Augusta." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. 09 September 2019. Web. 06 February 2021; Coleman, Kenneth., and Charles Stephen. Gurr. 1983. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.

carpenter.<sup>12</sup> This appeared to be a common practice among settlers from North Carolina and Virginia seeking work in these growing southern towns.<sup>13</sup>

No documentation exists on whether Alexander was involved in any construction or building projects before arriving in Macon. However, only two years after he settled in Macon, he was under contract to build the county's new courthouse, implying that he did have some construction credentials at the time. In 1828, Alexander was listed alongside George Smith and Joseph Davidson as contractors on the project.<sup>14</sup> Alexander's roster of buildings quickly grew from there and included both public and private structures. The city, intended by the state to be a trade center, had only two hundred residents when he arrived. The numbers jumped to two thousand by the time the courthouse was completed in 1829.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, varied businesses began to take root in the city, growing out of the cotton industry and transportation opportunities, including a steamboat route afforded by the Ocmulgee River.<sup>16</sup> The growing economy heralded an emerging class of entrepreneurs, among them Elam Alexander. The expanding economy also meant increasing commissions for Alexander from his fellow businessmen. He set about working not only on the emerging business district of the city but also in creating ostentatious homes for these new elite. In 1838, at the age of 42, Alexander married widow, Ann G. Stone in the

---

<sup>12</sup> Harris, "Elam Alexander, the Builder" 2; *Georgia Messenger* (Ft. Hawkins), April 12, 1826. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

<sup>13</sup> Anderson, Nancy B. "Macon." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. January 21, 2003. Accessed January 11, 2021. <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/macon>.

<sup>14</sup> *Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Advertiser* (Augusta), April 25, 1828. <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn82014184/1828-04-25/ed-1/seq-2/>.

<sup>15</sup> Smith, "Life of Elam Alexander," 1-2; Sears, Joan Niles. 1979. *The First One Hundred Years of Town Planning in Georgia*. Cherokee Pub. Co, 13.

<sup>16</sup> Smith, Mark. "Life of Elam Alexander," 2.

Presbyterian church that he designed and eventually later bought and sold.<sup>17</sup> Alexander adopted Ann's two children, and they would be his only children.<sup>18</sup> The marriage was also fiscally beneficial for Alexander as Ann had a substantial inheritance from her late husband's estate. This new wealth would have been a valuable asset for a burgeoning entrepreneur.<sup>19</sup>

Another major accomplishment in Alexander's life began in 1840 in the form of an infrastructure project that would aid the city's growing economy. Along with Dr. Robert Collins, Elam accepted a contract to construct part of the Central Railroad running from Macon to an existing line that connected Savannah to Sandersville.<sup>20</sup> At the time, it was advertised as being the largest railroad contract in the United States.<sup>21</sup> The new line opened in time for the 1843 cotton crop to be transported a length of sixty miles. It would later be known as the Central of Georgia Railroad and would eventually become one of the most widely used railroads the south.<sup>22</sup> Alexander and Collins became so well known for this project that the Savannah Morning News dubbed them "the great Path-Makers of the South."<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> Butler, *The Life of Elam Alexander*, 8; *The Georgian* (Savannah), November 1, 1838. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

<sup>18</sup> Smith, "Life of Elam Alexander," 1.

<sup>19</sup> "Estate of Jeremy Stone," 1840. Probate Estate Records, Chatham County, GA. Research courtesy of Elaine Neal.

<sup>20</sup>"Railway's History Began December 20, 1833." Central of Georgia Railway Historical Society. 2021. Accessed March 19, 2021. <http://www.cofga.org/railway/history/railways-history-began-december-20-1833/>.

<sup>21</sup> *The Georgian Citizen* (Macon), July 23, 1853. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

<sup>22</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 10; Finlay, Mark R. "Central of Georgia Railway." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. 03 September 2014. Web. 08 February 2021; *The Macon Telegraph* (Macon), March 23, 1901. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

<sup>23</sup> *The Savannah Morning News* (Savannah), October 3, 1856. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

This undertaking would set the stage for other enterprises and leadership roles. In 1840, Alexander served on the Central and Executive Committee for Bibb County.<sup>24</sup> In 1845, he was selected as chairman for the construction of the newly formed Southwestern Railroad.<sup>25</sup> And in 1847, he was responsible for securing the funds and support to bring the Electromagnetic Telegraph from Savannah through Macon and on to Columbus, where it would later tie into Montgomery, Alabama and continue to New Orleans. This guaranteed Macon's participation in the line that ran all the way from Washington, DC to New Orleans.<sup>26</sup> Because of this work, Alexander served four years as president of the Washington and New Orleans Telegraph Company.<sup>27</sup> These roles cemented his status as a leader in the city. In 1852, he served as president of the Manufacturer's Bank of Macon and was a major stockholder of the Macon Gas Light Company.<sup>28</sup> Five years later, he played a critical role in the establishment of a new rail line that would extend from Brunswick to Macon and take advantage of the former's prolific port. Interestingly, the line would become a competing railroad with the Central of Georgia line that he helped expand fourteen years earlier. In 1858, he even toyed with idea of digging artisan wells on public land. The city supported Alexander's proposal, which he offered to fund himself, but he ultimately found that the local geology was not well suited for it.<sup>29</sup> His last major leadership role was in the formation of the Empire State Iron and Coal Mining Works that he and several

---

<sup>24</sup> *Georgia Messenger* (Ft. Hawkins), April 16, 1840. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

<sup>25</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 13.

<sup>26</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 14; *Daily Constitutionalist* (Augusta), July 3, 1847. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

<sup>27</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 16.

<sup>28</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 15.

<sup>29</sup> *Journal and Messenger* (Macon), October 27, 1858. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers; Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 16.

associates established in 1862 in response to the beginning of the Civil War. It was formed with the intent to serve Confederate armories across the state. Upon its establishment, Alexander was elected president of the company which was headquartered in Macon and operated out of Dade County, Georgia with natural iron and coal deposits.<sup>30</sup> Only a few months later, on March 29th, 1863, Elam Alexander died unexpectedly of what was called a stomach blockage.<sup>31</sup>

Alexander's wife, Ann, had passed away several years before he did. Upon his death, he retained stock in the Central railroad, Macon and Western railroad, the Empire State Iron and Coal Company, and the Macon Light Company.<sup>32</sup> In his will he left railroad stocks, bonds, and furniture to his stepdaughter who he said, "has always been an affectionate child to me."<sup>33</sup> He left his remaining clothing and furniture to his twelve slaves and stipulated that they were to be retained by his estate for fifteen years, in which the profits of their labor would go toward educational funds for the children of some of his close friends. Interestingly, three of his slaves were listed as craftsmen.<sup>34</sup> These skilled painters and carpenters would have been valuable to his building career. The remainder of his estate was to be invested in the south's effort in the Civil War and any remaining funds at the close of the war would fund a trust to establish a free school in Macon. The will stipulated that the funds left for the establishment of a free school be invested in bonds and, "be held and controlled by the mayor and Council of the City of Macon" and that if the authorities of the city council would not accept the Trust, the funds should be handled by

---

<sup>30</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 19.

<sup>31</sup> *Georgia Journal and Messenger* (Macon), April 1, 1863. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

<sup>32</sup> Inventory of Elam Alexander; Georgia. Probate Records 1862-64. Volume L, 671. Research courtesy of Elaine Neal.

<sup>33</sup> Smith, "Life of Elam Alexander," 12.

<sup>34</sup> Inventory of Elam Alexander. 671.

trustees with the intent that the interest of the bonds fund the school. The first trustees were appointed in 1869 and the first class of the free school enrolled in 1870 and operated out of his former residence. This first group of students counted 100 pupils.<sup>35</sup> Today multiple schools within the Bibb county system still reference him in their names.

## Character

Butler published his biography of Elam Alexander in 1886, and chose to include a copy of his will as an appendix.<sup>36</sup> Butler himself appears to have been an acquaintance of Alexander, appearing alongside him as a secretary to meetings of the Washington and New Orleans Telegraph Company.<sup>37</sup> Butler also produced some of the early historical accounts of Macon and its origin, another way in which his perspective would shape the way future scholars would write about the city.<sup>38</sup> Along with his account, several other biographical articles were printed in Georgia newspapers in the years after Alexander's death.<sup>39</sup> These generally shared a similar format, extolling his business accomplishments and his design of notable public buildings and "handsome houses that adorned the city," culminating with the lasting impact of his will and the

---

<sup>35</sup> Lucas, Celia. "Members of the Alexander School Board." 1961. Elam Alexander Biography/Obit File., Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room, 1; Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 25.

<sup>36</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 35.

<sup>37</sup> *The Daily Sun* (Columbus), January 19, 1863. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers; *Southern Confederacy* (Atlanta), August 6, 1862. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

<sup>38</sup> Butler, John Campbell. *Historical Record of Macon and Central Georgia: Containing Many Interesting and Valuable Reminiscences Connected with the Whole State, Including Numerous Incidents and Facts Never Before Published and of Great Historic Value*. United States: J. W. Burke & Company, 1879. Reprinted 1990 by Elam Alexander Trust and the Museum of Arts and Sciences; Sears, *The First One Hundred*.

<sup>39</sup> *Georgia Weekly Telegraph, Journal & Messenger* (Macon), August 25, 1882. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

school system it established.<sup>40</sup> Since documentation of Elam's life is contained in biographies written by friends, nearly all of his story is laudatory in nature. Though Alexander was often described as eccentric, the articles about him often described his character and temperament, stating that he was known for his kindness and positivity, once saying that he had "never known an hour's sickness or depression of mind."<sup>41</sup> He was said to be fond of "the young and spritely minded" and indiscriminate when it came to the social status of those he associated with.<sup>42</sup> A tribute to him published in the Macon Telegraph after his death told of his common sense, dedication, civic-mindedness, integrity, and self-assuredness.<sup>43</sup> Butler also claimed that Alexander regretted not having had more education, particularly in writing and grammar. Butler claims that Alexander was known to learn by the observation of his more educated peers, and evidently with some success as Butler claims Alexander was a good writer as evidenced by various reports that he produced while serving in leadership roles of his varied organizations.<sup>44</sup> Despite these public examples extolling his character, his will and designs are all that remain today of his voice.

---

<sup>40</sup> *The Macon Telegraph*, March 23, 1901; *The Weekly Telegraph* (Macon), June 14, 1887. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

<sup>41</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 20.

<sup>42</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 21-22.

<sup>43</sup> *Georgia Weekly Telegraph, Journal & Messenger* (Macon), August 25, 1882.

<sup>44</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 21-22.

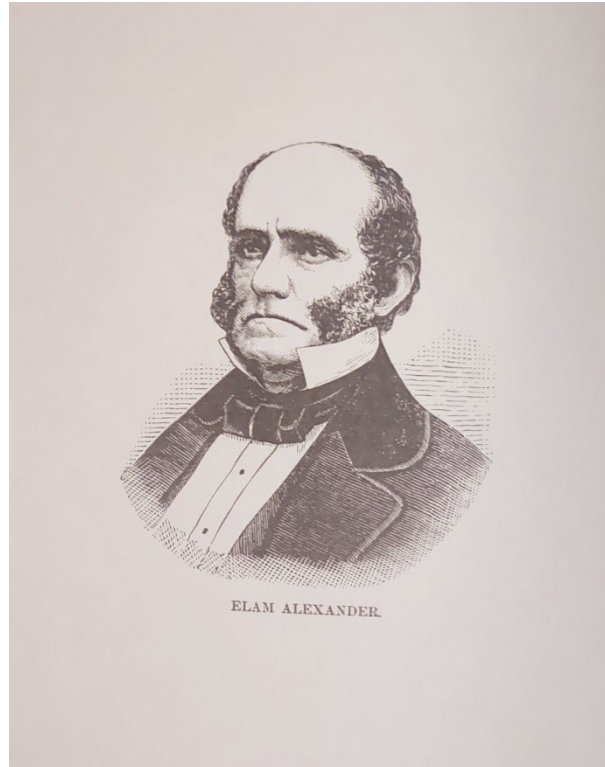


Figure 1. Elam Alexander. From John C. Butler, *The Alexander Free School, The Life of Elam Alexander*. Macon: J.W. Burke &, 1886. 2.

### *Macon*

Alexander's glowing biographies evidence his status as a respected local figure. Since all buildings credibly attributed to Elam Alexander were located in Macon, it serves as the geographical context from which to view Elam's life and professional work. Though sources assert that he was born near Charlotte, North Carolina and spent time in other developing towns in Georgia, nothing is known of his construction work before arriving in Macon. Alexander arrived in Macon in 1826, three years after the city had incorporated. His many business connections supplemented his network of acquaintances that would become architectural clients. His acquired status, no doubt one that was not too removed from his status at birth as the son of a

planter, coupled with the opening of Macon for non-native settlement and its convenient trade location, undoubtedly paved the way for Elam to establish a successful building practice in the city.

Macon sits at the Fall Line of the Ocmulgee River and archaeological evidence indicates that Paleo-Indian hunter gatherer inhabitants occupied its region as early as 17,000 years ago. Around 1000 BCE native populations are believed to have begun settling on the Ocmulgee River itself.<sup>45</sup> Nearly two thousand years later, around 1000 CE, the Mississippian people inhabited the banks of the Ocmulgee.<sup>46</sup> The Mississippian people were the first to refer to the river as the Ocmulgee, meaning bubbling waters. They farmed corn, squash, and beans and traded along the river.<sup>47</sup> The Mississippians were responsible for physically shaping the landscape, notably in the enduring forms of ceremonial grounds and an earthen lodge. A portion of their settlement along the river is now preserved as the Ocmulgee National Historical Park. Their trade network was so robust that English settlers from Charleston began to engage in trade activities with the local tribes. The Fall Line, which delineated the height of the navigability of the river, dictated early trade routes both on land and water as it facilitated trade down the river to Darien at the coast.<sup>48</sup> By land, early traders followed the Fall Line as an inland trade route, mimicking earlier Creek trade routes. This early track would eventually evolve into the fall line road and later connect to the Federal Road which ran from Milledgeville to outside of Columbus, running all the way to New

---

<sup>45</sup> "Learn About the Park." National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 4 Dec. 2020, [www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/index.htm](http://www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/index.htm).

<sup>46</sup> "Learn About the Park." National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 4 Dec. 2020, [www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/index.htm](http://www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/index.htm).

<sup>47</sup> "Learn About the Park." National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 4 Dec. 2020, [www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/index.htm](http://www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/index.htm).

<sup>48</sup> Anderson, Nancy B. "Macon." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. 30 August 2017. Web. 13 January 2019.

Orleans.<sup>49</sup> These routes would open trade and communication between central Georgia west to Mississippi and north up to Virginia. They would evolve into roads and shape the settlement of new inhabitants as European and colonial settlers grabbed new territory. The settlement attracted a significant number of settlers from Virginia and the Carolinas.<sup>50</sup> Its location, where the Piedmont met the river, also created rich soil in the area for planting. Similarly, the river and its mix of ecologies, coupled with good soil and plant-life, enabled abundant hunting in the earliest known settlements of the area.

In 1686, British settlers constructed a fortified trading post near the Hitchiti settlement, now part of the Ocmulgee National Historic Park. This new settlement consisted of a large, fortified stockade and served as an outpost for trade, taking advantage of the early road moving people and goods through the region. Though separated in their fort, these early settlers are believed to have allied with the local Creek (called the Ochese Creek Nation) population. This trade alignment even enticed other Muscogee populations on the Chattahoochee river to relocate to be closer to the English and their trade network.<sup>51</sup> This settlement achieved such growth that a new fort in the area was constructed in 1806. Benjamin Hawkins, the United States agent to the Creeks, was responsible for scouting the one-hundred-acre site. The fort would be named after

---

<sup>49</sup> Anderson, Nancy B. "Macon."; Hayes, John. "Federal Road." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. 20 July 2020. Web. 03 February 2021.

<sup>50</sup> McConnell, Jo, and Sadie Crumbley. *Macon Treasures Remembered: the Antebellum Years*. Virginia Beach, VA: Hallmark Pub. Co., 2002, 6.

<sup>51</sup>"People." National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. 4 Dec. 2020. Accessed March 10, 2021 [www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/historyculture/people.htm](http://www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/historyculture/people.htm).

Hawkins. Shortly afterwards settlers established the small community of Newtown near the fort on the eastern side of the river.<sup>52</sup>

Tensions rose between the Creeks and newly created Americans after the Revolutionary War as a series of conflicts over land emerged, trade started to suffer, and the former colonists wanted more land for slave-based agriculture. After a series of treaties and battles, notably the bloody Battle of Horseshoe Bend in 1814, native morale was wounded and their efforts of resistance to cede the land lessened dramatically. Though not recognized by the United States due to allegations of bribery, the Treaty of Indian Springs in 1821 ceded the land between the Flint and Ocmulgee rivers to the state of Georgia.<sup>53</sup> The settlers of Macon claimed the area on the western banks of the Ocmulgee and the state set to planning a new town that would be intended as a trading hub, naming it after North Carolina legislator Nathaniel Macon.<sup>54</sup> This treaty displaced the Creek residents of the area to the west of the Flint river, opening the western banks of the Ocmulgee for settlers of European origin. Shortly after the treaty was signed, the Georgia Legislature granted a new county seat on the western banks of the river.<sup>55</sup> The city was established on the opposite banks of the river as Fort Hawkins continued to take advantage of the trade and communications networks it provided. The new city was laid out on a modified grid to the west of the Ocmulgee. The design envisioned Macon as “a city within a park.” Rather than a simple grid of habitable squares, the design, originally laid out by James Webb, included streets

---

<sup>52</sup> Taylor, Stephen Wallace, and Matthew Jennings. *Images of America: Macon*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2013, 19.

<sup>53</sup> Saunt, Claudio. "Creek Indians." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. 25 August 2020. Accessed February 8, 2021.

<sup>54</sup> Taylor, Wallace, Jennings, *Images of America: Macon*, 19; Sears, *The First One Hundred*, 13.

<sup>55</sup> Anderson, Nancy Briska. *The Middle Georgia Historical Society Presents Macon, a Pictorial History*. United States: Donning, 1979, 20; Anderson, *The Middle Georgia Historical*, 23.

that alternated between 120 and 180 feet, with the wider streets intended to include green space in the center of the streets.<sup>56</sup> This feature, in addition to plans for shade trees to line the side of the streets, served to both create public green space and provide a buffer in the event of fire.<sup>57</sup> The only exception to the alternating grid was the Courthouse square which sat centered on the converging axes of Mulberry and Fifth Streets.<sup>58</sup> Within 10 years of settlement the population of Macon had grown to nine thousand.<sup>59</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Sears, *The First One Hundred*, 174.

<sup>57</sup> Barfield, Jim, and Walter G. Elliott. *Living Macon Style*. Macon, GA: Henchard Press, 2004, 8.

<sup>58</sup> Sears, *The First One Hundred*, 175.

<sup>59</sup> Kitchens, Michael W. *Ghosts of Grandeur: Georgia's Lost Antebellum Homes and Plantations*. Virginia Beach: Donning Company Publishers, 2012, 157.



Figure 2. Survey of Macon shortly after 1821 cession. From Sears, Joan Niles. 1979. *The First One Hundred Years of Town Planning in Georgia*. Cherokee Pub. Co. 174.

At the time of Alexander's arrival in 1826, the city had grown significantly, and it would continue to do so for a number of years. By the census of 1830, the city had a population of 2635, up from the 750 five years previously. As the Native American inhabitants had discovered much earlier, the river was useful for trade. Steamboat lines opened, transporting primarily cotton as well as some other agricultural goods. The business that these early routes brought facilitated the development of rail lines in the area, which would swiftly outpace the steamboat travel.<sup>60</sup> Only ten years after the town was settled, the Central of Georgia Railroad opened.

---

<sup>60</sup> Anderson, "Macon."

Originally called the Central Railroad and Canal Company of Georgia, the route initially connected Macon with Savannah.<sup>61</sup> This line kicked off a flurry of other lines, connecting Macon to the southeast and beyond. Lines swiftly linked Macon to Savannah, Forsyth,<sup>62</sup> Columbus, and Atlanta.<sup>63</sup> These accordingly spurred trade and activity. Macon had a hotel to accommodate travelers by 1825,<sup>64</sup> and by 1837, the city was a host to a variety of enterprises including fifteen lawyers, ten doctors, three dentists, one hundred merchants, nine cotton warehouses, eight banks, and six schools. The river remained busy at this time often seeing seven steamboats arriving and departing daily for Darien.<sup>65</sup>

Macon's location afforded it a centrality in the state's cotton trade that made way for an era of prosperity for the landowners and business classes which profited from the system of slavery. Elam Alexander was among an early group of entrepreneurs in the town who took advantage of the economic opportunities the cotton trade provided for white settlers.

---

<sup>61</sup> Finlay, *"Central of Georgia Railway."*

<sup>62</sup> Anderson, *The Middle Georgia Historical*, 32.

<sup>63</sup> Finlay, *"Central of Georgia Railway."*

<sup>64</sup> McConnell, Crumbley, *Macon Treasures Remembered*, 10.

<sup>65</sup> McConnell, Crumbley, *Macon Treasures Remembered*, 30.

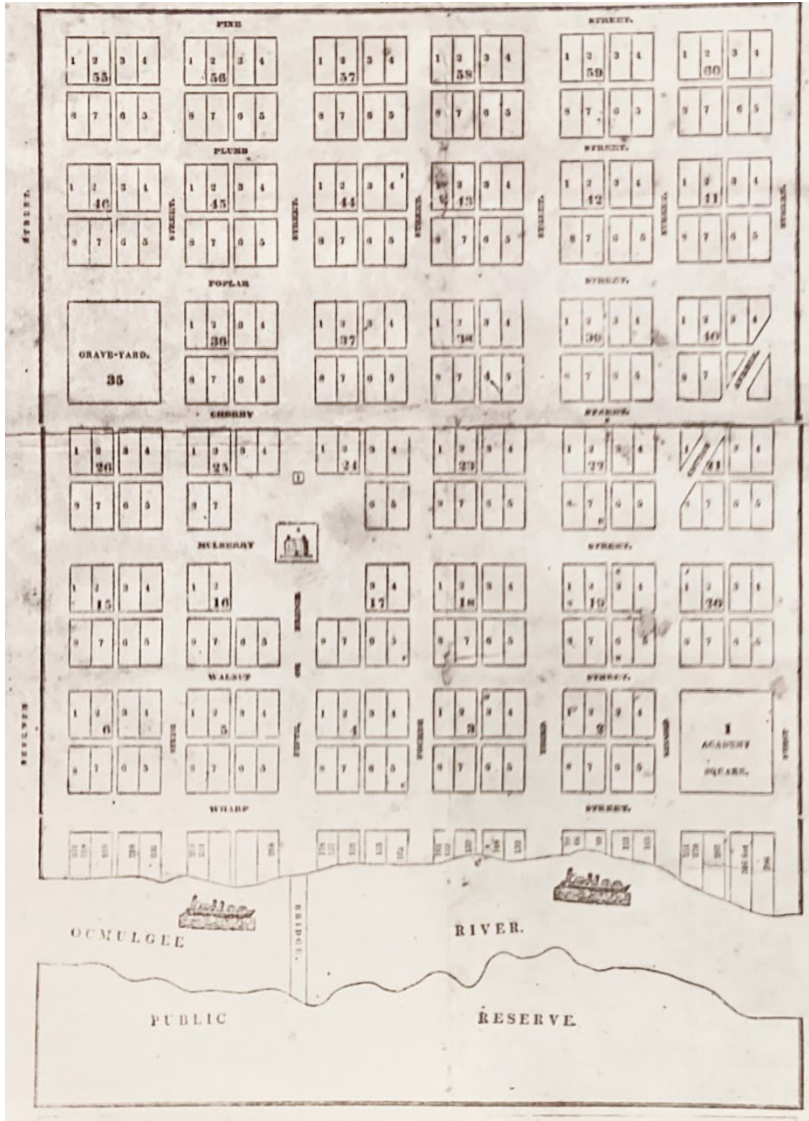


Figure 3. Early Macon Map. Joan Niles Sears. 1979. The First One Hundred Years of Town Planning in Georgia. Cherokee Pub. Co. 17.

By 1860, the city's railroad network had made it the center of the state's agricultural economy.<sup>66</sup> At this time its population had grown to 8132, with the county total boasting nearly 16,000.<sup>67</sup> Nearly a third of the city's residents were enslaved.<sup>68</sup> Textile mills grew naturally out of the cotton trade and were supplemented by other manufacturing pursuits,<sup>69</sup> including foundries, brickyards, and warehouse operations.<sup>70</sup> These endeavors took advantage of the trade infrastructure that had developed to accommodate the cotton industry. Along with diversified industry, the economic growth of the city allowed for cultural institutions to grow. Specialty schools emerged to serve various groups in the area. Wesleyan Female college was chartered in 1836 as the first college founded to grant women degrees. In the 1840s the Southern Botanic Medical College opened, instructing students on plant-based medicine.<sup>71</sup> And in 1858, the academy for the blind was constructed to serve the state's blind population.<sup>72</sup> The city's centrality and access to transportation made it an ideal location for conventions, fairs, and expositions which would bring people to Macon and expose them to new tools, arts, and farming technologies. Accordingly, hotels emerged as well as entertainment venues with concert halls such as Ralston Hall brought in traveling artists.<sup>73</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Kitchens, *Ghosts of Grandeur*, 234.

<sup>67</sup> Anderson, "Macon."

<sup>68</sup> Taylor, Wallace, Jennings, *Images of America: Macon*, 19.

<sup>69</sup> Taylor, Wallace, Jennings, *Images of America: Macon*, 49.

<sup>70</sup> Kitchens, *Ghosts of Grandeur*, 158.

<sup>71</sup> Taylor, Wallace, Jennings, *Images of America: Macon*, 36.

<sup>72</sup> Anderson, *The Middle Georgia Historical*, 43.

<sup>73</sup> Anderson, *The Middle Georgia Historical*, 35.

Alexander passed away in 1863 while the Civil War was ongoing. During the war, Macon largely evaded the physical ramifications of the conflict that many other towns in Georgia suffered. A small battle occurred at Dunlap Hill, at the location of the current Ocmulgee National Historical Park, but otherwise left Macon physically unscathed. Additionally, Macon was not on the route of Sherman's march to the sea. Since so much of the infrastructure remained intact after the war, Macon became a home for many people relocating from places that suffered destruction.<sup>74</sup> It also became a place known and romanticized for its antebellum architecture.

Though Macon did not suffer physical losses, like much of the rest of the state, the city had to learn to adjust to a new way of life and economy after the war. Some manufacturing survived. Eventually suburbs emerged, growing away from the city and taking over land that had previously been agricultural. The grand Greek Revival styles that Alexander would be known for fell out of favor after the war, being replaced by the wider vocabulary of Victorian architecture. Eventually the region would shift away from cotton cultivation, with the help of changes in labor and, later, the boll weevil crisis. The downtown became more urban, and residential neighborhoods continued to spread, yet Macon remained an active mercantile hub for the surrounding rural counties in Middle Georgia.<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> Kitchens, *Ghosts of Grandeur*, 158; Anderson, "Macon."

<sup>75</sup> Anderson, "Macon."

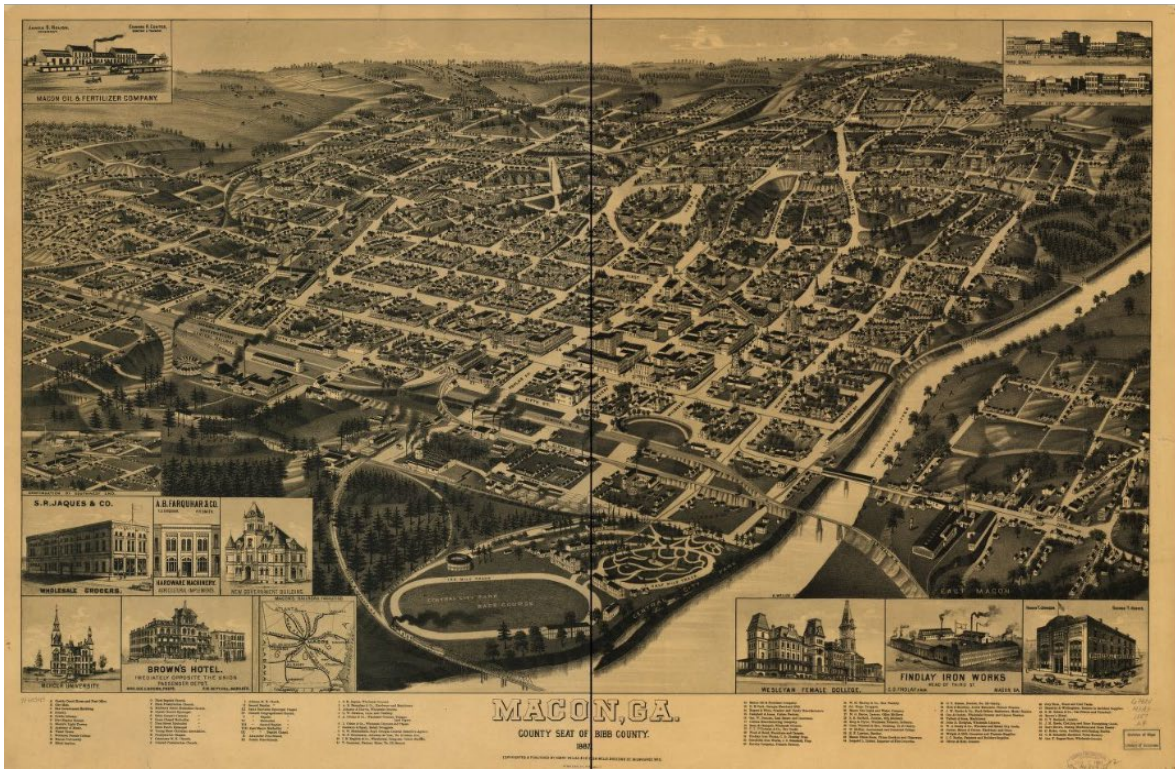


Figure 4. Macon in 1887. From H. Beck & Pauli Wellge, and Henry Wellge & Co. *Macon, Ga. County Seat of Bibb County*. Library of Congress. Milwaukee, Henry Wellge & Co. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/item/75693193/>.

## CHAPTER 3

### PUBLIC BUILDINGS

#### *Introduction*

The city of Macon fit the prototype of the towns that would come to be known for their Greek Revival residences and civic buildings. After the land's cession in the early 1820s, the settlement of the western side of the Ocmulgee River was seen as a blank slate by its new inhabitants. Further, the city was founded as a trade center because of its strategic location poised for river travel and crop cultivation. These qualities increased its appeal to ambitious people looking to settle on this western frontier. Simultaneously, professional architecture was in its infancy in America and the building field was ripe for master builders. Elam Alexander has long been pronounced an early and significant architect in Macon. However, his career appears to have been more loosely defined, falling into the carpenter, contractor, or master builder categories. Alexander proved through his work in these varied roles that he could be adaptable. The buildings attributed in this section appeared to have both facilitated his business endeavors and benefitted from them. His career coincided with the national shift from Federal to Greek Revival styles. Accordingly, a significant transformation can be seen in the style of the public buildings that are attributed to him throughout his career. This flexibility and his initiative were well suited for the town in its era of early development.

This chapter explores the public buildings attributed to Elam Alexander. Not only did these public buildings seem to express lofty goals fostered by a class of entrepreneurs, they also

add to our knowledge on broader happenings in the region and country. The same transportation industry that Macon was founded upon and which Alexander built his career on, allowed building styles and design ideas to spread more widely and rapidly. This chapter will follow a chronological order, highlighting how both Elam Alexander and the city of Macon evolved in the context of national architectural trends.

### *Second County Courthouse*

Elam Alexander's earliest noted building in Macon was completed only two years after his arrival in the town and five years after its incorporation. Alexander was hired for the construction of the county's second courthouse. In 1828, a contract was let to George Smith and Joseph Davidson with Alexander for \$12,750.00. This building was intended to replace the first structure built only three years previously, which was a one-room building.<sup>76</sup> This original structure was frame and stood thirty-five by forty-five feet. Located in the intersection of Mulberry and 5<sup>th</sup> streets, the courthouse was situated on a public square in the center of town and on the only offset square in the grid that defined the rest of the settled community.<sup>77</sup> The new building was to take on the existing functions of the old facility, with uses such as community gatherings, religious ceremonies and the undertaking of county business, but expand and specialize them in order to accommodate the growing population. The building would not only functionally serve the population, but also promote the city as a new, flourishing municipality. Accordingly, in order to make a grander statement, this building broke away from its vernacular

---

<sup>76</sup> Young, Ida, Julius Gholson, and Clara N. Hargrove. *The History of Macon Georgia*. Macon: Lyon, Marshall & Brooks, 1950, 58.

<sup>77</sup> Young, Gholson, Hargrove. *The History of Macon*, 54.

predecessor. Smith, Davison, and Alexander's building was of brick construction and stood three stories tall and ninety-three by forty-seven feet in plan.<sup>78</sup>

This building played with proportions and blended elements of both Federal and Neoclassical modes. Wilbur Caldwell in "The Courthouse and the Depot," described it as a "uniquely southern version of the American Frontier" borrowing grand ideas from classical architecture, as conveyed most likely through the works of Asher Benjamin, but with taller and narrower proportions.<sup>79</sup> Front and rear porticos and a dramatic neoclassical cupola characterized this new civic structure. Surviving renderings indicate that the brick building was seven bays wide and four deep with arched windows on the two main stories. The building had a raised central entry beneath a hipped portico supported by four Doric columns on each roof. The lower story was separated hierarchically by a string course and had flat headed windows. The building had a Doric frieze that lent some ornament to the building and tied the portico into the body of the building. This motif was repeated in the smaller cornice below the building's cupola. Eight chimneys projected from the hipped roof, not doubt for fireplaces that heated the structure. Though disproportionately tall, the cupola announced the building as an ambitious civic gathering space. The square cupola was marked by a domed cap atop a dramatic cornice and topped by a weathervane. Paired engaged columns supported the cornice at each corner and framed two arched attic vents on each side.<sup>80</sup> The building was demolished in 1872 to make way

---

<sup>78</sup> Harris, Walter A. "Elam Alexander, the Builder," 3.

<sup>79</sup> Caldwell, Wilbur W. *The Courthouse and the Depot: The Architecture of Hope in an Age of Despair: A Narrative Guide to Railroad Expansion and Its Impact on Public Architecture in Georgia, 1833-1910*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2001, 94.

<sup>80</sup> Caldwell, *The Courthouse and the Depot*, " 94.

for an even more aspirational Second Empire design completed by Chicago architect Gourdon P Randall.<sup>81</sup>



Figure 5. Court House rendering ca 1860. Illustration entitled *Court House, Jail and Gas Works, at Macon, Georgia*. Accessed from Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.

Although some later biographical accounts assert that Alexander took on the design responsibility for the building, newspaper accounts at the time that the contract was let indicate that Joseph Davidson was primarily responsible for the plan of the building.<sup>82</sup> It is likely, however, that much of the design was taken from pattern books, as Caldwell noted. This courthouse depicts very similar proportions to the courthouse design Asher Benjamin published in his “American Builder’s Companion” which was released in the previous decade.<sup>83</sup> Both courthouses were three stories tall, with full height porticos centered on the façade, water tables to distinguish the upper two floors and domed geometrical cupolas which crown both buildings.

<sup>81</sup> Caldwell, *The Courthouse and the Depot*,” 285.

<sup>82</sup> Young, Gholson, Hargrove. *The History of Macon*, 59; *Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Advertiser* (Augusta), April 25, 1828.

<sup>83</sup> Benjamin, Asher. *The American builder's companion; or, A system of architecture, particularly adapted to the present style of building ... / Illustrated with fifty nine copperplate engravings*. Boston: Published by R. P. & C. Williams, for the author. Printed by Thomas G. Bangs. April, 1816. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://archive.org/details/americanbuilders00benj/page/n245/mode/2up>

The starkest difference between the two is in the plan of the buildings. While the two look strikingly similar straight on, the Benjamin's plan used angled walls to create an elongated octagon in the entry of the building. It appears that the building that was meant to be approached from one primary façade. However, in the Macon building, positioned in the intersection of two streets, the façade would have been visible on all elevations. Slighter differences appear in the hierarchical treatment of their fenestration, ornament at cornices, and in the level of the primary entry.

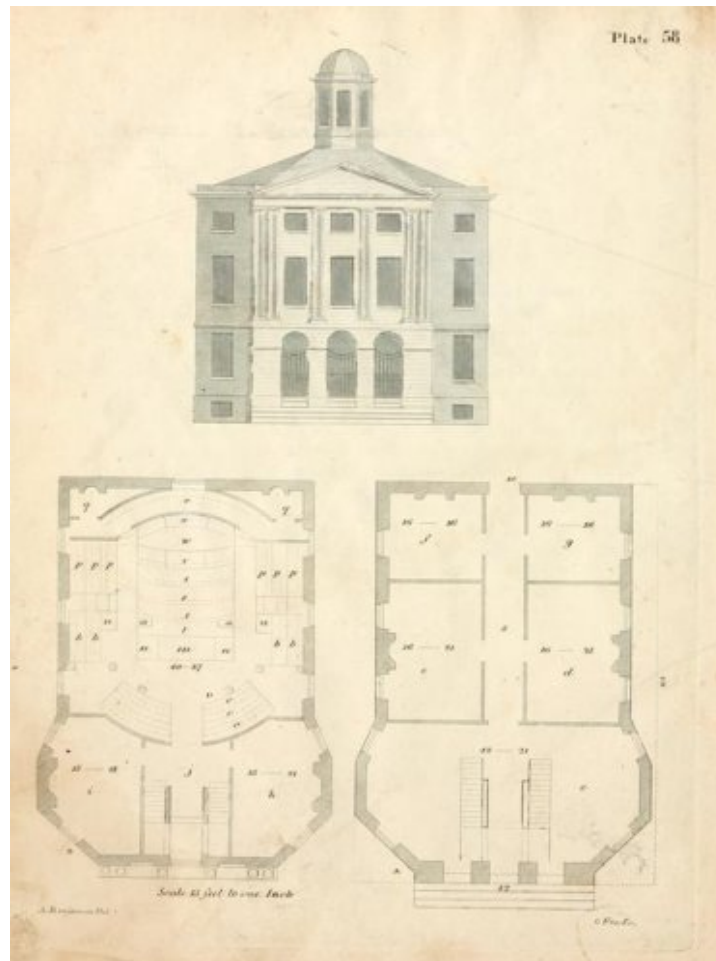


Figure 6. Asher Benjamin's "Plan and Elevation for a Courthouse" from *The American builder's companion*. 1816. Plate 58.

Another interesting line taken from newspaper articles at the time of the project states about the contractors, that “The credit they have obtained by their work, of being able and scientific mechanics, warrants reposing every confidence in them that it will be well executed.”<sup>84</sup> Although there are no known buildings attributed to Alexander before this work, clearly Alexander, Davison, and Smith had suitable resumes to take on a building with so much community importance. Betty Sanders Snyder in her biography of John Marlor, a noted Milledgeville master builder, says that both Daniel Pratt and Elam Alexander were said to have been employees of Marlor’s while they were in Milledgeville.<sup>85</sup> It is interesting to note that several Marlor buildings in Milledgeville feature similar pedimented full height portico entries as the Bibb County courthouse. Primary source data is lacking to substantiate this claim; however, this association with two prolific Middle Georgia master builders could have given Alexander a reputable catalog of experience, as well as familiarity with pattern books and the Federal and Neoclassical forms that would reappear in his early Macon works.

The influence of pattern books is clear in this early Macon building, and Alexander appears to have taken more responsibilities in the construction of the building than in its design. Though Alexander has since been touted as an architect in many later histories of Macon, the second county courthouse provides a good example of him acting more like a skilled carpenter and contractor. It could be reasoned that Alexander started out as a carpenter and eventually evolved into a master builder, gradually aiding in the design of his projects as his experience grew. This evolution would have followed national trends afforded by the proliferation of pattern books. Otto and Richardson, in their article about the master builder John Try of Montreal, make

---

<sup>84</sup>*Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Advertiser* (Augusta), April 25, 1828

<sup>85</sup> Coleman, Gurr, *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*, 685.

a point noting the fluidity of the building trades in the nineteenth century. Since architects were not yet widespread, these professionals were often charged with supervising construction as well as providing designs.<sup>86</sup> However, this progress of master builders was inherently reliant on architects at this early stage of the profession as they were the authors of the widely distributed pattern books. The pattern books themselves even went through similar transitions, with early ones focusing on carpentry detailing, then to the classical orders, and eventually into style books.<sup>87</sup> This meant that any builder could construct a stylish and well-designed building, which was especially valuable in new towns such as Macon needing skilled builders and having a growing economy with business leaders who wanted bold, conspicuous buildings to show their importance and wealth. While these books' proliferation stifled regional styles, they also empowered enterprising builders to take part in design and the aspirational and symbolic power of it.

### *Fulton Baptist Church*

Upon the completion of the county courthouse, Alexander was contracted to build a church for the Presbyterian congregation in Macon. In describing the building, Butler notes one of the few examples of a direct quote from Alexander in which Alexander asserts that he was the

---

<sup>86</sup> Richardson, A. J. H., and Stephen Otta. "John Try: A Master Carpenter, Builder and Architect in Old Montreal." *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin / Bulletin de la Société pour l'étude de l'architecture au Canada* Vol. 22, no. 2 (June 1997): 32–39.  
[https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/bitstream/handle/10222/71168/vol22\\_2\\_32\\_39.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/bitstream/handle/10222/71168/vol22_2_32_39.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y), 34

<sup>87</sup>Upton, Dell. "Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860." *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, no. 2/3 (1984): 107–50.  
<https://doi.org/10.1086/496175>, 108.

principal contractor for the first Presbyterian church in Macon.<sup>88</sup> The church was a frame structure with a grand arched entry and tall windows capped by fan lights. Much like the courthouse, the church blended elements of Federal and Neoclassical design. The building was composed of a simple gabled mass three bays wide and four bays deep, and a bell tower capped with a curving four-sided cupola in place of a steeple. Small brackets and dentiled cornices on the gable, cornice returns, and tower add unity and some Classical notes to the structure. This design shows several carry-overs from the county courthouse. Though only one story, the arched heads of the building's fenestration lend verticality to the structure and are echoed in the twin vents of the cupola, two features borrowed from the courthouse.

---

<sup>88</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 8.

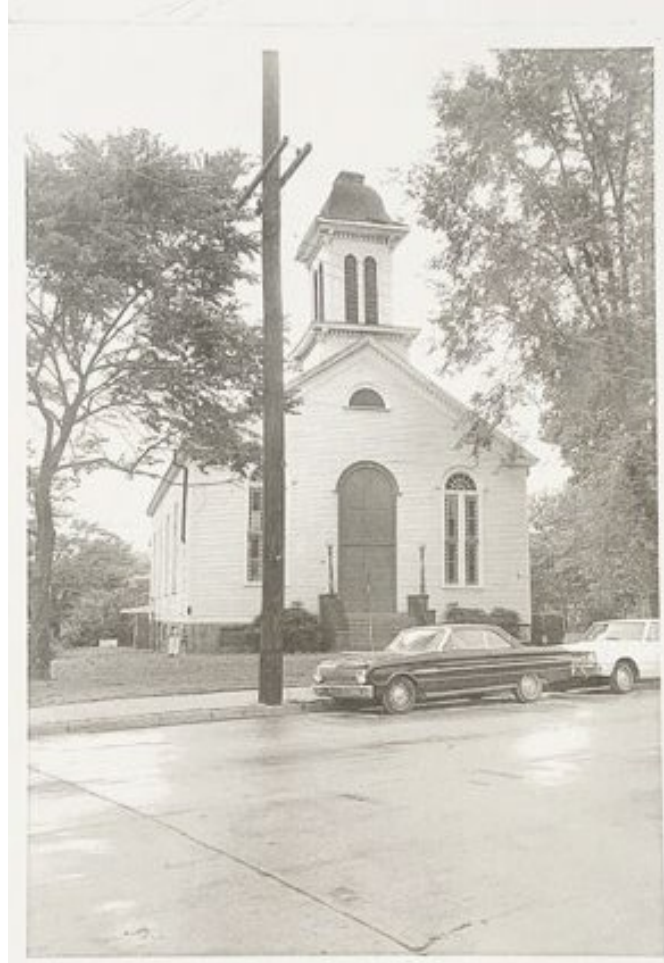


Figure 7. Fulton Baptist Church, 1967. Held at Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.

While the building appears simpler in detail than others shown in popular pattern books, similar church designs appeared elsewhere in Middle Georgia. A notable example is the Methodist church on the statehouse square in Milledgeville. This building is believed to have been constructed in the 1820s, so it could have been in operation during the time that Alexander was in Milledgeville. Likewise, he could have seen it in a later trip to Milledgeville. Both churches share a three-bay façade and a four-bay depth, with tall arched fenestration and a gable front. Their primary point of diversion comes from the treatment of their crowns. While Fulton Street appears to have been completed with a cupola, Milledgeville's Methodist church was

capped with a steeple. However, their proportions remain similar in that the base of the steeple conveys a similar, but squatter, effect as the Fulton street cupola.<sup>89</sup>

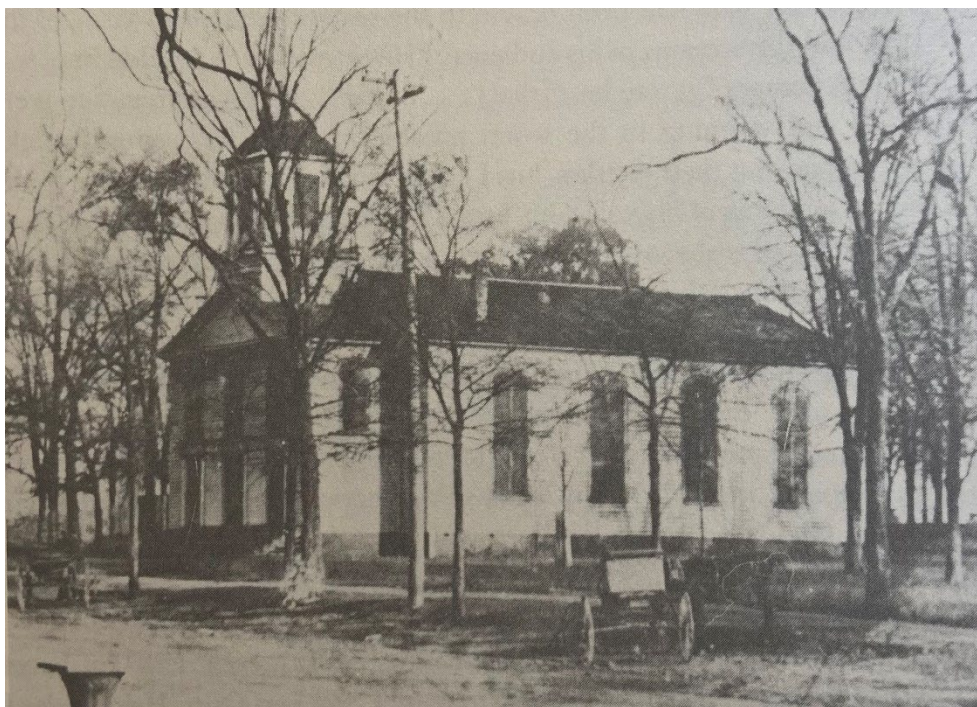


Figure 8. Methodist Church on Statehouse Square in Milledgeville. Image from James C. Bonner's *Milledgeville, Georgia's Antebellum Capital*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978. 87.

The Macon Presbyterian Church opened for the congregation in 1829.<sup>90</sup> In 1837, the Presbyterian church moved out of the building into a new larger facility. Alexander temporarily bought the building to sell it to a Roman Catholic congregation. In 1868, the building changed hands again, to become the home of the Second Baptist Church. Second Baptist moved it from its original location at the corner of Fourth and Plum streets, to the corner of Third and

---

<sup>89</sup> Bonner, James C. *Milledgeville, Georgia's Antebellum Capital*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978. 87

<sup>90</sup> Smith, "Life of Elam Alexander," 4.

Hawthorne streets.<sup>91</sup> In 1887, the church changed one last time to Fulton Baptist Church, which it is still known as today.<sup>92</sup> In the following years a variety of modifications have taken place. Now, an awning bisects the original entry, and the stained glass in the windows has been replaced with unornamented panes. The most striking change was the removal of the cupola and its replacement with a much smaller steeple. Despite these conspicuous changes, the fenestration and exterior building footprint still kept much of the original design.

### *Central Railroad Company Bank*

In 1836, Jerre Cowles contracted Elam Alexander to construct a building for a new branch bank of the Central Railroad Company.<sup>93</sup> A few renderings and images remain of the now-demolished two-story stuccoed building. This would be Alexander's first use of a full-width two story portico, a detail that many of his later works would also feature. The prostyle portico consisted of six Doric columns with the four fluted central columns enclosed by two squared columns at the ends. This rhythm was echoed by brick antae on the façade and side elevations.<sup>94</sup> The earliest drawing of the building displays a balustered parapet sitting above the building's Doric frieze, though this element disappears in later images. Little detail on the building's fenestration can be discerned from the existing images other than the square heads of the windows. The bank resided in the building for only sixteen years before the owners sold it to

---

<sup>91</sup> Smith, "Life of Elam Alexander," 3.

<sup>92</sup> *The Macon Telegraph*, May 7, 1967. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

<sup>93</sup> Young, Gholson, Hargrove. *The History of Macon*, 61; Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 9; Jones, Mary C. *Volume II, Item 12*. Mary Calloway Jones Photo Collection, Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room, n.d.

<sup>94</sup> Baker, C. Daniel. "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander." July 9, 1973, Elam Alexander Biography/Obit File, Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room, 2.

the Trustees of the Southern Botanical Medical School in 1852.<sup>95</sup> Later it became the Whittle School. Butler called it "one of the finest buildings in the state for many years."<sup>96</sup>

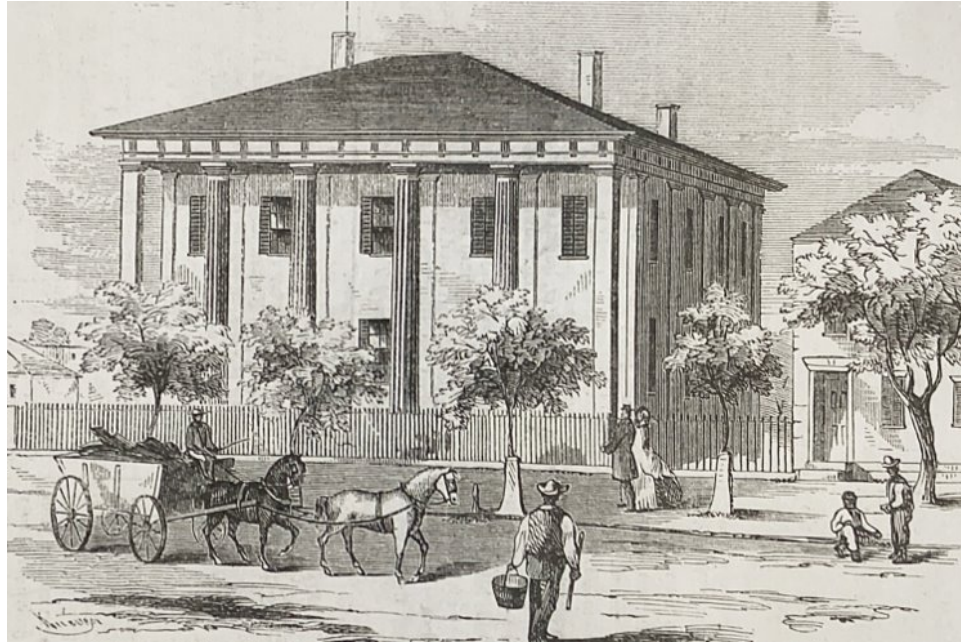


Figure 9. Central Railroad Company Bank. Illustration entitled *Southern Botanico-Medical College, Ca. 1855*. Held at Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.

This building marks a distinct shift in style in Alexander's architectural style and embraces the emergence of the Greek Revival, displaying the trademark characteristics of that style. The fluted Doric columns and portico add weightiness and dimension when compared to his previous buildings. They anchor the building and create an impressive presence lining the entire height and width of the façade. They are appropriately capped by the Doric frieze, which supports the lower hipped roof. The earliest photograph of the building reveals a cupola at the top of the building, which also represents a common feature of the style. The cupola served as a source of ventilation and created a cap for the building, drawing attention and asserting its

<sup>95</sup> Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander." 2; Jones, Mary C. *Volume II, Item 12*.

<sup>96</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 9.

prominence. Other notable Greek Revival structures in Georgia displayed similar applications of cupolas with squared forms and hipped roofs. These included the Chapel at the University of Georgia, completed in 1832, and the Georgia Governor's Mansion which was designed by Charles Cluskey and completed in 1839.<sup>97</sup> In each of these examples, the cupolas announce their buildings and add decorative distinction to otherwise solemn and powerful Greek facades.



Figure 10. Central Railroad Bank Building ca. 1880. Photograph entitled *Southern Botanical Medical College, 1886*. Accessed at the Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.

---

<sup>97</sup> Chapel | University Architects. University of Georgia. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://www.architects.uga.edu/home/historic-preservation/hpmp-galleries/chapel>.

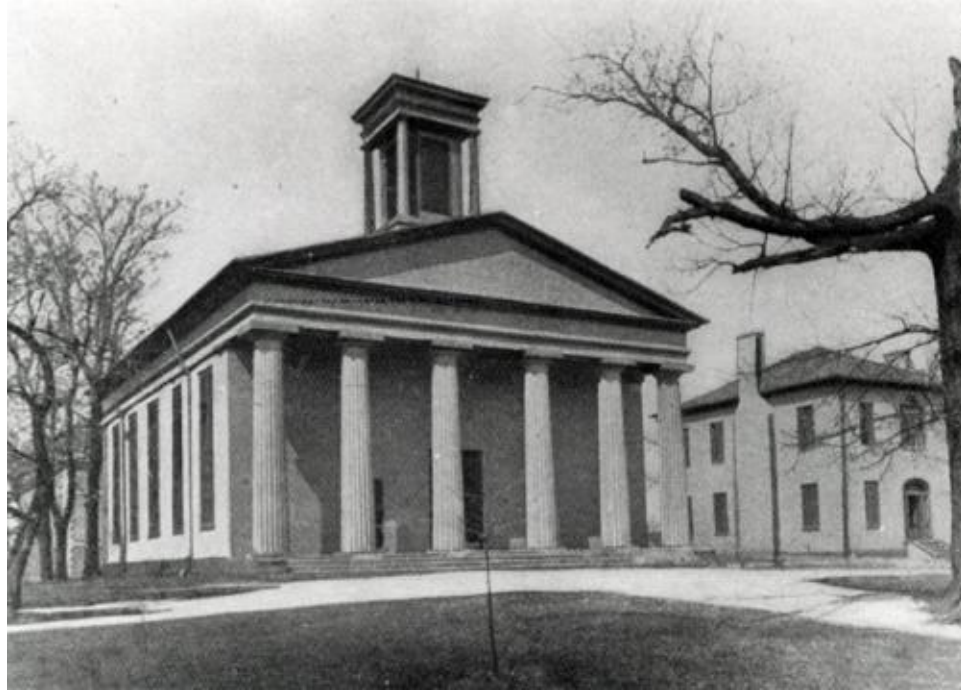


Figure 11. University of Georgia Chapel. Image from| University Architects website of the University of Georgia. <https://www.architects.uga.edu/home/historic-preservation/hpmp-galleries/chapel>.



Figure 12. Old Governor's Mansion. Entitled "Georgia Old Governor's Mansion." produced by the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

The timing of the Central Railroad Company Bank aligned with the construction of similar Greek Revival construction throughout the country. Roger Kennedy, in his opening chapters of “Greek Revival America,” notes an alignment between the emergence and spread of the style and the period during which early Americans were shifting from the idealism of utopian frugality to materialism and a frontier spirit.<sup>98</sup> Suddenly, the prospect of new wealth and opportunity overshadowed the humble ideals of earlier settlers. This was particularly true in inland towns like Macon which attracted so many people so quickly with the promise of booming trade. Theories on the appeal of the Greek Revival to Americans in the first half of the nineteenth century have been widely debated. They have ranged from the style being based on practicality or fashion, to having deeper aspirational motives that sought to align the era with the ancient Greek republic.

Greek Revival architecture in the United States was somewhat paradoxically seen as a style full of hope and potential for a new way of living and new democracy, yet one that was rooted in established tastes and taking advantage of the perceived permanence of great Grecian monuments. The style was often referred to as the first American style and various trademarks of the Greek Revival were often seen as a means to assert one's status. Benjamin Henry Latrobe made allusions to the simplicity and permanence of the ancient style, as a fitting model for the governmental and banking institutions for which he was employed. However, because of his status and high-profile clients, it can be difficult to discern if this was the common view of the style across the country. Even if early scholars of the style might have overstated its cultural allegories, the temptation seemed too strong not to compare major cities in the new world to

---

<sup>98</sup> Kennedy, Roger G., and John Martin Hall. *Greek Revival America*. New York: Rizzoli, 2010. 9.

cultural centers like Athens. Clearly, the style appealed to American audiences beyond mere trendiness.<sup>99</sup>

The appeal of popular taste and the need to assert one's social status played a role in the prevalence of the Greek Revival. Despite some assertions that the south was attracted to the traditions or steadfastness of the Greek culture, particularly one that emphasized liberty and was built on the system of slavery, little evidence appears to make those connections during the era of construction. The style became so concentrated in certain regions and locations largely because of timing. W. Barksdale Maynard notes in his article The Greek Revival: Americanness, politics and economics that these styles appeared more commonly in urban areas than in idealized rural plantations.<sup>100</sup> Likewise, Howard Major creates contrasts between the well-established coastal towns of earlier settlements, and the growing inland frontier and communities built upon agriculture, and particularly the cotton trade. The citizens of these newer communities sought to set themselves apart from the grand houses of the places they came from. Major also asserts that these differed from those of the northern new settlements because of the wealth afforded by slave labor.<sup>101</sup>

Beyond perceived meaning of the style, the Greek Revival's practicality certainly aided in its attractiveness to ambitious builders in growing towns. Maynard makes the claim that rather than these lofty symbols appealing to building owners, the style's popularity was most likely a result of tastes of the time and frugality, noting that for as imposing and grand as these structures

---

<sup>99</sup> Eggener, Keith, and W Barksdale Maynard. "The Greek Revival: Americanness, Politics and Economics." Essay. In *American Architectural History: a Contemporary Reader*, 132–41. London: Routledge, 2004, 134-137.

<sup>100</sup> Eggener, Maynard. "The Greek Revival: Americanness, 134-137.

<sup>101</sup> Major, Howard. *The Domestic Architecture of the Early American Republic: the Greek Revival*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1926. 5-6.

often appeared, they exhibited relatively restrained ornamentation, ultimately saving builders and owners time and money in their construction.<sup>102</sup> In her article, "Amateur Builders of the South: Their use of the parallelogram," Mrs. Thaddeus Horton, also speaks to the fortuitous timing of Greek Revival architecture reaching the south. Similarly expressing that while the Greek styles were becoming popular throughout the Western world, the ease and affordability of constructing in exclusively right angles was beneficial to the amateur builders of the south who often lacked formal training and access in more rural areas.<sup>103</sup> This logic also made the Greek Revival a more natural transition from vernacular styles. Talbot Hamlin notes the hybrid origins of the style, one that allows for both the ease of construction in its simplified forms and materials and that could simultaneously represent aspirational qualities of ancient Greek life that some sought to use as a model for American life.<sup>104</sup> Interestingly, he notes that several notable Greek Revival architects snubbed the idea of mimicking classical forms. In these instances, they found the beauty of the order of the Greek architecture appealing; however, they asserted that the central emphasis should be placed on economy and contemporary uses, which they felt endowed their work with a more progressive design. Among these architects was Robert Mills, who believed that a structure only looked good and truly worked if it was of the era. Hamlin draws the conclusion that the Greek Revival was therefore a natural evolution, mirroring society in the same ways that individuals seek to grow and improve.<sup>105</sup> These theories aptly demonstrate how complex the style was and how big a point of transition this period was in the new country's history. The

---

<sup>102</sup> Eggener, Maynard. "The Greek Revival: Americanness, 137-139.

<sup>103</sup> Horton, Mrs. Thaddeus. "Amateur Builders of the South: Their Use of the Parallelogram." *Architecture* 37 (January 1918): 127.

<sup>104</sup> Hamlin, Talbot. "The Greek Revival in America and Some of Its Critics." *The Art Bulletin* 24, no. 3 (1942): 244-58. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3046833>. 244.

<sup>105</sup> Hamlin, "The Greek Revival in America," 245.

Greek Revival created comfort and opportunity for those who could afford it in its fabrication of new from old.

Wilbur Caldwell states in his chapter about the Monroe Railroad that “Elam Alexander, perhaps more than any Southerner who lived before the Civil War, must have understood the possibilities for a joyous, hopeful relationship between the railroads and architecture.”<sup>106</sup>

Although this building predated his contract with Robert Collins to construct a part of the Central Railroad in 1840, its formal design assigns importance to the building and its mission, conveying it as an institution worth lasting. When the Second Bank of the United States dissolved in 1836, private banking enterprises were needed to hold funds.<sup>107</sup> States developed the common practice of investing in infrastructure and transportation projects which resulted in railway and canal companies often acquiring banking privileges, which naturally helped with capital since these infrastructure projects were such large undertakings.<sup>108</sup> Macon was a great example of this practice since the state founded it as a trade town and it would be home to several railroad banks. G. S. Callender, in his article “The Early Transportation and Banking Enterprises of the States in Relation to the Growth of Corporations,” claims that these banks were seen as particularly beneficial when the states could make money from surplus revenue invested in bank stock.<sup>109</sup> Interestingly, the more complete Greek Revival detailing in the Central Railroad Bank appears to create a distinct reference to the Second Bank of the United States building, an impressive Greek

---

<sup>106</sup> Caldwell, *The Courthouse and the Depot*,” 95.

<sup>107</sup>“Second Bank of the United States.” National Parks Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://www.nps.gov/inde/learn/historyculture/places-secondbank.htm>.

<sup>108</sup>G. S. Callender, “The Early Transportation and Banking Enterprises of the States in Relation to the Growth of Corporations,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 17, no. 1 (1902): pp. 111-162, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1884713>. 112-113.

<sup>109</sup> G. S. Callender, “The Early Transportation and Banking,” 160.

Revival structure with a prominent Doric portico designed by William Strickland after the Parthenon, and which appeared on former bank notes of the Second Bank of the United States. It is notable that the gap between these two buildings was eighteen-years, showing how long it took for the style to reach builders in the south. This similarity in forms also meant that the imagery was familiar, instilling a sense of stability and trust in these young new institutions.<sup>110</sup> The Central Railroad Company bank building displayed a grander, more fully realized style and proved the symbolic power that architecture is capable of, and in a particularly relevant way to Alexander as the railroad would be how he made himself best known in his time.



Figure 13. Second Bank of the United States. Photograph of the National Park Service entitled *Second Bank of the United States, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania*. Accessed at [https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online\\_books/butowsky2/constitution7.htm](https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/butowsky2/constitution7.htm).

---

<sup>110</sup>“Second Bank of the United States.” National Parks Service.

*Monroe Railroad and Bank Headquarters*

Various sources credit Elam Alexander with building the Monroe Railroad and Bank Headquarters, now the city of Macon's City Hall building. Although a variety of later sources attribute the building to Alexander, primary source material is lacking in accrediting the building to him. The building does have a Doric portico and an inverted laurel wreath in its frieze, design choices that would regularly appear in later works attributed to Alexander, and he was at one point significantly invested in the railroad.<sup>111</sup> However, since Alexander is the only well-known Macon builder of that era, a false attribution at a later date could certainly have been possible.

On the heels of his building for the Central Rail Road's banking operation, the Monroe Railroad and Bank is thought to have hired Elam Alexander as the builder for their new banking house on Cotton and First streets around 1836.<sup>112</sup> However, the railroad went bankrupt after the Panic of 1837, leading to the sale of the building.<sup>113</sup> Due to its masonry and stucco construction, Jerre Cowles purchased the building as a fireproof cotton warehouse that was said to have a capacity of six thousand bales of cotton.<sup>114</sup> Throughout the 1850s the city of Macon sought to fund a new city hall for the growing town, and, after failed attempts to construct a new building, the municipality bought the warehouse to convert it to their new city hall in 1860.<sup>115</sup> Within a twenty-year period, the building would go from serving as a cotton warehouse to the temporary

---

<sup>111</sup>Caldwell, *The Courthouse and the Depot*, 95.

<sup>112</sup> "Macon's City Hall Once Housed the Georgia Capitol," *The Macon Telegraph*, December 31, 1933; Young, Gholson, Hargrove. *The History of Macon*, 61.

<sup>113</sup> Anderson, *The Middle Georgia Historical*, 44.

<sup>114</sup> Young, Gholson, Hargrove. *The History of Macon*, 120.

<sup>115</sup> Lucas, "Members of the Alexander School Board," 3.

state capitol when the state government fled Milledgeville as Union troops took control of the town during the Civil War.<sup>116</sup>



Figure 14. Market Scene at Monroe Railroad and Bank Building. Illustration by , A. R. Waud entitled *Market Scene in Macon, Georgia*. Copy held at Washington Memorial Library Historical and Genealogical Room.

The building is depicted having a low hipped roof, creating the illusion of being flat. A Doric portico with six fluted columns leads visitors up the full width stair into the building. Two pairs of pilasters wrap around the side elevations of the building and support a wide, bracketed, decorative cornice with an inverted laurel motif that repeats along the building's entablature. Fenestration appeared to be relatively simple, with flat headed windows visible in images of the First Street elevation. The two-story building is slightly raised, with openings at the ground level for carts to move in and out of the building. The building later grew substantially through

---

<sup>116</sup>Jones, Mary C. "Macon's Heritage in Architecture" Second Edition 1957, Complements of the Macon Chamber of Commerce, Architecture, General File, Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room, 12-13; Jackson, "Georgia's Historic Capitals."

sequential additions and renovations, growing recessed wings to either side and a pediment over the building's central portico. However, the characteristic two story portico remains a distinguishing feature of the building that is the City Hall today. Ironically, the last major exterior renovation, which took place in the 1920s, would add the palmette acroteria that several of his later works would be distinguished by.

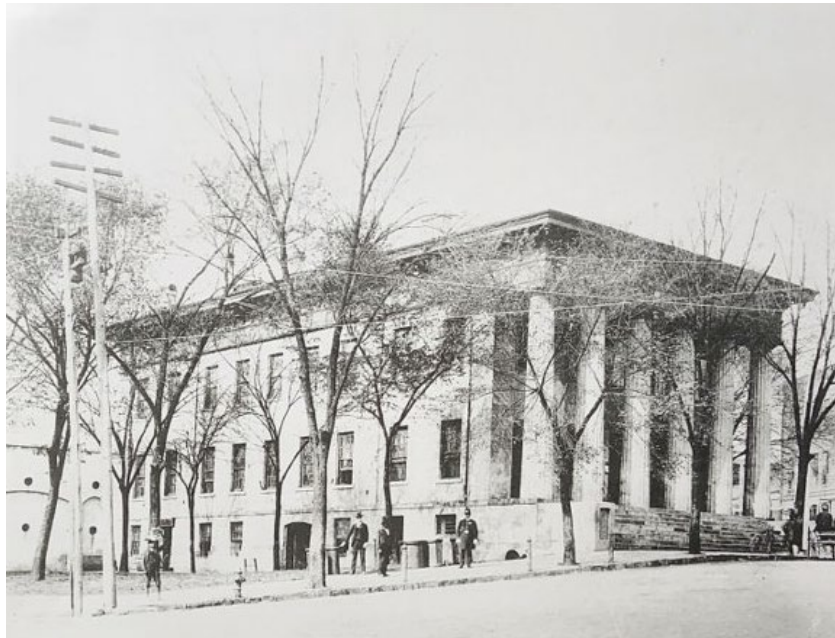


Figure 15. Monroe Railroad and Bank Building. Photograph entitled *Macon City Hall*. Copy held at Washington Memorial Library Historical and Genealogical Room.

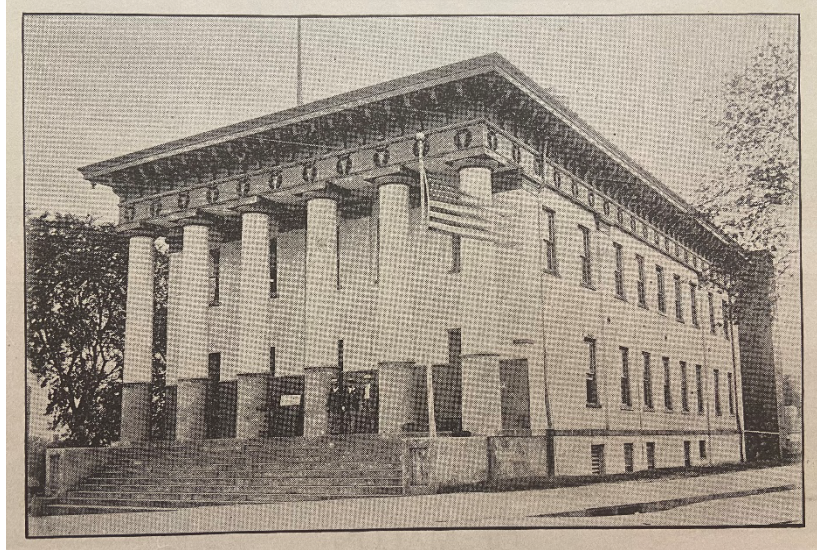


Figure 16. Monroe Railroad and Bank after becoming City Hall. Taken from *Macon Scenes 1898*. Macon, GA: City of Macon, 1898. 57.



Figure 17. City Hall after 1920s renovation. Photograph from “Miscellaneous Projects.” collection file from WPA Photographs: Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library. University of Georgia Libraries. Accessed March 19, 2021 at <https://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/selections/wpa/misc/macon.html>.

This structure, with its Greek Revival detail, served as a temple to the railroad. This theme has a strong presence in Alexander's work. The town saw railroads as the future, its source of income and growth. With so much hope and well-being tied to the railroad, the city's identity became dependent on it. Fittingly the building's later conversion to Macon's City Hall would serve as an apt harkening to the city's initial growth and founding as a trading town.

### *Wesleyan College*

On December 23, 1836 the state of Georgia granted a charter to establish the first college founded for the purpose of granting degrees to women.<sup>117</sup> Though many sources neglect to mention the building's architect when detailing the history of Wesleyan, others that do discuss the project's building professionals are nearly unanimous in naming Elam Alexander as the builder or designer.<sup>118</sup> Much like the Bibb County Courthouse, this was to be a public building that was both functional for its users and a statement for the community. This was a building that was going to assert Macon as a place of culture and education. The goal was to create a distinct and sophisticated landmark.

Local newspaper accounts at the time of construction verify Alexander as the contractor of the building, however they do not provide any attribution of the building's design. Mark

---

<sup>117</sup> Wesleyan College History. Wesleyan College. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://www.wesleyancollege.edu/about/history/wesleyan-college-history.cfm>.

<sup>118</sup> Young, Gholson, Hargrove. *The History of Macon*, 71.

Smith states in his paper, “Pioneer in Education,” that the outside walls had been laid when the original contractor, Mr. Evans, ran out of funds and could not meet the contract; at that point the contract was given to Alexander.<sup>119</sup> Other accounts, such as Ida Young, Julius Gholson, and Clara Nell Hargrove’s comprehensive history of Macon, list Alexander as the designer.<sup>120</sup> Elam Alexander appears to have been at least the contractor for the building.<sup>121</sup>

The building was set on College Street in a largely residential area neighboring the downtown. It was four stories tall and measured one hundred and sixty feet long by sixty feet wide. The symmetrical Greek Revival building was dominated by three story Tuscan pilasters that became squared columns at the center to create a recessed portico. The uppermost story steps inward in both length and width and was topped by a rectangular cupola.<sup>122</sup> The building features decorative elements of inverted laurel motif in the frieze of the main block of the building and also a raking coping above the cornice of the main three-story portion of the building and the crowning crenelated cupola. On the middle section of the building, set as a base for the cupola and set back from the main block of the building, the parapet walls slope upward to meet at a central point that is decorated with an anthemion acroteria.

---

<sup>119</sup>Smith, "Life of Elam Alexander," 3.

<sup>120</sup> Smith, "Life of Elam Alexander," 71.

<sup>121</sup> *Southern World: Journal of Industry for the Farm, Home and Workshop* (Atlanta), January 1, 1884. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers; *Georgia Messenger* (Ft. Hawkins), February 01, 1844. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

<sup>122</sup> Young, Gholson, Hargrove. *The History of Macon Georgia*. 72.

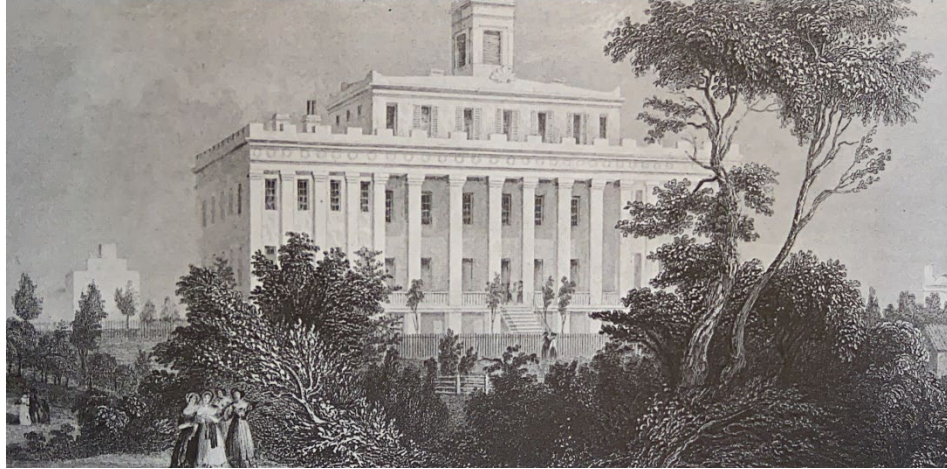


Figure 18. Wesleyan engraving c. 1845. Illustration from Mills Lane's *Architecture of the Old South: Georgia*. Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1996. 131.

Mills Lane, in “Architecture of the Old South,” wonders if Charles Cluskey, one of Georgia’s most prominent Greek Revival architects, may have also had a hand in the design of Wesleyan. After establishing himself in Savannah, Cluskey began working on buildings for higher education throughout the interior of the state. He designed the Medical College in Augusta and has been theorized as the architect for the Chapel at the University of Georgia and Oglethorpe University outside of Milledgeville, particularly since he had spent time in Milledgeville as the designer of the governor’s mansion.<sup>123</sup> Wesleyan set an impressive presence and showed similar detailing in its squared cupola, much like the Governor's Mansion and the old Oglethorpe. However, Wesleyan differs from these other institutions in its ornament. While the Governor’s Mansion and Medical College of Georgia convey similarly strong, solemn, classical elevations, Wesleyan expresses similar volumes but with added detail that sets it apart.

---

<sup>123</sup> Lane, Jones. *Architecture of the Old South: Georgia*. 128.

Much like Cluskey's streamlined ornament and graceful proportions, he also shows some creativity in his arrangement of plans. Although not a typical home, the Governor's Mansion, for example, stands out from the central hall Georgian plans that would appear in the bulk of the residences attributed to Alexander, by breaking up the entry hall with an impressive rotunda and spiral stair that draws attention up to the crowning cupola and breaks up the rooms of the left side of the entry to create an elongated formal ballroom. While the plan of the original Wesleyan is not known, none of Alexander's known plans demonstrate much creativity or attempts to reinterpret traditional plans. If Cluskey was involved in the building's early design, it appears to be a distinct departure from his typical style in the way it embraces ornament and decorative details.

This ornament also helps set the building apart within the larger style. Wesleyan is a somewhat unique example of a Greek Revival structure. Though still monumental, it shows some playfulness in its combination of volume and detail. The building is wide and anchored with an inset portico and mixed materials to break up any monotony. The fourth floor sits like a cake tier on top of the building with a similar squat proportion, and the whole composition is topped by a squared cupola. Each segment is capped by increasingly more elaborate decoration with a laurel wreath in the frieze of the first tier, a raking coping with acroteria on the second tier, and a continuous acroteria detail at the cupola that give the impression of crenellation which could be similar to a cornice detail taken from Plate XXVL of the "Architect or Complete Builder's Guide." Early images even show an additional low parapet with a crenellation detail above the laurel frieze. This mixed use of ornament can be seen as a trademark of the Greek Revival master builder. In his article "The Greek Revival in America and some of its critics" Talbot Hamlin seeks to reinforce this idea and disprove the notion that the Greek Revival

movement resulted in hundreds of copies of Grecian temples dotted across the country. He assesses the various forms in Howard Major's "The Domestic Architecture and Early Republic: the Greek Revival" and notes variety and creativity in different adaptations of Greek Revival architecture.<sup>124</sup> Hamlin further notes that while both Lefever and Benjamin show the Grecian orders, their fuller designs vary markedly from literal interpretations throughout their very popular pattern books.<sup>125</sup>



Figure 19. *Wesleyan Female College*. Photograph by A.J Haygood from *New York Public Library Digital Collections*. New York, 1870. The New York Public Library.

---

<sup>124</sup> Hamlin, Talbot. "The Greek Revival in America and Some of Its Critics." 247.

<sup>125</sup> Hamlin, Talbot. "The Greek Revival in America and Some of Its Critics." p 249.



Figure 20. Early photograph of Wesleyan. Photograph from Nancy Briska Anderson's *The Middle Georgia Historical Society Presents Macon, a Pictorial History*. United States: Donning, 1979. 36.

The use of these specific ornamental elements in the Wesleyan building are significant in Alexander's career as they would appear regularly in many of the later buildings attributed to him. Notably, the inverted laurel wreath frieze and raking coping punctuated by acroteria at its peaks and valleys. Later literature on Greek Revival architectural in Macon would claim that these recurring motifs were a calling card of the builder, using them as a way to determine linkages among buildings. It is notable that Macon has such a high concentration of buildings with these details, and ones which are applied in a nearly identical manner. However, this argument is limited in that these were also forms that appeared commonly in the pattern books of Minard Lafever as well as in some of Asher Benjamin's works.

Construction of Wesleyan took two years to complete, opening for the first class to enroll in 1840.<sup>126</sup> Interestingly, Alexander appeared to have become entangled in legal issues with the school when they were unable to fully pay him for the work. This resulted in the building being sold, purchased, and then donated to the Georgia Methodist church, from which the college received the name Wesleyan Female College.<sup>127</sup> After forty years of operation and gradual growth of the campus to include additional buildings, the structure underwent a massive renovation that transformed its appearance to that of a rambling Victorian complex.<sup>128</sup> In the late 1920s the school eventually moved to a larger site further away from the commercial center, where it resides today. In the early 1960s a fire destroyed the bulk of what remained of the downtown campus. Several years later, in pursuit of a new site for a federal building and post office, the City of Macon constructed their new central post office on the site, creating a near replica of the Alexander building.<sup>129</sup>

---

<sup>126</sup> Anderson, *The Middle Georgia Historical*, 36.

<sup>127</sup> *Southern World: Journal of Industry for the Farm, Home and Workshop* (Atlanta), January 1, 1884.

<sup>128</sup> Anderson, *The Middle Georgia Historical*, 36.

<sup>129</sup> Bozeman, Glenda Barnes. *Macon: Then and Now*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub., 2010. 83.



Figure 21. Wesleyan after renovation. Image from Christopher Huff's article "Wesleyan College." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, April 30, 2019.  
<https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/education/wesleyan-college>.



Figure 22. Post Office in location of former Wesleyan. Image taken from postcard entitled *New Federal Building and Post Office*. Accessed March 18, 2021 at  
<https://www.cardcow.com/378044/new-federal-building-post-office-macon-georgia/>.

### *Old Female Academy*

The Old Female Academy was constructed in 1844. In a break from monumental white columns, the building featured a small one-story portico. Elam Alexander is credited with the construction and design of the building at a cost of \$6,300.00 for the city's new female academy. After twenty years as the academy, the building was sold as a residence to the Branham family, only to be turned around a year later and sold to the Callaway family. The building remained a residence until 1894 when the Macon Hospital Association purchased it.<sup>130</sup> The building would spend the majority of its life as part of the hospital, to be absorbed by the campus and demolished in 1972.<sup>131</sup>



Figure 23. Old Female Academy. Photograph from Harold B. Brown' Historic American Buildings Survey, Engineering Record, Landscapes Survey "Callaway House, Pine Street, Macon, Bibb County, GA.". Library of Congress. Accessed March 18, 2021 at <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ga0058/>.

<sup>130</sup> Jones, "Macon's Heritage in Architecture." 13.

<sup>131</sup>Nichols, Fredrick D., and Francis B. Johnston. *The Early Architecture of Georgia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957, 119.

The building underwent little exterior change during its lifetime. Though similar in mass to Alexander's other residential buildings, with a five-bay façade and two floors, it looked notably different. It was a brick two story structure with a single-story portico over the entry. Paired Doric columns supported the small portico. Several elements were added at varying scale for cohesion. Notably, two story antae occupy the corners of the building and appear again at a smaller proportion leading to the slightly recessed entry, and a triglyph frieze that supports the heavy cornice of the building is repeated over the entry portico. Stone capitals on the engaged Tuscan columns echo stone window heads and sills throughout the building. The Historic American Building Survey documentation of the building notes that the entry included sidelights and transom light.<sup>132</sup> The Old Female Academy presents an equally refined but less grand statement than many of Alexander's previous works. Its smaller, more approachable, portico would be fortuitous, creating a more human scale entry for a building that would serve both residential and public functions.

---

<sup>132</sup> Brown, Harold B. "Callaway House, Pine Street, Macon, Bibb County, GA."

## CHAPTER 4

### PRIVATE BUILDINGS

#### *Introduction*

The Greek Revival homes of Macon have garnered much interest in histories of the town. Carl Fiess and Russell Wright state in a companion to their 1970 architectural survey, "A Guide to Macon's architectural and historical Heritage," that "the surrounding hills are crowned with private mansions of the most tasteful architecture."<sup>133</sup> Mary Calloway Jones, in her Macon Telegraph column wrote, "The families that occupied these homes formed the basis for sturdy achievements that are the pride of Macon today. Their homes were the centers of brilliant social life, and, at the same time, their brains and their energies made possible Macon's colleges and free schools, churches and public buildings, parks, transportation and water systems and all else that sought to build up rather than tear down."<sup>134</sup> Clearly authors would derive a good deal of symbolism from these structures. They saw them as representations of the early achievements of the town and therefore points of pride. Macon's rise as an economic center in the state during its early years lent it a corresponding identity as a cultural center, where the latest styles were increasingly constructed.<sup>135</sup> Elam Alexander's name is inherently tied to these laudatory statements as a contributor to several economic drivers as well a builder of many of these

---

<sup>133</sup> Feiss, Carl, and Russell Wright. *A Guide to Macon's Historic and Architectural History*. Macon, GA: Middle Georgia Historical Society, 1970, 24.

<sup>134</sup> Jones, Mary C. "Glories of the Old Holt Home Will Be Restored." *Macon Telegraph*, October 23, 1927.

<sup>135</sup> Feiss, Wright, *A Guide to Macon's Historic*, 27.

impressive homes. These feelings set the stage for Alexander to be widely celebrated in early accounts of the city's history, perhaps to the point of even overstating his contributions in the field of architecture.

This chapter outlines residential buildings attributed to Elam Alexander in a chronological order. This order follows the pattern set by the previous chapter, in order to track stylistic trends over the course of Alexander's career. While public buildings were more frequently documented, the private buildings attributed to Elam Alexander suffer from a lack of primary source material. This was not uncommon given the era, his stated propensity to avoid written documentation, and his lack of formal design training. Despite these challenges, many extant residences have been widely touted as works of Alexander's for years. Recurring trademarks can be seen across this catalogue of work which provide a compelling lens through which to compare these works.

### *Cowles Cottage*

Alexander's first suggested residential structure shows the same federal and neoclassical influences that could be seen in his previous works. Constructed for friend and railroad entrepreneur, Jerre Cowles, around 1830, the cottage was made of stuccoed masonry. The residence was built on a large piece of property on Walnut Street, in downtown Macon.<sup>136</sup> It was constructed with a five-bay façade that alluded to its Georgian cottage plan within. This was a common plan type in the region, consisting of a central hall with two symmetrical rooms on each

---

<sup>136</sup> Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander."4-5.

side of the hall.<sup>137</sup> The house has a small, hipped roof, Ionic portico with four columns, and two pilasters supporting an entablature with dentils and egg and dart detailing. Though the portico cornice ties into the roof line of the rest of the house, this ornamental treatment ends with the portico. Juxtaposed against the cornice of the remainder of the house, it distinguishes and draws the eye to the portico. Full width stairs lead up to the portico and entry, announcing the doorway with its fanlight and sidelights. Projecting keystones in jack arches add variation to the stucco exterior. On the sides of the building, two end chimneys are joined by low parapet walls. Although nonexistent now, the building once had a decorative balustrade that connected the parapets across the front and rear elevations of the building.<sup>138</sup> Upon substantial commercial growth in downtown Macon in the 1940s, new owners carefully disassembled, numbered, and reassembled the house in a suburban neighborhood on Rivoli Drive, where it remains today. When the building was moved, the new owners worked with local architect, Elliot Dunwody, to add an additional smaller wing to match another earlier addition. These two were set back and to the side of the building to maintain symmetry and highlight the original structure.<sup>139</sup>

---

<sup>137</sup>Cloues, Richard. "House Types." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, August 22, 2013. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/house-types>.

<sup>138</sup>Brown, Harold B. "Jerry Cowles House, 4596 Rivoli Drive (moved from 519 Walnut Street), Macon, Bibb County, GA." *Historic American Buildings Survey, Engineering Record, Landscapes Survey*. Library of Congress. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ga0035/>.

<sup>139</sup> Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander." 4-5.



Figure 24. Cowles Cottage on Walnut Street. Image “Jerry Cowles House, 4596 Rivoli Drive” from Harold B. Brown’s Historic American Buildings Survey, Engineering Record, Landscapes Survey. Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ga0035/>.



Figure 25. Portico detail on Cowles cottage. Image from *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Home of Alfred Sam by John McKay Jr.* United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, March 22, 1971, 9.

Several sources refer to the Cowles cottage as one of the finest examples of a Greek Revival cottage.<sup>140</sup> However, details such as the fan light, balustrade, and parapet walls insist that the building is not yet Greek Revival in style. Rather, these elements are more indicative of Federal modes seen in other earlier works of Alexander. This distinction is important in assessing the stylistic evolution in the buildings attributed to Alexander. This is a particularly relevant case study as Alexander is credited with building another home for the Cowles family just a few years later. A distinct shift is evident in the treatment of these two buildings. Additionally, Cowles would be an important connection for Alexander. Cowles typified the entrepreneurial businessmen who became symbols of the Greek Revival era. He was a prolific railroad investor who convinced the city to subscribe significant shares in the Central Railroad stock in 1836.<sup>141</sup> In 1837, he took advantage of the Monroe Railroad and Banking Company bankruptcy to convert its former building into a fireproof cotton warehouse and over the next ten years would be responsible for negotiations to keep the Monroe Railroad in Macon and form the Southwestern Railroad Company, which would coincidentally elect Elam Alexander as its first president.<sup>142</sup> He would also go on to be a founding trustee of Wesleyan and even serve as Mayor Pro Tem in 1836 when the working mayor led a group of volunteers in a conflict in Florida.<sup>143</sup>

---

<sup>140</sup> McConnell, Crumbley, *Macon Treasures Remembered*, 24; Brown, Harold B. "Jerry Cowles House, 4596 Rivoli Drive; Jones, Mary C. "Macon's Heritage in Architecture" 9.

<sup>141</sup> Anderson, *The Middle Georgia Historical Society*, 33.

<sup>142</sup> Young, Gholson, Hargrove. *The History of Macon Georgia*. 120, 132.

<sup>143</sup> Young, Gholson, Hargrove. *The History of Macon Georgia*, 72, 86.



Figure 26. Cowles Cottage on Rivoli Drive. Photograph from John Linley, entitled "Cowles-Sams House (Macon, Ga.)." 1975-08. Accessed March 18, 2021 at [https://dlg.usg.edu/record/dlg\\_larc\\_jlc0552#item](https://dlg.usg.edu/record/dlg_larc_jlc0552#item).

### *Woodruff House*

The Woodruff house was Elam Alexander's second house for Jerre Cowles and today is one of his most well-known structures. Built sometime around 1836, the house would be Alexander's first distinctly Greek Revival house, a conspicuous departure from his previous home for the Cowles family.<sup>144</sup> The two-story masonry and stucco building with its two-story portico crowns Coleman Hill, solidifying the building as a visible landmark throughout the city, even inviting comparisons to the Parthenon by some viewers.<sup>145</sup> Carl Feiss and Richard Wright, in their architectural survey of Macon, even called the building the, "epitome of the builder's art, a classical masterpiece, creates an impression of space, grace, and comfortable

---

<sup>144</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 9.

<sup>145</sup> Perkerson, Medora F. *White Columns in Georgia*. Rinehart &, 1952, 226.

elegance that characterizes the best in Macon's architectural heritage.”<sup>146</sup> Because of its high location, the site was previously used as a cattle pen and Native American trading outpost. This was the house that Elam was tasked with building for Cowles while the family resided in the Cowles-Sams cottage.<sup>147</sup> In 1836, when Jerre Cowles commissioned the building for \$16,000, his business ventures were growing substantially, he had been elected the new president of the Ocmulgee Bank, and was also working on connecting rail lines from Knoxville, Tennessee to Macon.<sup>148</sup>



Figure 27. Woodruff House in the 1970s. Image part of John J. McKay Jr.'s National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form for Cowles-Bond-Coleman-Cabaniss-O'Neal Home. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, June 21, 1971.

---

<sup>146</sup> Feiss, Wright, *A Guide to Macon's Historic*, 26.

<sup>147</sup> *The Macon Telegraph* (Macon), March 23, 1901. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

<sup>148</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 8; McConnell, Crumbley, *Macon Treasures Remembered*, 37.

The residence follows a Georgian plan with a full width ballroom at the back of the building and a floating rear central staircase that sits beneath a glass cupola that is largely hidden from the exterior of the building.<sup>149</sup> Daniel Baker, in the paper “The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander,” notes the stucco as being fawn colored. A Doric triglyph graces the cornice which sits above a colonnade of twenty-eight Doric columns that once wrapped around the body of the building. Above the cornice, a balustraded parapet nearly hides the low hipped roof and the glass cupola beyond. The front wall of the house is five bays wide with antae creating visual separation between the bays. Mary Calloway Jones claims that the entry that now displays a curving fanlight with a petal motif that is flanked by decorative curving trim details and recessed sidelights was once wide and rectilinear with sidelights and a transom.<sup>150</sup> The entry itself was also made more ornate with dramatic carvings of scrolls, fruit and even of wolf’s head. The entry is flanked by two pairs of Italianate brackets that support a wide cornice upon which sits a small curving balcony over the doorway.

---

<sup>149</sup> McConnell, Crumbley, *Macon Treasures Remembered*, 37.

<sup>150</sup> Jones, Mary C. “Macon’s Heritage in Architecture,” 6.



Figure 28. Woodruff house entry and stair. Photograph 32 from Mercer University accessed March 18, 2021. <https://gallery.mercer.edu/Gallery/Buildings/Macon/Woodruff-House/i-6Xbc4nM>.



Figure 29. Woodruff House later door. Photograph 58 from Mercer University accessed March 18, 2021. <https://gallery.mercer.edu/Gallery/Buildings/Macon/Woodruff-House/i-6Xbc4nM>.

At the time of construction, the house was located on the edge of town, unlike the Cowles family's previous cottage which resided in the business core. Likewise, the later Cowles house also set itself apart from its smaller predecessor with its full height Doric colonnade and legibly Greek Revival exterior. Its commanding presence was further reinforced by its imposing location on the hill. In 1847 Cowles sold the house to Joseph Bond, a wealthy central Georgia planter,

who is credited with the Italianate changes to the house around 1850.<sup>151</sup> In addition to the changes to the entry, he also added two single story wings to the rear of the house with wide bracketed Italianate cornices. These changes are theorized to have been a reaction to the grand design of the Hay House, located down the street, that was under construction around that time. After Bond, another local businessman, S. T. Coleman, purchased the house in 1879. It would be Coleman from whom the property's hill took its name. After several later owners, the building served as a private school from 1959 to 1975 and was later bought by Mercer University, who continues to operate it today.<sup>152</sup> The plan underwent some changes to accommodate the school but was largely restored upon purchase by Mercer.<sup>153</sup>

---

<sup>151</sup> Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander," 6.

<sup>152</sup> Jones, Mary C. "Macon's Heritage in Architecture," 6; Jones, Mary C. Mary Calloway Jones Photo Collection, Volume II, Item 14.

<sup>153</sup> McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Cowles-Bond-Coleman-Cabaniss-O'Neal Home*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, June 21, 1971.



Figure 30. Woodruff House today. Photograph 56 from Mercer University accessed March 18, 2021. <https://gallery.mercer.edu/Gallery/Buildings/Macon/Woodruff-House/i-6Xbc4nM>.

### *Collins House*

The Collins house, sometimes referred to as the Franklin-Ralston house for its later owners, was also constructed around 1836. Little documentation and few remaining images have led to mixed attribution in the history of this building. The Greek Revival house, known to have sat next door to the Woodruff house, was commissioned by Robert Collins. Collins was a friend of Jerre Cowles and would likely have desired a home of a similar impressive style.<sup>154</sup> Some authors have asserted that the building was not constructed until the 1840s when Dr. Marcus

---

<sup>154</sup> Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander," 3; Smith, "Life of Elam Alexander," 2; Harris, "Elam Alexander, the Builder," 8.

Franklin purchased the property.<sup>155</sup> However, in his biography of Elam Alexander, Butler claims that Alexander was indeed the builder, stating that he built neighboring houses for his associates and friends Collins and Cowles “on the hill.”<sup>156</sup> As a contemporary of Alexander’s, Butler presents the most reliable account. In 1881 Capt. J M Johnston bought the house and demolished it two years later to build a large red brick Victorian structure that was more consistent with the trends of the period.<sup>157</sup> Local architect Alexander Blair designed the replacement house.<sup>158</sup> Today Mercer University’s Law School occupies the site in a replica of Independence Hall constructed in 1954 for the Insurance Company of North America.<sup>159</sup>

---

<sup>155</sup>Kitchens, *Ghosts of Grandeur*, 186.

<sup>156</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 8.

<sup>157</sup>Brown, Leon. ““New Insurance Building to Replace Home Where Men Saluted Jeff Davis.”” *Macon Telegraph*, March 17, 1954.; Jones, Mary C. Mary Calloway Jones Photo Collection Box 5, item 45.

<sup>158</sup>Jones, Mary C. Mary Calloway Jones Photo Collection, Box 5, item 45.

<sup>159</sup> Kitchens, *Ghosts of Grandeur*, 187.

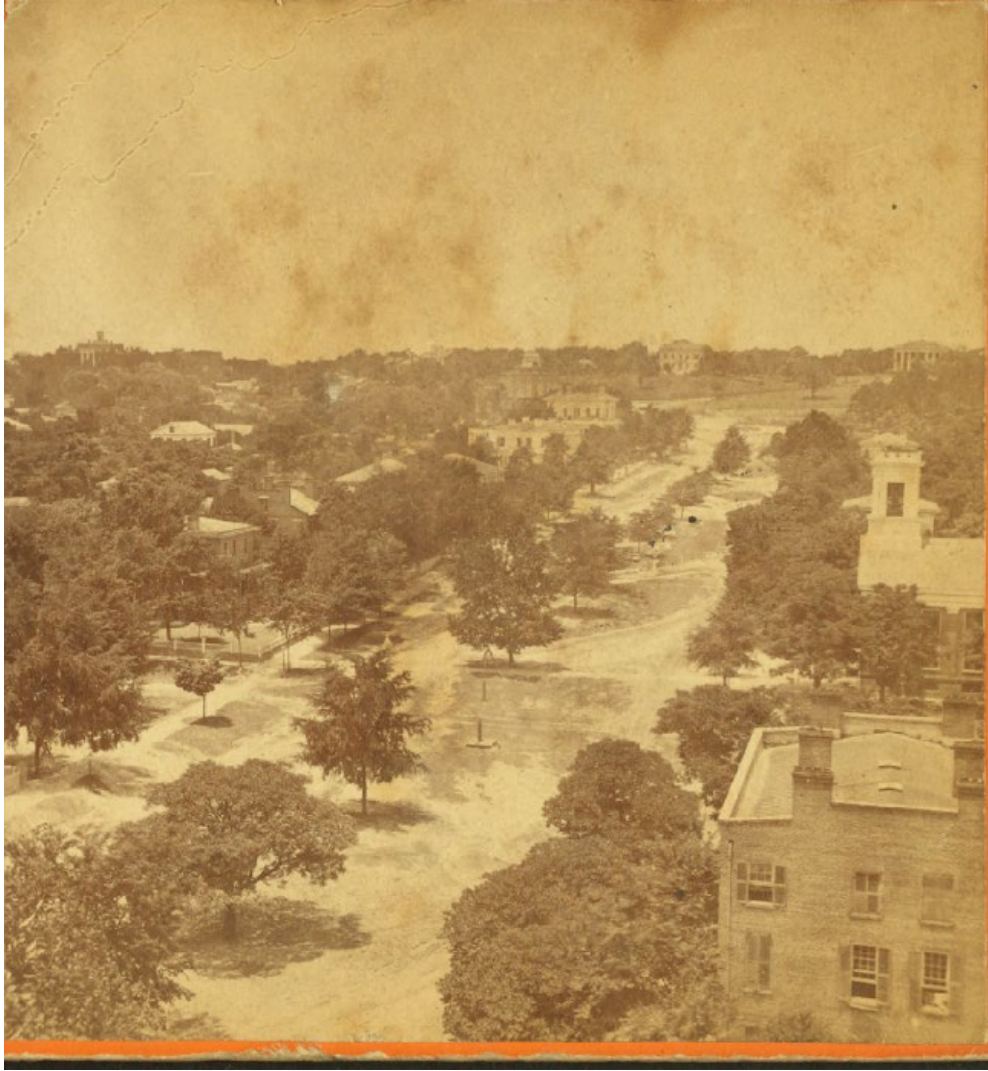


Figure 31. View of Coleman Hill with Collins and Cowles houses visible at top. Photograph by A.J. Haygood. *View of Macon, from Court House Dome North West*. From *New York Public Library Digital Collections*. New York, 1870. The New York Public Library. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e0-56a6-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>.

The building mirrors the Woodruff house in massing and colonnaded appearance, however the two have some striking stylistic differences. Below the crowning balustrade, engaged Corinthian columns appear to wrap around the entire two-story building. Single story porticos supported by two columns seem to lead visitors into the building on multiple elevations, with at least one of these single bay points of entry supporting a small balustrade on the second

floor. With entries visible on two remaining sides in the single remaining photo of the building, the house would have mostly likely had an orderly axial plan that look advantage of the landscape of views of the site.<sup>160</sup> Michael Kitchens, in Ghosts of Grandeur uses this information to infer that the house likely had four entries that sat at the end of cross halls. This proposes an interesting departure from the Georgian plans of Alexander's previous two residences and an uncommon design of the Greek Revival period.<sup>161</sup> Additionally, the stucco of the Collins-Franklin house was said to be painted a stark white in comparison to the fawn, buff color of the Woodruff house next door.

The style of the house is distinct among the other Doric full height porticos that would appear throughout Alexander's work. It shows a creative and rather unique application of Greek forms in its engaged Corinthian columns that wrap around the building. In fact, it would be the only example of Corinthian columns among his credited buildings. The balustrade, size, and enveloping columns give the neighboring Collins and Woodruff houses a similar presence. Perhaps the display of such different applications of full height columns and the noted color difference between the two buildings was a conscious decision to differentiate the two homes, especially since they were built at nearly the same time. Conversely, such sparse documentation, including only two known photographs, and quick turnover in ownership would have allowed for plenty of opportunity for alterations in between documentation. Apart from the design, this instance of a working relationship between Alexander and Robert Collins would be significant in Alexander's future business endeavors. Like Cowles, Collins was involved in a variety of

---

<sup>160</sup> Lewis, David Frazer. *A Tour through Time: an Architectural Guidebook to the Houses of Macon, GA*. Macon, GA: Historical Macon Foundation, 2010, 10.

<sup>161</sup> Kitchens, *Ghosts of Grandeur*, 187.

enterprises, including serving on the board of the Central Railroad and Bank, the committee seeking local support for the founding of Wesleyan, and as a participant in the General Railroad Convention.<sup>162</sup> Later Collins would be a primary collaborator of Alexander's, working together on expanding the Central Railroad and bringing the electromagnetic telegraph through Macon.<sup>163</sup>

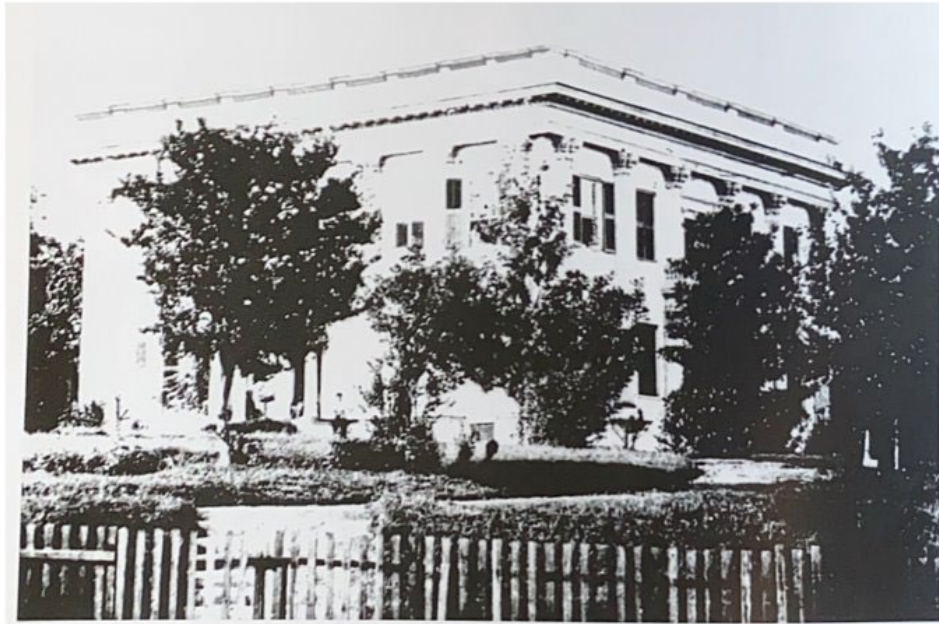


Figure 32. Collins House on Coleman Hill. Image appears in *Ghosts of Grandeur: Georgia's Lost Antebellum Homes and Plantations*. Book by Michael W. Kitchens, Virginia Beach: Donning Company Publishers, 2012. 228.

### *Randolph-Whittle House*

The Randolph-Whittle House is often discussed without mention of its builder. Most sources that cite Alexander as the master builder of the structure appear to do so out of

---

<sup>162</sup> Young, Gholson, Hargrove. *The History of Macon Georgia*. 78, 61, 70.

<sup>163</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 10, 15.

supposition based on the date and style of the building.<sup>164</sup> The building was constructed for Dr. Richard Randolph in 1837 on Jefferson Terrace, several blocks from the houses on Coleman Hill.<sup>165</sup> Randolph sold the house to Lewis Whittle in 1853. Coincidentally, Whittle would later serve as a founding trustee of the Alexander Free School.<sup>166</sup> The building remains a residence today.



Figure 33. Randolph-Whittle House. Image by Francis B. Johnston, entitled *Randolph House, Macon, Bibb County, Georgia*. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, n.d. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017886670>.

---

<sup>164</sup> Harris, Walter A. "Elam Alexander, the Builder," 7; Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander." 2.

<sup>165</sup> McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Randolph-Whittle House*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, February 1972.

<sup>166</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 23.

This residence would be the earliest frame house attributed to Alexander. The structure, capped appropriately by a low hipped roof, uses the Doric order on its full height, two-story portico. The shiplap façade consists of five bays which are emphasized by a stepped portico. The portico's four central columns project forward slightly and use a fluted pattern to distinguish themselves. The four rear columns behind, with the innermost two falling in line behind the outside columns of the front row, are squared. The entry is flanked by sidelights and a transom light, above which sits a small balcony.<sup>167</sup> The National Register for Historic Places nomination for the Randolph-Whittle house describes the interior as having a symmetrical, Georgian plan with two equal rooms off each side of the main entry hall and an impressive stair in the hall. The nominator further notes elegant interior trim around the fenestration, expressed by hand carved corner blocks. Interior images appear to show two smaller arched cased openings off the central hall, appearing to denote passage to more informal spaces beyond.<sup>168</sup>

The Randolph-Whittle house's portico configuration is a notable exception to the prostyle porticos typical of other Greek Revival buildings attributed to Alexander. This variation creates a deeper porch at the entry, defining it with varied expressions of columns. Alexander would use a mixture of fluted Doric and squared columns to define edges and create visual variety; however, this application introduces additional dimension and consideration about the users experience and use of the porch. Likewise, it creates appealing visual depth. Although descriptions of the building state that the exterior was practically unchanged, the building was

---

<sup>167</sup> Feiss, Wright, *A Guide to Macon's Historic*, 38.

<sup>168</sup> McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Randolph-Whittle House.*

said to have been rotated to face Jefferson Terrace. Updates or alterations could have been possible during the time that this major transition happened.



Figure 34. Randolph-Whittle interior with arched openings. Image from John J. McKay Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Randolph-Whittle House*, 11.

### *Second Collins House*

In 1838, Elam Alexander was tasked with constructing a second house for Robert Collins, located closer to the heart of the town at the corner of Mulberry and New Streets.<sup>169</sup> This

---

<sup>169</sup> Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander. 3-4.

would be another two-story stuccoed brick Greek Revival structure characterized by a full height prostyle Doric portico on the façade. The symmetrical main body of the façade was flanked by two recessed single-story wings. In contrast to the simple Tuscan columns that supported a clean, unornamented entablature and crowning balustrade, the two wings were capped with a dentiled cornice and crenulation. Window heads appeared to consist of either inset stone or a carved detail in the stucco that gave the appearance of simple tripartite lintels. The balustrade detail appears unusual for the Greek Revival era but regularly occurred in several early buildings attributed to Alexander. Notably, the Cowles cottage, Cowles-Woodruff House, and the Collins house on the hill all had balustrades above their cornices. Likewise, the crenulation was not a particularly common detail, but it did appear around the same time in the Wesleyan building.

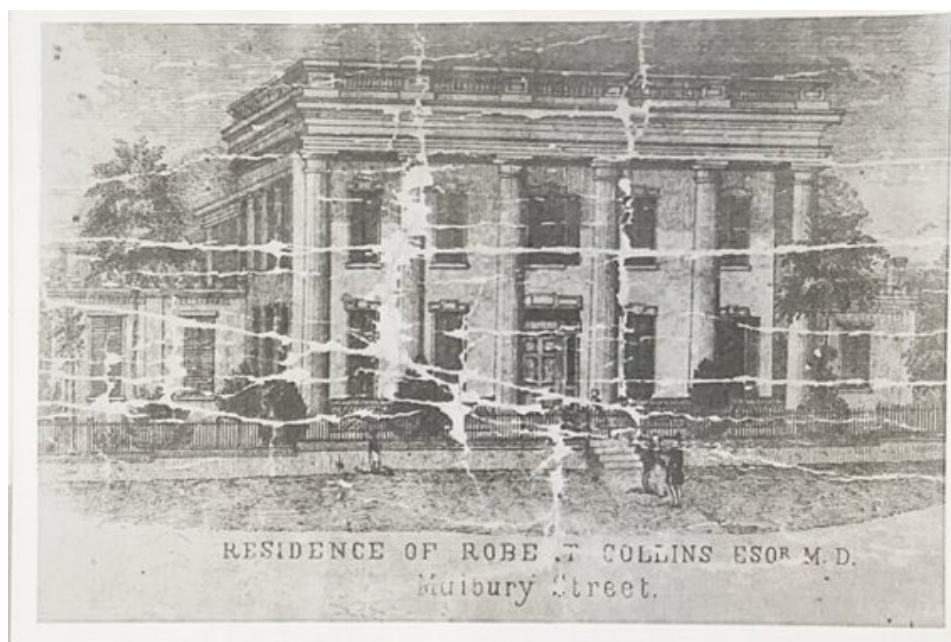


Figure 35. Second Collins House, 1854. Drawing taken from Edward A. Vincent's "Vincent's New Map of the City of Macon, 1854." Middle Georgia Historical Society, 1987.

Accounts cite this house as a lavish structure. It had a grand ballroom, with marble tile floors and stairway niches with tall pier mirrors and niches for statues. Like the Woodruff and

Randolph-Whittle houses, the ballroom spanned the full width of the house.<sup>170</sup> This exuberance was also expressed on the exterior in the form of a decorative wrought iron fence that surrounded the property and a collection of peacocks that inhabited the fenced yard.<sup>171</sup> Images from the turn of the twentieth century show the balustrade filled in to become a solid parapet wall that supports globe-shaped lighting fixtures. The building would go on to serve as space for a social club, private home, apartments, and finally office spaces, which is still its function today.<sup>172</sup> Though still standing, much of the original building has been obscured through previous renovations and additions that not only filled in the porch of the building but also appear to have added additional wings and floors to the building.



Figure 36. Second Collins House c. 1900. Image entitled *830 Mulberry St., ca 1900*. from Washington Memorial Library Historical and Genealogical Room.

---

<sup>170</sup> Jones, Mary C. Mary Calloway Jones Photo Collection, Volume II, item 17.

<sup>171</sup> Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander." 2.

<sup>172</sup>Jones, Mary C. Mary Calloway Jones Photo Collection volume II, item 17.



Figure 37. Second Collins House today. Photograph by Macon Music Trail. July 19, 2019. <https://www.maconmusictrail.com/robert-e-lee-building/>.

### *Holt-Peeler-Snow House*

About 1840 Judge Thaddeus Goode Holt commissioned another symmetrical five bay two-story design for his home on Georgia Avenue. Elam Alexander is cited by both the Historic American Buildings Survey report and the National Register of Historic Places nomination form as the builder-architect.<sup>173</sup> However, neither form used primary source material. Instead, they both rely on local architectural histories from the 1920s through the 1950s.

---

<sup>173</sup> Brown, Harold B. "Holt-Peeler House, Macon, Bibb County, GA" Historic American Buildings Survey, Engineering Record, Landscapes Survey. Library of Congress. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ga0301/>; McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Holt-Peeler-Snow House*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, June 21, 1971.



Figure 38. Holt-Peeler-Snow House, 1939. From Francis B. Johnston. *Thaddeus Goode Holt Peeler House, Macon, Bibb County, Georgia*. Photograph. Library of Congress. Washington, D.C. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://lcn.loc.gov/2017886658>.

This building featured a variety of architectural details seen in his previous works. A raking coping, punctuated by anthemion acroteria, like that which appeared on the original Wesleyan building, sat atop the building. The building displayed the same massing of earlier houses attributed to Alexander and was of frame construction with clapboard siding. The five-bay façade was expressed by a portico with six two-story fluted Doric columns. An unornamented frieze was accented by the decorative coping. A transom light and side lights surround the central entry. Just outside the side lights decorative brackets support a small

balcony. Continuous guttae create a course below the frieze, which was noted to have once displayed applied laurel wreaths, though they do not exist in any image of the house.<sup>174</sup> The house differentiated itself with a raised first floor, sitting atop a brick ground level. An intricate wrought iron railing takes advantage of this feature, following a horseshoe shaped stair and continuing across the width of the portico. Mary Calloway Jones, a Macon author who wrote extensively about the region's architectural history in the 1920s and 1930s with a particular interest in Federal and Greek Revival architecture, notes the distinct character of the curving stair and iron work for Macon. She asserts that the iron work was completed by a local iron worker, known by the single name McQueen.<sup>175</sup> The National Register for Historic Preservation nomination also draws a comparison between the curving stair and similar examples in Savannah designed by William Jay. The interior of the building is indicated to have also been based off on a central entry and featured similar door and window detailing as the Randolph Whittle house, with corner blocks showing anthemion rosettes.<sup>176</sup>

---

<sup>174</sup> McKay, *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Holt-Peeler-Snow House. 2.*

<sup>175</sup> Jones, Mary C. Mary Calloway Jones Photo Collection. Snow House supplement.

<sup>176</sup> McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Holt-Peeler-Snow House.*



Figure 39. Holt-Peeler-Snow House with raking coping. Photograph *1129 Georgia Ave. Holt Peeler Snow House ca 1900?*. Washington Memorial Library Historical and Genealogical Room.

Joseph Dannenberg bought the building in 1884 and created some modifications with architect Curran Ellis around 1890, most notably the extension of the portico around the eastern elevation of the building, and the addition of new sheet metal columns that created a curve around the corner of the building.<sup>177</sup> It is also believed that this is when the laurel wreaths were removed from the frieze and the raking parapet removed from the cornice.<sup>178</sup> Undated photos of the house, however, show the building with a rear addition and missing the wreaths, however not yet showing the removal of the parapet or the addition of the eastern portico expansion.<sup>179</sup> The building remains a residence today.

---

<sup>177</sup> Lewis, David Frazer. *A Tour through Time*, 18.

<sup>178</sup> Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander." 8.

<sup>179</sup> *1129 Georgia Ave. Holt Peeler Snow House ca 1900?*. Photograph. Macon, n.d. Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.

A notable feature of the Snow house is its low raking parapet with acroteria. This feature would be a common motif seen throughout buildings attributed to Alexander and the Snow house would be the first residential example of this detail. The detail most likely originated from Minard Lafever's pattern books. This detail specifically evokes the "Modern Front Door" shown in The Beauties of Modern Architecture, though in slightly different applications. Lafever uses the detail as a treatment to crown a door surround rather than an entire façade like the Snow house.<sup>180</sup> The idea to place it over the portico could have come from another pattern book, Asher Benjamin's Architect or Complete Builders Guide, in which he shows acroteria at the peak and corners of a true pediment.<sup>181</sup> Likewise, some other Greek Revival architects in the south had utilized a similar application over prostyle porticos. Notably, Charles Reichart used a broader application in the Charleston Hotel in Charleston, South Carolina in 1839 that broke the detail up into sections to fit a wider facade.<sup>182</sup> This type of reappropriation of forms from pattern books was a common practice among master builders. Clay Lancaster in his article, "Adaptations from Greek Revival Builder's Guides in Kentucky," notes that few elevations or interior details were interpreted exactly as shown in pattern books. Rather, these master builders began to develop their own vocabulary by using the books as more of a menu, taking bits and pieces from different plates to create their own unique designs.<sup>183</sup> In Lancaster's stated examples, he notes that it appeared that builders would choose a few favorite motifs and then replicate them in various

---

<sup>180</sup>Lafever, Minard. *The Beauties of Modern Architecture: Illustrated by Forty-Eight Original Plates Designed Expressly for This Work*. New York: D. Appleton, 1835. plate 1, 82.

<sup>181</sup> Benjamin, Asher. "The Builder's Guide : Benjamin, Asher, 1773-1845." Internet Archive. New York, Da Capo Press, January 1, 1974. <https://archive.org/details/buildersguide06benj>. plate XXL.

<sup>182</sup> Lane, Mills, Van Jones Martin, Gene Waddell, and Gene Carpenter. *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina*. Savannah, GA: Beehive Foundation, 1997, 196.

<sup>183</sup>Lancaster, Clay. "Adaptations from Greek Revival Builders' Guides in Kentucky." *The Art Bulletin* 32, no. 1 (1950): 62–70. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00043079.1950.11407903>. 64.

commissions, a tendency which can be seen across several of the later residences attributed to Alexander.<sup>184</sup> Likewise, Talbot Hamlin noted the appeal of these specific decorative elements stating that, “Lafever, on the other hand, liked especially the rosette and the anthemion and out of them developed a specifically American alphabet of delicate decorated forms as original as they are rich. His door cornices and crestings are especially noteworthy.”<sup>185</sup> The appeal of these forms is clearly seen in 1840s Greek Revival homes in Macon.

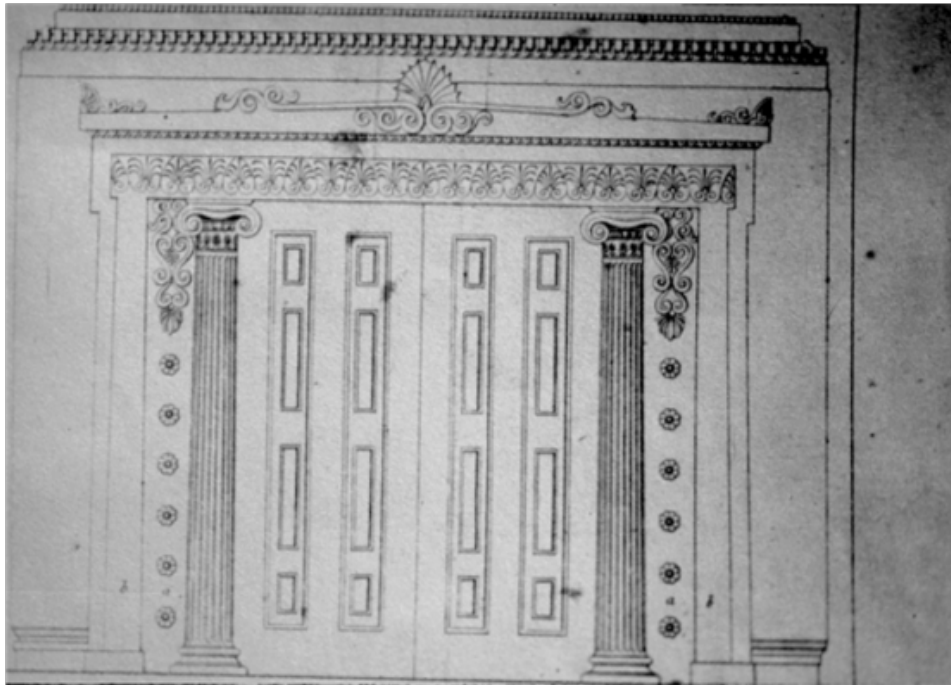


Figure 40. Sliding Door Design in Minard Lafever’s *Young Builder’s General Instruction*, 1835. Image from Clay Lancaster’s Photography Collection University of Kentucky. *Sliding Door Design - Note on Slide: Minard Lafever / Young Builder's General Instruction / Plate 22*. Accessed March 19, 2021.

<sup>184</sup> Lancaster, Clay. “Adaptations from Greek Revival Builders' Guides in Kentucky.” *The Art Bulletin* 32, no. 1 (1950): 62–70. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00043079.1950.11407903>. 70.

<sup>185</sup> Hamlin, “The Greek Revival in America and Some of Its Critics.” 249.

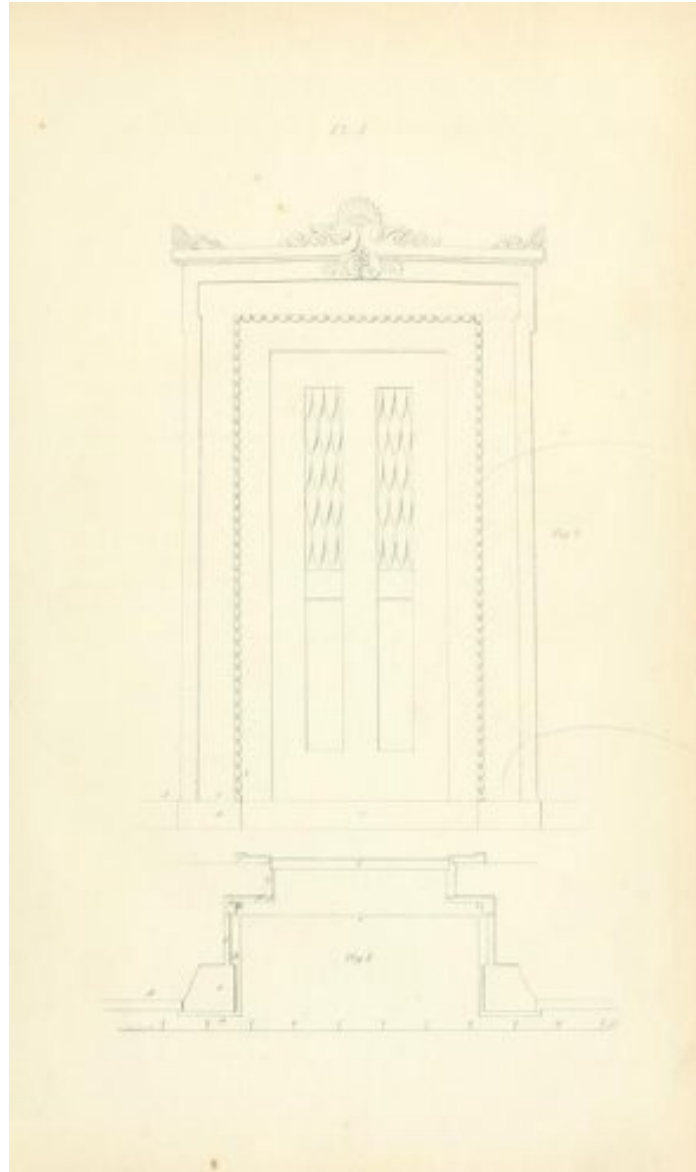


Figure 41. Minard Lafever doorway design from *The Beauties of Modern Architecture*. Plate 1, 82.

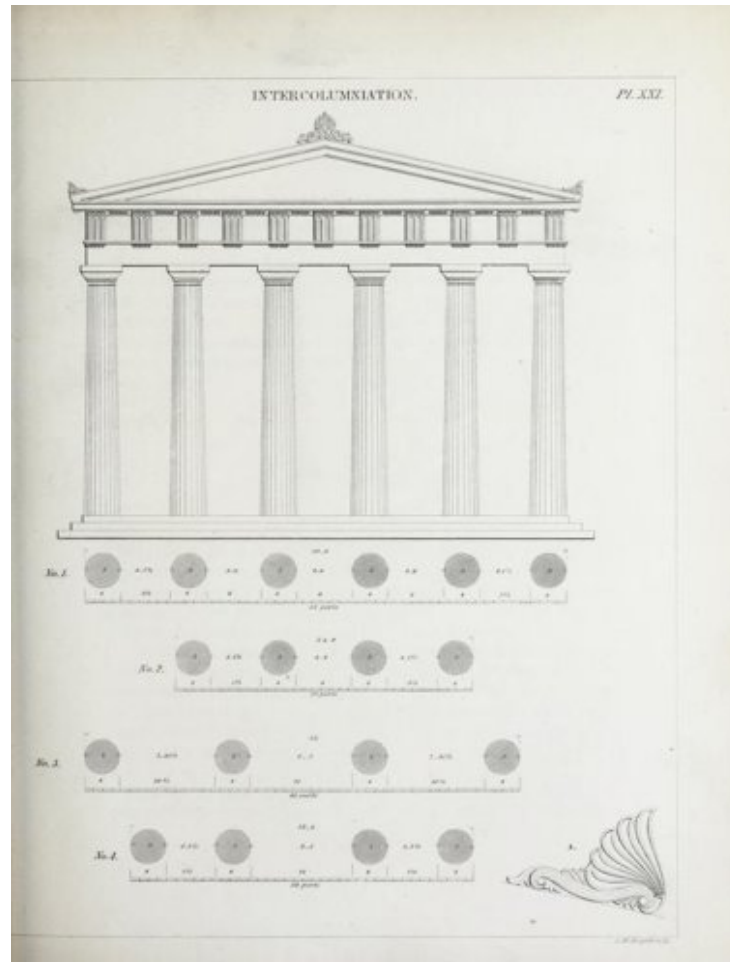


Figure 42. Asher Benjamin's acroteria on a pediment in *The Builder's Guide*, 1838. Plate XXL.

### *Leroy Napier House*

Commonly attributed to both Elam Alexander and Elias Carter, the Leroy Napier house was built around 1842.<sup>186</sup> Napier was a West Point graduate who owned a large amount of farmland as well as a brick manufactory. Unlike other farmers who held residences both within the city and on the land of their farming interests, this structure was placed in a more rural

<sup>186</sup> Feiss, Wright, *A Guide to Macon's Historic*, 89; Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander," 11.

setting, closer to Napier's farm. The house was built on 125 acres and later moved in 1920 for the construction of Lanier High School.<sup>187</sup> It was said to have formal gardens and a deer park on the substantial estate. Like many of the other more rural properties outside of the town's hub, the city eventually grew to meet the property. As a neighborhood emerged and the new school was constructed, the Napier house was turned to face Napier Avenue at the corner of Napier and Blackmon Streets. The house lost two side wings and its basement during its resituating.<sup>188</sup> In 2007 the house was moved again. The move took the house up to Morrow, Georgia to become part of the city's new development, "Olde Towne Morrow," an initiative that attempted to recreate an old town square fashioned from other historic buildings moved from across the state.<sup>189</sup>

---

<sup>187</sup> McConnell, Crumbley, *Macon Treasures Remembered*, 75; Feiss, Wright, *A Guide to Macon's Historic*, 89. Wright, 89.

<sup>188</sup> Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander," 11, 34.

<sup>189</sup> Staff. "Historic Houses Give Rise to Town Square in 'Olde Morrow'." Clayton News, December 9, 2015. [https://www.news-daily.com/news/historic-houses-give-rise-to-town-square-in-olde-morrow/article\\_9315abf0-6900-5726-b9ec-9dceaeefa4b4.html](https://www.news-daily.com/news/historic-houses-give-rise-to-town-square-in-olde-morrow/article_9315abf0-6900-5726-b9ec-9dceaeefa4b4.html).



Figure 43. Leroy Napier House on Napier Avenue, c. 1971. Photograph from John J. McKay Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Leroy Napier Home*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, February 1971, photograph supplement page 3.



Figure 44. Napier House in Olde Towne Morrow. Photograph from Robin Kemp's article "Olde Towne Morrow Could Become SWAT Training Ground." Clayton News, June 10, 2020. Located at [https://www.news-daily.com/features/olde-towne-morrow-could-become-swat-training-ground/article\\_aa34592a-66a1-11e9-af88-0385610ae5b3.html](https://www.news-daily.com/features/olde-towne-morrow-could-become-swat-training-ground/article_aa34592a-66a1-11e9-af88-0385610ae5b3.html).

The symmetrical façade is characterized by a full-width, five bay portico composed of four inner fluted Doric columns and two squared Tuscan columns that bookend the colonnade. Much like the Holt House, the Leroy Napier house features a band of continuous guttae below its frieze. However, the Napier frieze is dotted with applied inverted laurel wreaths. Past accounts indicate that the building was set up on a raised basement and had two single story wings on the sides on the main mass.<sup>190</sup> Similarly distinguishing the house from previous works attributed to Alexander is the presence of a full width second story porch that extends the entire depth of the

---

<sup>190</sup>Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander." 11.

main porch below in place of a single bay balcony that occurred in several of his other attributed works. Talbot Hamlin uses the Napier House to note an interesting evolution in Greek Revival house plans. While the front of the house follows a typical Georgian plan, it features a full width ballroom off the back of the central hall. Hamlin describes this feature as an inevitability of the evolution of older house forms to suit the increasing importance of social functions and large gatherings, appropriate to the increasing the size of this new era of houses.<sup>191</sup> This appears to be one of several times Alexander employed this technique as it was also seen in the Woodruff, second Collins, and Randolph-Whittle houses. The interior detailing also recalls earlier buildings with carved decorative corners on the window and door surrounds, like those that appeared in Holt Peeler Snow and Randolph Whittle houses.<sup>192</sup>

---

<sup>191</sup>Hamlin, Talbot, and Sarah Hull Jenkins Simpson Hamlin. *Greek Revival Architecture in America: Being an Account of Important Trends in American Architecture and American Life Prior to the War between the States*. London: Oxford University Press, 1944, 204.

<sup>192</sup>McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Leroy Napier Home*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, February 1971.

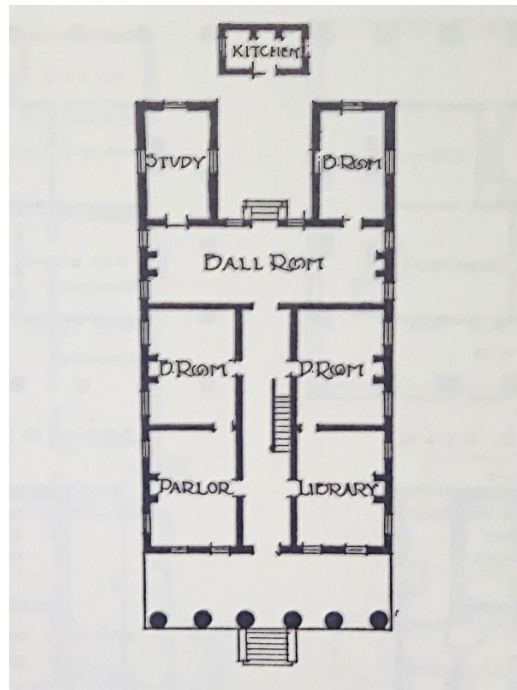


Figure 45. Plan of Napier House. Plan depicted on page 205 of Talbot Hamlin's *Greek Revival Architecture in America*. London: Oxford University Press, 1944,

Much like the acroteria of the Snow house, the inverted laurel wreath frieze on the Leroy Napier house would also be a recurring motif in Alexander's work that was derived from pattern books. The detail appears in The Architect or Builder's Guide in a frieze above a continuous course of guttae. The inspiration for the wreath was derived from Stuart and Rivett's depiction of the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus in their second volume of the Antiquities of Athens.<sup>193</sup> Although not uncommon, the wreath frieze would not be as popular of a treatment as a Doric or

<sup>193</sup> Stuart, James, and Nicholas Revett. "The Antiquities of Athens v. 2." Stuart, James; Revett, Nicholas; Reveley, Willey; Woods, Joseph; Cockerell, C. R.; Kinnard, W.; Donaldson, Thomas Leverton; Jenkins, William; Railton, W. Printed by J. Haberkorn, January 1, 1762. <https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/antiquitiesathe2stua>, Plate 4.

unornamented frieze in the Greek Revival period. The use of the motif in the Wesleyan building, the Monroe Banking and Railroad building, and several other houses created a notable concentration of this frieze treatment in Macon.

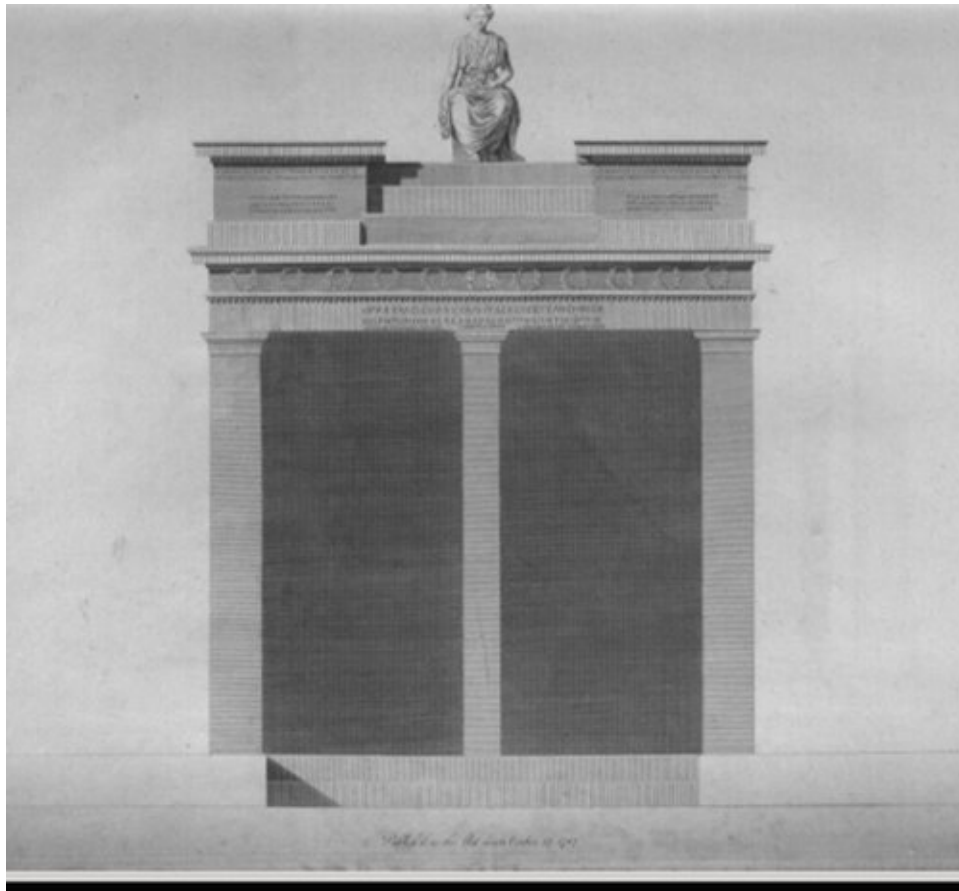


Figure 46. Stuart and Rivett's drawing of the Choragic Monument of Thrasyllos. Drawing copied from Stuart and Revett's "The Antiquities of Athens v. 2.", 176. 1762. Accessed <https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/antiquitiesathe2stua>.

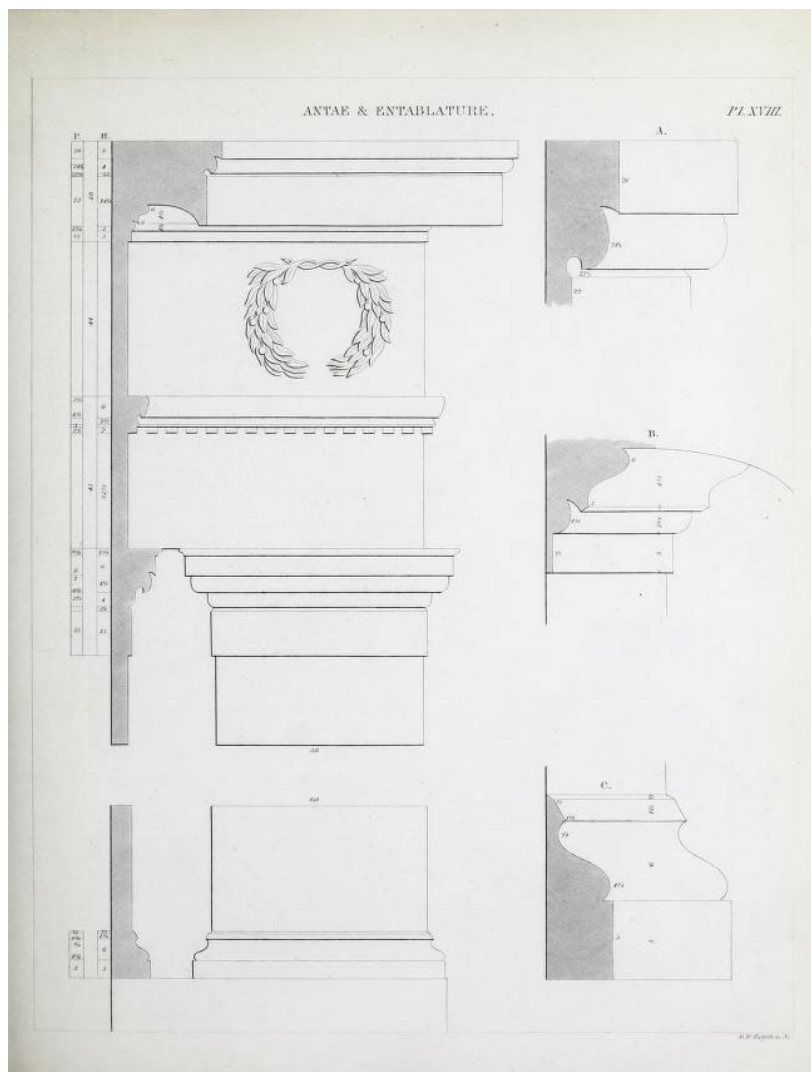


Figure 47. Asher Benjamin's Choragic Monument of Thrasyllus frieze and capital. "The Builder's Guide," 67, Plate XVIII.

*Solomon-Speer-Coleman-Birdsey House*

The Historic American Building Survey record of the Birdsey house on Vineville Avenue in Macon indicates that it underwent a dramatic change to its façade prior to its documentation.<sup>194</sup> Elam Alexander is said to have designed the house in 1843.<sup>195</sup> The two-story frame building reportedly underwent the addition of two wings on the façade of the building by contractor Richard Brinn not long after its construction. This alteration changed the original appearance of a prostyle portico and reappropriated the four fluted Doric columns to create a new U-shaped portico. A second story porch spanned the width of the interior length of the U and was echoed by a balustraded parapet that followed the cornice of the building. The house was demolished in the 1970s.<sup>196</sup> Mary Calloway Jones in her photo series, contests the date and insists that it was constructed in 1833, describing an original facade that was originally 5 bays across and "of the long house type."<sup>197</sup> This would have been a distinctly early date if the original building included a prostyle portico. Later resident, Peter Solomon, is said to have remodeled it to the U after he purchased it in 1840 from Thomas Hardeman.<sup>198</sup> The confusion regarding the construction date stems from whether Soloman bought the house or just the lot from Hardeman.

---

<sup>194</sup> Brown, Harold B. "Birdsey House, Vineville Avenue, Macon, Bibb County, GA" Historic American Buildings Survey, Engineering Record, Landscapes Survey. Library of Congress. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ga0002/>.

<sup>195</sup> Nichols, Johnston, *The Early Architecture of Georgia*, 119.

<sup>196</sup> Brown, Harold B. "Birdsey House, Vineville Avenue, Macon, Bibb County, GA."

<sup>197</sup> Jones, Mary Calloway Jones Photo Collection, volume 3, item 20.

<sup>198</sup> Brown, Harold B. "Birdsey House, Vineville Avenue, Macon, Bibb County, GA."



Figure 48. Solomon-Speer-Coleman-Birdsey House c. 1936. Photograph part of Harold B. Brown's Historic American Buildings Survey, Engineering Record, Landscapes Survey. Library of Congress. "Birdsey House, Vineville Avenue, Macon, Bibb County, GA" Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ga0002/>.

The building's individual elements are reminiscent of previous buildings attributed to Alexander, though the U-shaped portico is markedly different. The Historic American Building Survey form displays an interesting building plan as well. The plan indicates that before the wings were added to the front of the building, the building was likely on a central hall plan that was only one room deep which may have indicated a more modest home than the Georgian plans seen in others of Alexander's theorized works. An 1833 construction date would have predated the other prostyle porticos attributed to Alexander and his transition to legible Greek Revival designs. His involvement in the 1840s would have been more in line with his style at the time, however the absence of earlier images and conflicting documentation make this building especially difficult to attribute.

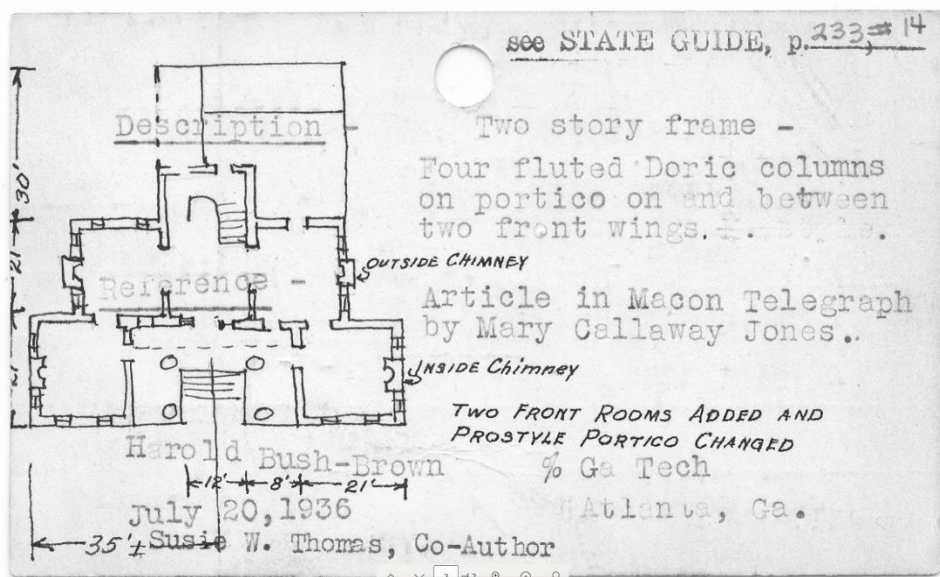


Figure 49. Plan of Solomon-Speer-Coleman-Birdsey House from Historic American Building Survey report by Harold B. Brown, 1939.

#### *Hugenin-Proudfit-Birdsey-Domingos House*

The Hugenin-Proudfit-Birdsey-Domingos House on Jefferson Terrace is reminiscent of a number of other houses attributed to Elam Alexander. Although accounts agree that the building was completed for the mayor of Macon, James Alexander Nesbit, in 1844, they are split on the attribution of the designer of the Domingo house since, like the Leroy Napier house, the Hugenin-Proudfit-Birdsey-Domingos house has also been attributed to Massachusetts architect Elias Carter.<sup>199, 200</sup> The proportions of the fluted full height Doric portico and distinctive laurel wreath frieze create a striking similarity between the two buildings. Sources that do attribute the

<sup>199</sup> McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Home of Angus Domingos*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, March 22, 1971.

<sup>200</sup> Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander." 7; Feiss, Wright, *A Guide to Macon's Historic*, 39.

building to Elias Carter appear to only do so because of these visual similarities, rather than any documentation. The symmetrical two-story frame house features a two-story prostyle portico with six fluted Doric columns over a shiplap facade. Two antae at the edges of the building echo the portico's columns. Continuous guttae below a laurel wreath frieze support a heavy cornice and low hipped roof beyond. Smaller antae and an architrave announce the entry, with its side lights and transom, and add balance to the small balustraded balcony on the second floor.<sup>201</sup> The interior of the house is based on the common central hall plan but varies from a Georgian plan with a full-length ballroom on the left side. Like earlier buildings, doors and windows were outfitted with carved surrounds with decorative corners; however, the National Register nomination for the home states that the trim in the ballroom was more ornate to match the formality of the room.

---

<sup>201</sup>Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander," 7.



Figure 50. Hugenin-Proudfit-Birdsey House. Photograph part of Francis B. Johnston collection. Entitled *Hugenin-Proudfit-Birdsey House, Macon, Bibb County, Georgia*. Library of Congress. Washington, D.C. . Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2017886679/>.

### *Napier-Small House*

Skelton Napier, the brother of Leroy Napier, sought to build his own country house in 1846.<sup>202</sup> The brothers' homes are strikingly similar in design. Accordingly, both were

---

<sup>202</sup> McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Leroy Napier Home*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, February 1971.

inconclusively attributed to both Elam Alexander and Elias Carter.<sup>203</sup> The two-story building is of frame construction with shiplap siding covering the porch under the prostyle portico consisting of six columns. The central four columns are in the fluted Doric order, while the two outermost columns are squared antae. Antae at the corners of the building mirror the edge piers. Like Wesleyan College and the Holt Peeler Snow House, the Napier Small House featured a sloping parapet with acroteria at its peak and corners. Another recurring element is seen in the inverted laurel wreath motif in the frieze below the building's heavy cornice.<sup>204</sup> Like the other iterations of this design, a course of continuous guttae sit below the decorative frieze. Two smaller pilasters and architrave frame the wide entry with its side lights and transom. Above the main entry, a small balcony is supported by two decorative brackets with a smaller door beyond. Rather than blending in with the windows on the upper story, the doorway onto the balcony is accompanied by its own sidelights and transom. Like previous houses, the Small house is based on a Georgian plan and displays carved corner surrounds on its interior doors and windows.

---

<sup>203</sup> Feiss, Wright, *A Guide to Macon's Historic, 101*; Harris, Walter A. "Elam Alexander, the Builder," 7.

<sup>204</sup> Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander," 10-12.



Figure 51. Napier-Small house, c. 1940. Francis B. Johnston photograph, *Ralph Small House, Macon, Bibb County, Georgia*. Photograph. *Library of Congress*. Washington, D.C. . Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2017886665/>.

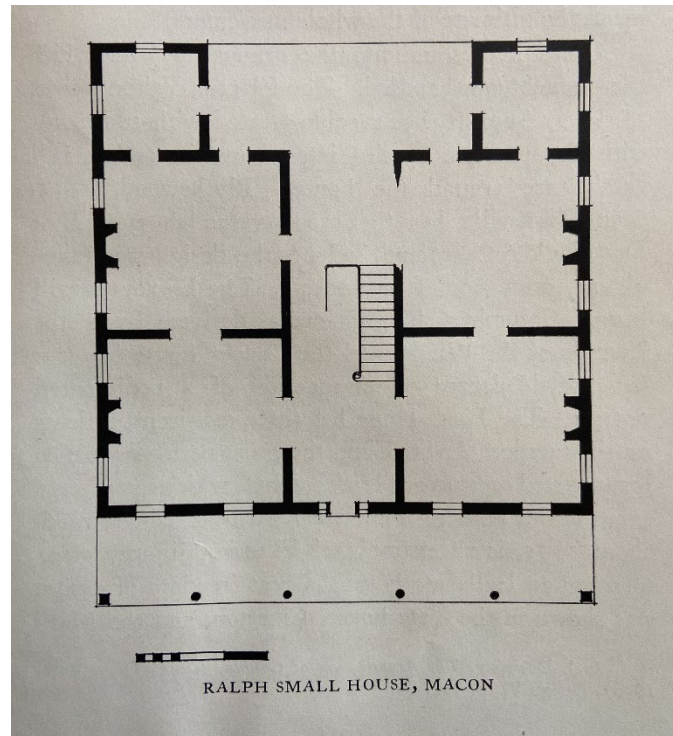


Figure 52. Napier-Small House plan. Plan depicted on page 131 of Nichols and Johnston's *The Early Architecture of Georgia*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957.

Upon the house's construction, it sat at the end of a long drive facing Vineville Avenue, along an allee of cedars.<sup>205</sup> The building's surroundings eventually became more suburban, and the house was rotated to face the new Rogers Avenue to the east. Baker states that at this time a lower basement level was removed from the house.<sup>206</sup> The house remains a residence today and of all the buildings featuring the raking coping with ornamental anthemion acroteria, the Napier Small house is the only one to have kept the feature.

The conjecture that Elias Carter designed several houses in Macon originates in Talbot Hamlin's *Greek Revival Architecture in America* in his discussion of the Ralph Small house. He

---

<sup>205</sup> Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander," 10-11.

<sup>206</sup> Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander," 10-11.

refers to it as “exquisite” and “perhaps the most refined of the characteristic Georgia examples” of Greek Revival houses.<sup>207</sup> After praising this two-story colonnade type house that was common in the piedmont regions of Alabama and Georgia, he acknowledges that the designers of these buildings are difficult to confirm. Hamlin wonders if the Small house could have been a product of a travelling northern designer spending time in the south. In particular, the proportions of the Small house remind him of the proportions of Simeon Burt House in Worcester, Massachusetts that was designed by New England architect, Elias Carter. Since Carter was known to have designed the First Baptist Church in Savannah around 1833, he raises the question if the Small house could also have been a product of Carter’s.<sup>208</sup> Hamlin ultimately concludes that, “behind such excellence in of design as is apparent in the best of these houses one is forced to infer a designer - a true architect in work if not in name,” presuming a higher degree of sophistication in its design.<sup>209</sup> Later writers would reproduce Hamlin’s theory of Carter’s work in Macon, creating the impression of increasing credibility over time.

The Simeon Burt house does have similar proportions to the Napier-Small house and even has a low parapet with acroteria detailing topping its cornice. However, its parapet is much more ornate and it supports a striking round cupola at the top of the building. Additional analysis of Carter’s buildings throughout the northeast show much more variety than the ones attributed in Macon. Carter’s work ranged from streamlined and restrained with proportions similar to the full height porticos in Macon, to more varied and adaptable, showing a wider range of house types and application of ornament. This distinct combination of the laurel wreath frieze,

---

<sup>207</sup>Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America*, 209.

<sup>208</sup>“First Baptist Church.” Georgia Historical Society. Accessed March 19, 2021. [https://georgiahistory.com/ghmi\\_marker\\_updated/first-baptist-church/](https://georgiahistory.com/ghmi_marker_updated/first-baptist-church/).

<sup>209</sup> Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America*, 209-210.

anthemion acroteria on the raking coping, and recurring use of antae at portico ends all with nearly identical detailing and proportions indicates that the designer of these Macon houses most likely lived or spent a considerable amount of time in Macon due to their considerable recurrence in houses of the 1830s and 1840s. Additionally, Carter's name does not appear in any newspaper articles during his supposed time in Macon and at the time it was common for New England architects to stay after working in the south. The probability of Elam Alexander taking part in the design and construction of these houses appears significantly more likely than Elias Carter. As noted by Lancaster, this very literal repetition appears to be more in line with a master builder who used a set of motifs as a menu than a trained northern architect with a much wider design vocabulary.



Figure 53. Simeon Burt House. Image depicted in Talbot Hamlin's *Greek Revival Architecture in America*, London: Oxford University Press, 1944. page XLII.

### *Raines-Carmichael House*

Though its design has often been attributed to Elam Alexander because of its classical elements and striking presence at the corner of College Street and Georgia Avenue, the Carmichael house has been identified as an explicit interpretation of a pattern published in The Architect designed by William H Ranlett. The style was dubbed the “Anglo Grecian Villa” in the publication.<sup>210</sup> Though the building was said to have been constructed in the late 1840s for Cadwallader Raines, the book was not published until 1849, which would have most likely resulted in a later construction date, closer to 1850.<sup>211</sup> Authors have claimed that Elam Alexander acted as the contractor of the building, a comfortable assertion since many of his designs appear to take elements from various pattern books. This house, however, stands out as a much more literal interpretation of a widely published design.<sup>212</sup> The impressive building, with the distinct form of a Greek cross, features a free hanging staircase that winds all the way up to the building’s octagonal cupola. Alexander certainly could have been the builder of the Carmichael house, with its distinctly Greek interpretation of the Ranlett’s rendering adding antae

---

<sup>210</sup> Ranlett, William H.. *The Architect: A Series of Original Designs, for Domestic and Ornamental Cottages and Villas, Connected with Landscape Gardening, Adapted to the United States, Illustrated by Drawings and Ground Plots, Plans, Perspective Views, Elevations, Sections, and Details, Vol. I [-II]*. United States: William H. Graham, 1849. Plates 31 and 32.

<sup>211</sup> Lewis, David Frazer. *A Tour through Time*, 20.

<sup>212</sup>Feiss, Wright, *A Guide to Macon’s Historic*, 37; McKay, John J., J. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Carmichael House*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, March 25, 1971.

at the corners and anthemion in the cupola's parapet. The Carmichael house earned the title of a National Historic Landmark for its striking design and architectural integrity.<sup>213</sup>



Figure 54. Raines-Carmichael House. Photograph by Francis B. Johnston, entitled *Raines-Miller-Carmichael House, Macon, Bibb County, Georgia*. Library of Congress. Washington, D.C. . Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2017886660/>.

<sup>213</sup>Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander," 6.

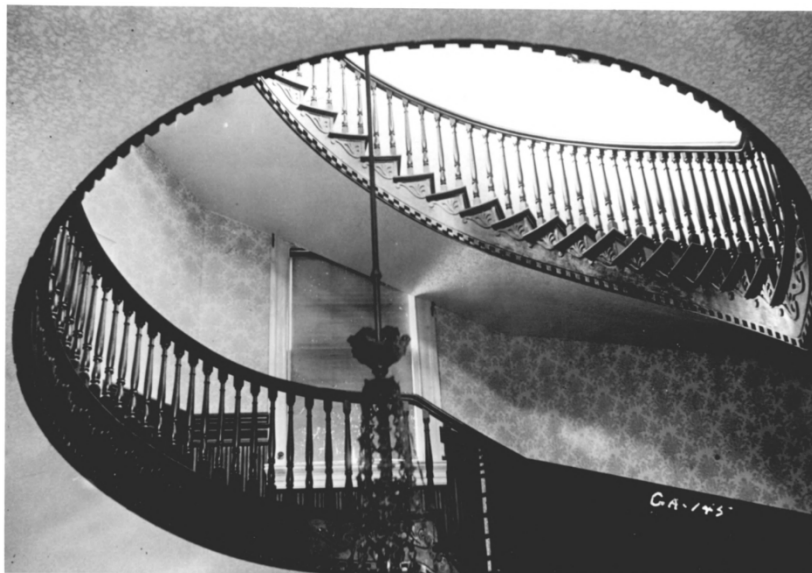


Figure 55. Central stair in Raines-Carmichael House. Image from John J. McKay Jr's. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Carmichael House. 9*

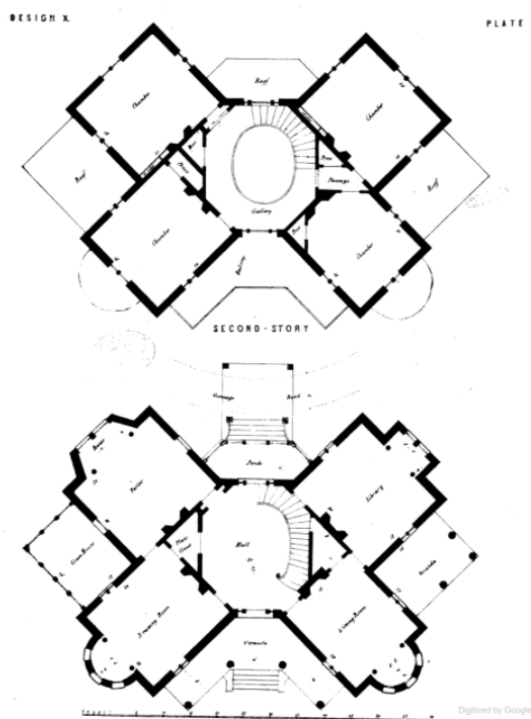




Figure 56. Plan and rendering from The Architect by William H. Ranlett. Pates 31, 32. 1849.

### *Nesbit House*

Though, or perhaps because, the Nesbit house depicted the prototypical massing of the Greek Revival style home that Elam Alexander was known for, this structure's builder is widely debated. It has been attributed to other master builders as well, including Treat Hines.<sup>214</sup> Constructed for Eugenius Nesbit, an early Macon lawyer who would go on to serve in the state's first supreme court, the earliest images and descriptions of the building depict a two-story masonry and stucco façade with a full height portico and low hipped roof. Eight fluted Doric columns span the façade with engaged fluted columns at the edges. A balustrade sits atop the dentiled cornice, and a wide vented cupola/clerestory sits at the top of the roof. The central entry has two smaller windows to the side but does not include sidelights or a transom. Rather, the entry includes an engaged temple front door surround with a dentiled pediment. A second

---

<sup>214</sup> Kitchens, *Ghosts of Grandeur*, 189.

generation of Nesbits would live in the house after Eugenius, until it was sold to Mrs. Clisby Wise. Mrs. Wise renovated the building in 1899, but the scope of her improvements is unknown.<sup>215</sup>

The full height colonnade of Doric columns, heavy cornice and low hipped roof are reminiscent of some of the other residences attributed to Alexander, however this example is also unique in its wider proportions and pedimented door surround. One anomaly has emerged, however, in the study of historic photos of the impressive second empire house that once sat to the right of the Nesbit house, belonging to the Hanson family. These photographs lack precise dates, with one from the 1950s while the other is approximated around 1900. The ca. 1900 photo appears to show the Nesbit house as a simple two-story structure with a single-story porch that spans the width of the building, implying a less ostentatious design without the grand columned porticos that characterized so many Greek Revival homes. If all of the other images date to after the renovation of Mrs. Wise in 1899, then it could be that the 1900 image shows the house prior to the renovation, and the Greek Revival styling of the building was a product of its turn of the century renovation rather than its original design. It is reasonable that this style would have appealed to the owner given the presence of other Greek Revival structures on Georgia Avenue and its proximity to Bond Street on Coleman Hill. The house would later be destroyed in 1972 along with some of its neighbors, to make way for a new utility company building.

---

<sup>215</sup> Kitchens, *Ghosts of Grandeur*, 188-189.



Figure 57. Nesbit House. Image 1034 Georgia Avenue, 1953 Nesbit-Wise-Winship House (demolished 1972). located at Washington Memorial Library Historical and Genealogical Room.



Figure 58. Hanson house c. 1900. Photograph 1018 Georgia Avenue ca 1900. Copy held by Washington Memorial Library Historical and Genealogical Room.



Figure 59. Hanson house c. 1950. Photograph *1018 Georgia Avenue, 1951 Hanson House (demolished 1972)*. Washington Memorial Library Historical and Genealogical Room.

### *Cannonball House*

Accounts of the Cannonball House agree that in 1853, Judge Asa Holt commissioned Elam Alexander to design a house at 856 Mulberry Street.<sup>216</sup> Holt was a local judge who also owned a fifteen-hundred acre plantation in Jefferson County. Typical of Alexander's residential work at this time, the house was designed in the Greek Revival tradition and completed between 1853 and 1854. Unlike many of his other attributed buildings with symmetrical five bay facades,

---

<sup>216</sup>Jones, Mary C. "Asa Holt Home Was Gun Target During Civil War." *The Macon Telegraph*, May 20, 1928.

this intown home was designed with a side hall plan. The result gave the impression of one of the surrounding Greek Revival houses that had been cut in two.<sup>217</sup>

The interior of the Cannonball house also features a familiar window and door surround with carved acanthus corners. The three-bay façade has an entry in the right-most bay, with the living spaces taking up the left side of the house. A two-story portico also appears at the Cannonball House, adding balance to the façade and supporting a wide, heavy, though comparatively unornamented, cornice.<sup>218</sup> Older images of the building show a raking coping with anthemion acroteria, like other houses in this section, that formerly sat atop the entablature.<sup>219</sup> Antae stand at the front corners of the house, though the columns that they mirror are of the Ionic order. Sidelights and a transom surround the entry. Moving to the left, a small balcony sits on the second floor of the central bay, with a taller window that doubles as an entry to the balcony. The frame structure exhibits a shiplap façade and clapboard side elevations.

The side elevations were originally four bays across, each demarcated by two stories of windows. Though missing the decorative pedimented window head of the façade's fenestration, these windows share the six over six sash form with those on the front. An additional bay has been added in the rear, when a sleeping porch was filled in later in the house's history. Holt added a small, one story addition to the right-side elevation to serve as his office. This addition was moved to the left side of the building where it remains today.<sup>220</sup> This small addition did not

---

<sup>217</sup> Brown, Harold B. "Canning House, 854-56 Mulberry Street, Macon, Bibb County, GA" Historic American Buildings Survey, Engineering Record, Landscapes Survey. Library of Congress. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ga0041/>.

<sup>218</sup> Brown, "Canning House."

<sup>219</sup> *Art Work of Macon. Published in Twelve Parts.* The W.H. Parish Pub. Co., 1894.

<sup>220</sup> The Cannonball House. *Self Guided Tour.*

interfere with the serene Greek Revival form. However, it upheld the formality of the style with a symmetrical three bay façade, announcing it as a proper entry and place of business. Several outbuildings also accompanied the house on its intown lot. It is unclear if Elam Alexander had any role in the design or construction of these structures. Only one remains today. It is a simple two-story structure constructed of local brick. This building witnessed a number of different uses during its time period, but it achieves notable significance as it is believed to be one of the few remaining examples of urban slave quarters in Georgia.<sup>221</sup>

The Cannonball house plan is markedly different from the central hall plans described throughout this chapter. However, Macon did appear to have a precedent for this plan. The Old Christ Church Rectory on Walnut Street conveyed a similar side-entry Greek Revival façade. The detailing on the rectory is reminiscent of several Alexander buildings with a fluted Doric portico, guttae below its frieze, and corner antae.

The house gets its name as one of the only instances of physical damage inflicted during the Civil War in Macon. On July 30, 1864, a lone cannonball from the battle of Dunlap Hill just outside the city is said to have hit the sand sidewalk in front of the house and bounced upward, hitting one of the Ionic columns on its way into the parlor and eventually the hall. Damage from where the ball made contact with the column and hallway floor can still be seen today.<sup>222</sup> Today the house operates as a house museum, telling the stories of the inhabitants, Macon, the Civil War, and the Alpha Delta Pi and Phi Mu sororities that were founded at Wesleyan. The remaining outbuilding is also interpreted for the museum. It displays a lower story with the

---

<sup>221</sup> Taylor, Wallace, Jennings, *Images of America: Macon*, 25.

<sup>222</sup> McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Cannon Ball House*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, March 22, 1971.

original kitchen and dining room of the house as well as servant and slave quarters upstairs. Judge Holt's former office addition now serves as the museum entry and gift shop.<sup>223</sup>

The Cannonball house represents another difficulty in attribution. In the same way that the Greek detailing was added to the Nesbit house to create the appearance of an 1840s Greek Revival dwelling, distinct detailing was at some point removed from the Cannonball House that that could have been used to provide a notable visual link to a specific builder. Because of the age of these buildings and limited existing documentation, a variety of changes could easily have occurred to keep up with evolving tastes of the passing eras.



Figure 60. The Cannonball house. Photograph part of John McKay Jr.'s *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Cannon Ball House*, 3. 1971.

---

<sup>223</sup> The Cannonball House. *Self Guided Tour*.



Figure 61. Side of Cannonball house showing former raking coping. Image “East on Mulberry Street,” from *Art Work of Macon. Published in Twelve Parts*. The W.H. Parish Pub. Co., 1894.



Figure 62. Old Christ Church Rectory. Photograph by Francis B. Johnston, *Old Christ Church Rectory, 211 Walnut Street, Macon, Bibb County, GA*. Library of Congress. Washington, D.C. . Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ga0059/>.

## CHAPTER 5

## CONCLUSION

*Limitations*

The exact inventory of the buildings that Elam Alexander worked on cannot yet be known. The largest challenge in determining attribution of his works is a lack of documentation. Further, sources that do explore his career and buildings are heavily repeated by later works, sometimes bringing their accuracy into question. Several factors fed this lack of documentation. The age of these buildings, partnered with the informality of the design profession in a new town such as Macon, make original drawings of such buildings rare. Further, Alexander had a noted aversion to, or perhaps difficulty in, writing.<sup>224</sup> This likely also means that he did not place a lot of value on retaining and documenting any building plans there may have been. His will is the only remaining instance of his voice, and its survival is primarily due to its reprinting as a legal document and copies made by acquaintances.

Although no drawings of Alexander's work exist, some early photographs and renderings did survive. However, these are still not as plentiful as photos would be in later years as technology improved. Because of large gaps between images of buildings, or a lack of imagery to begin with, we do not always know all of the changes made to buildings over time. As the country changed following the war, so did popular taste. Several of Alexander's buildings

---

<sup>224</sup> Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 21.

underwent dramatic changes to their style and shape. The Nesbit house is a primary example of errors in attribution occurring because of modifications. Since most of the available images of the building showed a prostyle Doric portico, authors theorized that it could be one of the Greek Revival houses of Alexander's creation. However, like other older houses at the turn of the twentieth century, it was instead renovated to mimic the look of grand Greek Revival columns.<sup>225</sup> Undocumented changes, such as this, create room for error in attribution. This problem can be amplified when a narrow array of sources is used regularly enough that theories gain credibility as fact. Several sources were widely repeated among later works, particularly in National Register nomination forms and Historic American Building Survey forms. Examples of these widely repeated sources include local historians Mary Calloway Jones and Blythe McKay, Fiess and Wright in their 1970s survey of Macon and its accompanying narrative, Fredrick Nichols in his survey of Georgia architecture, and Talbot Hamlin who was notably subjected to this effect in his discussion of Elias Carter in Macon.

Lacking or contradictory documentation would also result in omissions in attempts to tally Alexander's buildings. Beyond the buildings described in this work, several other extant and well-known buildings in Macon have been theorized to had been constructed or designed by him. For instance, newspaper articles also attribute the First National Bank building in Macon to Alexander.<sup>226</sup> Little information is written about this building and available images constitute a cropped photograph of a commercial building that is shaded by trees. Some sources also give the building's date as just after 1865, two years after Alexander had passed.<sup>227</sup> Likewise, the Sylvan

---

<sup>225</sup> Lewis, David Frazer. *A Tour through Time*, 32.

<sup>226</sup>*The Macon Telegraph* (Macon), March 23, 1901.

<sup>227</sup>Anderson, *The Middle Georgia Historical*, 45.

Lodge of 1842 displays distinct Greek motifs, but its form varies dramatically from other buildings attributed to Alexander and sources largely exclude mention of a designer except for a few who attribute it to Alexander.<sup>228</sup> Similarly, one of the most reliable sources of Alexander's work, John C. Butler, mentions two houses built for James Goddard around the Coleman Hill residences of Jerre Cowles and Robert Collins between 1836 and 1838; however, images of these houses are absent and writing on the Goddard houses is largely ambiguous or contradictory.<sup>229</sup> Some authors claimed that the Isaac Scott house, later the Bonneybrae-Bedgood house, was originally one of the Goddard houses. Others claim that it was demolished after Isaac Scott bought the property. Regardless, no images exist of either house (or at least before substantial later changes were made).<sup>230</sup> Conversely, buildings like the Old Christ Church Rectory and the Thomas Brewer house on Vineville bear strikingly similar proportions and features to other residences credited to Alexander, however neither appear in any of the literature that discuss his catalog of works.<sup>231</sup> All of these buildings have been omitted here because their attribution is so tenuous.

---

<sup>228</sup>Baker, "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander."

<sup>229</sup>Butler, *The Alexander Free School*, 8.

<sup>230</sup> Jones, Mary C. Mary Calloway Jones Photo Collection.

<sup>231</sup> Anderson, *The Middle Georgia Historical*, 83.

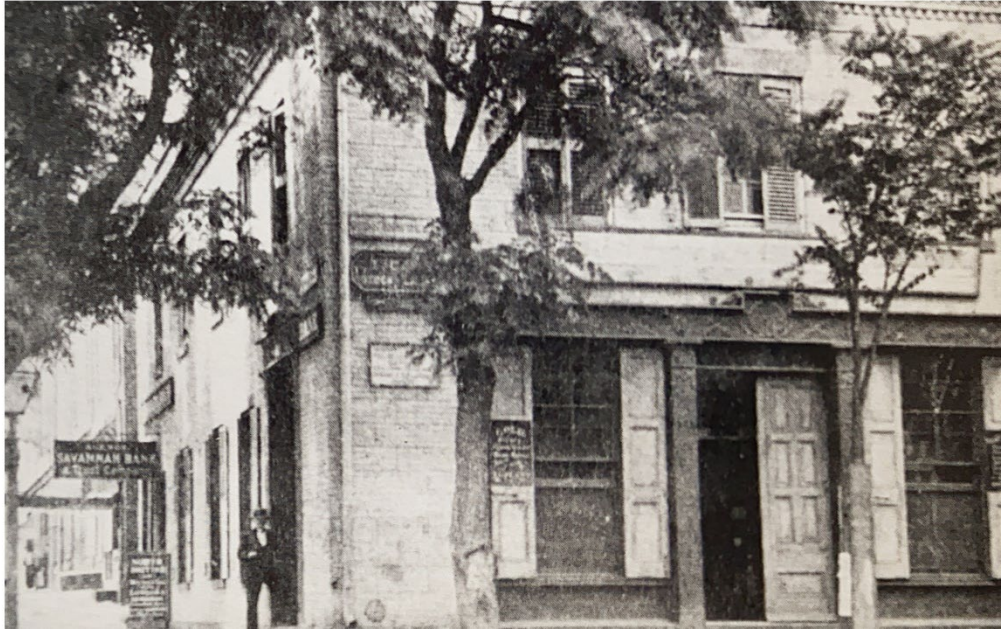


Figure 63. First National Bank Building. Image copied from Nancy Briska Anderson's *The Middle Georgia Historical Society Presents Macon, a Pictorial History*. United States: Donning, 1979, 45.



Figure 64. Sylvan Lodge. Photograph 159 Rogers Ave Monroe-Goolsby House ca 1910. From Washington Memorial Library Historical and Genealogical Room.



Figure 65. Brewer House. Image copied from Nancy Briska Anderson's *The Middle Georgia Historical Society Presents Macon, a Pictorial History*. United States: Donning, 1979, 83.

### *Impact*

Despite, the absence of critical documentation and first-person narratives, this work succeeds in providing significant insights into Alexander's career in Macon and the buildings attributed to him. Analysis of Alexander's work, set against the context of other master builders in the Greek Revival era and various Greek Revival structures in Macon, sheds light on his exact role in building design. Despite repeated local assertions, Alexander's involvement in construction most likely resembled that of a master builder instead of an architect. Alexander did not have a particularly extensive design vocabulary. However, it is likely that his eye for design and building proportions evolved over time as his experience grew. His later houses exhibited elegant proportions that would be praised by noted architectural historians such as Fredrick Nichols, Talbot Hamlin, and Howard Major. His experience in carpentry in his early life gave him access to pattern books and exposure to other builders such as Joseph Davidson with design experience. The Carmichael house provides an interesting case study of this type of work,

showing an example of Alexander explicitly using a pattern book design later in his building career when his skill level did not require it.

Over time, he appears to have settled into a comfortable style based on motifs learned from years of following pattern books. As Lancaster theorizes, Alexander created a menu of pattern book details that he was comfortable with. Wesleyan is an exemplification of this menu and the key to tying Alexander to later homes such as the Small, Napier, and Holt houses. Wesleyan, which primary sources confirm as having been built by Alexander, contains a raking coping with anthemion acroteria, crenulation above a cornice, engaged antae, and a frieze of inverted laurel wreaths. It is compelling that the acroteria on a raking coping, inverted laurel wreath frieze, and combination of Doric columns and antae were used in such a specific way and in enough buildings to create a saturated sampling of them in a town of Macon's size. This pattern convincingly suggests that these buildings show the hand of the same carpenter or designer. These details appear in some variation in the Central Railroad and Banking Building, the Monroe Railroad and Bank, Whittle House, Wesleyan College, Holt-Peeler-Snow-House, Leroy Napier House, Heuginin-Proudfit-Birdsey House, Napier-Small house, and Cannonball house. These three motifs are used in some capacity in nearly all of the buildings attributed to Alexander at the end of the 1830s and in the 1840s, implying that Alexander had refined and streamlined his style at this point. In the earlier part of the 1830s he hints at this tendency in his repetition of a balustrade over cornices, even over his early Greek porticos despite it being a holdover from the Federal style.

This repetition in forms appears important in distinguishing him as a master builder rather than architect. While other architects of the era, such as Charles Cluskey in Georgia or Elias Carter in New England, started to refine forms and get creative with plans, the buildings

attributed to Alexander, while elegant, show little desire to innovate. This is especially true in plan, as the houses attributed to Alexander rarely diverged from a Georgian, central hall plan aside from the few that included an addition of a ballroom to the back of a house. In interiors, this reliance on using what he knew is again apparent in his consistent use of a carved corner block on interior openings.

This recurring interior ornament conveyed an additional message. As the corner detail and his raking coping both came from popular pattern books, Alexander's use of Lafever and Benjamin's pattern books, with their highly ornamented interior detail, is also apparent in his exteriors. This juxtaposition of interior and exterior treatments implies an interesting decision in that more ornate treatments, originally designed for interiors, were used for exterior applications. While the interiors were equally styled and graceful, their form was limited to a squared surround with delicate carved detailing. The ostentation in design was clearly reserved for the exterior with the more dynamic form of the raking coping and crowning acroteria, implying a desire to show off one's tastes and wealth to the broader audience outside of one's home. It may also be reasoned that the conspicuous consumption inherent in these grand buildings helped fuel the repetition of ornament by making these motifs locally popular, leading clients to want similar designs as a type of status symbol.

The evolution in style of these buildings reflects growth in Alexander's life (beyond the inevitable changes in popular taste that would have been conveyed in pattern books). When overlaid against his biography, they provide a fuller picture of his achievements and development in Macon. He arrived in the town and began working on public buildings as a builder. As he established himself as a builder, similarities between the buildings he designed indicate that he took on more public commissions and gradually increased his residential

clientele, forging valuable business connections in the process. Eventually his business endeavors were consumed with infrastructure initiatives, with very few buildings noted as having been constructed after the mid-1840s. The 1840s were a decade of development for Alexander. Many of the buildings attributed to him during this time look distinctly alike, implying that he had devised a signature style, one that worked for him and had gained popularity among residents. The corresponding degree of confidence in residential construction overlapped with his first big infrastructure project, the expansion of the Central of Georgia Railroad with Robert Collins, which set the stage for further projects on a larger scale that would link Macon with the broader southeast region. Clearly, Alexander had built up enough wealth, social connections, and confidence to take on such high-stakes projects.

Constructed for his wealthy and influential clientele, these buildings were meant to be seen and to make a statement of wealth and sophistication. Wilbur Zelinsky states in his article, "The Greek Revival House in Georgia," that "This was the era when the frontier was moving forward at breakneck speed and the cotton boom was in its first, fine fever. Some of Georgia's newly created wealth was converted into grandiose houses which still mark the course of the tide of slavery and cotton westward across the state. For thirty years, until the very eve of war, the experiment in the new medium went on with unflagging vigor among members of the upper class."<sup>232</sup> A sense of optimism was certainly imbued into these buildings. The distinct use of wreaths, a Greek sign of victory, and grand temple-like structures built on hills celebrated the frontier spirit and embraced everything that was new, profitable, and aspirational. Nearly any book overviewing the history of Macon, and particularly its architecture, contains reference to at

---

<sup>232</sup> Zelinsky, Wilbur. "The Greek Revival House in Georgia." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 13, no. 2 (May 01, 1954): 9-12. Accessed April 01, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/987684?ref=no-x-route:8465de8f705521dfb0fa6275af21787f>, 9.

least one of Alexander's attributed works, many contain multiple. These are accordingly grand houses that evoke the taglines of the Greek Revival style. In David Frazier Lewis's guide to Macon's architecture, "A Tour Through Time," the inverted laurel motif is used on the dedication page and as a symbol throughout the book, clearly denoting it as an identifiable symbol of the town and its buildings.<sup>233</sup> Elam Alexander certainly had a lasting impact. The businesses that he established transformed the city both physically and economically, and the school system remains tied to his name today. His extant buildings, however, are important as visible reminders of the early stage of Macon's history set within its modern context.

#### *Further Research*

This work focuses on analyzing Elam Alexander's architectural contributions to Macon and refining his catalog of buildings. Additional contextual studies would help to further add dimension and depth to this analysis and provide a broader foundation upon which to understand Alexander's work amidst lacking firsthand narratives and documentation. A topic of particular value would be an analysis of other builders and craftsmen in middle Georgia. Sources note a few other builders in their discussion of Alexander's buildings. These include: Treat Hines who was believed to have been involved in the Nesbit House; McQueen, an iron worker said to have built the iron stair rail for the Holt-Snow house; and Joseph Davidson and George Smtih whom Alexander worked with on the county courthouse. A broader context of other builders in the area could help provide a better understanding of certain skills, specialties, styles, and educational backgrounds of other builders in the region.

---

<sup>233</sup> Lewis, David Frazer. *A Tour through Time*, 7.

Further investigation into the individual buildings could also bolster our understanding of them. In-depth examination of the buildings, like work performed in a Historic Structure Report, would provide better analysis of changes to the buildings over time. By taking a look at particular methods and technologies used in these constructions, not only can better dating occur, but also specific trademarks can be observed and more conclusively linked to certain craftsmen and builders. This type of analysis would be a significant asset in the absence of other written documentation.

Additionally, more comprehensive photographic, cartographic, and legal research could also provide insights. Because of the dates of the city's early photography, much of it is presented without context. Just as images of the neighboring house of the Nesbit house reveals lost insights into its developmental history, a thorough exploration of historic photography could provide additional information on Macon's developmental history.

## Bibliography

- 1018 Georgia Avenue, 1951 Hanson House (demolished 1972)*. Photograph. Macon, n.d. Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- 1018 Georgia Avenue ca 1900*. Photograph. Macon, n.d. Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- 1034 Georgia Avenue, 1953 Nesbit-Wise-Winship House (demolished 1972)*. Photograph. Macon, n.d. Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- 1129 Georgia Ave. Holt Peeler Snow House ca 1900?*. Photograph. Macon, n.d. Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- 159 Rogers Ave Monroe-Goolsby House ca 1910*. Photograph. Macon, n.d. Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
32. Photograph. Macon. Mercer University. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://gallery.mercer.edu/Gallery/Buildings/Macon/Woodruff-House/i-6Xbc4nM>.
56. Photograph. Macon. Mercer University. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://gallery.mercer.edu/Gallery/Buildings/Macon/Woodruff-House/i-6Xbc4nM>.
58. Photograph. Macon. Mercer University. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://gallery.mercer.edu/Gallery/Buildings/Macon/Woodruff-House/i-6Xbc4nM>.
- 830 Mulberry St., ca 1900*. Photograph. Macon, n.d. Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- Anderson, Nancy B. "Macon." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. January 21, 2003. Accessed January 11, 2015. <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/macon>.
- Anderson, Nancy Briska. *The Middle Georgia Historical Society Presents Macon, a Pictorial History*. United States: Donning, 1979.
- Art Work of Macon. Published in Twelve Parts*. The W.H. Parish Pub. Co., 1894.
- Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Advertiser (Augusta)*, April 25, 1828. <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn82014184/1828-04-25/ed-1/seq-2/>.
- Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Gazette (Augusta)*, June 0 1822. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn82014207/1822-06-03/ed-1/seq-2/>.

- Baker, C. Daniel. "The Life and Architecture of Elam Alexander." July 9, 1973, Elam Alexander Biography/Obit File, Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- Barfield, Jim, and Walter G. Elliott. *Living Macon Style*. Macon, GA: Henchard Press, 2004.
- Benjamin, Asher. *The American builder's companion; or, A system of architecture, particularly adapted to the present style of building ... / Illustrated with fifty nine copperplate engravings*. Boston: Published by R. P. & C. Williams, for the author. Printed by Thomas G. Bangs. April, 1816. Accessed March 18, 2021.  
<https://archive.org/details/americanbuilders00benj/page/n245/mode/2up>.
- Benjamin, Asher. *Practice of Architecture; And, the Builder's Guide: Two Pattern Books of American Classical Architecture*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1994.
- Benjamin, Asher. "The Builder's Guide : Benjamin, Asher, 1773-1845." Internet Archive. New York, Da Capo Press, January 1, 1974. <https://archive.org/details/buildersguide06benj>.
- Bonner, James C. *Milledgeville, Georgia's Antebellum Capital*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978.
- Bozeman, Glenda Barnes. *Macon: Then and Now*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Pub., 2010.
- Brown, Harold B. "Birdsey House, Vineville Avenue, Macon, Bibb County, GA" Historic American Buildings Survey, Engineering Record, Landscapes Survey. Library of Congress. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ga0002/>.
- Brown, Harold B. "Callaway House, Pine Street, Macon, Bibb County, GA." Historic American Buildings Survey, Engineering Record, Landscapes Survey. Library of Congress. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ga0058/>.
- Brown, Harold B. "Canning House, 854-56 Mulberry Street, Macon, Bibb County, GA" Historic American Buildings Survey, Engineering Record, Landscapes Survey. Library of Congress. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ga0041/>.
- Brown, Harold B. "Holt-Peeler House, Macon, Bibb County, GA" Historic American Buildings Survey, Engineering Record, Landscapes Survey. Library of Congress. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ga0301/>.
- Brown, Harold B. "Jerry Cowles House, 4596 Rivoli Drive (moved from 519 Walnut Street), Macon, Bibb County, GA." Historic American Buildings Survey, Engineering Record, Landscapes Survey. Library of Congress. Accessed March 18, 2021.  
<https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/ga0035/>.
- Bush-Brown, Harold. "Historic Architecture in Georgia." *College Art Journal* 6, no. 2 (December 01, 1946): 133-39. Accessed April 01, 2015.  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/773295?ref=no-x-route:fded2032fd35962f25f42d0aa716563c>.

- Brown, Leon. "New Insurance Building to Replace Home Where Men Saluted Jeff Davis." *Macon Telegraph*, March 17, 1954.
- Butler, John C. *The Alexander Free School, The Life of Elam Alexander*. Macon: J.W. Burke &, 1886.
- Butler, John Campbell. *Historical Record of Macon and Central Georgia: Containing Many Interesting and Valuable Reminiscences Connected with the Whole State, Including Numerous Incidents and Facts Never Before Published and of Great Historic Value*. United States: J. W. Burke & Company, 1879. Reprinted 1990 by Elam Alexander Trust and the Museum of Arts and Sciences.
- Caldwell, Wilber W. *The Courthouse and the Depot: The Architecture of Hope in an Age of Despair: A Narrative Guide to Railroad Expansion and Its Impact on Public Architecture in Georgia, 1833-1910*. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2001.
- G. S. Callender. "The Early Transportation and Banking Enterprises of the States in Relation to the Growth of Corporations," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 17, no. 1 (1902): pp. 111-162, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1884713>.
- Campbell, Helena Eastman Ogden. *Wesleyan College*. C. 1950. Phi Mu Foundation, Cannonball House, Macon, GA.
- The Cannonball House. *Self Guided Tour*. n.d.
- Cashin, Edward J. "Augusta." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. 09 September 2019. Accessed February 06, 2021. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/augusta>.
- Chapel | University Architects. University of Georgia. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://www.architects.uga.edu/home/historic-preservation/hpmp-galleries/chapel>.
- Cloues, Richard. "House Types." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, August 22, 2013. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/house-types>.
- Coleman, Kenneth., and Charles Stephen. Gurr. *Dictionary of Georgia Biography*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1983.
- Court House, Jail and Gas Works, at Macon, Georgia*. Photograph. Macon, n.d. Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- Crumbley, Sadie., McConnell, Jo. *Macon Treasures Remembered: The Antebellum Years*. United States: Hallmark Publishing Company, 2002.
- Daily Constitutionalist* (Augusta), July 3, 1847. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

*The Daily Sun* (Columbus), January 19, 1863. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

Eggenger, Keith, and W Barksdale Maynard. "The Greek Revival: Americanness, Politics and Economics." Essay. In *American Architectural History: a Contemporary Reader*, 132–41. London: Routledge, 2004.

"Estate of Jeremy Stone." 1840. Probate Estate Records. Chatham County, GA. Research courtesy of Elaine Neal.

Feiss, Carl, and Russell Wright. *A Guide to Macon's Historic and Architectural History*. Macon, GA: Middle Georgia Historical Society, 1970.

Finlay, Mark R. "Central of Georgia Railway." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. 03 September 2014. Accessed February 8, 2021.

"First Baptist Church." Georgia Historical Society. Accessed March 19, 2021. [https://georgiahistory.com/ghmi\\_marker\\_updated/first-baptist-church/](https://georgiahistory.com/ghmi_marker_updated/first-baptist-church/).

*Fulton Baptist Church, 1967*. Photograph. Macon, n.d. Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.

*Georgia Historic Homes*. Atlanta: Tourist Division, Georgia Department of Community Development. n.d.

*Georgia Journal and Messenger* (Macon), April 1, 1863. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

*Georgia Messenger* (Ft. Hawkins), April 12, 1826. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

*Georgia Messenger* (Ft. Hawkins), April 16, 1840. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

*Georgia Messenger* (Ft. Hawkins), February 0, 1844. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

*Georgia Weekly Telegraph, Journal & Messenger* (Macon), August 15, 1882. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

*Georgia Weekly Telegraph, Journal & Messenger* (Macon), August 25, 1882. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

"Georgia's Old Governor's Mansion." Georgia College & State University. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://www.gcsu.edu/mansion>.

*The Georgian* (Savannah), November 1, 1838. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

*The Georgian Citizen* (Macon), July 23, 1853. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

- Hamlin, Talbot. "The Greek Revival in America and Some of Its Critics." *The Art Bulletin* 24, no. 3 (1942): 244–58. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3046833>.
- Hamlin, Talbot, and Sarah Hull Jenkins Simpson Hamlin. *Greek Revival Architecture in America: Being an Account of Important Trends in American Architecture and American Life Prior to the War between the States*. London: Oxford University Press, 1944.
- Harris, Walter A. "Elam Alexander, the Builder." Elam Alexander Biography/Obit File., Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- Hayes, John. "Federal Road." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. 20 July 2020. Accessed February 3, 2021.
- Haygood, A. J. *View of Macon, from Court House Dome North West*. Photograph. *The New York Public Library Digital Collections*. New York, 1870. The New York Public Library. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e0-56ae-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>.
- Haygood, A.J. *Wesleyan Female College*. Photograph. *New York Public Library Digital Collections*. New York, 1870. The New York Public Library.
- Horton, Mrs. Thaddeus. "Amateur Builders of the South: Their Use of the Parallelogram." *Architecture* 37 (January 1918): 127–32.
- Huff, Christopher. "Wesleyan College." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, April 30, 2019. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/education/wesleyan-college>.
- Inventory of Elam Alexander; Georgia. Probate Records 1862-64. Volume L, 671. Research courtesy of Elaine Neal.
- Jackson, Edwin L. "Georgia's Historic Capitals." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. 14 August 2020. Accessed February 12, 2021.
- Johnston, Francis B. *Hugenin-Proudfit-Birdsey House, Macon, Bibb County, Georgia*. Photograph. *Library of Congress*. Washington, D.C. . Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2017886679/>.
- Johnston, Francis B. *Raines-Miller-Carmichael House, Macon, Bibb County, Georgia*. Photograph. *Library of Congress*. Washington, D.C. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2017886660/>.
- Johnston, Francis B. *Ralph Small House, Macon, Bibb County, Georgia*. Photograph. *Library of Congress*. Washington, D.C. . Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/item/2017886665/>.
- Johnston, Francis B. *Randolph House, Macon, Bibb County, Georgia*. Photograph. Washington, D.C. : Library of Congress, n.d. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division . <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017886670>.

- Johnston, Francis B. *Thaddeus Goode Holt Peeler House, Macon, Bibb County, Georgia*. Photograph. *Library of Congress*. Washington, D.C. . Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017886658>.
- Johnston, Frances Benjamin, and Thomas Tileston Waterman. *The Early Architecture of North Carolina*. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1947.
- Jones, Mary C. "Asa Holt Home Was Gun Target During Civil War." *The Macon Telegraph*, May 20, 1928.
- Jones, Mary C. "Glories of the Old Holt Home Will Be Restored." *Macon Telegraph*, October 23, 1927.
- Jones, Mary C. "Macon's Heritage in Architecture" Second Edition 1957, Complements of the Macon Chamber of Commerce, Architecture, General File, Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- Jones, Mary C. Mary Calloway Jones Photo Collection, Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room, n.d.
- Journal and Messenger* (Macon), October 27, 1858. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.
- Kennedy, Roger G., and John Martin Hall. *Greek Revival America*. New York: Rizzoli, 2010.
- Kemp, Robin. "Olde Towne Morrow Could Become SWAT Training Ground." Clayton News, June 10, 2020. [https://www.news-daily.com/features/olde-towne-morrow-could-become-swat-training-ground/article\\_aa34592a-66a1-11e9-af88-0385610ae5b3.html](https://www.news-daily.com/features/olde-towne-morrow-could-become-swat-training-ground/article_aa34592a-66a1-11e9-af88-0385610ae5b3.html).
- Kitchens, Michael W. *Ghosts of Grandeur: Georgia's Lost Antebellum Homes and Plantations*. Virginia Beach: Donning Company Publishers, 2012.
- Lafever, Minard. *The Beauties of Modern Architecture: Illustrated by Forty-Eight Original Plates Designed Expressly for This Work*. New York: D. Appleton, 1835.
- Lancaster, Clay. "Adaptations from Greek Revival Builders' Guides in Kentucky." *The Art Bulletin* 32, no. 1 (1950): 62–70. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00043079.1950.11407903>.
- Lancaster, Clay. *Sliding Door Design - Note on Slide: Minard Lafever / Young Builder's General Instruction / Plate 22*. n.d. Photograph. University of Kentucky. Accessed March 19, 2021.
- Lane, Mills, Van Jones Martin, Gene Waddell, and Gene Carpenter. *Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina*. Savannah, GA: Beehive Foundation, 1997.
- Lane, Mills, Van Jones. Martin, and Gene Carpenter. *Architecture of the Old South: Georgia*. Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1996.

- Lane, Mills. *The People of Georgia: An Illustrated Social History*. Savannah: Beehive Press, 1975.
- Lewis, David Frazer. *A Tour through Time: an Architectural Guidebook to the Houses of Macon, GA*. Macon, GA: Historical Macon Foundation, 2010.
- "Learn About the Park." National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. Accessed December 4, 2020, [www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/index.htm](http://www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/index.htm).
- Linley, John. "Cowles-Sams House (Macon, Ga.)." 1975-08. March 18, 2021. [https://dlg.usg.edu/record/dlg\\_larc\\_jlc0552#item](https://dlg.usg.edu/record/dlg_larc_jlc0552#item).
- Linley, John. *The Georgia Catalog, Historic American Buildings Survey: A Guide to the Architecture of the State*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1982.
- Lucas, Celia. "Members of the Alexander School Board." 1961. Elam Alexander Biography/Obit File., Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- M, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Randolph-Whittle House*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, March 1971.
- Macon City Hall*. Photograph. Macon, n.d. Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- Macon Music Trail. Macon Music Trail. July 19, 2019. <https://www.maconmusictrail.com/robert-e-lee-building/>.
- The Macon Telegraph*. March 23, 1901. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.
- The Macon Telegraph*. May 7, 1967. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.
- The Macon Telegraph and Messenger* (Macon), May 11, 1875. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn85038493/1873-11-20/ed-1/seq-4/>.
- Macon Scenes 1898*. Macon, GA: City of Macon, 1898.
- "Macon, Ga. County Seat of Bibb County. 1887." Map. Middle Georgia Historical Society, 1980.
- Macon - an Architectural & Historical Guide*. Macon: Middle Georgia Historical Society, 1996.
- Major, Howard. *The Domestic Architecture of the Early American Republic: the Greek Revival*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1926.
- McConnell, Jo, and Sadie Crumbley. *Macon Treasures Remembered: the Antebellum Years*. Virginia Beach, VA: Hallmark Pub. Co., 2002.

- McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Home of Angus Domingos*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, March 22, 1971.
- McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Home of Alfred Sams*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, March 22, 1971.
- McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Carmichael House*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, March 25, 1971.
- McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Cannon Ball House*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, March 22, 1971.
- McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Cowles-Bond-Coleman-Cabaniss-O'Neal Home*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, June 21, 1971.
- McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Holt-Peeler-Snow House*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, June 21, 1971.
- McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Lassiter House*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, February 26, 1971.
- McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Leroy Napier Home*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, February 1971.
- McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Ralph Small Place*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, March 23, 1971.
- McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Randolph-Whittle House*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, February 1972.
- McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Solomon - Curd House*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, March 23, 1971.
- McKay, John J., Jr. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Home of William A. Snow, Jr.* United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, March 23, 1971.
- Middle Georgia APDC. *Architectural Heritage of Middle Georgia*. Report. Macon, 1976.

- “Miscellaneous Projects.” WPA Photographs: Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library. University of Georgia Libraries. n.d. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://www.libs.uga.edu/hargrett/selections/wpa/misc/macon.html>.
- Mitchell, William R. "A Look at Historic Preservation and American Architecture, Emphasizing Georgia." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 63, no. 1, Historic Preservation in Georgia (April 01, 1979): 39-52. Accessed April 01, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/40580076?ref=no-x-route:ae1ef10fa0c77507d6dfa83160dc8cef>.
- New Federal Building and Post Office*. Photograph. *CardCow.com*. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.cardcow.com/378044/new-federal-building-post-office-macon-georgia/>.
- Nichols, Fredrick D., and Francis B. Johnston. *The Early Architecture of Georgia*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1957.
- “People.” National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. 4 Dec. 2020. Accessed March 10, 2021 [www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/historyculture/people.htm](http://www.nps.gov/ocmu/learn/historyculture/people.htm).
- Perkerson, Medora F. *White Columns in Georgia*. Rinehart &, 1952.
- Photograph. *Georgia Old Governor's Mansion*. National Trust for Historic Preservation. Accessed March 18, 2021. [https://savingplaces.org/distinctive-destinations/georgia-old-governors-mansion#.YFK3\\_dHYq3A](https://savingplaces.org/distinctive-destinations/georgia-old-governors-mansion#.YFK3_dHYq3A).
- "Railway's History Began December 20, 1833." Central of Georgia Railway Historical Society. 2021. Accessed March 19, 2021. <http://www.cofga.org/railway/history/railways-history-began-december-20-1833/>.
- Ranlett, William H.. *The Architect: A Series of Original Designs, for Domestic and Ornamental Cottages and Villas, Connected with Landscape Gardening, Adapted to the United States, Illustrated by Drawings and Ground Plots, Plans, Perspective Views, Elevations, Sections, and Details, Vol. I [-II]*. United States: William H. Graham, 1849.
- Richardson, A. J. H., and Stephen Otta. “John Try: A Master Carpenter, Builder and Architect in Old Montreal.” *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin / Bulletin de la Société pour l'étude de l'architecture au Canada* Vol. 22, no. 2 (June 1997): 32–39. [https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/bitstream/handle/10222/71168/vol22\\_2\\_32\\_39.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y](https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/bitstream/handle/10222/71168/vol22_2_32_39.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y).
- Saunt, Claudio. "Creek Indians." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. 25 August 2020. Web. 08 February 2021.
- The Savannah Morning News*, October 3, 1856. Accessed March 18, 2021 Georgia Historic Newspapers.
- Savannah Morning News*, July 30, 1878. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.

- Second Bank of the United States, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.* Photograph. National Park Service, n.d. [https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online\\_books/butowsky2/constitution7.htm](https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/butowsky2/constitution7.htm).
- “Second Bank of the United States.” National Parks Service. U.S. Department of the Interior. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://www.nps.gov/inde/learn/historyculture/places-secondbank.htm>.
- Sears, Joan Niles. 1979. *The First One Hundred Years of Town Planning in Georgia*. Cherokee Pub. Co.
- Smith, Mark. "Life of Elam Alexander: A Pioneer in Education." TS, n.d. Elam Alexander Biography/Obit File, Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- Southern Botanico-Medical College, Ca. 1855.* Photograph. Macon, n.d. Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- Southern Botanico-Medical College, 1886.* Photograph. Macon, n.d. Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- Southern Confederacy* (Atlanta), August 6, 1862. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.
- Southern World: Journal of Industry for the Farm, Home and Workshop* (Atlanta), January 1, 1884. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.
- Staff. “Historic Houses Give Rise to Town Square in 'Olde Morrow'.” Clayton News, December 9, 2015. [https://www.news-daily.com/news/historic-houses-give-rise-to-town-square-in-olde-morrow/article\\_9315abf0-6900-5726-b9ec-9dceaeefa4b4.html](https://www.news-daily.com/news/historic-houses-give-rise-to-town-square-in-olde-morrow/article_9315abf0-6900-5726-b9ec-9dceaeefa4b4.html).
- Stavrolakis, Kristalia. *National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form. Macon Historic District*. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, August 4, 1974.
- Stuart, James, and Nicholas Revett. “The Antiquities of Athens v. 2.” Stuart, James; Revett, Nicholas; Reveley, Willey; Woods, Joseph; Cockerell, C. R.; Kinnard, W.; Donaldson, Thomas Leverton; Jenkins, William; Railton, W. Printed by J. Haberkorn, January 1, 1762. <https://library.si.edu/digital-library/book/antiquitiesathe2stua>.
- Taylor, Stephen Wallace, and Matthew Jennings. *Images of America: Macon*. Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2013.
- "Telegraph Systems." ACW's Insulator Info. Accessed January 11, 2015. <http://www.myinsulators.com/acw/bookref/telegraph/>.
- Union and Recorder* (Milledgeville), March 30, 1880. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn82015111/1880-03-30/ed-1/seq-1/>.

- Upton, Dell. "Pattern Books and Professionalism: Aspects of the Transformation of Domestic Architecture in America, 1800-1860." *Winterthur Portfolio* 19, no. 2/3 (1984): 107–50. <https://doi.org/10.1086/496175>.
- Vincent, Edward A. "Vincent's New Map of the City of Macon, 1854." Map. Middle Georgia Historical Society, 1987.
- The Weekly Telegraph* (Macon), June 14, 1887. Accessed March 18, 2021. Georgia Historic Newspapers.
- Waud, A. R. *Market Scene in Macon, Georgia*. Photograph. Macon, n.d. Washington Library Historical and Genealogical Room.
- Wellge, H. Beck & Pauli, and Henry Wellge & Co. *Macon, Ga. County Seat of Bibb County*. *Library of Congress*. Milwaukee, Henry Wellge & Co. Accessed March 18, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/item/75693193/>.
- Wesleyan College History. Wesleyan College. Accessed March 19, 2021. <https://www.wesleyancollege.edu/about/history/wesleyan-college-history.cfm>.
- Wilson, Robert J. "Milledgeville." *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. 20 July 2020. Accessed February 5, 2021.
- Young, Ida, Julius Gholson, and Clara N. Hargrove. *The History of Macon Georgia*. Macon: Lyon, Marshall & Brooks, 1950.
- Zelinsky, Wilbur. "The Greek Revival House in Georgia." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 13, no. 2 (May 01, 1954): 9-12. Accessed April 01, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/987684?ref=no-x-route:8465de8f705521dfb0fa6275af21787f>.