

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form

This form is used for documenting multiple property groups relating to one or several historic contexts. See instructions in *How to Complete the Multiple Property Documentation Form* (National Register Bulletin 16B). Complete each item by entering the requested information. For additional space, use continuation sheets (Form 10-900-a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer to complete all items.

☒ New Submission ☐ Amended Submission

A. Name of Multiple Property Listing

HISTORIC COUNTY COURTHOUSES IN TENNESSEE, 1865-1945

B. Associated Historic Contexts

(Name each associated historic context, identifying theme, geographical area, and chronological period for each.)

- I. The Victorian Era and Tennessee Courthouses, 1865-1905
- II. The Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, and Tennessee Courthouses, 1900-1936
- III. The New Deal, World War II, and Tennessee Courthouses, 1936-1945

C. Form Prepared by

name/title Lauren Batte, Holly Rine, and Carroll Van West

organization MTSU Center for Historic Preservation

date 11/2/94

street & number PO Box 80, MTSU

telephone 615-898-2947

city or town Murfreesboro state TN

zip code 37132

D. Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this documentation form meets the National Register documentation standards and sets forth requirements for the listing of related properties consistent with the National Register criteria. This submission meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60 and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation. (☐ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Herbert L. Hays
Signature and title of certifying official

2/18/95
Date

Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, Tennessee Historical Commission
State or Federal agency and bureau

I hereby certify that this multiple property documentation form has been approved by the National Register as a basis for evaluating related properties for listing in the National Register.

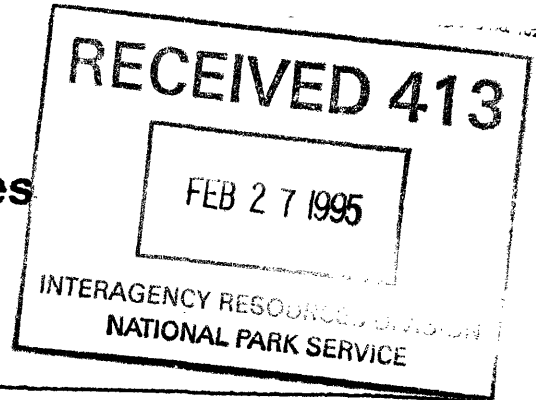
Edson H. Beall
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3-30-95
Date of Action

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I. The Victorian Era and Tennessee Courthouses, 1865-1905

The current county courthouses of Tennessee reflect an important and repetitive pattern in Tennessee's built history. While early residents sought to establish permanence in their county government buildings many of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century courthouses no longer exist due to fire, the temporary nature of the early building or the need and desire for a larger courthouse. As counties grew in population so too did the needs of the county government. Additionally, as citizens became more established their resources and ability to build larger, more distinctive courthouses increased. Certainly county officials would desire a courthouse which elicited respect for the county. The dispersion by date of current courthouses reflects the periods of increased growth and prosperity for Tennessee. Almost half of the county courthouses of Tennessee were built during the important Reconstruction and New South period when the county's resources were changing as was the country.

During this period of history, dating from 1865 to 1900, a variety of architectural styles grouped together as Victorian held strong popularity across the nation and in Tennessee. As a result many of Tennessee's county seats are today imprinted with these distinctively stylistic buildings, giving these towns and smaller cities a nineteenth century association. Tennessee clung to the popular Victorian fashion as much as ten years after the nation had moved into the Classical Revival and then Colonial Revival styles initiated by the Columbia Exposition of 1893 in Chicago. Tennessee's last Victorian courthouse was constructed in 1905 in Trousdale County (NRHD 6/24/93).

It is important to recognize that county courthouses were representative of the constituents helping to build them. They represented the ideas of, tastes of, and influences upon the political and commercial elite of each county. Unless the county was one with a major metropolis, it is unlikely that national stylistic trends would be quickly reflected in the new architectural designs. The editors of

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Courthouse: A Photographic Document define this tradition well:

Those who built the county court house were not officials desiring to relate to a wider constituency, but citizens whose concerns were local. The standard was the next county seat rather than a remote city, so that the buildings tend to reflect those local values rather than more formal architectural concerns, and they represent the institution for which citizens of the United States bear a profound respect - the Law.¹

In Tennessee county officials looked to their neighbors for influences of architectural style, not to the latest national trends. They displayed a conservative attitude in maintaining older styles. It is not until the early twentieth century and the Colonial Revival images made popular by Colonial Williamsburg that Tennessee's architecture comes closer in time to the trends affecting the nation. The New Deal period and the influence of the federal government in public buildings brought Tennessee into alignment with the stylistic trends of the nation. Of course, in this case the gap between national trends and local acceptance disappeared because it was the national government which dictated the style and funded the construction of the buildings.

While Tennessee was conservative in its attitude towards architectural change, it was also rooted in local building tradition, particularly so for the nineteenth century. Thus, the Victorian courthouses display a less academic and more vernacular use of the variety of architectural styles grouped together as Victorian. The melding of ornament as well as the somewhat awkward proportions of some buildings reflect the limited academic training of the builders and designers of the courthouses. Indeed a primary characteristic of the courthouses of Tennessee during the nineteenth century is the strong presence of local over state or national influence in building style, material and plan.

The first courthouse constructed after the Civil War was the Hardeman County Courthouse (NRHD 1/10/80) designed by

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architects Willis, Sloan, and Trigg. This red brick and white trimmed building with a mix of Italianate and Greek Revival influence is similar to the Rutherford County Courthouse (NR 7/16/73) built nine years prior in 1859. The Hardeman County Courthouse has a more restrained use of architectural style than the Rutherford County Courthouse but both share features which will recur throughout Tennessee courthouse building in the nineteenth century. A repetition of certain architectural features associated with the Italianate style are found on both these buildings and continue to be found on nineteenth century Tennessee courthouses. More often than not these courthouses are rectangular brick structures enhanced with details associated with the Victorian styles and not true adherents to the styles as represented by the major architects of the nineteenth century. Associations to various styles exist, but often the courthouses are a blending of several styles. Beginning in the post Civil War period, with the Hardeman County Courthouse, details such round arched windows, paired brackets, and cupolas grace the buildings.

While patterns exist in the trends of Tennessee architectural styles, exceptions are present as well. The Overton County Courthouse (NR 11/13/80), constructed in 1869, provides a good example. Built a full ten years after the Rutherford County Courthouse, the citizens of Overton chose a more traditional Federal styled building, with only a hint of classicism in the pediment, designed by builder Joe Copeland. County officials may have been acting on a conservative nature when choosing this older style or they may not have been as aware of the changing architectural styles. Overton County is a relatively isolated county, even today. Transportation in the mid-nineteenth century would have greatly limited access to information about current architectural style for residents of Overton County. The area probably lacked the economic incentives to attract builders and carpenters capable of designing and executing a more elaborate architectural statement. As transportation routes improved linking rural areas to major metropolises this lag in popularity of new styles would shorten in the twentieth century.

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This same year Cheatham County constructed a new courthouse (NR 12/12/76) using the newer Italianate style. Characterized by the round arched windows and paired brackets, this courthouse had a facade addition in 1914 by R. E. Turbeville giving it a Classical Revival front. The Italianate portion is now sandwiched between the Classical Revival front and a modern addition to the rear and is nearly obscured. The remaining 1869 portion which is visible gives evidence to the growing trend toward Victorian styles even in small rural Tennessee counties.

The Italianate influence makes its most emphatic statement with the Coffee County Courthouse (NR 2/12/74) in 1871; its architect is unknown. Here the use of a prominent cupola open to air and light through a series of columns and projecting cornice tops a building which does not lack for architectural interest. The chimneys are topped with molded brick in a drip pattern. The heavy cornice uses not only the paired brackets but a very rhythmic pattern of dentils as well. The round arched windows have heavy lintels completing a very decorative look.

Interestingly, the Moore County Courthouse (NR 9/26/79), erected in 1885 by local builder S. L. P. Garrett, has a striking similarity to its neighbor at Coffee County which was built fourteen years earlier. Moore County is more restrained in its use of ornament although it repeats many of the same architectural patterns of Coffee County. The proportions of the building are much the same as are the form of the chimneys using a molded brick technique. The building also uses heavy lintels, paired brackets and a fanciful cupola all very similar to Coffee County. Interestingly, the Moore County Courthouse cost \$6,875 to build in 1885 whereas the final bill for the Coffee County courthouse was \$23,071 in 1871-1873. Moore County is a much smaller county and much of its restraint in its local government building seems to be tied to a more conservative building budget. This similarity of building styles demonstrates the strong influence a neighboring county could have upon new architectural designs.

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1871-1872 saw the construction of three more courthouses in Tennessee. Much of this new building activity is associated with the new state Constitution which was ratified by the voters of Tennessee in spring of 1870 after a Constitutional Convention in January, 1870. The citizens of Tennessee had called for a new constitution to deal with legacies of the Civil War and Reconstruction. The immediate threat to the former Confederate states was occupation by Federal forces under the Reconstruction Acts of 1867. Should any state give President Ulysses S. Grant justifiable cause their ability to rule themselves could be removed. Thus state leaders were eager to see that a new constitution which recognized suffrage for black men was passed. Combined with a need to maintain independence from Washington was a growing desire to reestablish Tennessee economically, politically and socially. Additionally, Tennessee was on the threshold of a New South movement whose effects would be felt throughout the South and exhibited in new building programs. Clearly, there was an interest in reviving and making new the physical and legal systems around which the state and local governments of Tennessee were focused. The new constitution created new counties as well as mandating the creation of new permanent county officials. In those newly created counties, local citizens paid for the construction of new courthouses for their local government as a matter of necessity. As other Tennessee counties experienced economic recovery in the post-Reconstruction era, their political leaders decided to construct new courthouses to better house the expanded machinery of local government.

Crockett (1871), Clay (1872) and Loudoun (1872) counties all joined this interest in local government by building new courthouses. Interestingly, they each chose conservative architectural styles to express that new confidence in their local government. The Crockett County Courthouse was designed by John Archer, a Brownsville (Haywood County) architect. It features a light colored stone, employing a similar drip molding along the cornice with round arched windows. The windows and entrances on the building are slightly recessed behind round arches in the stone. These simple decorative elements clearly lend an association to the Italianate style without the playfulness of the Coffee

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County Courthouse. In 1934, the Crockett County Courthouses was remodeled and the original clock tower was removed. It is unknown whether this renovation work was associated with New Deal era relief programs then in effect such as the Federal Emergency Relief Administration or the Civil Works Administration. Clay County in Northern Tennessee has an unusual and distinctive courthouse (NR 9/22/77), constructed by local builder D. L. Dow. Its overall proportions are reminiscent of the earlier Federal style but its ornament of at least the large round arched window and entrances, cornice decorated with dentils and paired brackets and topped by a bell tower cupola bring some of the Italianate style into the building.

The Loudoun County Courthouse (NR 5/28/75) is a good example of the blending of architectural tradition with new styles. Originally designed Alexander Campbell Bruce of Knoxville and constructed by Loudon and Monroe counties builders Eli and J. W. Clarke, its Italianate detailing includes paired brackets under the cornice, brick molding in a drip pattern, and round arched windows with heavy lintels. However, the upright proportions of the building, the two front doors topped by fanlights on the opposite ends of the front facade and the plain, bell cast cupola are further evidence of the Italianate orientation of this courthouse, especially as the style was practiced in Tennessee. Loudoun County is a good example of the blending of styles and lack of strict adherence to academic architectural principles resulting in a very stylistic building reflective of its citizens.

In 1874 the construction of the Hamblen County Courthouse (NR 4/13/73) introduced another stylistic element of the Victorian design tradition, the mansard roof, to Tennessee courthouse architecture. It is the first Tennessee courthouse in the Second Empire style and has been described as "among the most successful Second Empire public buildings" in Tennessee (2). Designed by Alexander Campbell Bruce of Knoxville, the courthouse is notable for its round arched windows, the bracketed cornice, the retention of the traditional tower, and the use of decorative brickwork to give the effect of columns and quoins. Interestingly, the main plan of the building is a temple form, echoing the

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temple plans essential to the Greek Revival style of the mid nineteenth century.

In 1875 the transition to a more definitive Second Empire style for Tennessee courthouses is made quite clear with the new Smith County Courthouse (NR 4/17/79), designed by Henry C. Jackson of Murfreesboro (Rutherford County). Here the mansard roof is in place, the central bay which serves as the main entrance retains the Greek Revival temple form, the bracketed cornice remains as do the heavy Italianate lintels and decorative brickwork. The Smith County Courthouse is distinctive for its porthole windows in the mansard roof, and the tower with two tiered cornice, heavy detail and iron cresting. In particular the tower's decorative elements are more elaborate and evocative of the Second Empire style than the earlier Italianate style.

These same Second Empire elements are mixed with elements of classicism, producing eclectic Victorian statements, in the Montgomery (NR 5/13/76) and Robertson (NR 5/22/78) County Courthouses. S. W. Bunting and C. G. Rosenplaenter were the architects of the Montgomery County Courthouse. Nashville architect William C. Smith designed the Robertson County Courthouse. While the Montgomery and Robertson County Courthouses are distinctly different there are certain strong similarities. An important factor to consider when comparing these two courthouses against others in Tennessee is the comparative wealth of the counties at the time of construction. Both counties were extremely important and high producing tobacco markets. Clarksville, the county seat of Montgomery, was the largest tobacco market in North America at the height of production in the late nineteenth century. Robertson County was an equally wealthy agricultural county. Thus, the citizens of these counties had not only the money but the exposure to the stylistic trends and architects of much larger cities. So when choosing a style for a courthouse they would be much more likely to emulate the grand styles seen in large cities than the more vernacular styles of less wealthy rural Tennessee counties. Of course another important factor was the influence of a neighboring county. Montgomery County

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constructed its courthouse in 1878 while Robertson built in 1879. Certainly the two counties were following similar economic paths that distinguished them from other Tennessee counties.

The Second Empire style in its truest form holds onto some elements of the Italianate style, so much so that the lines blur. Second Empire is distinguished by the mansard roof, a projecting tower often with intricate iron cresting, and decorative columns near doors and windows. Another important characteristic of the Second Empire style is the pavilion motif always symmetrical sometimes with pavilions on either side but usually with a central projection serving as the main entrance. The Montgomery and Robertson County Courthouses well illustrate these elements. Both courthouses have a central projection with Montgomery possessing flanking towers, while Robertson has balanced wings. The symmetrical building is topped by very tall towers with pyramidal mansard roofs and decorative cresting, though not iron. Decorative columns in the form of pilasters accent the towers and the central entrance pavilions. The Montgomery County Courthouse is more ornate employing contrasting colors of brick and stone and a bracketed cornice. Some of this elaborate decoration is the result of a later rebuilding and expansion of the Montgomery County Courthouse in about 1900. The Robertson County Courthouse has a uniform and dignified buff colored brick and retains the heavy lintels associated with the Italianate style. As James Patrick has observed, "Italianate arcades and towers, Second Empire mansards, and Renaissance balusters and pilasters were stylishly combined" at the Robertson County Courthouse to achieve a "monumental expression." (3) Impressive in style and size these two courthouses are the most significant contributors to the Victorian period of Tennessee public architecture.

1885 saw the construction of three very different county courthouses, the one previously discussed in Moore County, one in Grundy County (burned in the late 1980s), the other in Knox. Grundy County is a small, rural county on the Cumberland Plateau. Its courthouse was basically unadorned, retaining the round arched windows and doorway as

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expressions of current architectural style. The simple building was dignified in its proportions and reflected the economic circumstances of its constituents. Its architect is unknown.

The Knox County Courthouse (NR 4/24/73) also reflects the economic abilities of its constituents. Designed by Palliser and Palliser of New York, "perhaps at the request of the Knoxville contractors Stephenson and Getaz," (4), its scale and decorative elements are much more elaborate than its contemporary in Grundy County. The Knox County courthouse has an unusual blending of architectural elements at work. It is a decided break with the Second Empire influences, rejecting the symmetry and pavilion composition and employing elements of the Romanesque and Classical styling. Specifically, the Knox County courthouse has a heavy arcaded front porch that serves as its entrance. Other large round arched details on its very tall tower are indications of influence from the Romanesque style. Decorative brickwork in the tower also indicates influence of the Romanesque style. However, historian James Patrick has characterized this building as an example as "Queen Anne" public architecture since "the title Queen Anne was used comprehensively to refer to a wide variety of free classical types and designs." (5) Knox County Courthouse's massive scale and heavy detailing give it a prominence its smaller contemporary in Grundy County does not have, but the two together provide an interesting illustration of differing tastes and resources county citizens draw upon to represent their most important form of local government.

By 1891 the strong influence of the Romanesque style had made a distinct impression upon Tennessee architecture. Its influence on courthouse architecture, however, was more limited. Rhea County (NR 11/7/72/ NHL 12/8/76) was the first of this collection to build in the Romanesque style in 1891. Six years later, a Romanesque influence would be manifested in the Warren County Courthouse at McMinnville, which is still extant but much altered in the second half of the twentieth century. Much later, a restrained Romanesque influence would be found in the Meigs County Courthouse (NR 8/3/78) which is a neighbor of Rhea County, built in 1905.

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Knoxville architect W. Chamberlin and Co. designed the Rhea County Courthouse. It has an assymmetrical configuration and a large bell tower on one end of the facade.

In 1897-98, the Knoxville firm of Baumann and Baumann accepted an offer from the Monroe County Court to build the firm's first courthouse in Tennessee. Their design called for little ornament and a simple central hallway on the interior. The exterior, however, was a flamboyent and eclectic mixture of late nineteenth century architectural elements including Classical Revival-influenced columns, Romanesque-like arches, and Italianate bracketing.

In 1905, W. R. Harper, a local contractor, drew the plans for Meigs County Courthouse. This building is characterized by dark red brick, a heavy, almost massive scale, restrained Romanesque arches, hipped roofs and towers. It is symmetrically planned with a substantial tower set in front rising from the central bay.

Employing some of the characteristics of Romanesque architecture with other High Style Second Empire, Classical, and Renaissance Revival elements are the of Henry County Courthouse (1896) (NRHD 9/7/88) and Sevier County Courthouse (1895) (NR 3/24/71). Again, James Patrick has categorized these as "monumental courthouses. . . completed in Queen Anne style." (6) Reuben H. Hunt of Chattanooga (Hamilton County) designed the Henry County Courthouse; McDonald Brothers of Louisville designed the Sevier County Courthouse. Both courthouses are large multi story buildings with heavy brick detailing, including the characteristic Romanesque arches, particularly Sevier County which has an impressive round arched arcade on its second floor. Interestingly, these buildings are both topped with very decorative clock towers that allude to the Second Empire style. Here again, the tower on the Sevier County Courthouse is much more distinctive in this respect and takes on the attributes of Beaux-Arts style. This combination of stylistic elements was not uncommon for the later Victorian period which saw the emergence of eclectic styles. It is associated with the style characterized as Renaissance Revival. These styles utilized elements of the various architectural trends grouped together as Victorian

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in unusual and creative ways. This eclecticism resulted in buildings whose architectural roots were quite varied.

By 1900 Tennessee courthouse architecture was clearly in a transitional period, from the late Victorian eclecticism to the emerging Classical Revival movement. The Putnam County Courthouse, designed by local builder James H. Yeatman in 1900, is an eclectic styled building of red brick. Allusions to the Italianate style are evidenced on the first floor where bricks are formed into quoins, the round arched windows throughout the building, while engaged columns on the second floor and a heavy cornice reflect a Classical orientation that is reminiscent of a Colonial Revival treatment. The plan of the building is unusual, perhaps reflecting a local builder's experience and design ideas.

The Gibson County Courthouse (NR 11/7/76), designed by W. Chamberlin and Company of Knoxville in 1901, is an unique contribution to the collection of Tennessee county courthouses. The building's architectural styling set it apart as an important example of the Victorian eclectic period, and fits into Patrick's category of Queen Anne style public buildings. Constructed primarily in brick of two different colors the architect used the contrasting colors to create decorative patterns throughout the building in a permanent polychrome scheme that is associated with High Victorian Gothic architecture. The towers and cupola are done in wood frame with sunburst patterns associated with the Queen Anne style. The wooden portions of the building continue the polychrome patterns accenting the various decorative elements employed. The tower, particularly, gives allusions to Queen Anne style with the varied use of wood shingles as siding, molding, dentils and roofing material.

Between 1901 and 1905 three contiguous counties in upper East Middle Tennessee all constructed new courthouses in relatively similar styles. These courthouses, to various degrees, reflect the transition then occurring in Tennessee public architecture from the Victorian era to the Classical Revival. They represent much more vernacular examples of Patrick's Queen Anne style category, reflecting the

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stylistic inspiration of Romanesque, Italianate, Queen Anne, and classicism. The Cumberland County Courthouse (NR 6/17/80), designed by W. Chamberlin and Company of Knoxville in 1905, is the most elaborately styled building with a double arched entrance, tall chimneys, and a Flemish stepped gable central bay. Its use of Crab Orchard stone makes the building an interesting local example of regional architectural variation. The clock tower on the Cumberland County Courthouse gives the building added height and harkens back to the Italianate details of earlier courthouses, with heavy lintels, while the columns reflect a Classical Revival influence. The new courthouse took over the functions of a Crab Orchard stone courthouse, designed by 1886 by J. F. Baumann of Knoxville, which remains extant.

The designs for the Fentress County Courthouse (1901) and the Morgan County Courthouse (1904) are less well proportioned being heavier and more linear with central towers that dominate the buildings. These towers have very similar configurations with large square bases that rise to a clock on all four sides and rounded pyramidal roof. The regional Crab Orchard Stone appears again on the Fentress County Courthouse. The design for the Morgan County Courthouse, by W. Chamberlin and Company of Knoxville, illustrates the influence of high style buildings on local architectural taste. The building has elements of Romanesque styling with Italianate details without the proportions associated with academically designed buildings while its cupola speaks to the growing popularity of classicism in this decade.

Tennessee's transition from Victorian courthouses to the Classical and Colonial Revival was gradual. 1905 saw the construction of four new courthouses in Tennessee. Three of them, Cumberland County, Meigs County and Trousdale County, clearly held onto the Victorian stylistic tradition. Maury County, however, led the way into the Classical Revival tradition popularized twelve years before in Chicago. In 1906 the transition became complete with Blount County's new courthouse built in new style. The Trousdale County Courthouse (NRHD 6/24/93) in upper Middle Tennessee, a small rural county with few major access routes to other counties

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retained the Victorian tradition. This simple building with four very restrained corner towers and central bays with stepped Flemish gables and small cupola holds the Italianate traditions of paired brackets and some round arched windows. Though simple the building provides a dignified focus for Hartsville, Trousdale's county seat.

Tennessee's slow transition to the styles that were sweeping the nation was clearly an indication of a conservative approach to buildings, particularly government buildings. The importance of a county courthouse as a symbol which the citizens and county officials could identify with is very strong. No other building in the county, especially in the county seat, better represents the aspirations and abilities than the county courthouse. When placed in this context it is easily understood that county officials may be reluctant to experiment with new architectural styles and thus follow trends that have established themselves as stately and dignified. Smaller counties in particular are more likely to hold onto more established values rather than extend themselves into the more progressive realm. For the late nineteenth century, a period of great change, the need to hold onto and affirm older values could be quite distinct.

ENDNOTES

1. Richard Pare, ed., Courthouse: A Photographic Document (New York: Horizon Press, 1978), 10.
2. James Patrick, Architecture in Tennessee, 1768-1897 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 187.
3. Ibid., 189.
4. Ibid., 201. The New York pattern book company had published Palliser's Courthouses, Village, Town, and City Halls and provided the design for the Knoxville courthouse.
5. Ibid., 201.
6. Ibid.

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II. The Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, and Tennessee Courthouses, 1900-1936

From 1900 to 1936, Tennessee county governments commissioned 39 new courthouses, representing 41 percent of the total number of courthouses now standing in the Tennessee.

In Tennessee architecture, this explosion of courthouse construction coincided with the popularity of the second Neoclassical movement in the American history, a period often described as the Classical Revival to distinguish it from the earlier Greek Revival period of the antebellum period.

The initial courthouses constructed in the twentieth century, in general, continued the Late Victorian tradition. Nine courthouses were constructed between 1900 and 1905; seven were derivatives of Victorian styles, the most spectacular of which was the Gibson County Courthouse (1901), designed by W. Chamberlin and Co. of Knoxville. The Lake County Courthouse (1904) was neither Victorian nor Classical Revival when first constructed. As is fitting for this small rural community, which had only recently been connected to the regional rail system, the Lake County Courthouse was a relatively unadorned vernacular two-story frame building. It took its current Classical Revival appearance in 1935, when the original building was covered with red bricks, expanded to the rear, and a two-story Classical Revival portico was added to the front.

The pacesetter for the Classical Revival in Tennessee was the Maury County Courthouse (NR 8/6/84), built in Columbia in 1906. Designed by Edwin Carpenter of the firm Carpenter and Blair of New York City, the courthouse's 132-foot tower soars over the Columbia downtown and became an instant landmark in the city. That same year, another Classical Revival landmark that dominated the local built environment was built in Maryville. The Blount County Courthouse (1906) was designed by Baumann and Baumann of Knoxville. Prominent regional architects for a generation, Baumann and Baumann already had designed a Victorian style courthouse in Monroe

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County. The Blount County Courthouse was the firm's first in the new style.

It had taken ten years for the resurgence of Classicism associated with the Chicago World's Fair of 1893 to make its mark on the courthouse architecture of Tennessee. In 1893, the colossal white columns and heavy classical cornices and capitals of the "White City" found favor with both visitors and architectural critics. In the fair's aftermath developed the "City Beautiful Movement," which promoted grand urban planning on the scale of the "White City" while at the same time it codified grandiose classicism as the proper style for American public buildings. "Architects and laymen alike," concluded architectural historians Marcus Whiffen and Frederick Koeper, "believed that some variation of the formal, classical facade expressed civic virtue." In other words, classicism was perceived as really the only appropriate style of new public buildings. (1)

Beaux-Arts Classicism, the first phase of the Classical Revival movement, especially found favor in new state capitol buildings, built immediately after the Chicago World's Fair and in the following decade of the new century. (2) It was soon translated into all sorts of public buildings. "By the end of the century a spectacular monumentality had seized our cities," observed architectural historian Spiro Kostof. "Size was not all. There were sheathings of lavish materials, sculptural ornament and stained-glass windows, painted friezes and showy furnishings." (3) In Tennessee, the Beaux-Arts made its most influential statement in the grand classical architecture of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition in Nashville.

Tennessee's first grand Beaux-Arts influenced, monumental courthouses were built in 1909: the Giles County Courthouse (NRHD 8/11/83) and the Shelby County Courthouse (NRHD 11/25/80). The Shelby County Courthouse was built when Memphis was reinventing its urban landscape with grand civic buildings and the monumental Memphis Parkway System (NR 7/03/89). The massive Ionic porticoes of the courthouse proclaim, in architectural terms, the turn-of-the-century belief in good government and civic virtue. Statues by

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sculptor William Rhyne represent Wisdom, Justice, Liberty, Authority, Peace, and Prosperity. Together with the richly appointed pediments at each entrance, they add to the classical symbolism of the courthouse. Historian James Patrick concluded that the Beaux-Arts classicism of this new courthouse, along with the Hamilton County Courthouse, "marked the deliberate assimilation of regional architecture to American style," setting "fashions that were followed until the forties." (4)

James Gamble Rogers of New York was the architect of the Shelby County Courthouse and he was the most important non-Tennessee architect to design a courthouse in the Classical Revival era. Rogers (1867-1947) began his formal training in the independent Paris atelier of Paul Blondel, a teacher of such noted American Classical Revival buildings as Ernest Flagg and Donn Barber. Under Blondel's direction, Rogers gained a love for the classical tradition and met his most important partner Herbert D. Dale, with whom he designed the Shelby County Courthouse.

The Giles County Courthouse was also designed by a non-Tennessee architect, Benjamin N. Smith of Birmingham, Alabama. The courthouse overwhelms the central courthouse square of Pulaski. It has mammoth porticoes supported by Cornithian columns defining each of its four sides, topped by a Cornithian supported cupola. At the south end of the courthouse yard, however, is another associated structure--a heroic statue of Sam Davis, the "Boy Hero of the Confederacy"--that helps to explain the popularity of Classical Revival style in early twentieth century Tennessee.

The rise of "Jim Crow" segregation and a resurgence of elite political and cultural power characterized Tennessee politics and society from 1889 to 1920. Poll tax legislation in 1889 was used to deny African-Americans the right to vote in most counties and over the next decade, segregationist tactics eliminated black influence in Tennessee politics. "While the Jim Crow system was being implanted upon political rights of blacks in Tennessee," notes historian Paul Bergeron, "lines of racial segregation

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and discrimination were being more tightly drawn." (5) The southern elite expressed its new sense of power and authority in cultural ways. Placing Confederate war memorials adjacent to their courthouses was an obvious statement of the linkage between the "Lost Cause" and the new political system grounded in segregation. Another cultural expression of the new political and social system was in the architecture of public buildings, especially the commanding presence of the county courthouse. As architectural historian Catherine Bishir has recently observed:

The South's revival of classicism in public architecture and its embrace of the closely related Colonial Revival in residential architecture paralleled national trends, but with a distinctively southern face and meaning. Just as the monuments they erected in civic spaces commemorated past heroes and events [almost exclusively the Civil War in Tennessee from 1890 to 1920], so in block and block of downtown buildings and in the premier residential neighborhoods where they had their homes, the southern elite's revival of classical and colonial architecture commemorated an entire way of life: the 'golden age' before the war. This architecture shaped public memory of the past and defined the life of the present by asserting in ubiquitous physical form "the southern aristocracy's continuing legitimate authority as the dominant force in the region's political, social, and economic life." And, moving beyond mere glorification of a past epoch, this architecture perpetuated and revitalized for modern daily use the deferential social values of the heirs and heiresses of the glorified tradition. (6)

Bishir's analysis of public monuments, buildings, and spaces in North Carolina has many parallels in the Tennessee public landscape of the early twentieth century. Like in neighboring North Carolina, Tennessee politicians and county officials "embraced a new architecture that blended modern technological convenience with a revival of classical imagery akin to antebellum landmarks. This architecture

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provided a compelling metaphor for southern leaders promoting their region as offering the best of modern reform and race relations combined with the stable social hierarchy modeled by the Old South." (7)

When Tennesseans spoke of modern reform, it was usually in reference to the political "reforms" of politics and government that also excluded African-Americans from participation. Historian Robert E. Corlew concluded that "the period 1911-1923 was a reform decade in Tennessee development." (8) This new system was championed as "Progressivism," and while its record as a reform movement was decidedly mixed, there is little doubt that during the years of 1900 to 1930 county governments grew in size, implemented or expanded new programs (education, public health, and highways are the most significant areas). For example, as counties became part of the University of Tennessee Agricultural Extension network, offices for the extension agents were placed in the courthouses, where many of them, especially in the rural counties, remain today. As government played a more direct role in the lives of citizens than before, courthouses served as centralized administrative centers for both local and state services. The courthouses of 1900 to 1930, consequently, are statements of a new era of governmental power as well as statements of cultural values and architectural tastes.

The significance of this trend to local government is clear. During this era, according to political scientists Lee S. Greene, David H. Grubbs, and Victor C. Hobday, the county governments took actions and became part of programs that basically turned the local governments into "an administrative subdivision of the state government," especially in the areas of "public health, welfare, public schools, the court system, licensing, settlement of estates, and the preservation of all sorts of legal papers." While county governments remained "a major supplier of services to its own citizens. . . even here basic policies are largely established by state laws." (9)

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Consequently, one way of assessing the local government significance of the courthouse, especially in the period of 1900 to 1945, is to trace the association between the passage of key state initiatives in public health, education, and highways and their implementation by the county commissioners. Important examples of state legislation would include: General Education Act of 1909, creation of the Agricultural Extension program from 1910 to 1911, creation of the County Extension Agent program in 1916, General Education Act of 1925, State Highway legislation of the 1920s, and the State Public Health Law of 1935.

From 1910 to 1920, the Classical Revival first apparent in the larger cities and towns of Tennessee moved into more rural counties. In 1910-1911, the Chattanooga architectural firm of W.K. Brown and Bros. built very similar, and understated, Classical Revival style courthouses in Sequatchie County (NR 1/20/80) at Dunlap and in Bledsoe County at Pikeville. (10) Two years later, a rural West Tennessee county, Chester County, added its new Classical Revival courthouse (NR 3/26/79), this one in red brick with four two-story Doric columns.

That same year, the last Beaux-Arts courthouse graced the Tennessee landscape. The Hamilton County Courthouse (NR 11/21/78) was designed by Rueben H. Hunt, an important southern architect based in Chattanooga and Dallas. Its grand entry compares to Shelby County as a good example of Beaux-Arts classicism among the state's courthouses, although the remainder of the building is more austere in its classicism and would belong to the Classical Revival tradition. In Jonesborough, county leaders commissioned another urban-based architectural firm, Baumann & Baumann of Knoxville, to design the new Washington County Courthouse (NR 12/23/69) in a flamboyant Classical Revival style similar to the firm's earlier courthouse for Blount County.

The years immediately prior to the involvement of the United States in World War I witnessed a slowdown in new courthouse construction. From 1914 to 1919, only two new courthouses were constructed, compared to eight in the years from 1909

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to 1913. Designed by local builder R. E. Turbeville in 1914, the new front to the Cheatham County Courthouse (NR 12/12/76) was a decidedly restrained Classical Revival statement, featuring a rather squat one-story portico somewhat reminiscent of the Colonial Revival, in a rural setting. The new Greene County Courthouse (NRHD 5/03/74) of 1916, designed by Thomas S. Brown of Greeneville, was also oddly proportioned in its two-story portico, with its four wide columns topped by composite capitals. At least, its Civil War monument differed from most in Tennessee. In keeping with East Tennessee's Unionist stance, the monument honors Union soldiers that fought in the war.

During the 1920s, nine new courthouses were constructed in all three regions of Tennessee. The earliest, the Sullivan County Courthouse (NR 2/23/1973) of 1920 and the Fayette County Courthouse of 1924-25 (NR 4/15/82), continued the Classical Revival of their predecessors of the 1920s. But by the mid-1920s variations in Classical Revival style, with a decided influence from design traditions of the colonial period of American architecture, began to dominate Tennessee public architecture to an increasing degree. The Marion County Courthouse in Jasper, constructed in 1925, lacks the domineering portico of the earlier courthouses and relied instead on a band of Doric pilasters on the second floor exterior to achieve its classical effects. Designed by the firm of R. F. Graf and Sons of Knoxville, the Campbell County Courthouse (1926) in Jacksboro utilized a two-story four columned classical portico but combined that with stone quoins typical of the Colonial Revival.

Indeed, the Campbell County Courthouse marked a turn toward the Colonial Revival in Tennessee courthouse architecture. The Colonial Revival dates to the late nineteenth century and from its inception until the 1920s, the movement's greatest influence came in domestic architecture. But beginning with the massive museum and restoration projects at Greenfield Village and Colonial Williamsburg in the mid-to late 1920s, Colonial Revival style became increasingly popular for public buildings. The new popularity also was associated with the American cultural swagger of the 1920s, as this nation thrived and boomed while Europe wallowed in

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the chaos of World War I and its aftermath. Firmly rooted in the isolationist spirit of Jazz Age America, architects like John Taylor Boyd, Jr., asserted "The temper of American design is coming to a point where it can hardly accomodate itself to any foreign spirit in form." (10)

Tennessee's better examples of Colonial Revival style would come in the 1930s and later, when the influence of Colonial Williamsburg on southern architecture and decorative arts was at its zenith. But the courthouses of the late 1920s can be seen as interesting transitional buildings between the popularity of Classical Revival for public buildings (1900 to 1925) and the later popularity of the Colonial Revival for public buildings (1925-1950). Designed by Tisdale, Pinson, and Stone of Nashville, the Hickman County Courthouse in Centerville (1925-26) featured concrete keystones and a colonial-like brick and stone balustrade. The same Nashville architectural firm designed the Jackson County Courthouse of 1927 (NRHD 10/25/90) in Gainsboro as a restrained statement of basic Colonial Revival style, complete with colonial-like cupola and decorative urns. The Decatur County Courthouse (1928) in Decaturville was almost bland in its unadorned brick pilasters across the primary facades while Haywood County, in the heart of the Tennessee Cotton Belt, perhaps as might be expected, remained wedded to ornate classicism when it remodeled its antebellum era courthouse in 1928. The new facade featured six two-story fluted columns with Cornithian capitals with a properly heroic Civil War monument placed in front.

The outstanding Colonial Revival courthouse of the 1920s is in Linden along the Western Highland Rim. The Perry County Courthouse (1928) is largely unaltered three story brick building, with concrete pilasters and quoins. Its designer was Nashville architect C. K. Colley, who had been working in the Colonial Revival style at least since 1909-11 when he designed the Georgian Revival President's House at the new campus of Middle Tennessee Normal School (now MTSU) in Murfreesboro. Colley's most interesting Colonial Revival references were the two Ionic columns framing the front and

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rear entrances (a nod to design traditions popularized by early American architect Charles Bulfinch) and the broken pediment with urn over the front facade entrance.

No better blending of 1920s technology and the decade's transition from classicism to Colonial Revival exists than the Marshall County Courthouse of 1929 in Lewisburg. Designed by the Hart, Freeland, Roberts architectural firm of Nashville, the courthouse features recessed paired columns defining primary entrances to the building. The four ornate, overstated clock towers on each side of the building were certainly colonial in their inspiration as was the use of quoins on all four corners.

After 1929, Hart, Freeland, and Roberts became a popular choice for courthouse commissions. The partnership between Russell Hart, Eugene Freeland, and Martin S. Roberts dates to the post-World War I years. From Furman University, Hart had trained with noted American architect Ralph A. Cram. Freeland was an engineering professor at Vanderbilt while Roberts was a Vanderbilt-trained engineer. After Hart's death in 1955, Elbridge B. White, a graduate of Georgia Tech, headed the firm's work. In 1931, the firm designed the last great Tennessee Classical Revival courthouse, Carroll County Courthouse in Huntingdon. With four perfectly proportioned fluted Doric columns topped by a classical pediment on each of its primary entrances, the courthouse was consciously modeled after the Lincoln Memorial, a famous Classical Revival landmark. (12)

Four early 1930s courthouses continued the transition period between the Classical Revival and the Colonial Revival noted earlier in the 1920s before the construction of the state's first complete statement of a Colonial Revival courthouse, the Cannon County Courthouse (NR 4/14/92), designed by George D. Waller of Nashville in 1936. The first of these three is the Cocke County Courthouse, designed by Manley and Young in 1930. The horizontal blocks of the building are reminiscent of Classical Revival style, but the quoins, the two story high colonial windows on the rear facade (to light the courtroom), and colonial-inspired pediments over the front and rear entrances makes this East Tennessee's best

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early example of Colonial Revival transitional style. The 1931 Hancock County Courthouse was designed by Allen M. Dryden of Knoxville. Its four column two-story portico is clearly in the Classical Revival tradition while the delicate pediment over the front entrance squarely belongs to the Colonial Revival. That same combination of design traditions is evident in the Claiborne County Courthouse (1932-33), the last Tennessee courthouse designed by Baumann and Baumann of Knoxville. It features a four column portico and pediment raised over the building's first floor entrance with brick quoins and a belt course separating the first floor from the second and third floors. (13) In 1932, L. E. Tate and Son of Nashville designed the Macon County Courthouse in Lafayette. Its largely plain facade has two-story recessed paired concrete pilasters defining the front entrance.

In 1934 in Shelbyville, a mob of whites, angry that county officials had removed an African-American prisoner before the lynch noose had been tightened around his neck, torched the Bedford County Courthouse, which dated to 1873. The results of this mob violence greatly upset all classes in the county. Public opinion led the county court to demand that the replacement courthouse replicate the earlier Reconstruction era building, which had been Greek Revival in style, similar to the still extant 1868 Hardeman County Courthouse (NRHD 1/10/80) in Bolivar. This stipulation led to last Classical Revival courthouse in Tennessee, finished in 1935 and designed by the important Nashville firm of Marr and Holman. Considering the racial violence that led to its construction, it is very appropriate that the Bedford County Courthouse (NR 10/27/82) graphically restated the classicism associated with the nineteenth century. No better statement of how the Classical Revival was associated with the racial politics of the era can be found in Tennessee. Indeed, the conservative nature of its architecture is strikingly apparent when one considers the courthouses of PWA Modern style designed by the same architectural firm of Marr and Holman throughout Tennessee during the 1930s.

Another different design for Marr and Holman was their restrained Colonial Revival courthouse for Pickett County in

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1935. A year later came Waller's Colonial Revival gem in Cannon County. Yet these two buildings did not harken a major Colonial Revival period in Tennessee courthouse architecture. The Colonial Revival style proved nationally popular for Public Works Administration projects throughout the country. (14) But in Tennessee, PWA and Works Progress Administration projects were almost invariably in the PWA or WPA Modern style. In fact, in a departure from national trends, the New Deal era architecture remained popular after World War II, with Marr and Holman designing the McNairy County Courthouse (1948) and the Weakley County Courthouse (1949-50) in slight variations on the early PWA Modern style found in seven extant New Deal era Tennessee courthouses.

The building that codified the Colonial Revival as a proper building style for Tennessee public buildings was Marr and Holman's Hardin County Courthouse (1950-52), designed at the same time the firm was completing its last PWA Modern style courthouse in Dresden. Its two-story, four column pedimented portico, horizontal block design, dormer windows, commanding interior end chimneys, and distinguished cupola are all hallmarks of colonial design traditions. With this building, Marr and Holman, the leading courthouse firm in the state during the 1930s and 1940s, decidedly broke with the mixture of classicism and Art Deco typical of the New Deal era. Their Hardin County model was followed by several others in the next three decades. Particularly good examples of this neo-Colonial Revival period are the McMinn County Courthouse (1966), the Lincoln County Courthouse (1971), the Roane County Courthouse (1975), and other such public buildings as the Gallatin City Hall in Sumner County.

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Endnotes: Section II

Unless otherwise noted, dates and architects for the courthouses are from fieldwork notes and research at the county's record office as well as reference to that invaluable 1976 guide, Tennessee Taproots, by Sophie and Paul Crane.

1. Marcus Whiffen and Frederick Koeper, American Architecture, Vol. 2: 1860-1976 (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984 [1983]), 281. Also see William H. Wilson, The City Beautiful Movement (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989); Robert Rydell, All the World's a Fair (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); and Richard G. Wilson, "Architecture and the Reinterpretation of the Past in the American Renaissance." Winterthur Portfolio 18(Spring 1983): 69-86.
2. In particular, see Henry-Russell Hitchcock and William Seale, Temples of Democracy: The State Capitols of the U.S.A. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 218-264.
3. Spiro Kostof, America By Design (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 227.
4. Eugene J. Johnson and Robert D. Russell, Jr., Memphis: An Architectural Guide (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990), 62; Patrick, Architecture in Tennessee, 209.
5. Paul H. Bergeron, Paths of the Past: Tennessee, 1770-1970 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1979), 75; also see Joseph H. Cartwright, The Triumph of Jim Crow: Tennessee Race Relations in the 1880s (1976) and Roger L. Hart, Redeemers, Bourbons, & Populists: Tennessee, 1870-1896 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975).
6. Catherine W. Bishir, "Landmarks of Power: Building a Southern Past, 1885-1915," Southern Cultures, inaugural issue, 1994, 27.
7. Ibid., 28.

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8. Robert E. Corlew, Tennessee: A Short History, 2nd edition, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), 450-51.

9. Lee S. Greene, David H. Grubbs, and Victor C. Hobday, Government in Tennessee, 3rd edition (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), 229.

10. Elizabeth P. Robnett, Bledsoe County at the Bicentennial (Pikeville: Bledsoe County High School, 1977), 20-21.

11. William B. Rhoads, "The Colonial Revival and American Nationalism," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 35(December 1976): 250-51.

12. Frank H. Orr, et. al, eds., Notable Nashville Architecture, 1930 to 1980 (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1989), 75; Carroll County (Huntingdon: Carroll County Historical Society, 1972), 178; Collections of Manuscripts of Historical Data on Carroll County, Tennessee (Huntingdon: Carroll County Library Board, 1961), 2; Crane, Tennessee Taproots, 11

13. Edgar A. Holt, Claiborne County (Memphis: Memphis State University Press, 1981), 61-62.

14. For example, see the many Colonial Revival public buildings documented in Richard G. Wilson, intro., Public Buildings: Architecture under the Public Works Administration, 1933-39, Vol. 1 (New York: Da Capo, 1986 [1939]).

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III. The New Deal, World War II, and Tennessee Courthouses, 1936-1945

Between 1936 and 1941, eight Tennessee counties erected courthouses with the aid of the federal Public Works Administration (PWA). The architecture of these buildings, commonly described as either PWA Modern or Classical Modern, is a creative merging of the Classical Revival style used on courthouses in the preceding decades of the twentieth century and the Art Deco style, which was dominant in public buildings in the early twentieth century. These buildings not only represent a new era in architectural design, but also, and more importantly, "the symbolism in all the New Deal buildings, however, lay in the very fact of their existence, their evident commitment to the shift of government from neutral arbiter to social welfare activist."

(1) The PWA, along with most other New Deal agencies was established to help the country rise out of the depression by initiating a mass project of public works in order to stimulate the economy. Federal officials and economic experts assumed that the wages received by the workers would circulate through the economy by the purchasing of consumer goods. This demand would then stimulate increased production of capital/industrial goods, which would create more jobs.

The public works programs certainly addressed a real need for economic stimulus. From 1929 to 1932, American incomes decreased by over fifty percent as unemployment continued to rise. In that same period of time, construction activity and spending in the United States decreased from \$13,275,000,000 to \$4,016,000,000. The New Deal was not the first federal reaction to this crisis in consumer confidence and spending. The administration of President Herbert Hoover initiated a public works building project to create jobs; however, state and local budget cutbacks offset most federal spending. At the same time, Hoover rejected a recommendation from Colonel Arthur Woods, head of the Emergency Committee for Employment (ECE) which was established in October of 1930, that the government initiate an \$840 million program for road building and other public

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works. Hoover rejected this plan: ,

I have expressed myself at various times upon the extreme undesirability of increasing expenditure on nonproductive public works beyond the \$500,000,000 of construction already in the Budget. It is an ultimate burden on the taxpayer. It unbalances the Budget after all our efforts to attain that object. (2)

Woods also suggested programs to clear slums, create low income housing and develop rural electrification. His committee further recommended long term public works planning, similar to those provided in Senator Robert Wagner's congressional bill of 1930, which would have provided for advance planning in public works with a six year construction program. All of these suggestions would later be established in various amended forms by Roosevelt's New Deal programs.

Even with the lofty national goals of Colonel Woods, the ECE, which was only in existence until August of 1931, stressed relief on a local level. Municipal and county governments were the only levels to participate in public relief. Few states were spending money for relief. Another source of relief funds was through individual philanthropic efforts. The Hoover administration advocated the continuation of local government and private citizen support of those in need of relief. This recognition of the primary of local initiative fit well into the still dominant "states rights" philosophy of many Southern governmental officials.

After the dissolution of the ECE, President Hoover appointed Walter S. Gifford, who was president of American Telephone and Telegraph and the Charity Organization Society of New York, to head an organization to help relieve unemployment before the winter of 1931-1932. The organization was called the Presidents Organization on Unemployment Relief. Mr. Gifford's committee helped to further broaden the relief efforts to the state level, while maintaining the old view that the federal government should not be involved in

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not be involved in providing relief. Gifford explained to members of the Senate that,

In brief, the principle underlying the relief activities throughout the country has been that first, if possible, the individual community would look after its own. Next, if necessary, the county would help, and then, if the county were unable to meet the needs, the State would help. It would seem that the combined efforts of communities, counties, and States can take care of the situation this winter.³

However, most state and local government did not have the resources to deal with the growing problem of unemployment on their own, and more and more leaders were starting to call for federal money to assist the unemployed. Yet all attempts made by Congress to pass legislation for public works and unemployment relief failed to be passed or to even make it out of committee.

On July 21 of 1932 Hoover signed the Emergency Relief and Construction Act. It made \$300,000,000 available to the states through the recently established Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC). The RFC was created to support lending institutions and to keep them from failing. By March of 1933 the RFC lent \$1.4 billion to banks, savings and loan associations and financial institutions. It also purchased \$1 billion of bank stock by 1937. (The RFC stayed in existence until President Eisenhower dissolved it in 1956.) Restrictions on the money lent by the RFC were that all money was available only in loans and was to bear interest at the rate of three per cent per annum. The Treasury was to be reimbursed by making annual deductions starting in the 1935 fiscal year. This was the only act allowing for federal relief funds that was passed by the Hoover Administration. Yet this proved inadequate for the country's unemployed to get through the winter of 1932-33. Upon his inauguration on March 4, 1933, President Franklin

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D. Roosevelt pursued much more aggressive federal policies aimed at bringing relief to the depression stricken nation. The Public Works Administration was established on June 16, 1933 as part of the National Industrial Recovery Act, Title II, "to increase the consumption of agricultural products by increasing purchasing power, to reduce and relieve unemployment, to improve standards of labor, and otherwise rehabilitate industry and to conserve natural resources."⁴ It was officially known as the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works and was headed by Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior. With the birth of the PWA, a federal government agency came into existence to test the theory of increased spending for public works as a means of economic recovery and unemployment relief. President Roosevelt stated, "It is common sense to take a method and try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, try something."⁵ What he tried was one of the largest public works and job relief efforts in the history of the nation.

The guiding assumption behind PWA was that an increase in jobs would bring an increase in purchasing power and an increase in capital spending. At the same time the country would benefit from the needed public services and the improved public infrastructure. The PWA was given \$3,300,000,000 to carry out their building projects. When the PWA was extended in 1937, it was given another \$1,655,000,000 and was allowed to use part of the proceeds gained from the government sale of bonds as collateral for PWA loans. Unlike Harry Hopkins at the Works Progress Administration (WPA), Harold Ickes was much more frugal with the money his agency had to spend. Ickes wanted projects to be "useful" to the communities in which they were being built. He also wanted to make sure that there was no corruption or waste in the distribution of funds. Ickes commitment to "intelligent spending" of PWA funds allowed the agency to avoid the reputation of the WPA as a spendthrift organization.⁶

From July 1933 to March 1939, PWA was involved in the construction of nearly seventy percent of all educational

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buildings in the country, sixty-five per cent of all non-federal public buildings including courthouses, ten percent of new transportation construction, and thirty-five percent of all health care facilities. The PWA also adopted the thinking of Colonel Woods' ECE in that it advocated and encouraged governmental units to engage in advance planning for PWA projects. In 1940, for example, the Tennessee Planning Commission published guidelines for creating six year plans for local governments.

To qualify for a PWA grant a community and the project had to be judged by:

1. The social desirability of the project and its relation to coordinated planning.
2. Its economic desirability; that is, its relation to unemployment and the revival of industry.
3. The soundness of the project from engineering and technical standpoints.
4. The financial ability of the applicant to complete the works and "reasonably secure" any loans by the United States.
5. The legal collectibility of the securities to be purchased or the enforceability of any lease entered into.⁷

Also, the PWA was, "to make grants to the States and municipalities or other public bodies for such projects, but no such grant shall be in excess of thirty percent of the cost of labor and materials."⁸ The remaining seventy percent could be "loaned" to communities if they were unable to raise the funds. Later the maximum amount of PWA funding for a project was raised to 45% of the total project cost.

It was up to the community to submit an application for a PWA grant. This application would include: the problem at hand and the proposed solution; a preliminary plan and a list of materials used; the estimated cost and the financial

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standing of the owner of the proposed project. Practicality of a project was a primary criterion in determining PWA grants.

Workers and materials for PWA projects were local and union membership was not required. This helped to decentralize the agency which was at first exclusively run from Washington. It also divided the country into regions for more effective administration. Tennessee was in region three along with Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Mississippi.

Another source for workers was from the labor pool funded by the Works Progress Administration. The Works Progress Administration (WPA; later the Works Projects Administration) was created in 1935 by executive order and was headed by one time Federal Emergency Agency and Civil Works Authority chief Harry L. Hopkins. Hopkins advocated a work relief program over a dole program saying that employment "preserves a man's morale. It saves his skill. It gives him a chance to do something socially useful."⁹ Between 1935 and its dismantling in 1943, WPA employed eight and a half million people who worked nearly nineteen billion hours of work for about nine billion dollars in wages. At almost any given time, the WPA was employing almost a third of America's unemployed. About seventy-five percent of WPA projects were construction projects, mainly roads, highways and bridges. It also employed people in education related jobs and food service industries. The WPA would provide anywhere from seventy to ninety percent of the funding for WPA projects. Harry Hopkins was a liberal spender of WPA money, believing it was more important to give people jobs than to make sure a "useful" project is built.

In most non-urban counties in Tennessee, federally funded administrators from local projects of the Public Works Administration, the Works Progress Administration, and other such federal agencies as the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration established and maintained local field offices at the county courthouses. Consequently, the courthouses from 1933 to 1942, took on an

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additional governmental administrative function. In this case, the courthouses served as temporary federal offices for the initiatives and programs of the federal government. At the same time, they became administrative centers for New Deal relief and reform programs because the success of the new federal programs relied on administrative support and funding provided by county officials and especially the county commissioners. Once again, county government officials, by participating in and supporting the New Deal programs, took political actions that actually diminished local autonomy over governmental affairs in exchange for federal funding and expertise.

By November of 1937, the federal government made allotments for 10,569 projects in Tennessee at the cost of \$1,656,705,737. By June of 1940, 555 PWA projects were undertaken in Tennessee at \$89,435,426, of which \$60,017,471 was provided by the federal government. Through June of 1939, the PWA in Tennessee employed 4,232 persons at the average wage of seventy-four cents an hour.¹⁰

The first courthouse to be built in Tennessee with PWA funds was the Lauderdale County Courthouse in Ripley in 1936. The building cost \$125,275, of which \$50,000 was in the form of a PWA grant. In addition, the county spent \$468,000 in highway construction; \$24,569 on education buildings; \$1,244 on recreation; \$10,709 on conservation projects; and \$41,453 on other public non-federal buildings. All these projects were undertaken between 1935-1938. From 1939-1940, Lauderdale County had proposed to spend another \$702,000 on highway improvements and \$146,000 for educational purposes. The PWA supplied \$33,750, most of which went for educational purposes.

In 1937, the courthouses for Davidson, Franklin, Polk and Madison Counties were constructed. The Davidson County Courthouse (NR 3/23/87) was completed for approximately \$1.5 million. At this time, Davidson County government received over \$1,000,000 from the PWA. The government also spent about \$2,000,000 on school construction and one quarter of a million dollars on road construction.

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The Franklin County Courthouse in Winchester cost approximately \$152,000, \$42,000 of which was supplied by a Federal Emergency Agency of Public Works grant. Franklin County also received \$278,572 between 1935 and 1938, most of which went to highway projects and educational facilities. Between 1939 and 1944 Franklin County received another \$360,000 which also went to road and educational construction.

Polk County received a grant of \$49,091 from the PWA to assist it in the construction of the Polk County Courthouse (NR 6/24/93) in Benton which cost approximately \$100,000. The majority of New Deal spending in Polk County was for road construction. Between 1939 and 1944 the county also spent nearly one quarter of a million dollars on schools.

The Madison County Courthouse and jail building in Jackson was completed for less than the \$300,000 allotted for its construction. For that project the PWA contributed approximately half of the funding. The agency considered the building to be a model project and later featured it in its national overview of projects, Public Buildings, published in 1939. Madison County also spent \$561,386 on highway construction and almost \$100,000 on educational building. Half of that funding also came from federal grants. Between 1939 and 1944 the county spent over \$1.5 million on public works. Largely through the WPA, the federal government supplied half of this money also. These funds were distributed between roads, schools, conservation projects, water utilities, electric utilities and airport construction.

Lewis and Obion counties completed their courthouses in 1939 with the assistance of PWA funds. Lewis County spent the majority of their New Deal funding on roads, bridges and highways. Tennessee State Planning Commission records are unclear as to how much the PWA provided for the construction of the courthouse in Hohenwald. Lewis County also received \$76,364 on educational buildings and \$10,000 for sewage system improvements.

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Obion County Courthouse in Union City cost approximately \$200,000 and the PWA supplied a grant for \$122,727 which was used for both the courthouse and county school buildings. Obion County also had \$373,740 worth of road work, \$21,664 for schools, \$75,088 for recreation facilities; and \$13,176 for conservation purposes, all between 1935 and 1938.

The last courthouse built in Tennessee with PWA funds was the Sumner County Courthouse (NRHD 10/23/85) in Gallatin. It was constructed in 1940 at the cost of \$170,000. The county received a \$78,750 grant towards the cost of the building. Over the period between 1935 and 1944, Sumner County spent \$867,672 on highway work; \$413,413 on schools; and \$15,000 on recreational facilities. Approximately sixty percent of the funding was provided by the federal government.

Architectural aesthetics took a secondary position in New Deal projects to the ability of a project to provide jobs and relief to as many people as possible. There was no official PWA architectural style. Yet a new architectural style did develop because, "the challenges of need and real economy elicited, in their [architects] best projects, solutions that emphasized fitting design to the present rather than fitting the present into the designs of other periods."¹¹ PWA projects were, for the most part, designed by local architects. The concerns of the federal government in choosing an architect were to make sure 1) the contract went to the lowest bidder, 2) the firm be competent and in good standing, 3) the work would be completed in a limited period of time, and 4) there would be no changes by the architect which would change the cost of the project.

The architectural style of the PWA courthouses in Tennessee does reflect the modernizing intention of the federal government in the construction of new buildings. Characteristics of PWA Modernism are classical symmetry, flat wall surfaces, vertical window bands separated by piers, which were often fluted, and forms of stylized Art Deco elements. Most of the PWA courthouses were constructed with concrete and brick walls which were then veneered with

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smooth limestone. Some courthouses, however, were left with just brick exterior walls, like Lauderdale, Lewis and Polk counties. There were certain interior decoration which was also associated with this style of building. These included: murals, relief sculpture, and mosaics which would depict the function of the building and/or the history of the area. These elements often symbolized the significance of government in the everyday lives of local citizens and certainly celebrated American nationalism. One interior decoration scheme found in several of the Tennessee PWA courthouses is an engraved, metal cast design outlining the county in which the courthouse stands, located at the building's center, on the first floor. These maps include townsites, main highways, railroads, and rivers. Most of the interior stylistic elements were consistent with the Art Deco movement which began in the 1920s. There was a growing interest in speed and efficiency. "Streamlining" became a buzzword of the era. This modernistic details found on the exteriors and interiors of the courthouses underscored the overall purpose of the New Deal to find modern solutions to the crisis of the depression while giving the impression of a more efficient government administration. This new world of modern, up-to-date government reform, however, did not extend to African-Americans. The federally sponsored courthouses never went so far as to interfere with Jim Crow segregation; rather, they embraced somewhat the doctrine of "separate but equal." Lauderdale County Courthouse and Franklin County Courthouse, for example, still have the original basement level bathrooms, once reserved solely for blacks, which would be entered from the outside.

Five of the courthouses built with PWA funds were designed by the Nashville architectural firm of Marr and Holman: Lauderdale, Franklin, Madison, Obion and Sumner Counties. The firm was founded in 1913. In the beginning, Thomas Marr did most of the design work while the younger Joseph Holman did most of the financial arrangements and solicited clients. Both men were natives of Nashville; Marr was educated at Gallaudet College in Washington and returned to Nashville where he developed into an architect. Holman, twenty-four years younger than Marr, attended Vanderbilt University. After Marr's death in 1936, Holman became the main architect in the firm. The firm continued to be active

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until 1963. The work of Marr and Holman in Nashville has been documented in the Multi Property Nomination, "Marr and Holman Buildings in Downtown Nashville" (NR 10/10/84). These buildings include: the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, the Noel Hotel, the Rich-Schwartz Building, the James Robertson Hotel and the US Post Office.

The Davidson County Courthouse held an architectural competition for its design. The winning design was a joint effort by Emmons Woolwine of Nashville and Frederick Heirons of New York. Woolwine was educated as an architect at the University of Pennsylvania where he graduated in 1926. He returned to Nashville in 1928, after he worked in Washington D.C. for a short time, and joined the firm of Marr and Holman for a year. In 1929 Woolwine went into a partnership with John E. Harwood. The firm further expanded after World War II with the addition of John Howard Clark. Woolwine died in 1951.

The Polk County Courthouse was designed by the firm of R.H. Hunt of Chattanooga. Hunt is considered to be one of the South's best architects and the master architect of Chattanooga. Hunt began his practice in 1885 when he designed Victorian style buildings and ended in the 1930s when he was creating PWA Modern buildings like the Polk County Courthouse. Most of his best work was done in Chattanooga during the building boom of the 1920s. At this time he used the Classical Revival style popular for public buildings. Hunt's work during this period is represented by such buildings as the Hamilton County Courthouse (NR 11/21/78), the James Building (NR 2/29/80) and the MacClellan Building (NR 4/4/85). All of these buildings have been documented in the Multi Property Nomination, "Reuben H. Hunt Buildings in Hamilton County" (NR 2/29/80). Modern architectural styles by Hunt that were also nominated under the Multi Property Nomination include the Medical Arts Building and the U.S. Post Office. Hunt died in May of 1937, the same year the Polk County Courthouse was completed. After his death, Hunt's son, Benjamin Hunt, took over the firm.

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The Lewis County Courthouse, clearly the most unadorned PWA Modern design in the state, was the work of architects Hart and Russell.

Even with different architectural firms working on the PWA courthouses of Tennessee, all the buildings maintain similar appearances in design and style. They also stand as a reminder to the communities in which they stand of a cooperative effort between government and citizens to maintain civic pride and dignity in the face of adversity. As architectural historian Richard G. Wilson has noted,

the PWA stood for communitarianism; the buildings were public buildings, created for the public and as expressions of public will. The success of each project and the entire PWA was not due to individual talent or genius, but the product of many individuals, from designers to bricklayers, dragline operators, and bureaucrats.¹²

With the end of the PWA and the WPA, a period of great activism in the design and construction of public architecture was over in Tennessee. The one exception was the continued massive construction programs of the Tennessee Valley Authority. These new dams, powerhouses, and reservoirs, of course, came in reaction to the great demand for electrical power (especially for the secret military plants at Oak Ridge) during World War II. Due to the demands of the war, the shortage of available manpower, and the scarcity of building materials, no new courthouses were constructed in Tennessee from 1941 to 1945. The war time years, however, proved very important for Tennessee courthouses. As administrative centers for homefront activities, the courthouses served as the frequent meeting place for local draft boards. The courthouses, and their surrounding grounds, also became public gathering places for wartime bond drives and scrap metal drives. In the years immediately after the war, such groups as the Veterans of Foreign Wars erected memorials to those who died in the war on the courthouse grounds. Throughout four decades of growing state and federal power, the courthouses remained the center of local government power and authority.

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An important contributing factor to this enduring sense of place represented by the non-urban county courthouses of Tennessee, from 1865 to 1945, is that, no matter how the architectural style of the building changed, almost all of the courthouses retained their central location in the county seat's courthouse square. Even at newly established towns like Dayton (established in the mid-1880s), a courthouse square was laid out and the courthouse placed in the middle of it. The strong preference for retaining the courthouse as the central element of the courthouse square plan held true, even during the New Deal era. PWA programs destroyed a good bit of the historic Nashville square in the name of urban renewal and progress, but the designers still located the courthouse in the center of the square, at least what was left of it. In Sumner County and Franklin County, the new PWA courthouses were placed in the same central location, even though the size of the building almost totally eclipsed the size of the courthouse lot. The courthouse square has remained the key landscape setting for local government in most Tennessee counties.

Section III Endnotes:

¹Lois Craig and the staff of the Federal Architecture Project, The Federal Presence: Architecture, Politics and Symbols in United States Government Buildings (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1977), 343.

²Harry Hopkins, Spending to Save: The Complete Story of Relief (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1936), 89.

³Ibid., 68.

⁴C.W. Short and R. Stanley-Brown, Public Buildings: Architecture Under the Public Works Administration, 1933-1939 Vol. I, 2d ed., with an introduction by Richard Guy Wilson (New York: De Capo Press, Inc., 1986), vii.

⁵Craig, et al., The Federal Presence, 342.

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⁶Ibid.

⁷Public Works Administration, Division of Information,
America Builds: The Record of the PWA (Washington: United
States Government Printing Office, 1939), 36.

⁸Ibid., 37.

⁹Craig, et al., The Federal Presence, 353.

¹⁰John Dean Minton, "The New Deal in Tennessee, 1932-
1938" (Ph.D. diss., Vanderbilt University, 1959), 143-151.

¹¹Craig, et al., The Federal Presence, 343.

¹²Short and Stanley-Brown, Public Buildings, viii.

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Associated Property Types

F-I. Name of Property Type

County Courthouses

F-II. Description

The Tennessee County Courthouses constructed during the period 1865 to 1945 represent several important yet distinct periods of history in the state. Beginning in the post Civil War period the architectural styles are grouped into three categories, Victorian, Classical Revival, and Modern which include Italianate, Second Empire, Romanesque, Renaissance, Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, and PWA Modern.

The Italianate styles in Tennessee county courthouses are characterized by a rectangular or square floorplan with large eaves and paired brackets. Narrow windows with heavy lintels or hoods, low pitched roof, molded brick details on chimneys and corners, drip moldings, dentils and cupolas are also characteristic. Particularly distinctive are narrow windows with round arches.

The Italianate style evolved into the Second Empire style, reflecting Victorian desires to decorate more elaborately. The Second Empire style is particularly distinguished by the mansard roof. Quions, heavy lintels or hoods on windows, bracketed cornice, porthole dormers, chimneys with decorative caps are all details found on these buildings. Some of these details are shared with the Italianate style.

The Romanesque style as found later in the Victorian period in Tennessee courthouses is distinguished by heavy, large brick arches, particularly in entranceways. The solid massing and use of dark red brick combined with these heavy arches, often found in an arcade, give the buildings a more somber association than the earlier more fanciful Italianate and Second Empire styles. Also found on these buildings are

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delicate and ornate carving details done in a dark limestone or terra cotta.

Following the Romanesque styling came the Renaissance Revival styles. Characteristic of this style are extended entrance arcades which might be confused with the Romanesque style. These arcades are more grand with more of a statement of entranceway than the Romanesque arches which focus more on a single entrance as central focus of the front facade. The Renaissance Revival style sought to mimic the Renaissance buildings of Europe and create a three part division to buildings. This three part alignment places the main floor on the second floor with the first serving as a basement and the top floor as the most decorative. This technique is well illustrated with the Sevier County Courthouse.

Beginning in 1905 the Classical Revival style made its appearance in Tennessee courthouses with the new courthouse in Maury County. The Classical Revival style is referred to as such because it renewed the use of Greek and Roman architectural forms. By using the basic temple form and applying the traditional triangular pediments and classical columns architects gave these buildings strong association with the roots of democracy in Classical Greece and Rome. Ornament on these buildings in Tennessee varied in elaboration due to the ability of architects and wealth of the county.

Following the use of Classical Revival forms was the Colonial Revival style. Very similar to the Classical Revival forms, Colonial Revival is distinguished by a dignified simplicity reminiscent of the designs found at Colonial Williamsburg. Of red brick construction, the buildings feature architectural details such as belt courses, quoins, and Palladian-influenced windows and doorway pediments.

After the popularity of the Colonial Revival styles came the influence of the Federal government upon the courthouses of Tennessee through the New Deal programs of the Works Progress Administration and the Public Works Administration.

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These new styles blended the Classical lines and associations of the previous two styles with the innovative decorative ornament of the Art Deco period. Dominant on these courthouses is a sense of verticality and smooth planes. Narrow windows set back from the facades in dark panes help to emphasize this smooth vertical movement. Classical columns or interpretations of columns are also found on these buildings. Ornament on these buildings is subtle and refined set in bands around the building or topping an entranceway or window. These buildings break with earlier traditions in architecture but clearly employ earlier principles.

In general, the interior plans of most Tennessee courthouses from 1865 to 1945 lack elaborate decoration and embellishment. Exceptions are found in the county courthouses of larger urban areas, or those located in rich agricultural counties, where enough money rested in county coffers to pay for an elaborately designed interior. In general, most Tennessee courthouses from 1865 to 1945 follow a cruciform plan. The center point where the two hallways meet is, in many cases, a small and rather unimposing lobby. Typically the only monument or memorial is a simple bronze plaque detailing the date of the building, its architect and contractor, and the members of the building committee that supervised its construction. A staircase is invariably located here to provide access to the basement and, in most cases, the second floor. Several county courthouses do have third floors; in those built from the 1920s on, the third floor usually became the location of sheriff's offices and the county jail.

The primary courtroom is located on the second floor, often surrounded by offices for court officials and the jury's deliberation room. The courtroom is typically the most embellished public space, with a stylized judge's bench, woodwork, flooring, and spectator seating. The first floor contains offices for county officials such as the registrar, county executive, county extension agent, clerk and master, and property tax assessor. The basement most often contains restrooms, storage space, and newly converted office space for county or state officials who use the courthouse. In

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several courthouses, for example, the basement had offices for the local state highway patrol officer.

Another interior plan found in Tennessee courthouses constructed from 1865 to 1945 is a central hallway plan, with access provided on either end and by a simple entry from the front entrance. In these buildings, there is no central lobby and there is often a single staircase, located on either end of the central hallway, that provides access to the upper floor(s).

In general, the interior offices of the non-urban Tennessee courthouses from 1865 to 1945 are rather unadorned spaces. In most cases, hardwood or simple tile floors remain in place. The walls were usually plastered with a minimum of decorative woodwork, with simple baseboards and wooden doors. Ceiling and lighting elements were merely functional and also lacked ornament.

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F-III: Significance

County courthouses built in Tennessee from 1865 to 1945 are most often significant for their contribution to local architecture under Criterion C. This multiple property nomination considers three broad architectural categories: Victorian, Classical Revival, and Modern. Individual architectural styles considered under these categories are: Italianate, Second Empire, Romanesque, Renaissance, Classical Revival, Colonial Revival, and PWA Modern. The individual courthouses are assessed as to whether they are good representative examples of that style within their local context, especially in the context of public architecture, and whether the interior and exterior architectural integrity of the courthouse is intact.

County courthouses also gain significance through their association with the Politics/Government theme of Criterion A. Strongly associated with the Progressive era in Tennessee politics and its "Jim Crow" segregation practices, these buildings were often designed as centralized administrative centers for local politicians who implemented local programs, and increasingly during the early twentieth century, state government programs. They are strongly associated with a significant trend in Tennessee government in the first half of the twentieth century: in exchange for funding and expertise from state and federal sources, county officials and commissions lost local autonomy and governmental power and evolved into administrative branches for state, then federal, programs in public health, transportation, and education. Courthouses built in the New Deal era are also eligible under Criterion A for their strong association with federal reform and relief programs from such federal agencies as the Public Works Administration, the Works Progress Administration, and the National Youth Administration.

As the site for a county's courts of law, the buildings may also be eligible for their local association with the theme of Law under Criterion A. In such a case, due consideration must be given the legal significance of the case in the

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local setting as well as considering whether the legal precedent set had a lasting influence on local, state, or federal case law.

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F-IV: Registration Requirements

Courthouses which possess significance for architecture under Criterion C or politics/government and law under Criterion A may still not be eligible for listing in the National Register if they no longer possess architectural and historical integrity. The integrity of a property is assessed by evaluating its design, workmanship, materials, setting, location, feeling, and association, and how, and to what degree, these characteristics have been altered since the property's period of significance.

The integrity test may be more strictly applied when the nomination is for architectural significance under Criterion C. Many Tennessee courthouses retain a high degree of exterior integrity; their interiors, however, have often been modernized to a degree where historic architectural integrity is no longer present. These buildings may not be eligible under the theme of architecture under Criterion C.

When a courthouse is nominated under Criterion A, however, the fact that the building has expanded or partitioned spaces may actually provide physical documentation of the expansion of government services during the twentieth century and therefore may help to document significance under Politics/Government, depending, of course, when this expansion took place and whether the expansion occurred during a period of significance for the building. In the case of the nominated properties which accompany this multiple property cover sheet, original interior office spacing and configuration are extant as well as historic decorative treatments for walls, floors, doors, and windows. All nominated courthouses should meet this test. Most alterations involve the installation of carpet and dropped ceilings which do not impact the historical configuration of the courthouse as well as its primary decorative wall, door, and window treatments. These modernization changes took place from 1978 to 1980, ironically, as a result of legislation approved by the Tennessee General Assembly that provided state funds for the modernization of Tennessee courthouses.

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Buildings that have experienced unsympathetic interior alterations--involving the gutting of historic hallways, offices, and other interior spaces into new offices in addition to the use of unsympathetic building materials for floor, wall, and ceiling areas--may remain eligible as a contributing element in a courthouse square historic district. Exterior architectural integrity, however, must be extant in these cases. One potential example is the Marshall County Courthouse in Lewisburg, as part of a courthouse square historic district; a second likely candidate would be the Carroll County Courthouse in Huntingdon.

For the Law theme of Criterion A, consideration should be given to how, and to what degree, the courtroom has been altered since the end of its period of significance. Indeed, understanding the period of significance for a theme under Criterion A and C will guide whether the building retains historical and/or architectural integrity.

Some courthouses may also be eligible for the National Register because significant political or legal events, like the Scopes Monkey Trial at the Rhea County Courthouse (NHL 12/8/76), took place there or that the building is strongly associated with a prominent politician or governmental leader who is a significant historical person by defined by Criterion B.

The courthouses cannot be assessed in splendid isolation. They were the central, and in most cases the dominating, element of the local central courthouse square. Whether the courthouse retains its historic setting is an important question. Has the town lot on which the courthouse sets been altered by new construction? Has actual land been removed, paved over, or destroyed in some fashion? The monuments and other public memorials on the courthouse lot should be assessed for their date of construction and their historical and/or architectural association with the extant building.

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G. Geographical Data

The area surveyed and considered for inclusion in this nomination included all of the counties of Tennessee.

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H. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

The counties of Tennessee were surveyed to determine which ones had extant courthouses constructed between 1865 and 1945. These courthouses became the focus of the study. Special emphasis was given to courthouses not already listed individually in the National Register of Historic Places or listed as a contributing element in a National Register historic district.

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I. Major Bibliographic References

Published county histories were consulted for each of the selected county courthouses emphasized in this report and these sources are not individually listed in this bibliography. A second common source was county court records available at the individual courthouses. Local city and county newspapers from the period of the courthouse's construction were a third valuable source of information. When consulted, these sources are listed fully in the individual courthouse nominations.

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