1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Andalusia Farm (Flannery O'Connor Home)

Other Name/Site Number: Sorrel Farm (1933)

Designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior, January 27, 2022.

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 2628 North Columbia Street Not for publication:

City/Town: Milledgeville Vicinity:

State: Georgia County: Baldwin Code: 009 Zip Code: 31061–8763

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property

Private: X
Public-Local:
Public-State: X
Public-Federal:

Category of Property

Building(s):
District: X
Site:
Structure:
Object:

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing		**Noncontributing**	
buildings	11	buildings	1
sites	1	sites	0
structures	4	structures	1
objects	2	objects	1
Total	18	Total	3

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 18

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: n/a

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register
___ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Domestic	Sub: Single dwelling
	Agriculture	Sub: Animal facility
	Agriculture	Sub: Agricultural outbuilding
	Agriculture	Sub: Agricultural field
	Landscape	Sub: Forest
Current:	Recreation/Culture	Sub: Museum
	Agriculture	Sub: Agricultural field
	Landscape	Sub: Forest

7. DESCRIPTION

Architectural Classification: Mid-19th Century: Greek Revival

MATERIALS:

Foundation:	Brick; Concrete; Other (Structural Clay Tile)
Walls:	Wood (Weatherboard); Other (Structural Clay Tile); Brick
Roof:	Metal
Other:	Brick; Wood

Summary Statement of Significance

Listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1980, Andalusia Farm is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 2 for its association with author Flannery O'Connor. The period of significance begins in 1951, when O'Connor moved to Andalusia with her mother, and ends with O'Connor's death in 1964. In addition to being O'Connor's home during her most productive years as a writer, Andalusia was the inspiration for the settings of many of her short stories. O'Connor's unorthodox combination of religious themes, violence, and the grotesque challenged expectations of both religious and Southern gothic literature and continues to influence American writers and artists. Her short stories represent an outstanding example of the resurgence of the short story as a literary art form in the early and mid-twentieth century, and she was one of the leading practitioners of the literary values of the New Criticism. She also holds a significant place in the development of Southern literature as one of the first twentieth-century Southern writers to focus on universal rather than regional themes and to depict the people and culture of the South without dwelling on its past.

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.[1]

Andalusia is a 544–acre property situated approximately four miles northwest of the city of Milledgeville in Baldwin County, Georgia, on the west side of North Columbia Street (US 441). The nominated property is the same size as it was when Flannery O'Connor lived there. The eastern part of the property includes the house where O'Connor lived, as well as agricultural buildings, a livestock pond, fields, and forests. The western part is primarily forested and has been used for timber production. Nearly all of the buildings that existed during the period of significance (1951–1964) remain, and alterations to historic buildings are few and minor. The landscape also has seen few major changes since O'Connor's death in 1964, and has a high level of integrity of association, since O'Connor used elements of the landscape as the setting for many of her short stories.

Most of the contributing resources, as well as the three noncontributing resources, are located in the farm complex, which lies in the southeast quadrant of the property. The main house and the Hill House, which is a former slave dwelling that served as a tenant house in the 1950s and 1960s, were built in the mid-nineteenth century. The agricultural buildings, structures, and objects in the farm complex were constructed between 1930 and 1960. Most of the resources in the farm complex are in good condition. However, the horse barn and the calf barn are in fair condition, as portions of the wood framing and siding have deteriorated and sections of the metal roofs are missing. A 1953 livestock pond lies to the south of the house. Two contributing buildings—a tenant house and a hay barn—stand near the southern border of the property and were historically connected to the farm complex via a dirt road. The dwelling was likely constructed in the early twentieth century to house workers on the farm. The barn (a former dwelling) and another secondary dwelling that is no longer extant were moved to this area in 1954.

Setting

During the period of significance (1951–1964), the area surrounding Andalusia was primarily agricultural, encompassing a mix of farms and timber land. By the early 1970s, commercial and residential development began occurring along North Columbia Street in the vicinity of Andalusia. Currently, commercial establishments such as hotels, car dealerships, and retail stores occupy most of the lots along North Columbia Street to Andalusia's south and east, and a residential neighborhood lies to its north. Undeveloped, privately owned land borders the property on the west.

[1] Craig R. Amason wrote the first draft of this section of the NHL nomination, drawing heavily on his article, "From Agrarian Homestead to Literary Landscape: A Brief History of Flannery O'Connor's Andalusia," *Flannery O'Connor Review* 2 (2003–2004): 8. The information in this description reflects the appearance and condition of Andalusia Farm in 2015, when the fieldwork was completed. No major changes occurred since 2015 that adversely affect the integrity of the property.

Landscape (contributing site)

Topography

Tobler Creek, a spring-fed waterway that empties into the Oconee River, bisects Andalusia, entering near the west corner and meandering to an exit near the center of the southern boundary. Areas of wetlands border the creek in several areas. On both sides of the waterway, several ridges run roughly perpendicular to it, with dry stream beds or intermittent streams between the ridges. A second, smaller stream that is a tributary of Tobler Creek crosses near the property's northern corner. Andalusia encompasses a range of thriving ecosystems, from marshes and bogs to meadow and hardwood clearings, and provides habitat for an abundance of wildlife: white tail deer, coyote, wild turkey, red tail hawk, beaver, raccoon, aquatic birds, and a variety of reptiles and amphibians.

Spatial Organization and Land Use

In addition to being a prominent topographical feature, Tobler Creek also marks a division in land use within the property. The land east of Tobler Creek was used for domestic and agricultural purposes and includes the farm complex. Most of the agricultural buildings stand behind the south-facing main house, where Flannery O'Connor and her mother lived. Two buildings on the property housed hired workers during the period of significance. The mid-nineteenth-century Hill House is located to the northwest of the main house at the end of the main driveway. A second tenant house, the ruins of a third tenant house, and a hay barn are located approximately 0.2 miles south of the main house in a wooded area not accessed by vehicles.

Currently, the domestic and agricultural buildings are open to the public and used for recreational and commemorative purposes or are vacant. Approximately fifty acres of land on the east side of Tobler Creek are devoted to the production of Coastal Bermuda hay, and other areas are forested.

Since at least the 1930s, the forested area to the west of Tobler Creek has been used for timber production. The forests on both sides of the creek include loblolly (*Pinus taeda*) and short-leaf pine (*Pinus echinata*), as well as hardwoods. The hardwoods are concentrated along creeks and intermediate slopes and include white oak (*Quercus alba*), red oak (*Quercus falcata*), sweetgum (*Liquidambar styaciflua*), yellow poplar (*Liriodendron tulipfera*), sycamore (*Platanus occidentalis*), and varieties of hickory and maple. Currently, the forests on the west side of Tobler Creek and along the property's northern boundary are being managed and harvested based on a forest stewardship plan prepared in 2007. The fields and forests of Andalusia are also used for hunting.

Chronology of Agricultural and Domestic Use

Agricultural and domestic use of the land east of Tobler Creek began in the early or mid-nineteenth century. Two buildings remain from the nineteenth century: the main house and the Hill House, which originally stood closer to the main house and was constructed as a slave dwelling. To control erosion in agricultural fields on the hilly terrain, the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century property owners created terraces and hillside ditches along the contours of the fields. Although the terraces and ditches have eroded, they remain visible in several of the existing hayfields and adjacent woods to the northwest of the farm complex. The presence of these features indicates that some elements of the arrangement of the fields to the northwest of the farm complex date to the mid- or late nineteenth century.

During the period of significance, Andalusia was a dairy farm, and most of the area surrounding the farm complex consisted of agricultural fields and pastures. Dr. Bernard Cline (Flannery O'Connor's uncle) established the dairy in the early 1940s, and Flannery O'Connor's mother, Regina O'Connor, managed it after Cline's death in 1947. Cline and his brother-in-law, Frank Florencourt, were responsible for the construction of

nearly all of the existing agricultural buildings within the farm complex. To support the dairy operations, wooded areas to the south and east of the farm complex were converted to pastures or agricultural fields, with forested areas remaining along streams and stream beds. Regina O'Connor added the livestock pond that lies to the south of the farm complex in 1953. Three more livestock ponds were added in the 1960s after Regina O'Connor, who co-owned and managed the farm during this period, began raising beef cattle instead of dairy cows. The 1953 pond has been restored, and remnants of the 1960s ponds remain.[2]

Agricultural and timber production at Andalusia gradually declined in the late 1960s and 1970s and ceased by 1980.[3] As a result, many of the agricultural fields that were present during the period of significance are overgrown with tall grasses and scattered trees; other abandoned fields now appear as forests. Five of the fields and pastures are currently being used for hay production. One, known as the front hayfield, occupies the southeastern corner of the property and borders North Columbia Street. Two large hayfields lie northwest of the farm complex, and two smaller hayfields are located along the northeastern bank of Tobler Creek. Due to tree growth in abandoned fields and the presence of tree lines between fields, much of Andalusia has a wooded appearance.

Buildings and Structures

The main house stands on a rise at the southeastern edge of the farm complex. The house is surrounded on the south, east, and north by grassy lawns with scattered, mature trees, most of which are oaks; two large oaks frame the view of the house when approached from the driveway. Stone-lined plant beds are located along the main driveway and to the east and southeast of the house. These irregularly shaped, curvilinear beds contain a variety of plants, including camellias, irises, yucca plants, and oak trees; two of the beds contain birdbaths that were added in 2005. In the early 2000s, vintage iris beds on the east side of the house were returned to their appearance during the period 1951–1964. Holly bushes and crepe myrtle trees stand in front of the house, and several fig trees – favorites of Flannery O'Connor's uncle and co-owner of Andalusia, Louis Cline – stand to the northeast of the house. A line of trees marks the northern edge of the house's back yard; the wood fences that enclosed the yard in the mid-twentieth century have been removed. Beyond the tree line is a large grassy area that is used for visitor parking and for outdoor events.

To the northwest of the house and on the opposite side of the driveway is a dwelling (Hill House) that was constructed in the mid-nineteenth century to house enslaved people and served as a tenant house for farm workers during the period of significance. Directly behind the main house is a cluster of outbuildings that includes a water tower and a well house that are associated with the water distribution system built in the 1930s; a yard hydrant northwest of the house is also part of this water system. Because of its height, the water tower is a dominant feature of the landscape at Andalusia, even though it no longer supplies water to the farm. A wood platform to the northwest of the water tower marks the site of the nail house (circa 1935), which collapsed in 2015. To the east of the platform, a row of narcissus plants and scattered bricks set in the ground mark the location of a former fenced area. During the period of significance, the nail house functioned as a storage space and as an aviary for O'Connor's exotic birds, and comprised a narrow, frame, gable-roofed center section with larger, shed-roofed additions extending from the east and west elevations. An aviary constructed in 2008 stands northeast of the house, near the eastern edge of the back yard.

To the northwest of the house is a cluster of three buildings that are associated with the dairy and cattle farming operations at Andalusia. These buildings are arrayed around a farm yard that was dirt during the period of

[2] Amason, "From Agrarian Homestead to Literary Landscape," 10. See also 1936 soil survey prepared for Dr. Bernard Cline (Flannery O'Connor – Andalusia Foundation) and aerial photographs available through the Digital Library of Georgia.

[3] "Andalusia," National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1980), Section 7, 2.

significance but is currently grassy. The largest of the three is the cow barn, which stands at the northern edge of the farm yard and fills the view looking north along the main driveway. The equipment shed and milk house face towards each other across the farm yard. A silage ditch is located northeast of the cow barn and milk house. Though functionally related to the buildings surrounding the farm yard, the calf barn is set apart from them; it stands northeast of the cow barn in an overgrown field and faces south towards the main house.

A third cluster of outbuildings is located southwest of the main house and includes the pump house and horse barn. A fenced, grassy field lies to the north of the horse barn; most of the trees along the fence line were planted after the period of significance.

A house, hay barn, and the foundations of a former dwelling are situated near the southern property boundary. The two dwellings housed families who worked at Andalusia. The extant dwelling was built circa 1910, while the other house and the barn were moved to this location in 1954. Evidence from the debris that remained after the second house collapsed indicated that it was a wood-framed building with a gabled, metal-covered roof and a porch.[4] In the 1950s and early 1960s, these buildings were surrounded by open fields and stood on the west side of a road that ran along the west edge of the front hayfield. Currently, the road is overgrown and the land immediately surrounding the buildings is forested.

Circulation Patterns

The main driveway into Andalusia begins at North Columbia Street, 490 feet north of the property boundary. Between North Columbia Street and the main house, an abandoned farm road branches off to the south to provide access to the buildings near the southern boundary. The route of this road remains visible behind the tree line of the front hayfield but is overgrown and not passable. Post and wire fences line most of the road trace.

The main driveway passes to the south of the house before curving around its west elevation towards the farm yard. Stone steps and a brick walkway lead from the main driveway to the entrance on the front (south) elevation of the house; another brick walkway extends along the west elevation. A semi-circular, graveled driveway on the east side of the main driveway provides access to a small graveled parking area behind the house, and a walkway composed of concrete pavers leads from the parking area to the stone pavers beneath a carport attached to the house. A short two-track driveway passes between the water tower and the nail house site.

The main driveway continues past the farm yard to the agricultural fields. Traces of this and other roads that connected the fields remain throughout the eastern half of the property. Some of these roads are used by logging trucks, and a couple of temporary bridges have been erected across Tobler Creek to provide access to the west forests.

A one-mile walking trail from the farm complex traverses the land to the southwest of the house. Built in 2005, the trail begins as a mowed path that leads south from the main driveway through a field towards the 1953 pond. Most of the trail consists of dirt or grass paths through wooded areas; two bridges carry the trail over Tobler Creek.

Main Driveway (1940s, contributing structure)

During the period of significance, the main driveway was a dirt road that extended from North Columbia Street, past the main house, and through the farm complex to the fields to the north and northwest. Currently, the

[4] Since the site was last documented in 2005, nearly all of the architectural debris has been removed. The date that the buildings were moved was provided by Louise Florencourt.

driveway is a dirt and gravel road that cuts through an embankment that runs along North Columbia Street, then continues west for approximately 375 feet before curving northwest towards the main house. The segment of the main driveway between North Columbia Street and the main house was re-routed in the 1940s; the oak trees along the road were planted at that time.[5] Other ornamental plants, including yucca and iris, as well as a stone-lined ditch, also line the roadway. Low stone retaining walls that were erected in or before the 1930s extend along the north side of the driveway as it approaches the house.

Beyond the farm yard, the driveway is a two-track, dirt road that passes between former fields and pastures. The road remains passable to a point just south of the hayfield to the north of the farm complex.

Main House (circa 1855, contributing building)

The main house stands about 500 yards west of US 441 and faces south. Built circa 1855, the house is a frame, two-story, five-bay, plantation plain-style dwelling with Greek Revival details and a full-width front porch. The one-story, shed-roofed rear section is a defining feature of plantation plain-style dwellings, which were common in nineteenth-century Georgia.[6] In the mid-twentieth century, the building was expanded with the construction of a one-story, shed-roofed addition (1940s), a one-story, gable-roofed addition (1959) that wraps around the northeast corner of the rear rooms, and a rear carport. The house was renovated in 1998–2000 and is in good condition.

Exterior

The two-story main block, the one-story rear section, and the 1940s addition rest on brick piers with structural clay tile infill; the foundation of the 1959 addition is concrete block. Wood weatherboard covers all exterior elevations, except the first story of the south (front) elevation, which is clad in wood channel siding. The red, standing-seam metal roofs and the two skylights in the one-story rear section were installed in 1998–2000; the metal roof on the circa 1855 sections replaced an earlier shingle roof. Half-round, galvanized steel gutters and round downspouts direct water away from the building. An exterior brick chimney with a parged base is centered in each gable end of the two-story section.

Supported by brick piers, the front porch features square wood columns, a wide entablature typical of the Greek Revival style, and wood, tongue-and-groove decking. The porch was almost certainly an original feature, although the present porch may have been rebuilt before Dr. Bernard Cline (Flannery O'Connor's uncle) purchased the property in 1933. Screens were first installed in the 1940s. The decking, screen framing, and front railings and steps date to the 1998–2000 rehabilitation. The front steps were rebuilt using historic brick; many of the bricks in the steps are embossed with "McMillan / Milledgeville, GA," the name of a local brick manufactory that closed in the early 1940s.

On the front elevation, two elongated, six-over-six, wood windows are located on each side of a central door. The mid-nineteenth-century, four-panel, wood door is set within Greek Revival-style door surround with a five-light transom and three-light-over-one-panel sidelights; the west sidelight has been replaced. The molded wood lintel and the posts on either side of the door may have been added in order to build out the frame to

[5] Aerial photographs from Digital Library of Georgia, 1942 and 1951. The oak trees along the driveway begin to be visible in the 1960 aerial photograph. The northern end of the road to the tenant house and hay barn was also reconfigured in the 1940s. The embankment along North Columbia Street was created when the road was widened.

[6] The plantation plain-style house is a type and not a style, since it can appear with Greek Revival, Italianate, or any number of other design details more typically associated with style. Originally described by Frederick Doveton Nichols, the plantation plain-style house is very similar to the I House described by McAlester and others but with the addition of one-story, shed-or hipped-roofed range of rooms and/or porch across the rear. Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, "House Types in Georgia," n.d., 14, https://www.dca.ga.gov/sites/default/files/housetypes.pdf.

accommodate a screen door that has since been removed. The windows have square-edged, wood trim and extend to the floor.

The second-story and side elevation windows on the two-story main block are six-over-six, wood windows with square-edged wood trim. During the time that Flannery O'Connor lived in the house, most of these windows had louvered wood shutters; currently, only the first-story windows on the south elevation have shutters. There are five second-story windows on the front and rear elevations, mirroring the fenestration on the first story of the front elevation. Each of the side elevations has two windows, one on each side of the chimney. On the one-story rear section, the only exterior windows that remain visible are the paired windows on the west elevation. The northernmost of these windows was added in the early twentieth century after an exterior brick chimney was removed.

The rear additions were constructed in several stages between 1933 and 1959. The earliest additions extend across the western two-thirds of the rear elevation and were constructed before Flannery O'Connor moved to Andalusia in 1951.[7] These additions feature a variety of wood windows: eight-over-eight, three-over-one, and ganged six-over-six. On the north elevation of the additions, there is a four-panel wood door at the eastern end, and a four-light door with three horizontal panels near the western end; the steps and railings leading to these doors were replaced in 1998–2000. The doors and windows on the north elevation are irregularly spaced, reflecting the multiple stages of construction.

The one-story addition that wraps around the northeast corner of the building was constructed in 1959 replacing an earlier shed-roofed addition.[8] Built for Louis Cline (Flannery O'Connor's uncle and co-owner of Andalusia), the 1959 addition has an asymmetrical gable roof and extends approximately twenty feet beyond the east wall of the main block. The exterior walls of the 1959 addition feature paired, six-over-six, wood windows.

During the period of significance, the area between the 1959 addition and the earlier rear additions was a porch; the door from the kitchen to this porch functioned as the primary rear entrance. Historic photographs indicate that three wide steps led down to the carport from this door and the adjacent door to the rear additions. A simple metal railing was attached to the east wall of the porch, likely to assist Flannery O'Connor in descending the steps when lupus treatments affected her mobility. The porch was enclosed before 1998.[9] Between 1998 and 2000, the former porch was expanded to the north, and a new, west-facing door was added.

In addition to the previously mentioned work, the 1998–2000 rehabilitation project included removing aluminum siding and restoring the historic wood siding. Major repairs to the southeast corner of the house were necessary as a result of severe termite damage, and the rear roof slope was modified to create a continuous slope between the one-story section of the main block and the rear additions.

Interior

On both the first and second floors, the two-story section of the house has a center-hall plan. Half-turn stairs with narrow treads, a turned newel post, and square balusters occupy the rear part of the central hall. On the second floor, the front third of the center hall was enclosed before or during the period of significance to create a bathroom. The one-story rear section contains three rooms whose interior walls align with the room divisions in the two-story section.

[7] A photograph in the Georgia College and State University (GCSU) Foundation collection taken before 1959 shows all of the rear additions in place.

[8] A photograph of the rear of the building in the GCSU Foundation collection taken before the 1959 Cline addition shows it extending nearly to the end of the rear section of the main block.

[9] As-built drawings prepared in conjunction with the 1998–2000 rehabilitation show walls or windows enclosing this area.

The rooms in the circa 1855 sections of the house have lath-and-plaster walls and wood tongue-and-groove flooring that is 5"-6" wide. The two-story section features beadboard ceilings that were likely installed in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. The three rooms in the rear section have drywall ceilings; a portion of an earlier bead board ceiling is visible in the kitchen. Wood trim includes crown molding on the first floor, three-part baseboards on the first floor of the two-story section, two-part baseboards in the rear rooms, single-bead baseboards on the second floor, and six-inch-wide door and window casing with a molded backband. Wood panels are set beneath the side windows in the two front rooms on the first floor. Four-panel, wood doors—most with original hinges and rimlocks intact—connect all rooms in the circa 1855 section.

During the period of significance, the first-floor room to the west of the center hall was Flannery O'Connor's bedroom and the place where she wrote each morning and completed her most important works. The front room on the right (east) side of the center hall was the dining room, where O'Connor met with her Tuesday night book club and first read aloud to them her short story "The Enduring Chill." Each room has a fireplace with a stone hearth. The wood mantelpiece in O'Connor's bedroom features flat pilasters and a recessed triangle in the frieze beneath the mantel shelf. The fireplace in the dining room is similar but with a flat frieze beneath an edge-reeded mantel shelf. The second-floor rooms functioned as bedrooms for guests; the mantelpieces are similar to the one in the dining room. Currently, plaster damage exists throughout the mid-nineteenth-century portions of the house, especially in Flannery O'Connor's bedroom, the dining room, and below the second-story window that illuminates the staircase.

The west room of the rear section, which is adjacent to Flannery O'Connor's bedroom, was the bedroom of her mother, Regina O'Connor. This room retains a six-over-six window in the north (interior) wall that predates the rear additions. When Flannery and Regina O'Connor lived at Andalusia, the center room functioned as the farm office, and the east room was the kitchen. Five-panel and six-panel doors in the north walls of the west and center rooms lead to the rear additions. The kitchen retains four-panel, wood doors in the north and east walls that were originally exterior doors and likely date to the mid-nineteenth century. The easternmost door in the kitchen's north wall was added in 1998–2000; a window in the north wall was removed at the same time.

The pre–1951 rear additions include three rooms, among them a bathroom and a laundry/utility room. The bathroom features tiled wainscoting and metal towel racks above the bathtub. Directly below the towel racks is a round pipe that is attached to the wall in order to create a handrail. The wood drop siding for the original exterior wall of the laundry/utility room addition is visible in the hallway that separates the pre–1951 additions from the 1959 addition. Wood weatherboard siding and the door trim from the original exterior wall of the house are also visible in this hallway.

A door in the east wall of the kitchen leads to the three-room addition that was built in 1959 for Louis Cline. The addition features wood floors, board ceilings with crown molding, and four-panel, wood doors. The wood trim is similar to that in the main block, except for the presence of wide, flat boards with a single bead beneath the window sills. The sitting room in the 1959 addition is located east of the kitchen, and a door in its north wall leads to the bedroom. In 1998–2000, the addition was expanded to the west to create a larger bathroom next to the bedroom. The closet in the southwest corner of the bedroom was also added in 1998–2000. The sitting room and bedroom are currently used for exhibitions, meetings, and presentations.

Currently, the two front rooms on the first floor and the kitchen are furnished as they were when Flannery O'Connor lived in the house. The author's room contains her writing desk and bookcases, along with her bedroom furniture. Her crutches lean against her chifferobe, which is placed in the middle of the room against the back of her desk. In the dining room are the O'Connors' dining room suite of a table and eight chairs, a small couch, a sideboard, a secretary, and several smaller pieces. The kitchen has changed little since O'Connor's death, retaining the sink, stove, hoosier cabinet, table, and chairs that were present when she lived

in the house. The west and center rooms in the rear section are used as offices and as the gift shop, respectively, and the upstairs rooms are used for storage.

Well House (circa 1935, contributing building)

Located behind the main house, the well house is a small frame building that faces east and has a front-gabled, V-crimp, metal roof with unboxed eaves and a 4" fascia. The exterior is clad in 1" by 8" wood weatherboard. The building's parged brick foundation and concrete floor end approximately one-foot shy of the west wall, which is supported by structural tiles. On the east elevation, a wood board-and-batten door with drip cap provides access to the interior, where the historic brick and concrete well and the 1940s pump remain in place. The interior walls are unfinished, and wood planks cover the ceiling. The well house was restored in 2008 and is in good condition.

Water Tower (circa 1935, contributing structure)

The 32–foot-tall water tower is located immediately to the north of the main house and west of the well house. The four cross-braced, steel legs of the support structure for the elevated tank rest on concrete bases; each of the four legs is composed of angle-iron components reinforced with metal pipes clamped to each leg. The riser pipe has either been encased in wood or replaced with a wood box. The cylindrical tank has a conical roof and is constructed of vertical wooden staves reinforced with metal bands. The tank is set on a wood-framed platform with railing that provides a walkway around the tank. The tower was stabilized and restored by the Flannery O'Connor-Andalusia Foundation in 2004 with funds provided by a Georgia Heritage Grant from the Historic Preservation Division of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources.

Platform (2015, noncontributing structure)

A wood platform with seating stands in the footprint of the nail house. Future plans for Andalusia include removing the platform and re-building the nail house using as much of the original material as possible.

Aviary (2008, noncontributing building)

The aviary stands north of the house and east of the well house. A large enclosure for peafowl extends to the west of this shed-roofed, frame building with T-111 siding; a smaller enclosure for storage is attached to the building's east elevation. Both enclosures are constructed of wood and chicken wire.

Yard Hydrant (circa 1935, contributing structure)

The metal yard hydrant is located on the east side of the main driveway and roughly in line with the water tower and well house. Set in a concrete slab that is approximately 7' by 7', the hydrant stands about 5-½' tall and features a closed spout and a lever for pumping water by hand.

Hill House (circa 1855 [moved late 1940s], contributing building)

Formerly located in the crescent of the driveway facing the main house, the house was likely built at about the same time as the main house and originally housed people who were enslaved on the Hawkins plantation. In the decades after Emancipation, it likely housed African American tenants. The house was moved to its current location in the late 1940s, around the time that ownership of the farm passed from Flannery O'Connor's uncle, Dr. Bernard Cline, to her mother and uncle Louis Cline. The Hill House now stands approximately 225 feet northwest of the main house, between the house and farm yard.

During the period when Flannery O'Connor lived at Andalusia, the house was one of three tenant houses on the property and was the one that stood closest to the house where O'Conner and her mother lived. The white Stevens family lived in this house in the early 1950s, and O'Connor's published letters suggest that African American tenants Willie "Shot" Mason, Robert "Jack" and Louise Hill, and an elderly man named Henry lived in this house at various times between 1956 and 1962. The Hills continued to live at the house through the late 1960s.[10]

The main block of the braced-frame, one-and-a-half-story, side-gable house faces east. The shed-roofed rear addition and the front porch were added at the time that the building was moved, and the rear porch was likely constructed several years later.[11] The dwelling is set on brick piers with structural tile infill. The main block features wood weatherboard siding, and the rear addition is clad in board-and-batten siding. A brick chimney is roughly centered in the main block, and two smaller brick chimneys are located in the rear addition. Wood, 4"-by-4" posts support the hipped roof of the full-width front porch, which also rests on brick piers with structural tile infill.

Originally constructed to house two families, the main block has two doors on the front (east) elevation. Both of the front door openings hold wood screen doors and two-panel wood doors that are likely original to the building. The only windows on the front elevation are placed on either side of the north door. On the second story, the front elevation features three evenly spaced, one-over-one wood windows. The side elevations of the main block each have two windows per story. The first-story windows on the main block are nine-over-six, double-hung, wood windows, except the west window on the south elevation, which is a smaller, six-over-six, wood window. The second-story windows are four-over-four, double-hung, wood windows.

The one-story, rear addition has two exterior doors that open onto a shed-roofed porch that extends across the north half of the west elevation. The windows on the rear addition are irregularly placed and include six-over-six, wood windows in the north part of the addition, and mostly nine-over-nine wood windows in the south part.

The interior of the main block has a hall-and-parlor plan, with the larger room located to the north. The stairs were reconfigured when the rear addition was constructed; they are currently located along the rear wall, near the center of the main block, and are accessed via the rear addition. A closet is adjacent to the chimney in the north room, and a small closet is located in the southwest corner of the south room. An enclosure in the northwest corner of the south room has been incorporated into a bathroom that extends into the rear addition; this area may have originally enclosed stairs to the second floor. With the exception of the board-and-batten closet door in the north room, all interior doors on the first floor of the main block are wood with five horizontal panels. The second floor has two rooms connected by a board-and-batten door. On both floors, the interior walls and ceilings are covered with wood boards. Fragments of newspapers and magazines that functioned as wallpaper and insulation remain in the south room on the first floor; three large Plexiglas panels protect these fragments. The tongue-and-groove, wood floorboards are generally 5"-6" wide, and the baseboards and door and window surrounds are flat and square-edged.

[10] A photograph taken circa 1968 that is in the Georgia College and State University Foundation collection shows Louise Hill and several children on the porch of the Hill House. In a November 1959 letter from O'Connor that was published in *The Habit of Being*, she complains that photographs taken of her for a newspaper article showed the "Negro house in the background" (pp. 358-359). Given that the effects of treatments for lupus limited O'Connor's mobility, it is almost certain that these photographs were taken in the yard surrounding the house where she lived, which would mean that the Hill House was the dwelling that she referred to as being occupied by African American workers.

[11] Mark Reinberger, "A Brief Report on the Hill House, Andalusia," unpublished report, January 2011. Reinberger's report dates the rear addition to the 1940s, when the building was moved, noting that the way that the rear addition is joined to the main block is similar to the way in which the front porch is joined to the main block.

In the rear addition, a central hallway extends from the exterior door at its west end to the enclosed staircase at its east end. To the north of the hallway is the kitchen, which has vertical board wall cladding. To the south of the hallway is a bedroom with wallboard walls and vertical board wainscoting. A bathroom occupies the southeast corner of the rear addition. All rooms in the rear addition have board ceilings, and wood floorboards that are generally narrower than those in the main block.

In 2012, the house was repaired and rehabilitated with the assistance of a National Park Service Save America's Treasures grant and a Georgia Heritage Grant from the Historic Preservation Division of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources. Missing and deteriorated exterior siding was replaced in kind, and a new V-crimp metal roof was installed. Substantial sections of the front porch and the northwest half of the rear addition were rebuilt due to extensive structural damage. The rear porch, which had collapsed, was also rebuilt. On the interior, damaged and missing wall finishes, flooring, and ceilings were replaced, particularly in the kitchen and on the second floor, which suffered from water damage as a result of holes in the siding and roof. Many of the windows and surrounds were also in poor condition and were replaced in kind to match the existing.

Equipment Shed (circa 1940, contributing building)

The equipment shed faces east towards the farm yard. The one-story, shed-roofed building encloses seven equipment bays arranged in a linear fashion; a large open shed is attached to the rear elevation. The foundation is composed of an assortment of materials, including stone, concrete block, clay tile, poured concrete, and post-in-ground. The low-pitched shed roof over the equipment bays, as well as the pent roof that shelters the front (east) elevation, is V-crimp metal. The building is constructed of dimensional lumber posts and a few tree trunk posts, and the exterior is clad in vertical board siding. The open shed to the rear is supported by two five-bay trusses with diagonal braces at each end. The roof is covered with a combination of translucent plastic and corrugated metal.

All but one of the equipment bays are open on the east. Vertical board partition walls in the rear half of the building separate each bay. The second bay from the south is entirely enclosed in vertical board siding and divided into two rooms; both rooms are accessed via wood board-and-batten doors.

Extensive repairs to the equipment shed were completed in 2015. Prior to these repairs, approximately one quarter of the equipment bays had collapsed, substantial sections of the wood siding were missing, many of the posts and rafters were decayed, and the rear shed-roofed section was mostly collapsed. As part of the repairs, the roofs were replaced, and collapsed sections were re-built. Where possible, the existing posts, rafters, exterior siding, and partition walls were retained, but a large number were severely decayed and were replaced in kind. The partitions for two previously enclosed bays were removed due to severe deterioration and were not rebuilt. The enclosed bay that remains has new flooring but otherwise is constructed primarily of original materials. The severely deteriorated and partially collapsed open shed to the rear of the building was removed and replaced with a new shed that occupies the same footprint and is similar in overall configuration.

Cow Barn (circa 1935, contributing building)

The cow barn is located approximately 100 yards to the north of the main house and faces south towards the farm yard. A concrete ramp and walkway lead north from the milking parlor to a fenced former pasture that is overgrown with tall grass and young trees.

The frame, front-gable, transverse crib barn with hayloft was likely constructed circa 1935. By 1951, the barn was surrounded on three sides by shed-roofed additions, including a milking parlor to the east. Most of the exterior is clad in vertical board siding; widely spaced horizontal boards enclose formerly open sheds on the

north and west. The barn's frame structure rests on concrete or structural tile foundations, and V-crimp metal covers the entire roof.

The south (front) elevation is dominated by a floor-to-rafters opening that is centered beneath a front-gable hood that extends from the roof peak. The hood, which is supported by diagonal braces, shelters the centered opening as well as a hoist mechanism for moving hay into the loft. At ground level, the opening leads to the central corridor of the original transverse barn. Single, board-and-batten doors on either side of the opening provide access to rooms that flank the central corridor. On the interior, the lower level of the barn has dirt floors, and the hayloft has wood plank flooring.

The frame milking parlor has exterior door openings at its north and south ends, and nine window openings along its east wall. A shed-roofed, frame office with board-and-batten siding is attached to the north end of the east wall; two window openings pierce the east wall of the office. Inside the milking parlor, a concrete trough with fourteen metal stanchions extends along the west wall. Typical of twentieth-century dairy barns, the milking parlor has a concrete floor with a groove running the full length of the building and parallel to the stanchions to facilitate waste removal. The date "1945" is carved into the concrete trough that provides the foundation for fourteen metal stanchions, and "1953" is carved into a concrete sill along the north wall.

Prior to 2012, the cow barn was in poor condition. The exterior siding on all elevations suffered from rot, termite damage, and weathering. The outermost shed-roofed addition, which was lightly and inadequately framed, was in particularly bad condition. Posts had deteriorated as a result of being set directly in the ground and trees were growing into the walls, causing them to bow and sag, which in turn led to structural failures in the walls and rafters. The northwest corner had partially collapsed. The windows in the east wall of the milking parlor and in the dairy office were deteriorated beyond repair.

In 2012–2013, the roof was replaced, damaged structural members were replaced in kind, and unstable joints and timbers were reinforced. Deteriorated exterior siding was removed and replaced, while siding in good condition was reinstalled after structural work was completed. Severely damaged doors were replaced in kind; the deteriorated windows in the milking parlor were removed and have not been replaced. The remnants of the original windows remain stored in the barn.

Milk House (circa 1940, contributing building)

The milk house stands southeast of the cow barn and faces west towards the equipment shed. Constructed of structural tile, the one-story building has a concrete foundation and a V-crimp metal, hipped roof. A one-bay, side-gable addition, also constructed of structural tile, is attached to the south elevation; a brick chimney for a stove flue is centered in its rear roof slope. The hipped-roof section has five-panel, wood doors on its west and north elevations, and six-over-six, double-hung, wood windows on its west, south, and east elevations. A board-and-batten door is located in the west elevation of the addition.

The interior is finished with concrete floors and beadboard ceilings. The hipped-roof section is divided into two rooms; the north room features a built-in concrete basin on the east wall. The addition houses a pump and cooling and storage equipment.

Silage Ditch (pre–1950, contributing structure)

This tree-lined ditch, which is located east of the milk house and cow barn, was used to store feed for livestock. The ditch is approximately fifteen feet wide and two-and-a-half feet deep, and extends approximately 150 feet.

Trough (circa 1940, contributing object)

The trough is situated within a former pasture behind the cow barn; a concrete ramp from the barn's milking parlor leads to this pasture. The trough is constructed of formed concrete and is approximately three feet tall and fifteen feet wide.

Calf Barn (circa 1940, contributing building)

Located east of the cow barn and about 100 yards to the rear (north) of the main house, the calf barn was used to house and feed male calves. The area immediately surrounding the barn is overgrown with tall grass. To its northwest, there is evidence of a small pen enclosed by a wood fence with barbed wire.

The frame, front-gable barn with hayloft is nearly square and encompasses about 410 square feet. It is framed with 2"-by- 4" lumber, and rests on a structural tile foundation, portions of which have fallen out from under the sills. The exterior is sheathed with vertical boards with approximately ½" spaces between boards. The barn has a V-crimp metal roof that is in fair to poor condition.

The south elevation incorporates a single-leaf board-and-batten door placed off center; a similar hayloft door is centered in the gable. A small window opening is cut into the north end of the west elevation. There are two door openings in the north elevation; the remnants of a concrete ramp are visible outside one of the openings. The interior has a dirt floor, and a row of structural tiles running east-west through the barn forms a step up to the higher floor level of the south half of the building. An enclosed pen occupies the northeast corner of the barn's interior.

An open shed wraps around the barn's north and east elevations. The shed is supported by both dimensional lumber and tree trunk posts. In the north shed, the posts are notched over a wood sill that rests precariously on piers composed of salvaged cinderblocks and bricks. The southern half of the east shed has collapsed.

Pump House (circa 1945, contributing building)

The pump house stands southwest of the main house and on the opposite side of the main driveway. The square, brick building housed the pump and other equipment that delivered water from a well to the farm. The pump house sits on a poured concrete foundation and has walls constructed with over-sized, square bricks (approximately 8" by 8" by 4") laid in a running bond pattern. The hipped roof is covered with dark-grey, three-tab, asphalt shingles and features a wooden fascia and soffit. The wood, board-and-batten door is located off center on the south elevation; a small wood stair descends two or three steps to the dirt floor. The pump house is in good condition, despite some deterioration of the wood door and moss on the roof.

Horse Barn (circa 1940, contributing building)

The horse barn is located west of the main driveway and was a prominent part of the landscape that Flannery O'Connor could see from the main house. The field immediately surrounding the horse barn is grassy and slopes down to the west; wood and wire fencing encloses the field. The frame, gable-roofed barn is clad in vertical board siding and has a V-crimp metal roof that continues over an open shed that was added to the north elevation after 1951. The main structure is framed with a combination of log tree trunks and dimensioned lumber, while the partially collapsed shed is supported by dimensioned lumber. The east and west gable ends each have a ground-level opening and a hayloft door. Two door openings in the north elevation lead to the open shed; the iron manger that is attached to the wall between the doors was added after the period of significance. All exterior doors are board-and-batten.

The interior has four stalls on either side of a center aisle; one of the four stalls had wood flooring. A ladder near the east door opening provides access to the floored hayloft above. The dirt floor is uneven.

The horse barn is in fair condition. A section of siding at the south end of the west elevation is missing, and much of the siding along the south elevation is warped. There is a partial knee wall in the loft that was intended to support the roof, but it does not appear to be actually carrying the roof, which is poorly framed and deteriorated. At the western end of the shed, much of the roof is missing and the roof structure is unstable.

Sundial (post–2012, noncontributing object)

The metal, analemmatic sundial is set in concrete and stands at the corner of a square pad that is supported on two sides by wood beams. A concrete post with a metal cap forms the base of the sundial. A metal rod extends at an angle from the metal cap. The metal disc at the end of the rod has a hollowed center that allows sunlight to pass through; raised text on the disc describes how to calculate the sun's altitude and azimuth in order to create an analemma.

Livestock Pond (1953, contributing structure)

The livestock pond is located approximately 525 feet south of the main house and covers about one-half acre of land. The pond was restored in the early twenty-first century.

Tenant House (circa 1910,[12] contributing building)

This dwelling stands north of the hay barn, near the southern edge of the property, and was one of three tenant houses at Andalusia during the period of significance. Although current research has not definitively identified the occupants of each of the three houses, the existing documentation suggests that white dairymen and their families, including Hedy and Al Matyziak and the Stevens family, occupied either this house or the nearby house that is no longer extant. During the periods when there were no white farm workers on the property, African American employees at Andalusia, including the Hill family, Willie "Shot" Mason, and Henry, moved to this house or to the nearby house that is no longer standing.[13]

The one-story, frame building has an L-shaped footprint formed by a three-bay, gable-roofed main block and a rear ell; a collapsed bathroom occupies the inside corner of the "L." The building is set on brick piers with structural tile infill. The exterior walls are clad in wood weatherboard, except the west and south elevations of the ell, which have board-and-batten siding. The cross-gable roof has an approximately 10:12 pitch and is covered with V-crimp metal.

On the east (front) elevation, concrete steps lead up to a shed-roofed porch that shelters the main entrance and two six-over-six windows; the door and windows are not evenly spaced, reflecting the interior hall-and-parlor plan. The north and south elevations of the main block and the north elevation of the ell each have a set of paired windows. In addition, there are single windows in each elevation of the ell. All of the windows are wood, six-over-six, double-hung sash. A door in the south elevation of the ell opened onto a shed-roofed porch that has collapsed.

[12] A house in this location is shown on a 1936 soil survey map in the collection of the Georgia College and State University Foundation.

[13] Examples of Black workers at Andalusia moving concurrently as the white dairymen and their families arrived or departed can be found in *The Habit of Being*, 222, 253, 293.

The two front rooms have fireplaces that share a central brick chimney. These rooms have wood flooring, plywood wall paneling, and bead board ceilings. The two rooms in the ell are somewhat smaller with lower ceilings and similar plywood paneling.

The building is in poor condition; there are holes in the walls and roof, and the porches and the bathroom are partially or completely collapsed. The interior doors and woodwork, as well as many of the windows, are in fair condition.

Hay Barn (circa 1900 [moved/modified 1954], contributing building)

The hay barn stands near the southern property boundary. Originally constructed as a dwelling, this one-story, frame building was moved to this location in 1954 and modified for use as a barn. The rectangular building is set on brick and structural tile piers, and its side-gable, V-crimp metal roof has an approximately 5:12 pitch. The framing is irregular and inconsistent from wall to wall. The exterior is clad in wood weatherboard siding, portions of which have been patched with wood planks or metal roofing sheets. Most of the windows are missing and the openings covered with wood planks or metal sheets.

The front elevation features double, board-and-batten doors with narrow, widely spaced boards. The door opening has no trim and was likely widened when the building was converted to a barn. Window openings with flat, painted wood trim flank the doorway; the south window on the east elevation holds a nine-over-nine, double-hung, wood sash window. The rear elevation, which has been patched several times, has three window openings, and possibly a door opening. The side elevations each have two window openings on the first story, and one in the gable. The undivided interior is unfinished and open to the rafters.

The building is in poor condition. The northwest corner post is leaning in towards the building, and there are gaps in the exterior siding and holes in the roof. Trees are pushing into three sides of the building.

Evaluation of Integrity

The buildings and landscapes of Andalusia retain a high level of integrity to the period of significance (1951–1964). The house where Flannery O'Connor lived has had only minor alterations since her death in 1964. Changes include adding a railing along the front steps for safety reasons, enclosing and subdividing a rear porch that functioned as the primary rear entrance to the house, and constructing a carport attached to the rear elevation. In O'Connor's bedroom, in the dining room, and in the kitchen, much of the original O'Connor furniture from the period of significance remains. With the exception of the nail house, all of the buildings within the farm complex remain intact. A small aviary, a wood platform over the nail house site, and an analemmatic sundial have been added to the property since the end of the period of significance.

The landscape within the farm complex retains important character-defining features such as driveways, walkways, ornamental plantings, and open spaces. The main driveway leading to and through the farm complex remains intact, as do many of the stone-lined plant beds, trees, and shrubs, and flowering plants around the house. Despite the presence of small trees that have grown up along the fence lines and in former fields, the farm complex retains key open spaces, including the front and back yards of the main house, the field to the southwest of the house, the farm yard, and the front hayfield.

The hundreds of acres surrounding the farm complex also retain a high level of integrity. The spatial relationship of the buildings, the major roads, and the broad land use patterns remain much as they were in the 1950s and early 1960s. On the west side of Tobler Creek, the land continues to be used for timber production. Several of the historic agricultural fields remain in use, while fence lines and remnants of terraces and ditches mark the location of former fields. Old farm roads to the outlying fields are overgrown, but the historic road

beds remain visible as traces lined by fences and trees. These surviving elements, combined with fences, the livestock pond, and the collection of buildings, effectively convey Andalusia's historic agricultural character.

Andalusia comprises a unique literary landscape that fueled the fiction and creativity of one of America's finest and most influential writers. The buildings and landscape of Andalusia inspired many of the settings for Flannery O'Connor's stories. For example, the cow barn, the kitchen in the main house, the main driveway, and the front yard all appear within O'Connor's stories and remain recognizable today.[14]

[14] See Section 8 for additional details.

Inventory

Resource	*Date*	*Resource Type*	*C/NC*	*Photos*
Landscape	ca. 1850–1965	Site	C	1, 9–15, 17
Main Driveway	1940s	Structure	C	1, 12, 14, 17
Main House	ca. 1855	Building	C	1–9
Well House	ca. 1935	Building	C	9
Water Tower	ca. 1935	Structure	C	9
Platform	2015	Structure	NC	9
Aviary	2008	Building	NC	9
Yard Hydrant	ca. 1935	Object	C	12
Hill House	ca. 1855; moved 1940s	Building	C	14
Equipment Shed	ca. 1950	Building	C	14
Cow Barn	ca. 1935	Building	C	12–13
Milk House	ca. 1940	Building	C	13
Silage Ditch	pre–1950	Structure	C	-
Trough	ca. 1940	Object	C	-
Calf Barn	ca. 1940	Building	C	10
Pump House	ca. 1945	Building	C	15
Horse Barn	ca. 1940	Building	C	15
Sundial	post-2012	Object	NC	-
Livestock Pond	1953	Structure	C	11
Tenant House	ca. 1910	Building	C	16
Hay Barn	ca. 1900; moved 1954	Building	C	-

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:
Nationally: X Statewide: __ Locally: __

Applicable National Register Criteria:	A__ B X C__ D__
Criteria Considerations (Exceptions):	A__ B__ C__ D__ E__ F__ G__
NHL Criteria:	2
NHL Theme(s):	III. Expressing Cultural Values 3. Literature
Areas of Significance:	Literature
Period(s) of Significance:	1951–1964
Significant Dates:	1951, 1964
Significant Person(s):	Flannery O'Connor (1925–1964)
Cultural Affiliation:	N/A
Architect/Builder:	Unknown
Historic Contexts:	XIX. Literature B. Fiction 1. Novel 2. Short Story

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

Statement of Significance

Andalusia is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 2 under the theme of Expressing Cultural Values: Literature as the home of author Flannery O'Connor (1925–1964). O'Connor is widely acknowledged as one of the most accomplished, innovative, and influential short-story writers in post-World War II America. Her stories exemplify the tenets of New Criticism, a twentieth-century literary movement that fostered appreciation for embedded symbolism, carefully selected details, and formal structure. However, in her perspective on authorial intent, she dissented from the New Critics, who dismissed the author's intended meaning as irrelevant to understanding the meaning of a piece of literature. O'Connor did not directly state her meaning within her fiction, but in essays, letters, and talks, she willingly and frequently explained that through her stories and novels she intended to convey the presence and relevance of divine grace. O'Connor's stories broke new ground in American literature by using violence, grotesque characters, and technical mastery of the formalist principles of New Criticism in service of religious themes. A devout Catholic and avid reader of theology, O'Connor had a faith that permeated her fiction, and she is one of the most prominent American Catholic writers of the twentieth century. Her fiction is devoid of sentimentality and makes no effort to proselytize on behalf of the Catholic Church, characteristics that set it apart from much of the Catholic fiction of her day and which broadened the appeal of her stories and novels.

O'Connor also stands as one of the most significant figures in the literary history of the South for her innovative use of the grotesque, as she frequently incorporated violence, death, and disfigurement into her fiction for symbolic and dramatic effect. Her novels and nearly all of her stories are set within the South and contain rich details and keen observations about the region during the period of rapid and unsettling change in the two decades after World War II. But unlike most earlier Southern writers who wrestled with the region's past and placed regional themes at the center of their fiction, O'Connor treated the South as the concrete setting that grounded her explorations of universal themes such as sin, redemption, intellectual hubris, and the emptiness of modern life. O'Connor was one of several prominent mid-twentieth-century Southern authors whose fiction heralded a major shift in Southern literature by focusing on universal themes while at the same time recognizing the distinctiveness of Southern society and culture.

Among the many formal acknowledgements of her work, O'Connor was awarded a *Kenyon Review* fellowship for fiction (1953); a National Institute of Arts and Letters grant in literature (1957); three first prizes in the annual O. Henry Award collection (1957, 1963, and 1965); and a Ford Foundation Grant (1959). Her work continued to receive accolades after her death in 1964, including the National Book Award for Fiction (1971) for *The Complete Stories*, and the National Book Critics Circle Award (1979) for *The Habit of Being: Letters*. In 1988, *Flannery O'Connor: Collected Works* became the first collection of post-World War II writing to be published by the Library of America, a series of edited volumes of the works of the most important American writers as selected by a panel of respected scholars and writers. Although O'Connor produced a relatively small body of work in her lifetime (thirty-one stories, two novels, as well as numerous letters and speeches), her profound influence on American literature is evident in the ongoing and vibrant critical discussion of her work and in the number of writers, artists, musicians, and filmmakers who cite her work as pivotal to the development of their own artistic vision.

Andalusia is the property most closely associated with O'Connor's productive life. She completed all of her major works at Andalusia during the period of significance (1951–1964), including *Wise Blood* (1952), *The Violent Bear It Away* (1960), and all the short stories in the critically acclaimed collections *A Good Man Is Hard to Find* (1955) and *Everything That Rises Must Converge* (1965). Andalusia served as a vivid literary

landscape that actively informed and constituted the "country" where O'Connor placed her fiction.[15] Her observations of the people of Andalusia inspired many of her stories and characters, and the farm's buildings and landscapes are recognizable in much of her fiction.

Flannery O'Connor and Andalusia

Biography

Mary Flannery O'Connor was born in Savannah, Georgia, in 1925, the only child of Edward F. and Regina Cline O'Connor. Edward F. O'Connor ran a series of real estate companies that struggled during the Great Depression. A veteran of World War I, he was active in the American Legion and became state commander in 1936. Regina Cline O'Connor came from a prominent family of Georgia Catholics. Her father had been mayor of Milledgeville for many years, and her cousin, Katie Semmes, was a major benefactor of St. Joseph's Hospital in Savannah.[16] Flannery O'Connor spent her early childhood in Savannah, where she attended Catholic school. She later described herself in her characteristic self-effacing way as "a pidgeon-toed, only-child with a receding chin and a 'you-leave-me-alone-or-I'll-bite-you' complex."[17] Early in her childhood, she developed a love of birds. At the age of five, she was featured in a newsreel for teaching a chicken to walk backwards.[18]

In 1937, her father began to exhibit symptoms of lupus erythematosus, which forced him to resign his position as state commander of the American Legion. The following year, he took a job as a Federal Housing Authority real estate appraiser in Atlanta. Regina and Flannery O'Connor lived briefly with family in Milledgeville before joining Edward O'Connor in Atlanta in 1939. After a difficult school year in Atlanta, Flannery O'Connor and her mother returned to Milledgeville. By the end of 1940, Edward O'Connor could no longer work and reunited with his wife and daughter in Milledgeville. He died there on February 1, 1941, when Flannery O'Connor was fifteen years old.[19]

In Milledgeville, Flannery and Regina O'Connor lived in the Cline family home at 311 West Greene Street with Regina O'Connor's two sisters and aunt.[20] Flannery O'Connor attended Peabody High School, a public school for girls, where she received what she experienced as an indifferent yet "industrious" education.[21] After graduation, she enrolled in Georgia State College for Women (GSCW) in Milledgeville (now Georgia College & State University), where she found a creative outlet in editing and producing original cartoons for several college publications, including the literary magazine, *The Corinthian*. In her final year at GSCW, she was editor in chief of *The Corinthian*, as well as feature editor for the yearbook and art editor for the college newspaper.[22]

After three years at GSCW, Flannery O' Connor graduated in 1945 and left Milledgeville to study journalism at the University of Iowa. That fall, she applied to the Iowa Writers' Workshop, a renowned graduate writing program and the first creative writing program in the United States.[23] Paul Engle, director of the workshop, accepted O'Connor into the program on the basis of submitted work that was already "imaginative, tough,

[15] Flannery O'Connor, *Mystery and Manners: Occasional Prose*, ed. Sally and Robert Fitzgerald (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1969), 25–35.
[16] Brad Gooch, *Flannery: A Life of Flannery O'Connor* (New York: Little, Brown, 2009), 14–15, 21–22, 28–29, 42–43.
[17] Virginia Wray, "The Importance of Home to the Fiction of Flannery O'Connor," *Renascence* 47, no. 3 (Winter 1995): 103.
[18] O'Connor, *Mystery and Manners*, 3; Gooch, *Flannery*, 3–5.
[19] Gooch, *Flannery*, 45, 49, 52–53, 61–63, 69.
[20] Ibid., 54–55.
[21] O'Connor, Mystery and Manners, 125.
[22] Gooch, *Flannery*, 109.
[23] Ibid., 114–15, 117–29; Jay Watson, "Escapes and Diversions, Whoring and Trash: Two Case Studies in the Aesthetics, Psychology, and Economics of the Twentieth-Century Short Story," *Flannery O'Connor Review* 8 (2010): 15.

alive," and "filled with insight, shrewd about human weakness, hard and compassionate."[24] O'Connor's master's thesis was a collection of six short stories. One of these, "The Train," published in the *Sewanee Review* in 1948, contained the seeds of her first novel, *Wise Blood*. Another story from her thesis collection, "The Geranium," was published in *Accent* in 1946, but she continued to revise it for many years. Her final revision of the story was published posthumously as "Judgement Day" in *Everything Rises Must Converge* (1965).

O'Connor received her Master of Fine Arts degree in 1947 but remained in Iowa for another year before being invited to Yaddo (NHL, designated 2013), the artists' retreat in Saratoga Springs, New York. In addition to providing her with time and space to write, O'Connor's tenure at Yaddo introduced her to prominent members of the New York literary scene, forging relationships that helped launch her career. Contacts from Yaddo recommended her for fellowships and published her work in literary magazines and anthologies.[25] While there, O'Connor met Robert Giroux, her future editor and publisher. She also met Robert Lowell and, through him, was introduced to Robert and Sally Fitzgerald, who became lifelong friends and a sounding board for O'Connor's personal and literary struggles. For a little over a year, beginning in the summer of 1949, O'Connor lived in a garage apartment at the Fitzgeralds' home in Ridgefield, Connecticut, while continuing to work on her first novel.

In late 1950, O'Connor began to exhibit symptoms of lupus, the disease that killed her father. At the insistence of the Fitzgeralds, she saw a Connecticut doctor about "pains and heaviness in arms and shoulder joints." The doctor gave a "provisional diagnosis of arthritis" and encouraged O'Connor to undergo a complete physical exam while in Georgia for Christmas vacation.[26] O'Connor arrived in Milledgeville on the train with a raging fever and was admitted into Baldwin County Hospital. She was later transferred to Emory University Hospital in Atlanta, where doctors diagnosed her with lupus. Regina O'Connor carefully kept the diagnosis from her daughter but did notify Sally and Robert Fitzgerald. There was no known cure, but in the time since her father had suffered and died from lupus, scientists had identified cortisone as a treatment for the disease.[27]

During her hospital stay in Atlanta, O'Connor slowly recovered after a series of blood transfusions and cortisone injections, and she continued revising drafts of *Wise Blood*. Her condition forced her to return to Milledgeville in 1951, where her mother could care for her. Rather than returning to the family home in town, Flannery and Regina O'Connor moved to Andalusia, the dairy farm near Milledgeville that Regina O'Connor owned and managed. Throughout this initial bout of illness, O'Connor remained determined to move back north upon her recovery. In June of 1952, she was well enough to visit the Fitzgeralds in Connecticut. During this visit, Sally Fitzgerald confirmed the diagnosis that O'Connor had already suspected for months.[28] It was clear that O'Connor could not, as she had hoped, remain in Connecticut. She would need her mother's constant care and close contact with her doctor in Atlanta for what O'Connor now believed to be the remaining three years of her life—the length of time her father had lived after onset of the disease. According to Sally Fitzgerald, upon learning the true nature of her illness, O'Connor "took stock characteristically and began to plan her life in the light of reality."[29] She shipped her suitcases and books from Connecticut to Georgia and ordered a pair of peafowl to be delivered to Andalusia, signifying her intent to remain there.

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[24] Quoted in Robert Giroux's introduction to Flannery O'Connor, *The Complete Stories* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, Giroux, 1971), vii.

[25] Sarah J. Fodor, "Marketing Flannery O'Connor: Institutional Politics and Literary Evaluation," in *Flannery O'Connor: New Perspectives*, ed. Sura Rath and Mary Neff Shaw (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 16.

[26] Flannery O'Connor, *Flannery O'Connor: Collected Works*, ed. Sally Fitzgerald (New York: Library of America, 1988), 1245.

[27] Gooch, *Flannery*, 191–92.

[28] Wray, "Importance of Home," 103.

[29] Flannery O'Connor, *The Habit of Being: Letters of Flannery O'Connor*, ed. Sally Fitzgerald (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1979), 37.

O'Connor continued the regular doses of cortisone that kept lupus at bay, but the treatments exhausted her and necessitated a regimented daily schedule and restricted diet. Additionally, the side effects of the drugs included deterioration of her bones, beginning in her hips. By 1955, she could walk only with the aid of crutches. Her difficulty walking led to the addition of two handrails in the house. One was located just above the bathtub in the first-floor bathroom, and the other was located along the three steps leading down from the kitchen porch to the carport and to the aviary where O'Conner kept birds. Despite the effects of lupus and the treatments, O'Connor remained committed to her writing. "I am making out fine in spite of any conflicting stories," she wrote to Robert Lowell. "I have enough energy to write with and as that is all I have any business doing anyhow, I can with one eye squinted take it all as a blessing."[30]

She wrote every morning until noon and spent her afternoons and evenings painting, tending to her birds, or entertaining visitors. She read extensively and broadly, particularly in theology and philosophy. The works of Thomas Aquinas, the French philosopher Jacques Maritain, the Jesuit paleontologist, and philosopher Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, and other writers shaped her views on the purpose of her art, the relationship between religion and fiction, and the nature of divine presence in the world.[31] Separated from most of her literary friends, O'Connor discussed her works-in-progress and her life at the farm in a sizeable body of letters. When her health permitted, she traveled to various speaking engagements where she read selections from her work and discussed topics such as faith, Southern literature, and fiction as art.[32] With her mother, O'Connor also visited Milledgeville to dine, participate in social events, and attend Mass at Sacred Heart Catholic Church. Nevertheless, during her productive years as a writer, she spent most of her time "between the house and the chicken yard."[33]

Harcourt Brace published O'Connor's first novel, *Wise Blood*, in 1952. While many reviewers found it "odd," dull, and difficult to understand, a few praised her writing style and perceptive insights into religion and the modern world.[34] During and after working on the novel, O'Connor continued to write short stories, publishing in prominent literary journals such as the *Kenyon Review*, the *Sewanee Review*, and the *Partisan Review*, as well as in popular magazines such as *Harper's Bazaar*.[35] Three of the stories written during this period were selected for the O. Henry Prize collection, which recognized the best short stories published each year and awarded prizes to the best stories in the collection; O'Connor's "A Circle in the Fire" took second prize in 1956. Precisely at the end of the three years she had expected to live, these and other stories were published as *A Good Man Is Hard to Find and Other Stories* (1955). In contrast to the mixed reviews of *Wise Blood*, critical responses to this collection were more positive. The success of her short stories helped her win a Kenyon Fellowship in 1953, a grant from the National Institute of Arts and Letters in 1957, and a Ford Foundation Creative Writing Fellowship in 1959. Her second novel, *The Violent Bear It Away*, appeared in 1960, but as

[30] O'Connor, *Habit of Being*, 57.

[31] Marion Montgomery, "Fiction's Echo of Revelation: Flannery O'Connor's Challenge as Thomistic Maker," in *Flannery O'Connor's Radical Reality*, ed. Jan Nordby Gretlund and Karl-Heinz Westarp (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2006), 126–136; Helen R. Andretta, "The Hylomorphic Sacramentalism of 'Parker's Back,'" in *Inside the Church of Flannery O'Connor: Sacrament, Sacramental, and the Sacred in Her Fiction*, ed. Joanne Halleran McMullen and Jon Parish Peede (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2007), 40–63; Sarah J. Fodor, "'No Literary Orthodoxy': Flannery O'Connor, the New Critics, and Jacques Maritain," in *Truth Matters: Essays in Honor of Jacques Maritain*, ed. John G. Trapani Jr. (Washington, DC: American Maritain Association and Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 247–256; Gooch, *Flannery*, 322–327; Patrick Samway, S. J., "Toward Discerning How Flannery O'Connor's Fiction Can Be Considered 'Roman Catholic,'" in Gretlund and Westarp, *Radical Reality*, 163–65.

[32] Sally Fitzgerald edited collections of O'Connor's letters and essays, which were published as *The Habit of Being* (1979) and *Mystery and Manners: Occasional Prose* (1969), respectively.

[33] O'Connor, *Habit of Being*, 290.

[34] R. Neil Scott and Irwin H. Streight, *Flannery O'Connor: The Contemporary Reviews* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), xviii-xx; Gooch, *Flannery*, 205–207.

[35] Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 1; Sarah J. Fodor, "Marketing Flannery O'Connor," in Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 13–17, 22–23.

with her first novel, it garnered mixed reviews. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, O'Connor continued to write and publish a stream of stories that were critically well-received. Of her four O. Henry Prize stories written during this period, three won first prize: "Greenleaf," "Everything That Rises Must Converge," and "Revelation."[36]

In late 1963, O'Connor's health began to decline, leading to surgery and several hospital stays in 1964.[37] One month before her death, O'Connor wrote: "The wolf [lupus], I'm afraid, is inside tearing up the place."[38] On August 3, 1964, at the age of 39, Flannery O'Connor died at Baldwin Hospital in Milledgeville. Her obituary in the *New York Times* described her as "one of the nation's most promising writers."[39] At the time of her death, she had begun work on a third novel, tentatively titled *Why Do the Heathen Rage?* She had also nearly completed a second collection of short stories, *Everything That Rises Must Converge*, which was published posthumously in April 1965. Reviewers lauded the collection as a fitting culmination to a tragically short career; a reviewer for *Newsweek* declared it to be "the work of a master."[40]

Critical and popular appreciation for O'Connor's work not only continued after her death but increased, as evident in the multiple posthumous compilations of both her fiction and nonfiction writing.[41] At the time of her death, O'Connor left behind a body of unpublished essays and lectures, as well as a number of articles that had appeared separately in various publications. A collection of this nonfiction, *Mystery and Manners: Occasional Prose*, edited by Robert and Sally Fitzgerald, was published in 1969. *The Complete Stories*, another posthumous compilation, won the 1972 National Book Award in Fiction, an award that, up to that time, had always been given to a living writer. Sally Fitzgerald edited a large collection of O'Connor's letters, *The Habit of Being*, which was published in 1979 and won a special award from the National Book Critics Circle. Other posthumous publications include interviews with O'Connor, her book reviews, her cartoons, and her prayer journal from her time at the University of Iowa.[42] In 1988, the Library of America, a series of compilations of the works of important American authors as chosen by scholars and writers, published *Flannery O'Connor: Collected Works*, which remains one of the bestselling volumes in the series. All of her books have remained in print continuously since their publication, and scholars anticipate that more of her previously unpublished work will be published in the future. She is widely anthologized; high school and college literature textbooks usually include at least one of her stories.[43]

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[36] "The Life You Save May Be Your Own" was selected in 1954, and "The Artificial N——" was selected in 1956. "A View of the Woods" was included in the 1959 O. Henry collection but did not receive a prize. See "Past Winners List," The O. Henry Prize Stories, https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/series/C97/the-o-henry-prize-collection/; Siegfried Mandel, "Decisive Moments," *New York Times*, October 28, 1956, 255. On other fellowships and prizes, see R. Neil Scott, *Flannery O'Connor: An Annotated Reference Guide to Criticism* (Milledgeville, GA: Timberlane Books, 2002), xviii; Scott and Streight, xxvi-xxx; Fodor, "Marketing Flannery O'Connor," in Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 23–24, 26.

[37] Gooch, *Flannery*, 356–67.

[38] O'Connor, *The Habit of Being*, 591.

[39] "Flannery O'Connor Dead at 39: Novelist and Short-Story Writer," *New York Times*, August 4, 1964, 29.

[40] Review in *Newsweek*, quoted in Gooch, *Flannery*, 372. See also Fodor, "Marketing Flannery O'Connor," in Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 33.

[41] Joyce Carol Oates, "The Parables of Flannery O'Connor," *The New York Review of Books*, April 9, 2009, accessed September 17, 2015, http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2009/apr/09/the-parables-of-flannery-oconnor/.

[42] Examples of posthumous compilations include Flannery O'Connor, *Conversations with Flannery O'Connor*, ed. Rosemary M. Magee (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1987); Flannery O'Connor, *The Presence of Grace, and Other Book Reviews*, ed. Leo Zuber and Carter W. Martin (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1983); Flannery O'Connor, *The Cartoons of Flannery O'Connor at Georgia College*, ed. Marshall Bruce Gentry (Milledgeville, GA: Georgia College, 2010); Flannery O'Connor, *Flannery O'Connor: The Cartoons*, ed. Kelly Gerald (Seattle: Fantagraphics, 2012); Flannery O'Connor, *A Prayer Journal*, ed. William A. Sessions (New York: Farar, Straus and Giroux, 2013).

[43] Avis Hewitt and Robert Donahoo, eds., *Flannery O'Connor in the Age of Terrorism: Essays on Violence and Grace* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2010), xii.

History of Andalusia Farm[44]

Andalusia Farm is situated in Baldwin County, Georgia, which was formed in 1803 from land ceded to the United States by the Creek Indians. The property lies a few miles north of Milledgeville, the state capital from 1807 until 1868. While the oldest existing structures at Andalusia appear to date to the 1850s, local historical records suggest earlier occupation of the farm. Joseph Stovall, a merchant and cotton planter, owned the property in the early nineteenth century, and operated a cotton plantation on the property using enslaved labor. There is no evidence that he and his wife, Mary, ever resided here, though it is likely that enslaved men, women, and children, as well as a free white overseer, lived on the property. Joseph Stovall died in 1848, and Mary Stovall died in 1854. Following Mary Stovall's death, the farm was sold at auction on January 2, 1855, to Nathan Hawkins, who was likely responsible for the construction of the main house. Hawkins served as mayor of Milledgeville for three terms and represented Baldwin County in the lower house of the state legislature. In 1860, the main crop produced on Hawkins' plantation was cotton, and he was one of only four people in the county who claimed ownership of more than a hundred enslaved workers. The property suffered extensive damage during the Civil War, but the house remained standing.[45]

Nathan Hawkins died in 1870, and in 1873, his seventeen-hundred–acre plantation was sold at auction to Colonel Thomas Johnson of Kentucky, a successful farmer and investor with considerable real-estate holdings throughout the Southeast. Hawkins' widow, Amanda, retained a life estate of approximately 550 acres, including the house. This dower tract, according to early plats, roughly matches the current boundaries of Andalusia. After Amanda Hawkins died in 1906, a heated dispute arose between her three surviving children and Colonel Johnson. The case went to trial, and the jury decided against the Hawkins family. By then Johnson was dead, and the dower tract was in the hands of the Johnson Estate.

In 1910, the trustees of the Johnson Estate sold the dower tract to Madison McCraw, a South Carolina businessman, who almost immediately conveyed a half-interest in the property to Judge John T. Allen of Milledgeville. Madison McCraw died in 1916, and his interest in the property passed to his widow, Alice, and two daughters. Alice McCraw died in 1930, and Hugh T. Cline (Flannery O'Connor's uncle) was appointed as administrator of her estate. Under the terms of the estate settlement, most of the McCraw-Allen land on the west side of the road was allotted to the McCraw estate and was subdivided into three lots. The boundaries of Lots One (325 acres) and Two (225 acres) correspond to the present boundaries of Andalusia.

Dr. Bernard McHugh Cline (brother of Hugh T. Cline and Regina Cline O'Connor) purchased Lots One and Two from the McCraw estate in 1933. Dr. Cline was an eye-ear-nose-throat specialist with a practice in Atlanta. He planned to build a dairy on the property, which he improved by bringing in electricity, adding an underground irrigation system, and constructing agricultural buildings. His brother-in-law, Frank Florencourt, performed much of the work to build the dairy farm. Flannery O'Connor, along with her cousins, visited the farm as a child when it was owned by Bernard Cline.

In the early 1940s, following the death of Flannery O'Connor's father, Dr. Cline sent his sister, Regina O'Connor (Flannery O'Connor's mother), to Atlanta to train as a bookkeeper for the dairy. When Dr. Cline died unexpectedly from a heart attack in 1947, he left the farm in a life estate to Regina O'Connor and his brother, Louis Cline, who was a sales representative for King Hardware in Atlanta. Regina O'Connor and Louis Cline expanded the pasture for the dairy to two hundred acres, maintaining the remainder of the property as timberland. Louis Cline continued to live in Atlanta, making weekend visits to the property. Regina O'Connor

[44] This section of the nomination that describes the history of Andalusia was originally written by Craig R. Amason, based on his article, "From Agrarian Homestead to Literary Landscape: A Brief History of Flannery O'Connor's Andalusia," *Flannery O'Connor Review* 2 (2003–2004): 4–13, which provides full citations.

[45] Amason, "From Agrarian Homestead to Literary Landscape," 8.

had primary responsibility for running the dairy farm and supervising the farm workers. By the 1950s, she was a successful and respected businesswoman in Baldwin County.

Regina and Flannery O'Connor moved to Andalusia in 1951, after Flannery O'Connor was diagnosed with lupus. Dr. Cline had named the property Sorrel Farm for the sorrel-colored horses he kept there. Later, on a bus ride to Atlanta, Flannery O'Connor met a descendent of the Hawkins family who told her that the original name of the estate was Andalusia, after the historic province in southern Spain. O'Connor liked the name and adopted it for the farm. While living at Andalusia, O'Connor kept a variety of birds, including "swans, geese, ducks, chickens, and …peacocks."[46]

Regina O'Connor operated a dairy at Andalusia until 1962, when she switched to cattle production.[47] To run the dairy and assist with the household, she employed a white dairyman and four Black workers, all of whom lived on the property. In the eleven years that Regina O'Conner managed a dairy, she employed several white families.[48] Typically, the white dairyman and his family lived in one of the tenant houses near the southwest corner of the property, though the Stevens family reportedly lived in the Hill House. The Matyziaks, a Polish refugee family, remained the longest, from 1953 until early 1957 and again from 1959 until 1961. Regina O'Connor fired one dairyman, referred to in Flannery O'Connor's letters as "F.," after just three months in 1957, upon learning that he was stealing milk and selling it on the side. After 1961, when Regina O'Connor turned to raising cattle rather than dairy production, she ceased hiring white tenant families.[49]

The Black workers at Andalusia Farm were less transient than the white dairymen and their families. Jack and Louise Hill lived and worked at Andalusia throughout Flannery O'Connor's time there. Willie "Shot" Mason was hired between 1955 and 1957 and remained until at least 1964, and an elderly man named Henry lived at Andalusia until his death in January 1958. The Hills and Mason lived in the Hill House, the two-family dwelling located near the O'Connors' house, except for the one-year period between the summers of 1957 and 1958, when there was no white dairyman on the property. During that period, the Black workers lived in the tenant houses near the southwest corner of the property. Flannery O'Connor's correspondence suggests that Regina O'Connor reserved these more recently constructed, more distant houses for white tenants, and only permitted the Black tenants to live there when there were no white tenants on the property. In addition to working in the dairy, Jack Hill, Mason, and Henry performed general farm and gardening work, while Louise Hill assisted Regina O'Connor with household tasks and cared for Flannery O'Connor when her mother was not available.[50] After Regina O'Connor shifted from dairy production to beef cattle in 1962, the Hills and Mason were the only tenants at Andalusia.

Following Flannery O'Connor's death in 1964, Regina O'Connor moved to the Cline family home on Greene Street in Milledgeville and turned the farm primarily to hay production. She acquired full ownership of Andalusia when Louis Cline died in 1973. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, she subdivided the property and deeded portions of the property to two of her nieces, Louise Florencourt and Margaret Florencourt Mann, but

[46] Amason, "From Agrarian Homestead to Literary Landscape," 11.

[47] O'Connor, *The Habit of Being*, 473.

[48] Identifying the number and names of the white tenants at Andalusia is complicated by O'Connor's tendency to refer to the families in her letters by an initial that does not always correspond to their actual last name. For instance, comparing letters in *A Habit of Being* with information gathered by biographer Brad Gooch from Alfred Matyziak and with information from other collection of letters suggest that the Stevens family is referred to in letters as "P." and as "W." Similarly, the letters in *A Habit of Being* refer to the Matyziaks as "G." between 1953 and 1957 and as "M." between 1959 and 1961.

[49] Gooch, *Flannery*, 201–202, 239–242, 279; O'Connor, *Collected Works*, 893–894, 915; O'Connor, *The Habit of Being*, 62, 96, 203, 207, 222, 232, 293, 355, 458.

[50] O'Connor, *The Habit of Being*, 96, 158–159, 207, 222, 253, 261, 274 293, 358–359.

retained a life interest in the property. Margaret Florencourt Mann received the twenty-one-acre tract including the farm complex.

In 1995, Regina O'Connor died at the age of ninety-nine. Her will provided for the establishment of the Mary Flannery O'Connor Charitable Trust to promote her daughter's legacy. In 2001, Margaret Florencourt Mann and Louise Florencourt created the nonprofit Flannery O'Connor-Andalusia Foundation, Inc. Margaret Florencourt Mann died the following year, and in 2003, her husband, Robert W. Mann, donated the farm complex, including the main house and outbuildings, to the foundation. Also in 2003, the Estate of Regina Cline O'Connor donated approximately 502 acres of Andalusia to the foundation. In August 2017, the Flannery O'Connor-Andalusia Foundation gifted their portion of Andalusia Farm to the Georgia College & State University Foundation. Louise Florencourt currently owns approximately twenty-one acres of Andalusia Farm.

Significance and Contexts

Twentieth-Century Short Stories

Flannery O'Connor preferred writing short stories and received more accolades and critical praise for her short stories than she did for her two novels. She published most of her short stories in the 1950s and early 1960s, during a period when the genre was regaining academic and artistic credibility after being commercialized in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the late 1800s, as advertising became the primary source of revenue for newspapers and magazines, publishers increasingly sought—and paid for—stories with broad popular appeal. Authors, scholars, and literary critics quickly became frustrated with this publishing model because it stifled creativity and innovation among short-story writers. The Iowa Writers' Workshop, which O'Connor attended in the 1940s, was founded in the early 1920s in part to counter the commercialization of the short story by training authors to write for artistic value rather than popular appeal. Although O'Connor published a few stories in mainstream publications such as *Mademoiselle* and *Harper's Bazaar*, most of her short fiction first appeared in literary magazines such as the *Kenyon Review*, *Accent* (University of Illinois), and the *Sewanee Review* that eschewed advertising and selected short stories based on their literary merit.[51] These publications helped establish the short story as a reputable literary art form by providing authors such as O'Connor with the opportunity to publish stories that challenged readers' expectations of the genre and defied easy categorization.

The Iowa Writers' Workshop and many of the editors of university-sponsored literary journals embraced the New Criticism, an approach to writing and critiquing literature that focused on the meaning and aesthetics of the text itself rather than on the work's historical context or the author's intentions. Accordingly, New Critics appreciated the formal attributes of writing, such as symbolism, detail, structure, and consistency of narrative voice. By the 1940s, New Critical principles were the main standards by which academics and literary critics judged short stories. Prominent New Critical authors such as John Ransom, Allen Tate, and Robert Penn Warren were guests at the Workshop during O'Connor's time there, and the director of the creative writing program, Paul Engle, used the New Critical textbook *Understanding Fiction* in his classes. At the Writer's Workshop, O'Connor imbibed principles of New Criticism that became characteristic features of her fiction: symbolism, "precise and meaningful detail," an anonymous and objective narrator, and veiled authorial intention.[52]

[51] Watson, "Escapes and Diversions, Whoring and Trash," 5–6, 11–12, 14–17; Fodor, "Marketing Flannery O'Connor," in Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 17.

[52] John D. Sykes, *Flannery O'Connor, Walker Percy, and the Aesthetic of Revelation* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2007), 11–17; Gooch, *Flannery*, 123; J. A. Bryant Jr., *Twentieth-Century Southern Literature* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 54–62 (quotation, p. 62); Charlotte Beck, *The Fugitive Legacy: A Critical History* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana

Catholic Fiction

O'Connor is widely considered to be one of the most important and influential American Catholic writers of fiction in the twentieth century.[53] Her work gained broader appeal than much of the literature associated with the Catholic literary revival, which began around 1920 and was winding down when O'Connor published her first novel in 1952. Catholicism shaped the writing of other well-known, contemporary authors such as Walker Percy and Katherine Anne Porter, but O'Connor is notable for her analysis of the place of Catholicism in her own work and in that of American Catholic writers more generally.[54] Her nonfiction work on the relationship between Christianity and fiction is often cited by scholars of Catholic and Christian literature.

The paramount themes in her fiction were rooted in her Catholic faith, and concerned subjects such as divine grace, sin, and redemption. Yet many early reviewers of her first two books, *Wise Blood* and *A Good Man Is Hard to Find*, either missed or ignored the religious themes. In the years after the publication of *Wise Blood*, O'Connor responded by elucidating her perspective in essays and talks, and by writing an explanatory note to the second edition of *Wise Blood* in 1962. In the note, she explained: "*Wise Blood* was written by an author congenitally innocent of theory, but one with certain preoccupations. That belief in Christ is to some a matter of life and death has been a stumbling block for readers who would prefer to think it a matter of no great consequence."[55] Throughout her fiction, O'Connor aimed to show the relevance and necessity of divine grace and Christian redemption in a modern world. Less than a year before her death, she wrote, "I have found, in short, from reading my own writing, that my subject in fiction is the action of grace in territory held largely by the devil."[56]

Though Christianity formed the core of her subject matter, O'Connor loathed the sentimentality traditionally associated with Christian fiction. Instead, her stories and novels marry religious themes with the grotesque, violence, and humor. In much of her fiction, her main characters begin with a smug indifference to God. They are secure in their social superiority, believe firmly in their own self-sufficiency, or are confident in their ability to explain the world through reason and intellect. O'Connor leads these characters through events that destabilize their world. The narrative culminates in a moment of grace, in which the main character is faced with the inherent mystery of life and encounters or recognizes divine grace.[57] O'Connor frequently used violence to jolt her main characters into that moment of grace and redemption. She explained that a Christian writer "may well be forced to take ever more violent means to get his vision across" to a modern, secular audience. When addressing a "hostile audience," O'Connor argued, "you have to make your vision apparent by shock–to the hard of hearing you shout, and for the almost-blind you draw large and startling figures."[58]

O'Connor viewed herself as a Catholic writer, even though she rarely made explicit references to Catholicism or the American Catholic experience in her fiction. In an essay titled "Catholic Novelists and Their Readers,"

State University Press, 2001), 124–125, 233–234; Sarah J. Fodor, "'No Literary Orthodoxy'," 247–249; Fodor, "Marketing Flannery O'Connor," in Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 16–17; Watson, "Escapes and Diversions, Whoring and Trash," 15.

[53] Examples of scholarly works on American Catholic authors that identify O'Connor as an important figure include Paul Elie, *The Life You Save May Be Your Own: An American Pilgrimage* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2003); Paul Giles, *American Catholic Arts and Fictions: Culture, Ideology, Aesthetics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Ross Labrie, *The Catholic Imagination in American Literature* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1997), 211–232.

[54] Giles, American Catholic Arts and Fictions, 353–393.

[55] Fodor, "Marketing Flannery O'Connor," in Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 23; Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 1.

[56] O'Connor, Mystery and Manners, 118.

[57] John F. Desmond, "Flannery O'Connor and the Displaced Sacrament," in McMullen and Peede, *Inside the Church*, 65; John N. Duvall, *The Cambridge Companion to American Fiction After 1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 208–209; O'Connor, *Mystery and Manners*, 111–12, 147–48; Lila N. Meeks, "Flannery O'Connor's Art: A Gesture of Grace," and Samway, "Toward Discerning," in Gretlund and Westarp, *Radical Reality*, 20–22, 67.

[58] O'Connor, *Mystery and Manners*, 33–34.

O'Connor rejected Catholic novels' tendency to "to reform or to teach or to lead people to the Church."[59] Her work bears out that opinion, as she shied away from linking her main characters' transcendent moments of redemption with Catholicism specifically. The vast majority of her characters are Protestant or atheist, and nearly all of her stories take place in Protestant or non-religious settings.[60] Nevertheless, Catholic theology infuses her short stories and novels. O'Connor's emphasis on the inherent sinfulness of humanity and the offer of salvation through divine grace regardless of the individual's actions reflected Catholic theology, and represented a sharp contrast with evangelical Protestantism, the dominant religion in the American South at the time, which emphasized the importance of an emotional conversion experience in order to be saved.[61] Her fiction also incorporates a distinctively Catholic "sacramental view of life" that saw God's presence in all things, a perspective reflected in the wide variety of people, objects, and natural features that play a role in leading her main characters to their "moment of grace."[62]

Southern Literature

Flannery O'Connor was one of the foremost practitioners of the Southern grotesque, which "mixes terror and horror in order to shock and disturb." This literary tradition has its roots in southwestern humor and the gothic writings of Edgar Allan Poe. O'Connor's use of grotesque effects—"freak" characters, unexpected events, violence, and gruesome deaths and disfigurations—is distinctive because she deployed them to provoke her readers into considering the existence of a higher power. She created characters whose moral, physical, or spiritual deformities are so shocking, so unusual that they evoke a sense of mystery that O'Connor used to bridge the gap between the concrete and the divine.[63] O'Connor also effectively integrated comedy into her stories, which makes her grotesque characters and imagery seem more realistic, adding to their dramatic effect and symbolic power.[64]

Born and raised in Georgia, O'Connor identified herself as a Southern author, and set her fiction firmly within the region. As a young woman just out of college, she was eager to leave Milledgeville, which she found stifling. Six years after her return, however, O'Connor wrote to her friend, Maryat Lee, who was considering a move back to the South: "This is a Return I have faced and when I faced it I was roped and tied and resigned the way it is necessary to be resigned to death, and largely because I thought it would be the end of my creation, any writing and WORK from me. And as I told you by the fence, it was only the beginning."[65] To fellow Southerner, Catholic, and writer Cecil Dawkins, O'Connor wrote of the importance of the region to her fiction: "It's perhaps good and necessary to get away from [the South] physically for a while, but this is by no means to escape it. I stayed away from the time I was 20 until I was 25 with the notion that the life of my writing

[59] Ibid., 174.

[60] O'Connor did include Catholic characters and references in a few stories, including "A Temple of the Holy Ghost," "The Displaced Person," and "The Enduring Chill". See Samway, "Toward Discerning," in Gretlund and Westarp, *Radical Reality*, 162–73. On O'Connor's view of herself as a Catholic writer, see *Mystery and Manners*, 169–209.

[61] Ralph C. Wood, "The Scandalous Baptism of Harry Ashfield: Flannery O'Connor's 'The River,'" in McMullen and Peede, *Inside the Church*, 196–97; O'Connor, *Mystery and Manners*, 106–97; Meeks in Gretlund and Westarp, *Radical Reality*, 18–19.

[62] O'Connor, *Mystery and Manners*, 152, 157, 163, 196–97; John R. May, "Flannery O'Connor and the Discernment of Catholic Fiction," in McMullen and Peede, *Inside the Church*, 210–12; Labrie, *Catholic Imagination*, 231; Giles, *American Catholic Arts and Fictions*, 363; Samway, "Toward Discerning," in Gretlund and Westarp, *Radical Reality*, 166–73.

[63] James Luther Adams and Wilson Yates, eds., *The Grotesque in Art and Literature: Theological Reflections*, 228; MacKethan, "Genres of Southern Literature" (quotation), n.p.; O'Connor, *Mystery and Manners*, 40–42; Jeanne Campbell Reesman, "Women, Language, and the Grotesque in Flannery O'Connor and Eudora Welty," in Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 39–40, 42. O'Connor herself used the term "freak" to describe some of her characters; see O'Connor, *Mystery and Manners,* 45.

[64] Linda Adams Barnes, "The Freak Endures: The Southern Grotesque from Flannery O'Connor to Bobbie Ann Mason," in *Since Flannery O'Connor: Essays on the Contemporary American Short Story*, ed. Loren Logsdon and Charles W. Mayer (Macomb, IL: Western Illinois University, 1987), 134–35; Reesman, "Women, Language, and the Grotesque," in Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 41–42.

[65] O' Connor, *The Habit of Being*, 224.

depended on my staying away. I would certainly have persisted in that delusion had I not got very ill and had to come home. The best of my writing has been done here."[66]

O'Connor incorporated references to Confederate monuments, Civil War veterans, and old family plantations into her fiction, but she did not dwell on the region's past, unlike the previous generation of Southern poets, novelists, and historians. Known as the agrarians, these early twentieth-century writers idealized the rural South of the nineteenth century as the antidote to modern life.[67] In her focus on the contemporary South and her lack of interest in mythologizing the region's past, O'Connor joined other post-World War II Southern authors such as Walker Percy who distanced themselves from their more backward-looking predecessors. O'Connor also broke from this Southern agrarian tradition by privileging universal themes over regional ones. She offered insightful comments of the nature and implications of regionalism in literature, yet she had no regional agenda.[68]

Although the South was not the main subject of O'Connor's fiction, the region formed the setting that provided her with the "concrete particulars" that grounded the universal themes in her stories and novels.[69] She drew upon her observations of the people and landscapes around her for the vivid details in her stories, creating characters, settings, and dialogue that are distinctively Southern. In her fiction, the mid-twentieth century South appears as a society grappling with rapid and unsettling change as farmers left for the cities, economic prosperity brought class mobility, and African Americans challenged the legal and social barriers that segregated blacks and whites.[70] All of these changes upset traditional social, economic, and race relations; many of the main characters in O'Connor's stories are Southern whites who face a dissonance between the world as they expect it to be and the world as it is. O'Connor illuminated this dissonance, while at the same time employing it as a means to unsettle her main characters and lead them to an encounter with the divine.

Literary Criticism, 1964–2015

The large body of critical scholarship inspired by Flannery O'Connor illustrates the depth of meaning contained within her fiction and its importance in American literature.[71] Particularly in the first twenty-five years after her death in 1964, O'Connor's own commentary on her fiction guided much of the critical analysis. Accordingly, early O'Connor scholars focused on her place in Southern literature, her use of the grotesque, and especially her religious themes.[72] In addition to elucidating O'Connor's religious vision and the ways in which she presents that point of view in her fiction, scholars probed the roots of her theology and debated the extent of Southern Protestantism's influence on her work.[73] More recently, scholars have questioned what exactly is Catholic about

[66] Ibid., 230. On O'Connor's "imaginative" return to the South before 1952, see Wray.

[67] Ralph C. Wood, *Flannery O'Connor and the Christ-Haunted South* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), 61, 80–81; Duvall, *Cambridge Companion to American Fiction*, 154–157; Giles, 360; Donahoo, "Recasting the Monuments: O'Connor and Histories of the South," *Flannery O'Connor Review* 11 (2013): 1–21; Bryant, 32–37, 44–53.

[68] On O'Connor's observations on regionalism in American literature, see especially, "The Fiction Writer & His Country," "Some Aspects of the Grotesque in Southern Fiction," "The Regional Writer," and "The Catholic Novelist in the Protestant South," in *Mystery and Manners*.

[69] O'Connor, Mystery and Manners, 27.

[70] Duvall, *Cambridge Companion to American Fiction*, 208–09. For more information on race in O'Connor studies, see below, pages 32-34.

[71] Fodor, "Marketing Flannery O'Connor," in *New Perspectives,* eds. Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 34–35.

[72] Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 1; Robert Donahoo, "Everything That Rises Does Not Converge: The State of O'Connor Studies," in Hewitt and Donahoo, *Flannery O'Connor*, 244–45; Timothy P. Caron, "'The Bottom Rail Is on the Top': Race and 'Theological Whiteness' in Flannery O'Connor's Short Fiction," in McMullen and Peede, *Inside the Church*, 140–44; Michael Kreyling, "A Good Monk is Hard to Find: Thomas Merton, Flannery O'Connor, the American Catholic Writer, and the Cold War," in Gretlund and Westarp, *Radical Reality*, 1.

[73] Donahoo, "Everything That Rises Does Not Converge," in Hewitt and Donahoo, *Flannery O'Connor*, 246; Caron, "'Bottom Rail,'" in McMullen and Peede, *Inside the Church*, 143.

O'Connor's fiction, given that her depictions of religious sacraments and her ecumenical perspective diverge from Catholic dogma.[74]

This focus on spiritual and theological interpretations produced many insightful analyses of O'Connor's work. However, scholars' devotion to the author's preferred interpretations stifled the development of other lines of inquiry. In the 1980s and 1990s, critics of this consensus, such as Frederick Crews and Jerome Klinkowitz, charged that the scholarship had become stagnant and repetitive, consisting largely of variations on the "argument that O'Connor is indeed Catholic and Christian."[75] O'Connor scholars answered these criticisms by applying new theories to explore topics such as gender, historical context, and race. In a 1996 essay, Sarah J. Fodor observed that "O'Connor has remained canonical in the academy precisely to the extent that her work has engaged a variety of readers of diverse critical perspectives."[76] O'Connor studies of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries have provided that diversity of critical perspectives, invigorating the field and uncovering layers of meaning and complexity within her fiction.

One of the main shifts in O'Connor scholarship of the last twenty-five years has been a turn towards considering the relationship between her fiction and the social, cultural, and political contexts in which she wrote. For instance, in *Flannery O'Connor and Cold War Culture*, Jon Lance Bacon argues that the themes of displacement, alienation, and deception in O'Connor's work are rooted in Cold War-era cultural anxiety. In O'Connor's fiction, Bacon finds commentaries not just on the threats of communism and nuclear annihilation, but also on the tenuous position of intellectuals and religious dissenters in the Cold War era, racial segregation and desegregation, and consumer culture.[77] Robert Donahoo investigates O'Connor's depictions of Confederate monuments in context of the actual monuments that she knew, arguing that she satirizes the South's veneration of the Confederacy and suggests "the openness of monuments to new meanings over time."[78] Scholarly attention to the context in which O'Connor worked has also shaped approaches to the religious themes in her fiction. Bacon and Jill Pelaez Baumgaertner both examined religious publications—fundamentalist stories about the Rapture and Catholic manuals for teaching the catechism, respectively—and found parallels with O'Connor's narrative structure, imagery, and characters, suggesting that the religious influences on her work came from a variety of sources beyond her readings in theology and attendance at Mass.[79] Michael Kreyling and Ralph C. Wood have also combined analysis of O'Connor with discussions of other social and cultural influences.[80] By demonstrating that her work contains multiple meanings in addition to the theological and spiritual, this scholarship has broadened O'Connor's literary significance.

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[74] McMullen and Peede, *Inside the Church*, 2–3, 79–116, 167–220; Patrick Samway, S. J., "Toward Discerning," in Gretlund and Westarp, *Radical Reality*, 162–175.

[75] Robert Donahoo, "Everything That Rises Does Not Converge," in Hewitt and Donahoo, *Flannery O'Connor*, 246 (quotation), 245–246; Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 2–3; Caron, "'Bottom Rail,'" in McMullen and Peede, *Inside the Church*, 140–41.

[76] Fodor, "Marketing Flannery O'Connor," in Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 29. Theoretical approaches applied to O'Connor's work include rhetorical theory, psychological analysis, gender criticism, and New Historicism; see Donahoo, "Everything That Rises," in Hewitt and Donahoo, *Flannery O'Connor*, 247–50.

[77] Jon Lance Bacon, *Flannery O'Connor and Cold War Culture*, Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[78] Donahoo, "Recasting the Monuments," 18 (quotation). See also Virginia Grant, "Miscegenation and Communism in Flannery O'Connor's 'The Displaced Person,'" *Flannery O'Connor Review* 12 (2014): 13-27.

[79] Jon Lance Bacon, "'Jesus Hits Like the Atom Bomb': Flannery O'Connor and the End-Time Scenario," *Flannery O'Connor Review* 10 (2012): 19–54; Baumgaertner, "Flannery O'Connor and the Cartoon Catechism," in McMullen and Peede, *Inside the Church*, 102–16. In his essay in McMullen and Peede's *Inside the Church of Flannery O'Connor*, Robert Donahoo also looks at popular religious literature as an influence on O'Connor's work. The range of views on the proper roles of Catholic women as expressed in Church periodicals, he argues, complicate the relationship between O'Connor's Catholicism and her depictions of women (79–101).

[80] Kreyling, "A Good Monk Is Hard to Find," in Gretlund and Westarp, *Radical Reality*, 1–17; Wood, *Christ-Haunted South*.

Drawing upon gender theory, other scholars have focused on the ways in which O'Connor's fiction expresses and challenges the masculine literary culture of the New Criticism and the patriarchal values of her church and region. In addition to shedding light on O'Connor's female characters and her portrayal of gender, this scholarship has sparked debates about the extent to which her fiction defends patriarchal values. In the 1980s, several feminist scholars critiqued O'Connor "as ultimately supportive of patriarchy," noting that her female main characters—who are usually nameless—often exhibit masculine characteristics and behaviors and become victims of violence. Since then, scholars such as Sarah Gordon and Katherine Hemple Prown have refined the argument that O'Connor was "complacent if not collaborative with an oppressive male patriarchy." Prown, for instance, argues that O'Connor revised her work in order to fit the masculinist values and aesthetics of the New Criticism, but was ultimately ambivalent about those revisions, which she saw as necessary in order to gain literary respectability and to distinguish her from a previous generation of Southern women novelists who were steeped in sentimentality.[81] Others have argued that O'Connor's female characters undermine and manipulate traditional Southern gender roles. Moreover, they point out, O'Connor wrote the world she knew, including "real women immersed in the strong patriarchal society of the South." That O'Connor depicted her female characters in a patriarchal setting does not necessarily mean that she was endorsing or defending patriarchal values.[82] By applying gender analysis to O'Connor's use of the grotesque, her dialogue, the meaning of violence in her fiction, and other topics, scholars have illuminated O'Connor's implicit commentary on gender in mid-twentieth-century America.[83]

In classrooms and in the pages of scholarly journals and popular periodicals, the writings of Flannery O'Connor have provoked discussion and debate about race and racism in American literature. Since the 1970s, literary scholars have examined her work in the context of the segregated—and desegregating—South where she spent most of her life. O'Connor freely used racist language and racial epithets in her correspondence and in her fiction. In 1959, she refused to meet with Black author James Baldwin during his visit to Georgia because such a meeting would upset the status quo of racial segregation. She was aware of the Civil Rights Movement's challenges to racism and racial segregation and of white segregationists' violent responses. In letters to friends, she occasionally noted incidents of civil rights activism in Milledgeville, as well as instances of the local Ku Klux Klan burning crosses. Yet race was not a subject that particularly interested O'Connor in either her personal life or her fiction. Her correspondence and published non-fiction contain little commentary on race relations, particularly when compared to her extended discussions of faith, theology, and literature.[84]

Although O'Connor did not intend for her fiction to be about race, her work nevertheless shows the influence of a society and culture that were infused with racism. In a 1975 essay recounting a visit to O'Connor's Andalusia

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[81] Donahoo, "Everything That Rises," in Hewitt and Donahoo, *Age of Terrorism*, 249 (quotations) ; Teresa Caruso, ed., *"On the Subject of the Feminist Business": Re-reading Flannery O'Connor* (New York: P. Lang, 2004), 1–3, 9–10; Sarah Gordon, *Flannery O'Connor: The Obedient Imagination* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000); Katherine Hemple Prown, *Revising Flannery O'Connor: Southern Literary Culture and the Problem of Female Authorship* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 2001).

[82] Caruso, *"On the Subject of Feminist Business,"* 2–3, 4 (quotation); Peter A. Smith, "Flannery O'Connor's Empowered Women," *Southern Literary Journal* 26 (Spring 1994): 35–47; Donahoo, "Everything That Rises," in Hewitt and Donahoo, *Flannery O'Connor*, 249–50.

[83] Jeanne Campbell Reesman, "Women, Language, and the Grotesque in Flannery O'Connor and Eudora Welty," and Marshall Bruce Gentry, "Gender Dialogue in O'Connor," in Rath and Shaw, *Flannery O'Connor*, 38–72; Marshall Bruce Gentry, "How Sacred Is the Violence in 'A View of the Woods'?" and Dawn Keetley, "'I Forgot What I Done': Repressed Anger and Violent Fantasy in 'A Good Man Is Hard to Find,'" in Caruso, *"On the Subject of Feminist Business,"* 64–93.

[84] Katheryn Krotzer Laborde, "Hazel Motes Is Not Black," *Flannery O'Connor Review* 14 (2016): 65-67; Caron, "'Bottom Rail,'" in McMullen and Peede, *Inside the Church*, 148, 155-57; Alice Walker, "Beyond the Peacock: The Reconstruction of Flannery O'Connor," in *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose* (1983), 63; O'Connor, *The Habit of Being*, 329-30; Margaret Earley Whitt, "1963, A Pivotal Year: Flannery O'Connor and the Civil Rights Movement," *Flannery O'Connor Review* 3 (2005): 59–67; Laurel Nesbitt, "Reading Place in and Around Flannery O'Connor's Texts," *Post Identity* 1:1 (Fall 1997): n.p., accessed September 22, 2015, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.pid9999.0001.107, III and IV; Bacon, *Flannery O'Connor*, 104–109.

Farm and to her own childhood home in nearby Eatonton, author Alice Walker points out that O'Connor's belief that she could ignore race both in her fiction and in her day-to-day life was itself a product of the privileges O'Connor enjoyed as a white woman; as a Black woman who inhabited the same racially segregated landscape, Walker did not enjoy that privilege.[85] Particularly since the publication of Toni Morrison's *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (1992), which called attention to the importance of O'Connor's perspective as a white writer, scholars have further explored the role of race in O'Connor's work. For instance, she employs race and blackness as symbolic devices in order "to dramatize the theological action she had in mind."[86] Writing about the meaning of the statue in her story "The Artificial N——," O'Connor wrote that it stood for "the redemptive quality of the Negro's suffering for us all," a comment that simultaneously acknowledges and appropriates the violence and discrimination that African Americans endured at the hands of whites.[87] In its use of blackness and Black suffering as symbolic devices, O'Connor's work both reflects and reinforces racial inequality.[88]

O'Connor's depictions of Black characters also reflect her perspective as a white writer in the segregated South. She was committed to writing the world she knew, and the world she knew was one that rigidly circumscribed social relations between Blacks and whites and employed racial stereotypes to buttress white supremacy. O'Connor admitted that, as a white Southerner, she did not understand African Americans, and as a result, she expressly avoided writing from or about the perspective of Black characters. In her 1975 essay, Walker praised O'Connor's reluctance to present "the inner workings of her black characters," about whose world O'Connor knew very little: "…she leaves them free, in the reader's imagination, to inhabit another landscape, another life, than the one she creates for them."[89] Other critics observe that O'Connor's approach produces Black characters that mirror racial stereotypes, are superficial, and always play supporting roles in the drama that unfolds. Notably, her stories present Black characters as the agents of the transformative moments of grace that her white main characters experience, but they are never the recipients of such moments of grace.[90]

O'Connor's productive years as a writer coincided with one of the most eventful decades of the African American Civil Rights Movement. Her letters and essays suggest that she approved of the goal of equal civil rights for African Americans, but she disapproved of using protests and boycotts to achieve that goal. As early as the 1970s, Claire Kahane noted that O'Connor's gradualist approach to civil rights minimizes the suffering of Black Southerners during the Jim Crow era. In time, O'Connor believed, God and manners would eliminate racial discrimination. She avoided taking a public stand on integration, though interviewers and her friend Maryat Lee urged her to do so. Most of her fiction does not even allude to the Civil Rights Movement, though civil rights and race play a larger role in the stories that she wrote in the last two years of her life. In "Everything That Rises Must Converge" (1961) and "Revelation" (1964), for instance, whites' anxiety over

[85] Alice Walker, "Beyond the Peacock: The Reconstruction of Flannery O'Connor," in *In Search of Our Mothers' Gardens: Womanist Prose* (1983), 42–59.

[86] Nesbitt, "Reading Place," I

[87] O'Connor, The Habit of Being, 78.

[88] Scholarly treatments of O'Connor as a white writer and her use of race and blackness as symbolic devices include Toni Morrison, *Playing the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992); Caron, "'Bottom Rail,'" in McMullen and Peede, *Inside the Church*, 138-64; Julie Armstrong, "Blinded by Whiteness: Flannery O'Connor and Race," *Flannery O'Connor Review* 1 (2001–2): 77–86; Nesbitt, "Reading Place"; Doreen Fowler, "Death, Denial, and the Black Double: Reading Race in Flannery O'Connor's Fiction," *The Mississippi Quarterly* 69:3 (Summer 2016): 303-26; Farrell O'Gorman, "White, Black, and Brown: Reading O'Connor after Richard Rodriguez," *Flannery O'Connor Review* 4 (2006): 32–49; Marshall Bruce Gentry, "O'Connor as Miscegenationist," in Hewitt and Donahoo, *Flannery O'Connor*, 189–200. Melvin Williams and Claire Kahane offered the earliest critiques of O'Connor's treatment of race in the mid-1970s; their arguments are summarized in several of the works listed above.

[89] Walker, "Beyond the Peacock," 52 (quotation), 53-54. Walker wrote the essay in 1975, but it was not widely published until 1983.

[90] Whitt, "1963," 62, 65; Caron, "'Bottom Rail,'" in McMullen and Peede, *Inside the Church*, 162-64; Armstrong, "Blinded by Whiteness," 77-80; Nesbitt, "Reading Place," I and II.

African Americans' demands for racial equality sets in motion the conflicts that ultimately lead to the main character's moment of revelation. However, scholars disagree on whether these stories protest or defend racial hierarchies.[91]

While many scholars examine the ways in which O'Connor's work expresses racial inequality, others counter that she presents racial prejudice in a negative light and questions the legitimacy of racial hierarchies. O'Connor's stories offer unflattering, stereotypical, and superficial portrayals of white characters as well, especially those who display racial prejudice. Scholars who focus on religious interpretations of her work point to the ways in which O'Connor's fiction conveys a theological challenge to racism that was rooted in her belief that all people, regardless of race, were equal in the sight of God.[92] As Patrick Wen observed in 2005, O'Connor's implicit and explicit commentary on race, racism, and civil rights represents "a disorienting web of contradictions." The complexity and contradictions in her perspective on race continue to fuel discussions about how O'Connor's work reinforces and challenges the racism that pervaded the world that she knew and wrote.[93]

Another theme that has engaged O'Connor scholars is the role that illness and disability played in the author's life, theology, and writing. As a result of lupus and the corticosteroid treatments, O'Connor experienced fatigue, stiffness and pain in the joints, rashes, kidney issues, bone deterioration, nausea, fevers, and swelling. By 1955, she required the assistance of crutches in order to walk. She was in and out of hospitals and doctor's offices and did not expect to live long.[94] In interviews, O'Connor denied that her illness shaped her writing. Following a review in *TIME* magazine that provided details on her personal life, including her lupus, O'Connor wrote to a friend, "My lupus has no business in literary considerations."[95] Nevertheless, her correspondence includes multiple comments on the ways in which the physical, emotional, and psychological effects of lupus and the treatments shaped her faith and fiction. The author's personal experience with physical limitations, reactions of others to her crutches and illness, expectation of an early death, and encounters with doctors, nurses, and hospitals all echo throughout in her fiction. Medical professionals and settings appear regularly, such as in "Revelation," which begins with an extended scene in a doctor's waiting room. Many of her stories feature a character who suffers from a chronic illness, is missing a body part, or has a physical deformity, and these characters' reactions to their own physical conditions perplex those around them. Hulga/Joy in "Good Country People" has a wooden leg and is repulsed by pity. Rufus Johnson in "The Lame Shall Enter First" has a clubfoot yet he has little interest in an orthopedic shoe made to fit his foot. In addition to considering how O'Connor's work reflects her experiences with disability and illness, scholars have also explored her use of disability and illness as literary devices, particularly in the context of the author's religious aims. O'Connor's physically disabled characters are far from the spiritually perfect paragons of sentimental literature. While some argue that the physical deformities of O'Connor's characters are outward manifestations of spiritual failings, others contend that O'Connor uses encounters between disabled and non-disabled characters to convey the spiritual disability and hubris that pervade the modern world. Her disabled characters are able to see clearly the

[91] Examinations of O'Connor's reactions to and depictions of the Civil Rights Movement include Claire Kahane, "The Artificial N——s," *Massachusetts Review* 19:1 (Spring 1978): 183-98; Patrick Wen, "The Terror of Neutrality: Civil Rights, Tortured Quietism, and the Tactical Disengagement of Flannery O'Connor," *Studies in Popular Culture* 28:2 (October 2005): 121-47; Whitt, "1963"; Nesbitt, "Reading Place," I and IV; Caron, "'Bottom Rail,'" in McMullen and Peede, *Inside the Church*, 138-46, 151–55; Bacon, *Flannery O'Connor*, 104–114; Gordon, *Flannery O'Connor*, 236–244.

[92] Wood, *Flannery O'Connor and the Christ-Haunted South*, 93-119. Summaries of these interpretations can be found in Armstrong, "Blinded by Whiteness," 77; Nesbitt, "Reading Place," I; and Wen, "Terror of Neutrality," 124-25.

[93] Wen, "Terror of Neutrality," 144 (quotation); Nesbitt, "Reading Place," I and III; Bacon, *Flannery O'Connor*, 110–114; Gentry, "O'Connor as Miscegenationist," in Hewitt and Donahoo, *Flannery O'Connor*, 189–200.

[94] Gooch, *Flannery*, 184–185, 191–193, 217, 227, 270–271; Jennifer H. Profitt, "Lupus and Corticosteroid Imagery in the Works of Flannery O'Connor," *The Flannery O'Connor Bulletin* 26/27 (1998): 74–93.

[95] O'Connor, The *Habit of Being*, 381 (quotation); Gooch, *Flannery*, 320; Kathleen Spaltro, "When We Dead Awaken: Flannery O'Connor's Debt to Lupus," *The Flannery O'Connor Bulletin* 20 (1991): 40; Wray, "Importance of Home," 104.

unavoidable imperfection of humanity, the first step on the path to grace.[96] Because of her frequent use of illness and disability in her fiction, O'Connor's work occupies a prominent place in disability studies in American literature.

Literary and Cultural Influence

O'Connor's work has sustained a vibrant scholarly community that encompasses people both inside and outside of academia. Georgia College and State University publishes the *Flannery O'Connor Review* (formerly *The Flannery O'Connor Bulletin*), which is the longest running journal in the world that is devoted to a woman writer, and regularly hosts symposia that draw visitors from throughout the United States and abroad to discuss the author and her legacy. Georgia College and State University also holds the bulk of O'Connor's typescripts (over 7,000 pages) and her private library. The number of visitors to the O'Connor Collection has steadily increased over the past forty years. Scholars and non-academics interested in these manuscripts have traveled to Milledgeville from nearly every state and a number of other countries, including Denmark, England, France, Sweden, Spain, China, Brazil, Iraq, and Australia. The Flannery O'Connor Society boasts hundreds of members, and O'Connor enthusiasts in Japan have organized the Flannery O'Connor Society of Japan.

O'Connor's literary and cultural significance is also evident in her influence on American artists. Author Truman Capote admired her work (though the feeling was not mutual), and his *In Cold Blood* exhibits similarities to "A Good Man Is Hard to Find" in subject matter, dialogue, and imagery. [97] Joyce Carol Oates, who published her first book one year before O'Connor's death, acknowledges O'Connor as an influence on her work, and some of Oates's scenes and imagery bear striking resemblances to O'Connor's work.[98] O'Connor's use of the grotesque echoes in the novels of Bobbie Ann Mason, Louise Erdrich, and others.[99] The centrality of religion to O'Connor's fiction influenced Erdrich as well as musician Bruce Springsteen, who was particularly inspired by O'Connor's concern with the "unknowability of God." Springsteen also admired and imitated O'Connor's use of concrete details to convey character.[100] Filmmakers Quentin Tarantino and Joel and Ethan Coen deploy violence juxtaposed with comedy in a similar vein as O'Connor.[101] Dramatic interpretations of O'Connor's work include two plays, a film of *Wise Blood* directed by John Huston, two television dramatizations of her short stories, and film adaptations of several other stories.[102] In 2004, the Bill T.

[96] Gooch, *Flannery*, 189–190, 193–194, 353; Proffitt, "Lupus and Corticosteroid Imagery"; Lisa Oliverio, "Disability in Flannery O'Connor's Fiction," *Interdisciplinary of the Dedicated Semester*, vol. 2, article 3 (2011): 1-10; Nicole Markotic, "Re/Presenting Disability and Illness: Foucault and Two 20th Century Fictions," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 23:2 (Spring 2003): 178-192; Laura L. Behling, "The Necessity of Disability in 'Good Country People' and 'The Lame Shall Enter First,'" *Flannery O'Connor Review* 4 (2006): 88-98; Spaltro, "When We Dead Awaken."

[97] Ronald Emerick, "The Woods are Full of Imitators: The Legacy of Flannery O'Connor," *Flannery O'Connor Review* 11 (2013): 113–21; Gentry, "He Would Have Been a Good Man," in Gretlund and Westarp, *Radical Reality*, 42–55.

[98] Marshall Bruce Gentry, "O'Connor's Legacy in Stories by Joyce Carol Oates and Paula Sharp," *Flannery O'Connor Bulletin* 23 (1994–95): 44–60; Brian Sutton, "An Unconscious Obsession: The Influence of Flannery O'Connor's Novels on Joyce Carol Oates's 'Where Are You Going, Where Have You Been?" *Flannery O'Connor Review* 4 (2006): 54–68.

[99] Barnes, "Freak Endures," 133–41; *Conversations with Louise Erdrich and Michael Dorris*, 67, 232; Thomas Matchie, "Flannery O'Connor and Louise Erdrich: The Function of the Grotesque in Erdrich's *Tracks*," in *Papers Presented to the Linguistic Circle of Manitoba and North Dakota: 1989–1993*, ed. Harold J. Smith and Gaby Divay, 67–78.

[100] Damian J. Ference, "Naming Sin: Flannery O'Connor's Mark on Bruce Springsteen," *Dappled Things* (Christmas 2011); Rob Kirkpatrick, *The Words and Music of Bruce Springsteen* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007), 83–84.

[101] Thomas Jacobs, "'Pretty…Far from Okay': Violence and Revelation in Quentin Tarantino and Flannery O'Connor," *Anamnesis* (2013); Joel Coen, Ethan Coen, and William Rodney, *The Coen Brothers: Interviews*, 26–27; Allen Redmon, *Constructing the Coens: From* Blood Simple *to* Inside Llewyn Davis, 75–78.

[102] Scott, *Flannery O'Connor*, viii; Susan Srigley, "Flannery O'Connor in the Public Square: Karin Coonrod's Everything That Rises Must Converge," *Flannery O'Connor Review* 11 (2013).

Jones/Arnie Zane Dance Company presented a work based on one of O'Connor's most controversial stories, "The Artificial N——."[103]

Andalusia in Flannery O'Connor's Fiction

Andalusia is the place most strongly associated not only with Flannery O'Connor's life but with her work as well. She set many of her stories in landscapes similar to Andalusia, and people and events on the farm inspired her characters and plot lines. Four stories in *A Good Man Is Hard to Find* and three in *Everything That Rises Must Converge* are set on cattle or dairy farms similar to Andalusia. O'Connor's descriptions of the roads, fenced pastures, tree lines, forests, and ponds in these fictional landscapes mirror the actual landscape she inhabited.[104] For instance, the view from the front porch of the main house at Andalusia likely served as the basis for her description of Asbury's view from the front porch in "The Enduring Chill":

> The lawn extended for a quarter of an acre down to a barbed-wire fence that divided it from the front pasture. In the middle of the day the dry cows rested there under a line of sweetgum trees. On the other side of the road were two hills with a pond between and his mother could sit on the porch and watch the herd walk across the dam to the hill on the other side. The whole scene was rimmed by a wall of trees…"[105]

The front lawn of Andalusia—which was even larger when O'Connor lived there and had a view across pastures to the main road leading north from Milledgeville—also appears in "A View of the Woods" as the front lawn where the old man proposes to build a gas station, provoking conflict with his granddaughter.[106] Tree lines such as those that defined the edges of the forests around the farm complex and pastures at Andalusia also figure prominently in several stories, particularly "A Circle in the Fire," in which the edge of the forest takes on symbolic meaning at the story's conclusion.[107]

The buildings of Andalusia provided the basis for many of the houses and farm buildings that appear in O'Connor's stories. Elements of the main house at Andalusia—a center hallway, a stairway with landing, a rear hall that serves as an office, and a kitchen with a door opening to the back yard—appear in several stories, including "A Circle in the Fire," "The Displaced Person," and "The Enduring Chill."[108] In "Good Country People," O'Connor's description of the kitchen where Joy/Hulga Hopewell contemptuously observes her mother's conversations with Mrs. Freeman bears a striking resemblance to the kitchen at Andalusia. The expansive loft of the cow barn at Andalusia fits O'Connor's description of the loft where the Bible salesman leaves Joy/Hulga after stealing her wooden leg.[109] The milking parlor, the water tower, and the pump near the corner of the main house appear in her stories as well.[110]

The people who lived and worked at Andalusia inspired characters in O'Connor's fiction. In several stories, her main character is a widowed, middle-aged woman who runs a farm on her own and has one or more children at home—characteristics that describe O'Connor's mother, Regina O'Connor. Friendships between the female main characters who run farms and the dairyman's wife may have been inspired by the relationship between

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[103] "Dance; The Sincerest Form of Flannery," *New York Times*, February 1, 2004, http://www.nytimes.com/2004/02/01/arts/dance-the-sincerest-form-of-flannery.html?_r=0.

[104] In *A Good Man Is Hard to Find*, the stories set on dairy farms are "The Life You Save May Be Your Own," "A Circle in the Fire," "The Displaced Person," and "Good Country People." In *Everything That Rises Must Converge*, "Greenleaf," "A View of the Woods," and "The Enduring Chill" take place on dairy farms.

[105] O'Connor, *Complete Stories*, 368.

[106] Ibid., 341–44, 347–48.

[107] Ibid., 193.

[108] Ibid., 180–81, 221, 363–64.

[109] Ibid., 273, 286–287.

[110] Ibid., 146, 179, 200, 273.

Regina O'Connor and Mrs. Stevens, who lived in the Hill House with her husband (a dairyman) and two daughters in the early 1950s.[111] For her fictional depictions of farm tenants, dairymen and their families, and farm laborers, O'Connor drew on her observations of the people who worked at Andalusia in other ways as well. In a March 1957 letter, she predicted that the arrival of a new white dairyman and his family would "provide … me with an additional story probably" and compared them to the fictional Greenleaf family in "Greenleaf."[112] The Guizacs in "The Displaced Person" are partially modeled on the Matyziak family, Polish refugees who came to Andalusia in 1952 or 1953.[113] In a May 1956 letter, O'Connor explicitly stated that the characters of Astor and Sulk in "The Displaced Person" were based on men who worked at Andalusia. She identified the elderly Astor in the story as 84-year-old Henry, and the younger Sulk was likely based on Willie "Shot" Mason.[114]

In January 1957 letter, Flannery O'Connor wrote of Andalusia, "… I am glad to say that most of the violences carried to their logical conclusions in the stories manage to be warded off in fact here—though most of them exist in potentiality."[115] Several examples support O'Connor's statement that for her stories, she took actual situations or events that occurred on the farm and then re-directed them to a more disturbing or violent conclusion. Although O'Connor herself was never trapped in the hayloft as Joy/Hulga was in "Good Country People," her limited mobility and view of the hayloft combined to make Joy/Hulga's situation one that O'Conner herself could potentially face. Biographer Brad Gooch suggests that the proposed sale of part of the farm in "A View of the Woods" for commercial development was inspired by a proposed housing subdivision across the highway from Andalusia and Regina O'Connor's decision to auction timber rights to part of the property.[116] The gruesome deaths and injuries that afflict her fictional characters who lived and worked on farms are grounded in O'Connor's personal observations of the physical dangers of farm work. She was very much aware of these dangers; for example, in June 1961, Willie "Shot" Mason suffered serious injuries to his arm after it got caught in a hay baler. Alfred Matyziak remembered his father, Jan, successfully repairing a tractor that Regina O'Connor thought irreparable; although Jan Matyziak repaired the tractor without injuring himself, the fictional Mr. Guizac in "The Displaced Person" dies as a result of being run over by a tractor that he is repairing.[117]

Comparison with Other Properties

O'Connor's childhood home at 207 East Charlton Street in Savannah is actively maintained as a tourist attraction, but O'Connor moved from that location when she was just thirteen years old, and none of her published works were written there.

The Cline House, at 311 West Greene Street in Milledgeville, was built in 1820 and is listed in the National Register of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the Milledgeville Historic District (listed 1972). O'Connor lived in the Cline House for five years (1940–1945) as a high school student and undergraduate at Georgia State College for Women, but none of her published fiction was written there.

The primary residences of three Southern authors who are comparable to O'Connor in their importance to Southern and American literature are designated National Historic Landmarks. Rowan Oak, William Faulkner's house in Oxford, Mississippi, was designated in 1968, the Zora Neale Hurston House in Fort Pierce, Florida

[111] O'Connor, *The Habit of Being*, 41; Gooch, *Flannery*, 201–02. The two Stevens daughters likely served as the models for Mrs. Freeman's daughters as well. See also Gooch, 226, 243, 245.
[112] O'Connor, *The Habit of Being*, 205.
[113] Gooch, *Flannery*, 239–242, 243.
[114] O'Connor, *The Habit of Being*, 159; Gooch, *Flannery*, 224, 243.
[115] O'Connor, *The Habit of Being*, 198.
[116] Gooch, *Flannery*, 279-280.
[117] Gooch, *Flannery*, 280; O'Connor, *The Habit of Being*, 65, 442.

was designated in 1991, and the Eudora Welty House in Jackson, Mississippi, was designated in 2005. Properties associated with other significant authors who were O'Connor's contemporaries have been listed in the National Register of Historic Places, including the Carson McCullers House (South Nyack, New York, 2006), the Katherine Anne Porter House (Kyle, Texas, 2005), the Robert Penn Warren House (Prairieville, Louisiana, 1993), and Riverview/Ben Folly, which is associated with Caroline Gordon and Allen Tate (Clarksville, Tennessee, 1979).[118]

Conclusion

Critical and popular appreciation for Flannery O'Connor's work increased in the fifty years after her death in 1964. All of her published works remain in print, and her work has inspired numerous American authors and artists. Her mastery of the short story format, her use of vivid and meaningful details, and her unorthodox melding of humor, violence, and the grotesque to convey religious themes earned her critical acclaim during her lifetime and attracted the attention of literary scholars, who established her as one of the preeminent authors of the mid-twentieth century. She drew upon Southern literary traditions and the New Criticism, but brought her own theological bent and spiritual sensibilities to both traditions in unique and innovative ways. O'Connor herself privileged religious interpretations of her fiction, and the theological and spiritual dimensions of her work formed a solid foundation for O'Connor scholarship. As scholars built on that foundation and explored other themes and contexts embedded in her fiction, they showed that her fiction illuminates many of the social and cultural transformations that affected post-World War II America: anxiety about the threat of communism, the rise of civil religion, changing gender roles, increased class mobility, and challenges to racial segregation and inequality. Her implicit commentary on these topics in her fiction and her explicit commentary in her essays and letters reveal contradictory messages that challenge readers to consider not only how historical context shapes fiction, but also the nature of religion, gender, race, and class. The complexity and contradictions of both the author and her fiction remain compelling and continue to sustain critical and popular interest in Flannery O'Connor's work.

[118] The number of properties associated with authors who were contemporaries of O'Connor is limited by the fact that many are either still living or only recently deceased. Properties associated with important people who are still living are generally not considered eligible for the National Register or as National Historic Landmarks.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register. NR#80000968, Listed February 8, 1980
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

__ State Historic Preservation Office
__ Other State Agency
__ Federal Agency
__ Local Government
_X_ University (Georgia College and State University; Emory University)
_X_ Other (Specify Repository): Georgia College and State University Foundation

10. GEOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES

Acreage of Property: 544 acres

UTM References:

Point	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	17	288140	3668686
B	17	288758	3667305
C	17	287752	3666363
D	17	286788	3667393

Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundary comprises three contiguous parcels of land located on the west side of North Columbia Street (US 441) in Baldwin County, Georgia:

- Parcel 067–007 (21.18 acres), owned by the Georgia College and State University Foundation;
- Parcel 067–007A (503.1 acres, composed of two discontiguous areas), owned by the Georgia College and State University Foundation; and
- Parcel 067–007B (20.74 acres), owned by Louise Florencourt.

Boundary Justification:

The NHL boundary includes the resources that have historically been part of Andalusia Farm and which retain integrity to the period of significance.

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Date: February 2017; revised June 2021

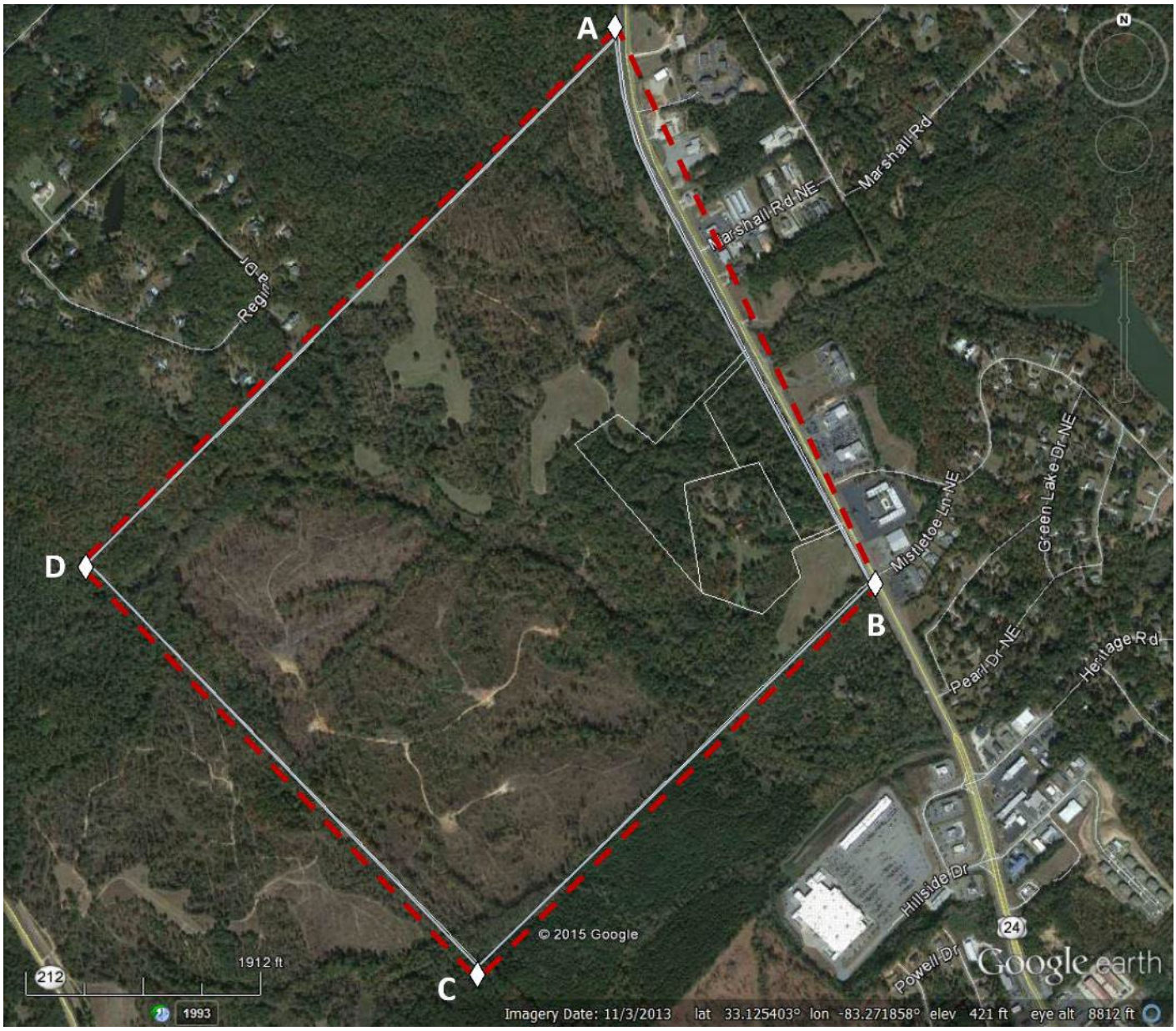
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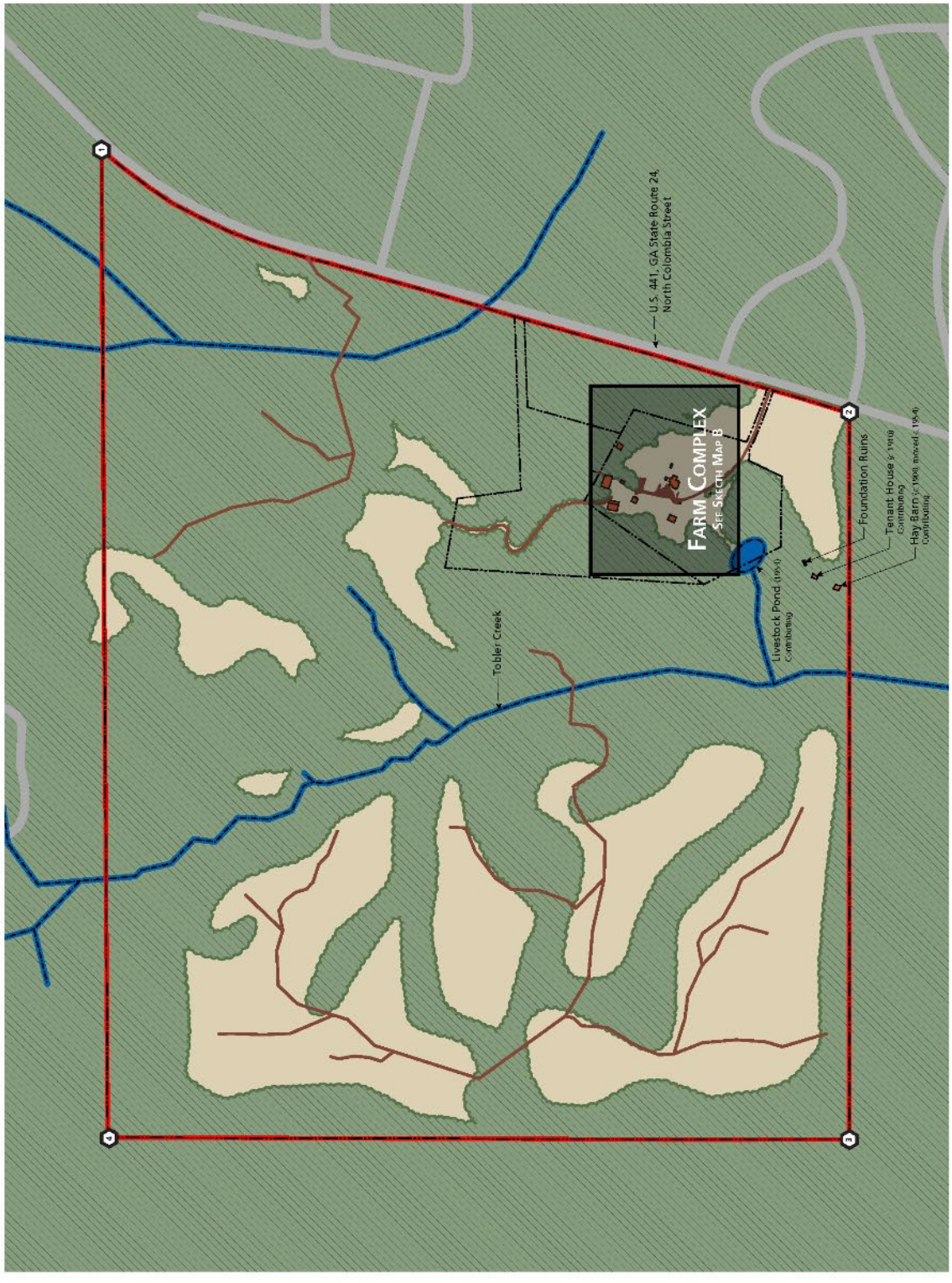


Andalusia Farm NHL Location Map

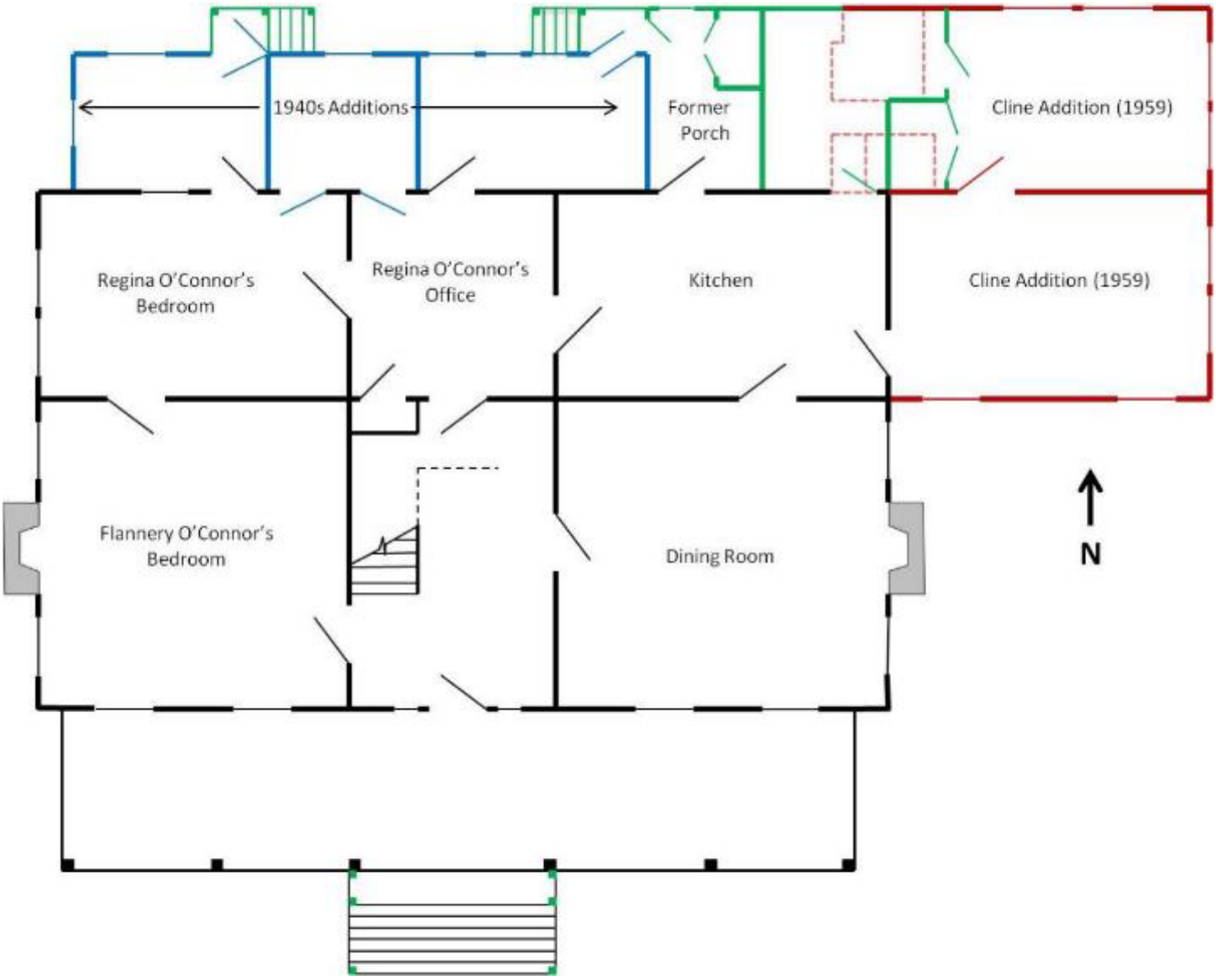
UTM References

Point	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	17	288140	3668686
B	17	288758	3667305
C	17	287752	3666363
D	17	286788	3667393

The datum is WGS84, and the imagery date is 11/3/2013. The vertices of the bounding polygon (shown in dashed line) are labeled with letters A through D. The solid line shows the proposed NHL boundary. The lighter white lines show parcel boundaries.


ANDALUSIA FARM
Home of Flannery O'Conner
Milledgeville, Georgia
SKETCH MAP A- FARMSTEAD
National Historic Landmark Nomination
UTM References
Datum WGS 1984, UTM Zone 17 North
Easting Northing
1) 288140 3668686
2) 288758 3667305
3) 287752 3666363
4) 286788 3667393
Legend
UTM Reference Point
Structure
Open Space
Forest Canopy
Parcel Boundary (2013)
Hydrology
Asphalt Road
Dirt/Gravel Road
NHL Boundary
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE LABORATORY
IR2
U.S. 441, GA State Route 24, North Colombia Street
FARM COMPLEX
SEE SKETCH MAP B
Foundation Ruins
Tenant House (c. 1910) Contributing
Hay Barn (c. 1900, moved c. 1940) Contributing
Livestock Pond (1951) Contributing
Tobler Creek


ANDALUSIA FARM
Home of Flannery O'Conner
Milledgeville, Georgia
SKETCH MAP B - FARM COMPLEX
National Historic Landmark Nomination
Legend
Structure
Planting Bed
Yucca Plants
Tree
Forest Canopy
Parcel Boundary (2013)
Hydrology
Asphalt Road
Dirt/Gravel Road
Fencing
Brick Walkway
1" = 60'
CULTURAL LANDSCAPE LABORATORY
IR2
Map redrawn by Fielding Ink from data provided by UGA graduate students Mary C. Scales English & Jenna L. Wargo
Trough (c.1940) Contributing
Cow Barn (c.1935) Contributing
Milk House (c.1940) Contributing
Silage Ditch (pre-1950) Contributing
Calf Barn (c.1940) Contributing
Well House (c.1935) Contributing
Aviary (2008) Non-Contributing
Main House (c.1854) Contributing
Main Entry
Platform (2018) (built on footprint of the demolished Milk House) Non-Contributing
Yard Hydrant (pre-1940) Contributing
Water Tower (c.1935) Contributing
Sundial (c.2004) Non-Contributing
Main Driveway (c.1910) Contributing
Equipment Shed (c.1950) Contributing
Hill House (c.1955, moved c.1960) Contributing
Horse Barn (c.1940) Contributing
Pump House (c.1910) Contributing
Livestock Pond (1853) Contributing



Andalusia Farm
Main House, 1st Floor
National Historic Landmark Nomination Form (2016)

Key
- circa 1855
- 1940s
- 1959
- 1998-2000
- 1959 walls removed

HISTORIC IMAGES



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor House)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Driveway and main house, 1950
Photograph by Robert Mann, Georgia College and State University Foundation Collection



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor House)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Main house, 1950
Photograph by Robert Mann, Georgia College and State University Foundation Collection



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor House)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Nail house (foreground), water tower, and rear elevation of main house (background), 1950
Photograph by Robert Mann, Georgia College and State University Foundation Collection



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor House)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Hill House (foreground) and cow barn (background), 1950.
Photograph by Robert Mann, Georgia College and State University Foundation Collection



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Main house, main (south) facade from driveway
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Main house, main (south) facade
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Main house, north (rear) and west facades showing rear additions
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Main house, north (rear) and east facades showing 1959 addition
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Flannery O'Connor's bedroom in main house
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Dining room in main house
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Kitchen located in one-story rear section of main house
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Backyard looking toward main house with well house (left) and water tower (right)
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Looking northeast across field behind backyard with calf barn in distance
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Main driveway looking north with hand pump (right foreground) and cow barn (end of driveway)
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Looking northeast across farm yard with cow barn (on left) and milk house (on right)
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Hill House in left foreground and equipment shed in right background
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Horse barn in right background and pump house in left foreground
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Tenant house looking northwest
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015



ANDALUSIA FARM (Flannery O'Connor Home)
Milledgeville, Baldwin County, Georgia
Front hayfield with tree-lined driveway on left and commercial development along N. Columbia St.
Photograph by Evelyn Causey, November 2015