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## Atlanta, Georgia and National Magazines: A Study in Image Making 1870-1925

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ATLANTA, GEORGIA AND NATIONAL MAGAZINES

A STUDY IN IMAGE MAKING

1870-1975

A Thesis

Presented to the

Department of History

and the

Faculty of the Graduate College

University of Nebraska

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

University of Nebraska at Omaha

by

Meg Greene

December 1980

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THESIS ACCEPTANCE

Accepted for the faculty of the Graduate College, University of Nebraska, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts, University of Nebraska at Omaha.

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For the past year, I have engaged in a study that at times proved frustrating, draining and rewarding. The study of any image making is at best a subjective one, at its very worst evasive and fleeting. But in any case the work could not have been completed without the help of others. I would like to take this opportunity to thank the following people: the inter-library loan and microform departments of the University of Nebraska at Omaha library for helping me research and obtain the needed materials, in some cases magazines that had all but disappeared. To Drs. Tommy Thompson and Richard Overfield of the History department and Dr. Warren Francke of the Journalism department for serving as advisors and members of my committee. For their general moral support and suggestions, my thanks to Marc Davis, James P. Quigel, Les Valentine and Kerry Loney. And a special thanks to Dan Prescher who lived with the project as much as I did, sometimes at great bother, but persevered and saw it through with me.

## INTRODUCTION

Every major city in the United States projects an image of some sort or another. These images are of varying types, and are constantly changing. From these images the American public produces a concept that ultimately stands as an identifying mark. Popular images develop from a variety of factors, such as legends, stories, and pictures, and are transmitted through newspapers, journals, television, movies, and/or magazines.

Henry Mills Alden, editor of Harper's Monthly, once commented that "periodical literature had done more for the American people than any other." While that comment may be questionable on several grounds, the importance of magazines should not be minimized either. And in the case of image-building, next to newspapers, magazines constitute an influential source in the print media. Popular magazines have proven themselves very resourceful especially in the cultivation of an image. There is within a magazine a visual appeal, a source of entertainment that can be quickly read. Also, magazines can expose areas and views that normally readers would not be aware of. For example, National Geographic and Holiday magazines with their travelogue/pictorial approach provide information to educate readers as well as entertain them.

There exist three major areas in which magazines have provided important services. First, they offer what author Frank Luther Mott called "a democratic literature."<sup>1</sup> Magazines of all kinds are subject to what is popular with an audience. In order to stay in print, magazines must keep in close touch with the reading public to keep up with changing trends and tastes. Secondly, popular magazines do much to stimulate literature by discussing books, printing articles or stories by writers, and generally encouraging reading. Thirdly, periodicals furnish a history of the times. In fact, as early as 1908, the American Historical Society advocated the use of magazines in historical studies.<sup>2</sup>

Yet magazines have their limitations, especially in image building. Magazines can be one-sided, sensationalized, or mold an opinion that is not quite real or true. To place the blame is more difficult; is the magazine guilty for perpetuating an image or the public for believing it? That issue may be of little consequence as the fact remains that whoever is responsible, there is a response to the image in either a positive or negative sense. Also, magazines can be viewed as "perishable;" that is, they deal primarily with our immediate present. For most magazines our past is limited to the space of the week before.

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<sup>1</sup>Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, I (1741-1850), New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1930, 1.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., 2-4.



That is not to say their influence is negligible. There is about magazines a kind of pressure, consistent in nature that tries to shape opinions and ideas for the reader. These periodicals are also part of our written record and must be judged in terms of importance in that realm. The overall effects of magazines then are cumulative as they help to put issues such as the image of a city into a national perspective.

This particular study will concern itself with Atlanta, Georgia. Atlanta at a glance seems to be a media-made product. First brought to national attention by General Sherman and the Union army, then by Henry Grady and New South proponents, Atlanta enjoys the peculiar distinction of being a Southern city, yet at the same time, possesses a reputation that easily matches that of New York or Chicago. To some degree this reputation exists because of the attention paid Atlanta by popular magazines. Also, during the early years of Atlanta's growth, magazines next to newspapers provided the only means of current information.

Although the city was founded in 1837, it was not until after the Civil War that Atlanta drew national attention when "first-hand" accounts of Sherman's march thrilled magazine readers both North and South. Shortly thereafter, in the seventies, articles began to appear in magazines concerning Atlanta as part of the New South

movement. Thus, the major focus of this paper will be the image of Atlanta as it developed in popular magazines from 1870-1975. It should be made clear that this study is not in any way disregarding newspapers or their influence, but is limited by choice only to the study of magazines in image building.

Magazines have experienced various changes and styles since their early beginnings in 1741. In this particular case, the growth of Atlanta is parallel with the early beginnings of the modern magazine in America. Various dates are assigned to the modern magazine's birth: 1879 when Congress provided low cost mailing thereby encouraging periodical growth with large circulation figures; 1893 when magazine prices became more affordable to the public; or 1899 with the revival of the Saturday Evening Post and the rise of that magazine as a symbol of middle class America and popular tastes. All of these events affected the growth of magazines, eventually making them one of the more popular forms of reading, information, and entertainment.<sup>3</sup>

A few questions can be posed in dealing with popular magazines, Atlanta, and image building. For instance, did Atlanta, through popular publications, serve as a kind of national barometer in assessing Northern opinion of the South in general or is the city a

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<sup>3</sup>Theodore Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century, Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1964, 2-5.

northern city in disguise? Was Atlanta really a unique Southern city in terms of racial relations? Could Atlanta be considered a "successful" New South project, and if so, why did it succeed when others failed? Can one accurately gauge the magazine portrayals of the city? Do the city's leaders and citizenry help to perpetuate its image? The importance of all these questions lies in the fact that for many readers, magazines helped to provide a source of information on Atlanta.

For this study the Readers Guide and Poole's Index were used to locate articles in popular magazines dealing with Atlanta. These two publications provided the working definition of popular magazines in that all magazines cited in this study can be found in the Guide and Index. Any magazine not listed in the Guide was not considered. This should mean that the articles quoted in this paper appeared in magazines with the greatest appeal to the American public, and it can be assumed safely that the Readers Guide chose its magazines on the basis of those publications which appealed to a large or significant audience. During the course of this study there emerged three distinct types of magazines: 1) magazines for everyone that provided general entertainment and pictorial emphasis such as Life and Time; 2) special interest magazines designed for more narrow groups or interests, such as Fortune and Business Week on one end of the scale covering general newsworthy areas but with

a certain emphasis, and Good Housekeeping and American City and County on the other with more narrowly defined interests and audiences; and 3) magazines for cultural minorities such as the Atlantic and New Republic.

This last group often took a literary or political stance that typecast the magazine's outlook. There were two scholarly journals also mentioned in the Guide: The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences and Negro History Bulletin.

Obviously, one would not expect these three types of magazines to achieve similar circulation figures, and it is meaningless to compare them because they were designed to reach groups of varying sizes. Life magazine (general appeal), for example, in 1940 had an average circulation of 2,927,613 as compared to Business Week (special interest) with 114,471 or the Atlantic (cultural) with 102,820. All types of magazines, no matter what their limitations, are indeed a viable source to be considered in studying any historical problem.

During the course of this project, various facets of the magazines became apparent. In the early coverage of Atlanta, articles usually appeared in general types of magazines such as Harper's or the Independent. Even though special interest publications were present during the early years of Atlanta's coverage, it was not until the turn of the century that special

interest magazines played a larger reporting role. And as time passed coverage increasingly became dominated by the large general news magazines Time and Newsweek. This domination became clearly visible by the 1950s and 1960s, when many of the articles cited in this study came from either or both of these publications.

Yet the magazines proved to have their own pitfalls too. Often, it became difficult to distinguish between the reality of a particular event with the "reality" presented by the magazine, thereby leaving readers to accept what magazines report are in fact the truth. Consequently, images presented in these news stories became stronger and more solidified. In addition, one must remember that the images presented were in fact produced by Northern publications. So in a manner, there is a strong Northern perspective present. But despite these problems, magazines should not be dismissed as unreliable. In the case of image building, not only is one studying the effects but quite often the source, in this case popular magazines.

CHAPTER I  
THE CAPITAL OF THE NEW SOUTH  
(1837-1899)

In the fall of 1837, Land Lot Number 78 of the 14th District of DeKalb County, Georgia, was the chosen site of a southern terminus for the Western and Atlantic Railroad, recently chartered by the Georgia Legislature. The railway would run north to Chatanooga, Tennessee, and connect various towns throughout the state, with the as yet unnamed Lot 78 as the center. The new railraod center was dubbed Terminus until 1843 when the state granted a charter for the creation of a town. Terminus then became Marthasville named after then Governor Wilson Lumpkin's daughter Martha.<sup>1</sup>

Interestingly enough, it was the same Martha Lumpkin who was responsible for the city's third name change in 1847. Citizens of Marthasville felt the name was too long and so three early founding fathers of Atlanta, Jonathan Noveross, John Collier, and J. Vaughn, set out to create a new name. However, they immediately ran into a problem: all three men worked closely with Governor Lumpkin and were great admirers of his, as well as being especially fond of his daughter Martha. All

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<sup>1</sup>Franklin M. Carrett, Atlanta and Its Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events, I, New York: Historical Publishing, Inc., 147-150.

three agreed that to discard the present name and replace it with another could be construed as an insult to the Governor and his family. They suggested naming the city after Lumpkin but the Governor refused, stating that a county and a town already bore his name. The three then turned again to Martha for inspiration.<sup>2</sup>

They finally chose the name Atalanta, Martha's middle name. The Georgia State Legislature approved this choice. With the city's incorporation in 1847 the second "a" was omitted with the city now named Atlanta. No one is sure if the omission of the "a" was a mistake or intentional. Accounts vary from a clerk's error in recording the name to the State Legislature dropping the second "a" to make the name sound more "euphonious". Nevertheless, the name stuck.<sup>3</sup>

The era of the 1840s proved to be the formative period in Atlanta's development. Railroad construction contributed much to shape the city's settlement and pattern of physical and economic development for years to come. The first three railway lines, the Western and Atlantic, the Georgia, and the Macon and Western, routed themselves through the least "lines of resistance" along

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<sup>2</sup>"Atlanta's Godmother," Literary Digest, April 21, 1917, 1211.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., 1212.

the terrain.<sup>4</sup> The railway systems operated independently of one another and were not subject to competition. Each chose its own route, with industrial development following the lines. It is important to remember that the city owed its very existence to the railroads, for without them Atlanta would never have developed its potential value as a center for industry, business, and trade.<sup>5</sup>

The decade of the 1850s was an era of growth for Atlanta: citizens elected the first mayor and city council; population continued to expand; the city's first cemetery (Oakland Cemetery - 1850) was established; and the Southern Central Agricultural Society sponsored an agricultural fair in 1850. While the society had promoted these fairs since 1846, the one held in 1850 proved different, for it marked the first time an event of this nature was held in Atlanta. The fair gave an opportunity for Atlanta citizens to "extoll the virtues of Atlanta far and wide." Various buildings appeared along Atlanta's main streets: a hotel, a jail (1851), stores, office buildings, banks, churches, and schools. In 1853, Georgia created a new county, Fulton County, with Atlanta to serve

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<sup>4</sup>Geographically, Atlanta is located on a watershed in the foothills of the Blue Ridge mountains. The city is totally inland with the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts situated some 300 miles away. Because of its location, Atlanta owed its development to the railroads. Its growth as a railroad center was helped by the fact that all overland traffic must pass through between the western region and eastern seaboard.

<sup>5</sup>Franklin, Atlanta and Its Environs, I, 304-305.



as the county seat.<sup>6</sup>

By 1855, Atlanta began to draw large numbers of lawyers, doctors, and other professionals to settle in the city. In 1856 the Atlanta Gas Light Company was incorporated and would in time become Atlanta's oldest corporation. Atlanta's population tripled from that of 1850 - 2,500 people in 1850; 6,000 in 1856. Also, in 1856 the Georgia Air Line Railroad became part of Atlanta's bustling transportation network. The "Air Line" proposed to build another railway connecting Atlanta with the South Carolina boundary. The year 1857 brought the title of "Gate City" to Atlanta. A group of Charlestonians passing through Atlanta was responsible for its inception. On their arrival in Atlanta, the mayor, Judge William Ezzard, and several leading residents held a reception for them. The following day the travelers boarded the train to return to Charleston with Mayor Ezzard accompanying the group. The people of Charleston, not to be outdone, rallied and gave the Mayor a reception. During the festivities, a toast was proposed to Atlanta: "The Gate City, the only tribute she requires of those who pass through her boundaries is that they stop long enough to partake of the hospitality of her citizens."<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 328-365.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 400-432.

By 1860 the population of Atlanta was just under 10,000 (black and white). The city boasted of having five political wards, thirteen churches, seven banks, seventeen insurance companies, public buildings including a post office, city hall, courthouse and a concert hall and several newspapers. Despite the growing pride of Atlanta in its civic progress, the city could not shake the growth of strained sectional tension between North and South. The Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1856 caused considerable excitement as did John Brown's raid in 1859. But, by 1860, the Atlantans faced the fact that there existed the possibility of the South seceding from the United States. If this happened the citizens of Atlanta could be hard hit - they still depended on Northern trade and money. The question arose then whether the South could maintain a healthy and independent economy outside the union.<sup>8</sup>

As tensions increased, Atlanta slowed its building efforts even though population and business increased, knowing that if war broke out Atlanta would become a chief military supply center for the Confederacy. In January, 1861, an election was held to elect delegates to the State Convention of Georgia to consider the question of secession. Georgia opted for withdrawal from the Union and shortly thereafter, Atlanta welcomed Jefferson Davis and Alexander

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 463-472.

Stephens, the newly elected president and vice president of the Confederacy with the hopes that Atlanta would be made the capital for the new government. As the Gate City Guardian pointed out:

This city has good railroad connections, is free from yellow fever, can supply the most wholesome foods, and as for 'goobers' an indispensable article for a Southern Legislator, we have them all the time.

Despite this recommendation the city's bid failed.<sup>9</sup>

During the war years, Atlanta became headquarters for a confederate military post and submitted to martial law. The city was instrumental in moving supplies and goods throughout the South, to the point that Atlanta railroads suspended freight orders for private parties to give priority to military goods. Yet, life appeared to go on with newspapers providing reviews of local plays and advertisements for consumer goods. The impact of the blockade was evident, though, in appeals carried in the newspapers for medicines and goods needed for war supplies.<sup>10</sup>

Atlanta's 'crucial war year' came in 1864. Prior to this the city kept growing, again doubling its population in just four years, bringing the number of inhabitants close to 20,000. The city, prior to 1864 was a throbbing industrial center, but with the fall of Vicksburg

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 493-497.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 536-540.

in 1863 Grant and Sherman turned their eyes to Atlanta with its railroads and industrial base. Confederate forces became extremely alarmed and prepared to protect the city, by digging fortifications around Atlanta and calling for a general evacuation. By May 4, 1864, Sherman's Atlanta campaign was launched with nothing standing between Sherman, his troops and Atlanta but the city fortifications and whatever Confederate troops, slaves, and Atlanta citizenry that could man them.<sup>11</sup>

The Atlanta campaign and ensuing battle is considered a model of military expertise and strategy. While the campaign need not be recounted in its entirety, it is sufficient to say that Atlanta fared badly at the hands of Sherman. He left no stone untouched on his march. Under orders to completely devastate the city and its surrounding area, the General proceeded to carry out his mission. The railways were completely destroyed, the city left a smoking ruin. Sherman and his troops immediately put Atlanta under martial law. The city's damage was so complete that in 1865 the city council convened with a balance of \$1.64 in the city treasury.<sup>12</sup>

The post-war reconstruction period in Atlanta saw a flurry of rebuilding on the part of its citizens.

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 563-575.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 630-669.

The war over, the citizens who fled the city during the siege slowly came back to take part in the reconstruction of their city. The population quickly increased with North and South contributing to the boost. The fall of 1865 brought the newly formed Freedman's Bureau to Atlanta. The Bureau immediately set out to give aid and find work for the recently freed blacks. The railroads also began the tedious task of rebuilding to once more establish Atlanta's importance as a transportation center.<sup>13</sup>

By all appearances Reconstruction in Atlanta interfered little with the city's growth. The only difference compared to 1837 was the appearance of Federal troops and the Freedman's Bureau. As has been mentioned before, the influx of people from the North helped increase Atlanta's population. Even after Reconstruction, many Northerners remained in Atlanta as permanent residents. The Federal Government also helped Atlanta return to normalcy by commissioning the establishment of the Georgia National Bank in 1865. Other cities throughout the country contributed funds to Atlanta in establishing new business ventures. Despite the hardship, the city still found time to enjoy the lighter side of life as the theater quickly reestablished itself. By 1866, local newspapers ran ads of theatrical companies and other Sunday entertainments to be performed in the city.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 688-696.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 713-724.

The years 1866-1870 saw an increasing movement of blacks into Atlanta. This move, coupled with the more extreme measures passed by the government in dealing with the black's new status, put Atlanta at the center of attention. Whole sections of the city (among them Auburn Avenue) became heavily populated with blacks. The enfranchisement of the black in 1867 increased growing hostilities between blacks and whites. Yet, despite tensions, the citizens of Atlanta tried to provide jobs, housing, and education for blacks. Perhaps the one bright spot came in 1867 with the establishment of Atlanta University, which would in the future become a major black center of learning.<sup>15</sup>

During this period a department store established by a young Hungarian immigrant Morris Rich opened. The store, Rich's, would become one of the fastest growing department stores in the country. Also, a former Confederate Colonel, Carey W. Styles, founded a newspaper, the Atlanta Constitution which later hired a young journalist, Henry W. Grady, as its editor. By 1868 Atlanta's population was over 20,000, its real estate valued at several million dollars, and retail sales of Atlanta's 250 stores amounted to \$4,500,000. In 1868 the legislature also designated Atlanta as the capital of Georgia, an event that caused much chagrin to the former capital, Milledgeville,

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 740-742.

but a move which boosted the ambitions of Atlanta.<sup>16</sup>

As Reconstruction began to fade into history, Atlanta and the rest of the South witnessed the birth of the "New South" movement. Ambiguous in meaning, "New South" came to represent the "inauguration of a new era," with the regeneration of the social, economic, and intellectual facets of the South as its major goals. The "old" South belonged to the history books: it was time now for Southerners to put behind their bitterness, tragedy, and memories and set about the business of giving a new vitality to the region. The essence of this rebirth was to be found in economic development, primarily in the shape of an industrial society.<sup>17</sup>

One of the major proponents of this New South ideology was J. D. B. DeBow, publisher of the New Orleans Magazine, DeBow's Review. The magazine, revived after the war, put forth a doctrine of strong Southern nationalism coupled with the need for Southern industrialization. If the South was ever to resume 'her place in the mighty Empire of the States' it was important that the region begin to utilize its many natural resources. Manufacturing would become the by-product of these efforts with the added result of a larger population. As DeBow remarked:

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 769-800.

<sup>17</sup> Paul M. Gaston, The New South Creed, New York, 1970; 4-22; Other books which offer a general discussion of the New South Movement include: C. Van Woodward, Origins of the New South 1877-1913, Baton Rouge, Louisiana: Louisiana State University Press, 1951; George Brown Tindell, The Emergence of the New South 1913-1945, Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 1967.

We have to go to manufacturing to save ourselves . . . Workmen to go furnaces, mines, and factories - they go where labor is brought. Every new furnace or factory is the nucleus of a town, to which every needed service is sure to come from abroad. Factories and works establish other works. Population . . . is one of the sorest needs of the South; immigration only can supply this.<sup>18</sup>

In dealing with the question of capital, DeBow assured his readers that the South "shall have occasion to borrow" and that further needed monies would "flow" to begin the needed construction of the South's new industries.<sup>19</sup>

One of the greatest contributors to the New South movement came from Atlanta and played a decisive role in action as spokesman. Henry Woodfin Grady, a journalist by trade, (and who later served as editor of the Atlanta Constitution) made his mark in a speech delivered in New York City in 1886 in which he proclaimed that the South of "slavery and secession" had passed away, replaced by a New South of "union and freedom." With Grady's rhetoric and DeBow's articles the idea of a New South began to take on the "aspects of a creed of salvation," especially to the young men who grew up under Reconstruction's rigid program.<sup>20</sup>

Roughly during the period of the 1870s popular magazines began to write about the phenomenon occurring in

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 48.



the South. In 1874, South Carolinian Edwin De Leon, a former Confederate propaganda writer and author, writing for Harper's New Monthly Magazine, a popular general interest publication, devoted three lengthy articles to the massive rebuilding efforts taking place in the region. De Leon also contributed articles to Putnam's and Southern magazines. Sidney Lanier, one of the South's premier writers, wrote a lengthy article for Scribner's detailing the building process of the region, as did Henry Watterson, editor of the influential Louisville Courier-Journal, in his articles for North American Review.<sup>21</sup>

Atlanta's first appearance in national print as a model New South city came in 1872 with C. W. Hubner's article for another general interest periodical Appleton's. Hubner cited Atlanta's tremendous recovery from the Civil War and Reconstruction and predicted that the city "is destined to be under continued wise government, the leading inland city of the rejuvenated South . . . ." <sup>22</sup>

For almost the next twenty years, Atlanta remained out of the magazine readership's eye. But in the decade

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<sup>21</sup>Edwin De Leon, "The New South," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 1874, 406-422; 1974, 555-568; "The New South: What it is Doing and What it Wants," Putnam's Magazine, April, 1870, 458-464; Sidney Lanier, "The New South," Scribner's Monthly, October, 1880, 840-851; Henry Watterson, "The Solid South," North American Review, January, 1879, 47-58.

<sup>22</sup>C. W. Hubron, "Atlanta," Appleton's Journal, 1872, 376-378.

of the 1890s a flurry of magazine articles appeared covering the city's progress and its exposition. New England Magazine published an article, "New South: Atlanta," in November of 1891. This article showed more sophistication in its travelogue approach by accompanying its report of the city history and landmarks with drawings and photographs. The overall tone of the piece was enthusiastic, calling Atlanta a city of "commendable progress." The unknown author, posing a rhetorical question to the reader, asked if anyone could point out another city which had shown such great advances. Answering his own question the author concluded: "I know of none."<sup>23</sup>

Three years later Southern Magazine followed with an article entitled "Fair Atlanta." The author, Anna W. Young, found Atlanta "enthroned upon the crests of her everlasting hills," and commended the "enterprise and heroism of a war stricken but dauntless people." The city now boasted a population numbering 104,421. Atlanta was the center of nine railroads, numerous stores and twenty-one banks. The value of Atlanta real estate was estimated at \$78,760,000. Again, the article was extremely enthusiastic in tone.<sup>24</sup>

"Well one thing is certain," stated the Chautauquan, an educational and reform-oriented publication,

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<sup>23</sup>"New South: Atlanta," New England Magazine, November, 1891, 377-394.

<sup>24</sup>Anna W. Young, "Fair Atlanta," Southern Magazine, 1894, 297.

in 1895, "and that is that no other city in America could have accomplished it." The quote was in reference to the Southern Exposition held in Atlanta. Congress had give approval for the Exposition to be held, along with \$200,000 to build a government exhibit. The city had already raised \$225,000 for the Exhibition and gained the co-operation of other states in the South in order to ensure a successful presentation. While the Exposition was nowhere near the size of the Chicago World's Fair held in 1892, international and national interests were well represented.<sup>25</sup>

Thirty main buildings were constructed for the Exposition including structures that were put up by several foreign nations and states. The principal designer for the construction was Mr. Bradford L. Gilbert, an architect from New York, with an Atlanta architect, Walter T. Downing, aiding him. Downing's chief contribution was the design of the Art Building. Some of the main exhibition halls housing exhibits included the Government Building, the Minerals and Forestry Building, Machinery Hall, Woman's Building, and the Manufacture and Liberal Arts Building. Of special note was the building for Black Exhibits, constructed by black architects, built by black carpenters and receiving wide support from white Atlantans.

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<sup>25</sup>J. K. Ohl, "The Southern Exposition at Atlanta," Chautauguan, 1895, 555-561.

As The North American Review commented, the construction proved an example of "the marvellous progress shown in every line of this emancipated people."<sup>26</sup>

The Exposition proved to be the crowning point for Atlanta at the close of the nineteenth century. In its opening day ceremonies (September 14, 1895), one of the speakers addressing the international audience was one of Black America's leading spokesmen, Booker T. Washinton. The invitation and ensuing speech set a precedent and proved to be one of Atlanta's milestones, setting the foundation for the city's reputation as a city of model race relations. In an article, "The Jubilee of the New South," Century offered the viewpoint that:

This was a demonstration the making of which alone would have justified the holding of a great exposition . . . The day is not far distant in the South when the Negro will be judged not by his color but by what he can do . . . . The Atlanta Exposition will stand as the jubilee of the New South - a South of industrial development and agricultural progress . . . Everywhere is felt the spirit of the new time . . . the people are joyous and confident and are proud of the proof they are offering . . . Enrolled in the ranks of the industrious and prosperous of the land . . . the Negro problem, which since the war has constituted the darkest cloud . . . is to be solved . . . there is nothing left for the South to fear . . . .<sup>27</sup>

Clearly, there was reason for optimism. But, within the next decade, the model that Atlanta built

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid.; W. Y. Atkinson (Governor of Georgia), "The Atlanta Exposition," North American Review, October, 1895, 385-393.

<sup>27</sup>"The Jubilee of the New South," Century, January, 1896, 470.

upon not only in racial relations but in New South productivity and ideals would be put to the test and sorely shaken. Americans would read of these developments in the ever-increasing number of popular magazines and use this information as the basis for their image of Atlanta.

CHAPTER II  
ATLANTA'S WIND AND WHIRLWIND  
(1900-1929)

In Atlanta the beginning of the new century proved to be relatively quiet as the city still found itself in the midst of its own reconstruction. The Exhibition, fresh in the city's mind, added an enthusiasm and determination to put Atlanta back on its feet. Coupled with this was the idea of advertising Atlanta as a model Southern city in the hope that such an approach would help to diminish the prejudice and stereotypes that had plagued the South since the Civil War.

Although the first few years of the new century saw little coverage given to Atlanta,<sup>1</sup> one topic that apparently interested Americans was black education in Atlanta. Indeed, Atlanta University was recognized as one of the "superior institutions" located in the "center of Negro education in the world."<sup>2</sup> W. E. B. DuBois, one of the most distinguished individuals associated with the institution, was also one of its greatest publicizers. DuBois wrote about the laboratory of sociology at Atlanta University

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<sup>1</sup>At least until 1906 when the race riots broke out.

<sup>2</sup>M. G. Anderson, "Center of Negro Education in the World," Gunton's Magazine, November 1903, 433.

and the Atlanta University Conferences, both of which were under the auspices of DuBois.<sup>3</sup> In discussing the Sociology Laboratory, DuBois pointed out the importance of a black university which is "situated within a few miles of the geographic center of the Negro population of the nation,"<sup>4</sup> in the hopes to better enable the more assertive study of the problems of the black community. DuBois discouraged the use of text books by his undergraduate sociology students and, instead encouraged the study of particular problems in the black community that would be supplemented by first hand studies and special reports. Sometimes, DuBois stated, the studies proved to be of real scientific value in that they made their way into U.S. State Department Bulletins or were useful in the Atlanta Conferences (which will be discussed later).<sup>5</sup>

DuBois' program for post graduate study continued the process of analyzing data for the study of black problems. But in order to maintain the ideals that he had set down for his laboratory, DuBois needed more money. Indeed, DuBois complained that on the laboratory's annual budget of \$500 the university still had trouble raising

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<sup>3</sup>W. E. B. DuBois, "The Laboratory in Sociology at Atlanta University," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, XXI, May, 1903, 161-163; "Conferences on the Negro Question," Charities Magazine, May 2, 1903, 435-439.

<sup>4</sup>DuBois, "The Laboratory in Sociology at Atlanta University," 162.

<sup>5</sup>DuBois' class in 1899 furnished studies which were used in the Bulletin of the United States Department of Labor as well as the periodical Southern Workman.

necessary funds.<sup>6</sup> DuBois' students had covered a variety of areas since the inception of the program. In the years 1896-1903 studies on "Morality Among Negroes in Cities," "The College-Bred Negro," "The Negro Artisan," and "The Negro Church" were examined.<sup>7</sup> Within the black community itself, DuBois stated the studies had "exerted a wholesome influence . . . directed thought and discussion into definite and many times unnoticed channels . . . ."<sup>8</sup>

In years prior to 1903, Atlanta University had been the scene of several national meetings to discuss black conditions. These meetings, under the direction of the Afro-American Council, were the subject of an article by DuBois in Charities Magazine published in May, 1903. These conferences had the characteristics of being unique yet peculiar. Compared to most black schools (which stressed industrial rather than academic education), Atlanta University had the advantage of "higher training." That is, many of the students were more thoroughly versed in research techniques which would enable the conference and its participants to more fully explore problems of the black community.<sup>9</sup> Indeed, the aim of all the Atlanta

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<sup>6</sup>DuBois, "The Laboratory in Sociology at Atlanta University," 163.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 162.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 163.

<sup>9</sup>DuBois, "Conferences on the Negro Question," 435-439.



Conferences was to "Make a tentative inquiry into the original life of American Negroes."<sup>10</sup>

Also the Atlanta Conferences were often responsible for drawing national attention to problems concerning blacks that existed in almost every major city. Again, as in his description of the Sociology Laboratory, DuBois emphasized that the Atlanta University Conferences were working under a financial burden. The money was needed in the hopes that the Conference could continue studying "the greatest of our social problems, and gradually replacing assumption, guess, and misrepresentation by carefully ascertained fact."<sup>11</sup>

By 1903, the Atlanta Conference was in its eighth year under the leadership of Atlanta University's President, Horace Rumstead. Through the ensuing years many of the subjects discussed at the Conference had also been under intensive study in W. E. B. DuBois' Sociology Laboratory. The Conference also broadened its scope from studies of the black in cities to the scientific study of black life in general.<sup>12</sup>

A general article on Atlanta University appeared in November of 1903 in Gunton's Magazine. The article's author, Marthe Goode Anderson, cited the University as one

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 437.

<sup>11</sup>For instance, the 1901 conference dealt with "The Negro and the Common School" in which the conference urged more state and national aid for black schools.

<sup>12</sup>DuBois, "Conferences on the Negro Question," 439.

of the finer examples of higher black education in the South.<sup>13</sup> Concerning academic standards, Atlanta University's were as high as those of the State University at Athens, and furthermore, the standards of the departments of sociology and technical training were considerably higher. In part, this higher standard of excellence came from Atlanta blacks themselves for, as Anderson pointed out, "It is a recognized fact that the Negroes of Atlanta as a whole are of a better class in every way than the Negroes of other Southern cities."<sup>14</sup>

Anderson presented a general discussion of curriculum as well as descriptions of special programs and services available to students.<sup>15</sup> For example, female students lived in a building called the Model Home in which the "act of homemaking is taught, finding expression in the tasteful furniture, well selected pictures and in the exquisite neatness of the snow white beds."<sup>16</sup> For the poorer students an equivalent program comparable to today's work study was

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<sup>13</sup>Atlanta University's principle work was in training blacks to become teachers. Industry training was a minor emphasis compared to other black institutions.

<sup>14</sup>Anderson, "Center of Negro Education in the World," 434-435.

<sup>15</sup>The University required an entrance exam. The curriculum for a three month trial course followed by a regular four year college program as well as three prepatory courses and an English high school course for three years. All Atlanta University applicants were required to have complete grammar school training.

<sup>16</sup>Anderson, "Center of Negro Education in the World," 434-435.

offered as well as student loans and scholarships. Anderson also briefly discussed school finances<sup>17</sup> and a breakdown of the college graduates' occupations.<sup>18</sup> The point is made, however, that, even though many of the college's graduates had entered professional and business occupations, most had very little to do with political affairs. Only three achieved (at least for 1903) any real degree of political prominence.<sup>19</sup> Despite this, a strong and favorable light is cast upon Atlanta University and the opportunities it offered for blacks, and that particular point was made even clearer in an editorial published in the Atlanta Constitution:

The hills around Atlanta alone are covered with more high grade opportunities for Negroes than the state has provided for all her children . . . Is this a forecast of the time when the Negro may not be the illiterate class of the state, and when the illiterate class shall be the poor white farmer, the very backbone of the state?<sup>20</sup>

By 1906 the calm in Atlanta and of its black and white residents had been shattered, and Americans were reading of a very different facet of the city. Inflammatory newspaper articles depicting black crime (especially

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<sup>17</sup>The annual budget of the University averaged about \$50,000 a year, with students paying about \$10,000 of that amount. Permanent funds amounted to about \$48,000 (\$30,000 of which went to scholarships). Again, the point is made that the University depended largely on the "friendship of interested persons."

<sup>18</sup>Of the 92 graduates alive at the time the article was printed (1903), roughly 7 were in religious work, 4 physicians, 2 lawyers, 55 teachers, 1 dentist, 1 in literary work, 12 civil servants, and 5 in other businesses.

<sup>19</sup>One became a member of the Georgia Legislature, one a member of the Texas Legislature, one was a member of the National Republican Convention.

assault and rape against white women) along with black movement into white areas, an increasing competition between blacks and whites for jobs and a growing attitude of white supremacy pushed racial tension to a peak. In Atlanta all these factors climaxed with printing in the Atlanta News of a larger than usual number of articles on black crime. On September 20, 1906, a riot broke out in which at least ten blacks were killed, with many more seriously injured. Order was restored by Sunday the 23rd, but on Monday the 24th violence broke out again, this time leaving at least twelve blacks dead and over seventy wounded.<sup>21</sup>

National magazines reacted quickly. Their coverage of the riot in editorials, reports, and commentary were a mixture of shock, horror, and shame. In an article entitled "The Wind and the Whirlwind," published on September 27, 1906, almost a week after the riot, the magazine Independent expressly laid the blame for the riot on three men - Hoke Smith, Clark Howell, and John Temple Graves, all of whom were political aspirants for the governorship of Georgia. All three also happened to own newspapers and were united on one cause, an extreme hatred of the black and a desire to keep the black in a submissive

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<sup>20</sup>Anderson, "Center of Negro Education in the World," 440.

<sup>21</sup>"The Wind and the Whirlwind," Independent, September 27, 1906, 760.

position. Hoke Smith advocated literacy laws to shut out the blacks at the polls. Clark Howell suggested special taxes; while Graves advocated tougher policing of blacks throughout the state.<sup>22</sup>

The Independent, in a feverish pitch, compared the riots to the massacres taking place in Russia against the Jews and claimed that while white Americans protested these actions little if anything was being done to stave off further violence against blacks in the entire South. As the Independent went on to state:

Those that sow the wind must reap the whirlwind . . . What will be the end of it all? . . . to their latest day of life a pall of shame and horror ought to rest on Hoke Smith, Clark Howell, John Temple Graves and every other man who has stirred up this race hatred, violence, and crime, and brought this ringing curse on Atlanta and the disgraced State of Georgia.<sup>23</sup>

In October, Harper's Weekly published an article by one Thomas Gibson who stated in his preface: "I have told the worse but no more. Southern readers will greatly appreciate one story which is fair."<sup>24</sup> The article, "The Anti-Negro Riots in Atlanta," gave an extensive description of the events of September 22, 23, and 24. According to Gibson, there was an attempt made by Mayor James G. Woodward to reason with the crowd in the hopes that they would disperse

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<sup>22</sup>Richard Hofstadter and Michael Wallace, American Violence, New York:

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Thomas Gibson, "The Anti-Negro Riots in Atlanta," Harper's Weekly, October, 1906, 1457.

The attempt proved fruitless as the harassment and violent acts increased.<sup>25</sup>

Gibson's commentary on the actual riot was brief - only about a page and a half. In the rest of the article Gibson stated his own views as to why the riot occurred and what steps were being taken to prevent the situation from reoccurring. He blamed the violence on the "very worst classes," both black and white, and said that authorities had tracked down and punished mob leaders of both racial groups. Also, the city closed saloons, discouraged loitering, and swept through the criminal sections of the black residential areas in an attempt to further stem black crime. Gibson pointed out that high crime districts existed in every major city both North and South, and that only when outbreaks of violence occurred did authorities notice these areas.<sup>26</sup>

Gibson obviously was defensive in his writings. To him the normal attitude shown by the South toward Blacks was largely misunderstood by the North. He proclaimed that "the Southerner knows the Negro's incompetency and shortcoming and puts up with them far more patiently than would a Northern employer of labor."<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup>No other article mentioned such conduct on the part of Woodward. More typical was the accusation that he sent in a general alarm to the fire department with the comment, "Drown them out."

<sup>26</sup>Gibson, "The Anti-Negro Riots in Atlanta," 1459.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid.

To the Southerner, the black belonged to a more inferior class, an attitude similar to that held by a Northerner in regard to the poor white. Theories concerning the improvement of the black's lot, according to Gibson, were "chimerical" and made without accurate knowledge of the facts. However, while he was quick to condemn, Gibson was unable to propose any kind of solution.<sup>28</sup>

The Independent, not to be outdone, also published an article in its October 4 issue, entitled "The Atlanta Massacre." Its author was "an educated Negro, a life long resident of Georgia in whom, were it safe to print his name, our readers would have every confidence."<sup>29</sup> The author called Atlanta an uncivilized community and proceeded to give an account of what really happened. First, Smith, Graves, and Howell had incited the riot through their suggestions as gubernatorial candidates of reducing the civil and personal liberties of the black. Second, as owners of newspapers that printed the stories of "sensational charges of assault," the three were guilty of helping to increase racial tension.<sup>30</sup> Third, two Atlanta newspapers engaged in a circulation race, also increased racial feelings by emphasizing black crime.

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<sup>28</sup>The author stated that the assaults could not be proven. However, a reporter for the News stated two assaults occurred, three were attempted and the other seven were rumors.

<sup>29</sup>"The Atlanta Massacre," Independent, October, 1906, 799.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

Fourth, whites were becoming anxious and resentful of the growing numbers of educated and prosperous blacks in Atlanta. In an attempt to prevent that progress, whites led by the "lawless element" resorted to violence.<sup>31</sup>

November and December of 1906 saw four more articles dealing with the race riot. In an article entitled "Racial Self Restraint,"<sup>32</sup> Outlook magazine undertook the role of mediator and proposed that blacks be allowed to have black police officers to patrol and control black neighborhoods, and that this practice should be encouraged by both blacks and whites in an effort to further control any racial tensions. The same issue of Outlook contained an extensive article on the Atlanta riot. Presenting three points of view,<sup>33</sup> the article tried to present more interpretations of the incident.

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>"Racial Self-Restraint," Outlook, November 3, 1906, 551-553. For additional information on the Atlanta riot see: "Facts About the Atlanta Murders," World's Work, November, 1906, 8147-48; W. E. B. DuBois, "Litany of Atlanta," Independent, October 11, 1906, 56-58; J. T. Graves and W. E. B. DuBois, "Tragedy at Atlanta," World Today, November, 1906, 1171-75; Atlanta Riots and the Origin of Magic," New Republic, July 3, 1915, 225.

<sup>33</sup>The views of a southern white, a northern black, and a black missionary from Atlanta University were presented.



A. J. McKelway, a Southern white, said:

It is a universal feeling that the thunderstorm has cleared the atmosphere and that a long era of peace between the races has begun. The altered demeanor of the Negroes has been very noticeable . . . the Negro's bumptiousness is gone. The thousand appeals for protection have created new sympathy for this child-race among us . . . it would be uncandid to deny that they have been taught a needed lesson, even by the indiscriminate violence of the mob . . . .<sup>34</sup>

The lesson? Simply that blacks had finally realized "the truth that the individual criminal who lay his hand upon a white woman is a menace to the mass."<sup>35</sup>

Carrie W. Clifford, author of "A Northern Black Point of View," did little to discourage the idea of a "child-race:"

Our black ancestors were savages . . . It is the white man who has brought us this message of salvation (Christianity) . . . black and white races are distinct. In this condition no change is desirable and no change is possible . . . personally, assimilation is as distasteful to me as I surmise it is to you . . . .<sup>36</sup>

Clifford's suggestion was that each race should practice self-restraint. However, blacks should be entitled to deal with their problems through their own legal networks in an attempt to prevent such incidents as the Atlanta riot.<sup>37</sup> Edward T. Ware, representing the "point of view

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<sup>34</sup>A. J. McKelway, "A Southern White Point of View," Outlook, November 3, 1906, 562.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Carrie Clifford, "A Northern Black Point of View," Outlook, November 3, 1906, 564.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

of a missionary college" also agreed with Clifford, as well as emphasizing that the educated blacks should take the lead in helping to better conditions in black neighborhoods.<sup>38</sup>

One positive result of the riot was the formation of the Atlanta Civic League, which was to act as a "committee of safety" in helping to prevent further outbreaks of violence and to secure public safety.

In late 1906, Booker T. Washington examined the progress of the League.<sup>39</sup> Founded by both blacks and whites and with a heavily religious atmosphere surrounding it, the League was largely successful in rebuilding a spirit of trust and cooperation between the races.<sup>40</sup>

Better vocational training schools for blacks was a goal of the League with the hope that the schools and their programs would further insure a harmonious interaction between the races. Washington pointed out that many of the tensions encountered between the races were primarily those of a work-oriented nature. The League also held meetings for people of both races and attempted to obtain fair trials and good legal counsel not only for

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<sup>38</sup>Edward T. Ware, "From the Point of View of a Missionary College," Outlook, November 3, 1906, 565-566.

<sup>39</sup>Booker T. Washington, "The Golden Rule in Atlanta," Outlook, December 15, 1906, 913-916.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 914.

the blacks involved in the riot but also for those who might need any kind of legal counsel. Lastly, the idea of "black self-restraint" with the use of black policemen patrolling the black neighborhoods of Atlanta was under serious consideration.<sup>41</sup>

By the end of 1906 and the early months of 1907, the riot became a distant incident. It faded away as quickly as it happened. But there did occur, beginning in April of 1907, a series of three articles in American magazine. Entitled "Following the Colorline," and written by a noted muckraker journalist, Ray Stannard Baker, the articles provided an interesting view in retrospect of the Atlanta riot as well as a glimpse of contemporary black life in Atlanta.<sup>42</sup>

Baker's pieces were sometimes preachy, sometimes poignant, but always hard hitting. He explored topics such as blacks before the law, "Negro Cocaine Victims," "How Negroes Educate Themselves," "Vagrant Negroes," and "How the Working Negro Lives." Underlying all of Baker's vignettes was a growing sense of moral indignation tempered by tragic irony. As Baker argued:

Do you know after being down for some months it

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ray Stannard Baker, "Following the Colorline," American Magazine, June, 1907, 135-148.

keeps coming to me that this is more a white man's problem than it is a Negro problem. The white man as well as the black is being tried by fire. The white man is in full control of the South, politically, socially, industrially: the Negro, as ex-governor Northern points out, is his helpless ward . . . for the protection of society it is necessary to train every negro as it is every white man. . . . When I see crowds of young Negroes being made criminal- through lack of proper training - I can't help thinking how pitilessly ignorance finally revenges itself upon that society which neglects or exploits it.<sup>43</sup>

Another question confronting Georgians and appearing in the magazines of the era was prohibition. In January, 1908, the State of Georgia launched a state wide prohibition movement which resulted in the eventual closing of all barrooms throughout the state. Booker T. Washington felt this action would have a beneficial effect on the black community. Citing liquor as a major cause of many black problems, Washington called the movement "an intellectual awakening and a moral revolution" which found strong support in both the black and white communities.<sup>44</sup>

Prohibition proved to be a deciding factor in the Atlanta mayoral election in December of 1908. The incumbent, James G. Woodward, challenged by banker Robert F. Maddox, lost in an election in which the latter made high morals a key issue. Woodward, despite having been mayor for two

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 148.

<sup>44</sup>Booker T. Washington, "Prohibition and the Negro," Outlook, March 14, 1908, 587-589.

terms, was denounced by Outlook Magazine as having "disgraced the city more than once by public drunkenness and he was held partly responsible in public opinion for the Atlanta riot . . . ." <sup>45</sup> The magazine also maintained that Woodward, shortly after his nomination, was found wandering in an inebriated state in the red light district. The city, enraged by Woodward's behavior, found Mr. Maddox, "a man of high ideals and clean life," to be a candidate more to their liking. The significance of the election of Mr. Maddox, in the Outlook's eyes, was the importance of the black vote in the election. Black voters had sided with the "cause of decency." The magazine applauded the black's civic consciousness and stated that, given time, blacks could soon count on winning "the respect and friendship of the better class of white citizens by siding with them on moral issues." <sup>46</sup>

Prohibition in Georgia, while strongly supported by a majority, did not succeed entirely in preventing drinking in Atlanta or any other Georgia city. S. Mays Bull's article in the March 1909, issue of Putnam's Magazine, stated that, if anything, prohibition in Atlanta was a

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<sup>45</sup>"Decency as an Issue," Outlook Magazine, December 19, 1908, 848.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 701.

farce.<sup>47</sup> Beer and whiskey were openly sold as well as consumed. Nor were the number of arrests concerning drunkenness decreased. Rather, there was "an increase of perjury on the witness stands and of easily handled juries."<sup>48</sup>

In the remaining years prior to World War I, the focus on Atlanta shifted somewhat. Writers began to describe Atlanta as the "gate city of the South," or, as one article in a subtitle commented, "An inspiring record of progress and plans - a story of the kind of public spirit that involves the co-operation of all . . . ."<sup>49</sup> By 1911, Atlanta had a rapidly growing population of 165,000. Large periodicals noted for their commentary on public affairs and opinion, such as Colliers and Literary Digest published articles such as: "Atlanta's Babies: A Subsidy Plan for Keeping Them in Homes," "How Atlanta Cleaned Up," "Poor Man's Bank: How Atlanta is Fighting the Loan Sharks," and "Methodism's \$1,000,000 Reply to Mr. Carnegie."<sup>50</sup> All the articles detailed to one degree or another reforms being instituted in the city.

The period of the 1920s saw Atlanta concentrating on two issues: city zoning and education. In May, 1921, the Atlanta Planning Commission proposed the adoption of a

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<sup>47</sup>S. Mays Bull, "Prohibition in Georgia," Putnam's Magazine, March, 1909, 694-701.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 701.

<sup>49</sup>Harvey Johnson, "Atlanta, Gate City of the South," American Magazine, July, 1911, 3-8.

zoning plan and ordinance.<sup>51</sup> The Georgia Legislature approved the plan in July, 1921, and passed a zoning law applying only to Atlanta. The zoning act provided comprehensive zoning powers for the city, along with a board of zoning appeals and the provision of court review for any of the board's decisions.<sup>52</sup>

In January, 1922, a proposed zoning plan and ordinance was approved by the Atlanta Planning Commission and sent to the Atlanta City Council. After listening to hearings of pro and con, the Council approved the zoning ordinance in April. Even though some persons viewed the ordinance as an invasion of property rights, it did help Atlanta move at least one step ahead of most other Georgia cities. Atlanta had become the first Southern city to adopt a comprehensive zoning plan which enjoyed what seemed to be the enthusiastic backing of the city.<sup>53</sup>

However, in April, 1922, an article appeared in Survey magazine challenging the established zoning policy.

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<sup>50</sup>W. T. Waters, "Atlanta's Babies: A Subsidy Plan for Keeping Them in Their Homes," Colliers, July 1913, 32; "How Atlanta Cleaned Up," Literary Digest, May 3, 1913, 1012; W. P. Eaton, "Poor Man's Bank: How Atlanta is Fighting the Loan Sharks," American Magazine, February, 1914, 71-75; "Methodism's \$1,000,000 Reply to Mr. Carnegie," Literary Digest, August 1, 1914, 196.

<sup>51</sup>Atlanta like other cities in Georgia had no zoning powers.

<sup>52</sup>Robert Whitten, "Atlanta Adopts Zoning Plan," American City, June, 1922, 542.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

This article, "The Atlanta Zoning Plan," raised questions as to the plan's usefulness and, more importantly, whether it was simply a means of visual segregation against undesirables: in Atlanta's case, this meant blacks. The author was correct in this aspect. In Atlanta, zoning could and probably would make it more difficult for blacks to move into white neighborhoods.<sup>54</sup> This type of segregation was approved by Robert Whitten, the creator of the zoning ordinance. Whitten quite bluntly declared that he:

was opposed to any zoning that would favor a mixture of residences for families of different economical status . . . it is more desirable that bankers and the leading businessmen should live in one part of town, storekeepers, clerks, and technicians, in another, and working people in yet others.<sup>55</sup>

The people of Atlanta also were concerned with retaining certain property values as well as with enforcing the colorline. Realtors were especially threatened by zoning, not so much for moral reasons but for financial. However, the author concluded that if the zoning ordinance continued, in effect, it would leave the way open for enforcing restrictions on immigrants, blacks, or anyone engaging in a different way of life.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>The only exceptions were servant's quarters, but only if they happened to be located on the same lot as their white employers.

<sup>55</sup>"The Atlanta Zoning Plan," Survey, April 22, 1911, 114.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 115.



In the area of education, articles such as "The Atlanta Library School" and "A Carnegie Library for Negroes" recognized Atlanta as a forerunner in the field of training future librarians as well as providing information for other areas of the South in order to set up their own community librarians, especially for blacks.<sup>57</sup> Also, Atlanta was making notable progress in the building of schools. By 1924, the city had constructed fourteen new school buildings (nine grammar and four junior high schools) for white children and one new grammar school for blacks. The school buildings themselves were unique in that they were being built on a system which would allow the school to expand. Nearly all of the new buildings were placed in growing neighborhoods of Atlanta.<sup>58</sup>

William Randolph Hearst's influence on Atlanta's journalism was discussed in the American Mercury in January of 1926. Herbert Asbury's piece "Hearst Comes to Atlanta" reported on Hearst's acquisition of the Atlanta Georgian<sup>59</sup> and "immediately seduced journalism in that

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<sup>57</sup>Tommie Dorn Barker, "The Atlanta Library School," Library Journal, XLVI, December 15, 1921, 1025-1026; Sara D. Halley, "A Carnegie Library for Negroes," Survey, October 8, 1921, 54-55.

<sup>58</sup>"Atlanta's Notable Progress in School Building," American City, December, 1923, 599; For more information see: R. L. Lyman, "The Junior High Schools of Atlanta," The School Review, October, 1923, 578-93; H. H. Bixler, "Vocational Guidance in the High Schools of Atlanta Georgia," Industrial Arts Magazine, 12, November, 1923, 422-24; Lilliam M. Pierce, "A League for Honesty," School and Society, December 29, 1923, 773-75; Helen P. Pendledon, "Hiking While They Pray," Survey, February 15, 1924, 515-15; "The Troubles of the Atlanta School System," School and Society, February 19, 1927, 223.

pearl of the Southland with banner lines, photograph layouts and Advice to the lovelorn . . .;" facets of journalism that were previously unheard of.<sup>59</sup> Response to this type of journalism in Atlanta was extremely enthusiastic.<sup>60</sup> But shortly thereafter, the Constitution and the Journal re-established their influence with readership leaving the Georgian in the wake. According to Asbury this was not always the case. During the first two years of Hearst's ownership of the paper "some of the biggest news stories broke that the South had read since the Civil War."<sup>61</sup> But as the years went on the Georgian started to lose ground as the Constitution and Journal began to initiate some of Hearst's innovations. There were staff problems as many of the editorial and business staff members were northern. Pressure was applied to the paper to adopt a more conservative style like the Constitution and Journal, which was eventually done. Finally, Hearst recalled his northern editors and reporters and restaffed the Georgian with an all southern staff. Asbury also commented that by 1926 the Georgian had become

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<sup>59</sup>Hearst bought the paper in 1912. The Georgian competed with the Atlanta Constitution and Journal.

<sup>60</sup>The Constitution and the Journal ran along more conservative lines and were worried about the possible competition Hearst would provide.

<sup>61</sup>For instance, the Hearst paper was the first to break the story on the Leo Frank case in 1914. It is also interesting to note that out of all the magazines examined during this period, not one made reference to the Frank case, except for the Mercury twelve years after the incident.

the most conservative of the Hearst-owned papers, and was by no means indicative of the real Hearst journalism.<sup>62</sup>

By 1929 memories of the race riot of 1906 were vague. National magazines minimized problems between the races and pictured Atlanta as one of the most enlightened cities of the South in its dealings with blacks. Instead of race, attention centered on Atlanta's growing status as a major city of the South. By this time, Atlanta had become the United States' fastest growing industrial and manufacturing market as well as a major distribution center for the entire South. For the time being, Atlantans and national magazines were united in pushing forward Atlanta.

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<sup>62</sup>Herbert Asbury, "Hearst Comes to Atlanta," American Mercury, January, 1926, 87-95.

CHAPTER III  
THE IMAGE FORMED  
(1930-1949)

The year 1931 saw the American public trying to cope with a nationwide depression. Hardships and trauma were depicted week after week, month after month, in almost all major popular publications. But Americans read of different, even exceptional developments in Atlanta. The city appeared to be making great progress in civic growth without experiencing any major difficulties the Depression had created in other large cities.

Atlanta demonstrated a sense of pride in its transition into a major population center in 1931 when the city requested that William M. Stewart, director of the Bureau of the Census, list Atlanta's population at 360,691 rather than 260,366 inhabitants. Stewart refused, so the city took its case to the Supreme Court. The Court ruled against Atlanta, stating that the Federal Census Law and the director of the bureau could not be ordered to use a specific census figure for any given city. In Atlanta's case, the city census count had included five cities which surrounded Atlanta proper. Atlanta exercised some minor controls over these cities, but basically they

still acted as independent political units.<sup>1</sup> Stewart recognized this and chose to count these areas separately. It was also his intention to prove to the American public that state and city rights were secondary to those of the federal government.<sup>2</sup>

The year 1931 also saw the beginning of a series of articles portraying Atlanta as the "Piedmont Capital," "The City that Forgot How to Hate," and the "Gate City of the South."<sup>3</sup> Reported mostly in general interest magazines, (the exception being Travel), these pieces by and large included a brief history of Atlanta, its civic progress, industrial development, places of interest to visit as well as discussions of climate and geographic location. These articles appeared in national magazines of all types on a regular basis and played an important part in defining and redefining Atlanta's national image. Overall they constituted light reading with a multitude of pictures to entice the reader's eye and to help mold and image of Atlanta.

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<sup>1</sup>When the new municipality of Atlanta was created in 1929 by the Georgia Legislature, the five cities and surrounding areas were included. However, Atlanta was limited in its powers over the other areas and the newly created Atlanta City Council was only advisory in nature.

<sup>2</sup>"Higher Census Count Denied to Atlanta," The American City, May, 1931, 96.

<sup>3</sup>Articles of this nature had appeared in the late nineteenth century (as seen in chapter one). The articles mentioned here are the first in the twentieth century.

An example of this travelogue literature was Freeman Tilden's article, "Atlanta: The City of Younger Sons."<sup>4</sup> Tilden stated that despite the devastation left behind by Sherman's troops in 1864, Atlantans had successfully managed to rebuild their city and had "no time for hard feelings." Tildern's "younger sons" were the young men fleeing from tradition or custom in the North who came to Atlanta to settle, as well as young Southern men moving to Atlanta after the war. All made the most of their opportunity by gradually restoring Atlanta as a major railway center and establishing Atlanta, in the federal government's eyes, as a focal point for the South by encouraging the creation of a number of government offices in the city, including a Federal Reserve Bank.<sup>5</sup>

Tilden offered several theories as to why Atlanta grew so rapidly. Some were tongue in cheek, such as the following observations made by a Macon, Georgia, resident:

Well, you see the people of Atlanta not having any traditions to look back upon, not any historic shrines to worship at, just naturally begin to think about themselves. They didn't have anything to do but get to work.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>Freeman Tilden, "Atlanta: The City of Younger Sons," World's Work, August, 1931, 38-44; For a further look at Atlanta travelogue articles see: M. C. Roberts, "Atlanta, a Piedmont Capital," Home Geographic Monthly, December, 1931, 25-30; George Sessions Perry, "Atlanta," Saturday Evening Post, September 22, 1945, 26-27, 47-52; A. A. Ohl, "Evolution of Georgia's Metropolis," Travel, April, 1930, 40-43.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 40.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 39.

More seriously, Tilden suggested that

A City may have great possibilities however, and still fritter and fumble them . . . the most notable thing about Atlanta, first to last, has been its ability to merchandise itself. I know of no city in the country that has consistently understood and used the channels of exploitation and publicity for its advancement, unless it be Los Angeles.<sup>7</sup>

Tilden added that the one commodity that Atlanta had to offer and had managed in a "brilliant way" to advertise was that if any manufacturers, branch offices, or distributors wanted to become the center of the southeast, they had to come to Atlanta. Aside from the business aspect, these groups would "find it a good place to live."<sup>8</sup>

Tilden, as he put it, "sells Atlanta" by using photographs with his writing. Combining business and industry with a bit of Southern nostalgia, the photographs contributed to Atlanta's appeal as well as accenting its material success. Pictures depicted the Federal Reserve Bank, "constructed patriotically of white Georgia marble . . . an ornament to the city," the exclusive Druid Hill residential area where many of Atlanta's leading families lived, and of Atlanta's textile industry. In the latter illustration, he used a photograph of a field of cotton with a small black child picking the cotton, a happy grin on his face.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 40.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 41.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 39-40.

Tilden also briefly discussed the theme of racial harmony in his article. He stressed the racial homogeneity of Atlanta as well as the "Americanness" of the city. The article stated that Anglo Saxons held most of the skilled labor jobs, and blacks, who "have contributed their bit to the upbuilding of the city," the unskilled jobs. Tilden added:

The Negroes are neither all poor, nor all shiftless. On the contrary, Atlanta is proud of the fact that so many black folks have got on in the world . . . there are several streets given over to excellent well-kept houses owned by colored people. The largest church in Atlanta, and the second largest in the United States . . . is a Negro Baptist Church. There are six colleges for Negroes in the city.<sup>10</sup>

Some of Tilden's points were echoed in the late 50s and 60s when black magazines presented an appealing picture of Atlanta as a "black mecca."

From 1932 to 1938, national publications concentrated on three issues in their coverage of Atlanta: politics, education, and city growth. Politically, in April, 1932, Atlanta's "Imp of Hell," Mayor James L. Key, beat Prohibition leaders and labor chiefs in a recall election. One writer commented on Key's victory by declaring that

With him rejoice the Imps of Hell, the Anti-Prohibition organization of American Legionnaires which made him an honorary member . . . Atlanta

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 41.



has refused to be bulldozed . . . by the Prohibition magnates or the lords of labor acting on their own motion . . . .<sup>11</sup>

Key had come out strongly against Prohibition, labelling it as "demoralizing," and had antagonized labor leaders by vetoing an appropriation to raise workmen's wages and by cutting back on city jobs. The two groups united and demanded a recall election. Almost twenty-nine thousand Atlantans turned out to vote, the largest number ever to vote in any kind of city election or primary in the city.<sup>12</sup>

In 1935 Atlanta's public library system responded to the times by offering a transient library. The library, a division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, began as an experiment the year before. All books and magazines had been donated, with the library retaining one trained librarian and several volunteers to maintain the one room building. Two months later, because of a growing collection and increased usage, the library moved to a larger building. The transient library overall proved very successful.<sup>13</sup>

In October of 1936, an article in the city management magazine American City reported on the dedication

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<sup>11</sup>"Atlanta's Imp of Hell Wins," Literary Digest, April 2, 1932, 113.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Jewell Hogg Garvin, "A Library in a Relief Agency," The Library Journal, 60, October 1, 1935, 761-762.

the first national public housing project in the United States located in Atlanta. Called Techwood Homes, the 604 units consisted of three, four, and five room apartments, and five and six room houses. The project covered eleven blocks and was situated along Techwood Drive, a main thoroughfare of Atlanta. The original design called for a self-contained neighborhood with the buildings grouped around courtyards and playground areas. There was space left for stores, special buildings, and laundries. The Techwood Homes residents were selected on the basis of low income and because they currently occupied substandard housing. The monthly rentals ranged from \$16.40 for a three room apartment to \$27.85 for a six room house. By the fall of 1936, 32.1 per cent of the units were occupied with a variety of occupations being represented.<sup>14</sup>

Funding for the housing project had been provided by a Public Works Administration allotment of \$3,101,111 under the supervision of D. A. Calhoun, District Manager of PWA's Housing Division. Calhoun stressed that the Techwood Homes were not created to compete with standard housing in Atlanta. Howard A. Gray, Director of the Techwood Housing project stated that many applicants annual incomes were such that they could afford

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<sup>14</sup>Most numerous were clerks, followed by office workers, small businessmen, and salesmen.

normal housing prices supplied by private enterprise.<sup>15</sup>

In June and September 1938, the reading public became more aware that Atlanta, like any other major city, suffered from corruption within its administrative ranks. June, 1938, saw Assistant Solicitor General E. E. Andrews cracking down on existing police department-criminal alliances.<sup>16</sup> Andrews had suspected corruption among Atlanta's law enforcement officers as early as February, 1937. He had himself appointed a special prosecutor and set about to "cut the props" on the corruption. He successfully managed to break up the city's "numbers" games, leading to the arrests of over twenty of the city's more prominent rackateers as well as securing indictments of a former deputy sheriff and several police officers.<sup>17</sup>

"The Collapse of the Weak Mayor System" in Atlanta was discussed in September, 1938, in the Annals of the American Academy of Arts and Social Sciences.<sup>18</sup>

T. H. Reed, director of the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League, conducted over thirty studies

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<sup>15</sup>"Techwood Homes, Atlanta, is a Working Reality," The American City, October, 1936, 58-59.

<sup>16</sup>Many of these alliances had formed during Prohibition when police would offer "protection" to speakeasy owners and bootleggers for a kickback.

<sup>17</sup>"Atlanta Cleanup," Newsweek, June 13, 1938, 11-12.

<sup>18</sup>T. H. Reed, "Atlanta, Collapse of the Weak Mayor System," Annals of the American Academy of Arts and Social Sciences, 199, September, 1938, 78-82.

of local governments including Atlanta. Reed severely criticized Atlanta's existing charter<sup>19</sup> which limited the Mayor's legal authority. What powers Atlanta's mayors possessed were more of a legislative rather than executive nature. Also, the charter limited the mayor as to the number of meetings he could preside over. For instance, the mayor was not considered a member of the city council, and could attend only one meeting (the first) a year. His appointments were limited to two employees on his own staff, five members on the board of trustees at Grady Hospital, and six members of the city planning commission. Reed felt that an Atlanta mayor's greatest influence came during his campaign for office and immediately after election. Bluntly stated, the city of Atlanta had no head of its city government. Some of the recommendations that Reed offered to correct this problem were: 1) the mayor be given more latitude in his appointments, 2) a nine-member city council with delegates elected at large and 3) the establishment of a civil service commission and a merit system of appointment.<sup>20</sup> With these types of reform instituted, Reed believed the Atlanta city government would be more efficient and less unwieldy.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>No changes had been made in the existing charter since its inception in 1924.

<sup>20</sup>The council members were nominated by wards.

<sup>21</sup>Reed, "Weak Mayor System," 78-82.

The period 1932-1938 witnessed a tremendous growth in the Atlanta University system. Educational periodicals such as School and Society reported on the construction of several new buildings, including a new library, dining and residence halls, administration building and a new home for the president of the college. The estimated cost of the buildings came close to a million dollars, an anonymous donor providing the funds. This new growth proved to be highly reflective of the strides blacks were making not only in Atlanta but in the South. No longer was the emphasis being placed on vocational or agricultural training, but more towards the professional schools and business colleges. As a spokesman for the University stated:

Slowly, perhaps but inevitably, Negroes are assuming control of their own economic, social, and educational life . . . There is abundant opportunity, to be sure, for Negro youth to become trained farmers, artisans, and domestics . . . The noteworthy fact, however, is that the life of the artisan is no longer the chief goal of the Negro boy or girl who goes beyond the grade school; increasingly they seek fields of larger usefulness . . . .<sup>22</sup>

The high point of the new construction on the Atlanta campus was the Atlanta University Library. The building cost over \$300,000 to construct and equip. Best of all,

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<sup>22</sup>"New Buildings at Atlanta University," School and Society, 34, November 21, 1931, 693.

the new library was open to students and teachers of the Atlanta University affiliations, the black undergraduate colleges of Morehouse (for men) and Spelman (for women). Also, students from surrounding white colleges and universities were encouraged to make use of the new library. This attempt at cooperation helped to brighten Atlanta's image as a city of model race relations and innovativeness. The magazines made careful note of the fact that the library was a remarkable step forward for the black population as well as being one of the first libraries to serve several institutions at once.<sup>23</sup>

In addition, in 1936, Atlanta University undertook the establishment of a nursery school on its campus. The nursery, formerly the Leonard Street Orphan's Home, would not only place orphaned children in suitable homes but also expand the University's program of child development, especially with pre-school age children. The University had hopes of establishing a nursery school and kindergarten with a projected enrollment of at least 100 children.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>"The New Library Building of Atlanta University," School and Society, 35, April 9, 1932, 495-96; Charlotte Templeton, "Atlanta University Library," The Library Journal, 37, July, 1932, 609-611. See also "The Atlanta University Library," School and Society, 34, July 18, 1931, 87.

<sup>24</sup>"A Nursery School for Atlanta University," School and Society, 44, December 31, 1936, 561-562.

In May of 1937 Atlanta University, "the proudest center of Negro education in the U.S.," hired a new president. Dennis Rufus Clement, formerly of Louisville's Municipal College for Negroes, accepted the presidential post in the wake of Dr. John Hope who died the year before. Atlanta University at this point had 1,300 students, \$2,000,000 worth of buildings, and a \$7,000,000 endowment fund. While Clement was "no high-powered intellectual" like Fisk's president James Weldon Johnson, he was held in high regard for his "executive ability and tact." Also, Clement, "light brown and neat as a pin," played an excellent game of tennis as well as an even better game of bridge.<sup>25</sup>

But Atlanta's educational changes did not impress the American reading public in the 1930s as much as one book and one movie. "Until Gone with the Wind was published," remarked Frank Daniels, writing for the Saturday Review of Literature, Atlanta's chief pride was Bobby Jones (the noted golfer). But, by 1939, Jones had retired from the public eye and the golf courses. At Atlanta and the national limelight focused on Atlanta born and bred Margaret Mitchell, author and recipient of the Pulitzer Prize in 1937 for her novel Gone With the Wind. Miss Mitchell's comment to the public

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<sup>25</sup>"Clement to Atlanta," Time, May 10, 1937, 40.

on the overwhelming success of her book was that she feared "she had inflicted another 'high school classic' on Southern children" and had added parallel reading for high school history classes. Whatever influence the novel might have had on history classes, the impact of the work on the city of Atlanta was unquestioned - it put the city on the map and imparted to it a sense of nostalgia, progress and, more importantly, tourist dollars.<sup>26</sup>

Calculated to make further inroads into the public's heart was the world premiere of the movie Gone With the Wind. The premiere promised to be "the cinema event for which the United States has palpitated for three years" and appeared to be one of the most extravagant and gala occasions the moving going public had witnessed. The premiere, held at Atlanta's Loew Theater, was the subject of many magazine articles. Time magazine, determined not to be outdone by anyone, gave three pages to the premiere activities, two for the actual review of the film. To draw the public eye, Time featured a full colored cover page of Vivian Leigh dressed as Scarlett O'Hara.<sup>27</sup>

For the state of Georgia and the city of Atlanta, the film event set forth a week-long statewide holiday. As

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<sup>26</sup>Frank Daniel, "Cinderella City: Atlanta Sees 'Gone With the Wind'," Saturday Review of Literature, December 23, 1939, 10-12.

<sup>27</sup>"G With The W," Time, December 25, 1939, 30-32. This article also marked the first time a piece was done on the city by Time.



Time remarked:

To Georgia it was like winning the battle of Atlanta years late, with yankee good-will thrown in and the direct assistance of Selznick International. [David Selznick undertook the \$5,000,000 project] . . . he appealed to every Atlanta male to don tight trousers and a beaver, sprout a goatee, sideburns, and Kentucky colonel whiskers. He also requested citizens not to tear off the clothes of visiting movie stars . . . .<sup>28</sup>

The night of the premiere proved just as emotional with over 300,000 Atlantans and visitors lined up for seven miles to watch the stars' limosines proceed to Loew's, which had recently acquired a facade similar to that of the Tara and Twelve Oaks plantation.<sup>29</sup> Confederate flags waved among the American, rebel yells were the order of the evening, while confetti was tossed "till it seemed to be snowing." Vivian Leigh (Scarlett), Clark Gable (Rhett Butler), and Margaret Mitchell made appearances at the theater, as well as several other members of the cast. While the stars appeared to be as excited as the crowd, Miss Mitchell did not. As one observer later noted, Miss Mitchell "seemed to be about the only calm citizen in town."<sup>30</sup>

Though the movie appeared to temporarily lay North-South animosity to the side, there were reports

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Tara was heroine Scarlett O'Hara's home, Twelve Oaks, Ashley Wilkes'.

<sup>30</sup> Daniel, "Cinderella City," 10; "G With The W," Time, 30.

that indicated otherwise. The film had a tremendous impact on Southern audiences through its depiction of the Civil War as seen from the Southern side. But, some Northern audiences complained of the negative light it shed on the Union armies and General Sherman. Nevertheless Time dubbed Gone With the Wind a "first rate piece of Americana." More importantly for Atlanta, the film increased the already growing chauvinism of the city. Interest in the city grew, especially in the area of tourism. At least 250,000 Americans were visiting annually by 1939.<sup>31</sup>

Time magazine carried Atlanta's crest one step further by featuring Atlanta, "Crossroad Town," in the "National Affairs" section of the same issue as the one which covered the opening of Gone With the Wind. The writer captured Atlanta's pride perfectly in his first paragraph:

There are 13 Atlanta's in the U.S. but only one mattered last week. Atlanta, Ga., was the place where "Gone With the Wind" opened; where Clark Gable and Vivian Leigh passed by and the Negroes said: 'I seen em!; where Banker Robert Strickland wept for Melanie [Scarlett's sister in law] and said: 'By God, I'm not ashamed'; where young ladies in their grandma's crinolines and young bucks in fawn vests and pantaloons skittered through Peachtree Street and Henry Grady Square at dawn; where old, old people remembered the Battle of Atlanta and Sherman and the flames ('well, suh,' Grandma Harper said, 'General Sherman. I'll never leave Atlanta as long as

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

there is one spot of it as big as my apron . . . .') General Sherman said: Madam you got spunk.') Last week Atlanta was more self conscious of its present and its past than any other U.S. town.<sup>32</sup>

Time reported that Atlanta currently had a population of 196,000 whites, 97,800 blacks, and "only 5,000 foreigners," plus a robust birth rate (13.2 per 1,000 deaths in 1938). The city boasted eight railroads (five of which used the new terminal station), seven airline routes with thirty-three flights daily, and twenty-five trucking lines. Industrially, Atlanta currently was the home of 845 factories (most notably Coca-Cola, as well as textiles, candy, chemicals, paper, and furniture). There were 3,833 retail stores and 809 wholesale stores with a combined annual net of \$465,316,000. Atlanta's education system consisted of eighty-one public schools and thirty-three universities and colleges with a total enrollment of 77,282 students. As mentioned earlier, the Depression seemed to be nothing more than a vague rumor in the Atlanta area.<sup>33</sup>

During the decade of the 1940s the key word again was progress. The reading public observed the city of Atlanta's great strides. National magazines introduced their readers to Atlanta's rebuilding and

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<sup>32</sup>"Crossroad Town," Time, December 25, 1939, 10; 11.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 11.

expansion efforts in public housing, improvement in the city school system,<sup>34</sup> the enlarging of the Atlanta University Center (in the hopes of making Atlanta the educational capital of the South) and the construction of the new library science school for Atlanta University.<sup>35</sup>

One of the first instances in which an author presented Atlanta as a cultural center for the South was in Magazine of Art in May of 1942. At that time, Atlanta University sponsored the First Negro National Exhibition. Black artists from Atlanta as well as other young artists from surrounding areas were represented. Dr. Alain Locke, one of the commentators on the exhibit, noted:

This exhibition should convince any open minded observer that instead of being a struggling rear guard, contemporary young Negro Artists are now in the vanguard of a representative and democratic art of the people with its roots in its own native soil rather than a sophisticated studio art divorced from the racial feeling and interests of the people . . . .<sup>36</sup>

The article concluded that as far as the exhibit was concerned, Atlanta University was the most logical place for its showing and that the city of Atlanta had taken the initiative to sponsor the exhibition.

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<sup>35</sup>"Rebuilding Atlanta," The American City, February, 1940, 79; "Democracy at Work Solving its Problems: Atlanta Housing Authority," Scholastic, March 24, 1941, 12-13; "Atlanta," School and Society, March 30, 1940, 415-16; "College Pool: Six Schools Join Their Efforts to Create Atlanta University Center," Newsweek, May 6, 1940, 44; "Atlanta University Center Assured," School and Society, June 22, 1940, 759; Eunice Costom, "Cigars for the Councilmen," Wilson Library Bulletin, 15, March, 1941, 578-579; "Negro Library School," Library Journal, 66 April 1, 1941, 311.

<sup>36</sup>"First Negro National, Atlanta University," Magazine of Art, May 1942.

The outbreak of war did little to interfere with Atlanta's activities. In fact, Atlanta managed to combine patriotism and civic growth in its endeavors. The Carnegie Library of Atlanta made a concerted effort to obtain material in order to help the rapidly forming vocational training schools for defense industries around Atlanta. These industries included a bomber plant, plus the many established industries such as sheet metal and textiles turning out needed defense materials. The Library also circulated pamphlets on air raid precautions and Red Cross needs. The most important contribution by the Library was the establishment of a War Information Center. In the Center were communiques, "appropriate" posters, digests of daily information, plus information on scrap drives and victory gardens. Other library branches also set up similar information centers.<sup>37</sup>

An article in The American City in April of 1943 reported that the Atlanta Auditorium underwent extensive reconstruction without the use of critical war materials. According to the article, "Atlanta Auditorium Gets Modernized Front," the marble exterior of the new building presented no problem but other changes required a little ingenuity. The bronze marquee was shelved in favor of concrete, and walnut doors replaced what would have been

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<sup>37</sup>"Libraries and the War Program," Library Journal, 67, May 15, 1942, 462-463.

metal. Elevator shafts were installed, but the elevators were not installed until after the war. The auditorium's heating plant was improvised from second hand materials, lights and radiators were "stolen" from the auditorium's connected main building (the Armory). In order to show motion pictures the auditorium requested and received a motor generator from the Atlanta Municipal Airport where it had been used to provide power for field lights. Upon completion the auditorium was deemed "a civic asset of unestimable value."<sup>38</sup>

Also in 1943, Atlanta instituted the People's College Program, a project designed to bring education to the entire community. Classes were held in various parts of the city with a registration fee of fifty cents. There were no requirements except that the student know how to read and write. Attendance was optional and there was little homework. There were a variety of courses offered, including handicrafts, English, foreign languages, geography, and home management. The program attracted people from all walks of life. Special emphasis was placed on offering courses in the black community in order to "set men free from the drabness of unfulfilled lives and to enable their more satisfactory functioning in a war-town society."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>"Atlanta Auditorium Gets Modernized Front," The American City, April, 1943, 63.

<sup>39</sup>"The Descent From Olympus," School and Society, 57, May 1, 1943, 494-495.

From the closing months of 1943 through 1945 the Atlanta image exuded optimism. Despite the Depression, the war, the earlier problems the city encountered with racial prejudice, Atlanta was treating the reading public to a city that had an answer for every problem. It seemed to have limitless funding and city expansion grew far past what anyone might ever have anticipated. In the two year period 1943-45 Atlanta experienced a real estate boom, expansion of Atlanta University and new community programs such as a library for the blind equipped with "talking books," radios and voluntary readers.<sup>40</sup>

The Atlanta Exhibition for local black artists had its third show in April, 1945. While first receiving a rather lukewarm reception from Atlanta's white populace, local art critics reviewed it favorably enough to draw national attention. The Exhibit now awarded \$1,400 in prizes and had generated enough interest in the black artistic community to guarantee a well-represented and carefully chosen group of black artists. The 1945 Exhibit featured eighty-two paintings by forty-eight artists and proved to the white public that there was "worthwhile U.S.

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<sup>40</sup> "Realty Moves," Business Week, December 25, 1943; 50-51; Annie L. Watters McPheeter, "Library Eyes for the Blind," Wilson Library Bulletin, 18, April, 1944, 615-16; "A New University Center in Georgia," School and Society, 59, June 10, 1944, 407; "New University Center for Atlanta," Education for Victory, July 20, 1944, 18; W. Olivier, "Stony path to learning: colleges of the Atlanta University system," Saturday Evening Post, April 14, 1945, 22-23.

Negro Art." The most common theme portrayed was black life, with an emphasis on racial awareness. Time, which reviewed the exhibit, noted that in the past all prospective buyers of the exhibit paintings were black. However, that year one white collector purchased paintings.<sup>41</sup>

With the war's end industrial expansion increased in Atlanta. Business Week, one of the more influential special interest magazines, reported that Ford Motor Company and General Motors promised Atlanta new automotive plants. Chevrolet, which had been producing trucks for military use, hoped shortly to begin auto manufacturing, as did Fisher Body Company. DuPont disclosed plans for building a plant in Atlanta, along with Crown Cork and Seal and Owens-Illinois Glass Company. Sherwin Williams and Kraft Cheese companies were currently looking at Atlanta to scan possible sites for construction. Along with industry, Atlanta hoped to draw more investors, American and foreign, and retail companies. However, despite the progress of industry, signs of labor unrest were appearing, as well as the problems of learning how to better market Atlanta's raw materials and how to increase Atlanta capital in Atlanta industry. Despite these problems, the city established badly needed public works and bond commissions. Financially, Atlanta was making great progress. The city paid its bills in cash, and credit

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<sup>41</sup>"Atlanta's Annual," Time, April 9, 1945, 65.



proved readily obtainable.<sup>42</sup>

The first hint national readers had that the Depression of the 1930s had affected Atlanta as well as a glimpse of the power of Atlanta's retail business appeared only in 1946. Time magazine, in its article "The South's Biggest," stated that during the Depression, when Atlanta had no money to pay its school teachers, city officials went to Walter Henry Rich, president of Rich's, Inc., a large department store in Atlanta, to ask his advice. Rich told them to pay the teachers with scrip, for Rich's would honor it. This homespun antidote opened the way for Rich's to become the largest department store in the South. Rich's policy of "What's good for Atlanta is good for Rich's" had grossed the store \$33,000,000 in 1945, making it an easy equal of any large Northern department store, and Rich had plans for \$50,000,000 in construction which would boost its annual sales volume to \$50,000,000 and further establish the store as a major retail center.<sup>43</sup>

National publications continued to emphasize the image of Atlanta as the "Center of Negro Education" in the years 1946-1949. Atlanta University acquired several private library collections dealing with the blacks. The University, through the years, acquired more than 12,000

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<sup>42</sup>"Atlanta Bulwark," Business Week, September 15, 1945, 65.

<sup>43</sup>"The South's Biggest," Time, March 4, 1946, 84-85.

and pamphlets, including the John Brown (slavery) papers, the Maud Cuney Hare Music Collection, and the Harold Jackman Art Collection. In 1946 Henry P. Slaughter of Washington, D. C. donated his private collection of books, newspaper clippings, pamphlets, letters, prints, and magazines to the University. This collection, along with the private papers of Countee Cullen (a prominent black author of the Harlem Renaissance) donated by Harold Jackman, promised to make Atlanta the leading center for the study of black life and history. Also instituted was an adult education group under the direction of the Carnegie Library. The program, aimed at the black community, covered a variety of areas, from literary studies to business advice. The program's goal was to establish solid black business bases as well as racial pride in black communities.<sup>44</sup>

However, during the years 1946-1949, racial prejudice reared its head once more. In 1946 a group of young Atlanta whites banded together and established an organization called the "benevolent and patriotic society of Columbians." Whatever images Atlanta might have retained as a city freed from racial hatred were quickly destroyed by this group. Dressed in army khaki uniforms

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<sup>44</sup>"A Comprehensive Thesaurus of Literature By and On the Negro," School and Society, 63, June 15, 1946, 430-431; Will Smallwood, "A Tribute to Countee Cullen," Opportunity, July, 1947, 168-169; Annie L. Watters McPheeters, "Atlanta Branch Aids Negro Groups," Library Journal, 74, March 1, 1949, 342-350.

with emblems of a red thunderbolt, they put forth a belligerent creed: "To create voting solidarity among all white American citizens . . . to encourage our people to think in terms of race, nation and faith."<sup>45</sup> The president of the group was a thirty-one year old Atlanta draftsman Emory Burke, aided by thirty-one year old Homer L. Loomis Jr. The Columbians quickly attracted a following and invited a series of highly damaging articles by the larger general news periodicals Time and Newsweek. The Columbians kicked off a series of racial incidents including the bombing of a house occupied by a black family in a white neighborhood and decorating a seventeen year old youth for severely beating a black. Later, when the group tried to forcibly eject another black family from its home, located in a white neighborhood, the Atlanta police were called in. The leaders were jailed for disorderly conduct and inciting a riot. The overall reaction of Atlanta whites to the Columbians was enlightening. Commenting that the group was nothing more than "Toy Hitlers," the uniforms strangely reminiscent of German SS Troops, Atlanta turned its back on them.<sup>46</sup>

Racial problems temporarily put aside, the city moved on with its building. The closing years of the decade

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<sup>45</sup>"Thunderhead," Time, November 11, 1946, 25.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.; "Toy Hitlers," Newsweek, November 11, 1946, 31-32. For further information on race and crime in Atlanta see: "Atlanta Nightmare," Newsweek, August 25, 1947, 19-21; and "Atlanta's Junior Hoodlums," Newsweek, April 1, 1946, 25.

saw the passing of a forty million dollar bond issue for Atlanta and surrounding Fulton County. The bond issue allocated monies for the school system and other city improvements such as the airfield, city building, libraries, parks, fire and police stations, and community centers. A communicable disease center was established to assist state and local health agencies in the control and prevention of communicable diseases.

Atlanta also put more emphasis on luring prospective newcomers through stepped up real estate ads, by stressing new developments and Atlanta's concern with civic improvements. However, there was one unhappy note: Atlanta failed in an annexation plan which would have drawn two adjacent areas of Fulton County within the city limits.<sup>47</sup>

The years 1930-1949 firmly established Atlanta in the public eye. If the image had only a shadowy outline prior to 1930, by the end of 1949, it had become more definite. Atlanta stood as a model Southern city; a city that learned to cope with civic, educational, and racial problems. It stood as a center to education, civic

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<sup>47</sup> "Forty Millions Dollar Bond Issue Voted," The American City, September, 1946, 120; "The Communicable Disease Center at Atlanta," American Journal of Public Health, 38, November, 1948, 1578-1579; M. Gayl, "Real Estate Man and a Book: Building Atlanta's Future," Rotarian, September, 1949, 31-33; "Atlanta Annexation Try Fails," The American City, September, 1947, 93. For further information on Atlanta civic progress see: "Traffic Control and Facilitation: Atlanta Adjusts to Traffic Demands," The American City, September, 1946, 143; "Water Supply and Treatment," The American City, October, 1947, 9; R. Eastland, "When the Citizens Took Over the Gully," Better Homes and Gardens, March, 1948, 158-161; "Industry Spreads in Atlanta," Business Week, September 10, 1948, 42-47.

improvements, culture, and even patriotism for both black and white peoples. More importantly, Atlanta could consider itself the equal of large Northern cities in industry and size. These two decades of magazine coverage firmly established Atlanta as a city to watch and possibly to compare with other cities both North and South. The city embodied the ideals and nostalgia of the pre-Civil War South as well as 20th century progress and would, with growing magazine coverage in the next few decades, come closer under the public eye.

CHAPTER IV  
THE IMAGE DEFINED  
(1950-1959)

At first glance, national magazine coverage of Atlanta seemed to indicate that during the 1950s the city of half a million plus had reached a plateau in its building and civic efforts. Periodical coverage of Atlanta during the first two years (1950-1952) of the decade was relatively light and stressed non-controversial topics. From 1953 on national readers became more aware of a growing black economic mobility, an increased political strength of that race, and another "boom" of metropolitan expansion in industry, business, and culture for Atlanta. Also during this period, Atlanta's coverage would slowly become dominated by the large general news publications such as Time and Newsweek.

The decade opened innocently enough with an article in Time, "No Shenanigans." Dr. Alfred Weinstein, an Atlanta physician, built, with the help of \$600,000 from the FHA, a 140-unit housing project. Weinstein, an ex G.I., felt that Atlanta fell short in providing services and aid for the city's veterans, so he took it upon himself to try and provide housing for veterans and their families. Rentals ran less than \$50 a month and the units were rented on a priority basis,<sup>1</sup> though

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<sup>1</sup>Weinstein's priorities were listed as: 1) ex-POWs

some civilians were able to move in. Weinstein further explained his pro-G.I. policy:

As tenants, we prefer Ex G.I.'s, and marine and enlisted personnel of the Navy. Ex-Air Corps men may apply if they'll quit telling us how they won the war. Ex-Brass is acceptable only if well-tarnished.<sup>2</sup>

Weinstein also stressed the need for a high moral character and emphasized that they would not allow anyone who belonged to any subversive or Anti American organization.<sup>3</sup>

Atlanta initiated its first visiting nurse program (VNA) in 1950. The association took 46 years to get off the ground. Originally proposed in 1903, the VNA was unable to make any progress due to lack of support from city government, other nursing groups and from the overall community. But by 1949 with the help of church and social groups the Atlanta VNA finally was accepted. By 1950 the program was firmly established. The VNA operated with funding help from the Fulton County Medical Society, the community chest and anonymous donors. The service provided nurses for anyone who demonstrated need. The VNA charged very nominal fees (two dollars for the first hour, fifty cents each additional hour) and did

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(Weinstein was one); 2) Purple Heart recipients; 3) Overseas Veterans; and 4) civilians.

<sup>2</sup>"No Shenanigans," Time, January 2, 1950, 16.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

not charge the very poor or elderly.<sup>4</sup>

"Two of the nation's greatest newspapers" made the news in March of 1950, as the Atlanta Constitution (morning) and the Journal (afternoon) merged. Thus ended a fierce competition as well as a "twin tradition epochal in Southern journalism" Clark Howell,<sup>5</sup> publisher of the Constitution sold the paper to James M. Cox, a one time Ohio governor and the present owner of the Journal. The Howell family traded their Constitution stock for a minority interest in Cox's corporation. The two papers would still compete for headlines and would be housed temporarily in their own buildings. The only real difference would be the melding of the Sunday editions. Howell would stay on at the Constitution and still retain a voice in policy making.<sup>6</sup>

The merger almost completed, the two dailies competed in a collection drive to raise money for an elephant for the Atlanta Zoo. Time reported that when the ailing and beloved elephant Coco was put to death, the Atlanta Zoo engaged in an elephant hunt to replace Coco. As Time remarked, "Coco had barely stopped kicking when

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<sup>4</sup>Frances G. Satterfield, "Starting a Visiting Nurse Association," Today's Health, March, 1950, 46.

<sup>5</sup>Howell was the son of Clark Howell who had made headlines during the riot of 1906. The senior Howell was the son of Evan Howell who became the first publisher of the Constitution.

<sup>6</sup>"Synthesis in Atlanta," Newsweek, March 27, 1950, 59.



the Journal . . . launched a page one campaign to collect enough nickels and dimes and dollars to buy a new elephant."<sup>7</sup> The Constitution quickly followed suit. It appeared that the Constitution won the contest, but the Journal proved victorious in the end - "it (had) acquired the Constitution lock, stock, and pachyderm . . . ." <sup>8</sup>

Desegregation in Atlanta became a topic of interest in November of 1950. In an article published in the religious periodical Christian Century, Atlanta blacks turned to the law in order to break segregation practices in the Atlanta school system. The city's school system at this time consisted of 41 white and 13 black elementary schools, 9 white and 4 black high schools. The black community sought to end the "separate but equal" policy used in the Atlanta educational system. To do so legal counsel filed suit on behalf of 200 black students in the U.S. District Court, charging the city of Atlanta and its school board with violation of the 14th Amendment. The petition sought a permanent injunction preventing the school board from denying blacks the right and privilege of attending schools where blacks would receive equal educational opportunities.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>The Journal at this time was the largest paper in the South with a circulation of 245,133 readers.

<sup>8</sup>"Merging the Elephants," Time, March 27, 1950, 47-49.

<sup>9</sup>"Atlanta Negroes Resort to Law," Christian Century, November 8, 1950, 1342.

Governor Herman Talmadge, upon hearing of the move, vowed to fight the issue to the end. Talmadge stated that he was only trying to continue the policies of his father and that criticism of his actions concerning segregation policies were coming from "northern owned newspapers and left-wingers."<sup>10</sup> One of Talmadge's supporters, U. S. Congressman James C. Davis of Stone Mountain, Georgia, commended the Governor and argued:

. . . that the crowd trying to upset racial segregation in Atlanta's school is made up of crackpots, zealots, and fanatics like those who invaded the South in Reconstruction days.

Davis bragged that his home county of DeKalb spent eighty-five dollars annually for the 2,042 black children enrolled in its schools, even though total school taxes on the real estate owned by blacks came to less than \$2,000.<sup>11</sup>

In rebuttal, President Benjamin Mays of Morehouse College pointed out that equality, and not mixed schools was the real issue at stake in the federal court suit. He also stated that whites made and administered the laws and they also allotted public monies. Mays stated that the school situation would be different if blacks were given the chance to take part in policy making, but the chances of that being allowed looked doubtful.

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<sup>10</sup> Eugene Talmadge served as Georgia governor in 1933-1937.

<sup>11</sup> "Atlanta Negroes Resort to Law," Christian Century, November 8, 1950, 1342.

Mays declared that in no way should the Atlanta blacks be criticized for filing suit "in a democratic way" and promised that the group would adhere to the Court's decision. The NAACP also echoed Mays in considering the federal suit "a frontal assault on the entire question of segregation in the South." One black group which disagreed with this sentiment was the Manchester Colored Training School which believed that racial segregation was a sound policy Georgia's schools.<sup>12</sup> It is interesting to note that the Christian Century, a relatively small magazine compared to large scale competitors like Time or Newsweek, was the only periodical to call national attention to the law suit.

January, 1951, saw Holiday magazine reporting on Atlanta from the travelogue point of view. "Gracious but full of gumption," stated Holiday. Atlanta appeared to be "doing all right for a mountain gal. . . her Confederate slip showing under a Yankee mink coat." A brief history of the city followed with Holiday stressing the point that whatever problems the city encountered earlier, things were under control:

Here in 1906, a race riot opened wounds some said would never heal. Today, Atlanta has one of the largest Negro University systems in the world . . . in 1913 the Leo Frank Case exploded anti-semitism into violence. In 1950, however, a Jewish merchant was Mr. Atlanta and president of the Chamber of Commerce . . . in 1915 war spawned the latter day Ku Klux Klan . . . today

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

the Klan is bankrupt, its building a Catholic rectory . . . .<sup>13</sup>

The article went on to state facts and figures about the "city of Scarlett O'Hara:"

Today there are so many Northerners among Metropolitan Atlanta's 600,000 people that a "suh," instead of a "sir" causes comment . . . the home of Coca-Cola, Peachtree Street, Georgia Tech, and Bobby Jones. There are 22 gold courses here . . . 500 churches . . . opera . . . no organized crime . . . a political orphan in Georgia turning out \$400,000,000,000 worth of goods each year, the transportation giant of the Southeast, the nation's third busiest air terminus.

The picture painted by Holiday was optimistic and bright. Illustrated with many large colored pictures the article portrayed the city as delightful and charming - a perfect vacation spot as well as a center for business.<sup>14</sup>

A former director of the Lincoln, Nebraska, Library became a "Salesman in Atlanta," reported Time in January, 1951. John Carl Settlemayor took over the Atlanta Library System and set about revamping the Carnegie Library's interior in the hopes of attracting more people to make use of its facilities. One of Settlemayor's first moves was to clean out the building of half a century's dirt and then repaint the walls in new colors like canary yellow and lime green. Settlemayor

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<sup>13</sup>With the exception of the 1906 riot, neither the Frank Case, nor re-establishment of the Klan ever was mentioned in any popular national publication. The quote is from James Street, "Atlanta," Holiday, January, 1951, 26-37.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 29.

installed glass doors that opened by an electric eye and Muzak was piped in to "relax" readers. Settlemayor also borrowed some ideas from retail stores such as arranging books to be shelved above knee level. The result of these innovations paid off - book circulation more than doubled. As Settlemayor pointed out "Sure we're selling; we're selling reading."<sup>15</sup>

February and March of 1951 saw Atlanta's two major dailies, the Atlanta Constitution and the Atlanta Journal, become a subject of interest once again. In 1937 the Constitution and its liberal-minded executive editor Ralph McGill began a campaign to drive the Ku Klux Klan out of Georgia. The paper kept up a running battery of articles condemning Klan activities as well as prodding the Atlanta police to action in dealing with the Klan. For instance, when Indiana veterinarian James A. Colescott was chosen Imperial Wizard, McGill wrote: "For the first time the Klan has chosen a proper man, a veterinarian skilled in dealing with dumb animals."<sup>16</sup> The Klan in response picketed and threatened McGill and the Constitution. But the Constitution along with the Journal prevailed. The beginning of February, 1951, saw Governor Herman Talmadge sign

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<sup>15</sup>"Salesmen in Atlanta," Time, January 8, 1951, 56-57.

<sup>16</sup>"The Constitution Wins," Time, February 12, 1951, 46.

a bill which "banned the whole paraphernalia of hooded terror" (the wearing of the white hoods).<sup>17</sup>

But the Constitution still was not content. McGill attacked the courage of Northern newspapers during the fight between the Klan and the Constitution. McGill angrily stated:

Let anything suggestive of Ku Klux Klan violence happen in Georgia or the South and the Northern and Eastern papers are certain to give it front page play and bitter editorial condemnation. But we have searched in vain for comment on . . . passage of the anti-mask bill . . . which signals the death and burial of the Klan and its code in Georgia . . . it is much easier to criticize than to praise.<sup>18</sup>

Governor Talmadge also learned a hard lesson in dealing with the two Atlanta newspapers. During the closing days of the Georgia State Legislature's term (1951), Talmadge tried to slip through three major bills which would gag the Constitution and Journal. Both papers had been highly critical of Herman and his father Gene, a former Governor of Georgia. The bills attempted to break up the joint ownership of the Constitution and Journal (James M. Cox, owner) and put the papers under state regulation. The state legislature, which usually agreed with Talmadge on many issues, pigeonholed the bills.<sup>19</sup>

The Atlanta Symphony Orchestra became the subject

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>"Talmadge and the Press," New Republic, March 5, 1951, 9.

for a piece in Etude Magazine. Entitled "Southern Youth Build a Symphony Orchestra," the article by Winifred Wilkinson pointed out that the orchestra had achieved the position of being one of the 25 major orchestras in the country and the leading orchestra in the southeast. The orchestra consisted of 90 professional musicians, not only from Atlanta, but from all over the country. But as the article pointed out, "it had not always been easy for the group." The city was slow in giving support, especially financial, to the orchestra when it first appeared in 1939. Later, in 1944, under the sponsorship of the Atlanta Music Club, the orchestra gained a foothold and an audience. Though the orchestra came close to folding in 1949 because of financial problems, the city rallied around it. The orchestra stayed alive and achieved an outstanding position in the music world.<sup>20</sup>

The Georgia Legislature streamlined Atlanta's city-county government in May, 1951. The new laws designed to go into effect in January, 1952, included: 1) extending the city limits of Atlanta to take in 82 square miles of unincorporated territory and five heavy residential areas with a population of roughly 100,000

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<sup>20</sup>Winifred Wilkinson, "Southern Youth Builds a Symphony Orchestra," Etude, April, 1951, 62-64.

people; 2) having the city take over all services such as fire, police and sanitation, instead of sharing functions with the county; 3) allowing all city and county employees to transfer from one government to another without loss of job, pension, or seniority rights; and 4) reducing county taxes on urban residents to compensate for an increase of city taxes in order to support the newly-annexed areas. Even though the school departments did not merge, Atlanta acquired thirty-eight county schools for the city system.<sup>21</sup>

The years 1952-1955 saw many different areas covered by the national magazines. Among these were continuing problems with segregation, a brush with McCarthyism, a glimpse of the growing political strength of Atlanta's black community, and the continuing growth of the city.

Time magazine reported on Governor Herman Talmadge's dedication of a new hospital wing for Grady Memorial Hospital. The opening ceremony of the Hughes Spalding Pavilion, a \$2,850,000 building, was attended by blacks and whites.<sup>22</sup> Talmadge handed the building over to Dr. Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse College, in behalf of the 200,000 blacks who resided in Atlanta - for the Spalding Pavilion would hospitalize blacks only.

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<sup>21</sup>"Georgia Legislature Streamlines City County Government," The American City, May, 1951, 113.

<sup>22</sup>Hughes Spalding was a prominent lawyer in Atlanta as well as a director of Coca-Cola.



Time pointed out in "For Negroes Only," that blacks would find themselves in third rate institutions or else spend money to be treated in New Orleans or Washington, D.C. Spalding, along with Dr. Mays, set about to correct the problem.<sup>23</sup>

Sixty per cent of the needed funds for Grady Memorial came from the Federal government, twenty per cent from the state, and ten percent from Fulton and DeKalb counties. With this funding, the five story, 116 bed hospital was constructed. The hospital acquired the most modern equipment it could, along with a staff that included both black and white doctors. Not all blacks were pleased by the new pavilion. Some complained that the building perpetuated segregation down to the separate kitchen, laundry, and morgue. However, the majority of blacks seemed pleased with the new addition. As Dr. Mays pointed out, it marked the first time that blacks took part in planning a project from the beginning.<sup>24</sup>

Both Time and Newsweek ran stories on a court case that involved the Atlanta Constitution. The newspaper, under editor McGill, ran a series of reports on sloppy traffic enforcement. A superior court judge Horace E. Nichols demanded that the Constitution print court records that would refute the paper's articles.

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<sup>23</sup>"For Negroes Only," Time, June 30, 1952, 64.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

McGill and his managing editor, William Fields, refused. Nichols cited the two for contempt, sentencing them to 20 days in jail along with a \$200 fine. The two editors appealed and the case moved promptly to the State Supreme Court which overruled the decision. As one judge stated:

The judge was utterly without power to require or compel publication . . . If a worthy judge may employ contempt of court process to silence unjust criticism . . . then his same rule would enable an unworthy judge to silence the press in just criticism . . . .<sup>25</sup>

Of great interest in May, 1953, to both large and small publications was the recent election which saw three blacks elected to public offices in Atlanta. The fact that no blacks had held office in Atlanta since Reconstruction was remarkable in itself, but in the case of Rufus Clement,<sup>26</sup> racial prejudice as well as a brush of McCarthyism marked his campaign as newsworthy for the national publications.

Clement at the time of his campaign had been president of Atlanta University for sixteen years. Well-liked throughout the city by both black and white citizens

he was also considered one of the top black educators in the United States. But, when he announced his decision to run for the city's Board of Education, "many Atlantans gasped." Members of the Executive Committee of the Atlanta

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<sup>25</sup>"No Kings in Georgia," Newsweek, January 26, 1953, 94; "Decision Reversed," Time, January 26, 1953, 74.

<sup>26</sup>See chapter 3, p 51.

Democratic Party set out to make certain Clement would not win. The Committee wrote to the House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington, D.C. for information to damage Clement. The Committee succeeded in getting some evidence. Two days before the primary election, the Committee accused Clement of having been a member of the Civil Rights Congress, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the Southern Negro Youth Conference. All of these groups had been listed as Communist by the Congressional Committee. The fact that Clement had resigned from these organizations long before they were listed made little difference. Stated Committee member Watson Carey, "Once a Communist, always a Communist."<sup>27</sup> A proposed motion to drop the charges against Clement failed. Only at the last minute when a Committee member changed his vote did Clement win. Even though the Committee appeared to have succeeded in ruining Clement's chances, the city of Atlanta thought otherwise. By an 8,000 vote majority, Clement was elected. Commented Clement on his victory:

It isn't a personal victory. It's a victory for the people. I've been feeling for a long time that the people of the South are far ahead of what some think.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>"Victory for the People," Time, May 25, 1953, 61.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

The Committee also tried to prevent three black attorneys, A. T. Walden, Roderick Harris, and Miles G. Amos, from filing for positions on the Democratic Committee. The Committee stated that when the Legislature redistricted the city, there had been no provisions made for election of Committee successors. This excuse was quickly overruled by a local judge. Walden and Amos were both elected to local ward positions in the primary. The liberal New Republic hailed the black victories as "doubly remarkable" in the light of the special barriers that the candidates encountered.<sup>29</sup>

L. D. Reddick, historian and chief librarian at Atlanta University, wrote an article for Nation in May, 1953. Commenting on Atlanta's black community as "unusually articulate and active," Reddick pointed out that black-owned businesses were more numerous in Atlanta than in other cities. Home ownership was high and civic groups like the Negro Business League and the Negro Voters League helped a great deal with the community's progress. Reddick also remarked that Atlanta blacks had established their voting power very effectively with the recent elections of Clement, Walden, and Amos. During the election over 88 per cent of Atlanta's black population turned out to vote<sup>30</sup> - an impressive figure

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<sup>29</sup>"The Changing South," New Republic, May 25, 1953, 7.

<sup>30</sup>Out of 110,000 registered voters in Atlanta, 18,000 were black.

which established further black voting power.<sup>31</sup>

"Should you feel discouraged over racial relations in this country," reported the Christian Century, "take a few minutes to think about Atlanta." The Century applauded the May election results citing that the victories proved race relations were improving. Century went on:

The city's citizens showed their readiness to judge a candidate on his merit, to ignore the accident of birth, and to see through an attempt to cash in on the communist scare. They have a right to feel proud of themselves.<sup>32</sup>

"What makes a city great?" asked Newsweek of its readers in March, 1954. Newsweek went on:

It's not steel and concrete. It's not streets and statistics. It's not even the laws. It's a special mixture of people and history and industry that makes a city great. And that's the story of Atlanta . . . Atlanta is . . . a railroad center . . . a proud famous editor named Henry Grady . . . a booming city bursting out of its boundaries and pointed towards tomorrow . . . .<sup>33</sup>

This "Special Report" on Atlanta also pointed out that Atlanta had become the distribution and sales capital of the Southeast, the largest and "greatest" Negro college center in the world, a U.S. transportation and communication center with one of the top ranked expressway systems in the country, a large textile industry and the fifth largest insurance company in the country. Atlanta

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<sup>31</sup>L. D. Reddick, "Victory in Atlanta," Nation, May 30, 1953, inside cover.

<sup>32</sup>"Atlanta Does Itself Proud," The Christian Century, June 3, 1953, 653.

also stood as a center for education, culture, auto and aircraft industries. Newsweek also pointed out that some of the prettiest girls in the world lived in the city.<sup>34</sup>

The reason for the city's success? According to Newsweek Atlanta was a hub - not only for the Southeast but for the entire nation. From its early beginnings Atlanta never attracted much agriculture even though it boasted the country's biggest farmers' market but depended more on industry and business to make it grow. By 1954 the city's population was 725,000 due largely to increased efforts at annexation and the efforts of industrial developers to lure business and industries to locate in Atlanta. The report stated that various forms of industry like the railroads, banks, and public utilities had done their part to draw attention to the city.<sup>35</sup>

The Newsweek article was another kind of travelogue article. Compared to other magazines its approach was a smoother, more sophisticated one. It too relied on photographs; but rather than dwelling on Atlanta's architecture or tourist spots, the photographs depicted the Atlanta expressway at night or one of Atlanta's railroads or the Lockheed plant. It was an approach aimed at

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<sup>33</sup>William A. Emerson, "Surge in the South: The Long Reach of Atlanta," Newsweek, March 15, 1954, 59-61.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 59.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 60-61.

business and one that would be used more and more in coming decades not only by Newsweek but also by Time and Business Week. The national image was changing slightly. The emphasis was increasingly on growing business and industry with the larger general news magazines playing a more dominant role along with special (particularly business) interest magazines.<sup>36</sup>

The years 1954-1959 gave national readers a chance to see Atlanta develop further as a cultural leader not only throughout the South but throughout the country. Atlanta already had one of the larger symphony orchestras in the region as well as outstanding opera and ballet companies. In "Atlanta Applauds Visiting Artists," Musical America reported that for the 1954-1955 symphony season four noted singers, Eleanor Stebei, Rise Stevens, Elizabeth Schwarzkopf, and Lois Marshall, made appearances and were applauded before "capacity and enthusiastic" audiences. Dance magazine dutifully followed in 1956 and again in 1959 with reports on Atlanta Civic Ballet. As one article pointed out, the ballet

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<sup>36</sup>For more information on Atlanta's business and industrial growth see: "City Transit is Everybody's Growth," The American City, October, 1954, 157; "Finally Rich's regionalizes with a new chain of stores," Business Week, July 23, 1955, 90-94; Ernest J. Brewer, "Atlanta, Ga., Seeks Friendly Bidder Relations," The American City, September, 1955, 155; "Atlanta, 'Really Springing'," Fortune, December, 1957, 265-266; "One World Downtown," Newsweek, November 10, 1959, 75; Ernest J. Brewer, "Good Relations in Atlanta Burying," The American City, October, 1959, 153-154; "Where the Paperclips Jump . . .," Newsweek, October 19, 1959, 94-96.

enjoyed a rather unique position compared to other dance companies. Founded in 1924, the Atlanta Ballet was the oldest non-professional, non-profit dance group. The troupe not only performed in Atlanta (where it gave twelve performances a year) but also travelled throughout the state bringing ballet to small towns. Underwriting the financial burden of the troupe was the Georgia Power Company. In addition to its regular performances, the troupe also sponsored dance festivals and workshops. It is also of interest that starting in the 1950s the troupe's performances were the subject of reviews in Dance magazine and later in Time and Newsweek. Opera performances by the Atlanta Civic Opera also received later mention.<sup>37</sup>

Race relations in Atlanta remained the center of attention. In an article "The Negro's New Economic Life," Fortune magazine called Atlanta "a unique southern city" and hoped the city would become a model for the entire South. Fortune called attention to the fact that Atlanta was witnessing "outstanding Negro economic achievement within the rules and restrictions of a segregated society." As examples the magazine called attention to Auburn Street as the richest "Negro street in the world."<sup>38</sup> While

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<sup>37</sup>H. K. Spain, "Atlanta Applauds Visiting Artists," Musical America, December 1, 1954, 14; Paul Rawlings, "Ballet Meets Big Business," Dance, February, 1956, 33-35; D. Hirling, "Atlanta Civic Ballet, Mata and Hari at Jacob's Pillow Festival," Dance, September, 1958, 24, 75; D. Hirling, "Atlanta Civic Ballet," Dance, March, 1959, 52-55.

<sup>38</sup>Auburn street is located three blocks east of Atlanta's downtown area (Peachtree street).



unprepossessing with its taverns, barbershops and groceries, Auburn street was the home of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, whose assets of \$40 million made it the largest black stock company in the nation and the Citizens Trust Company with assets of \$7 million. Auburn Street also had a black bank belonging to the Federal Reserve System and was the home of the newspaper World, the country's only black daily. These institutions among others located on Auburn street gave the "key to the relative well-being of Atlanta's 185,000 Negroes." That key was credit enabling many of Atlanta's blacks the opportunity to buy homes and engage in business.<sup>39</sup>

The success of the Auburn street businesses was due to both black and white residents of Atlanta. Fortune remarked that because the city's blacks and whites had "long shown capacity to work together" the Auburn street businesses could not help but succeed. Largely through the success of the black institutions, the myth of the financially irresponsible black was dispelled - at least in Atlanta. This attitude passed on to white businessmen of Atlanta and was greatly responsible for the removal of segregated lines in banks, increased politeness towards blacks doing business and even to the point of allowing blacks to try on clothes in white department

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<sup>39</sup>Emmett John Hughes, "The Negro's New Economic Life," Fortune, September, 1956, 251-262.

stores. But as Fortune stated this attitude was not entirely due to a growing awareness of racial equality. Rather, as one black businessman stated, it is the idea that "dollars, you see, are not segregated."<sup>40</sup>

Though this peculiar monetary equality existed between the races in business, elsewhere segregation remained rigidly intact. Atlanta's blacks remained tightly segregated to the point where they took their vacations in the North, and employers in white banks and stores hired no blacks. Even in industries blacks were kept off assembly lines and were relegated to the janitorial jobs. Black professors at Atlanta University complained of being shut off from the intellectual community and in order to give trained blacks a job in radio it was necessary for the president of one black bank to buy a radio station. But despite the problems there appeared few blacks who would trade places with other Southern blacks.<sup>41</sup>

By 1957, Atlanta was being recognized largely as an "Oasis of Tolerance" as Time put it. This image was due largely to the efforts of its mayor William B. Hartsfield. Mayor Hartsfield implemented several changes in the city's racial policies. Among them: putting blacks on Atlanta's police force, allowing blacks to use white municipal parks and golf courses, addressing

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 251.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 252.

blacks as "Mr. Jones instead of Jim" and encouraging a national convention of the NAACP to come to Atlanta in 1951 complete with police escort for the convention's guest speaker U.N. diplomat Ralph Bunche. As Time commented, anyone doing this in the South "could be listed as a potential political suicide," but not for the mayor. The city apparently was not bothered by the changes either as its citizens re-elected Hartsfield to a sixth straight term in May. Evidently Hartsfield and Atlanta citizens were doing their best to do away with the violent prejudices and Jim Crowism that marked the rest of the region.<sup>42</sup>

Besides reaffirming their faith in Hartsfield the citizens of Atlanta showed their "independence" by electing two blacks, Rufus Clement to the Board of Education and an insurance dealer, Theodore Morton Alexander, to the Board of Aldermen.<sup>43</sup> Alexander was the first black to run for that office since 1971. Commenting on Hartsfield's victory, Alexander stated: "As I listened to the returns, my heart was beating faster for him than it was for me."<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>"Oasis of Tolerance," Time, May 20, 1957, 31.

<sup>43</sup>see page 7.

<sup>44</sup>"Oasis of Tolerance," 31. For more information on Hartsfield and the election of 1957 see Douglass Cuter, "Atlanta: Smart Politics and Good Race Relations," Reporter, July 11, 1957, 18-21; Irwin Ross, "Mayor Hartsfield Uses the Light Touch," Reader's Digest, June, 1958, 203-207; "The Atlanta Bombing," New Republic, October 27, 1958, 5-6.

The question of school desegregation in Atlanta drew national attention in 1959. National magazines kept close watch over how Atlanta would handle the desegregation of its schools. Earlier that year U.S. District Judge Frank A. Hooper ordered the Atlanta School Board to present an acceptable plan for integration. The Atlanta Constitution commented that "we are up against reality" and the School Board not only realized that fact but also accepted the order. December, 1959, saw the board propose a plan in which Atlanta's public school students, numbering 95,000, 40% of whom were black, would be integrated a class at a time, starting with the senior class and moving down. The plan, if enacted, would insure desegregated classes in twelve years.<sup>45</sup>

In order to carry out the plan, the city of Atlanta faced a major problem. The state of Georgia prohibited integration, stating that any school attempting it would automatically face a shut down throughout the entire school system as well as having non-federal funds cut off. Atlanta needed to amend the law to allow the city to desegregate. But the chances of that seemed slim as Georgia's Governor, S. Ernest Vandiver, made a campaign promise that no black children would be allowed to attend white schools while he was in office. But, as Time pointed out, if Vandiver closed the Atlanta schools,

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<sup>45</sup>"Reality in Atlanta," Time, December 14, 1959, 57.

the national government could order the schools to re-open or else close all Georgia schools.<sup>46</sup>

The citizens of Atlanta banded together in an attempt to avert possible disaster. Forming a group called HOPE (Help Our Public Education), the city tried to alert people throughout the state of the possible danger they faced. While the organization drew over 30,000 members, many other people chose to ignore the situation and instead sent their children to private segregated schools. As Time reported, the private schools in the state were doing their best business ever. The Catholic schools in Atlanta had increased to over 7,000 students while other private institutions had over 3,000. By the end of 1959, the question of desegregation remained very much up in the air.<sup>47</sup>

While the period of the 1950s opened calmly enough, the question of integration coupled with Atlanta's black population playing a larger role in city politics and civil rights saw Atlanta in a tense situation by the end of the decade. The civil rights movement in Atlanta was beginning to solidify largely through blacks and far-sighted whites like Mayor Hartsfield. The image of

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<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.; "Public Education in Atlanta," Commonwealth, December 25, 1959, 360; "Price of Rabble Housing," Newsweek, October 20, 1958, 43. More information on the Atlanta de-segregation plan can be found in Helen Fuller, "Atlanta is Different," New Republic, February 2, 1959, 8-11 and R. McGill, "Crisis of the City," Saturday Review, May 23, 1959, 15-16.

Atlanta as a growing industrial, cultural and educational center also grew during this period, further isolating the city from the entire South. And it is during this time that many of the questions posed earlier in this thesis might be considered. The 1950s saw the Atlanta image acquiring a more solid shape. The city not only established itself as a major center in the South but throughout the country. National magazines of all types with their reporting of Atlanta managed to single out the city and in fact helped further shape its uniqueness, especially in the area of civil rights, by taking a hard continuing stance against segregation. The fact that Atlanta as early as 1950 took steps toward desegregation was encouraging in itself; in context of the period of the 1950s and the fact that southern reaction to desegregation was overwhelmingly hostile, Atlanta's actions of 1950, 1953, and later throughout the decade were remarkable.

CHAPTER V  
BLACK MECCA, WHITE PRIDE  
(1960-1969)

The question of civil rights continued to occupy a prominent position in national affairs during the 1960s. Almost overnight Atlanta found itself a major news item with extensive coverage given by national magazines to the civil rights and desegregation issues. The Brown vs. Board of Education decision withstanding, readers of national periodicals carefully noted Atlanta's handling of civil rights issues and regarded the city as a racial barometer, not only for the South but for other major cities in the country. Early in the decade articles like "Leadership in Georgia," "Static Politics in a Changing South," "Coming Battle of Atlanta," and "Breakthrough in Georgia" among others gave detailed accounts of the city's attempt to handle the racial question.<sup>1</sup>

As noted in the previous chapter, the Atlanta Board of Education decided to implement a gradual one-grade-annually plan of integration despite harassment and legal problems the Board encountered. It remained to

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<sup>1</sup>Since this issue is a dominant one during this period, most every major publication reported on one facet or another of Atlanta's racial problems. Time and Newsweek continued to dominate coverage, reporting with a relatively unbiased approach. Periodicals such as New Republic and Christian Century tended to become more emotional and editorialized. Business-oriented publications emphasized the effects of Atlanta's racial problems on Atlanta's economy.

be seen, though, whether Atlantans could persuade the rural-dominated General Assembly to change the law to avoid a cut off of state funds for the city's school system. The answer was close at hand. In 1960 Georgians were electing a new state legislature and as Look magazine commented, the candidates would be judged on one major issue: whether they were willing to accept Atlanta's proposal or close every school in the state to maintain the "separate but equal" policy. Complicating matters further, Judge Hooper, author of the 1959 order, gave Atlanta an extra year to carry out its program. The Judge warned the legislature that this "one last chance" would either allow Atlanta to handle the segregation question or "risk the dam breaking and the whole state being flooded."<sup>2</sup>

Several national publications remarked that the statewide controversy left little room for neutral onlookers and had in fact given rise to one of the greatest debates in Georgia history. Atlanta's two influential newspapers, the Journal and Constitution, devoted much of their coverage to the integration question, taking a positive stance. Atlanta mayor, William Hartsfield, stated that Atlanta schools would not close down at all as "we're too busy making progress here;"

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<sup>2</sup>Douglas Kiker, "Coming Battle of Atlanta," Look, June 21, 1960, 53-56.



and that by closing down schools both city and state would suffer "a black eye it (would) take a century to erase." The group HOPE found itself up against, MACSE (Metropolitan Association to Continue Segregated Education), which was composed of individuals who were strongly committed to the closing of schools just as HOPE was to keeping them open. The Ku Klux Klan along with other pro-White pressure groups boycotted merchants who refused to post "S," for segregation, signs in places of business. Even national industries throughout the country warned that unless the problem was solved quickly, those businesses (numbering close to 4,000) with Southern regional headquarters in Atlanta would move.<sup>3</sup>

The integration issue subsided for the next few months until December when Business Week brought Atlanta back to the center of attention. In "South's Race Disputes Involve Businessmen," Business Week stated that the racial incidents and violence in Atlanta over the integration issue had involved deeply Atlanta's business community. Sit-ins and demonstrations at some of Atlanta's leading stores and businesses led to a meeting with Mayor Hartsfield and members of Atlanta's black community. The meetings failed, and the demonstrations resumed with

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<sup>3</sup>"Atlanta," Nation, May 7, 1960, 403-404; Douglas Kiker, "Coming Battle of Atlanta," Look, June 21, 1960, 53-56; Douglass Cuter, "Static Politics in a Changing South," Reporter, March 31, 1960, 15-17.

the Ku Klux Klan holding counter-demonstrations. Another pro-white group, "Georgians Unwilling to Surrender," under the leadership of restaurant owner Lester Maddox, urged boycotts of integrated businesses and called for the dismissal of black employees from those businesses.<sup>4</sup>

The boycott's efforts by both blacks and whites were being felt by Atlanta businessmen. Sales were down by 12% from the year before. Also stores with connections outside the South, such as F. W. Woolworth Company and S. H. Kress and Company were being pressured to comply with the company's integration policies. However, the one store that could easily determine business integration policy was acting cautiously. Rich's (see chapters 1, 3, & 4) became a primary target for black demonstrations despite the store's reputation of offering better service and credit to blacks than any other local retailer. But to the demonstrating blacks, Rich's was also the most vulnerable because it encouraged black business. As one student remarked, "Rich's has a psychological strength. If we can get them behind us, we can turn the tide of segregation in Atlanta." Also the fact that Rich's was an influential voice in business, civic, and political affairs in Atlanta led some observers to believe that by complying with integration policies, the store's

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<sup>4</sup>"South's Disputes Involve Businessmen," Business Week, December 17, 1960, 33-34; For more information on Atlanta business-black relations see Seymour Freedgood, "Life in Buckhead," Fortune, September, 1961, 265-267.

owners would be taking a public stand on the school de-segregation issue. However, with pressures for settlement from both black and white groups the issue continued in a stalemate.<sup>5</sup>

"Another crack opened wide in the South's stubborn wall of resistance to desegregation of the public schools last week," reported Time and while the "wall didn't completely collapse" it did permit Atlanta to desegregate its schools. Led by Mayor Hartsfield, Atlanta launched a "vigorous campaign" to repeal the laws that would close its schools. Hartsfield's argument, based on the Constitution's equal-protection clause, stated that if Atlanta closed its schools every public school in Georgia would be forced to close as well. Unexpected help also came from Georgia Governor S. Ernest Vandiver who urged repeal of the segregation laws and proposed four substitute measures that would permit local communities to decide for themselves whether to desegregate. In a special night session of the Georgia legislature Vandiver, who once vowed he would never allow one black child to sit in a white classroom, supported Hartsfield's arguments and pointed out that failure to solve the school crisis would result in a "serious blight" on the state. "Like a cancerous growth, it will devour progress," he commented. The legislature overwhelmingly

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

approved Vandiver's proposal.<sup>6</sup>

Atlanta now girded itself for its "second battle" as the city set forth to implement its desegregation program. Along with Mayor Hartsfield, Atlanta policie chief Herbert Jenkins and the Chamber of Commerce fully supported the policy of gradual desegregation. A leading spokesman for Atlanta's black community, Pastor Martin Luther King, Jr., remarked, "I am optimistic and I base it on Atlanta itself." That is not to say that racist groups calmly accepted Vandiver's move. Lester Maddox and Calvin L. Craig, Grand Dragon of the Georgia Klan, saw integration as part of a larger "Communist" conspiracy and both hoped to organize in an attempt to fight further efforts at integration. To this type of rhetoric, Hartsfield responsded:

We're a city too busy to hate. Atlanta does not cling to the past . . . Think of living through this changing South - what a dynamic story. And Atlanta is the leader . . . What happened in Little Rock (Federal intervention to desegregate schools) won't happen here. We're going to ride herd on these rabble-rousers. . . When racists come in this town, they know they're going to get their heads knocked together.<sup>7</sup>

A temporary break in the building tension of integration came with Holiday magazine's travelogue article on Atlanta in May, 1961. The article, full of

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<sup>6</sup>"Breakthrough in Georgia," Time, February 6, 1961, 30.

<sup>7</sup>George B. Leonard, Jr., "The Second Battle of Atlanta," Look, April 25, 1961, 31-42.

colorful phrases ("Atlanta is a greedy adolescent city that clutches the past to its bosom") and plenty of photographs is an extension of the many travelogue articles on Atlanta published in decades past. The issue of school integration only came up once. The Holiday reporter asked Dr. Bell Wiley, a "distinguished historian" at Emory University, his views on the matter. Said Wiley, "The city will work things out if the state allows it to." Black reaction to the subject was a bit harsher. Commented Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, "I think we'll have to use a little coercion." The bulk of the article concerned itself more with Atlanta's landmarks, museums, nightspots, and trivia, such as, "What does Atlanta have that no other city in the world can boast of? 7-X, Coca-Cola's carefully guarded secret formula." The overall thrust of the article touted the positive aspects of Atlanta and enforced an image of a city on the go - good for business interests, vacationing, and settlement.<sup>8</sup>

The reality of Atlanta's racial matters, in a week's time, quickly came back into focus with a New Republic article on June 5, 1961. New Republic commented that three blacks were admitted voluntarily to Georgia Tech University, fifteen white and black "freedom riders"

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<sup>8</sup>Frances Gray Patton, "Will Success Spoil Atlanta," Holiday, May, 1961, 64.

arrived at Atlanta's Greyhound Bus Terminal encountering no official discrimination, and more than 300 black high school students picked up applications to be admitted to desegregated eleventh and twelfth grade high school classes. As the New Republic pointed out, "The Man on the Atlanta Street . . . seemed to take all this revolutionary news in his stride."<sup>9</sup>

"So long old tiger," said the Atlanta Constitution on hearing Mayor Hartsfield's decision not to run for office again. When the self-educated lawyer became mayor in 1937, the city foundered under a three million dollar debt, was completely segregated, "suspicious of prospective Northern investment and apathetic to its economic plight." By 1961, the city of 500,000 boasted of being debt-free for twenty years, a desegregation program underway, and a booming industrial base. Hartsfield's accomplishments never rested on a political machine to get things done. Instead, Hartsfield concentrated on making the office of mayor one packed with power rather than remaining a figurehead position. His twenty-seven years in office saw him tirelessly build the city, drawing in Northern money, promoting a moderate stance in racial relations and nurturing Atlanta's civic welfare. But Hartsfield also realized it was time for new leadership

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<sup>9</sup>"Atlanta's Demonstration," New Republic, June 5, 1961, 7.

and so announced he would retire at the end of his current term.<sup>10</sup>

August 30, 1961, saw one of Hartsfield's last plans go into effect - the beginning of desegregation of Atlanta's schools. Time magazine commented, "the moral seige of Atlanta ended in spectacular fashion with the smoothest token school integration ever seen in the Deep South." Nine black students walked into four Atlanta high schools and met with no resistance. An elaborate set-up for the nation's press provided by Mayor Hartsfield allowed reporters to hear regular reports from the four school principals to school superintendent John W. Letson. Hartsfield also provided a thirty-two page orientation booklet of Atlanta's history of desegregation, names of people reporters could interview including political, civic and school officials, brief biographies of the nine black students, layouts of the four schools, and copies of a police bulletin with names and activities of known racists in the city. Hartsfield even answered phones declaring, "We'z integrated." Police interference at the schools remained minimal and one incident involving five white youths was quickly handled. The national magazines were congratulatory, respectful and even awed at the city's handling of a potentially explosive issue. While the incident remained a token one, it stood as a

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<sup>10</sup>"Atlanta's Old Tiger," Newsweek, June 19, 1961, 26-27.

"milestone in the history of the U.S. South."<sup>11</sup>

A local businessman became Atlanta's new mayor in September, 1961. Ivan Allen, Jr., won the mayoral election against a local segregationist in what was deemed as one of the South's most important elections. In terms of racial relations, the election of Allen meant a continuing moderate policy towards integration and marked a change in Atlanta's socio-economic climate. Allen's victory came about largely through the backing of local businessmen who wanted continued order, prosperity, and peaceful race relations. In order to achieve these goals, business became involved actively in city politics. The election also signified the beginnings of industry and business working to remove the political power held by rural counties in state government, in the hopes that industrial growth could continue and that more state funds would be provided for continued business growth rather than agricultural interests.<sup>12</sup>

During the years 1962-1965 the nation continued closely watching Atlanta handle its race relations. In the early months of 1962 the national magazines provided further background information on the HOPE movement and

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<sup>11</sup>"Southern Milestones," Time, September 8, 1961, 52; "Glad To See You," Newsweek, September 11, 1961, 93-94; "A Proud City," Newsweek, September 11, 1961, 31-32; "Peaceful Integration: How Atlanta Did it," U.S. News and World Report, September 11, 1961, 4; "HOPE for Us all," Reporter, September 14, 1961, 14.

<sup>12</sup>"Businessman Mayor Sign of New South," Business Week, September 30, 1961, 29-30.



its "quiet battle" against segregation. Reports compared Atlanta to other Southern cities' efforts and how leaders from major Southern cities were visiting the city and its leaders to observe Atlanta's progress. There were other articles on the development of pro-white groups push for a "White Citizen's Council" in order to check further desegregation efforts.<sup>13</sup>

In terms of business and civic endeavors, Atlanta remained one step ahead of most of its Southern counterparts. By 1962 Atlanta's population reached 1,017,188 and was growing at the rate of 30,000 people per year. The city was in Time's eyes, "the nation's newest boomtown." Much of the credit for Atlanta's stability belonged to its business leaders such as Richard Rich, owner of Rich's Department Store, and Robert Woodruff, retired chairman of Coca-Cola. Mayor Ivan Allen commented, "This is a businessman's town," while Eugene Patterson, editor of the Constitution, credited the "sustained drive here that retains a sense of values." Observers also believed another reason for the city's success lay in the fact it had forgotten its antebellum past. But the city still faced problems: citizens voted down an eighty-million dollar bond issue to finance

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<sup>13</sup>Gerald Walker, "How Women Won the Quiet Battle of Atlanta," Good Housekeeping, May, 1962, 76-77; "Atlanta's Example: Good Sense and Dignity," New York Times Magazine, May 6, 1962, 22-23; Fred Powledge, "How to Set Up a White Citizens Council," New Republic, June 11, 1962, 13.

county improvements, and in June the city lost many civic and cultural leaders in a plane crash.<sup>14</sup>

By 1963, magazines reported that Atlanta's racial tranquility appeared in danger. With the development of two subdivisions on Atlanta's west side, there rose the fear that blacks would move into the area, linking these white neighborhoods with black residential areas a mile north. White residents petitioned for barricades which were erected. Mayor Allen agreed with the move stating that the roadblocks would "prevent an unscrupulous effort to destroy real estate values." Yet throughout the city, other residents argued that the barriers needed to come down. In an attempt to solve the problem Allen called for meetings between the opposing groups, and while the overall atmosphere seemed optimistic, the talks broke down when Allen suggested keeping the barriers and re-zoning 250 acres for black residential use. Magazine reaction to the "wall" was harsh and condemning. The Reporter called it "absurd . . . [and] too flimsy to stop the progress . . . prosperity and praise to Atlanta." Blacks in Atlanta threatened to use "block-busting" to try and move further into the area, and former Mayor Hartsfield commented: "I made a lot of mistakes but ones you could

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<sup>14</sup>"Boom Town," Time, August 17, 1962, 20. For further information on the airline crash see Joseph Blank's article "Atlanta: Aftermath of a Tragedy," Redbook, June, 1963, 52.

could never take a picture of." The blacks of Atlanta in a further move formed the All Citizens Committee and brought suit to have the barriers torn down. It failed, but the group appealed the case to the Superior Court. The problem then took a turn for the worse when Allen proposed a resolution to the Board of Aldermen for the removal of the barriers and they voted it down 10 to 3.<sup>15</sup>

For the remainder of 1963, magazine coverage examined a variety of topics on Atlanta. In May, readers learned of an ordinance prohibiting public consumption of liquor, followed up in September by a marketing report on Atlanta's businesses. By 1963 retail sales hit 1.5 billion dollars with an expected increase. The city also received harsh criticism of its racial affairs from Martin Luther King, Jr., who remarked, "While boasting of its progress and virtue, Atlanta has allowed itself to fall behind almost every other Southern City . . . toward desegregation." The Atlanta City Council reacted quickly to the criticism by abolishing the last remaining segregation laws on the city's books. It is doubtful this was in reply to King but more in acceptance of the times. Other articles reported on Atlanta church officials who were becoming further involved with racial matters in the city, such as a group of Episcopal priests who took part in a protest against a

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<sup>15</sup>"Atlanta Builds Racial Walls," Business Week, January 5, 1963, 72; "Divided City," Time, January 8, 1963, 22; "The Wall," Newsweek, January 14, 1963, 26-27; "Atlanta's Wall," Reporter, January 31, 1963, 16-17.

segregated Episcopal school. A followup report on Atlanta's schools came from its superintendent John W. Letson who also submitted guidelines for gradual desegregation citing strong city administration and active civic groups as "musts" for a successful program.<sup>16</sup>

Special attention turned to the Atlanta black community with a series of reports on the status of blacks throughout Atlanta. Housing, economics, health, labor and business appeared in a fairly favorable light. The Negro History Bulletin reported a growth of federal housing and an increase in private ownership among blacks. While economic status remained lower than that of whites, great strides had been taken in the job market, especially in blue-collar work such as carpenters and masons. One of the oldest black labor unions in Atlanta, the Plasterers Union, was still organized and operating. Blacks worked at various city occupations such as policemen, teachers, and librarians. However, clerical occupations still remained closed to blacks. Atlanta found itself the center of black businesses such as the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, the newspaper the Atlanta World, and Cannonline Company, a cosmetics firm operating out of the black

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<sup>16</sup>"Atlanta Dries Up," Business Week, May 1, 1963, 24-25; "Atlanta has its own blend," Business Week, September 7, 1963, 54-60; "Faith and Prejudice in Georgia," Time, November 15, 1963, 94; John W. Letson, "In Atlanta Schools," N.E.A. Journal, 52, December, 1963, 46-47; Fletcher Knebel, "Scarlett O'Hara's Millions," Look, December 3, 1963, 39-42.

business area. Black banking establishments were prominent in Atlanta. One, the Citizen's Trust Company, listed assets of \$11,339,510.06, while Mutual Saving and Loan listed assets of \$10,099,444.11.<sup>17</sup>

Atlanta's worsening racial situation became the subject of three articles in February, 1964. Militant young blacks, becoming increasingly fed up with the city's attempts at racial tokenism, took matters into hand and began a series of demonstrations and marches to force further desegregation. Some of the confrontations ended in violence as fights broke out between blacks and whites. More conservative black groups such as the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference tried to reason with the militants. The talks failed, the eventual result being the Summit going along with the militants. Magazine reaction to these racial incidents overall was harsh.<sup>18</sup>

The decision of the First Baptist Church of Atlanta to admit blacks to worship services brought religious leaders further into the racial controversy. This prestigious church's action brought a barrage of dissent from within the Southern Baptist Organization. Another question raised concerned whites being permitted to worship in black churches. The Christian Century stated

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<sup>17</sup>Glenn Sisk, "Negro Health in Atlanta," Negro History Bulletin, 27, December, 1963, 65-66; "The Economic History of the Negro in Atlanta," January, 1964, 87-90.

<sup>18</sup>"Ruining a Reputation," Time, February 7, 1964, 24-25; "Race Trouble in a Model City," U. S. News and World Report, February 10, 1964, 78; Pat Walters, "Atlanta: Fruits of Tokenism . . .," Nation, February 17, 1964, 162-165.

that by encouraging integration church members and leaders would be better witnesses to the "oneness of the church of Jesus Christ."<sup>19</sup>

Time and Newsweek reported the appearance of a new daily in Atlanta in June. The new Atlanta Times, founded by ex-Congressman James C. Davis, strove to maintain a conservative, pro-segregation stance as compared to the Journal and Constitution. For instance, on the issue of civil rights bill, the Times found the proposed measure "fraught with peril for our free enterprise system and our system of individual choice." The philosophy of this paper? "This newspaper supports private enterprise," stated Davis, [and the] "preservation of individual rights and property." While some expressed concern over the paper's chance of success, right-wing Atlanta had little to fear. Its first day of sale found all 165,000 copies sold. Despite the encouraging sales the paper would fail.<sup>20</sup>

The remaining months of 1964 found Atlanta grappling with the new federal Civil Rights Act. One of the more disputed parts of the act, based on the Constitution's commerce clause (any business relating to interstate commerce may not discriminate), found a testing ground in Atlanta. Injunctions were sought against two establishments, the Heart of Atlanta Motel and Lester Maddox's

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<sup>19</sup>"Vote to Admit Negroes," Christian Century, February 19, 1964, 229; "Should Whites Integrate Negro Churches?" Christian Century, February 26, 1964, 262.

<sup>20</sup>"Another Voice in Atlanta," Time, June 19, 1964, 36-37; "Right Face in Atlanta," Newsweek, June 20, 1964.

Pickrick restaurant, where Maddox ordered three black students away at gunpoint. Maddox and Morton Rolleston, president of the motel, argued their cases in court claiming it was unconstitutional to anchor the public accommodations title to the commerce clause, and that a proprietor had the right to choose his customers. The three-judge panel ruled otherwise and ordered the defendants to admit blacks within twenty days of the ruling. The cases eventually reached the Supreme Court where again Maddox and Rolleston lost, the constitutionality of the act secured. In Time's eyes the first major test of the new act "passed handsomely," while The Reporter cited Atlanta's "willingness to be reasonable." On the other hand, Maddox declared, "I'm not going to integrate . . . They won't ever get any of that chicken."<sup>21</sup>

"Not since Booker T. Washington delivered his famous Atlanta Compromise . . . in 1895 have white Atlantans honored a Negro leader," remarked the Christian Century. The remaining years of the decade appeared more hopeful for Atlanta, as the city gathered to honor its "best known son," Martin Luther King Jr., recipient of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize. Almost 1,500 people, more than half of them white, gathered in the Dinkler Plaza

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<sup>21</sup>"The Pickrick Capers," Time, July 31, 1964, 62; Pat Walters, "The South Learns to Live With the Civil Rights Law," The Reporter, August 3, 1964, 44-46; "Beyond a Doubt," Time, December 25, 1964, 13-14.

hotel to celebrate King's achievement. The Century noted that the white populace "gratefully accepted the honor" and hoped that the event proved an indicator of the "slow change which is occurring in the South . . . ." <sup>22</sup>

The next four years Atlanta caught national magazine interest with a steady stream of articles covering a variety of areas. Coverage stepped up on racial relations, business, and cultural activities. But there also appeared pieces reporting on areas such as sports and labor problems.

For instance, in 1965 Atlanta became home for professional teams in football and baseball. A strong Vietnam movement gathered strength throughout Atlanta climaxing in a rally called Affirmation Vietnam. Major leaders of the movement were strong supporters of then-President Johnson's Vietnam policies. In the fall of 1966, Atlanta firefighters went on strike. City officials moved quickly to help man stations and hired replacements. Two years later the city's garbagemen walked out. The predominantly black union slowly turned the conflict into a civil rights struggle. Along with strong support from the city's black leaders, other union quarters joined in, among them, local construction workers and city water department employees. The Alliance for Labor moved to

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<sup>22</sup>"Atlanta Rose to the Occasion," The Christian Century, February 10, 1965, 164.



Atlanta to gain a foothold with the 500,000 non-union workers in 1969. And another first took place in Atlanta when the General Electric Company sponsored a program to teach computer training skills to inmates of the Atlanta Penitentiary.<sup>23</sup>

Urban renewal in Atlanta brought about a series of pieces. John C. Portman, Jr., a local architect put forth designs that would make downtown Atlanta "attractive to people around the clock." Among Portman's accomplishments was the \$18 million, 800 room Regency Hyatt House, Atlanta's first high-rise hotel and one of the biggest hotels in the South. Portman also oversaw the design for the Peachtree Center, home of several business offices and stores. Of the center Portman remarked, "The only things I'd need to put down here are . . . schools and you could live and die in Peachtree center - within walking distance of everything."<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>"Captive Class," Newsweek, November 8, 1963, 78; "GE Opens a Prison Door With Computer Training," Business Week, November 20, 1965, 96-98; "Marching to Georgia," Time, June 18, 1965, 69; "Atlanta on Edge," Newsweek, September 29, 1969, 129-131; See Also: "Home of the Braves," Look, May 3, 1966, 61-62; "Like Gone With the Wind; Braves take Atlanta," Life, April 22, 1966, 77-78; M. Muloy, "Things are Different in Atlanta," Sports Illustrated, March 27, 1967, 53-54; P. Blount, "Atlanta Tranquility Base Here," Sports Illustrated, August 4, 1969, 46-49; P. Blount, "New Start on an Old Game in Atlanta: Profession Falcons," Sports Illustrated, September 1, 1969, 40-41; "The War Fans," Nation, February 28, 1966, 227; "What Does a City Do When Firemen Go On Strike?" U. S. News and World Report, September 19, 1966, 86-88; "Strike Hits Atlanta Hard," Business Week, September 14, 1968, 96; "ALA Picks Atlanta as a Starter," Business Week, September 13, 1969, 78.

The Atlanta school system tried a new idea in 1969, instituting a year round school schedule. An integral part of the plan allowed a student to stay out any one of the four quarters throughout the year instead of just the summer. At the time of the plan's implementation only the high schools were trying out the new system. On first appraisal school authorities seemed pleased with the plan's success. Students comments also proved positive. The new plan appeared to be an overall attempt to give students and teachers more flexibility and help curb potential drop-outs, while encouraging students with college prospects.<sup>25</sup>

With the dedication of the new Memorial Arts Center in October, 1969, Atlanta arts had a permanent home. Various publications, general and special interest, reviewed many of Atlanta's productions in dance, opera, orchestra and theatre. Atlanta's ballet company remained one of the oldest in the country as well as one of the most prestigious. Theatre Atlanta, a professional theatre company made its debut in 1967 and presented a wide repertory from contemporary, classical to absurdist productions. The Atlanta Symphony acquired a permanent conductor, Robert Shaw, at its head, providing an "era of growth for both the orchestra and the city." Atlanta's culture boom teetered

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<sup>25</sup>"The All-Year Year," Time, August 15, 1969, 64-65; "Year-Round School - Report on the Latest Test," U.S. News and World Report, August 18, 1969, 32-34; "Getting to Know You Day," Newsweek, September 15, 1969, 68.

slightly in 1969 with the organizational collapse of the Atlanta Municipal Theater, a structure completed the year before. Atlantans proved incapable of financially supporting the Theater, the result being bankruptcy and closed doors.<sup>26</sup>

Business-oriented magazines continued a stepped-up reporting of the city's burgeoning business and industry. Fortune reported of its 500 biggest industries, 400 had facilities in Atlanta. The population in 1966 jumped to 1,200,000 with the unemployment among the lowest in the nation. A major overhaul of the city's downtown along with a proposed mass transit system was in progress. Journals and publications stepped cautiously around the civil rights issue but overall evoked a positive response. One of the city's oldest businesses, the Atlanta Constitution, celebrated its centennial, and Atlanta also began to experience an upsurge of a new group of "Young Turks" - young black and white businessmen coming to settle.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>"Peachtree Playhouse," Time, November 11, 1966, 84; "The Conquest of Peachtree Street," Saturday Review, November 19, 1966, 79; E. P. Birk, "Progress in the Arts," Antiques, October, 1969, 476; See also: Doris Hering, "Atlanta's Municipal Theatre Presents Giselle," Dance Magazine, October, 1967, 26-27; "Atlanta's Burgeoning Ballets," Saturday Review, October 21, 1967, 56-58; Doris Hering, "The Beautiful Gesture," Dance, January, 1969, 46-48; George Beiswanger, "First Repertory Program Reviewed," Dance, January, 1969, 49-50; "Excellent Adorned," Saturday Review, November 23, 1968, 72-74; Julius Novick, "Theatre," Nation, April 17, 1967, 509-511; "Calendar of Love," Time, January 3, 1969, 59; "Atlanta's Operatic Mores," Nation, June 13, 1966, 701-702; "High Cost of Culture," Time, January 24, 1969, 59; "Atlanta Aides," Newsweek, September 11, 1967, 98-88; "Culture on Peachtree," Newsweek, November 11, 1968, 122; "Downbeat for a new Era," Time, October 27, 1967, 53; Chappell White, "Robert Shaw - A New Era," High Fidelity,

"Black Man, Go South," stated Esquire, in August, 1965. In "Atlanta there is a sense of style about race relations. . . ." This Esquire article proved to be nothing more than a rehash of Atlanta's integration struggles, yet the magazine offered the hope that Atlanta appeared to be one of the few Southern cities where blacks had a chance for upward mobility. However, blacks still were contending with prejudice. In 1966 racial tension reached a peak and exploding into violence. A routine arrest in a black neighborhood led to open confrontation between 500 blacks and 1,000 policemen. Mayor Ivan Allen arrived and tried to calm the crowd down, but not without arrests and injuries.

Unfortunately the incident, spearheaded by Atlanta SNCC leader and black power spokesman, Stokely Carmichael, further weakened the city's tenuous hold on racial matters. Black reaction against Carmichael overall was of a negative nature, but a few days after the confrontation, a black

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March, 1968, 18-19; "Have Theater Will Travel," Saturday Review, October 26, 1968, 32; "Culture Shock," Newsweek, January 27, 1969, 92-93; "Atlanta's Culture for All Seasons," Harpers Magazine, February, 1969, 32-34; Henry Hewes, "Theater for the Community," Saturday Review, June 15, 1968, 21; "Lester's Follies," Newsweek, October 14, 1968, 118.

<sup>27</sup>"Invasion of the Harvards," Newsweek, July 26, 1965, 81-82; "Atlanta, the Hopeful City," Fortune, August, 1966, 155-156; "Mills Lane's Wonderful World," Time, March 8, 1968, 86-87; "Villages in the Sky," Time, March 15, 1968, 60; Ralph McGill (editor), "The Constitution Story," Saturday Review, June 8, 1968, 66-77; "A Georgia Cracker's Cracker Jack Bank," Fortune, November, 1969, 134.

teenager was shot and killed by two whites. Mobs gathered and were dispersed. Mayor Allen refused to blame SNCC totally, calling the incidents a reaction to slow-moving civil rights freedoms. As far as the jailed Carmichael was concerned, Allen replied that "(he) was looking for a battleground and he found it . . . ." <sup>28</sup>

A cooperative effort between the races was initiated by the Vine City Council under the leadership of Hector Black, a white Quaker and Harvard graduate. Deemed the "white Jesus" by national publications and SNCC members, Black moved into Vine City, a black slum. His organization began by helping neighborhood blacks with routine government and housing problems. The group also organized slum tenants to picket local slum lords for repairs and rent decreases. The group won two playgrounds and a \$4,700 poverty grant to help fight juvenile delinquency. Newsweek called the group a "successful essay in the uses of black power," but black militants were not buying it. Local SNCC members rode through Vine City harassing workers and Blacks. Black attempted to talk

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<sup>28</sup>Fred Powledge, "Black Man, Go South," Esquire, August, 1965; "Stokely's Spark," Time, September 16, 1966, 37; "Behind the Image," Newsweek, September 19, 1966, 32; "Atlanta's Baptism in 'Black Power'," U.S. News and World Report, September 19, 1966, 36; "What Happened in Atlanta," New Republic, September 24, 1966, 8-9; "Urban Powderkegs," Senior Scholastic, September 23, 1966, 20; Reese Cleghorn, "Allen of Atlanta Collies with Black Power and White Racism," New York Times Magazine, October 16, 1966, 32.

with members, but met with a complete rebuff. Black remained undaunted as did the neighborhood, saying only, "I don't think this will both us."<sup>29</sup>

Atlanta's Dixie Hills became the scene of more racial violence during the summer of 1967, this time with the arrest of Stokely Carmichael and four companions. Carmichael returned the next night and, according to reports, incited the crowd. Rocks and bottles were thrown and eight persons were arrested. The city then tried to institute "White Hat" patrols, groups of young blacks to patrol the area. The result seemed promising until shortly after dark, a Molotov Cocktail landed in a patrolled area. At the same time a shotgun black went off, killing one onlooker and wounding three others. Police insisted a sniper had shot, even though the victim's wounds came from .00 shot, a type also used by the Atlanta police force. The youth brigade, in an attempt to quiet down the area, circulated petitions condemning outside agitators, specifically Carmichael.<sup>30</sup>

From October, 1969, to the end of the decade, national coverage focused on the upcoming mayoral election in Atlanta. Four candidates were in the running, three

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<sup>29</sup>"White Jesus," Newsweek, July 25, 1966, 29; Jack Shepard, "Hector Black: White Power in Black Atlanta," Look, December 13, 1966, 137-140.

<sup>30</sup>"Recipe for Riot," Time, June 30, 1967, 20-21; "Accusing Finger," Newsweek, July 3, 1967, 30-32.

white, one black. Atlanta's old coalition of big business and money appeared to be unraveling, largely due to black militancy and increased white resistance. The question remained as to what would happen to Atlanta's stance on racial matters. The present mayor, Ivan Allen, turned down a request to run again, leaving the business community temporarily at a loss. They finally decided on Rodney Cook, a moderate. The other candidates were Sam Massell, a liberal; Horace Tate, a black school board member and a favorite with black militants; and Everett Millican, a white, running on a law and order platform. Close attention was also being paid to black votes which, while not a majority (43%), could play a very decisive role in the election.<sup>31</sup>

The favorites appeared to be Cook and Millican yet there was the fear that voting would polarize along racial lines though nothing of the sort happened. In a run-off election between Massell and Cook, Massell won, with Maynard Jackson, a black attorney, winning the vice-mayor seat. Blacks gained one seat on the Board of Aldermen plus the possibility of four more in run-off elections. The nine-man school board had another black elected, bringing the total to three. National magazines made much of the fact that the black-white coalition did

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<sup>31</sup>"The Racial Pioneers of Atlanta Politics," Business Week, October 4, 1969, 104.

not break down. As one spokesman stated, "This election represents a continuation of the coalition approach. Race was not a major issue . . . ." Newly elected Mayor Massell projected this thought: " . . . the city of Atlanta will go from a majority white population to a majority black population . . . I was the best equipped to help with this transition."<sup>32</sup>

The decade of the 1960s proved to be turbulent and swiftly changing for Atlanta and may be considered as traumatic as the aftermath of the Civil War. Despite Atlanta's strides in industry, business and culture, the once farsighted city experienced a near breakdown in racial relations. The causes were many: the growing attraction of black militancy to young blacks, the loss of power from established "gradualist" groups both black and white, and the growing frustration of a white middle class America refusing to accept federal intervention. Mayor Massell's predictions should also be considered as Atlanta in the coming decade was to experience a further shift in race relations and the growth of power of blacks in the political structure. The Black community acquired a stronger voice in Atlanta and with the advent of the 1970s would move quickly into the shifting stance of Atlanta's social, economic and political arenas, with popular magazines dutifully noting each.

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<sup>32</sup>"A Southern Vote Without a Race Tag," U.S. News and World Report, October 20, 1969, 14; "Vote of Confidence," Newsweek, October 10, 1969, 44-46; "In the Mayor's Seat," Newsweek, November 3, 1969.



CHAPTER VI  
AN OASIS OF TOLERANCE  
(1970-1975)

The growing Black Power movement played a decisive role in national magazine reporting during the 1970s. The movement along with black politics on the local and state level gave indication that Mayor Massell's prediction of an Atlanta black majority could come to pass. This concept became a reality by 1974 as Atlantans elected a black Mayor, one of the few in the country, one of the first in the South.

A "Think Tank for Black Scholars" became the topic of an article published in the black periodical Ebony in early 1970. Dr. Vincent Harding, a historian, along with other black scholars formed the Institute of the Black World, based in Atlanta. The Institute, begun in 1968, started as a result of a request by Mrs. Coretta King, the widow of recently assassinated Martin Luther King Jr. Mrs. King desired creation of a library containing the late civil rights leader's personal papers. Harding agreed, but he wanted to expand beyond King's papers and gather other documents of the civil rights movement. In July, 1968, the Martin Luther King Memorial Center opened on the library ground floor of Atlanta's Interdenominational Theological Seminary. Future goals of the

Institute included: 1) defining the new field of "Black Studies," 2) further research in African history, 3) encouragement of black artists, 4) a publication program, and 5) seminars, workshops and conferences for the black community.<sup>1</sup>

In 1970, labor problems continued with Atlanta's city workers when 2,500 city employees, mostly garbage-men, walked off their jobs in March. The mayor, Sam Massell, tried a "get tough" approach which resulted in the dismissal of 1,783 striking employees because they refused to return to work. A follow-up report on Atlanta's year round school system appeared in May by Dr. Jarvis Barnes, Assistant Superintendent for Research and Development for the Atlanta Public Schools. In a "Guest Editorial" published in Parents Magazine, Dr. Barnes stated that in the three years of the program the results proved so successful that the program was under consideration for adoption by Atlanta's elementary school system. Also, educators from all over the country were visiting Atlanta to see the program's effectiveness first hand.<sup>2</sup>

Mills B. Lane, the President of Atlanta's Citizen and Southern National Bank was deemed the "banker with a

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<sup>1</sup>Alex Pointsett, "Think Tank for Black Scholars," Ebony, February, 1970, 46-48; "Seige of Atlanta," News-week, April 6, 1970, 61.

<sup>2</sup>"Confrontation in Atlanta," U.S. News and World Report, April 6, 1970, Dr. Jarvis Barnes, "Year-Round Schooling: How it Really Works," Parents Magazine, May, 1970, 42.

social conscience" by Business Week. Mills' bank, the largest in the Southeast, became involved in urban renewal through its purchase of Riverside Gardens, a 216-unit, run-down apartment complex in Savannah. The bank immediately began renovations and began renting apartments, taking care to watch carefully the kind of tenants who moved in. Two results were the growth of leadership among the tenants and a concern by them for their neighborhood. The project proved successful enough to the Citizen Southern that the bank began building twenty-one single family homes. The bank was also stepping up services and loans to small businessmen in Atlanta both black and white. Lane admitted that he was trying to make a point:

. . . we'll make money from this and disprove the theory that only the government can solve the problems besetting the poor. . . I am fed up with the government . . . We believe that Uncle Sam is supposed to do everything. I want to prove that this isn't so.<sup>3</sup>

Another innovative idea by the bank came in July, 1971, when Lane offered checking account and credit card customers the opportunity to buy stock in the bank through their accounts. However, problems with management and the collapse of the Atlanta real estate market in 1975 caused the Citizen Southern assets to drop by more than a third. Bank officials blamed the losses on overlending.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>"Atlanta banker with a social conscience," Business Week, July 25, 1970, 34-35.

Other articles appearing in publications dealt with Atlanta's rapid transit system, which by 1975 ran into serious financial problems due to lack of money and rising construction costs; architect John Portman's newest building, the Peachtree Center Plaza, with a 50 million dollar hotel, 70 stories high with a 1,200 room occupancy; and the gradual financial collapse of another Peachtree building, the Colony Square, a combination office-apartment and shopping center.<sup>5</sup>

Highlights of Atlanta's cultural scene continued through the 1970s with reviews of ballet productions and articles on the High Museum of Art, Georgia's only major museum and one of the few "cultural outposts" of the Southeast. Other articles reported on the many art galleries springing up in Atlanta, and a major Arts Festival in 1974. Robert Shaw, conductor of the Atlanta Symphony, made news when he was fired in March of 1972, apparently because Orchestra season subscriptions had

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<sup>4</sup>"Making depositors into shareholders," Business Week, July 31, 1971, 75; "A team takes over from a one-man show," Business Week, August 31, 1974, 62; "A bank franchises the cashless society," Business Week, May 26, 1975, 25; "The Loan Offices," Forbes, July, 1975, 78-79.

<sup>5</sup>"A Win for Mayor Sam," Newsweek, December 6, 1971, 76-77; D. Stephen Goldfarb, "Getting Around in Atlanta," Nation, October 22, 1973, 403-404; "Atlanta's transit trauma," Business Week, August 18, 1975, 100-101; "A shortage of funds for mass-transit," Business Week, March 10, 1975, 27; "A master builder restyles Atlanta," Business Week, October 14, 1972, 30; Bernhard Leitner, "John Portman: Architecture is Not a Building," Art in America, March, 1973, 80-82; "Chapter XII bankruptcy: A grim case in Atlanta," Business Week, November 3, 1975, 70-71.

dwindled from 5,500 (when Shaw took over), to only 3,300. The executive committee feared that Shaw's choice of contemporary programs discouraged prospective symphony backers. However, there also remained the fear that if Shaw were fired, Atlanta would be unable to draw another major conductor. A fund drive begun to increase ticket sales ended the 1972 season as a complete success and the rehiring of Shaw with a new two-year contract.<sup>6</sup>

Harper's Magazine continued into the 1970s with an updated look at Atlanta. The city, commented Harper's, was regarded as "wicked . . . a reputation business men do nothing to discourage. . ." yet Atlanta retained " . . . a certain Elegance" about it. Though the city experienced problems like other major cities, Harper's reported the city's attempts to solve some of its troubles with improvements in transportation and urban renewal. As one Atlantan put it, "This place has a high problem-solving capacity . . . pride . . . a sense of accomplishment . . . I'm gambling that we'll make it."<sup>7</sup>

Time and the New Yorker quickly followed Harper's example with "Atlanta's Beat Goes on" and "A New Politics in Atlanta." Both magazines commented on the city's rapid

<sup>6</sup>"Atlanta Ballet in Dance Repetitoire-1970," Dance, May, 1970, 95-96; "The Sleeping Beauty," Dance, March, 1971, 77-78; Leslie Putnam, "More than Surviving," Art in America, March, 1972, 108-109; "Battle of Atlanta," Newsweek, March 20, 1972, 115; W. C. Burnett, "Finest Festival," Art News, September, 1974, 87-88; Judith Goldman, "A Playground of Perceptions," Art News, October 1, 1975.

<sup>7</sup>J. Fischer, "Field Notes on the Changing South," Harper's, April, 1972, 18; See also Noel Busch, "Atlanta: Too Busy for Hate," Reader's Digest, June, 1975, 135-139.

growth (with a population of 1,400,000 Atlanta remained one of the fastest growing areas in the country). By 1972, 430 of Fortune magazine's 500 largest companies had branch offices in Atlanta. One interesting fact both articles pointed out was that the median age in Atlanta was declining, from 27.4 to 26.3. Politically, this meant that Atlanta's civic and political leaders were getting younger too, an inspiring sign since younger leaders could further engineer new growth.<sup>8</sup>

The Black movement continued to grow in Atlanta, not only in numbers (51% of the population in 1972 was black), but in terms of political, social and economic stability. During the years 1971-1975, a number of publications commented on the "Black Mecca" for younger blacks. Ebony started in the summer of 1971 calling Atlanta a city where "black dreams are most likely to come true." Ebony felt part of the drawing appeal for the city lay in its "hard sell" on integration and the noticeable absence of rioting which plagued other cities during the 1960s. Blacks appeared a formidable force in local city government, holding various positions on boards, agencies, and commissions. Also Atlanta's vice-mayor, Maynard Jackson, was black. The only major problem seemed to be with integrated housing.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>"Atlanta's Beat Goes On," Time, July 24, 1972, 64-65; "A New Politics in Atlanta," New Yorker, June, 1975, 28-30.

<sup>9</sup>Phy Garland, "Atlanta-Black Mecca of the South," Ebony, August, 1971, 62-64.

Two articles came in 1973 and 1974, one again from Ebony, the other in the New York Times Magazine. Both articles concentrated on black success stories by interviewing young successful blacks, who engaged in a variety of occupations among professional, educational, clerical, and business fields. Brief histories of Atlanta's black community were also recited as were plenty of photographs of the interviewees. Ebony also focused on Herman J. Russell, a black multi-millionaire in his article, "From Plasterer to Plutocrat." Atlanta's suffering racial image could only shine a little brighter with these reports.<sup>10</sup>

Political status of blacks took a decided turn for the better in 1973 when Superintendent of the Atlanta's Board of Education John Letson stepped down. His replacement was a young (44) black man, Alonzo Aristotle Grim. Grim faced a formidable task: to implement a new desegregation plan which would have eighty-three of the city's 141 schools all-black. The number of desegregated schools would be increased to eight. The plan from the very beginning remained highly controversial as black leaders and members of the NAACP charged that the proposal amounted to a political trade-off. Despite this, the plan seemed to have a favorable response throughout the city from both

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<sup>10</sup>"From Plasterer to Plutocrat," Ebony, May, 1973, 85; "Atlanta: New Mecca for Young Blacks," Ebony, September, 1973, 62; Peter Ross Range, "Capital of Black is Bountiful," New York Times Magazine, April 17, 1974, 28.

blacks and whites.<sup>11</sup>

In October of 1973, the black community of Atlanta claimed another victory with the election of Maynard Jackson as mayor. Jackson, the former vice-mayor, defeated the white incumbent, Sam Massell, in a run-off election. Jackson culled 46.6% of the vote to Massell's 19.8% forcing the run-off. Newsweek reported that while the eleven candidates for mayor tried to ignore the race question, they ultimately failed, with Massell charging Jackson to be a racist, largely due to his support of black labor strikes and his accusation of white police brutality. Race characterized the entire election with 56 black candidates on the ballot and with large numbers of blacks turning out to vote. Besides Jackson's victory, blacks won control of the Board of Education and acquired half of the city council seats.<sup>12</sup>

In the next two years, national publications periodically checked on Jackson's progress as he grappled with Atlanta's "power elite." Observers noted the beginnings of a new coalition between white and black businessmen in an effort to avoid potential racial problems. Jackson promised to "strike closer ties" with

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<sup>11</sup>"New Deal in Atlanta," Newsweek, July 30, 1973, 42-43; See also: "Atlanta's Questionable Compromise," The Christian Century, August 24, 1973, 819-829; "U.S. Journal: Atlanta," New Yorker, March 17, 1973, 101-105; Vincent Harding, "The Atlanta Compromise," The Christian Century October 3, 1973, 988-989.

<sup>12</sup>"A Tale of Two Cities," Newsweek, October 15, 1973, 35; "New Men for Detroit and Atlanta," Time, January 14, 1974, 13-14.



the business community, something his predecessor failed to do. Jackson also sought help from the Action Forum, a group of twenty-eight businessmen, both black and white, who met monthly to discuss the city's problems. The first target of Jackson and the Forum was to combat the rising crime rate that in 1973 put Atlanta number one in homicides and third in crime incidence.<sup>13</sup>

Yet, by 1975, several periodicals reported that racial tensions in Atlanta were at a crisis point. The declining power of Atlanta's business community along with charges that Jackson acted more in the interests of the black community made for rocky relations. Stated architect John Portman of Jackson:

He's [Jackson] perceived as taking every issue and turning it into a race issue. His big problem right now is raising white confidence. He has absolutely none.

Time commented that the fault was not entirely with Jackson but with the growing "urban crisis" Atlanta now faced.<sup>14</sup>

Besides Jackson's problems with the business community, relations with white policemen caused further

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<sup>13</sup>"Integrating Atlanta's Power Elite," Business Week, November 24, 1973, 64; "Three Mayors Speak of Their Cities," Ebony, February, 1974, 39-41.

<sup>14</sup>"A Mayor Learning on the Job," Time, April 21, 1975, 33; "Black Mayor, White Power Structure," New Republic, June 7, 1975, 9-10; See also: "Atlanta businessmen fight City Hall," Business Week, September 28, 1974; "White business balks at sharing the work," Business Week, November 17, 1975, 47.

tensions culminating in a series of events that rocked the city in July of 1974. First, Jackson tried to fire John Inman, Chief of Police. Inman protested, stating he had a contract. Also charges of white brutality increased when a white detective killed a seventeen-year old black. When black leaders gathered to protest the killing Inman promptly arrested them and further refused to cooperate with the city ombudsman's investigation. Another demonstration took place, and fighting broke out between white police and black marchers. When attempts were made to stage another march, Jackson signed an executive order allowing the demonstrators the right to assemble. That week in July also saw the death of Alberta King, mother of the late Martin Luther King Jr., who was shot to death while playing the organ for her husband's church service.<sup>15</sup>

In his inaugural address in 1974, Jackson stated that Atlanta stood as "a gateway to a new time, a new era, a new beginning for the cities of our land." Indeed, the decade of the 1970s seemed as if the city would continue quietly on its path to expansion and prosperity, but the idyll quickly shattered by 1974 with the promise of stormy decades to come. Atlanta's dream of becoming a "city of love" dissolved and was replaced by breakdowns and power struggles throughout its community. Due to increased

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<sup>15</sup>"A City Learning to Hate," Newsweek, July 8, 1974, 34; "Another King Killed," Newsweek, July 8, 1974; 33; "That Certain Smile," Newsweek, July 15, 1974, 30; "The Third King Tragedy," Time, July 15, 1973, 20.

racial tensions the city's prosperity became endangered as leading corporations threatened to pull out or begin layoffs. Atlanta found itself facing a stiff competitive race from the other major cities throughout the Southeast, such as Miami and Orlando in trying to promote business and industrial settlement. Despite its hardships and successes, the city always held itself as the essence of Henry Grady's "New South," a veritable showcase in technology, innovativeness and progress. To retain that position can only be seen as another problem to be tackled by an already troubled city.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Peter Hager Prugh, "Atlanta: Not Yet Love," The Progressive, September, 1974, 47-49.

## CONCLUSION

Throughout the course of the hundred-odd years of this study, several images of Atlanta presented themselves. The city first emerged as a burgeoning railroad town, followed by its gradual growth as a railway and industrial center for the southeastern region. From the late nineteenth century on, Atlanta became the focus of the "New South" plan, and emerged as one of the few success stories of that ideology. It was this success that by and large encouraged popular publications to focus on the city. Lastly, Atlanta, in the twentieth century, came to the forefront as a model city of culture and education, and more importantly as a center of "ideal" race relations. These images were the subject of numerous articles and conflicts throughout the periods discussed.

Again the question of popular magazine portrayal and accuracy must be considered. From its very beginnings, Atlanta received the praise and support from these popular publications in a fairly consistent manner. Especially in the period of the 1930s and 1940s, Atlanta stood as a model Southern city throughout the country. But it seemed easy at times to overlook Atlanta's "southernness." Atlanta considered itself comparable if not equal to many large northern cities, with its industry, business,

and cultural growth. But underlying this identity with the North, Atlanta stood as a symbol for what other Southern cities could become. Possibly because of these high expectations held by Northern readers, and by Atlantans themselves, the accuracy of the magazine articles starts to pale. Because of the generally "up" nature of the articles presented, it came as a rather rude shock to many readers that Atlanta did have problems.

One of these problems also presented one of the strongest images for Atlanta, the development of the city as a racially cooperative area. From the Exposition of 1895 on, the city stood apart from its other Southern counterparts in its dealings with the black populace. As has been pointed out, the city's black population maintained a strong sense of self awareness, mobility and economic prosperity. With the steady growth of education, culture and a political base, Atlanta blacks interacted with whites in a manner that seemed clearly atypical of a southern city. But in later decades this alliance between the races was challenged and almost totally disrupted.

Nowhere is this disruption brought into clearer focus than during the 1950s and the 1960s. Because of increasing racial problems, Atlanta found itself in danger of losing its title "the city that forgot how to hate." The question of race permeated every aspect of city life, and because of this influence needed to be dealt with in

a manner that proved acceptable to all. Unfortunately, cooperation between the races proved to be a difficult task as the city experienced a rapid turnover in gradualist political coalitions and a growing awareness that between whites and blacks that compromise simply would not be enough. Even though the decade of the 1960s was a turbulent one throughout the nation, Atlanta's experiences can and should be singled out. Not only was the city threatened with the possibility of being turned into a battleground, it faced the greater danger of losing a hard earned identity. With the loss of the many images built over the years, Atlanta was relegated to the position of being another typical Southern city in dealing with the question of civil rights. Yet it is not.

Despite the problems the city encountered throughout the years, Atlantans appeared to have the foresight and the ability to deal with what could have been a potentially disastrous situation. The keyword, possibly, to Atlanta's growth and uniqueness has been flexibility. Atlanta adapted, not totally out of desire, but out of a need and a realization that change brought growth. Also, perhaps because the city never had the long heritage of a Savannah or a Charleston, the changes became, in a sense, easier. By having the foresight and recognizing the changing times, Atlanta in a few decades left much of the

southern region behind.

Today, the city is still struggling to keep ahead of the region's rapidly growing business centers and in maintaining an equitable political balance between blacks and whites. But Atlanta today, like in the past, remains Georgia's and the South's showcase city. Its sophistication, its culture, and opportunities have afforded it the ability to draw on resources, both human and otherwise, from all over the country. Popular magazines played an important role in this development. From the general interest to the special interest, these popular publications have in a phrase molded the city of Atlanta into a southern city with a future and for the future.

That is not to say the city's inhabitants have not done their share. In late 1969, a Business Week reporter commented:

Of all Southern cities Atlanta is probably the most sensitive to anything that reflects its images: It's proud of its reputation as an outpost of culture, political moderation and enlightened civil rights policy in the Deep South . . . .<sup>1</sup>

Atlantans do believe then that they have helped change the city's image. What has come of this and the popular magazine's efforts is a paradoxical image, which, at one end, has Atlanta with its remnants of ante-bellum culture and thought, and at the other end, has a city "made" in print, full of opportunity and challenges for both blacks

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<sup>1</sup>"ALA picks Atlanta as a Starter," Business Week, September 13, 1969, 78.

and whites. The city of Atlanta stands as a tribute to Henry Grady and his proponents, to the continuing strides in civil rights, and the symbol for a constant and needed change in the South.

In so much as the magazine coverage was concerned, the findings were of a different nature. The majority of the magazines used were directed towards various groups such as Business Week, Christian Century, or Dance. However dominance in reporting came with the two major news publications Time and Newsweek.

Magazine coverage peaked and subsided at various points during the study. The early twentieth century saw different types of articles on Atlanta with no real theme presented consistently. The 1920s portrayed a city on the verge of tremendous growth and progress and geared its articles towards such. The periods of the 1930s and 1940s gave heavy coverage to Atlanta with an emphasis on business and civic growth. The 1950s shifted the theme somewhat; racial relations in Atlanta became a focal point throughout this period and until the end of this particular study, with the overall heaviest period of coverage coming with the decade of the 1960s. At this time the total number of articles published on Atlanta numbered 158 as compared to 17 for 1900-1909, 3 during 1870-1879 and 70 for the period 1950-1959 (Appendix I).

As stated earlier, Time and Newsweek dominated



overall coverage by the 1960s. Again out of the 158 articles published at that time, Time had 29 articles and Newsweek 24, almost one third of the entire coverage on Atlanta. Interestingly enough, Business Week tied with Time in number of articles published in the 1960s. The next two magazines with a major number of articles throughout the study were the special interest magazine American City and County with 30 and the "elitist" publication Nation with 14. A general look at Appendix I shows that with the appearance of Time and Newsweek there began a gradual dominance by the two weeklies.

Acknowledgement of authors remained at a minimum throughout the time period studied. In the early coverage of Atlanta, articles usually had the author's name. Again with the emergence of the modern magazine, these "personal" accounts of Atlanta diminished, with the exception of the special interest or cultural magazines.

Overall, the attitudes expressed by magazines towards Atlanta seemed positive, and rarely condemning. This is not to say that magazines were not critical of Atlanta at times. But despite the criticism, there appeared an enthusiasm about the city's progress, no matter what.

To evaluate the role that magazines have played in general American life is to speak in generalities and

with a good deal of subjectivity. Long term effects of popular magazines are hard to gauge and are not necessarily precise, much like the images they project. In this case, the images of Atlanta did not come from one article or one type of magazine. Rather it is over a period of years and an accumulation of articles from all interests, shedding light on the various facets of the city and its image. The essence of the magazines used in this study lay in their variety. Still one cannot deny magazines contributed to the development of the many images of Atlanta which Americans hold today, and which will long endure.

Appendix I

MAGAZINE ARTICLES BY YEAR

(1870-1975)

	1870-1879	1880-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1959	1960-1969	1970-1975	Total
America										1		1
American Artist										1		1
American City and County					3	4	8	7	7	1		30
American Education										2	3	5
American Journal of Public Health								2				2
American Library				3	1						1	1
American Magazine						1	1					4
American Mercury												2
Annals of the American Academy				2			1					3
Antiques										1		1
Appleton's	1											1
Architectural Record						1	2		2	2	2	9
Art in America												2
Art News												2
Atlantic												2
Better Homes and Gardens								1				1
Business Week							1	10	8	15	13	57
Century			1									1
Charities					2				4	5	2	11
Christian Century												2
Christianity Today												2
Colliers				1				2	1			4
Commonweal									1	1		2
Dance Magazine									3	4	2	9
Ebony										1	5	6
Education for Victory										1		1
Esquire										1	1	2
Etude										1		1
Forbes									1			1
Fortune									3	4		7
Forum					1							1

	1870-1879	1880-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1959	1960-1969	1970-1975	Total
Good Housekeeping				1						1		1
Gunton's Magazine												1
Harper's	1									2	1	4
Harper's Weekly				1	1							2
High Fidelity										2		2
Holiday									1	2		3
Hygeia (Today's Health)							1	1				2
Independent				5	1							6
Industrial Arts Mag.						1						1
Library Journal						1	5	7				13
Library Digest					3	1	1					5
Look										4		4
Magazine of Art								1				1
Musical America									1			1
Nation							1		1	9	3	14
National Education										2		4
Association Journal						1	1					4
Negro History Bulletin									1	4		5
New England Journal			1									1
New Republic					1		1	1	5	4	2	13
Newsweek							1	7	11	24	10	53
New Yorker										2	2	2
New York Times Mag.										2	3	5
North American Review	1											2
Putnam's	1			1						8	1	9
Opera News												2
Opportunity								2				2
Outlook				5								5
Parent's Magazine											1	1
Progressive											2	2
Reader's Digest									2	1	1	4
Redbook										2		2
Reporter									1	6		7
Rotarian									1	7		8
Saturday Evening Post								3	2		1	6
Saturday Review										1		1

	1870-1879	1880-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1929	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1959	1960-1969	1970-1975	Total
Saturday Review of Literature							1					1
Scholastic								1				1
School and Society					1	3	5	7				16
Scribner's Monthly		1										1
Senior Scholastic										1	1	2
Southern Magazine			1									1
Survey						4	1		1			6
Time							3	6	13	29	6	57
Travel							1			1	1	3
U.S. News and World Report										7	1	8
Wilson Library Bulletin								4	3		1	8
Woman's Home Companion					1		1					2
World Today				2								2
World's Work				1			1					2
Total	4	1	4	21	16	17	36	64	73	158	73	468

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