

Abstract

Title of Dissertation: THE CAUTIOUS CRUSADER:
HOW THE ATLANTA DAILY
WORLD COVERED THE
STRUGGLE FOR AFRICAN
AMERICAN RIGHTS
FROM 1945 TO 1985

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This dissertation is a study of the *Atlanta Daily World*, a conservative black newspaper founded in 1928, that covered the civil rights struggle in ways that reflected its orientation to both democratic principles and practical business concerns. The *World* became the most successful black daily newspaper in the nation after becoming a daily in 1932 and maintaining that status for nearly four decades. This dissertation details how this newspaper chronicled the simultaneous push for civil rights, better conditions in the black community, and recognition of black achievement during the volatile period of social change following World War II.

Using descriptive, thematic analysis and in-depth interviews, this dissertation explores the question: How did the *Atlanta Daily World* crusade for the rights of African Americans against a backdrop of changing times, particularly during the crucial forty-year period between 1945 and 1985? The study contends that the newspaper carried out its crusade by highlighting information and events important to the black community from the perspective of the newspaper's strong-willed publisher, C. A. Scott, and it

succeeded by relying on Scott family members and employees who worked long hours for low wages.

The study shows that the *World* fought against lynching and pushed for voting rights in the 1940s and 1950s. The newspaper eschewed sit-in demonstrations to force eateries to desegregate in the 1960s because they seemed dangerous and counterproductive when the college students wound up in jail rather than in school. The *World* endorsed Republican Presidents and was not swayed to the other side when the Rev. Jesse Jackson ran for President in 1984. The newspaper, however, drew a line against the conservative agenda when the *World* wholeheartedly endorsed the merits of affirmative action.

Now a weekly under more liberal leadership, the *World* continues to struggle to find its new role when blacks are more assimilated than ever into the fabric of American society. This dissertation, the first in-depth scholarly study of the newspaper, shows how it has managed to maintain itself as a voice of middle-class African American belief in the democratic process.

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AFRICAN AMERICAN RIGHTS FROM 1945 TO 1985**

By

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**Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
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Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction -- Scope and Purpose.....	1
Notes for Chapter One.....	4
Chapter Two: Scholarly Approaches	
Literature Review.....	5
The Need for Alternatives to the Mainstream Press.....	5
The Black Press.....	5
Atlanta History.....	18
Black Conservatism.....	19
Mass Media Theory.....	20
Research Methodology.....	23
Definition of Terms.....	28
Notes for Chapter Two.....	30
Chapter Three: Historical Context -- The <i>Atlanta Daily World</i> and Black Atlanta...35	
Notes for Chapter Three.....	58
Chapter Four: Ruth Scott Simmons -- The Scott Family	
and the <i>Atlanta Daily World</i>	63
Scott Family <i>World</i> Employees Chart.....	70
Notes for Chapter Four.....	73
Sample Front Page: Supreme Court Outlaws Segregated Schools	
Chapter Five: Providing a Voice -- Coverage from 1945-1959.....	74
Introduction.....	74
Focus of Chapter.....	77
Voting Rights.....	77
C. A. Scott.....	88
The Monroe Massacre and Proposed Anti-Lynching Legislation.....	91
William A. Fowlkes.....	113
Integrating the Senate Press Gallery.....	115
Atlanta's First Black Police Officers.....	117
Ernest H. Lyons, Sr.	122
The Rosa Lee Ingram Case.....	124
School Desegregation.....	130
The Murder of Emmett Till.....	150
The Montgomery Bus Boycott.....	164

Desegregating Atlanta’s Municipal Golf Courses.....	168
Housing for African Americans in Atlanta.....	170
Summary of Coverage from 1945 to 1959.....	174
Chapter Summary Chart.....	181
Notes for Chapter Five.....	182
Sample Front Page: Student Sit-Ins	
Chapter Six: Conservatism and Civil Rights -- Coverage from 1960-1969.....	201
Introduction.....	201
Focus of Chapter.....	204
George M. Coleman.....	204
Sit-in Demonstrations.....	210
March on Washington.....	213
Birmingham Church Bombing.....	222
John F. Kennedy Assassination.....	235
Civil Rights Workers Killed.....	240
King-Led Civil Rights Demonstrations.....	241
Northern Protests.....	245
Urban Riots.....	246
A Call for Rioting to End.....	248
After King’s Assassination.....	259
Attempts to Restrain Poverty and Racism.....	261
Civil Rights Issues Continue.....	269
Curtis M. Cooper.....	273
Summary of Coverage from 1960 to 1969.....	276
Chapter Summary Chart.....	284
Notes for Chapter Six.....	285
Sample Front Page: Andrew Young Sworn in as Ambassador	
Chapter Seven: Remaining Relevant -- Coverage from 1970 to 1985.....	302
Introduction.....	302
Focus of Chapter.....	303
Portia A. Scott.....	304
Atlanta Public Schools Busing.....	310
Maynard Jackson Becomes Atlanta’s First Black Mayor.....	316
Hank Aaron Breaks Babe Ruth’s Homerun Record.....	322
Andrew Young Becomes Congressman, Ambassador, Mayor.....	327

Black Elected Officials.....	333
Blacks and the Republican Party.....	338
First Black Miss America.....	345
Affirmative Action.....	347
Jesse Jackson Runs for President.....	351
Summary of Coverage from 1970 to 1985.....	356
Chapter Summary Chart.....	364
Notes for Chapter Seven.....	365
Sample Front Page: 2004 Presidential Race/Death of Founder’s Ex-Wife	
Chapter Eight: Epilogue -- M. Alexis Scott and the New <i>Atlanta Daily World</i>	378
Notes for Chapter Eight	382
Chapter Nine: Conclusion – Longevity, Its Greatest Accomplishment	
Notes for Chapter Nine.....	405
Appendices: Newspapers Printed By Scott Newspaper Syndicate.....	
Sample Scott Newspaper Syndicate Brochure	406
Bibliography.....	407

Chapter One: Introduction -- Scope and Purpose

The *Atlanta Daily World* has been a newspaper of paradox -- an African American-owned newspaper that once had a conservative Republican publisher and liberal Democratic staffers. For several decades, when most black-owned newspapers barely survived as weeklies, it thrived as a daily. Later, when many black newspapers closed their doors, the *World* simply cut back on the number of issues per week it produced. In more recent times, as the newspaper industry has faced frequent mergers and buyouts, the *Atlanta Daily World* has remained afloat and family-owned.

The bustling backdrop to the *World* has been the city of Atlanta, Georgia -- once dubbed a city “too busy to hate.”¹ Ironically, what seemed like a lack of hate was actually a symptom of a segregated society in which African Americans created their own small world, including clothing stores, colleges, universities, restaurants, theaters, neighborhoods, churches and newspapers. This African American microcosm of moderate prosperity circulated around a street formally named Auburn Avenue, but sentimentally dubbed “Sweet Auburn.” At a time when the South was home to Jim Crow laws designed to oppress minorities, African Americans in Atlanta sought to rise above the plight of their circumstances, while never being content with injustice. Chronicling the simultaneous push for civil rights, for better conditions in the black community, and for the recognition of black achievement has been the *Atlanta Daily World*’s task.

The newspaper’s past has made the *World* noteworthy for being both an instrument of African American achievement as well as a puzzling phenomenon. The fact

that it was a conservative newspaper for so many years is all the more perplexing, since the paper was published in a city with a strong liberal heritage that has produced African American political and social leaders, such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.), and former ambassador and Mayor Andrew Young. The *World* has a rich and varied history that has mirrored and sometimes influenced the history of blacks in Atlanta. The *Atlanta Daily World* was founded in 1928. Its owners later established two additional newspapers and provided printing services for dozens of other black newspapers throughout the country. Using the newspaper pages as a vehicle to crusade for justice, the *World* nevertheless faced harsh criticism over conservative coverage of the Civil Rights Movement and national politics, and it struggled to maintain employees on a limited budget. Eventually, the newspaper journeyed into the twenty-first century with colored front-page photographs and an on-line version.

The overarching research question that this dissertation attempted to answer is as follows: What approach has the *Atlanta Daily World* used to crusade for the rights of African Americans against a backdrop of changing times, particularly during the crucial forty-year period between 1945 and 1985? The *Atlanta Daily World's* history is one that has not been fully explored in the past. Therefore, a historical study of the newspaper was necessary to answer questions that arose from learning interesting but shallow details of its past as given in previously published materials.

For this study, microfilmed copies of the newspaper and actual newspapers -- when available -- were used to gather samples for an analysis of articles and editorials that ran in the *Atlanta Daily World*. In addition, in-depth interviews with the newspaper's owners and present and former employees were used to uncover background information

about the newspaper's history, since there was a dearth of diaries, personal papers and other archival documents pertaining to the publication.

The newspaper's history is divided into three eras: 1945-1959, a period which includes the first stirrings of the Civil Rights Movement, when gains were made in race relations through the court system and behind-the-scenes negotiations; 1960-1969, a decade at the heart of the Civil Rights Movement, when negotiations were not enough and African Americans took their protests to the streets or to the segregated lunch counters and other facilities; and 1970-1985, the years of the post-Civil Rights Movement when blacks in Atlanta began making great strides in Atlanta's political landscape but were still struggling with employment rights. Articles and editorials were analyzed that characterized the newspaper's crusade for the rights of African Americans and that shed light on the historical journey of African Americans in Atlanta, including such subtopics as the black church, black educational institutions, voting rights, the Civil Rights Movement, legal affairs, employment issues, and politics.

Throughout the dissertation, the *Atlanta Daily World* sometimes is referred to as the *World*. To avoid redundancy, the terms "African American" and "black" are used interchangeably, just as they are used in society today. The term "press" when used to discuss the "black press," "minority press" and "ethnic press" refer to newspapers, as opposed to magazines and other publications.

Notes for Chapter One

¹ Former Mayor William Hartsfield (for whom Atlanta's airport was named) dubbed Atlanta as a "city too busy to hate," according to Celestine Sibley, *Peachtree Street USA* (Atlanta: Peachtree Publishers, LTD., 1986), p. 70.

Chapter Two: Scholarly Approaches

Literature Review

The Need for Alternatives to the Mainstream Press. The *Atlanta Daily World's* history is a mere portrait in a journalistic mosaic that includes the black press in general. To illustrate the displeasure some racial and ethnic groups -- including African Americans -- have felt with mainstream newspapers, one can turn to the book entitled *U.S. News Coverage of Racial Minorities*. The book concluded that “news coverage of these groups by media of the white mainstream has ignored, stereotyped, and distorted them.”¹ Even though there have been efforts to improve news coverage of minorities, research projects continue to show flawed coverage. The studies in the aforementioned book by Keever, Martindale, and Weston, for example, showed clear patterns in the press of flawed dealings with minority groups both over time as well as across multiple groups.² *Why Americans Hate Welfare*, by Martin Gilens, outlined how people in the United States have had disdain for the welfare system in part because they associated it more closely with African Americans than with whites, which Gilens contended was an unfair depiction perpetuated by the news media. *Within the Veil: Black Journalists, White Media*, by Pamela Newkirk, detailed the ways in which issues of race influence news reporting and the difficulty African American journalists have had in trying to wield influence within the mainstream news media in often futile attempts to improve the portrayal of blacks.

The Black Press. About a dozen books on the African American press were consulted that emphasize the importance of black-owned newspapers, what they have

meant to the black communities they serve, and what kinds of subjects are covered in such newspapers. Books that explored the African American press and the various roles it has fulfilled include the following: *The Black Press in the South, 1865-1979*, and *The Black Press in the Middle West, 1865-1985*, both edited by Henry Lewis Suggs; *The Early Black Press in America, 1827-1860*, by Frankie Hutton; *Origins of the Black Press: New York, 1827-1847*, by Bernell Tripp; *A History of the Black Press*, by Armistead S. Pride and Clint C. Wilson, II; *The Black Press, U.S.A.*, by Roland E. Wolseley; *The Black Press in Mississippi, 1865-1985*, by Julius E. Thompson; *The African American Press: A History of News Coverage During National Crises with Special Reference to Four Black Newspapers, 1827-1965*, by Charles A. Simmons; *The Black Press and the Struggle for Civil Rights*, by Carl Senna; *The Negro Newspaper*, by Vishnu V. Oak; *The Black Press: New Literary and Historical Essays*, edited by Todd Vogel; *The Black Press, 1827-1890: The Quest for National Identity*, by Martin E. Dann; and *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century*, by Jane Rhodes. Other books on American mass media in general have sections on the black press, such as *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, by Michael Emery, Edwin Emery, and Nancy L. Roberts; *Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media: From Mass to Class Communication*, by Clint C. Wilson, II, and Felix Gutierrez; as well as an earlier work, *The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument*, by Alfred McClung Lee.

These works have provided necessary background for the dissertation. In narrative form, several of these books, including Senna's, and Simmons's, incorporated historical events and milestones in United States history with the history of black

newspapers. In a similar fashion, this dissertation on the *Atlanta Daily World* integrates the history of race relations in Atlanta with the history of the *World*. A descriptive, thematic analysis -- like the kind employed in this dissertation -- was used most effectively in the books edited by Suggs. Wolseley's book, *The Black Press, U.S.A.*, seemed almost like a reference book or encyclopedia on the black press. It encompassed magazines as well as newspapers. In *The Black Press and the Struggle for Civil Rights*, Senna opened with a historical account of the first black newspaper and ended with the integration of black journalists into the mainstream media. Senna's book did not mention the *Atlanta Daily World* -- an omission that symbolizes the need for more research on the *World* -- but it did refer to other newspapers, including *The North Star*, the *Chicago Daily Defender*, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Amsterdam News*, the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, as well as the Johnson Publishing Company, the "magazine empire" that publishes *Ebony*, *Jet*, and *EM* magazines. Senna's book looked at the black press's role in covering a number of subjects, including the struggle against slavery and the Civil War. It had special sections on black pioneer journalists/leaders Marcus Garvey and Ida B. Wells. Simmons took a look at the origins of the black press and incorporated historical background with an analysis of themes covered in the *Chicago Defender*, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Black Dispatch* and the *Jackson Advocate*.

Most books that mention the *World*, including Simmons's and Wolseley's works, have used it as an example of an African American-owned newspaper that was conservative in its coverage of the Civil Rights Movement. Simmons's book recounted the *Atlanta Daily World's* pleas to convince restless students to take the sit-in movement from the streets and into the courtrooms. It pictured the newspaper as suggesting that the

actions of the Freedom Riders (who came through the South to test segregation practices) led to violence that should have been avoided.³ Simmons went on to mention editors of three other black newspapers who were reluctant to mention civil rights demonstrations, even when the protests occurred in their towns.⁴

The Black Press, U.S.A., by Wolseley, outlined the origin, history, nature, viewpoints, and problems of the black press, mentioning many of the journalists who were active in the black press.⁵ Wolseley did highlight the *Atlanta Daily World*, calling it a training ground for numbers of black journalists who went on to prominence as writers and editors for other newspapers.⁶ For example, journalists who began their careers at the *World* included Paul Delaney, who later became an editor at the *New York Times*, Yvonne Shinholster Lamb, who became an assistant city editor and director of staff development at the *Washington Post*, Gregory Huskisson, former assistant managing editor of the *Detroit Free Press*, and Lerone Bennett, Jr., who became an author and executive editor at *Ebony* magazine. Similar to authors of other books on the black press that pointed out the *World's* conservatism, Wolseley wrote that in 1960 the *World* ran a double-column editorial asking “Is This Type of Action Necessary in This Case?” in which it criticized students who had organized an economic boycott of white merchants who refused to hire blacks for anything except menial labor, although their shops were in black neighborhoods.⁷

Mentioning the *Atlanta Daily World* mainly within the context of its conservatism during the Civil Rights Movement has been a sore spot for some of the *World's* former journalists, who saw themselves as crusaders for African American rights and believed the one-dimensional accounts of the *World's* position during this time period were unfair.

Their views were explored during interviews for this dissertation.

The most in-depth and even-handed study on the *Atlanta Daily World* has been in a chapter on Georgia's black newspapers by Alton Hornsby, Jr., which is included in the Suggs book on the black press in the South. Hornsby pointed out that although the *World* was conservative, it was a consistent opponent of Jim Crowism. For example, the newspaper in its earlier years had an anti-lynching focus. It also opposed discrimination in the nation's capital in the 1930s, bias against black servicemen in World War II, and discrimination in the schools in the 1950s.⁸ Hornsby pointed out that -- like other black newspapers -- the *World* devoted much of its space to race relations; to social, educational, political and economic issues; and to special events of interest to the black community.⁹ In addition, the *World* devoted considerably more space to sports than many other black newspapers and covered a fair amount of news about crime, which some black newspapers did not even mention, according to Hornsby. His analysis showed that there was much more to the story of the *Atlanta Daily World* than had been written about by other authors and gave a glimpse into the multidimensional nature of the newspaper.

The *Atlanta Daily World* is featured extensively in a few works, including articles, films and theses. Among them is Leonard Ray Teel's 1989 article in *American Journalism*, which is an account of how the *World* was founded and survived in its earliest years. Teel pointed out that the "remarkable success" of the *World* during this period of economic hard times was attributed to the founder's "persuasive salesmanship, honed by his years on the debate team at Atlanta's Morehouse College, and on his recognition that black commerce was expanding as Atlanta grew into a regional

marketing center.”¹⁰ Teel added, “Scott offered the *World* as a parallel market for white advertisers who also used the *Atlanta Journal* and *Atlanta Constitution* and the Hearst-owned *Georgian*.”¹¹ The *World* billed itself as a way to reach Atlanta’s “90,000 Negroes,” according to a house advertisement that ran in the July 29, 1932 *World* on page seven. W.A. Scott II’s advertising strategy, Teel pointed out, called for frequent house advertisements that urged blacks to “buy from *World* advertisers” and thereby bring money back into the black community.¹² Teel’s article focused mainly on the business side of the *Atlanta Daily World*, leaving room for more study on the editorial aspects of the newspaper.

When the year 2003 marked the *Atlanta Daily World*’s seventy-fifth anniversary, long-awaited attention finally came to the newspaper in the form of a banquet honoring it and a traveling display of the newspaper’s history arranged by the Atlanta History Center, articles in several newspapers and magazines, and a documentary that aired on the independent cable television station Atlanta Interfaith Broadcasters (AIB). The 2003 television documentary, “Printing the Dream: 75 Years of the *Atlanta Daily World*,” told of the *World*’s 75 years in business.¹³ Perhaps one of the best explanations for the *World*’s lack of militancy during the Civil Rights Movement was explained by James Orange, a national representative with the AFL-CIO, who described in the television documentary why a newspaper located in Atlanta or Birmingham in the 1960s would be less than inclined to fan the flames of unrest:

We would get more information from the *Chicago Defenders*, the *Pittsburgh Couriers*, the *Jacksonville Advocates*, because they weren’t [based] in Birmingham, and the *Birmingham World* would give information, but nine times out of ten, a lot of the information they gave was sort of neutral, because they had to exist in Birmingham. And for them to be a real proponent of the civil rights movement, that meant that they might have been put out of business. You have to

understand when our parents were arrested in Birmingham [for participating in civil rights demonstrations], a lot of them were fired from their jobs, their houses were foreclosed on, and bank loans were taken away if they had a vehicle, and that's how they retaliated against them. And being a black business person who only got his or her business from the African American community, but yet and still, bombing took place, and a lot of folks tip-toed through the tulips, you know, to keep from just stepping out there. But the *Birmingham World* put a lot of stuff [information] out for us.¹⁴

While the documentary gave a glimpse into the *World's* history and how it covered a very few topics in general terms, it is no substitute for an extensive written account that goes into much more detail about how the newspaper covered topics.

Two theses were written decades ago on the *Atlanta Daily World*. In 1942, Sadie Mae Oliver of Hampton Institute wrote “The History and Development of the *Atlanta Daily World*; the nation's only Negro daily newspaper.”¹⁵ This paper focused on the early stages of the *World* and included a survey about which sections of the newspaper readers liked most. Survey respondents picked local news as their favorite reading interest, followed by educational features, radio and theatrical programs, editorials, industrial and political news, sports, religious or church-related items, business news, and women's features, respectively.¹⁶

James Buford Murphy wrote a thesis in 1961 at Emory University called “A Study of the Editorial Policies of the *Atlanta Daily World*: 1952-1955.”¹⁷ This did look at the editorial side of the newspaper, including editorials on the topic of the *Brown v. Board of Education*. Such a small, three-year window of coverage left unanswered questions about how the *World* covered multiple topics over time.

One of the *Atlanta Daily World's* biggest horn-blowers and sources of historical information has been the newspaper itself. For example, an article that appeared in the newspaper on March 18, 1999, entitled “*The Atlanta Daily World* Has 71 Years of

Service to the Community” gave a brief history of the newspaper’s community service-oriented projects, the activist roles the newspaper took on in the past, and some of the awards the newspaper has won.

The *World’s* history has placed the newspaper squarely in the realm of the African American press as a historic entity fighting injustice. More than 100 years prior to the founding of the *Atlanta Daily World*, a newspaper appeared that would pave the way for the many black newspapers to come. This was the first black newspaper in the United States, *Freedom’s Journal*, founded March 16, 1827 by the Rev. Samuel E. Cornish and John Brown Russwurm.¹⁸ This weekly newspaper was established largely to crusade against slavery. Over the years, many historians have supported the idea that the abolition of slavery served as the primary reason for the founding of approximately forty black newspapers in the United States prior to the Civil War.¹⁹ However, as Tripp explained in *Origins of the Black Press: New York, 1827-1847*, there were many other factors for the implementation of this medium, such as a desire by editors and publishers to improve the lives of blacks and develop racial cohesiveness through an emphasis on civil rights, pride, unity and the progress of the black race.²⁰ In plainer terms, however, blacks wanted to be able to report their own stories -- a notion summed up by the editors of *Freedom’s Journal*, who stated in the first edition, “We wish to plead our own cause. Too long have others spoken for us.”²¹

When the first issue of *Freedom’s Journal* was published, journalism for black Americans was almost seven generations behind its white counterpart, which already had been in existence for 137 years.²² Most of the early potential black readers resided in the South as slaves, isolated and illiterate. In some Southern states, teaching blacks to read

remained illegal, and in other areas, whites intercepted attempts to distribute reading materials to blacks.²³ In the North, there was a sizeable population of free blacks and former slaves, who had escaped from slavery, purchased their freedom, or were freed by their owners. This was a target audience for black newspapers.

The role of the black press has been an important one in the communities that they serve. The 1998 film *The Black Press: Soldiers without Swords*, produced and directed by Stanley Nelson, stated that for over 150 years, African American newspapers were “among the strongest institutions in black America. They helped to create and stabilize communities. They spoke forcefully for the political and economic interests of their readers while employing thousands.”²⁴ Nelson’s film also explained that while showcasing the full spectrum of life in the black community, African American-owned newspapers “guided their readers through a rigidly segregated world. . . . Display ads suggested where they could shop without risking humiliation. Classified ads told them which employers did not discriminate. Sports and society pages lauded the athletes and professionals who the mainstream press ignored.”²⁵ In their heyday, black newspapers were read aloud in black churches, barber shops and beauty parlors and passed around “until they were torn and tattered,” according to Georgetta Merritt Campbell, in *Extant Collections of Early Black Newspapers: A Research Guide to the Black Press, 1880-1915*.²⁶

The significance of the African American press in terms of building community identity is difficult to overlook. Todd Vogel pointed out in *The Black Press: New Literary and Historical Essays*, that the African American press covered topics of the day, ranging from antebellum trade unions, through the Spanish Civil War, and on to the

consumer culture of the Cold War period.²⁷ In doing so, Vogel wrote that the black press “redefined class, restaged race and nationhood, and reset the terms of public conversation.”²⁸ Charles Loeb wrote in an introduction to *The Negro Newspaper* (by Vishnu V. Oak) that hundreds of conscientious black men and women operated newspapers with “high altruism and low pay,” and it is therefore, “not unseemly to regard the Negro Press as one of the most self-sacrificing agencies engaged in the fight for Negro progress.”²⁹ In fact, after an exhaustive study of problems facing blacks in the United States, Gunnar Myrdal concluded in 1944 in *An American Dilemma* that the black press was the greatest single power of the black race.³⁰

By 1931, the number of black newspapers in the United States had grown to 228 from a total of 130 in 1884.³¹ Among these newspapers, an outstanding few of them had circulations of more than 1,000.³² *Editor & Publisher’s International Year Book* listed 115 black newspapers in 1936, including the *Pittsburgh Courier* with a circulation of 103,283 readers and the *Baltimore Afro-American* with a circulation of 58,978.³³

One of the most important black-owned newspapers over the years has been the *Chicago Defender*, founded May 5, 1905.³⁴ According to Suggs, the *Chicago Defender* is an icon and an institution.³⁵ Suggs also stated that among black newspapers, “The *Defender* has impacted the most on the history, character, and tradition of American journalism” by contributing to the development of a national black “communal consciousness.”³⁶ Other black newspapers Suggs considered powerful and important in the civil rights era included the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*, the *Kansas City Call*, and the *Afro-American*, to name a few. (Illustrating the importance of the *Defender*, John H. Sengstacke, editor and publisher of the *Chicago Defender* and

head of the Sengstacke Newspapers group, became the first black editor elected to the board of directors of the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1970.)

Issuing daily newspapers has not been easy for owners of black publications. One of the many barriers to publishing every day has been the cost of news wire services and securing feature rights from news and feature agencies.³⁷ Scarce local and national advertising directed toward black audiences has caused black publishers to find weeklies, semiweeklies, and triweeklies more profitable than dailies.³⁸

Yet, some African American dailies were published in the nineteenth century, and described by Alfred McClung Lee in *The Daily Newspaper in America: The Evolution of a Social Instrument*. On July 21, 1864, Dr. L.C. Roudanez, who was black, founded *La Tribune de la Nouvelle-Orleans* (the *New Orleans Tribune*), a black Republican triweekly that became a daily publication (except Mondays) on October 14, 1864.³⁹ Later that same year, the owners offered managing editorship of the paper to Jean-Charles Houzeau, a white Belgian scientist.⁴⁰ After whites gained control, *La Tribune* became a weekly and then ceased operations in 1870.⁴¹ Another daily black paper published around 1867 during the Reconstruction era was the Baltimore *Daily Evening Chronotype*, which was a six-day-a-week sheet that featured African American news, church notices, and Associated Press dispatches.⁴² (It was continued in 1868 as the weekly *Chronotype*, and its publication dates beyond that year are unknown.) One of the first “independent attempts” to establish a black-owned daily, was the *Cairo Gazette* in Illinois, founded on April 23, 1882, but fire destroyed the shop and publication ceased after only six months.⁴³ The *Columbus* (Georgia) *Daily Messenger* founded in 1889 suspended publication after the editor accepted a job with the Railway Mail Service, according to

Lee.⁴⁴

Between that year and 1937 -- the year Lee's book was first published -- only four daily newspapers had lasted a minimum of five years.⁴⁵ The *Muskogee* (Oklahoma) *Searchlight* (later the *Republican*) was published from 1905-1910; however, its circulation never surpassed 800 readers.⁴⁶ The *Benton* (Louisiana) *Watchman*, a daily from 1909-1913, averaged a circulation of 300.⁴⁷ The *Waco* (Texas) *Observer*, published from 1915-1920, had only 500 subscribers.⁴⁸ A half-dozen or more African American dailies started after World War I ceased publication following short runs.⁴⁹ Like many mainstream weekly publications, the black weeklies usually appeared on Thursdays, with advertising (two-thirds of which was local) taking up roughly a third of the total space.⁵⁰

Although most African American-owned newspapers were liberal in matters of social policy, it is important to note that the *Atlanta Daily World* did not stand alone as a conservative newspaper. The *Jackson* (Mississippi) *Advocate*'s editor, Percy Greene, has been quoted as saying during the civil rights era that he was "opposed to all demonstrations, because we must have public opinion on our side to get these rights."⁵¹ The *Cleveland Call and Post* is another black newspaper with Republican leanings. Most black newspapers were not necessarily militant in tone, according to Michael Emery, Edwin Emery and Nancy L. Roberts in their book *The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*. In fact, the authors pointed out, the majority of the newspapers "resisted pressure to take up the slogans of black militants," as editors kept a watchful eye on problems with local law-enforcement officials as well as on federal government programs.⁵² This tendency, however, worked to the detriment of some black newspapers in the eyes of the communities they served. Emery, Emery and

Roberts concluded that the older, rather conservative black papers were “left behind” by the “rush of events” and black militancy in the 1960s.⁵³ They stated that the conservative black press concentrated on the routine coverage of the community and was ambivalent to the “cries of young blacks for direct action.”⁵⁴ In addition, they noted a fear by the newspapers of losing newly gained white advertising accounts, which kept some black papers from “joining more vigorously in the black revolution.”⁵⁵ Another author, Herbert H. Haines, wrote in *Black Radicals and the Civil Rights Mainstream, 1954-1970*, that not all African Americans applauded black militants of the civil rights era and that radicals sometimes impeded progress by spawning a backlash -- one that conservative black newspapers wished to avoid.⁵⁶

Following the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, integration ironically took its toll on the black press, as mainstream newspapers began to increase their coverage of the black community and advertisers seeking to add blacks to their audiences realized they could advertise in mainstream papers and reach blacks as well.⁵⁷ During this era, Emery, Emery and Roberts pointed out, black newspapers faced declining circulation and increasing problems in gaining advertising and maintaining staffs.⁵⁸ The number of black papers dropped from 213 to 165 between 1974 and 1979, fewer than forty black papers had their own printing facilities, and only a small number had circulations verified by the Audit Bureau of Circulation, according to Henry G. LaBrie III, who is noted for research in this area.⁵⁹

Unlike the *Atlanta Daily World* -- whose circulation remained steady at about 30,000 from 1960 to 1970 -- other black newspapers experienced declines in circulation following the spread of integration. For example, the circulation of the *Chicago Defender*

dropped from a circulation of 257,000 at the close of World War II to about 33,000 in 1970, and the circulation of the *Pittsburgh Courier* declined from 202,000 to 20,000 during the same time period.⁶⁰ As the press history by Emery, Emery and Roberts stated, more militant publications reached a larger audience. The circulation leader in 1970 was the nationally distributed Muslim weekly newspaper *Muhammad Speaks* (founded by Malcolm X in 1961) with a whopping estimated circulation of 700,000.⁶¹ Copies were sold on street corners, proclaiming the programs of Elijah Muhammad and condemning the Vietnam War. Another prominent black newspaper was the *Black Panther*, which was founded in 1966 by blacks in San Francisco who were leading a battle against alleged police abuse of minorities. Circulation was around 100,000 during the late 1960s, and the paper was available in major cities.⁶² *The Voice*, a weekly in Jamaica, New York, boasted a circulation of 90,000 and the *Sentinel-Bulletin* of Tampa had a circulation of 75,000 in 1970.⁶³

Atlanta History. Roughly twenty-five books on Atlanta history have been consulted to add context to this study of the *Atlanta Daily World*. Some were pictorials of Atlanta's landmarks and neighborhoods wrapped in sketches on Atlanta's history. Those that were most useful in shedding light on the special events in the lives of African Americans in Atlanta include the following: *The Way it Was in the South: The Black Experience in Georgia*, by Donald L. Grant; *Black Georgia in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920*, by John Dittmer; *Going Against the Wind*, edited by Herman "Skip" Mason Jr.; *Images of America: Black Atlanta in the Roaring Twenties*, also by Herman "Skip" Mason, Jr.; *Metropolitan Frontiers: A Short History of Atlanta*, by Darlene R. Roth and Andy Ambrose; *Georgia: A Bicentennial History*, by Harold H. Martin; and *Atlanta:*

Race, Class and Urban Expansion, by Larry Keating. Mason's *Going Against the Wind* was particularly helpful by giving a timeline of events of particular importance to the African American community, whereas, Grant's *The Way it Was in the South* gave a more detailed, contextual analysis of what life was like in Georgia from the 1500s through the early 1990s. From these books, one learns how Georgia's blacks -- as Grant put it -- "were not content to accept white definitions of 'their place.'"⁶⁴

Works that addressed the history of African Americans' political participation in Atlanta were consulted. These included Clarence Bacote's historic article titled, "The Negro in Atlanta Politics," published in *Phylon* in 1955; as well as the books *Black Politics in New Deal Atlanta*, by Karen Ferguson; *Black, White, and Southern: Race Relations and Southern Culture 1940 to the Present*, by David R. Goldfield; *Regime Politics Governing Atlanta: 1946-1988*, by Clarence N. Stone; *Imagineering Atlanta: The Politics of Place in the City of Dreams*, by Charles Rutherford; and *William Berry Hartsfield: Mayor of Atlanta* by Harold H. Martin. These books addressed how black Atlantans were able to make gains in the 1940s and beyond by utilizing their right to vote.

Black Conservatism. Books that dealt with black conservatism that helped illuminate the political philosophy of the *Atlanta Daily World's* former publisher included *White Nationalism, Black Interests: Conservative Public Policy and the Black Community*, by Ronald W. Walters; *Who Needs the Negro?*, by Sidnel M. Wilhelm; and *Conservatism: Essays in Intellectual and Political History*, edited by Peter Eisenstadt.

Mass Media Theory

Just as a supermarket has a multitude of produce, canned goods, and boxed items from which the consumer can pick, a newspaper supplies a myriad of news articles, feature stories and editorials to fuel one's mind. Voices on the newspaper pages shout out like labels on boxes of cereal, each competing for a taker. Hence, the concept of a "marketplace of ideas," and pluralist theory can be applied to a historical study of a black-owned newspaper.

Traditionally, pluralists have felt that society was made up of people with numerous interests tussling on a relatively level playing field for key resources of status, money and power, and whose efforts were monitored and regulated by the state for the public good.⁶⁵ As a strictly political concept, pluralism has philosophical roots dating back to the eighteenth century and has been a positive reference to political forms opposed to "statism or absolutism of the kind typified by imperial Germany."⁶⁶ Later, the theory grew into a vital political concept, as it was propelled by an admiration for American federalism.⁶⁷

As Dennis McQuail pointed out, pluralism's appeal is derived from theories of mass society.⁶⁸ This suggests that members of the public cohere into a unified society that has an overriding value system. Therefore, although society is made up of various interest groups competing for power and resources, they are largely in agreement on the rules governing a civil society. This helps to explain why many blacks in Atlanta and the *Atlanta Daily World's* management were able to work well within the existing power structure of Atlanta and still affect change -- through negotiations, voting power, and

prudence.

In journalism, pluralism can be used to categorize the multiplicity of ideas and information that make up a newspaper's contents. Sometimes, these ideas amalgamate with the political arena. Blumler and Gurevitch showed that politicians and journalists mainly represent separate institutional interests and cultures that nevertheless converge, requiring a bounded common culture.⁶⁹ The continuity of this common culture is maintained through institutionally developed roles, role relationships, negotiation and pattern.⁷⁰ In this way, the chosen political perspective of a newspaper's owner is conjoined with politicians and political philosophies.

Pluralist theory also has been used to explain the rise of black political participation in the United States over the past several decades.⁷¹ In fact, Perry and Parent argued that so-called "black politics" has been transformed from that of a "protest movement primarily outside normal American political channels to established political behavior inside the political system as the predominant mode of political participation."⁷² Perry and Parent maintained that this transformation of black politics was consistent with pluralist theory, "which posits that the American political system is an open, competitive political system and that many different groups can influence the decision-making process of that system."⁷³ This is important because the black press often supports, reflects and enhances black political participation.

Pluralism is not without its weaknesses. Critics of pluralism traditionally have discredited it due to the failure of pluralistic politics either to curtail capitalist class dominance or to advance significantly the aims of the working class.⁷⁴

It has been argued that the media are a self-regulating marketplace of ideas -- a

variation of capitalist theory formulated by Adam Smith (in his classic 1776 publication *The Wealth of Nations*) and the laissez-faire doctrine, which maintained that there was no need for the government to regulate markets because the marketplace should regulate itself through supply and demand.⁷⁵ Under this theory, in the marketplace, just as products compete, so do ideas.⁷⁶ If many consumers wish to buy a certain product, its price should rise as people clamor to buy it. This then encourages other manufacturers to make the product as well, leading to a fall in prices.⁷⁷ If a manufacturer charges too much for the product, then competitors would reduce their prices to attract buyers.⁷⁸ Baran and Davis maintained that in the American media system, the marketplace of ideas works as follows:

Someone comes up with a good idea and then transmits it through some form of mass communication. If other people like it, then they buy the message. When people buy the message, they pay for its production and distribution costs. Once these costs are covered, the message producer earns a profit. If people don't like the message, then they don't buy it and the producer goes broke trying to produce and distribute it.⁷⁹

This concept was thought to cut out the need for government regulation, as the media would be self-regulating. As Grossberg, Wartella and Whitney pointed out, this idea is embodied in the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: "Congress shall make no law abridging freedom of speech, or of the press ..." The authors went further to say that "if the government does not interfere in expression, the free marketplace will assure that good ideas will drive out bad ones, and the truth will prevail."⁸⁰ This theory is useful to a study of the *World* in an effort to determine if the multiplicity of ideas shared in the *World* helped drown out those ideas that did not fit the consensus of most readers.

Another mass media theoretical model that is pertinent to the study of the *Atlanta*

Daily World is the agenda-setting function of the mass media. This model has its roots in Bernard Cohen's assertion that the press "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think *about*."⁸¹ This theory was confirmed by the work of Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald Shaw, who wrote that "in choosing and displaying news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Readers learn not only about a given issues, but how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position."⁸²

An aspect of the agenda-setting model comes into play when analyzing articles for this dissertation. Grossberg, Wartella and Whitney point out that the media can allude to the importance of an issue in a number of ways:

We get a sense of the importance of an issue in media by its prominence (Is it at the top of the front page, or buried somewhere inside? Is it the first item in the evening news, or near the end?), and by the extensiveness, both of stories in a given day and of the duration of coverage over time – Is there one story, or is there a main story and one or more related *sidebar* stories? How long and detailed are the stories? Does artwork – photos, charts, or graphs – accompany the story? Does the issue receive treatment over many days, weeks, months?⁸³

Stanley J. Baran and Dennis K. Davis point out that there are criticisms to this theory, including the notion that the mass media are simply responding to their audiences, and therefore are not setting the agenda but are merely responding to an agenda that has already been set.⁸⁴

Research Methodology

Rebecca B. Rubin, Alan M. Rubin, and Linda J. Piele stated in *Communications Research: Strategies and Sources* that historical research is an examination of the past to

understand the events that occurred.⁸⁵ According to James D. Startt and William David Sloan in *Historical Methods in Mass Communication*, when writing communication history, one cannot merely write about past occurrences involving the medium being studied, one must also show an understanding of the general history of the life and thought of that time.⁸⁶ With this in mind, this dissertation will be a historical study of the *Atlanta Daily World* newspaper that inevitably reflects highlights in the history of the African American community in Atlanta, Georgia. The forms of historical research methodology that will be used are archival-based, employing descriptive, thematic analysis and in-depth interviews.

A number of scholars have elucidated the significance of historical research methodology. Rubin, Rubin, and Piele suggested that historical research usually involves answering questions about events that have already taken place and presenting conclusions or new explanations, while critical research interprets and evaluates the events and their consequences.⁸⁷ Furthermore, historical research is concerned with describing observations of past events with the goal of recording accurately what transpired and clarifying relationships among events and people.⁸⁸ After past events have been detailed, historical studies often aim to elucidate the reasons for these developments and to assess their significance.⁸⁹ Historical and critical investigations exceed being simple summaries of past findings. They are systematic, objective, and thorough analyses.⁹⁰

Much of the research for this project has been conducted at the Auburn Avenue Research Library of African American Culture and History, where the *Atlanta Daily World* is stored on microfilm starting with the issue of December 2, 1931. There are no

microfilmed copies of the newspaper before this time. The *Atlanta Daily World* is not formally indexed; however, there are a few indexes and bibliographies on selected topics from 1950 to 1985 that can be utilized to find articles on certain subjects during that time period. In addition, materials have been consulted that are available or on display at the Atlanta History Center and the Apex Museum, both of which have small exhibits on the *Atlanta Daily World*. These exhibits are limited mostly to old photographs, newspapers and memorabilia from the Scott family.

A descriptive, thematic analysis has been used to determine how the *Atlanta Daily World* covered the struggle for African American rights between 1945 and 1985. This forty-year period was selected because it represents a time when there was a surge of advancement in the areas of race relations and civil rights. More specifically, a sample of articles and editorials has been analyzed that demonstrates the *Atlanta Daily World's* crusade for social change affecting the black community, as it covered the subjects of black religious and educational institutions, legal affairs, voting rights, civil rights demonstrations, politics, entrepreneurship, and employment. Article and editorial content has been examined in terms of the subject matter, the type of language used, tone, placement, and length.

Descriptive, thematic analysis traditionally has been a prevalent method used in studies on the black press. This type of analysis was used in the books edited by Suggs on the black press in various parts of the United States, as well as in the books on the black press by Hutton, Tripp, Pride, Wilson, Thompson, Simmons, Senna, and Oak, among others. Descriptive analysis entails detailing where within the newspaper various content was placed and what type of language was used in providing the information.

Janowitz, in his pioneering study viewed by some as a model of social research and social theory, did a systematic content analysis of the community press, based on the basic hypothesis that the community newspaper participates in the process of integrating the individual into the urban social structure by assisting in the complex balance between local and non-local activities and identifications.⁹¹ In a similar way, a descriptive, thematic analysis of a newspaper aimed at a city's African American community can be expected to show how the black press helped to integrate its readers into the urban social structure, particularly at a time when the mainstream press seldom did.

Since there does not appear to be much available about the Scott family and the *Atlanta Daily World* in the form of letters, diaries or other written personal materials in the archives, in-depth interviews also have been a vital part of this study. In-depth interviews have been employed to garner an oral history that adds context to the subjects covered by the *Atlanta Daily World*, and sheds light on events that happened at the newspaper at various times. This information has provided a scene-setting backdrop for the analyses of the articles and editorials on key events that highlight the *World's* push for the betterment of the African American community.

In the spirit of full disclosure, it should be noted that I am a member of the Scott family. The late W.A. Scott, II, the newspaper's founder, was my maternal grandmother's brother (making him my great uncle, of course). This family connection, however, has not interfered with my proceeding to gain factual information in a fair and balanced manner about the *Atlanta Daily World*. In fact, this association has helped me gain access to interview individuals, who might be wary about talking to a complete stranger.

According to Lauren Kessler and Duncan McDonald in *The Search: Information*

Gathering for the Mass Media, in-depth interviews are open-ended, though tightly orchestrated sessions, with sources that the interviewer is striving to understand.⁹² This technique allows the interviewer not only to hear responses to these questions but also to see reactions. Therefore, in-depth interviews should be conducted in person, since face-to-face encounters allow for a richness that encompasses mannerisms as well as the spoken word. In-depth interviewing has been employed by mass media researchers in a number of ways -- whether they have conducted historical or contemporary research. This approach to collecting data also has been employed to get information from mass media audiences -- a method promoted by media scholars who adhere to critical and interpretative forms of social scientific inquiry.⁹³

Such interviews can last several hours and are tape-recorded for full analysis. There are three stages to historical interviewing, according to Startt and Sloan: (a) preparation, (b) the interview, and (c) subsequent reconstruction.⁹⁴ Preparation entails background study, and a selection of whom to interview and what approach to take when interviewing. The interview involves strategies for conducting it. In the final stage, one must transcribe the interview tape and have its validity verified by the interviewer, after which the interview becomes an authentic oral record.⁹⁵

There indeed are admitted drawbacks to using in-depth interviews as a means of data collection. Sometimes memories may be foggy, sometimes people are referred to who cannot be contacted due to death or other reasons to respond to comments made in interviews. Nevertheless, interviews are valuable because they serve as first-hand primary source material that is priceless when there were no written accounts made at the actual time that historical events occurred.

Definition of terms, endnote components, and the use of italics. The term *cutline* is the caption beneath a photograph. The term *nameplate*, also known as a *flag*, describes the name of the newspaper (*Atlanta Daily World*) written across the top of the front page. Word-counts of articles are approximate, based on the number of lines per news article multiplied by six (a rough estimate of the average number of words per line) from 1945 to 1969, and the number of lines per editorials, which were set two columns wide, were multiplied by twelve. After the type font became larger in 1970, the number of lines was multiplied by five for the articles and by ten for the editorials.

The endnotes for this dissertation have headlines written with the exact same capitalization as they appeared in the newspaper, so that the reader will gain a better understanding of the manner in which an article was emphasized. The *World* capitalized the first letter of every word -- including short words -- in its headlines; therefore, this is the way they appear in the endnotes. In addition, the endnotes carry the placement of the article on the page and the number of words per article to further reveal the weight accorded to the topic.

The endnotes for the analysis portion of this dissertation provided the day, date, word-count, page number, location on the page, and the use of banner headlines when applicable so that readers would have a clear idea of how the *World* treated certain topics. Since it is not enough to say an article was “long,” the word-count tells readers “how long.” Since it is not enough to say an article was “prominently displayed,” the page number and location on the page tells “how prominently displayed.” The top right corner of the newspaper is viewed in the industry as the spot for the top story of the day. Thick banner headlines attract the eyes of readers more than thin small ones. Sundays are often

considered in the industry to be the day of the week that more people purchase a newspaper (although the *Editor & Publisher Yearbook* only listed one general circulation figure each year for the *World* and did not divide it into weekdays and Sundays). Listing every article that ran on a certain topic during a specific period -- even when there were only a few new developments given in an article compared to the one that ran the day before -- allows readers of this dissertation to see how many articles the *World* ran on a particular topic, although the number given may not include every single one, as coverage of some topics was a little more sporadic than others and the newspaper is not formally indexed.

To distinguish between quotes gathered from in-depth interviews and narrative written by the author based on information provided in the interviews, the direct quotes are in italics.

Notes for Chapter Two

¹ Beverly Ann Deepe Kever, Carolyn Martindale, and Mary Ann Weston, eds., *U.S. News Coverage of Racial Minorities: A Sourcebook, 1934-1996* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1997), p. 343.

² Ibid. A number of books have addressed how other groups in America -- including Latinos, Native Americans, Jews, immigrant laborers and women -- have started newspapers targeted towards their ethnic, gender or class groups because they thought the mainstream press did not meet their needs and distorted their images. These books include the following: America Rodriguez, *Making Latino News: Race, Language, Class* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1999); A. Gabriel Melendez, *So All Is Not Lost: The Poetics of Print in Nuevomexicano Communities, 1834-1958* (Albuquerque, N.M.: University of New Mexico Press, 1997); Sharon Murphy, "The Early Years: Indian Publications 1828 to the Civil War." In *Native American Press in Wisconsin and the Nation*, from the Conference on the Native American Press in Wisconsin and the Nation, ed. James P. Danky, Maureen E. Hady, and Richard Joseph Morris (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Library School); Barbara Strauss Reed, "Pioneer Jewish Journalism." In *Outsiders in 19th-Century Press History: Multicultural Perspectives*, ed. Frankie Hutton and Barbara Strauss Reed (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1995); Dirk Hoerder, ed. and Christiane Harzig, asst. ed., *The Immigrant Labor Press in North America, 1840s-1970s, vol. 1: Migrants from Northern Europe*. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987); Maurine H. Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism* (Washington, D.C.: the American University Press, 1993); Lauren Kessler, *The Dissident Press: Alternative Journalism in American History*, vol. 13, the Sage CommText Series (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984); and Rodger Streitmatter, *Voices of Revolution: The Dissident Press in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

³ Charles A. Simmons, *The African American Press, With Special Reference To Four Newspapers, 1827-1965* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1998), pp. 102, 117.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 102, 103.

⁵ Roland E. Wolseley, *The Black Press, U.S.A.* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1990).

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⁷ Ibid., p. 99.

⁸ Alton Hornsby, Jr., "Georgia," in *The Black Press in the South, 1865-1979*, edited by Henry Lewis Suggs (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983), p. 129.

⁹ Ibid., p. 128.

¹⁰ Leonard Ray Teel, "W.A. Scott and the Atlanta World." *American Journalism* 6, no. 3 (1989): 158.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid., p. 159.

¹³ *Printing the Dream: 75 Years of Atlanta Daily World*. Produced and directed by Nicole Paschall. Atlanta: Atlanta Interfaith Broadcasters, Inc., 2003.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Sadie Mae Oliver, “The History and Development of the *Atlanta Daily World*; The Nation's Only Negro Daily Newspaper.” (Thesis, Hampton Institute, 1942.)

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁷ James Buford Murphy, “A Study of the Editorial Policies of the *Atlanta Daily World*: 1952-1955” (Thesis, 1961, Emory University).

¹⁸ Clint C. Wilson, II and Felix Gutierrez, *Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media: From Mass to Class Communication* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1995), p. 181. Also, Carl Senna, *The Black Press and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (New York: The African-American Experience/Franklin Watts, 1993), p. 13.

¹⁹ Bernell E. Tripp, *Origins of the Black Press: New York, 1827-1847* (Northport, Ala.: Vision Press, 1992), p. 9.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²¹ Wilson, II and Gutierrez, *Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media*, p. 181.

²² Tripp, *Origins of the Black Press*, p. 9.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *The Black Press: Soldiers Without Swords*, prod. and dir. Stanley Nelson, 85 min. (Distributed by Newsreel, San Francisco: 1998), videocassette.

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²⁶ Georgetta Merritt Campbell, *Extant Collections of Early Black Newspapers: A Research Guide to the Black Press, 1880-1915, With an Index to the Boston Guardian, 1902-1904* (Troy, New York: The Whitston Publishing Company, 1981), p. ix.

²⁷ Todd Vogel, Introduction in *The Black Press: New Literary and Historical Essays*, ed. Todd Vogel (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press), p. 1.

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²⁹ Charles Loeb, Introduction to *The Negro Newspaper*, edited by Vishnu V. Oak (1948; reprint, Westport, Conn.: Negro Universities Press, 1976), p. 28.

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³⁵ Henry Lewis Suggs, ed., *The Black Press in the Middle West, 1865-1985* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996), p. 49.

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³⁷ Lee, *The Daily Newspaper in America*, p. 178.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

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⁴² *Ibid.*

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⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

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⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

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- ⁷⁴ McQuail, *Media Performance*, p. 141.
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- ⁸⁵ Rebecca B. Rubin, Alan M. Rubin and Linda J. Piele, *Communication Research: Strategies and Sources*, 2d ed., (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company), p. 245.
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Chapter Three: Historical Context -- The *Atlanta Daily World* and Black Atlanta

There are many different ways to look at Atlanta's African American community in the last part of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century. It was undeniably nestled in the segregated South, where racism was an entrenched institution. However, by 1870, there were two blacks on the ten-member city council, and by 1890, at a time when there was only one college for whites in the city, there were five colleges for blacks.¹ It has been written that the transition from segregation to integration was "far less painful in Atlanta than in other cities."² Many blacks in Atlanta realized that education was a key to future success, since Atlanta boasted the largest consortium of African-American colleges and universities in the world. In addition, blacks had numerous places to seek employment and exercise their economic power, as Atlanta bore witness to the development and growth of businesses on what *Forbes* magazine later would describe as the "richest negro street" in America -- Auburn Avenue, where the *Atlanta Daily World* is located.³

Businesses or churches with an Auburn Avenue address reflected social status in the black community. As Dittmer pointed out, social class among blacks in Georgia in the early 1900s was reflected in the membership rosters of churches, lodges, social clubs, and college alumni.⁴ The activities of such groups helped make up the pages of the *Atlanta World*. While ancestry, education, and color were all factors for determining the stratification of African Americans in major cities, a person's occupation was the major determinant of his or her place in the social structure. In rural areas, the farm owner

commanded the greatest respect, followed by the renter, sharecropper and wage laborer.⁵ Keeping this in mind, it should be noted that the *World's* founder, William A. Scott, II, and his eight brothers and sisters grew up on a farm their parents owned in Jackson, Miss. (prior to the family's exodus to Atlanta), which gave them status and allowed them to be comfortably nourished at a time when many blacks were struggling. The Scott's middle class status in the black community also brought with it educational attainment, which empowered them with the literacy and business skills to publish a newspaper and a desire to spread knowledge to others.

Herman "Skip" Mason, Jr., in his book on blacks in Atlanta in the 1920s, juxtaposed Atlanta with Harlem, stating that while New Yorkers were experiencing a rebirth in culture and the arts, black Atlantans were experiencing an era of social and political awakening.⁶ While Harlem had Lenox Avenue, "where the bourgeoisie and the near-[well-]to-do strolled," in Atlanta, there was Auburn Avenue, which boasted African American-owned businesses including Alonzo Herndon's three-story Atlanta Life Insurance Company, Heman Perry's Citizens Trust Bank, and the Yates and Milton Drug Store, as well as other small black-owned shops and stores.⁷ Atlanta's Auburn Avenue was a place where African Americans could escape the constraints of Jim Crow and enjoy freely ambling in and out of clothing stores, tailor shops, markets, bakeries, doctors' offices, photography studios, dance halls, and churches.

Such bustling activity in the black community made a black news organization an obvious commercial enterprise. The *Atlanta World* was founded as a weekly on August 5, 1928, by William Alexander Scott, II, who attended Morehouse College and had served on the college's yearbook staff, debate team and football team. At the time, it was not the

first African American-owned newspaper to be published in Atlanta. The *Atlanta Weekly Defiance*, which operated from 1881 to 1889, was the first black-owned newspaper in Atlanta. The *Atlanta Independent*, a weekly founded in 1903, was the first black-owned Atlanta paper to gain a national reputation, according to Franklin M. Garrett in his 1954 exhaustive study of people and events in Atlanta.⁸ The *Independent* was on the decline when the *World* came on the scene, and its last issue was in 1933.

The *Atlanta World* was established not long after developers and the city of Atlanta built new facilities where blacks could live, attend secondary school and swim in segregated communities. In 1929, Morehouse and Spelman colleges and Atlanta University organized the Atlanta University System for black students, forging an agreement to share resources and facilities.⁹ Later, Morris Brown University (which became Morris Brown College), joined the Atlanta University Center, followed by Clark College, and the Interdenominational Theological Center. (In 1983, Morehouse School of Medicine became a part of the Atlanta University Center. In 1989 Clark College and Atlanta University merged to become Clark Atlanta University.)

Black enterprise in Atlanta at the end of the 1920s was becoming impressive, with 121 African-American businesses in operation by 1930.¹⁰ Some business owners, who became esteemed members of the community, cut their “entrepreneurial teeth” at the *World*. For example, the four oldest brothers of the Bronner family, who founded Bronner Brothers Beauty and Hair Products in 1947 (which became a multi-million-dollar hair-care business) -- were employed at the *Atlanta World* as carriers in 1929, and their three younger brothers joined them there in the mid-1930s.¹¹ Also in the 1930s, Hunter Street (later renamed Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive) was paved and continued

to prosper with the addition of a theater, beauty and barber shops, office buildings, a grocery store, a funeral home, a drug store, and restaurants, all of which blacks could patronize at will.

White supremacists, however, made known their dismay with black progress. In 1930, the Ku Klux Klan marched down Auburn Avenue and over to Spelman College, and the Order of the Black Shirts was founded to drive African Americans out of jobs and replace them with whites.¹² Claiming a “wildly inflated” membership of 40,000 in Atlanta, the Black Shirts, with the help of police and the mayor (Isaac Ragsdale), held parades on Peachtree Street, carrying signs that read: “Niggers, Back to the Cotton Fields -- City Jobs are for White Folks,” according to Donald L. Grant in his book, *The Way it Was in the South: The Black Experience in Georgia*.¹³ One of their victories came when women, who had been planted in hotels by police, made false rape and alcohol-sale charges against black bellhops, Grant wrote, adding that when the black workers were replaced with whites, the charges against them were dropped.¹⁴

Responding to such a racially explosive climate and to an apparent need for more African American-related news, in May of 1930, the *World* became a semi-weekly, and on April 20, 1931, it became a tri-weekly.¹⁵ Also in 1931, the Scott family founded the Southern Newspaper Syndicate (later named the Scott Newspaper Syndicate), which printed -- and in some cases provided content for -- black newspapers for roughly fifty different cities nationwide. The papers actually owned by the Scott family were the *Birmingham World*, founded in 1930, and the *Memphis World*, founded in 1931. Utilizing part-time “stringer” journalists (independent reporters who were paid by the story and were not regular employees), the *Atlanta Daily World* at one time also printed special

editions that ran in other parts of Georgia, such as the Macon edition, the Savannah edition, the Augusta edition, etc. In addition, the Syndicate used its printing presses to print roughly fifty other black weekly newspapers (located mostly in the South but in other parts of the country as well) that did not have their own printing facilities.

Newspapers that were printed at the *World's* office bore logos stating they were members of the Scott Newspaper Syndicate. These other newspapers had separate ownership and their own news; however, some material from the *Atlanta Daily World* was included in them, such as the Rotogravure section -- a brown and white pictorial that showcased black society in all its splendor -- and occasional news of national importance to blacks that was covered by the *World*.

The Syndicate sent out pamphlets to the publishers of prospective member newspapers offering instructions on joining the Syndicate, and obtaining and maintaining circulation and advertising income.¹⁶ In its earliest days in the 1930s, the *World* charged \$13 to print 200 copies of the newspapers that were eighteen pages each.¹⁷ The pamphlet emphasized that the prices quoted were just enough to cover the cost of printing. The Syndicate's profit came from national advertising in the material inserted by the Scotts in the local newspapers. The pamphlet directed members that, "Each week you will have to mail your local news and advertising by special delivery in envelopes furnished by us."¹⁸ It also emphasized that "we want to make it absolutely clear that you are the owner and publisher of the paper. We are only the printers." (The Scott Newspaper Syndicate ceased printing the other newspapers around 1955 after train service in and out of Georgia was cut back drastically, making delivery of the newspapers in a timely manner nearly impossible. At the time, many of the newspapers printed by the *World* had huge debts

due to nonpayment of the printing costs over time, according to Scott family members. The Scott family sold the *Memphis World* in 1970 and the *Birmingham World* in 1987. Neither of those two papers exists today.)

In March of 1932, despite the fact that the country was deep into an economic depression, the *World* became a daily and later added the word “Daily” to its name. Hence, the *Atlanta Daily World* became the only African American-owned daily in the United States at the time.¹⁹ Daily publication provided space for the paper to cover successes, as well as shortcomings, in the black community.

In a shocking development, in 1934, almost six years after founding the newspaper, W.A. Scott, II was shot while standing outside his home. He died a few days later on February 7, 1934. (His fourth wife’s brother -- who disapproved of his sister’s marriage to a thrice-married man -- was tried but acquitted of the murder, which remains unsolved to this day). While dying, W.A. Scott told his younger brother, Cornelius A. Scott, to “take charge, and don’t let anybody run over you.”²⁰ “C.A.” Scott, as he was called, then twenty-six years old, took over the business, proclaiming, “We shall carry on!”²¹

The city provided ample fodder for the newspaper to carry on efforts to benefit the African American community. Atlanta’s image was one of a “New South” city that was “relatively free from the region’s prejudices,” but the city’s image of racial progress “existed side by side with social, political, and economic realities that contradicted this perception,” according to a city history.²² To acknowledge those less fortunate financially, in 1935, the *Atlanta Daily World* -- the only African American-owned newspaper in Atlanta at the time -- began its Christmas Cheer program to collect

donations that provided food, clothing and money to needy families. This program continued until 1995 when newspaper management decided to phase it out after more far-reaching local efforts were established, such as the extremely popular Hosea Williams Feed the Hungry and Homeless program, started by the outspoken local civil rights activist for whom it was named.

In the 1940s, African Americans in Atlanta learned to bargain, negotiate, exercise their voting power and objectively direct the spotlight on the community's problems.²³ The *World* played an important role in bringing these matters to its readers. After taking the helm, C. A. Scott became involved in efforts to improve black enfranchisement. The *World* also was involved in radio, after Jesse Blayton became the first African-American radio station owner in the country when he purchased Atlanta's WERD Radio Station on Auburn Avenue. When it began broadcasting on October 7, 1949, the *Atlanta Daily World* provided forty-five minutes of on-air news at different times throughout the day.²⁴

Scott's editorial policy pushed for the right of blacks to vote unimpeded and included a vigorous campaign in 1941 to repeal the poll tax.²⁵ A U. S. Supreme Court ruling favorable to blacks came in 1944 when the Court ruled in *Smith v. Allwright* that the white primary was unconstitutional.²⁶ That same year, the *Atlanta Daily World* initiated a mass voter-registration drive that was a factor in a significant increase in the small number of registered black voters in the South.²⁷ In 1945 the Georgia legislature repealed the poll tax.

In the 1940s, blacks in Atlanta became adept at building alliances that would help them obtain their rights. On August 5, 1943, a group of prominent blacks and whites met at the predominantly black Atlanta University, where they founded the Southern Regional

Council to help figure out a way to provide “equal opportunity for all peoples of the region.”²⁸ The Southern Regional Council (SRC) began operating under the leadership of educator Benjamin E. Mays (president of Morehouse College and later president of the Atlanta Board of Education) and white sociologists Howard W. Odum and Guy Johnson of Chapel Hill. The SRC drew black and white businessmen and professionals and worked to remove white supremacy as a burden on the region’s development.²⁹

In *Black, White, and Southern: Race Relations and Southern Culture 1940 to the Present*, David R. Goldfield wrote that “the substantial black middle-class business community in Atlanta had effected an arrangement with the white economic elite who controlled the political system to deliver votes in exchange for black appointments and improved services.”³⁰

Black voters were able to affect change that sometimes could be felt statewide. Ellis Arnall, who was the Governor of Georgia from 1943 to 1947, was a more progressive politician than his predecessor, Herman Talmadge. In 1945 the Georgia legislature repealed the poll tax. A 1946 special election for Georgia’s Fifth Congressional District provided Atlanta’s newly-registered black voters an opportunity to sway the outcome toward a moderate candidate, Helen Douglas Mankin, by forging an alliance with organized labor and others. When she ran for reelection, however, the conservative followers of Talmadge regained control of the state party and put the district under the county-unit system, which did away with Mankin’s strong Atlanta vote.³¹

Clarence Stone wrote in *Regime Politics* the following:

The black community was encouraged by its initial success and by the capacity of a progressive candidate to garner votes inside the city -- with its backing. The congressional election was thus a signal to Hartsfield and his business allies that adjustments had to be made, and they proved receptive to overtures from the

black middle class. It was a textbook case of the theory that skillful exercise of the vote affects the behavior of officeholders.³²

In 1946, there was a push in black Atlanta to get African Americans who were eighteen years old or older to register to vote. The Atlanta Urban League printed and gave out 50,000 handbills to prospective voters, and ministers like Martin Luther King, Sr. and William Holmes Borders advised members of their congregations to register and arranged carpools to drive them to the courthouse. During the last fifty-one days of the registration campaign, nearly 18,000 new blacks had registered to vote, bringing the total of black registered voters to 24,000.

Clarence Bacote wrote in “The Negro in Atlanta Politics” that the voter registration campaign in 1946 ushered in a new political era of African Americans as a political force in Atlanta.³³ The Atlanta Urban League, headed by Grace Hamilton, provided block-by-block analysis and organized an 870-person volunteer force to canvass more than one thousand city blocks where African Americans lived. The All-Citizens Registration Committee started under the auspices of the local chapter of the NAACP and included representatives of the Urban League, the Atlanta Civic and Political League, and other black political and civic organizations. It helped blacks to register to vote and to actually vote by organizing car pools and a speakers’ bureau, encouraging sermons in black churches about voting, producing handbills and placards, having Boy Scouts distribute literature, conducting numerous community meetings and social events, garnering an onslaught of coverage in the *Atlanta Daily World*, targeting registration drives in public housing complexes and at black-owned businesses, and overseeing special projects by churches, labor unions, and college fraternities.³⁴

William B. Hartsfield actively began to court black voters in the late 1940s.³⁵

Hartsfield appointed eight black police officers in 1948 and cracked down on the Ku Klux Klan and other white vigilante organizations. He also consulted with black leaders on the issues of housing and urban development.³⁶ Atlanta's black leadership, with the political power it garnered through a significant voting bloc, began to be included in the inner circle of business, political and community leadership that decided the city's future.³⁷

To prepare for the city's non-partisan elections in the fall of 1949, black Democrats under the leadership of attorney A. T. Walden and black Republicans under John Wesley Dobbs (the maternal grandfather of Maynard Jackson, who became mayor in 1973) merged to form the Atlanta Negro Voters League (ANVL), of which C. A. Scott was a member. The organization made endorsements which were publicized in the *Atlanta Daily World*, and it provide a united front in dealing with public officials and other white leaders. By 1949 African Americans represented at least 25 percent of Atlanta's registered voters. The power of the black vote helped the ANVL bargain for modest benefits, such as improved streets, garbage collection, sidewalks, street lights, and schools.³⁸

The right to vote would open many doors for blacks in Atlanta. At the Butler Street YMCA, Grace Hamilton, Walden, and Warren Cochran, and others from the area invited Hartsfield to talk to them about black problems, and he told them, "Your vote will buy you a ticket to any place you want to sit."³⁹ In terms of their specific problems, according to Hartsfield biographer Harold H. Martin, if they came to Hartsfield with ten thousand black votes, he would gladly listen to what they had to say.⁴⁰

The *World*, which did not have political party ties when it was founded, supported

the formation of the first Democrat Club in the history of the Southeast in 1944.⁴¹ (The newspaper was pro-Republican from 1952 to 1997.) In 1946, Scott and the Rev. William H. Borders, pastor of the popular Wheat Street Baptist Church, headed the first major public defender project, raising more than \$10,000 to defend victims of a racially motivated act of vengeance in Monroe, Ga. The *Atlanta Daily World* also helped crusade for the Atlanta Police Department to hire blacks as officers and rejoiced on April 3, 1948, when eight men became Atlanta's first African-American policemen. They were stationed in the basement of the Butler Street YMCA near Auburn Avenue, rather than at a regular police station, and they were not allowed to arrest white citizens initially -- conditions the *World* argued against, particularly in view of the fact that a former employee and close friend of the Scott family was one of the first black policemen.

The *World* was able to help break barriers for black journalists who wanted to cover the White House and the United States Congress. Harry McAlpin, a *World* reporter, was the first black newsperson accredited by the White House in 1944 to cover Franklin D. Roosevelt's press conferences.⁴² Black journalists also pressed hard for representation in the Congressional Press galleries, but prior to the 1940s, the press galleries successfully kept out black correspondents with a rule that the journalists accredited there had to represent daily newspapers (at a time when almost all black newspapers were weeklies). Even Alvin White, the Associated Negro Press's Washington D.C. correspondent from 1939 to 1942, was denied an application to sit in the Congressional Press galleries.⁴³ The founder of the Associated Negro Press, Claude Barnett, made arrangements for him to represent the *Atlanta Daily World*, but this was not acceptable to the committee of journalists that oversaw the press gallery.⁴⁴ On March 18, 1947,

however, Louis Lautier, a black correspondent for the *Atlanta Daily World*, was allowed to integrate the Congressional Press galleries for the first time and was granted a press card by Congress.⁴⁵

Despite some steps forward, race relations in the Atlanta area remained volatile after World War II, and the *World* was filled with articles and editorials pertaining to them. On May 9, 1946, the AFL-CIO demanded that Georgia investigate the Ku Klux Klan after a massive cross-burning ceremony on nearby Stone Mountain.⁴⁶ In the late 1940s, segregation came under attack in both the legal and political arenas. In 1948, President Truman proposed an extensive civil rights program, which required the end of separate seating for whites and blacks on interstate trains and buses, and backed the establishment of a Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC). Truman's civil rights package also called for lynching to be outlawed, which held extra significance for Georgians, because for decades, their state and Mississippi were the lynching capitals of the world.⁴⁷ Georgians in general were vehemently against the civil rights program, and knowing this, gubernatorial candidate Herman Talmadge in 1948 and in 1950 ran on a platform that no FEPC would be allowed to function in Georgia and that he would preserve segregation at all costs in schools, parks, playgrounds, theaters, and restaurants.⁴⁸

During the 1950s, Atlanta's African American community experienced a "tide of progress" in the areas of race relations, public education, citizenship, employment, housing, religion, politics and personal services, although it still had many battles to fight.⁴⁹ In 1950, Auburn Avenue was declared an Urban Renewal area and property there was subject to being bought by the Atlanta Housing Authority and resold to private

businesses owned by whites. Scott and then-*World* reporter Bob Johnson (of the Johnson publishing family which owns *Ebony* and *JET* magazines) led an effort to get the city to leave Auburn Avenue out of the Urban Renewal area, thereby saving it as a black business district.⁵⁰ In the 1950s and 1960s, the white downtown business elite held on to city hall by maintaining an informal political alliance with the city's middle-class African American political leadership.⁵¹ It did so by supporting elements of desegregation and the civil rights struggle, and by expanding housing opportunities for blacks. The newspaper's conservative stance made it a key player in this political drama.

After the United States Supreme Court mandated in 1959 that the Atlanta Public Schools begin desegregating the following year, the leadership of the black community, along with the white business and civic community, worked together in obtaining a one-year extension that allowed Atlanta to push for a "free choice" program for desegregating the schools.⁵² This allowed Atlanta to avoid the violence and turmoil seen in cities like New Orleans and Little Rock. President Kennedy commended Atlanta on its desegregation efforts, and such efforts received positive media coverage in national publications.

In 1961, Hartsfield was succeeded by Ivan Allen, Jr., president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, who narrowly defeated staunch segregationist Lester Maddox in what has been described as a "nasty, race-baiting campaign."⁵³ Maddox had led the campaign against school desegregation in Atlanta and waved a gun to chase away student demonstrators who attempted to be served at the restaurant he owned. Allen had received less than half of the white vote, and his win demonstrated the political power that African Americans had gained by utilizing their right to vote. In 1963, Allen was the only

southern mayor to testify in favor of the Civil Rights Act.

During this time, the mainstream press in Atlanta was continuing its efforts to make a name for itself in the national journalism community. James M. Cox, owner of *The Atlanta Journal*, had obtained control of the *Constitution* in 1950, but each paper continued to have a separate editorial policy. Ralph McGill, like Henry W. Grady before him, was a well-known and respected columnist and editor at *The Atlanta Constitution*. When the Supreme Court outlawed school segregation, McGill led Southern editors in a stand for carrying out the law and supported the full attainment of civil and human rights for everyone.⁵⁴ Yet McGill opposed a federal anti-lynching law and a Fair Employment Practices Act on the grounds that the states, not the national government, should provide this type of protection to African Americans.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, McGill attacked various “hate” groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Columbians, the White Citizens Councils and lynch mob members, but he initially stopped short of condoning integration of the schools, opting instead to call for fairness in a truly separate but equal school system -- that is, until school desegregation became the law of the land in 1954.⁵⁶

In that year, the U.S. Supreme Court outlawed segregated schools in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* -- a ruling that incalculably bolstered the position of African Americans in America, as it set the stage for banning forced segregation in general. Even more obstacles to full equality were removed with the passage of the 1957 and 1960 Civil Rights Acts, which sought to restore voting rights to southern blacks, who had been thwarted from their legal right to vote through a myriad of tactics, including the administration of civics tests and the imposition of poll taxes.⁵⁷

In Georgia, school desegregation remained a very bitter pill for the white

population to swallow, and for five years following the Supreme Court ruling, the schools remained segregated.⁵⁸ McGill, for his part, urged Georgians to accept school desegregation and to put their personal views aside. Thus, he used the city's major newspaper to calm racial tensions. In December of 1958, lawsuits were filed to enforce desegregation of Atlanta's city buses, airport restaurants, and city schools, and the following year, the Atlanta Board of education compiled a desegregation plan, which was accepted by a federal judge.⁵⁹

School desegregation was followed by other gains in race relations, all of which were chronicled in the *World*. The *World* heralded the increase of black political power in the second half of the 20th century. In 1953, Atlanta University president Rufus Clement became the first African American to hold citywide office since Reconstruction when he was elected to the Atlanta school board.⁶⁰ Realizing that the black middle class could lend him helpful political support after educated whites began moving to the suburbs, Atlanta Mayor William B. Hartsfield began behind-the-scenes negotiations with black leaders to work out thorny racial issues.⁶¹ Executives with the *World* were instrumental in planning such meetings and initiating dialogue about issues of concern in the black community.

In 1958, after lengthy negotiations with key black ministers, Mayor Hartsfield helped stage a test case against Georgia's bus segregation laws. A pre-selected group of black protesters were arrested for violating state segregation laws and immediately released on bond, after which the state law was declared unconstitutional, and Atlanta's buses were integrated.⁶² This spared Atlanta protracted and costly protests like those in Montgomery, Alabama, three years previously that erupted after Rosa Parks refused to

give up her seat on the bus to a white person. Black college students launched an intense sit-in campaign in Atlanta in 1960 to desegregate downtown restaurants and other public facilities. As Grant noted in his book on the black experience in Georgia, the students thought the boycotts were the most effective tactic, while the more conservative blacks favored the ballot.⁶³

Under Scott, the newspaper took a cautious stance, criticizing the student sit-ins of 1960. Paul Delaney, who began working at the *World* in 1959 and eventually became an editor at *The New York Times*, went so far as to say that the *World* “was opposed to” the Civil Rights Movement, according to an article in *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* on September 22, 2003.⁶⁴ However, Scott family members have maintained the newspaper was mainly concerned with the safety of the students involved in the sit-ins. In addition, the students were protesting against some of the *World*'s advertisers, including department stores that allowed blacks to shop but would not allow them to sit at the lunch counters in the stores' dining areas.

As a result of the *World*'s guarded stance, a new, more radical black newspaper, called the *Atlanta Inquirer*, was launched in July 1960, with Jesse Hill (later president of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company) and Julian Bond (later a state senator) at the helm in its early stages. One of several founding members of the *Inquirer*, J. Lowell Ware, later left that newspaper and started another, the *Atlanta Voice*, in 1966. There was obviously enough news in the black community to feed several newspapers, making Atlanta one of the most competitive black newspaper markets in the country.⁶⁵ The black population in Atlanta in 1960 was 186,464, or 38.3 percent of the total population of 487,455, according to Census data.

Racial tension continued to be covered by the mainstream press as well. After McGill became a Pulitzer Prize winner for his editorials on human rights (among other subjects), he became publisher of the *Constitution* in 1960, and Eugene C. Patterson was named editor. (Patterson subsequently won the Pulitzer Prize in 1967 for his daily column and editorials condemning racism and “political demagoguery.”)⁶⁶ The black press continued, however, because African Americans in Atlanta wished to read more about their own community than the news offered in the mainstream press, which seemed to walk a fine line between advancing social change and appeasing the white masses.

When several black college students were arrested on Forsyth Street in downtown Atlanta on February 12, 1961 during a sit-in at Rich’s department store, it signaled major social change. The sit-in demonstrations threatened to upset relationships and alliances between black leaders and the white business elite and exposed generational cleavages within the black community.⁶⁷ Martin Luther King, Jr. soon found himself mediating between the more radical students and older black leaders like his father, known as “Daddy” King, who -- like the *World’s* management -- favored a less confrontational approach.⁶⁸ King, Jr. was able to bridge the generational divide and convince the student leaders to halt their protests in return for a promise from white business leaders that after a cooling-off period, the downtown stores would be desegregated.⁶⁹

During this turbulent period, the *World* chronicled demonstrations and sometimes criticized both whites and blacks embroiled in controversies over integration. In December of that year, a bomb exploded at a black public school severely damaging that building as well as a dozen nearby houses.⁷⁰ In 1962, after a slew of boycotts, demonstrations and sit-ins, court rulings brought about the abolition of all segregated

travel facilities in Georgia, thus opening whites-only waiting rooms, restrooms, water fountains and ticket counters at bus and rail terminals to everyone.

The 1960s brought to Atlanta's black community many changes as a result of the Civil Rights Movement. Major shops and some restaurants in the downtown central business district were desegregated following an agreement between white and black leaders in 1961.⁷¹ In the 1960s, Atlanta's white universities began to accept black students.

In 1963, black representatives of nine organizations recommended a local public accommodations act, an open-occupancy housing law, establishment of "fair employment," desegregation of public schools and facilities, and the appointment of blacks to judgeships.⁷² That year, all ordinances requiring segregation in buses, libraries, parks, playgrounds, restaurants and theaters were withdrawn under Atlanta's new mayor, Ivan Allen, Jr., who had taken office in 1962.

In the mid-1960s, African Americans began making inroads into Atlanta's civic power structure. In February 1964, Attorney Austin T. Walden, (a black man, who incidentally had served as the *World's* lawyer), was sworn into office by Mayor Ivan Allen as a "stand by" judge for the municipal and traffic courts of Atlanta.⁷³ On September 19, 1965, Q.V. Williamson was elected the first African American alderman in Atlanta since 1870.⁷⁴ Also in 1965, the Majority to Minority plan was implemented to allow students to transfer from a school in which they were in the racial majority to a school in which they would be in the minority.⁷⁵ That same year, Gracy Towns Hamilton was elected the first black woman in the Georgia legislature.⁷⁶

While written laws stated that blacks had access to numerous facilities,

segregation continued to be practiced in Atlanta -- a contradiction pointed out in the *World*. In 1964, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) launched a campaign against segregated restaurants, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) campaigned against segregated hotels, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), along with the All-Citizens Committee, launched a voter-education campaign.⁷⁷ Yet, despite its bustling businesses and peaceful gatherings of blacks, Atlanta had its share of turmoil.

In 1966, the Summerhill Riots took place, led by Stokely Carmichael, chairman of SNCC, who denounced police brutality. One person was killed during this riot, which was ignited after an Atlanta policeman shot a black man who had alleged stolen an automobile. Mayor Ivan Allen summoned 25 of the city's leading black ministers to meet with him in an attempt to restore peace and order.⁷⁸ His effort succeeded. By the time Allen left office in 1970, there was total desegregation of all public facilities; an African American, Maynard Jackson, was serving as vice mayor; and Hank Aaron, a black man who later on April 8, 1974, broke Babe Ruth's home-run record, was the star player for the city's major league baseball team, the Braves.

In the 1970s, African Americans really made strides in the political arena. Maynard Jackson, who had been elected Atlanta's first black vice mayor in 1969, became the first black mayor of Atlanta on October 16, 1973. His city council was 50 percent black.⁷⁹ Andrew Young was elected the South's first black Congressman since Reconstruction in November of 1972.⁸⁰

Atlanta's first black mayor was Maynard Jackson, elected in 1973, after which Atlanta would only have black mayors. Statewide, their influence was tougher to realize

due to the predominantly white towns outside of Atlanta. In 1964, Maddox was elected Governor of Georgia. The black vote later would help elect more liberal governors like Jimmy Carter, who, according to Kenneth Coleman in *Georgia History in Outline*, was elected in 1970 and came into office in 1971 proclaiming that the time for racial discrimination had passed. Carter served as governor until 1975 and was President of the United States from 1977 to 1981. The understated and moderate George Busbee was elected governor over more well-known candidates including Maddox, in 1974, and Busbee served from 1975 to 1983.⁸¹ Joe Frank Harris, who counts among his achievements advancement in minority rights, served as governor from 1983-91.

There are no simple explanations for what made Atlanta what *Ebony* magazine described in 1973 as the “New Mecca for Young Blacks.” Gary Pomerantz took a stab at an explanation in his book, *Where Peachtree Meets Sweet Auburn: The Saga of two Families and the Making of Atlanta*, in which he wrote that Atlanta was a city where there seemed to be a “truce between white and black leaders. . . . It did not guarantee blacks a better life; it made such a life seem possible. Though blacks and whites gained from such a truce, the gains were small in terms of tolerance and understanding. They were gains of profit in business and politics. Whatever trickled down from that profit, in terms of human relations, was a bonus.”⁸²

By December of 1974, Atlanta had become 55 percent African American and was well on its way toward having the more than 70 percent African American population of the 1980s and today.⁸³ Amidst all of the mandated desegregation, whites began moving out of the city in droves and into the suburbs. On April 4, 1973, the federal court ordered the busing of 2,761 whites to integrate Atlanta schools, which were 80 percent black, and

the national NAACP condemned its local chapter's "accommodation" of the racial isolation that allowed to the public schools to become so segregated.⁸⁴ Atlanta remained a very segregated city and is so today.

African American control of the city's political arena continued in 1981 when Andrew Young -- already well known for being a key figure in the Civil Rights Movement, a former Congressman, and former ambassador to the United Nations -- became the new mayor of Atlanta. Economic development was a vital and strategic part of Young's plan for the city. Around this time, blacks also laid claim to the city council presidency and the vast majority of Atlanta's elected and appointed offices; alas, the city that had been two-thirds white in 1950 was two-thirds black in the 1980s.⁸⁵

Despite gains in the political arena, the black business arena began to decline after desegregation. Integration brought with it an exodus of blacks from some of the city's black-owned businesses to white-run places of employment. In 1968, Harmon Perry, a veteran photographer for the *Atlanta Daily World*, was hired as the first African American reporter for *The Atlanta Journal*, two years after he first sought employment there. His first story was the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.⁸⁶ As integration spread, some of the black businesses slowly began to dwindle. After a printer's strike in the late 1960s and following integration, the *World* found it easier to sell its printing facilities and have its newspaper -- as well as the other papers in the (later defunct) Scott Newspaper Syndicate -- printed elsewhere. In 1970, the *Atlanta Daily World*, which had been a daily since 1932, cut back to a four-day publishing schedule. At its peak around 1970, the circulation was 30,100, according to Wolseley's *The Black Press, U.S.A.* (The *World*'s circulation was listed as 18,000 in 2002. In 2005, the *World*'s publisher

estimated the readership to be roughly 10,000, although the actual press run was only 4,500.)

In November of 1974, the *Atlanta Daily World*, along with a group of civic-minded people, helped organize the West End Consumers Group to establish closer cooperation between businesses, employees and the general public. As the West End section of Atlanta was changing from predominantly white to black, the consumer group helped encourage blacks to start their own businesses and to make them last. On August 8, 1977, this group was officially incorporated as the Atlanta Consumers Club, Inc., and it continued to be active through the 1980s.

According to Stephen G.N. Tuck in his book, *Beyond Atlanta: the Struggle for Racial Equality in Georgia, 1940-1980*, following the Civil Rights Movement, the issues of importance to African Americans meant different things for different groups of black Georgians, particularly in Atlanta, where disparate black groups abounded.⁸⁷ By 1980, Atlanta was the home to one of the largest concentrations of black millionaires in America, and more black Atlantans earned more than \$50,000 annually than any other minority group in the South; however, one-third of black Atlantans remained under the poverty level in 1980, according to Tuck.⁸⁸

The *World* continued to act as a voice for black business interests. The June 18, 1976, edition of the *World* was dedicated to “Sweet Auburn Avenue” because of the street’s historic importance as a predominantly black business area. The newspaper’s forty-four-page fiftieth anniversary edition on August 18, 1978, became a collector’s item, with 42,000 copies published.

In 1978, the *World* was the recipient of the Special Award for fifty years of

Journalistic Leadership from the National Association of Media Women. In 1979, the paper received the Bronze Jubilee Award from the local chapter of the NAACP for fifty years of community service. In 1980, the newspaper's founder, W.A. Scott, II, was inducted posthumously into the Black Press Hall of Fame at Howard University, and in 1996, he also was inducted into the Hall of Fame at the journalism school at the University of Georgia. On March 22, 1989, the newspaper received the Tiger Award from the World Media Association in Washington, D.C., an award that usually was presented to individual journalists but this time went to a newspaper for "high standards and ethics in journalism," according to the inscription on the award. Many of the newspaper's awards have been in honor of its longevity and, ironically, came at a time when the newspaper's circulation was on the decline.

The late 1990s brought a major shift in the *World's* leadership. In 1997, M. Alexis Scott, the founder's granddaughter and a long-time journalist with *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and its parent company, Cox Enterprises, became the new publisher.⁸⁹ She established a neutral political policy that supports programs and individual candidates rather than party affiliations. In the late 1990s, the newspaper also began publishing colored photographs on the front page and established an on-line version.

From 1928 to the present, the city has provided a plethora of stories for the newspaper to cover. As W.E.B. Dubois once remarked about Atlanta in 1903, "South of the North, yet North of the South, lies the city of a hundred hills, peering out of the shadows of the past into the promise of the future."⁹⁰ The *Atlanta Daily World* has chronicled much of black Atlanta's past and future. Yet its own extensive history has been relatively unexplored in terms of published written work.

Notes for Chapter Three

¹ Dennis Eugene Engleman, *Beautiful America's Atlanta* (Wilsonville, Ore.: Beautiful America Publishing Company, 1996), p. 103.

² Ibid.

³ Herman "Skip" Mason, Jr., ed., *Going Against the Wind* (Atlanta: Longstreet Press, 1992), p. xiii.

⁴ John Dittmer, *Black Georgia in the Progressive Era, 1900-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977), p. 59.

⁵ Ibid., p. 9.

⁶ Herman "Skip" Mason, Jr. *Images of America: Black Atlanta in the Roaring Twenties* (Dover, N.H.: Arcadia Publishing, 1997), p. 6.

⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

⁸ Franklin M. Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of Its People and Events*. vol. 2. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1954), p. 842.

⁹ Mason Jr., *Going Against the Wind*, p. 80.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 100.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 80.

¹² Ibid, p.100.

¹³ Ibid., p. 328.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Emery, Emery and Roberts, *The Press and America*, p. 567.

¹⁶ General Instructions to Publishers and Prospective Publishers of S.N.S. Papers, Scott Newspaper Syndicate, Inc., 210 Auburn Avenue, N.E. Atlanta, Georgia. A brochure that includes an introduction, printing cost, contents, instructions and suggestions, summary of general instructions, how to get started right way, circulation income, getting and keeping circulation, advertising income, an important note, and conclusion. From publisher Alexis Scott's personal archives. No date is given, but W. A. Scott was listed as the general manager of the newspaper; therefore, it was mostly likely printed in the early 1930s.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Emery, Emery and Roberts, *The Press and America*, p. 567.

²⁰ "The Atlanta Daily World Has 71 Years of Service to the Community." *Atlanta Daily World*, 18 March 1999, p. 5.

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- ²¹ Hornsby in Suggs, *The Black Press in the South*, p. 128.
- ²² David Andrew Harmon, *Beneath the Image of the Civil Rights Movement and Race Relations: Atlanta, Georgia, 1946-1981* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.), p. vii.
- ²³ See Annie L. McPheeters, comp., Introduction in *Negro Progress in Atlanta, Georgia 1950-1960: A Selective Bibliography on Human Relations from Four Atlanta Newspapers*. (Atlanta: West Hunter Branch, Atlanta Public Library, 1964).
- ²⁴ Hornsby, "Georgia" in *The Black Press in the South*, 1983, p. 124. On page 123, Hornsby pointed out that when Mayor William Hartsfield (for whom Atlanta's massive airport is named) was reelected in 1942, African-Americans were participating in their first mayoral primary since the white primary was declared unconstitutional.
- ²⁵ "The Atlanta Daily World Has ... Community," *Atlanta Daily World*, p. 5.
- ²⁶ Huey L. Perry and Wayne Parent, "Black Politics in the United States," in *Blacks and the American Political System*, edited by Huey L. Perry and Wayne Parent (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), p. 4.
- ²⁷ Mason Jr., *Going Against the Wind*, p. 121.
- ²⁸ Darlene R. Roth and Andy Ambrose, *Metropolitan Frontiers: A Short History of Atlanta* (Atlanta: Longstreet Press, Inc., 1996), p. 170.
- ²⁹ David R. Goldfield, *Black, White, and Southern: Race Relations and Southern Culture 1940 to the Present* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), p. 49.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.
- ³¹ Clarence N. Stone, *Regime Politics Governing Atlanta: 1946-1988* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1989), p. 28.
- ³² *Ibid.*
- ³³ C. A. Bacote, "The Negro in Atlanta Politics," *Phylon*, vol. 16, no. 4 (1955), pp. 333-350.
- ³⁴ Stone, *Regime Politics Governing Atlanta*, p. 28.
- ³⁵ Karen Ferguson, *Black Politics in New Deal Atlanta* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002) p. 254.
- ³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*
- ³⁸ Stone, *Regime Politics Governing Atlanta*, p. 29.
- ³⁹ Harold H. Martin, *William Berry Hartsfield: Mayor of Atlanta* (Athens: the University of Georgia Press, 1978), p. 50.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ “The Atlanta Daily World Has ... Community,” *Atlanta Daily World*, p. 5.

⁴² Donald L. Grant, *The Way it Was in the South: The Black Experience in Georgia* (New York: Carol Publishing Group, 1993), p. 480.

⁴³ Lawrence D. Hogan, *A Black National News Service: The Associated Negro Press and Claude Barnett, 1919-1945* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1984), p. 91.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ George J. Lankevich, comp. and ed., *Atlanta: A Chronological & Documentary History* (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1978) p. 60.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Harold H. Martin, *Georgia: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. , 1977), p. 184.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ See McPheeters, comp., Introduction in *Negro Progress in Atlanta, Georgia 1950-1960*.

⁵⁰ “The Atlanta Daily World Has ... Community,” *Atlanta Daily World*, p. 5.

⁵¹ Larry Keating, *Atlanta: Race, Class and Urban Expansion* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 2001), p. 3.

⁵² Charles Rutheiser, *Imagineering Atlanta: The Politics of Place in the City of Dreams* (London: Verso, 1996), p. 48.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Michael Strickland, Harry Davis and Jeff Strickland, *The Best of Ralph McGill: Selected Columns* (Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Company, 1980), p. xviii. See also, Hodding Carter, *Their Words Were Bullets: The Southern Press in War, Reconstruction, and Peace* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1969), p. 67. See also: Leonard Ray Teel, *Ralph Emerson McGill: Voice of the Southern Conscience* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001).

⁵⁵ Harold H. Martin, *Georgia: A Bicentennial History* (New York. W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. , 1977), p. 184.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Perry and Parent, “Black Politics in the United States.” In *Blacks and the American Political System*, p. 4.

⁵⁸ Martin, *Georgia*, p. 185.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Roth and Ambrose, *Metropolitan Frontiers*, p. 181.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 178.

⁶² Ibid., p. 182.

⁶³ Grant, *The Way it Was in the South*, p. 391.

⁶⁴ Ernie Suggs, "World in her hands, future on her mind," *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, September 22, 2003, p. A1.

⁶⁵ Ibid. Atlanta was to become perhaps the nation's most competitive black newspaper market, with not only the *World*, the *Inquirer* and the *Voice*, but also the *People's Crusader*, founded in 1970; the monthly *Atlanta Tribune*, established in 1987; *Atlanta Metro*, founded in 1988; and the *Atlanta Weekly* in 1990.

⁶⁶ Emery, Emery and Roberts, *The Press and America*, p. 567.

⁶⁷ Roth and Ambrose, *Metropolitan Frontiers*, p. 200.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Roth and Ambrose, *Metropolitan Frontiers*, p. 185.

⁷¹ Mason Jr., *Going Against the Wind*, p. 184.

⁷² Ibid, p. 186.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 187.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 186.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 187.

⁷⁹ George J. Lankevich, comp. and ed., *Atlanta: A Chronological & Documentary History, 1813-1976* (Dobbs Ferry, N.Y.: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1978), p. 74.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 73.

⁸¹ Kenneth Coleman, *Georgia History in Outline*, revised ed. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1978), pp. 103-104.

⁸² Gary Pomerantz, *Where Peachtree Meets Sweet Auburn: The Saga of Two Families and the Making of Atlanta* (New York: Scribner, 1996), p. 19.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 74.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 73.

⁸⁵ Roth and Ambrose, *Metropolitan Frontiers*, p. 211.

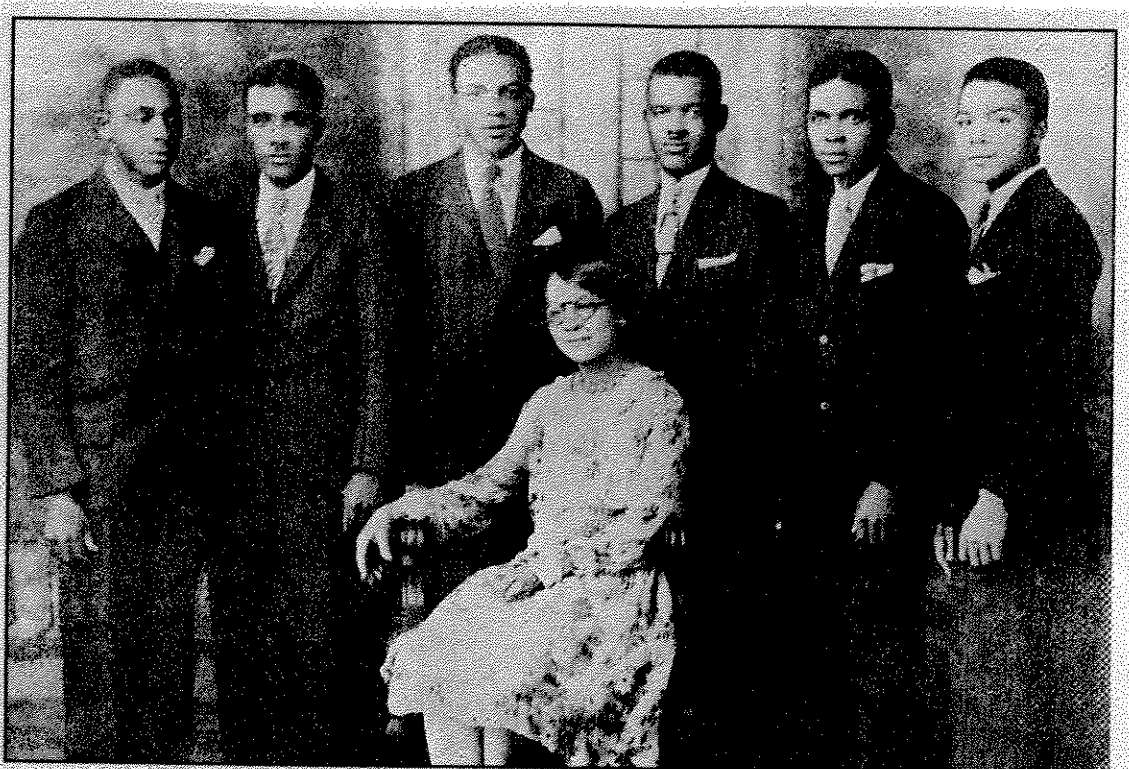
⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 188.

⁸⁷ Stephen G.N. Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta: The Struggle for Racial Equality in Georgia, 1940-1980* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2001), p. 236.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Alexis Scott had been a reporter, an editor and vice president of community affairs for *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, before becoming director of community affairs and diversity for Cox Enterprises, which owns the *Journal-Constitution*.

⁹⁰ Charles A. Wills, *A Historical Album of Georgia* (Brookfield, Conn.: The Millbrook Press, 1996), p. 48.



N. Emmeline Southall Scott, known to family members as "Mama Scott," is surrounded by her six sons circa 1928. The brothers are (from left) Emel, Aurelius, Lewis Augustus ("Gus"), William A. Scott, II ("W. A."), Cornelius Adolphus ("C. A."), and Daniel. (Photo courtesy of Ruth Scott Simmons)



The three Scott sisters circa 1970s are (from left) Ruth Scott Simmons, Esther Scott Carter, and Vashti Scott Ellis. (Photo courtesy of Mary Elizabeth Odum)

Chapter Four: Ruth Scott Simmons --

The Scott Family and the *Atlanta Daily World*

In the 1920s, when the Scott family was living in Johnson City, Tennessee, W. A. Scott, II, who had been living in Atlanta to attend Morehouse College, went back home to Tennessee and told family members of a unique business opportunity to buy a printing shop from the bankrupt estate of Atlanta developer Heman Perry. The printing business was not new to the Scott family. W. A. Scott, II, had printed a black business directory in Jacksonville, Florida. His parents, the Rev. William A. Scott, Sr., a college-educated minister and teacher, and Nancy Emmeline Scott, who later attended college and taught school, had purchased their first printing operation, Progress Printing House, in 1900 in Edwards, Mississippi.¹ Scott, Sr., also was the Grand Worthy Counselor of the Knights of Pythians, a lodge group. In 1910, the family had moved to Jackson, Mississippi, where the Rev. Scott built a two-story brick building for the printing business, where he edited a tabloid-sized Christian church periodical. In 1923, the family sold their holdings in Mississippi, including an eighty-acre farm, and moved to Johnson City, Tennessee, where Scott, Sr., became the pastor of a larger church and built a new house with a grand portico entrance. There, the Scotts rode in a horse-drawn surrey carriage with a fringed top.²

When W. A. Scott, II, told his parents that he wished to purchase a printing business in Atlanta, they recognized a good entrepreneurial prospect. The cost of the print shop was believed to be a few hundred dollars due to the owner's bankruptcy status, and

W. A. Scott, II, was able to purchase it using one of several loans to come from the black-owned Citizens Trust Company bank. The print shop soon became home to the *Atlanta Daily World* newspaper. In November of 1928, the Rev. Scott died in Johnson City. Mrs. Scott, known affectionately to many as “Mama Scott,” taught her sons W. A. and Cornelius Adolphus (“C. A.”) the printing business, and she worked at the *World* as a cashier from 1932 to around 1960.

In its humble beginning, the print shop was located at 210 Auburn Avenue in a building owned by Big Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, which owned a considerable amount of property on the street. The shop was located in a building that also had a bank, a real estate company and an insurance company, all of them black-owned. (The newspaper office later relocated to 145 Auburn Avenue.) The shop, which had a linotype machine, a flatbed press, and a hand press, printed handbills, newsletters and flyers mostly for black organizations.³

W. A., II, did not have to look far for help with his new venture, since two of his eight siblings already were living in Atlanta and willing to work with him. His brother Aurelius was living in Atlanta after graduating from Morehouse College, and his sister Vashti was also in Atlanta attending Spelman College in what was then its high school department. Vashti, who had won an award for outstanding writing for an essay on Abraham Lincoln, would later work for the *World* as an advice columnist who went by the name “Eleanor.”

In 1928, the printing shop was transformed into a full-fledged weekly newspaper. The newspaper stated its five-part objective was to inform the public, to provide accuracy in reporting, to educate readers, to inspire, and to entertain them as well.⁴ The first step

was giving the newspaper a name that matched W. A.'s vision for the type of publication he wanted. He envisioned a newspaper that would be disseminated to blacks everywhere, including those in Africa, which is why he called it the *Atlanta World*.⁵

“It provided an opportunity to write and disseminate news as we saw it, and as the facts presented it, because there was a problem of the general press of direct accounts by Negroes, about Negroes, and other circumstances,” said Ruth Scott Simmons. She worked at the *World* roughly 60 years and is the youngest of the nine Scott siblings. Describing why African Americans felt there was a need for a newspaper by blacks, about blacks, for blacks, she said the following:

*A number of the blacks felt like [the general press] was not accurate, especially in the area of crime, they relied heavily on police reports. Of course, at that time, all the policemen were white. All the officials, all the office workers, everybody, was white. Oft'times ... the police report might say [the police] found a knife on [the suspect] and then the [suspect] would deny that it was his knife and say that it was put on me afterwards, or that sort of thing. And even in some of the reports, they would say that the offender, who was colored or Negro, was attacking the officer and yet the Negro might be found shot in the back rather than where you ordinarily would shoot a person who was attacking another person. So we felt a need really for accuracy in reporting, and informing people of what was happening in general all the way around, not just in your locality, but especially in the North and the South of the United States, as well.*⁶

The newspaper was a significant source of church news from the African American community. *“My father, having been a minister, was always interested in the religious aspects of life,”* Simmons said. The newspaper *“would be a means of communication for the churches and each other. We printed the church news, featured their Sunday schedules and the activities that they would have.”*⁷

In addition, the newspaper *“would be a source to first inform them and educate [them on] the history of constructive things about blacks and projects that blacks were undertaking to better their conditions -- employment opportunities, and news of the*

schools and the social activities of an entire community, an entire state, an entire world. And then it was felt that telling some of the better aspects of the people would be a source of inspiration.”⁸

The newspaper welcomed blacks “*who were interested in all aspects of communications, but here in Atlanta they didn’t have a chance to use [their interest] because the main communication lines did not employ them, so they had an opportunity to express themselves in a number of ways,*” Ruth Scott said.

I remember when we had one young man, Rick Roberts, who was especially talented at drawing and he had a little comic series called “Ol’ Hot” and he would oft-times feature maybe sports events, or sort of comics and that sort of thing. [The newspaper] was able to attract a number of college students who used it as a means not only of communication, but of employment. There was a group of brothers who came and worked with us -- the Bronner Brothers -- who came from a small town, and their mother ran a beauty parlor here. So the Bronner Brothers were among the heads of our circulation department, and they used that as a means for employment, and helped them through college. Of course, along with it, they sold their mother’s beauty products and so forth.⁹

Bronner Brothers would later become a multi-million-dollar hair care company based in Atlanta. Simmons chuckled as she recalled Nathaniel Bronner telling her stories of when he was in college selling both newspapers and hair care products. “*He said the ladies would always have enough money to buy the beauty products, but sometimes they’d say ‘I’ll have to come back next week and pay you for the paper.’ But they always had enough money for the beauty products.*”¹⁰

The newspaper became a daily in 1932, which opened the door for its journalists to become credentialed to cover the nation’s top levels of government. In 1944, Harry McAlpin integrated the White House press corps, and in 1947, Louis Lautier integrated the U. S. Senate press gallery. The articles the newspaper used from those correspondents “*were particular subjects that had a racial aspect to them, or any legislation that*

benefited lower-income people,” Ruth Scott Simmons said. “Anything that helps the disadvantaged or the poor helps more of us because more of us are disadvantaged and poor. [The newspaper] especially [liked to run] articles [written] from the angle of employment and education, because that’s the way you get out of that group. When you get a better education, and as you learn more, you’re able to do more, and you’re more active in voting.”¹¹

By 1945, the *World* had a circulation of 23,000 and the *World* Syndicate had a circulation of 79,950, according to the *Editor & Publisher International Yearbook*. The *World* was published daily except Mondays, according to the 1945 *Editor & Publisher International Yearbook*.

The *World*’s management saw voting as a key way for African Americans to improve their lots in life. “*That was one of the things that we emphasized greatly -- voting -- and even the struggle to get the vote, because when we first came here [to Atlanta], the only thing we could vote for was the President,*” Simmons said. “*You weren’t registered in the local voters’ elections, and the paper strove to have -- and it was a long time after you had the right to vote -- the polls placed in your communities. I remember when I first voted [in 1935], I had to go all the way out in West End to vote. And later, the voting places were usually placed at the public schools near where you lived so that you wouldn’t have to make a special pilgrimage to vote. Then after that, we had the struggle to get blacks to work at the polls.*”¹²

The *World* worked closely with the local NAACP chapter and the Butler Street YMCA to help blacks become registered voters in the 1940s. The Butler Street YMCA was far more than a place for kids to play. It was the hub of the African American

community, serving as the police precinct for black police officers, as well as the spot for a myriad of functions and events that could not be held elsewhere in the city due to segregation laws. “*We could have meetings at the YMCA, and it was the only place where blacks and whites could meet together and eat*” without fear of violating Jim Crow segregation laws, Simmons said. “*And [the newspaper] participated in publicizing the meetings and the speakers, and all this was done in association with the Atlanta University Center and the professors at Clark, Morehouse, Atlanta University, Morris Brown College, and Spelman.*”¹³

Another of the *World's* goals was to ensure that African Americans in other cities received the “*real news*” similar to that Atlantans received. With its own printing press, the *World* began printing black-owned newspapers from other cities, like the *Chattanooga Observer*, for example. While the Scott family owned three newspapers (in Atlanta, Birmingham and Memphis), it printed other newspapers as follows:

*Once a week, they would send us their copy and we would print their paper. And I think what made Atlanta so well-known among blacks all over the country is that these individual papers would have predominantly Atlanta news and news of general interest to blacks everywhere. We would only give them so many pages within that paper of their local news. The front page would be mostly theirs and maybe the second or third, but for the biggest part of it, it would be the same news that was in the Atlanta Daily World. And by printing our paper everyday at the time, we had a lot of news.*¹⁴

Ruth Scott Simmons is the only living sibling of the nine Scott brothers and sisters who co-owned the *Atlanta Daily World* after the founder’s death. Numerous Scott family members have worked at the *World* throughout its seventy-seven-year history. A few of the more longtime family members who worked there in addition to Ruth Scott Simmons were her brother, the late C. A. Scott, the publisher for roughly sixty years; the late Lucille Scott, ex-wife of the founder and former columnist and circulation manager;

the late William A. Scott, III, son of the founder and former public relations/advertising manager (who was one of the liberators of the concentration camp at Buchenwald during the Holocaust); William A. Scott, IV, the current controller; the late William A. (Alex) Scott, V, former web and production design manager; Ruth Perry Scott, wife of C. A. and former bookkeeper; Wendell S. Scott, current vice president of operations and longtime photographer; Portia Scott, daughter of C. A. and former assistant to the editor and acting managing editor; and M. Alexis Scott, the current publisher and granddaughter of the founder. More than forty members of the Scott family have worked at the *Atlanta Daily World* throughout the newspaper's history. (See chart on next page.)

Scott Family Members Who Worked at the *Atlanta Daily World*

The founder of the *Atlanta Daily World*, William A. Scott, II, had five brothers and three sisters: Cornelius Adolphus "C. A.," Aurelius, Lewis Augustus "Gus," Daniel, Emel, Vashti, Esther, and Ruth. The chart below tells how each family member -- listed in alphabetical order -- is related to either of the nine Scott siblings. Family members who made a career working at the *World* are indicated with an asterisk (*).

Name	Relationship	Position(s)	Approx. Years Employed
Yvonne Southall Bankston	first cousin of founder	Receptionist	1950-1951, 1954-1955
Esther Scott Carter	sister of founder	Typist	late 1930s- early 1940s
Deborah Davis	granddaughter of Vashti	Receptionist	1985-1990
Charlotte Ellis	daughter of Vashti	Proofreader	1955-1957
Ruth Ellis	daughter of Vashti	Layout	1960-1967
Vashti Scott Ellis	sister of founder	columnist, head of proofreading department	1940-1965
Anna Laura Scott Harris	granddaughter of Emel	advertising account executive	1964-1967
Maryam Jordan	granddaughter of C.A.	assistant bookkeeper	summers late 1980s-1994
Mary Ellis Odum	daughter of Vashti	receptionist, proofreader	1953-1963
William H. Odum, III	grandson of Vashti	layout, page makeup	1989-1991
Maria Odum-Hinmon	granddaughter of Vashti	typesetter, proofreader	summer 1984
Anna Laura Scott*	wife of Emel	typist, front desk clerk, bookkeeper	1937-1985
Aurelius Scott*	brother of founder	circulation manager	1928-1978
Cornelius A. Scott*	brother of founder	editor and publisher	1928-1997
Daniel Scott, Jr.	son of Daniel	linotype operator	early 1950s, mid-1960s
Daniel Scott, Sr.*	brother of founder	pressman, repairman	1928-1969
Emel Scott, Jr.*	son of Emel	newspaper distributor, catching and wrapping papers off press	1952-1957
Emel Scott, Sr.*	brother of founder	head foreman - mechanical dept.	1937-1980
Haile Scott	son of Daniel	assistant pressman, newspaper distributor	1955-1969
Kai Scott	great-grandson of founder	web and production design	2005-present
Lewis Augustus Scott*	brother of founder	circulation mngr., <i>Memphis World</i> and <i>Birmingham World</i>	1930-1960
Lucille Scott*	1st wife of founder	clerk - <i>Birmingham World</i> columnist, bookkeeper - <i>ADW</i>	1932 1934-late 1980s

Scott Family Chart Continued

Name	Relationship	Position(s)	Approx. Years Employed
M. Alexis Scott	granddaughter of founder	Publisher	1997-present
Marian Scott	daughter in-law of founder, W.A. III's wife	front desk clerk, switchboard operator	1944-1952
Nancy Emmeline Southall Scott ("Mama Scott")*	mother of founder	Cashier	1928- early-1970s
Portia Scott*	daughter of C. A.	proofreader, reporter, columnist, assistant to the editor, managing editor, senior editor	1965-1998
Robert Scott	son of founder	circulation, insert papers	1950s
Ruth Perry Scott*	wife of C. A.	bookkeeper, personnel clerk	1948-1996
Stanley Scott, Sr.	son of Lewis "Gus"	reporter, <i>Atlanta Daily World</i> ; reporter, editor, general manager, <i>Memphis World</i>	1950-1960
Wendell S. Scott*	son of Emel	vice president of operations, photographer	1975-present
William A. Scott, II*	founder	Founder	1928-1934
William A. Scott, III*	son of founder	public relations, circulation manager, advertising manager	1944-1994
William A. Scott, IV "Rip"	grandson of founder	Controller	1996-present
William A. Scott, V	great-grandson of founder	web and production design manager	2000-2005
James Russell Simmons, Jr.	son of Ruth	circulation, mechanical dept., advertising account executive	early 1960s 2000-present
James Russell Simmons, Sr.*	husband of Ruth	advertising department manager	1934-1998
Ruth Scott Simmons*	sister of founder	secretary, treasurer, cashier	1930-1998
Deborah Strayhorn	granddaughter of Lewis "Gus"	Typesetter	1986 -1995
Jocelyn Scott Walker	daughter of C. A.	asst. bookkeeper, billing clerk, receptionist	summers late 1980s
Scott Walker	grandson of C. A.	newspaper carrier, circulation	1978-1981
Stacy Walker	granddaughter of C.A.	front desk, freelance journalist	summers late 1980s, early 2000s

Scott Family Chart Continued

Steven Walker	grandson of C. A.	newspaper carrier, asst. bookkeeper, taxes	1978-1995
Patricia Scott Ward	daughter of Daniel	Proofreader	1960-1965

Notes for Chapter Four

¹ Ruth Scott Simmons was interviewed by the author on November 2, 1999 at her home in Atlanta. At the time of her interview, she was 82 years of age.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

Chapter Five: Providing a Voice -- Coverage of African American Rights from 1945 to 1959

Introduction

In 1945, seventeen years after the *Atlanta Daily World* was founded, the newspaper had been publishing daily except Mondays since 1932 and had a circulation of 23,000, according to the 1945 *Editor and Publisher International Yearbook*. The advertising rate was nine cents per line that year. The *World Syndicate* was listed in the 1945 *Yearbook* as having a circulation of 79,950 with an advertising rate of thirty cents per line. C. A. Scott served as the editor, business manager and national advertising manager; Cliff Mackay was the managing editor; William A. Fowlkes was the city editor, and George Andrews was the circulation manager, according to the 1945 *Yearbook*. There were roughly ten reporters at the time. Soon thereafter, William Fowlkes had become managing editor, William Gordon was the city editor, Marion Jackson, a former college football player (and brother of *Birmingham World* editor Emory O. Jackson) was the sports editor, and Ozeil Fryer Woolcock, a very fashionably-dressed schoolteacher, was the society editor.

When this era began, the *World* was housed in a building at 210 Auburn Avenue, along with a bank, a real estate company and an insurance agency. The *World's* office was in a long, narrow open space, which had on one side, the front desk, the secretary/treasurer's desk, and the editor's area, and on the other side a roughly thirty-foot corridor. Up three steps there was an area for reporters, and further back was a larger space about forty feet by fifty feet, where there was a large flatbed press, hand presses,

the proofreader's booth, six Linotype machines, and paper, ink and lead. Behind this area was a back door that opened into an ally. The floor was filled with black ink and employees often had smudged faces. In the early 1950s, the *World* bought a larger two-story building at 145 Auburn Avenue, where initially the editor, the secretary/treasurer, and advertising staff moved. Both offices were used until after a printing department strike in the late 1960s, after which the entire operation moved to 145 Auburn Avenue in downtown northeast Atlanta.

The *World* used several news services, including the International News Service (INS), the news service of the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association (later the National Newspaper Publishers Association), United Press (which later merged with the INS, becoming United Press International in the late 1950s), the Associated Negro Press, and its own Scott Newspaper Syndicate. The newspaper did not use the Associated Press in part because UPI had approached the *World* about using its wire service, and it seemed to cover more news of interest to African Americans at the time, according to Scott family members.

While the newspaper's front page told the top general and political news of the day, the society page with Woolcock's "Social Swirl" column told of goings on socially among Atlanta's black elite, the sports pages with Jackson's "Sports of the World" column told of black athletes at the high school, college, and professional levels, the editorial page spoke the opinions of the newspaper's management and also featured columns or regular features like Fowlkes' "Seeing and Saying," and Gordon's "Reviewing the News," as well as "Church News," and the "Sunday School Lesson." "Capitol Spotlight" by Washington correspondent Louis Lautier, also the NNPA

Washington Bureau chief, offered Congressional news as well as tidbits about goings on in Washington, D. C. that might be of interest to blacks. In addition, “School News” ran on an inside page, along with advice columns such as “Eleanor” and “Majoring With Minors” about handling children written by Vashti Scott Ellis, the founder’s eldest sister.

The newspaper cost five cents per issue and consisted of about eight pages, with advertisements that ranged from those of small black-owned businesses to large white-owned grocery stores in the 1940s and 1950s. For example, on Wednesday, July 21, 1946, on page two, the Wall Street Finance Company in southwest Atlanta advertised that it made loans on automobiles, furniture and jewelry, and Sergeant’s Sarcoptic Mange Medicine advertised that it could improve dull, dry, unattractive hair. Peters Street Records advertised that it had all the latest recordings on Sunday, August 3, 1946. Frazier’s Cafe Society, a black-owned tea room on Hunter Street, which became a popular place for black ministers and privileged blacks, advertised its formal opening on Tuesday, August 6, 1946, on page three in a large advertisement. Charles N. Walker Roofing Company advertised its forty-five years of business on Thursday, May 20, 1954, in a small ad on page two. The Ashby Theatre, Ritz Theatre and the 81 Theatre all ran small advertisements on page four on Tuesday, September 27, 1955. The movie theaters were white owned but had all-black patrons.

The *World* worked hard during this era to get African Americans to take part in voting. It also campaigned for anti-lynching legislation, black police officers, fair trials, and the desegregation of schools and other public accommodations. While covering these topics, the *World* continued to include other subjects as well, such as the speakers appearing at black colleges and churches, the functions held by black fraternities and

sororities, some of the crimes that took place in black neighborhoods, and visits to the United States by Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie.

By the end of this era in 1959, the advertising rate was a maximum of eighteen cents and a minimum of fifteen cents per line, and the circulation had dropped to 19,000, according to the *Editor and Publisher International Yearbook*. This decline could be attributed in part to cutbacks in the train service that carried the *World* to other parts of Georgia, although circulation picked up in the years that followed.

Focus of Chapter

As it had since its inception in 1928, the *Atlanta Daily World* fought for African American rights between 1945 and 1959, during this crucial time period leading up to the Civil Rights Movement. This chapter includes a thematic analysis of coverage from 1945 to 1959 on the following issues: voting rights, the Monroe Massacre and anti-lynching measures, Atlanta's first black police officers, the Rosa Lee Ingram case, *Brown v. Board of Education*, the murder of Emmett Till, the Montgomery Bus Boycott, desegregation of Atlanta's municipal golf courses, and African American housing. In addition, information from in-depth interviews with C. A. Scott, William A. Fowlkes, and Ernest H. Lyons, Sr., is provided.

Voting Rights

Voting rights became a very important issue after World War II when African Americans no longer were willing to put up with horrendous discrimination. On the *World's* editorial page in 1945, a statement always ran in the top left corner in the masthead section quoting Franklin D. Roosevelt: "The right to vote must be open to all

our citizens irrespective of race, color, or creed -- without tax or artificial restrictions of any kind. The sooner we get to that basis of political equality, the better it will be for the country as a whole.”¹ This section also ran a statement that “THE *ATLANTA DAILY WORLD* is an independent newspaper nonsectarian and non-partisan, printing news absolutely unbiasedly and supporting those things it believes to be to the interest of its readers and opposing those things against the interest of its readers.”²

The *World* took a leading role in voting registration campaigns. Being allowed to vote in Georgia in the 1940s was not always easy for African Americans. Front-page photographs of African Americans standing in long lines to register or to vote were common sights in the *World* in the 1940s, but so were stories centering on voting rights cases in court. One way in which blacks were robbed of their right to vote was by purging blacks from the list of registered voters. A banner above the *World*'s nameplate on Friday, July 12, 1946, blared, “U.S. OFFICIALS ASKED TO STEM VOTE PURGE TIDE.” “The Fulton County purge of registrants moved into its third day Thursday when 14 Negroes presented themselves to answer the challenges before Deputy Registrar Ellis McClelland,” the accompanying news article stated. “When court adjourned 14 cases had been heard and four registrants had been disqualified.”³

The article gave facts about efforts to keep African Americans off the voting rolls. In this case the prosecuting attorney, Charles G. Bruce, had criminal records that he claimed belonged to certain registrants that would disqualify them from being eligible to vote; however, the records often were not those of the person being questioned. When this was proved, Bruce would simply move on to quizzing the registrant on the form of government and the duties and obligations of citizenship under the republican form of

government, according to the article.⁴ White registrants did not undergo this same scrutiny.

According to the article, one man's ordeal went like this: The man was asked to uncover part of his body to prove that he had no scar, as did the person whose criminal record was in question. Then he was told to leave the stand and wait outside until the prosecution could produce a photograph of the man identified in the records. When the photograph was received, the registrant "had to sit posed" so that court officials could examine his features and those of the picture closely, in an effort to determine if they were one in the same. It was decided that he was not the subject of the photograph. Then the court asked what other means he could use to identify himself, and the man suggested fingerprints. The registrant produced his fingerprint as it appeared on his honorable discharge from the United States Army. This print was not accepted. Therefore, his fingerprint was taken anew in the court room, and the new print was accepted as conclusive evidence that the registrant was not the man described. However, the man then had to take an examination on the form of government and the duties and obligations of citizenship. He was finally qualified.⁵

Another front-page article on Friday, July 12, 1946, stated that, "In an effort to halt the discriminatory practice of purging Negroes from the voter's list in Coffee, Pierce and Atkinson counties, a petition was filed in the Federal Court at Brunswick the day prior by Attorney Rufus Moore."⁶ This petition was filed to prevent these Georgia counties from further disqualifying blacks, pending a permanent hearing the following day, when Judge Hoyt Davis was to hear the Ben Hill County case. This was the second move on the part of blacks seeking federal intervention. Blacks in Atlanta two days

before the article ran had filed a petition asking U.S. Attorney General Tom Clark to investigate “disgraceful purges of Negro voters” in the state.⁷ The petition filed in Brunswick characterized the challenges as a part of a “statewide conspiracy to deprive Negroes generally and particularly in these counties of their right of franchise as guaranteed them under the constitutional provision pointed out.”⁸

By comparison, on this same date in the *Atlanta Constitution*, one of the city’s white-owned dailies (usually considered the more liberal one), three articles about the purge of African American voters appeared on page fourteen, embedded between advertisements and a radio program schedule.⁹ None of the details that appeared in the *World* describing the humiliating process of disqualifying black voters appeared in the three articles. What one of the *Constitution*’s articles had that was not present in the *World* was a warning from former Governor Eugene Talmadge, who was quoted as saying that “Wise Negroes will stay away from the white folks’ ballot boxes July 17.”¹⁰ Talmadge also was quoted as saying that his supporters were “friends of the Negro” as long as they “stay in the definite place we have provided for them.”¹¹

The *Atlanta Daily World* summed up its description of the Fulton County purge hearings in an article by Joel W. Smith which stated that the hearings “followed the same pattern that characterized hearings Monday, Tuesday and Thursday, with Attorney Charles G. Bruce representing the challenger asking a long list of irrelevant questions in an effort to trap the Negro registrants and deprive them of the rights guaranteed American citizens by the United States Constitution.”¹² Calling the hearings “disgraceful,” the reporter stated that over the past week, out of seventy-five blacks whose Fulton County voter registration was challenged, twenty-one registrants had been disqualified and fifty-

four were qualified to vote in the upcoming primary. African American attorney A. T. Walden, a popular civil rights activist at the time, represented the blacks whose voter registration was in question. Walden was overruled twice when he tried to question whether the challenges were part of a scheme to keep African Americans from voting.¹³

The Department of Justice acknowledged receiving a complaint from Atlantans charging a statewide conspiracy to bar blacks from voting in the July 17, 1946, primary and requesting Attorney General Clark to order an investigation of the purges, according to a telegram received by *World* editor C. A. Scott. Along with Charles L. Harper, president of the Atlanta branch of the NAACP, Scott telegraphed Washington for immediate action on the voter purge.¹⁴ The telegram was published in the newspaper.

The Board of Registrars of Atkinson County was ordered by a federal judge to stop its “wholesale purge” of blacks from the voter’s list on Saturday, July 13, 1946, according to the Sunday newspaper the following day.¹⁵ Registrars in Appling County, where 600 blacks were stricken from the voter’s list that previous Friday, were ordered to appear in court Monday after a Savannah attorney appealed to the court for an order to show the blacks were qualified, according to the article. In Coffee County, the challenger was ordered to appear in court that upcoming Monday when the hearings were to be continued. Hearings in the state-wide purge of black registrants were scheduled to continue that Monday in twenty-eight counties. Mass challenges had been dismissed by the Board of Registrars in Griffin (Spalding County) and at Cartersville (Polk County). In dismissing the challenges against 200 blacks, the Spalding County Board took the position that the challenger admitted that he did not know the individuals whose right to vote he was contesting, the article stated. Challenges were also dismissed against 499

blacks in Polk County, where the Board of Registrars ruled that the Tax Collector had carried out his duties when he qualified the voters; it was also stated that it would be impossible to serve the subpoenas and conduct the hearings in the limited amount of time before the election. In Lamar County, challenged blacks were informed by the Board of Registrars that attendance at the hearings was not mandatory, that they did not have to answer the questions unless they so desired, and that it was assumed they already had been registered legally from the start, according to the article.¹⁶

In Atlanta, leaders of the African American community worked hard to ensure that blacks could exercise their right to vote. *World* publisher C. A. Scott, who was also president of the Citizens Democratic Club of Fulton County (before he later became a devout Republican in 1952) presided over a mass meeting at West Hunter Street Baptist Church in which African American citizens were apprised of the candidates seeking election in the July 17, 1946, primary, shown how to work actual voting machines, and taught how to cast a ballot.¹⁷ According to the article, which ran on the front page on Sunday, July 14, 1946, nearly 9,000 blacks had taken part in a series of mass meetings held in the Atlanta area over the past week.¹⁸

While the newspaper's management wanted African Americans to vote, it did not hide the fact that this could be a daunting task. Before the Georgia primary in 1946, one complaint charged that masked white people shot into several houses where blacks lived and warned them against voting, according to an article that ran below the banner headline, "U.S. OFFICIALS PROBING KLAN ACTIVITIES" on Thursday, August 1, 1946.¹⁹ The article stated that the Department of Justice announced on Wednesday, July 31, 1946, that it was investigating Ku Klux Klan activities in seven states, including

Georgia, to ascertain if federal laws were being violated. The other states included California, New York, Michigan, Florida, Mississippi, and Tennessee.

According to an article in the top left corner of the front page on Friday, August 2, 1946, the Department of Justice was preparing a thorough investigation into charges of violence and intimidation of voters in the July 17 Georgia Democratic Primary.²⁰

“Protests against the beating and removing by force of Negroes from voting lines in Chatham County have been sent to the Attorney General Tom Clark,” the article stated.²¹

Despite the conflict, in Georgia, more than 100,000 African Americans participated in the Democratic Primary, which was the largest number of blacks ever to vote in a primary in any southern state, according to an editorial published Saturday, August 3, 1946.²² This was all the more remarkable because just six months prior to the Georgia election, fewer than 50,000 blacks had been registered. “Within that span, the registration of Negroes took a sharp upward turn with over 150,000 being on the books, including the purges, by the July 5 deadline,” the editorial stated.²³

While the story was not a long one -- only roughly 190 words -- the topic of voter registration was deemed important enough to the *World* to be placed near the top right of the Saturday, April 3, 1948, newspaper. The story was about nearly 500 students from Booker T. Washington High School registering to vote the previous day. The students at this all-black high school waited in long lines for their turn to give information to registrars from Fulton County, according to the article.²⁴ Students had to be eighteen years old to vote, so most twelfth-graders with early birthdays qualified. The *World* often portrayed blacks as orderly, well-behaved people, and it used this opportunity to point out that “Good discipline was maintained throughout the occasion.”²⁵

On Thursday, April 8, 1948, the *World* carried on its front page near the bottom on the left side an article about 300 students of the all-black David T. Howard High School registering to vote. Making clear the newspaper's views about the importance of blacks being registered to vote, the newspaper wrote that the students were "moving in orderly fashion" when they "filed into the school's library Wednesday to register for that priceless democratic privilege -- the right to vote."²⁶ The students were described as "excited" and "eager" and their efforts as procuring "the right of expression toward political figures and issues."²⁷ One twelfth-grade student stated that, "Through the vote, the Negro will be established on a high plane," while another said, "This gives me a voice in the government."²⁸ The article paraphrased the principal and instructors as saying that "instruction in political science will no longer be seeds thrown on barren ground, for the right to vote gives the youngsters a voice in their local state and national governments."²⁹

On Tuesday, April 13, 1948, a banner headline across the top of the front page in the *World* stated "Registration Campaign Opens Full Blast Here." The *World* reserved its most prominent spot of the newspaper to run a story about African Americans at local high schools, colleges and churches putting forth efforts to have more blacks become registered voters.

The *World* sometimes took a creative approach in its voter registration articles. In one article, the *World* painted a picture of registering to vote as not just the right thing to do but also the stylish thing to do. "The Negroes in Atlanta are taking on the 'new look' in civic affairs," the article on Tuesday, April 13, 1948, began. "They are beginning to feel they have a civic duty to participate in the civic matters. They are registering in large numbers daily in order that they may become qualified, voting citizens in Fulton and

DeKalb Counties.”³⁰ The article then went on to say that there was going to be a voter registration drive that day at a local church. This was most likely an effort by the newspaper to take some of the fear out of registering to vote.

The article spoke of two all-black high schools -- Booker T. Washington High and David T. Howard High -- which had registered 500 and 300 students and others living in the vicinity of the schools respectively during the previous week.³¹ School officials, along with the All-Citizens Registration Committee, organized the registration efforts, which brought registrars from both Fulton and DeKalb counties to the schools. The Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, along with the All-Citizens Registration Committee, co-sponsored the first effort with a series of registration booths at the Booker T. Washington Evening School, which drew another 500 registrants.

Students from nearby Clark and Morehouse colleges also were brought to the registration booth, where a “large number” of students registered, some of whom helped others register as well, the article continued.³² The student chapter of the NAACP College and the local chapter of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, both at Morehouse College, “canvassed from door to door in the third ward to help stimulate interest in this campaign.”³³

The next registration effort was to be held at Big Bethel AME Church on the day the article ran. This drive, however, was not to be quiet and solemn. It was to be more like an extravaganza. The David T. Howard High School band was to play a concert in front of Big Bethel for an hour during the six-and-a-half-hour registration period. Photographs were to be taken of all ministers who led their congregations to the booth, and a loud speaker was to be on hand to give passers-by information concerning the

registration campaign, according to the article.³⁴

The *World* on Sunday, April 18, 1948, carried a large banner across the very top of the newspaper above the nameplate stating in all capital letters, “FULTON VOTER CAMPAIGN IN FINAL STRETCH.” An article in the top right corner stated that the registration campaign to add 15,000 new voters to the Fulton County lists by a May 1 deadline was to enter its “final stretch” when Fulton County registrars would be stationed at a funeral home in Atlanta’s Summerhill area that Thursday evening.³⁵ A photograph ran that same day that showed nicely-dressed African Americans lining the stairs outside of Antioch Baptist Church near a large sign that read “DO YOU WANT TO VOTE? REGISTER HERE.” The co-sponsors of this particular registration drive were Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity and the NAACP’s All-Citizens Registration Committee. The two groups had been trying unsuccessfully to have the registration deadline extended, and the Summerhill visit was to be the last in the African American community, according to the article.³⁶ Because of this situation, several thousand people were expected to show up at the Pollard Funeral Home; therefore, to ease the crowd and prevent prolonged standing, the pastor of Bethlehem Baptist Church, located across the street, was going to allow people to sit in the church’s auditorium while waiting to register.³⁷

Attempts to thwart African Americans from voting continued during the 1940s and 1950s. Randolph County, Georgia, officials were charged Wednesday, September 14, 1955, with conspiring to arbitrarily cut 300 black voters from the qualification lists “to maintain white supremacy at the voting booth,” according to a front page article in the *World*.³⁸ In an editorial dated September 19, 1955, the *World* wrote of how the unwarranted or illegal attempts to remove African Americans from the voter registration

books were practices that had taken place for years, marking elections in 1948, 1950 and 1954.³⁹

The *World* reported developments throughout the South that related to voting. When the NAACP asked President Eisenhower to “use the immense powers of his great office” to curb the so-called reign of terror in Mississippi, where there had been three recent lynchings, the *World* took note of the fact.⁴⁰ A small article near the middle bottom of the front page of the newspaper on September 20, 1955, quoted the NAACP’s resolution passed at its board of directors meeting in New York, saying, “We believe the government of the United States which has protested brutality and violence throughout the world should not stand mute and inactive when brutality and violence are used against United States citizens within the border of our country merely because they seek to exercise their rights to vote and to enjoy other civil rights as citizens under the constitution.”⁴¹

Federal Judge W. A. Bootle stated that Atlanta attorney Dan Duke had conclusively proven the illegality of the registration methods used by Randolph County registrars in the so-called “purge” against black voters.⁴² Two members of the Randolph County, Georgia, Board of Registrars were required to pay each of twenty-two plaintiffs in a civil rights suit \$40 damages plus all court costs for denying them their right to vote, according to an article on Wednesday, September 21, 1955.⁴³

On Tuesday, December 13, 1955, an editorial ran to commend the Westside Voters League, which was planning a meeting in a few days, for being among the first groups that “inaugurated plans and means for the registration of [people eligible to vote who were] long denied the ballot.”⁴⁴ In addition, the editorial wished to encourage more

African Americans to vote in local and state elections and not just national ones.

C. A. Scott spoke of his belief in the importance of exercising the right vote in an oral history interview in April of 1999.

C. A. Scott

The right to vote was a privilege and a duty that was held very dear to the newspaper's publisher, C. A. Scott. At 91 years of age, Cornelius Adolphus ("C. A.") Scott, who had been publisher of the *Atlanta Daily World* for more than 60 years, sat in a wheelchair at his home in the Hunter Hills section of Atlanta on April 30, 1999, just one year prior to his death on May 7, 2000.

As a child, Scott never knew he would become a long-time newspaper publisher until his older brother W. A. Scott was shot and killed in a still unsolved murder in 1934. *"I didn't think about becoming a newspaper publisher for real until after W. A. died, you know,"* Scott said. *"But I did what he said do,"* he added, referring to W. A.'s request on his death bed that his brother take charge of the newspaper and not let anyone run over him.⁴⁵

One of the nine Scott children, C. A. Scott was selected for the editorship over the seven other siblings due in part to his mother's feelings toward him, according to Scott. *"Mama, billed me her 'little man,' and I worked hard to be her successful little man,"* Scott said. *"I was dutiful at helping her. I was loyal, trustworthy. That's why she [supported my running the newspaper]."*⁴⁶ Never short on modesty about the newspaper, Scott believed the *World's* impact on the city of Atlanta was a mammoth one. *"We helped build this city!"* he said with verve.⁴⁷

How a black-owned daily newspaper survived during the Depression onward may be baffling to some; however, Scott simply stated and then spelled one word to sum up his theory. “*Need. N-E-E-D,*” Scott said. “*I knew it would work because it was needed. . . . Don’t give a man something he doesn’t need. That’s worse than wasting their time.*”⁴⁸

Having a cadre of brothers, sisters and other family members to assist with the newspaper also helped. “*We had the education, the inspiration and knowledge to do it,*” Scott said. “*We could all work for the paper. There were only a few jobs*” for blacks at the time the newspaper began.⁴⁹

When news about Atlanta’s bustling black community was scarce in white-owned dailies, blacks would purchase the *World*. “*We were getting all the Negroes’ business,*” Scott said, most likely recalling the period from the 1930s through the 1960s. “*Anyone with a nickel was buying the World. And they were proud to have their own paper. . . . People were buying more papers than we could come up with. And we were working three shifts. I had 200 people working in that building. . . . Desks were all everywhere.*”⁵⁰

The Scott Newspaper Syndicate also made the *World* an important part of getting messages out to black communities nationwide. “*At one time, we were printing 50 papers a week -- New York, Chattanooga, Birmingham, Fort Valley [Georgia] . . .*” Scott said.⁵¹

The newspaper’s mission was a simple but challenging one -- “*To print the truth,*” Scott said. “*As a Bible. Don’t tell a lie. Papa said, ‘Don’t tell a lie.’ Print the truth. The facts. That’s a mission for everybody. But we had that mission.*”⁵²

Scott made no bones about his editorial leanings, “*I’m a conservative man -- a conservative Republican.*”⁵³ Explaining why he became a Republican after the New Deal era, Scott harkened back to a Republican icon. “*Well, I was truthful, and I liked Abraham*

Lincoln. Abraham Lincoln was like a god to me."⁵⁴ His later favorites were Eisenhower and Nixon, he said.

Scott was emphatic about why he remained loyal to the Republican Party. "*Because they had principle,*" Scott said. "*They wanted freedom. . . . There wasn't any other party to help. Freedom or not freedom. And I wouldn't go with 'not freedom.'* . . . *The opportunity was there, and I grasped it. I could see it.*"⁵⁵

Scott said people mischaracterized his stance on the Civil Rights Movement. What may have appeared to be a lack of enthusiasm, Scott said, was in part a symptom of his being a tireless business owner, safety concerns for demonstrators, and foresight on how integration could ravage the black business community. Scott answered accusations of being against the civil rights campaigns of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

"On the demonstrations, most people said I was anti-King, but I wasn't anti-King," Scott insisted. "*I wasn't going to the mass demonstrations. I was here running this paper. That's why I'm here in this [wheel]chair.*"⁵⁶

Scott, however, admitted to a cautious stance that dealt with a sense of survival. "*We knew what to print and not to print,*" Scott said. "*If we had printed everything, I wouldn't be [alive to tell] this tale. I would have been buried down there. But we had to be careful, because they were killing Negroes. They burned their houses. They burned that church, see. This war ain't over with us. We've got to build more businesses, and build less expensively and save.*"⁵⁷

What the newspaper was not afraid to print, indeed, was the kind of news that was largely missing from the white-owned *Atlanta Journal* and *Atlanta Constitution*. "*Oh, there's no comparison,*" Scott said. "*We would get letters from everywhere. We would*

get a whole lot more news they didn't have, because we would get it and print it." ⁵⁸

Securing advertising was not as much of a struggle during the newspaper's heyday as later. "*Oh, God. They [businesses] would come to us,*" seeking to advertise, Scott said. "*And we had a big market, and that's how we got it,*" Scott said.⁵⁹

The Monroe Massacre and Proposed Anti-Lynching Legislation

One of Scott's proudest moments was the paper's coverage of and involvement with the Monroe Massacre, a lynching that attracted wide-spread attention in 1946. "*That case was a travesty [on justice],*" Scott said, adding that the Rev. William Borders of the popular Wheat Street Baptist Church raised thousands to help with the case and the families involved.⁶⁰

On July 25, 1946, a multiple killing took place in Monroe, Georgia, a small town nearly fifty miles east of Atlanta. The incident, known as the "Monroe Massacre," spawned protests all over the United States and was cited as evidence for both the need for anti-lynching legislation, as well as the need to quell racist speeches by political candidates.

The *World*, which had a history of crusading against lynching, came out in full force to air the mercilessness of this crime. Stretched across the top of the *World's* front page on Saturday, July 27, 1946, above the newspaper's nameplate was a banner that alerted readers to a lynching that had been staged in Monroe, along with the headline, "History's Worst Lynching Takes 2 Women, 2 Men." The accompanying story ran in the top right corner -- the most prominent spot for news, the place where the reader's eye is drawn first. The story did not mince words: "Mob violence broke out in Georgia late

Thursday afternoon, when a group of white men armed with pistols, shotguns and rifles lynched two Negro couples on a side-road 10 miles from here [Monroe], Sheriff E. S. Gordon reported Friday.”⁶¹

The victims were Roger Malcolm, his wife Dorothy Malcolm, her brother George Dorsey, and his wife Mae Dorsey. Readers would later learn that the lynching took place to retaliate against Roger Malcolm for getting into a scuffle with and allegedly stabbing B. H. Hester, Jr., a white man, who had allegedly flirted with Malcolm’s wife.⁶²

The circumstances surrounding the case were perplexing. J. Loy Harrison, a white farmer, bailed Malcolm out of jail, where he was being held for the alleged stabbing. Instead of taking the highway -- the quickest route -- Harrison traveled with the two couples down a side road that he claimed was a short cut.⁶³ There, they were met with a mob of a least twenty men, who ordered the two black men from the car. Harrison stated that the mob forced him to move away from the car, and after tying the men with ropes, marched them away a short distance into the woods. During this time, Malcolm’s wife was said to have recognized one of the mob members and addressed him by name, pleading with him not to let the mob kill her husband. Then the leader of the mob was quoted by Harrison as saying, “I guess you better bring those damned women along, too.”⁶⁴

Members of the mob, holding pistols, shotguns, rifles, and possibly machine guns, then began shooting their weapons into the bodies (mostly in the chest and head areas) of the four blacks. Although the incident happened in broad daylight, Harrison claimed that he did not see the actual killings, that he could not identify any of the attackers, and that he notified the sheriff as soon as he was allowed to go free.⁶⁵

While the Walton County authorities indicated that the bullet wounds were too numerous to count, a Scott Newspaper Syndicate reporter gave it a try as one of the bodies lay in a funeral home. A reporter with the byline Geo. H. Andrews wrote in a sidebar article that ran Saturday, July 27, 1946, that he counted 180 holes in one victim's body, plus additional holes where the flesh was torn away.⁶⁶ While the *World* sometimes spared its readers a lot of gore, it did not in this case. Andrews made it clear what he witnessed in the funeral home. "Their eyes were shot out, parts of their ears were shot away and one victim's head was almost severed with slugs," Andrews wrote. "The women received slugs in their breasts and abdomen."⁶⁷

During coverage of this case, the newspaper often evoked the notion of Hitler, as the crime came on the heels of World War II. Viewing the bodies, "one could not help but recall similar incidents in Europe under Hitler. When men and women alike were tied together and mass murder [was] committed. Hitler at his worst could not have done a more mutilating job than was done here in Walton County, Georgia, USA," the article stated.⁶⁸ Andrews mentioned the fact that George Dorsey, one of the victims, was a five-year veteran of the armed forces "and he most likely had seen some of Hitler's victims and probably thought about this before he died."⁶⁹

This article spoke of how the lynching of a few blacks affected the lives of many. According to Andrews, there was a discernable "tenseness, a helplessness, a hopelessness and a feeling of insecurity among the people as they go quietly about their jobs wondering who will be the next victims of this mob of murderers."⁷⁰ Sometimes the *World* took for granted that its readers knew of certain happenings without spelling them out. Without naming the candidate about whom it was referring, the article stated that

“Monroe is soberly realizing what a political campaign and a few hate speeches can do [to] the minds of otherwise friendly white people. Monroe is realizing the fruits of this campaign and saying behind closed doors what it thinks, and wondering what the next four years will be like.”⁷¹ The campaign to which the article referred was that of successful gubernatorial candidate Herman Talmadge, who used highly inflammatory racist rhetoric during his campaign.

This lynching was considered the first in the nation in 1946 and the first in Georgia since 1941, according to the Department of Research Records at Tuskegee Institute, as cited in a third front-page story on Saturday, July 27, 1946.⁷² This article went on to describe several other lynchings that had taken place in Georgia since 1940.

The bloodbath in Monroe was enough to disgust the white-owned *Atlanta Constitution* as well, but not quite enough for the story to get top billing and not enough to sway the newspaper’s stance against proposed federal anti-lynching legislation. On Saturday, July 27, 1946, the *Atlanta Constitution* -- whose editor Ralph McGill was a known opponent of lynching -- ran two news articles on the killings in the top left corner of the front page, a short page-two sidebar, as well as a lead editorial on the killings. The top article, was a lengthy 1,150 words, and stated in the lead paragraph that “The mob spirit has flared among a group of armed but unmasked white men here resulting in the bloody massacre of two Negro farm hands and their wives.”⁷³ The *Constitution* put a photograph of Harrison showing the sheriff and coroner where the killings took place on page two with the “jumps” (where the front-page articles continue inside). The *Atlanta Constitution* gave more prominent coverage with a banner headline that day to a downtown Atlanta hotel fire, and a feature article about a New York hermit who was

venturing out of his brownstone for the first time in sixteen years, and while the lead editorial condemned the killings, it reiterated the newspaper's position against federal anti-lynching legislation.

The lead editorial in the *Constitution* stated, "Mob law at any time is repugnant to the minds of civilized men living in a democratic community, where courts are functioning effectively to bring wrongdoers to justice." The editorial later stated that "The *Constitution* has consistently urged against congressional enactment of legislation which would make such instances of mob violence a matter for Federal authorities. We have contended, in so doing, that the Sheriff, Grand Jury and other local agencies are fully capable and willing to cope with such outbreaks."⁷⁴

The *Atlanta Daily World* looked unusual on July 28, 1946, and since it was a Sunday issue, more people read it than a weekday issue, because traditionally, more people purchase newspapers on Sundays. The nameplate of the newspaper was barely above the fold of the front page. What was deemed more important than the name of the newspaper were several hard-hitting photographs. Though not grisly or gruesome, the large photographs showed the sheet-covered bodies of the lynch victims in the funeral home, where they had not yet been readied for their caskets. Another photograph pictured Harrison showing Sheriff J. M. Bond of Oconee County and Coroner W. T. Brown of Walton County the scene where the crime took place. (Apparently the murders occurred near the Walton County and Oconee County line.) Another photograph was of Harrison showing Sheriff Bond how the mob bound the men's hands with rope before shooting them and their wives.

The banner above the photographs spoke of the \$10,000 reward being offered by

the state of Georgia for information leading to the apprehension and conviction of the murderers. Just below the photographs, an 820-word article on the right side of the front page explained that Georgia Governor Ellis Arnall was offering a \$500 reward per man -- the maximum limit under the law -- for information leading to the arrests of the estimated twenty armed men who killed the two couples.⁷⁵ “This mass murder is one of the worst incidents ever to take place in our state,” the Governor was quoted as saying in the article. “The killing of innocent people is disgraceful morally and legally.”⁷⁶ The governor went on to state that he was directing the Georgia Bureau of Investigation (GBI) to keep its investigators in Walton County until the guilty parties were identified and turned over to law enforcement officers, and that he was urging local law enforcement officials in Walton County and all state agents to “leave nothing undone in ferreting out the guilty parties. Civilized people everywhere will watch developments in connection with this heinous crime.”⁷⁷ Major William E. Spence, head of the GBI, was quoted as saying that he thought the lynching “looks like it was a rehearsed affair. It looks like it might have been planned since the Negro was first confined to jail.”⁷⁸

There also was a short story that stated that C. A. Scott of the *Atlanta Daily World* urged Governor Arnall, “in the name of law and order” to “act promptly to bring to justice the murderers of four Negroes near Monroe, Ga.”⁷⁹ Scott asked the Governor to remove from office Walton County Sheriff E. S. Gordon who reportedly said there was nothing he could do about the murders. As Scott often did when white leaders were helpful to African Americans, Scott commended the governor for offering the reward in the article.

Scores of people filed into Young’s Funeral Home in Monroe every hour on

Sunday, July 28, 1946, to pay respects to the victims, according to the newspaper. It was called “Black Sunday” in the coverage which ran on Tuesday, July 30 (since the newspaper did not come out on Mondays). A photograph of the lynch victims laid out in their caskets was in the top left corner of the newspaper. There were three separate funerals. There was a double funeral for Dorothy Malcolm and her brother, George Dorsey, at Mount Perry Baptist Church in Bishop, Georgia, which about 100 people attended, along with several news professionals from various parts of the United States, according to the article.⁸⁰ Funeral services for Mae Murray Dorsey were held at Tabernacle Baptist Church in Monroe, and final rites for Roger Malcolm were held the next day (Monday) at Chestnut Grove in Morgan County, according to the article.⁸¹ A Scott Newspaper Syndicate story stated that George Dorsey was a veteran of World War II and had what was described as a fine Army record as a private first class in the Army Air Corps and that he had been awarded the Good Conduct Medal, the Asia-Pacific Medal with a bronze star, an Army Defense Award, and several campaign stars.⁸² There were no details about the lives of the other victims in this article.

One curious detail in the article, which perhaps attested to the sheer fear surrounding the case, was that there were no immediate family members at the funeral for Dorothy Malcolm and George Dorsey; so services were delayed two hours while the pastor scoured the vicinity looking for relatives. He returned after locating an aged uncle. A photograph pictured a grandfather and two uncles of Mae Dorsey, who spoke lovingly of her and recalled details of her youth, but who were all clam-mouthed when questioned about the mass lynching, according to the photograph’s outline.

Next to the photographs of the somber funeral scene and accompanying story was

a longer article that spoke of how the rewards in the murder cases then totaled \$12,500. There were no new developments in the case, it said, which meant the United States Department of Justice was then free to conduct its own investigation. The FBI had stationed six men in Walton County the day before, headed by John Trost, a special agent who headed the Atlanta office. Major Spence and members of his staff were also working in close cooperation with the FBI, according to the article.⁸³ Major Spence was quoted as saying he thought the case would take long and careful police work, but that, “The mystery is being unraveled, and we intend to see this investigation through until the guilty persons are brought to justice.”⁸⁴ Spence also stated that while he believed he knew who some of the mob members were, he lacked sufficient proof to make an arrest, according to the article.

The investigators continued questioning J. Loy Harrison, the Oconee County farmer who drove the car carrying the two couples and who was the only eye-witness to the murders. A guard was stationed at Harrison’s farm to protect him and his family. The Southern Negro Youth Congress in Birmingham, Ala., wrote United States Attorney General Tom Clark, suggesting that Harrison be arrested as an accomplice of the assassins, and the organization requested that martial law be declared in Walton County and that a house-to-house search be conducted for the slayers.⁸⁵ The Maryland conference of the NAACP asked President Harry S. Truman to intervene, and the national office in New York sent telegrams to President Truman and Attorney General Clark requesting that the President “go on the radio and to authorize an immediate investigation into the lynching of these four citizens.”⁸⁶

The reward money had grown, the article continued. Not only was the state

offering \$10,000, but the Civil Rights Congress (CRC) in New York was offering \$1,000, the Southern Regional Council, a bi-racial organization, was offering \$500, and the American Civil Liberties Union was offering \$1,000.⁸⁷ An arrest had been made the previous Saturday when Spence brought into custody a beer hall employee who was thought to fit the description given by Harrison of the mob leader. Later, however, the man was freed after Harrison said the mob leader was twenty pounds heavier.⁸⁸

On Monday, July 29, 1946, a delegation of approximately 1,000 people paraded down Constitution Avenue in Washington, D.C. to the White House and sent groups to confer with David Niles, a presidential administrative assistant, and John Sonnett, acting Attorney General, according to an article written by the Negro (later National) Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA) and published in the *World* on Tuesday, July 30, 1946.⁸⁹ Max Yergan, President of the National Negro Congress, led the group, which asked that the president employ every resource of the federal government to apprehend the murderers. The groups also asked that “incitement to murder” charges be brought against Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, of Mississippi, known as a vicious racist speaker, and Talmadge.⁹⁰ There were still no details about what these candidates had said, as if readers already knew and the words needed no more “legs.”

The *Atlanta Daily World* posed its own questions about the investigation and raised the issue once again of racial hatred being bantered about during political campaigns. On Tuesday, July 30, 1946, the headline of the lead editorial stated that “Drastic Action Is Needed.”⁹¹ Some of the questions that the *World* felt had not been answered were as follows: Why did J. Loy Harrison go by way of a side road instead of the highway when transporting the couple to his farm? Why did the sheriff wait until late

in the afternoon to release the man who had been held for the knifing of his white employer? If this cutting affair was considered serious, why was the accused released under the inconsequential amount of \$600 bond? Why shouldn't Georgia Governor Arnall remove from office Sheriff Gordon who had been quoted in the press as saying he was unable to do anything further about the murders?⁹²

What was implicit in the questions posed by the *World* was just as important as the questions themselves. For example, in asking why Harrison took a more roundabout route in transporting the two couples, the *World* was suggesting that Harrison could have been in on the scheme to lynch Malcolm and his entourage. In asking why the sheriff waited so late in the day to release Malcolm on such a small bond, the *World* may have been questioning whether the sheriff was in on the plot as well. The newspaper was explicit, however, about its feelings that the sheriff should not continue to hold his job, since he was reported as saying he could not do anything about the murders.

Just as the *World* had been calling for African Americans to be hired as police officers in Atlanta, the newspaper suggested that the appointment of black agents in this case might instill "sufficient confidence" in the blacks of Walton County to "get them to talk."⁹³ When whites in power did what seemed to be the right thing to do, the *World* usually gave them an editorial pat on the back. Along these lines, the editorial stated that it was "encouraging and somewhat reassuring" to blacks that Governor Arnall had ordered an investigation of the Monroe massacre and that he was offering rewards totaling \$10,000 for information leading to the identities of the perpetrators.⁹⁴ The newspaper, however, was not going to let the Arnall administration off easy. The editorial proclaimed, "This revolting crime must not be white washed or allowed to fade with

time. The state administration is duty bound to relentlessly push this case until the guilty persons are punished in accordance with the severity of the crime they have committed.”⁹⁵ Again, blame for the massacre went in a notable direction. “It is clearly the result of the race hatred incited during the recent primary election,” the editorial declared. “It is intended to intimidate the Negroes from attempting to vote in the future. But Negroes of this state have sufficient courage and determination to see that this result is not achieved. We must be willing to defend this right at all cost.”

July 31, 1946, was a two-banner day for the case. Above the *World* nameplate was “Atlantans Organize to Aid Grief-Stricken Walton Families,” and beneath the nameplate was the all-caps banner “TRUMAN ORDERS LYNCH PROBE.” The top right space on the front page went to a story about a mass meeting being planned in Atlanta at the very popular and politically active Wheat Street Baptist Church on Auburn Avenue, which was headed by the Rev. William Holmes Borders. Borders was chairman of the newly established Citizens Defense Committee (CDC), under whose auspices the meeting was being held. The CDC was organized the previous afternoon when representatives of various African American civic, religious, fraternal and educational organizations met to form “a permanent organization designed to raise funds immediately for the welfare of the relatives of the lynch victims, and to supplement rewards already offered for information leading to arrest and conviction of criminals involved. As an ultimate goal the Citizens Defense Committee plans the forming of a state-wide organization to build a legal fund to be used to aid in the prosecution of cases involving civil rights violations of Negroes throughout the state,” the article stated⁹⁶ C. A. Scott was among the speakers at this meeting. The names of those involved were printed in the

World in line with the newspaper's policy of using as many names of leading African Americans citizens as possible. Other speakers included the Rev. W. W. Weatherspool, E.M. Martin (treasurer of the new organization), Dr. Rufus Clement (president of Atlanta University), John Wesley Dobbs (head of the Masons and grandfather of future mayor Maynard Jackson), and Warren Cochran (head of the Butler Street YMCA and secretary of the CDC). V.W. Hodges was assistant secretary of the CDC.

A Scott Newspaper Syndicate article written out of Washington, D. C., which also ran on July 31, stated that President Truman expressed "horror at the crime" and "sympathy" for the families of the victims and instructed the United States Department of Justice to throw all of its resources into the investigation of the lynching of the two Georgia couples, according to the article.⁹⁷ The statement by Truman came on the heels of yet another lynching that took place in Lexington, Mississippi, in which a 35-year-old African American man was beaten to death by six white men for allegedly stealing a saddle.

Democratic Congressman Arthur G. Klein of New York called the lynching "horrible" and stated that he would attempt to get Congressional action on an anti-lynching bill before Congress adjourned later that week. Georgia Senators Walter F. George and Richard B. Russell stated that they saw no possibility that Congress would pass a federal anti-lynching bill before adjournment. As did many southern, white politicians, Russell decried attempts to supercede state jurisdiction. Russell was quoted in the article as saying, "I deplore the crime, but I am not willing to admit Georgia is unable to enforce its own laws within its own borders without outside help."⁹⁸

Members of the National Association of Colored Women, founded by Mary

McLeod Bethune (who also founded Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach, Fla.) marched in front of the White House protesting the Georgia lynching, according to another Scott Newspaper Syndicate article on Wednesday, July 31, 1946, written out of Washington, D.C.⁹⁹ The front-page article stated that the association, which represented 75,000 African American women from forty-three states, was also sending a resolution to President Truman and members of the U.S. Congress protesting the Georgia lynching.

“Freedom from fear,” one of the four freedoms for which Americans fought abroad, “is still an ideal to be pursued rather than a reality in the lives of colored Americans, particularly southern Negroes,” according to an editorial on Wednesday, July 31, 1946.¹⁰⁰ To allay any doubts, the editorial pointed to racial outbreaks in Columbia, Tennessee, the previous February, the gouging out of a black veteran’s eyes in Aiken, South Carolina, and the lynching of four blacks in Walton County, Georgia -- three of whom had harmed no one.¹⁰¹ Without naming the candidates or repeating their words, the editorial blamed “explosive and incendiary speeches” by political candidates for “fanning the embers of hate and passion in people, and unless stern measures and prompt action are taken, the hate poison is bound to spread to other areas.”¹⁰² One measure that blacks could take, according to the editorial, was to contribute to the funds for aiding the families of lynch victims and for prosecuting perpetrators who rob blacks of their civil rights.

The coverage of the so-called Monroe massacre that followed was ongoing and persistent. Much of it was about efforts to raise money to help the families of the victims pay for the funerals and related expenses, to start a fund for the families of future lynch victims, and to pay legal costs associated with upholding the civil rights of blacks, among

other things. The goal of the Citizens Defense Committee had become quite lofty. In the then-recent primary election, approximately 100,000 blacks had voted. The committee proposed that if every one of those voters were to give a dollar to the defense fund, it could raise \$100,000, the *World* reported.¹⁰³ The CDC continued to push its campaign and asked African American leaders all over the state to “ ‘roll up your sleeves’ and call upon every Negro in your community to help us do something about the ‘most blood-curdling’ crime in recent years at Walton County,” according to an article that ran Thursday, August 8, 1946.¹⁰⁴ The *World*’s publisher, who gave \$500 on behalf of the newspaper, agreed to print a list of major donors to the fund as an added incentive.¹⁰⁵

The ultimate bleakness of solving the case began to show on Friday, August 9, 1946. Despite the fact that religious, veterans’ and civic groups, as well as individuals throughout the United States, were calling on a daily basis for President Truman, Attorney General Clark, and Georgia Governor Arnall to use their power to step up the efforts to apprehend the killers, there had been “no tangible developments” in the joint investigations of the FBI and the GBI.¹⁰⁶ Even more discouraging, the article stated that members of the *Atlanta Daily World* staff had visited both Walton and Oconee counties, failed to see a single reward poster on display and learned several of the posters had been torn up and thrown in the bushes.¹⁰⁷ Still, organization leaders from all over the United States spoke out. The Walton County murders were decried by leaders of various civil rights and religious organizations in Knoxville, Tennessee; Bridgeport, Connecticut; New York City and Washington, D.C., according to the article.

In the days of lynching and crooked law enforcement officials, African Americans often felt they had to take investigations into their own hands. Therefore, the NAACP

began conducting its own investigation of the murders, even though the GBI and the FBI were supposedly working on the case. The lead story on Sunday, August 11, 1946, stated that the names of six men who had been implicated as being members of the gang that killed the four blacks had been given to Attorney General Clark, according to Walter White, executive secretary of the national NAACP. It was also reported that other evidence had been given to the GBI and FBI, according to the article. White, who was speaking with a group of Broadway actors working to get justice in the Georgia case, said he had given the names of the six men to Clark on July 31.¹⁰⁸ The article was attributed to the Associated Negro Press, perhaps because the information came from New York, and perhaps because some of the accusations were tough. The disclosure that six names were given to authorities “came two days after it was learned that Gov.-elect Eugene Talmadge of Georgia had conferred with one of the landlord’s families connected with the lynching on the eve of the massacre,” according to the article.¹⁰⁹ The NAACP was not making the names public for fear that the killers would be able to trace those who obtained evidence before federal and state officials would be able to act, according to the article.¹¹⁰ “The evidence against the lynchers was gathered by NAACP investigators, both white and Negro,” White was quoted as saying, adding that Clark’s department and the FBI had not taken enough action. White also disclosed that lynch victim Roger Malcolm had objected to advances made to his wife by Barney Hester, the white man who Malcolm was said to have stabbed during a drunken spree.¹¹¹

Going a step further than covering the case, and even further than participating in mass meetings and sending telegrams to the President and to Congressional leaders, *World* employees took direct action. W. A. Scott, III, son of the newspaper’s founder, and

William A. Fowlkes, both *World* employees, drove to Monroe “in the dead of the night” to retrieve and protect a potential witness in the case, according to Fowlkes.¹¹² Lamar Howard, a black man, was working at an ice house near the road that the car carrying the two couples took when leaving the jail and ostensibly going to the farm, Fowlkes said. “He saw some white guys get in a car and follow right behind them,” recalled Fowlkes. “He didn’t see them do it, but he suspected it.”¹¹³ Howard was brought to Atlanta where, hopefully, he would remain unharmed until he could testify during a trial. “We had to get him out [of Monroe], because they would have killed him,” Fowlkes said, adding that the *World* assisted Howard in getting a job at the Butler Street YMCA.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, Howard’s testimony was never needed.

On Sunday, August 11, 1946, Fowlkes wrote in his column “Seeing and Saying,” that while the investigation of the Monroe murders continued, “it has been reported from rather reliable sources that certain state forces have hindered the FBI probe with the old ‘state’s rights’ cry. Several members of the mob are alleged to be known in the Monroe environs, but the real and tangible evidence against them was lacking and preventing immediate closing of the case at the time this report was written.”¹¹⁵ Though critical of elected officials, through thick and thin, the newspaper always remained patriotic. As Fowlkes put it in this column, “The Monroe lynchings, the many ‘self-defense’ killings of Negroes by whites throughout the South, . . . the attempts to kill every piece of liberal legislation and attempted governmental guarantee of life and liberty, . . . the pitting of race against race and the increased friction of southern politics . . . are signs of the times in this democracy, still the best and most beneficial government on earth as far as our appetites are concerned.”¹¹⁶

African Americans in other parts of the United States continued to respond to the Georgia killings. The banner headline on Thursday, August 15, 1946, stated that “Money And Protests Of Lynchings Flood NAACP National Office,” in New York City, and a front-page story spoke of blacks in Houston, Texas, closing places of business and draping the doors of homes and businesses in black crepe on August 5 so that mourners could attend a memorial service for the mob victims at a local Baptist church.¹¹⁷ The national NAACP offered its own \$10,000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the killers and asked each of its branches to send \$10, but some sent much more. For example, the Louisville, Kentucky branch sent \$500, and the Los Angeles branch pledged “from \$100 to \$1,000” to the fund, the *World* reported.¹¹⁸ Philadelphia’s NAACP branch declared August 2, 1946, a day of mourning in connection with the lynchings, and asked that participants close all stores for an hour at noon, wear black arm bands, silence all radios for thirty seconds and pray silently in their homes for the two slain couples. More telegrams and letters were sent to President Truman and Attorney General Clark.

The last paragraph in the 500-word article carried the most harsh language; however, it was pointed out that these words were written by a white man in a letter sent to the NAACP: “Enclosed you will find my check for five dollars to aid in the work of hunting down and punishing the lazy white savages that rule our southern states,” he wrote. “Either the United States should declare martial law in those outlaw states where no Negro is safe from attacks by these white beasts, or else every Negro should be armed by the government so that he can defend himself and his home.”¹¹⁹

To raise money for the CDC fund, the Rev. Borders was not simply giving heart-

wrenching speeches at mass meetings at his church; he was trudging from barber shop to barber shop, from business to business, and from door to door, “pleading the cause of the unfortunate Negro both at Monroe and all over the state.”¹²⁰ On Friday, August 16, 1946, a short article at the bottom of the front page, stated that “there is nothing which should prevent those 100,000 Negroes who voted in the Georgia primary last July 17 from turning about face and giving One Dollar [sic] each to make life and limb safe for them and their families.”¹²¹

Neither money nor might nor mourning could bring justice to the case of the Monroe massacre. The banner across the newspaper on Sunday, August 18, 1946, cried that the Georgia probe of the lynchings was at a standstill. An article stated that indifference and inaction were contributing to the failure of state and federal authorities to solve the South’s “worst lynching in 20 years. A wall of silence has been erected around the murderers that even the present rewards totaling \$42,000 cannot crack. ‘Nobody knows anything,’ one authority commented.”¹²²

Governor-elect Talmadge simply commented on the case that “the rest of the country can’t seem to understand these things down here,” according to the article.¹²³ Sheriff E.S. Gordon, who had held his office since 1921, “placidly remarked that he wasn’t doing anything about the massacre,” according to the article, which quoted him as saying, “I don’t have the right facilities. . . . I called in the FBI and the Georgia state patrol to take over, but they haven’t asked for my help.”¹²⁴

The article repeated the information that a bouncer at a local drinking establishment was the lone suspect brought in by authorities since he was said to fit the description of one of the mobsters; however, when Harrison was asked to identify him,

Harrison said he was not the man, according to the article.¹²⁵ The inactivity and failings in the Monroe case so angered C. A. Scott that he ran a front-page article in the newspaper on Sunday, August 18, 1946, stating that he had sent a letter to Georgia Governor Arnall calling for “the immediate establishment of Negro units of the National Guard in this state . . . to alleviate this feeling of insecurity among the great masses of Negroes in this state, and at the same time, cause the masses of white people to realize that we have certain elementary rights secured by the [C]onstitution that must be respected.”¹²⁶ A similar letter was also sent to the chief of the National Guard in Washington, D. C. An editorial on Tuesday, August 20, 1946, reiterated this plea.¹²⁷

Scott and African American community leaders were not the only ones frustrated by the Monroe case. John Trost, the special agent in charge of the Atlanta office of the FBI who was directing the FBI’s investigation of the Walton County killings, resigned from his job to enter private business, according to the newspaper.¹²⁸ The *Atlanta Daily World* learned of the sudden resignation when it called Trost for a statement on the case and was informed that he had quit on August 15. The resignation caused considerable speculation among blacks, since it came “right on the heels of United Press reports from Washington, D.C. that the FBI had identified at least three members of the armed mob.”¹²⁹

A group called the Civil Rights Congress (CRC) urged the Department of Justice to arrest three men in connection with the killings and revealed information that its own investigation turned up. In a banner-headlined article in the top right corner of the Sunday newspaper on August 25, 1946, an Associated Negro Press story written out of New York stated that the CRC had written to U.S. Attorney General Clark asking for information on

three men it believed to be key figures in the case. According to the article, the CRC also revealed that the deputy sheriff who released Roger Malcolm from jail (for the trip that resulted in the massacre) was the brother-in-law of Barney Hester, who Malcolm allegedly had stabbed for flirting with his wife, according to the article. Also there was no record of the alleged \$600 bond under which the deputy sheriff released Malcolm, according to the CRC's investigation.¹³⁰ In addition, "a [deputy] sheriff, Louis Howard, had been seen in the vicinity of the lynching site" half-an-hour following the massacre and one-and-a-half hours before Harrison alerted authorities of the killings.¹³¹ The CRC also wanted further scrutiny of Harrison, who had claimed he was taking a short cut, which was in fact longer than the normal route, when transporting the two couples, and because he had given three hours advanced notice of his arrangements for the release of Malcolm at 5 p.m., thus giving the lynch mob time to mobilize, the article stated. Also, two hours passed before he alerted authorities that the lynching took place, thus allowing the killers time to disperse, according to the article.¹³² In addition, the CRC wanted to know whether Lily Malcolm, who had witnessed an attempted lynching of her husband by ten men before he was jailed, had been questioned about the identities of that particular mob.¹³³

The Monroe case, as well as several others, and the resulting protests helped step up the call for laws to protect people against lynching. Much of the *World's* subsequent coverage pushed for anti-lynching legislation. A bloc of bipartisan senators announced a plan to push for a federal anti-lynching law when the 80th Congress convened in January, according to a short front-page story by the Scott Newspaper Syndicate that ran Tuesday, August 27, 1946.¹³⁴ Written with a Washington, D. C. dateline, the article stated that

Senator James Mead, a New York Democrat, and 12 colleagues supported the measure in spite of opposition from southerners and other members of Congress who championed so-called states' rights. "Recent lynchings have added emphasis to the urgent necessity for enactment of a federal anti-lynching bill," Mead was quoted as saying, adding pessimistically that he did not predict passage of the bill in the Senate. Mead said he would be supported by Senator Robert Wagner, Democrat of New York, who had co-sponsored an earlier anti-lynch measure that died in committee in the previous Congressional session.

Pessimism aside, the banner "PRESIDENT PLEDGES ANTI-LYNCH BILL AID," graced the Sunday, September 22, 1946, newspaper. The accompanying story reported that a delegation of African American leaders, including Morehouse College President Benjamin E. Mays, met at the White House, where they "waited upon President Truman to discuss specific means of checking the rising tide of mob violence and came away from the conference with the chief executive's pledge to 'do everything possible to halt lynching and expedite investigations of current cases.'"¹³⁵ The group called themselves the National Emergency Committee Against Mob Violence, and included Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP. The Committee presented a three-point program that was approved by President Truman, according to the article. This plan called for federal agencies to concentrate on obtaining evidence against and to prosecute lynchers, asked that the President make a nation-wide radio address to sway the American people against mob violence, and called on him to reconvene Congress to enact new legislation against mob violence.¹³⁶

Plans to prosecute the perpetrators of the Monroe killings and to see legislation

passed to thwart future killings suffered a similar fate. Above the newspaper's nameplate on Sunday, September 29, 1946, were the words, "NO 'CONCLUSIVE EVIDENCE' AT MONROE -- FBI." According to the article, "after two months of intensive probing, not an inkling of 'conclusive evidence' has turned up in connection with the Walton County lynching," according to Charlie Weeks, the special agent of the FBI in charge of the investigation, who had replaced Trost.¹³⁷ The officers stated that they did have some definite suspicions at one stage of the investigation, but they lacked tangible evidence, according to the article. Both the FBI and GBI denied reports that members of the mob had been identified, the article stated.¹³⁸

While hope for justice seemed to be something that many blacks had clung to in years gone by, the *World* made it clear that the political wool would not be pulled over its editorial eyes. In a tersely worded editorial that ran June 16, 1948, the *World* stated that African Americans would not be "deceived into believing that Congress will pass any of the measures recommended by President Truman for the strengthening of Civil Rights. They can expect no favorable legislation on the proposed and much talked about anti-lynching bill. They cannot expect any legislation for the improvement of fair working opportunities through the FEPC [Fair Employment Practices Commission]. And the poll tax prevalent in a few remaining southern states, will remain unmolested."¹³⁹ The editorial further stated that African Americans were "so badly in need of legislation to safeguard and secure them against the evils of discrimination, police brutality, mob violence and the whole catalogue of associated evils."¹⁴⁰

William A. Fowlkes

One journalist who felt the frustrations of working on the Monroe Massacre case was William A. Fowlkes, who had joined the *Atlanta Daily World* staff in 1936. His journey to the newspaper began when he was a student at Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial College (now Tennessee State University), where he worked in the college's library as a night watchman. In the library, he would see copies of the *Atlanta Daily World*, and he took an interest in the newspaper.¹⁴¹

A history major with several minors including sociology, Fowlkes was a self-described “*natural-born leader*,” who had been elected president of the college's sophomore, junior and senior classes.¹⁴² Family members and friends wondered what profession he would choose based on his academic and leadership skills.

In an oral history interview in 1999 when he was eighty-five years old, Fowlkes, an accomplished pianist, recalled that his father drove him home to Union City after the commencement exercise. “*Papa asked me on the way, ‘Well, what are you going to do next year?’ Other people had been asking me that as well. So I said, ‘Well, I don’t know.’ And my Mama said, ‘Well, you’ve got your teaching certificate, so you can get a job teaching anywhere around here.’ Listen, I wasn’t gonna teach. I could make more money playing one night of music than most teachers earned in a month.*”

Fowlkes had been raised in a neighborhood where most blacks were renters. “*We lived on a street where we were the only blacks who owned our house, and seeing how whites were, naturally, I was always concerned with how can a Negro make it in this society?*” Fowlkes said, adding that one of his eleventh-grade classmates had been lynched by whites who lived not far from his home in Union City. “*Jim Crow was*

booming, and I became embroiled in fighting for desegregation even way back there."¹⁴³

The written word became Fowlkes' instrument for effecting change, and he believed this could be a key to his future:

*With all of this that I saw going on, I began to sit down at Papa's typewriter and continue writing things. I said, 'You know, I think I'll try to get with that paper I saw in the library.' I wrote C. A. Scott and asked if he'd be interested in my coming to Atlanta and joining the staff. I got a letter back after about a month. 'Yes' [the letter said]. The only reason I didn't come sooner is I had a sister who was sick unto death in Union City, and Mama asked me not to leave until she passed. We knew she was going to die. Do you know that after she died, two weeks, maybe, I came to Atlanta, and I've been here ever since. Yes, Sir.*¹⁴⁴

When Fowlkes arrived at the *World* in March of 1936, the newspaper's management was very concerned about voter registration and highlighting black-owned businesses.

"That was Mr. C. A. Scott's thing, you know -- to get people registered to vote," Fowlkes said. *"Cultivation of black business was a very important objective, too. So the Atlanta Daily World made it its business to publish stories about successes of black businesses and business people in the community. And whenever a business opened or was about to open, naturally we were interested in their advertising, and we were interested in the story surrounding it to show that others could do likewise."*¹⁴⁵

The newspaper highlighted African Americans in other areas as well.

"We also were interested in the coverage of sports," he added. *"As you know, segregation was in full bloom, and we covered sports -- we covered the black schools, and black athletes even before the white press took that over. We were always interested in glorifying the work of black people, black professionals, and people of accomplishment to show not only children, but adults, how to do things, and keep progressing, and live well."*¹⁴⁶

“We tried to report, and did report details of racial incidents, because the white press did not report everything, and they reported their way,” Fowlkes said. “So we reported it as we saw it, as we found things out.”

“Reporters were always told and directed to get the most favorable side of the voting cause and present that in your stories, to cover campaigns, and write about them clearly so that the people would know the issues and the campaigners,” Fowlkes said. “Mr. Scott was on the board of the Atlanta Voters League, and I was eventually elected director of publicity. So we had it kind of locked in.”

Writing about elections was not always simple or cut-and-dried when the opinions of black leaders involved with the Atlanta Voters League differed.

“There always were shades of differences about what [attorney A.T.] Walden said or what [Rev. William] Borders said, or what old man [Martin Luther] King [Sr.] said, you know,” Fowlkes mused. “Putting all that together was the thing, see, so that the people would read it and get the point of view. So the World made it its business to promote registration, voting, and the election of the best people for the job for serving our people.”¹⁴⁷

Integrating the Senate Press Gallery

Another way the *World* impacted the political landscape of black America was when one of its correspondents became the first black allowed into the United States Senate and House press galleries. On March 20, 1947, the *Atlanta Daily World* reported that the United States Senate Rules Committee voted unanimously that Louis R. Lautier, a Washington correspondent for the *Atlanta Daily World* and chief of the National Negro

Press Association's news service would become the first African American newspaper correspondent admitted to the Senate Press Gallery.¹⁴⁸ Prior to the decision, according to the news story, the Senate Rules Committee had heard testimony from Lautier and from George M. Johnson, dean of the Howard University Law School, who read a statement prepared by Charles H. Houston, a nationally-known lawyer and counsel for the NNPA.

The Committee also heard a statement from the standing committee of correspondents setting forth its reasons for rejecting Lautier's application for admission to the Press Gallery. Griffing Bancroft, a correspondent for the *Chicago Sun* and chairman of the correspondents' committee, cast the lone vote in favor of Lautier's admission.¹⁴⁹

Houston discussed four main points: (1) Whether Lautier qualified for admission to the Senate Press Gallery under existing rules; (2) whether existing white news services and correspondents adequately reported the news of the Senate in which African Americans were especially interested; (3) whether the black press was competing with the white press so that the effect of making it impossible for a black correspondent to get Senate news operated as an unfair restraint of trade; and (4) the broader implications of banning blacks' access to first-hand knowledge of Senate proceedings.¹⁵⁰

Lautier oversaw a staff of five for the NNPA and wrote a column called "Capital Spotlight." An example of the type of articles Lautier wrote for the *World* and other newspapers that ran NNPA material was a news analysis in the *World* on Wednesday, April 7, 1948. It was about the Senate passing a Federal aid-to-education bill that contained provisions designed to give states absolute control of their education systems and to prevent Congress from imposing limitations on appropriations authorized by the

measure which might have required abolition of the dual school system in the South.¹⁵¹

Another article by Lautier that ran on the *World's* front page on Wednesday, April 14, 1948, revealed that the Selective Service Bill, which the House Armed Services Committee had under consideration, would sanction various types of discrimination that existed at the time against personnel of color in the armed forces.¹⁵² According to the article, the Selective Service and Training Act of 1940 prohibited racial discrimination in both the selection and training of men, but the word “training” had been dropped from the new pending measure.¹⁵³

On Wednesday, May 5, 1948, Lautier wrote that the United States was financing British exploitation of African possessions and wanted scarce strategic raw materials from African colonies as well.¹⁵⁴ On Tuesday, June 15, 1948, Lautier wrote that an anti-lynching bill prescribing penalties up to death was approved by a ten to three vote by the Senate judiciary committee, but Mississippi Democrat James O. Eastland was quoted as saying that he was “going to fight it till hell freezes over” and threatening a filibuster if the Republican leadership called the measure up for consideration in the full Senate.¹⁵⁵

Lautier’s “Capital Spotlight” column appeared in the *World* through the 1960s. While Lautier was breaking ground among the Washington, D. C. press corps, another group of African American men in Atlanta were making their mark in law enforcement.

Atlanta's First Black Police Officers

On Saturday, April 3, 1948, eight African American men became Atlanta's first black police officers. This was no ordinary group reporting for an ordinary new job. The hiring of these pioneers represented years of pressure to have policemen in the

community whom blacks did not have to fear for reasons of race.

It was as if eight new superheroes swooped down onto Atlanta's historic Auburn Avenue area – and hundreds of people, young and old, lined the sidewalks to catch a glimpse of them or possibly even shake their hands. They couldn't fly or see through walls, but they were something very special at the time, and the *World* chronicled their achievement.

“Negro Policemen Go On Patrol Duty Here Today” was the *Atlanta Daily World's* headline for a short, 240-word article located in the top left corner of the front page on Saturday, April 3, 1948.¹⁵⁶ It seemed odd that such an undersized and understated article would run in the newspaper in a location that was not quite the most prominent; however, an editorial that ran the same day revealed that this perhaps was an attempt to keep things calm -- at the request of the Atlanta police chief -- on the day these men reported for their new jobs and thus opened a new era in local law enforcement. “No invitation has been extended to the public for the activation, since Chief Jenkins desires that the men will have no extraordinary attention from the public beyond that given to any officer in the performance of his duty,” the 230-word editorial stated.¹⁵⁷ This obviously was the *World's* attempt to uphold its civic duty of staving off a disruptive scene; however, the impact of the hiring of these men was more than the *World* could control, as the newspaper chronicled what happened in the next day's (Sunday's) newspaper.

Unlike the day before, on Sunday, April 4, 1948, a banner headline stretched across the top of the newspaper's front page above the *Atlanta Daily World* nameplate, proclaiming "THRONGS THRILLED BY NEW ATLANTA OFFICERS." A large

photograph of the eight officers in crisp uniforms was in the top left corner of the newspaper's front page and underneath was an 800-word article written by C. Lamar Weaver with the headline, "Mayor Hartsfield, Chief Jenkins Charge Officers in Undertaking: Hundreds Follow New Police On Tour of Duty."¹⁵⁸ The article outlined quite a spectacle. "Donned in their immaculate blue uniforms with shining silver badges affixed thereto, eight handsome Atlanta Negro police officers assembled at their Butler Street Precinct station Saturday afternoon and began a tour of active duty after having received remarks and instructions from the Mayor, their Chief and other commanding officers," the article began.¹⁵⁹ "A throng of spectators" milled around outside the precinct "curious and waiting breathlessly for the men to put in their appearance. Many well wishers swarmed around them when they did."¹⁶⁰ An elderly woman brought a bouquet of flowers she wished to give to the men, but she was instructed to leave them at the precinct, the story said.

The sidebar (a related article that accompanies a main news story) really told the story. The lengthy, roughly 800-word article was headlined "Reviewers Are Thrilled." It stated that as far as the eye could see, hundreds of proud African Americans, young and old, followed the officers in their tracks as they began patrolling their beat, which was restricted to the Auburn Avenue and Bell Street area. (The relatively small area over which they had jurisdiction extended from Piedmont Avenue to Fort Street and from Edgewood Avenue to Forrest Avenue.) Two of the officers patrolled in cars. Automobiles moved at a snail's pace, as drivers and passengers craned their necks to see their new heroes, according to the article.

William B. Hartsfield, the mayor of Atlanta at the time, spoke to the new black

officers in their precinct station in a closed meeting, expressing to them a concept that many blacks to this very day know to be true -- in some form or another -- when they take on a certain jobs. "You are more than just policemen," Hartsfield said. "You are going out as the first representatives of your race in Atlanta. Your success is my success and the success of the City Council, the Chief [Herbert T. Jenkins], your race and the city at large."¹⁶¹ He then compared them to the legendary African American baseball player Jackie Robinson, who integrated the major leagues. "Do the kind of job that Jackie did in Brooklyn," Hartsfield told them, according to the article.¹⁶² He added that the men's white training officers had been very impressed with them, according to the article. After patrolling that Saturday, the officers would then return to their training school at police headquarters Monday, where they would continue training before patrolling one day per week for the following four weeks, according to the article.

An editorial with the headline "Words of Wisdom" repeated the words of Atlanta Mayor Hartsfield about representing their race. "Handsome in appearance, fine in decorum and serious in the pursuit of their new duties, the men seemed to have sensed the logic and soundness of the advice from the Mayor," the editorial gushed.¹⁶³ Further upholding the officers' superhero status, the editorial, which ran Sunday, April 4, 1948, described them as "fine specimen of the Negro's best manhood." In Scott's signature fashion of giving credit where it was due to whites who helped open doors for blacks, the editorial also extended "genuine thanks and appreciation for the sustained interest and painstaking care they have shown in preparing the new policemen."¹⁶⁴

More than a week after the officers' debut, the *World* stated that the novelty was wearing off and that there were no more swarms of onlookers waiting to catch a glimpse

of the officers. The article pointed out that most of the arrests the officers had made dealt with public drunkenness, disorderly conduct and stabbings.¹⁶⁵ The men were commended for doing their job with “equanimity” in mind and no signs of brutality.¹⁶⁶

Amidst all of the fanfare, pomp and circumstance surrounding the new officers, there were still reminders that this was the Jim Crow South. The officers were not allowed to be stationed at a conventional precinct. Their skin color required them to be located at the Butler Street YMCA, the branch designated for “colored” people, and their first assignments were limited to the Auburn Avenue-Butler Street vicinity.

Moreover, the Georgia Supreme Court upheld the decision of a Fulton County Superior Court judge, who had ruled that the Atlanta police chief had the authority to prohibit black policemen from arresting white people, according to an article that ran Thursday, April 15, 1948, in the bottom right portion of the front page.¹⁶⁷ G. Herbert Yarn, a white man who worked as an undertaker, had filed a lawsuit stating that it was unconstitutional to restrain black officers from arresting whites. While this suit ostensibly sounded as though it favored the officers having full arrest powers, it most certainly did not. Yarn’s lawsuit was an attempt to *void* the city’s hiring of black patrolmen, according to the article.

The Presiding Justice of the State Supreme Court, W. H. Duckworth, was quoted as saying, “Many valid reasons could be stated as to why such a policy would be wise, but the wisdom of the decisions of the chief of police in performing his lawful duties is no matter for judicial review.”¹⁶⁸ The next day, a short article clarified the ruling, stating that the state’s high court simply meant that the Atlanta police chief had the authority to run his department as he saw fit and that it was not a ruling in general that black officers

should not be allowed to arrest whites.¹⁶⁹

Ernest H. Lyons, Sr.

The hiring of black police officers was more than just another story to cover for the *World*. Behind the scenes, C. A. Scott helped with the selection of Atlanta's first black police officers.¹⁷⁰ One of them was an obvious choice for Scott -- Ernest H. Lyons, Sr., a family friend and former employee who had wanted to be an officer ever since one fateful day when he was just a boy.

As he remembered years later, one hazy morning when he was about seven or eight years old, Lyons was standing out in front of a six-unit apartment at 207 Dunlap Street in Atlanta's fourth ward. Lyons was waiting for the “*bread man*” who worked at the bakery down the street to drive by and offer him some pie or cake – his “*reward*” for returning the bread man's money bag after it fell from the truck one day.¹⁷¹ This particular morning would change Lyons’ life:

But this morning, I was standing out there and here comes a lady running down the street. ... She was screaming and hollering to the top of her voice and a guy was chasing her. So they ran by me, and when he got about two doors down, he caught up with that woman and hit her and knocked her down. She fell on the sidewalk and part of her body was laying off the curb. She was screaming. He jumped on her and starting beating that lady, and then he pulled out his knife and started stabbing her. I said, “Lord have mercy, where are Ben and Davis? Those were the two white officers back then who patrolled the area in a T-model Ford. Sometimes they rode horses and sometimes they rode motorcycles. I said, ‘Lord have mercy, I wish I was a policeman.’ I made a wish then. I wished I was a policeman. I wanted to get that man off that lady. And I said then that no man was ever going to do that to any of my sisters, because I had three young sisters. ... That was going through my mind and somehow or another, I made up my mind that I'd never hit my wife. I don't believe in doing things like that. So that wish was back there, and I guess it stayed there and came around. So I had my wish. I could say that for true.”¹⁷²

Lyons became one of the eight “superheroes,” and ultimately achieved the rank of

Major. However, his life's path was largely paved at the *World*. As a young boy, Lyons was a good friend of “Junior” (W. A. Scott, III) and Robert, sons of the newspaper's founder. When he was in the sixth grade in 1932, Lyons would go to the *World*'s office after school and help insert special sections into the newspapers. On Saturdays, W. A. Scott, II, would drive them over to the office, where they would help pick up metal off the floor (to be recycled back into the linotype machine) to earn enough money for a movie and a hot dog at the Royal Theater nearby on Auburn, one of the few cinemas for blacks at the time.

“I grew up at the Atlanta Daily World,” Lyons said.¹⁷³ “When I went to Booker T. Washington High School [one of only two high schools for blacks in Atlanta at the time], I continued to work down there. I started riding a bicycle and would get out of school in the afternoons and ride over there and work until 8 o'clock in the evening. I was taking inventory ... I would keep up with all the stock. I would cut papers with a big cutter for taking proofs [a column of news copy to be read by the proofreader] on and different things like that, and I would carry them to the print shop.”¹⁷⁴

Later, Lyons helped with the shipping department of the newspaper. *“See they had a chain of papers back then,” Lyons said. “They printed papers all over, and those papers had to be shipped out on the train.”¹⁷⁵* One particular afternoon when Lyons was about eighteen years old, he was driving an *Atlanta Daily World* car to the train station and then to the post office. He had an encounter with a white police officer that illuminated how African Americans often viewed such policemen -- menacing at the least, dangerous at their worst. At the corner of Hunter Street and Broad Street, Lyons pulled out into the intersection so he could turn left once no traffic was coming. A white

police officer who was directing traffic blew his whistle and hit the back of the car with his hand. Lyons recalled the incident as follows:

I pulled over to the corner and stopped. He came over to the car and said, "Ohhh, you're driving for that nigger newspaper." I said, "Officer, I was sitting in the intersection waiting until you stopped the traffic. I didn't pull into the intersection. I was sitting out there in the intersection when you had your back towards me. He said, "Yeah, that's what they always say." So he wrote me up and gave me a ticket. I thought that was one of the worst things. ... That incident lived in my mind, though. ... I should have disliked policemen, but I lived to see a wish come true.¹⁷⁶

The Rosa Lee Ingram Case

C. A. Scott and the *Atlanta Daily World* often expressed the view that the courtroom is where the rights of blacks should be upheld, but on a few occasions when justice appeared not to work in the courtroom, the *World* fought back. The fight became a part of the news.

In January of 1948, Rosa Lee Ingram and her two teenaged sons, were given the death penalty by an all-white jury for what the *World* described as a "self-defense" slaying in November of 1947 of a white sharecropper named John E. Stratford. The *World* frequently featured the woman's plight on the front page of the newspaper. C. A. Scott was quoted in an article in the *World* on April 4, 1948, as stating "I was at the hearing for the new trial for the victims and after hearing the arguments, pro and con, I am convinced that these people have become victims of a gross miscarriage of justice and all of us in the South, we [who] have, more or less, at one time or another, experienced the suffering and persecution of racial prejudice, must rally to the end to the defense of these people."¹⁷⁷

On Sunday, March 28, 1948, the *World* wrote that President Truman had just

learned of the Ingram situation the previous Thursday when he was asked at a press conference whether he had heard of the case. The President had not. Ingram and her sons were originally scheduled to die on February 27, 1948, but a motion for a new trial stayed their execution and was taken under advisement by the judge. Stratford, the 66-year-old white tenant farmer who was killed, had been beaten to death with his own rifle (with which he was threatening the family), a hoe, and a claw hammer, the article revealed.¹⁷⁸

Unsolicited funds kept pouring in to the *World* for the Ingrams. The money was forwarded to the Citizens Defense Committee of Americus, Georgia, headed by Dr. R. S. Douthard.¹⁷⁹ The Ingram case struck a chord in other parts of the country and even with celebrities. In Los Angeles, more than 600 people assembled at Phillips Temple CME Church on Sunday, March 28, 1948, where they heard members of the entertainment and religious community, including actress Lena Horne, condemn the death sentence imposed on Ingram and her two sons. The rally was held under the auspices of the Los Angeles Negro Congress, which demanded that President Truman and Georgia Governor Melvin Thompson release the family.¹⁸⁰

On Wednesday, April 7, 1948, the newspaper ran a huge banner headline above the *World* nameplate proclaiming “INGRAMS GIVEN ‘LIFE’; HIGHER APPEAL LIKELY.” A 500-word front-page story headlined “Judge Harper Commutes Death Penalty: Appeal To Supreme Court Is Indicated,” was written by William A. Fowlkes. Although the case was tried in Americus, Georgia, people in Atlanta and nationwide took an interest in it because Rosa Ingram was the mother of at least ten children, and she and two of her teenage sons, Wallace and Sammie Lee, apparently had acted in self-defense. As reported by the *World*, the Ingrams claimed that Stratford “attacked the mother with a

gun in a field near their farm house and that they subdued him only after striking blows with his own weapon which he dropped in a scuffle.”¹⁸¹ The altercation apparently arose from a dispute about farm animals belonging to the Ingrams that had strayed into Stratford’s fields. Rosa Ingram further claimed that Stratford had been “picking after her and insisting she needed a man after her husband died,” according to the article.¹⁸² Another of her sons received a twelve-month sentence on a charge of taking a wallet containing money from the body of the slain man. Eight other Ingram children, all minors except one, were living with a farmer near Americus at the time the article was written.

Funds to help the children came pouring into the *World’s* office, as well as to the NAACP. In a 200-word story that also ran Wednesday, April 7, 1948, the *World* reported that a religious organization from Carrollton, Georgia, sent \$108 to support and aid Ms. Ingram and her children. The *World* had already transferred \$200 in unsolicited funds that were sent to the newspaper to the Americus committee providing food and shelter for the Ingram children, according to the article.

C. A. Scott was listed in the *World* among a group of Georgia citizens who conferred to outline a “broad welfare program” for the family of Ms. Ingram, according to a 150-word article in the *World* on Thursday, April 8, 1948, on the front page below the fold. Among the others in the group were Dr. R. S. Douthard, a member of the Albany Citizens Defense Committee; W. R. Burleigh, president of the Albany NAACP; and Dr. William Holmes Borders, chairman of the Georgia Citizens Defense Committee. The group discussed plans to “insure the Ingram children a new home, farm equipment, clothing and education while the fight continued towards securing freedom for Ms. Ingram, and her sons, Wallace and Sammie.”¹⁸³ The NAACP was to handle future legal

developments in the case.

The following day, on Friday, April 9, 1948, the left side of the front page above the fold carried a story proclaiming “Ingram Appeal Set By NAACP Council in N.Y.” The Scott Newspaper Syndicate story written from New York by a freelance journalist stated that the Ingram case was to be appealed to the Georgia Supreme Court, and that Thurgood Marshall, special counsel for the NAACP, announced the previous day that the fate of Ms. Ingram and her sons, sixteen-year-old Wallace and fourteen-year-old Sammie Lee, “was far from settled.”¹⁸⁴ Atlanta attorney A.T. Walden was to aid in the appeal, Marshall announced, according to the 170-word article. This article pointed out that the death sentences were commuted to life sentences by State Judge William M. Harper, of the Southwest Judicial Circuit, who ruled that the Ingrams had been convicted on circumstantial evidence. They would be eligible for parole in seven years.

In an editorial that same day (Friday, April 9, 1948), the *World* wrote about the Ingram case and one other case being appealed. Concerning the Ingrams, the *World* wrote that Judge Harper, who commuted the sentence “perhaps exhausted all of the resources within his power to extend mercy. Nevertheless, counsel for the Ingrams was of the legal opinion that the trio should not be held for murder; that the jury failed to ponder the implications and circumstantial evidence in the case.”¹⁸⁵ This statement was typical of the manner in which the *World* often gave written pats on the back to whites in power who helped blacks. Further, the *World* wrote that “It seems that the trial lawyers placed their fingers on the sorest spot in the case when they observed that Stradford [the white farmer who was slain] ‘meant to use his gun or he would have left it at home,’ and that the trial jury in returning a death-sentence verdict ... went ‘hog-wild.’”¹⁸⁶ In cases of legal justice

the *World* did not bite its proverbial tongue in its editorials, but not before tipping its proverbial hat to the judge who at least commuted the sentence from death to life.

The coverage continued on Sunday, April 11, 1948, with an NNPA story written in Philadelphia on the front page below the fold about Ms. Ingram's mother being pleased that her daughter and grandchildren received commuted sentences.¹⁸⁷ The *World* reported receiving more unsolicited funds for the Ingram family on Tuesday, April 13, 1948, in a 180-word front page story below the fold.¹⁸⁸ Most contributors stated that they wanted their money to be used to support the convicted woman's family. The money came mainly from religious establishments, Masonic organizations, and community clubs.

C. A. Scott and his mother, referred to as Mrs. W. A. Scott, of the Women's Auxiliary of the NAACP, were scheduled to speak at a citywide mass meeting on the Ingram case, which was to take place Thursday, April 15, 1948, according to a 200-word article that ran on the front page of the Wednesday, April 14, 1948, newspaper.¹⁸⁹ "All women from all churches and all walks of life throughout the city who are interested in the cause of the Ingram family" were urged to attend the meeting.¹⁹⁰

The results of that meeting ran in a 600-word article on Saturday, April 17, 1948, on the left side of the front page above the fold, with the headline "Citizens Rally To Appeal For Homestead For Ingram Family," by Ozeil F. Woolcock. The article reported that the Women's Auxiliary of the NAACP held its first public meeting the night before at Wheat Street Baptist Church, where Geneva Haugabrooks presided.¹⁹¹ The women were planning to help create a "normal home setting" for the Ingram children, after it was determined that they were living in an "inadequate dwelling" and that a decent dwelling

would cost approximately \$3,000, plus money for a mule and farm implements.¹⁹² Mrs. Ingram's 22-year-old daughter -- the only one who was not a minor -- was in charge of her many siblings. C. A. Scott, the paper reported, said at the meeting he was convinced the Ingrams should have been acquitted and that "we should not rest until they are completely freed."¹⁹³ The publisher's mother, Nancy Emmeline Scott, was treasurer of the Women's Auxiliary and pointed out that membership in the auxiliary was open to every woman in Atlanta, according to the article.

What the *Atlanta Daily World* was trying to accomplish with the Ingram case perhaps could best be summed up with a statement at that meeting by Eugene Martin, executive secretary of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, a black-owned company on Auburn Avenue. The news story reported that Martin said, "Prejudice is deep but when you turn the spotlight on it, you get somewhere and ... Negroes in Atlanta should lead."¹⁹⁴

Lead they did. A banner headline below the *World* nameplate on the front page of Sunday, April 18, 1948, stated "Nearly \$16,000 Collected For Ingram Defense." A 260-word article with a New York dateline stated that the NAACP announced it received a total of \$15,853.50 for the defense of Mrs. Ingram and her two teenaged sons "convicted of a self-defense slaying by an all-white jury in Americus, Georgia."¹⁹⁵ "NAACP Reports on Ingram Defense Fund" was the headline accompanying the article that said the bulk of the money came from 117 NAACP branches, and the rest from thirty-two civic, social, labor, religious and political organizations, as well as individuals. The article spoke of plans to appeal the case to the state Supreme Court for a new trial. The same day, an article ran stating that the Georgia Citizens Defense Committee reported \$153.32 in unsolicited gifts for the Ingram family.

On Tuesday, April 20, 1948, a front-page story ran above the fold with the headline, “Attorneys For Ingrams Confer In Atlanta Today.”¹⁹⁶ This article, only 180 words, apparently was to keep concerned readers apprised of the Ingram case and inform them that Atlanta Attorney A. T. Walden, state NAACP legal counsel for the Ingram case, and Attorney E. R. Dudley of the legal staff of the NAACP were planning to meet that day to confer about their next steps. Walden had returned from a visit to Schley County, where all records pertaining to the case were freely made accessible to him by authorities in Ellaville. He had also conferred with local Ingram committee people in Americus when he went to Macon where the Ingrams were being held in the Bibb County jail.

Coverage of this case continued in the *World* throughout the late 1940s and the 1950s, keeping readers apprised of efforts to set the Ingrams free and to care for the children left without a mother. Mrs. Ingram was not released from prison until August of 1959, and full rights were restored to Mrs. Ingram and her sons in 1964. What coverage of this case showed was that when the *World's* management thought that a mockery of justice had been done, it stepped in and became an active participant in the news it covered -- not just a chronicler of events.

School Desegregation

The *World* never forgot its mission to recount historical events and inform African Americans of important laws and rulings that changed the course of the nation. On Monday, May 17, 1954, the United States Supreme Court ruled that segregated public schools were unconstitutional. Over the next eight days, the *Atlanta Daily World* carried

nineteen articles and six editorials on the topic, plus a front-page photograph with a lengthy cutline, and a front-page copy of a letter to the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution* from a reader (Dr. William M. Boyd, a professor of political science at Atlanta University) disputing an editorial about the NAACP's position on the desegregation ruling that ran in the *Constitution*, a mainstream newspaper. The *Constitution's* editorial on May 25, 1954, had the headline "Irresponsible Talk Could Cause Strife."

Coverage of school desegregation in general would continue in the *World* for years. The *World's* coverage of this ruling wove the threads of several themes, which included the following: historic significance and context, demonstration of belief in democracy, peace and calmness, religious relevance, and refusal to compromise. The newspaper used numerous ways to characterize the historic significance and to provide meaningful context to the ruling by citing past rulings that had affected African Americans both positively and negatively. The hum of "America, the Beautiful" could practically be heard wafting in the background, since some of the articles on the decision highlighted it as an example of the nation living up to its own ideal of democracy. Perhaps in an effort to thwart mass mayhem, the newspaper called for calmness, intelligence and religion to see society through the tremendous changes that lay ahead.

Below is an article-by-article analysis of the five stories that ran on the front page of the *Atlanta Daily World* the day after the Supreme Court ruling was handed down, followed by the highlighting of themes that recurred in articles and editorials that ran during the following seven days.

A huge banner headline stretched across the top of the *Atlanta Daily World* above the nameplate (the name of the newspaper) blaring, "SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC

SCHOOLS OUTLAWED BY U.S. SUPREME COURT” on Tuesday, May 18, 1954, the day after the decision was handed down.¹⁹⁷ The fact that the *World* was a daily allowed it to cover the topic immediately. The article about the landmark *Brown v. the Board of Education* case was naturally positioned in the top right-hand corner of the newspaper’s front page, flanked by a photograph of Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP attorney who argued the case (and later became the first African American to serve on the United States Supreme Court), on the right, and a photograph of U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren on the left. The two photographs were a perfect illustration of the manner in which the *World* often highlighted both blacks and whites who helped open doors for African Americans.

The main article was one of five stories on the front page of the May 18, 1954, newspaper addressing this ruling and was part of an ongoing barrage of coverage that continued well into the following weeks. Some of the articles were written by the news services the newspaper used (such as the International News Service [INS] and the NNPA), but others were written locally by *Atlanta Daily World* journalists, who gave their own analysis or sought out reactions from local people, including the average man on the street, prominent clergy members, well-known businessmen, educational leaders, and fraternal leaders in Atlanta’s African American community.

The main article, roughly 700 words, with the headline, “Chief Justice Warren Reads Court’s Unanimous Decision,” written by an INS reporter, set the stage for the other stories, trumpeting the significance of the occasion and stating that, “The Supreme Court unanimously outlawed racial segregation in the public schools yesterday as a violation of the constitutional guarantee of equality to all.”¹⁹⁸ As a way to put the

decision within the historical context and framework of the black experience in America, the article pointed out that this ruling “does away with the court’s own decision in 1896 that Negroes are entitled to ‘separate but equal’ facilities,” as was outlined in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision.¹⁹⁹ In the second paragraph of the first main story on the subject, the article stated that this “momentous decision put off until next fall any action on the integration of white and Negro public school students,” a fact which perhaps was designed to delay pandemonium and let people know that this did not mean that the very next day, they could transfer their children into white schools.²⁰⁰ [The *World* often sought to keep peace by emphasizing the need for orderly action.]

Another article that was placed in the top middle of the front page bore the headline “Significance of Decision Aired by City Leaders” by Edward Peeks, a *World* reporter. The roughly 700-word article gave local reaction to the Supreme Court ruling desegregating schools by quoting blacks in the fields of higher education, business and clergy. This article, which ran Tuesday, May 18, 1954, demonstrated the black newspaper’s role of highlighting African Americans in these fields in an effort to showcase achievement in the black race both directly and indirectly.²⁰¹ The ruling was a “giant step forward for democracy at home and abroad.” Providing further historical context, this article called the decision the “most far-reaching” since the Dred Scott case in 1857, involving a slave who sued for freedom on the grounds that he had lived for a time on free soil, but whom the United States Supreme Court ruled was not a citizen and had no standing in court.²⁰² The article quoted Dr. Rufus E. Clement, president of Atlanta University and a member of the Atlanta Board of Education, who stated that “we have not only lived up to the high moral principles which are the foundation upon which this

country has been built, but we have also given an effective and a resounding reply to the Communist criticism of our treatment of our minority group.”²⁰³ This statement attests to the fact that conservative zealots at the time often tried to equate the desire for equality for blacks with Communist leanings, since Communists had pointed out the irony inherent in American idealism and the treatment of blacks.

The *World* continued to stress the importance of handling the ruling without disturbing the peace. An example was the subheading that read, “Calmness, Good Will, Intelligence,” followed by another quote from Clement stating that “it is now important for the courageous, honest people of both races in the South to approach the situation with calmness, good will and with intelligence.”²⁰⁴

Another statement came from the president of Clark College, Dr. James P. Brawley (for whom an Atlanta street near the school is now named), who called the ruling “the most important decision affecting us positively in education since the Reconstruction period” in the 1800s when blacks held a number of elected political positions.²⁰⁵ Brawley also warned that desegregation in Atlanta would not come over night in part because of the segregated housing, which would “tend to hold Negro students in schools in their communities and whites in theirs.”²⁰⁶ More local reaction was sought from E.M. Martin, vice president of the black-owned Atlanta Life Insurance Company on Auburn Avenue, who proclaimed that “Christianity and American Democracy gain stature in the world court of humanity and oppressed human beings in every race and nation under the sun will look to America as the great champion of Christianity and brotherhood.”²⁰⁷

Also gracing the front page of the May 18, 1954, newspaper, was a “Reviewing

the News” column by the *World’s* managing editor, William Gordon, entitled, “For the Negro, There will Be No Violence,” which further stressed the need for calmness and peace.²⁰⁸ In what seemed more like a plea than a prediction, Gordon wrote, “There will be no gloating or bragging on the part of Negroes. As in the past, they will exhibit the same loyalty and sanity, and they will work quietly along with their fellow Americans in abiding by what the highest tribunal has handed us.”²⁰⁹ He went on to warn, “Those who work otherwise do so out of stupidity. This will not represent Negro leadership. History has proof of this.”²¹⁰ Gordon recalled how cooler heads prevailed both in 1868 at the Georgia Constitutional Convention when thirty-six African Americans had a hand in hammering out a state constitution following the Civil War, as well as in 1883 following the Supreme Court ruling that declared unconstitutional the National Civil Rights Law that gave blacks the right to be served in all public places. It is clear that the *World* wanted everyone to remain calm following this new decision.

A fourth story on the front page on that same Tuesday apprised readers that Attorney Thurgood Marshall, who argued *Brown v. Board of Education* as special counsel to the NAACP, would be in Atlanta that weekend for a meeting with the state presidents of the NAACP from throughout the country, as well as nationally known lawyers, some of whom handled school suits on the local levels.²¹¹ This was the first of several articles about this special meeting. The article also mentioned a meeting the previous night at the NAACP headquarters on ways to aid various states in carrying out the Supreme Court’s ruling to desegregate the schools -- a process that would be a painful one in several of the states with political leaders who were adamantly opposed to the decision.

“Texas Church Leaders Applaud High Court Segregation Ruling,” was the headline of a fifth front-page story provided by the INS with an Austin, Texas dateline.²¹² It called the ruling “a step toward true religious brotherhood.”²¹³ The 530-word article further expressed the relationship between religious goodwill and human rights, quoting Bishop William C. Martin, president of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, who said, “The recognition of the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God has been one of the cherished ideals of Christianity since it was first revealed in the world.”²¹⁴ Another comment came from Dr. F. F. Curl of San Antonio, Texas, president of the Texas Council of Churches, who stated, “The Christian people of Texas from both the colored race and the white race will accept the decision as an opportunity to put into practice the principles of a Christ who knew no race.”²¹⁵ The placement of this article on the front page of the *World* demonstrated the role religion played in the black community, which superseded state boundaries, making this article just as relevant to Georgia readers as it was to Texas readers. By evoking religion into the equation, the *World* obviously wished to remind its readers that this was a time for peace and religious thanksgiving -- not a time for thumbing their noses at segregationists.

As one might imagine, the coverage provided by the *Atlanta Daily World* on the Supreme Court Ruling outlawing segregated schools was ongoing. The articles that ran the day immediately following the decision were the tip of a racial justice iceberg. The themes remained similar in the seven days following news of the ruling.

Historic Significance and Context. An article with the headline “NAACP Leaders At Friendship Baptist Church Sunday At 3 P.M.” dated Thursday, May 20, 1954, ran on the front page above the fold in the center of the newspaper.²¹⁶ The article

apprised readers that one of the “most outstanding delegations of NAACP officials ever to assemble outside of a national convention” was going to take place the following Sunday at a well-respected black church. This public meeting was set to follow a day-long meeting of conference presidents from seventeen states affected by the Supreme Court decision that would take place the previous Saturday at the Waluhaje Apartments. The article listed the names of some of the high-ranking and prominent black leaders who would be in attendance at the meeting, including NAACP leaders Thurgood Marshall, Walter White, and Roy Wilkins, as well as other luminaries like Mary McLeod Bethune.

This 400-word article showed the role of the *World* as the newspaper of record for the black community, since the article mainly listed the names of people who would be attending the meetings. It also showed the role of the church in the black community as a gathering place for conferences; whereas whites likely would have used a conference center. It also provided evidence of the fact that black entrepreneurship in Atlanta afforded blacks their own apartment and hotel building, the Waluhaje, which made Atlanta a prime meeting place for black organizations during this era.

An INS story the *World* ran on page four on Wednesday, May 19, 1954, gave the reaction of southern whites to the Court decision.²¹⁷ The placement of this story showed that the responses of white political leaders in states affected by the Supreme Court decision were deemed less important to the *World* than stories about what blacks were doing and saying about the decision. More importantly, much of the reactions were negative, and the newspaper's management obviously did not wish to highlight this negativity. For example, Gov. Hugh White of Mississippi stated that he was “sad and disappointed” that the Supreme Court outlawed segregation in the schools.²¹⁸ Gov.

Robert Kennon of Louisiana said that “there is no cause for hasty action” and that the decision “is not immediately binding on anybody,” according to the article.²¹⁹ North Carolina Governor William B. Umstead said he was “terribly disappointed” with the decision. In the last paragraph of the 650-word story, Georgia Gov. Herman Talmadge was quoted as saying that the Supreme Court's decision has reduced Georgia's constitution to a “mere scrap of paper.”²²⁰

A four-column-wide photograph graced the top of the Friday, May 21, 1954, newspaper showing a well-groomed mother and son smiling as they looked upon a collection of newspaper clippings about the famous Supreme Court decision declaring segregated public schools unconstitutional. The boy was one of the plaintiffs in the case. The 134-word cutline beneath the photograph called the decision “probably the most important in U.S. [r]ace relations since the famous Dred Scott decision of 1857, which held that a Negro was not a citizen. The Civil War reversed that decision.”

Demonstrating how people had no idea how far-reaching the ruling would go, administrators at historically black colleges and universities wondered aloud whether they would have to begin admitting white students. On Thursday, May 20, 1954, in a front-page story below the fold of the newspaper, an article written by Peeks stated that the president of historically black Clark College was ready to admit whites to Clark if desegregating schools meant whites might seek to go to black colleges.²²¹ In this article, Clark College's president, Dr. James P. Brawley and the college's dean, Dr. A. A. McPheeters, told the Hungry Club Forum (a weekly luncheon meeting with speakers on issues important to the African American community) at the Butler Street YMCA that the ruling “may be a challenge to some white student to attend Negro colleges.”²²² Dr. Rufus

Clement, president of Atlanta University and a member of the Atlanta Board of Education, said that the university would open its doors to white students as soon as it was legally free to do so. [Ironically, however, there was never a mass exodus of whites to desegregate predominantly black colleges in Atlanta.] By placing this article on the front page and allowing it to run more than 700 words, the newspaper was highlighting the importance of black colleges and universities and letting readers know that for some black institutions, turnabout was fair play and that they were willing to integrate for the greater good of society. “To abolish segregation on any one level is to infer its ultimate destruction on all of the others -- graduate schools, secondary and elementary schools, all professional schools and all undergraduate colleges,” McPheeters said in the article.²²³

Democracy and Patriotism. The ruling as a demonstration of democracy in action was another recurring theme throughout the coverage. A 700-word editorial that ran after the decision opened by invoking the Republican icon Abraham Lincoln, stating that when he rededicated “ ‘a nation under God’ at Gettysburg, with ‘a nation of the people, by the people, and for the people,’ there were no provisions made for second-class citizenship. A democracy, such as he envisioned and interpreted, had no room for such a practice within its confines.”²²⁴ Calling the Supreme Court decision to end segregated schools “the most sweeping decision of this century,” the editorial quoted the Justices as stating in their ruling: “We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of separate but equal has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal.”²²⁵ The decision also said that because of segregated schools, the plaintiffs and others in similar situations are “deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the 14th amendment.” The editorial then went on to state that this ruling “will

strengthen the position of our nation in carrying out the imposed duties of world leadership,” and that the decision “serves as a boost to the spirit of Democracy, it accelerates the faith of intense devoutness in minorities, who have long believed in and trusted the courts.”²²⁶ This statement held particular significance for the newspaper, because C. A. Scott often expressed his feelings that advances for minorities were best handled in the courts and through laws rather than through the use of demonstrations that could turn into violence.

A man-on-the-street reaction story by *World* reporter and photographer Harmon G. Perry on Tuesday, May 18, 1954, made the point that opinions about the decision ranged widely.²²⁷ The article quoted a white man as saying that the decision was wrong, even though some of his best friends were “colored.”²²⁸ A black secretary, according to the article, “came up with an almost unbelievable remark of ‘I don’t think it will work.’”²²⁹ It is interesting that the reporter editorialized that this comment was “almost unbelievable.” The poll emphasized, however, that “an overwhelming majority of all persons quizzed on the decision were in favor of the ruling.”²³⁰ It was obvious that most of those questioned were members of Atlanta’s African American community, and those whose comments were not positive were somewhat dismissed. The article ended with Maggie Atkins, an Auburn Avenue business woman, stating that “I’m glad about the decision, its a good thing for everybody’s children, mine as well as the other man’s. It will take a true Democracy here to fight for peace the world over.”²³¹

While the mainstream newspapers in the South seemed to have a tougher time than the African American press covering and accepting desegregation, an NNPA story showed that newspapers in other parts of the country had some reactions that were more

encouraging. In a 700-word NNPA article with the headline, “SOME FAVORABLE REACTIONS BY METROPOLITAN PRESS,” the newspaper reported on the Thursday following the decision what a few large newspapers had to say on the matter. It quoted the *New York Times* as saying in an editorial, “. . . we move toward a more perfect democracy. When some hostile propagandist rises in Moscow or Peiping to accuse us of being a class society, we can if we wish recite the courageous words of yesterday’s opinion.”²³² This article, which ran on the second page of the newspaper, seemed to be an attempt to counterbalance the negative reactions of southern newspapers that the newspaper wrote about previously.

In “Another Momentous Day” -- a 360-word editorial that ran on Sunday, May 23, 1954 -- the *World* stated that the Supreme Court’s decision was “one of the important days in the history of this country and the fight for freedom for all citizens of the nation. And make no mistake of the significance it has to those in other nations who yet have to make their choice between the American and Communistic way of life.”²³³ This article went on to state that NAACP leaders met in Atlanta in a “calm atmosphere” to deliberate about how best to carry out the goal of desegregation. It said the *World* expected that their plan “will meet the full approval and support of those who desire for the Fourteenth Amendment of our great Constitution to bring into reality full equality under the law.”²³⁴

As the *World* covered the NAACP conference in Atlanta following the Supreme Court ruling, it continued to express the organization’s stance on desegregation and how the decision upheld the doctrine of democracy. On the front page of the newspaper on Tuesday, May 25, 1954, a lengthy 1,130-word article stated that the so-called “Atlanta Declaration,” written by NAACP leaders from seventeen southern states, instructed “all

of our branches in every affected area to petition their local school boards to abolish segregation without delay.”²³⁵ Walter White, executive secretary of the national NAACP, stated that the decision, “has cracked the gloom and given both Americans and the peoples of other parts of the world a new faith in the workability of democracy,” according to the article.²³⁶ He also was quoted as saying that Senator Richard B. Russell, an opponent of desegregation, had supplied the Kremlin with material to discount the favorable impression America had gained from the Supreme Court decision throughout the world and particularly in Asia, Africa, and Latin America where the two-thirds of the world’s population that is not white live. The article spoke of the overflow crowd at Friendship Baptist Church, where White’s speech was interrupted repeatedly by thunderous applause. In addressing opposition to school desegregation, White called Georgia Governor Talmadge and Governor Byrnes of South Carolina “two of the most pathetic figures in American life today,” also adding that Georgia Senator Richard Russell was “one of the most pathetic figures of the current scene.”²³⁷ The article further quoted White as saying, “Frightened by the possibility that Herman Talmadge might run against him for the United States Senate, Senator Russell made one of the most intemperate speeches of recent years on the floor of the United States Supreme Court.”²³⁸ By doing so, Russell, according to White in the article, killed “all chances of fulfilling his burning ambition to be President of the United States.”²³⁹

Peace and Calmness. Calls for peace, calmness, and reasonable behavior were found throughout articles about the school desegregation decision. This was in line with the *World’s* non-inflammatory approach to volatile subjects.

An approximately 670-word story that ran on the front page on Wednesday, May

19, 1954, gave a run-through of what mainstream newspapers in the south stated in response to the Supreme Court decision. The opening paragraph mentions that the comments ranged from mild acceptance to out-right opposition, adding that, “None we have seen so far has actually praised” the decisions.²⁴⁰ The opening comment, however, was from the *Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal*, which stated that “... there is no reason to believe that we cannot approach this with calmness, reason and a genuine spirit of cooperation.”²⁴¹ The article continued, “The main thing now is to face this thing squarely, as an accomplished fact, and work out our destiny for the general good and the greater glory of our nation.”²⁴² While it may seem odd that the article would begin with the opinion of a Tennessee newspaper and bury the thoughts of the *Atlanta Constitution* in the article’s middle paragraphs, the Memphis newspaper emphasized a theme that the *World* felt strongly about -- that the public needed to be calm in its response to such a divisive subject.

The *Atlanta Constitution* was quoted in the *World* as stating, “The decision -- however we may deplore it as individuals -- becomes the law of the land. That is the first basic fact.”²⁴³ The quote from the *Atlanta Constitution* continued, “The court decision does not mean that Negro and white children will go to school together this fall. The court itself provides for a ‘cooling off’ period. Not until next autumn will it even begin to hear arguments from the attorneys general of the seventeen states involved on how to implement the ruling.”²⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that while the *World* was busy reporting the “no compromise” and “immediate action” stance of the NAACP, the mainstream newspaper was pointing out how long it would take before anyone would see the fruit of the Supreme Court’s labors.²⁴⁵

In this article, which did not have a by-line, the *World* sandwiched the negative responses of several newspapers between the more forward-looking responses. The *Macon (Ga.) Telegraph* was quoted as stating that “Georgia and the South today are not ready, nor able, to abolish segregation in schools, and until the time when we are, the principle pronounced by the court will remain in abstract.”²⁴⁶ The *Birmingham News* was quoted as stating, “Admittedly segregation has produced emotional reactions that have not always been good. But we are much concerned that the ending of segregation may produce feelings and problems far more difficult to deal with.”²⁴⁷ In an attempt to end as it began on a good note, the *World* quoted the *Charleston News-Courier* as stating, “It is such a delicate task we shall need wisdom and tolerance on all sides.”

A page one INS story that ran Thursday, May 20 in the top right-hand corner stated that President Eisenhower basically distanced himself from the Supreme Court ruling by stating that the high Court “is not under any administration” and declining to say whether its decision outlawing school segregation was in line with his policies.²⁴⁸ When asked if he had advice to give the South on how to react to the decision, he replied that he had none at all, but he “lauded Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina for urging that the situation be met with calmness and reasonableness.”²⁴⁹ It is notable that a newspaper that was often accused of being a conservative Republican vehicle was quick to place in its most prominent spot an article pointing out that a Republican president was avoiding a stance on the ruling.

An editorial, 830 words long, which ran Tuesday, May 25, 1954, was about the two-day meeting in Atlanta of NAACP leaders from seventeen states that would be affected by the Supreme Court’s ruling. The *World* described the group as made up of

“sane and serious thinkers.”²⁵⁰ In carrying out a recurring theme of calmness, the *World* wrote, “While the impact is still resounding, in tremors, there was seen no reason for alarm in the coming execution of the court’s order.”²⁵¹ The editorial then quoted from the preamble set forth by the conference of NAACP leaders. This included the statement that “we will resist the use of any tactics contrived for the sole purpose of delaying desegregation.”²⁵² The *World* then stated, “Now that a great battle for freedom has been won, it is the plain duty of those who handle the negotiations not to lose the peace.”²⁵³ The newspaper also called for “intelligence, patience, courage and determination” to carry out desegregation plans, adding, “Where freedom and human rights are concerned and are supported by law there can be no just compromise of principle.”²⁵⁴

Religious Relevance. In the black community, churches hold a position of high esteem. Therefore, the reaction among religious organizations and the parallels between the Court’s ruling and religious -- particularly Christian -- principles were deemed important to readers.

The Thursday, May 20, 1954, newspaper had two church-related stories on the front page. One 260-word INS article had the headline, “Nat’l Council of Churches Lauds Court Ruling.” The general board of the Council, which claimed to be the nation’s largest religious organization, issued a statement that said, “The decision gives a clear status in law to a fundamental Christian and American principle. It offers the promise of further steps for translating into reality Christian and Democratic ideals.”²⁵⁵ The second story stated that the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance hailed the Supreme Court’s decision as a “great victory” and “hastened to recognize the important role which the church and the ministry must play in the implementation of the ruling.”²⁵⁶

Refusal to Compromise. A front-page story on Sunday, May 23, 1954, by the *World's* Marion E. Jackson bore the headline "NAACP Views 'No Compromise' On School Bias" and was roughly 700 words. It told readers that a "strong, no compromise statement on school segregation" was to be issued by the NAACP at a press conference that day.²⁵⁷ Emerging from the NAACP's conference of state presidents and key officials was the general stance that the seventeen southern states should immediately call a halt to segregation practices that had existed there since slavery was abolished. While the press had been barred from the meeting itself, news had seeped out that the NAACP "disavowed any compromise on segregation despite the inflammatory tone of southern governors and politicians."²⁵⁸ This article ran in the top left corner of the front page below a banner headline stating "NAACP LEADERS MEET TO DISCUSS SCOPE AND MEANING OF U.S. SUPREME COURT DECISION" and next to it was a photograph by Harmon Perry showing four NAACP leaders conferring before the closed meeting began. In the top center of the same newspaper a 900-word story by Peeks told how the "NAACP will not stand idly by and watch attempts to evade the United States Supreme Court's unanimous decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools."²⁵⁹ The press conference preceded a morning meeting to "plan a course of action on the local level to facilitate integration of public school systems in accordance with principles laid down by the Supreme Court."²⁶⁰ White explained that the NAACP took the position that "Negro and white children alike will be served better in integrated schools, contrary to any stand for the continuance of separate schools by local parents or officials."²⁶¹

The placement and wording of this coverage, including its blaring banner headline in all capital letters stretched across the top of the front page showed that the *Atlanta*

Daily World was unafraid to report the strong language of the NAACP when it came to the organization's refusal to compromise and its demands for swift action. This came at a time when Georgia political leaders were searching for ways to evade the ruling.

According to the article, Senator Richard Russell gave a speech on the floor of the Senate describing the Supreme Court decision as an infringement on states' rights and quipping that the high court should get a board of psychologists for future rulings (because the Court considered a psychologist's testimony on the ill-effects of Jim-Crow education on children's personalities when making its unanimous decision).

The *Atlanta Daily World* saved some of its sharpest comments for its editorials that ran inside the newspaper -- usually on page four or six. Under the headline "Let Us Not Compromise The Court, Nor Our Rights," the lead editorial on Thursday, May 20, 1954, expressed the view that the people who opposed the Supreme Court decision were attempting to "create a reaction so strong that it will have an intimidating effect on Negro citizens. We must by all means guard against such a shrewd maneuver ..."²⁶² This editorial stated, "We must never voluntarily give up a legal right, nor deny to anyone else his legal rights."²⁶³

Located beneath a banner headline in all capital letters stating 'N.C., ARKANSAS TOWNS TO FOLLOW DECISION'" was a roughly 900-word front-page article dated Friday, May 21, 1954, with the headline, " 'Must Not Try to Circumvent Decision' Says N.C. Committee." The *World* wrote that education officials in North Carolina and Arkansas were planning to obey the Supreme Court's ruling and to begin the process of desegregating their schools.²⁶⁴ In addition, the paper reported, Virginia Governor Thomas B. Stanley and Florida Governor Charley Johns both proposed

meetings to discuss the new law to desegregate the schools. Just as one may begin wondering why North Carolina and Arkansas news would be so important to Georgians, in the eighth paragraph of the story, readers learned that the Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook was planning a meeting of his own. Cook was inviting chief legal officers of other southern states to a meeting in Atlanta to “explore the legal problems and possible legal courses that might be followed to preserve segregation in the public schools.”²⁶⁵ The article pointed out that Missouri and Kentucky attorneys general were not planning to send representatives to Georgia’s meeting.

Cook’s plans to attempt to circumvent the law could have been the lead paragraph for this story. However, the *World* chose to start on a positive note, showing that other southern states were planning to follow the law of the land and begin the process of desegregating their public schools. This was in line with the *World*’s approach to some controversial subjects, which the newspaper addressed but in a manner that was somewhat oblique. This approach was not necessarily a cowardly one. By accentuating the positive first in this article, the *World* used its press power to juxtapose the rogue nature of Georgia’s top lawyer with the lawfulness of other southern officials -- which arguably made Cook look even worse.

Some Georgia politicians were bitterly opposed to the ruling and talked of turning all of the public schools into private schools so that they could remain segregated. In an editorial headlined “The Effects of a Unanimous Decision,” on Wednesday, May 19, 1954, the *World* railed against an amendment proposed to deliver the public schools over to private interests, a measure that was scheduled to be voted on in November of that year. “Those who persist in the private schools plan, in the face of so strong a decision

and unanimous in its approval, could not claim justly that they are in the pale of reason,” the editorial stated.²⁶⁶ It predicted doom for such efforts and stated that they were surprised “at the extreme reactionary position taken by the governor of the state and the junior senator of this state,” adding that “the reaction by the Georgia officials in the state and Congress was by far more extreme than those of any other state in the South.”²⁶⁷ The editorial stated, in very polite language, that while the negative action from Georgia’s politicians would slow down the process in the state, “wisdom demands that every responsible person should show tolerance and self-control in the present situation which has been created -- not by the court’s decision -- but by the unfounded doctrines that have been delivered to the people by politicians who have profited from exploitation of the racial issue.”²⁶⁸ These choice words showed that the *World* was not going to take efforts to evade the law in this matter lying down. It used passionate language, in polished terms, to state its firm opposition to efforts aimed at delaying school desegregation.

An INS story that was placed in the top right corner on the front page of the Saturday, May 22, 1954, reported that Oklahoma Governor Johnston Murray, who was head of the Southern Governor’s Conference, did not plan to call a meeting of the southern governors and would not attend the meeting called by Virginia’s governor.²⁶⁹ Nevertheless, he said he would attend the meeting called by Georgia’s attorney general. This 340-word story did not point out the nature of the Georgia meeting, which was to find legal ways around the new law. It merely quoted Oklahoma’s governor as stating that he did not feel anything could be accomplished by a meeting of southern governors.

By placing this article in the top, right corner of the newspaper under the all-capital half-banner headline “SOUTHERN GOVERNOR’S ASS’N HEAD SEES NO

NEED FOR SPECIAL MEET,” the *World* highlighted the head of the southern governor’s reluctance to promote progress in desegregating the schools. However, the article could have pushed further by restating the nature of the Georgia meeting -- to circumvent the law -- versus the nature of a meeting of all the southern governors -- which ostensibly would have been to help find ways to uphold the law peacefully and logistically.

An editorial with the headline, “An Extreme Position,” that ran Tuesday, May 25, 1954, devoted roughly 560 words to expressing “surprise in the continued defiant attitude of Georgia’s governor at this particular time” who, according to the editorial, was talking of using “guns and the like.”²⁷⁰ The *World* wrote further that “it is surprising and otherwise embarrassing to all true Georgians that he takes the position that troops will patrol the schools, if need be in order to affect an open rebellion against the order of the court.”²⁷¹

The *World’s* editorial stance against Georgia political leaders who were looking for ways to skirt the law in this case showed that when it came to matters of civil rights during this era, the newspaper spoke up fervently. The *World* stayed true to that stance even when the issue was one outside of Georgia’s borders, as evidenced by its coverage of the brutal murder of a black teenager in Mississippi.

The Murder of Emmett Till

The brutalized body of Emmett Louis Till had been found Wednesday, August 31, 1955, in the Tallahatchie River, according to a Scott Newspaper Syndicate story with a Greenwood, Mississippi, dateline. The fourteen-year-old boy had been shot once in the

head, bludgeoned, and his body was weighted down with a 150-pound cotton gin fan that was fastened to him with barbed wire.²⁷² In the early days of the coverage, the *World* wrote that Till allegedly “talked ugly” to a white woman, and later, it would be reported that he also whistled at her.²⁷³ It marked the third lynching of an African American person in a short span of time in Mississippi. Within a few months prior to Till’s murder, a minister and another man had both been killed for urging blacks to vote, the latter of whom was killed on courthouse grounds, according to the article.²⁷⁴

The report gave these details: Roy Bryant, 24, a Money, Mississippi, storekeeper, and his half-brother, J. W. Milam, 36, were being held on kidnapping charges and would later be charged with murder, as soon as it was determined in which county the boy was killed, according to LeFlore County Sheriff George Smith.²⁷⁵ Till had been visiting his uncle, a tenant farmer, in Money that summer. His mother had grown up in that community. Till's uncle, Mose Wright, said that three men and a woman came to his house that previous Sunday (August 28, 1955) and took the boy who allegedly had made “ugly remarks” to Bryant's wife.²⁷⁶ [Later, readers learned that Till was accused of “wolf-whistling” at the woman.]²⁷⁷ Sheriff Smith said that he believed only two men and a woman were involved. The woman had not been arrested, but authorities were reportedly searching for her. The sheriff said Bryant admitted to taking the boy from the house, but claimed that he had released him after his wife failed to identify him.²⁷⁸

William Henry Huff, chairman of the NAACP's legal redress committee, wrote in a letter to Mississippi Governor Hugh White that “Those who commit such dastardly acts are themselves enemies to our country, and those who do nothing toward bringing such criminals to justice are themselves parties to the crime,” the news report continued.²⁷⁹

Huff called for an FBI investigation and promised to reiterate an appeal for federal intervention. In New York City, a spokesman for the NAACP said the case appeared to qualify as a lynching. The last previous killing described by law enforcement authorities as a lynching in the United States occurred in 1952, but the NAACP tabbed other mysterious killings in Mississippi and elsewhere as lynchings also.²⁸⁰

Governor White, however, did not believe the killing fell into that category. “It was not a lynching – it was straight murder!” he was quoted as saying in an article that ran Friday, September 2, 1955, in which he also stated that “Mississippi does not condone such conduct on the part of any of its citizens” and called for law enforcement officials to investigate the death fully and “prosecute vigorously.”²⁸¹ New details had emerged in the case, the *World* reported. At 2:30 a.m. Sunday morning, August 28, 1955, men came to the door of the home where Till was staying, asking the whereabouts of “that boy from Chicago.”²⁸² Till's sixty-four-year-old uncle said he thought the men intended to whip his nephew and release him. “They told me I wouldn't live to be 65 if I remembered their faces and told anybody,” but when the men left he called police from a nearby house.²⁸³

Three days later, Till's body was found on Wednesday, August 31, in the Tallahatchie River. The *World* did not buy the idea that Till's murder was not a lynching, and in an editorial the newspaper pointed to the need for anti-lynching legislation.²⁸⁴ “The kidnap-murder of a young teen-ager in Mississippi last week was nothing short of a lynching,” the editorial stated.²⁸⁵ The editorial also lamented the fact that authorities said the case could not be investigated by federal authorities. “Cases of this nature in order to come under jurisdiction of the federal government must conform to the regulations by

which the federal courts may take jurisdiction,” the newspaper explained regretfully.²⁸⁶

Till’s body was transported by rail to Chicago, where his mother, Mamie Bradley, wept hysterically as the coffin was removed from the train. At the funeral home, Bradley made a decision that would cause her son’s death to become legendary: “Open it up,” she said of the casket. “Let the people see what happened to my boy.”²⁸⁷ The *World* used words rather than pictures to inform readers of Till’s condition. The boy’s head had been beaten badly, there was a small bullet hole in it, most of his teeth were gone, and the right side of his head was caved in, according to an INS article the *World* ran on September 3, 1955.²⁸⁸ Police said Bryant and Milam admitted kidnapping Till because he whistled at Bryant’s wife, according to the article. The following Tuesday, a murder indictment was to be considered. Meanwhile, President Eisenhower and Mississippi Governor Hugh White were informed about the NAACP’s concerns about the case.²⁸⁹

Above an article on Sunday, September 4, 1955, which conspicuously was not accompanied by the world-renowned photograph of Till’s brutalized face, the headline stated that 50,000 came to a church in Chicago’s south side to view Till’s body.²⁹⁰ Perhaps the *World* thought showing the photograph would have been distasteful or would have sparked so much emotion that it surely could have caused an uprising of some sort. On Saturday, September 3, 1955, the article stated, more than 10,000 crowded the streets outside the Roberts Temple Church of God in Christ, where the service was carried via loudspeakers to the group of mourners standing in the street, according to the newspaper on Sunday, September 4, 1955. Readers first learned in this same article that the boy was accused of “wolf-whistling” at the woman and that Till’s body had been found by a boy who was fishing.²⁹¹

Mississippi's reputation was put on the line in *World* managing editor William Gordon's "Reviewing the News" column on Sunday, September 4, 1955. "Since 1882, Mississippi has led the country in lynchings, holding the record of more than 11 percent of all in the country. Only three years, since 1932, has the state been without a lynching. The state also leads in the number of women lynched, including white," according to the column.²⁹² Gordon tried to find an explanation for the actions of some -- though not all -- in Mississippi. "First of all, Mississippi is primarily rural and plantation in its thinking," Gordon wrote.²⁹³ "Against this background has emerged a deep manifestation of ignorance, and prejudice generated by the agrarian inspired political leadership. Smart politicians have taken advantage of the people here and played race against race, section against section. There has been sin, and plenty of it, and the [ones] who should atone for it, should not be the people, but the leaders."²⁹⁴ The *World* again called for FBI intervention and wrote that Till's murder "almost disgraced" the nation, in an editorial that ran the same day.²⁹⁵

Finally, Bryant and Milam were formally indicted for Till's murder by a Tallahatchie County grand jury in Sumner, Mississippi.²⁹⁶ The NAACP and Mississippi Governor White continued to play the semantics game over whether Till's killing was a lynching or "straight murder," as the governor put it.²⁹⁷ The *World* reported the news in a straightforward manner, even when outrageous accusations were made by law enforcement officials. For example, it reported that Sheriff H. C. Strider asserted he was "not sure at all" that the body recovered was Till; however, the victim's uncle, Mose Wright, testified that a ring found on the body belonged to Till, and the boy's mother identified the body as well. Sheriff Strider said he had received letters accusing him of

“not doing my duty,” but the newspaper quoted him as saying, “We intend to try this case and these men according to law” and that the case “will receive due consideration regardless of race, color or creed.”²⁹⁸

A front-page photograph on Wednesday, September 7, 1955, showed Till’s mother weeping next to a closed casket that had arrived in Chicago from Mississippi. New details of the case emerged in an NNPA article on Wednesday, September 7, 1955, with accounts given by Mose Wright’s fifty-five-year-old wife (named only as Mrs. Mose Wright) and Curtis Jones, a seventeen-year-old Crane Tech senior and second cousin of Emmett. “When I heard the men at the door, I ran to Emmett’s room and tried to wake him so I could get him out the back door into the cotton fields,” Mrs. Wright said. “But they were already in the front door before I could shake him awake.”²⁹⁹

Mrs. Wright and Jones insisted that there was a third man who waited at the door while Bryant and Milam came into the home, and that Bryant’s wife was waiting in the car in front of the house. When Wright went to his door to answer loud knocks, the visitor stated, “Preacher, this is Mr. Bryant and we’re here to talk to you about that boy from Chicago,” Mrs. Wright and Jones recalled overhearing, adding that Wright was a minister of the Church of God and Christ in Money. Milan was carrying a “long gun” and a big flashlight, the two recalled. Mrs. Wright said she was ordered to get back in bed and “keep your yap shut” as she returned from trying to awaken Till. Jones said the two men went from room to room shining the flashlight into the faces of the others -- including four boys ages twelve to sixteen. When they found Emmett in the fourth bedroom, they asked, “Are you the one who did the smart talk up in Money?” Jones said that when Emmett answered “Yeh,” the man said: “Don’t say ‘yeh’ to me or I’ll knock [the] hell out

of you.” The men took Emmett outside to show him to Mrs. Bryant, who said, “Yes,” and with that response, Emmett was placed in the car and never seen alive again.³⁰⁰ Jones, who was a grandson of the Wrights, said he heard his grandfather make a futile plea that the men only whip Till. “My grandfather told them that he [Emmett] didn’t have good sense because he had polio when he was three years old and that his mind and speech had been affected,” Jones was quoted as saying.³⁰¹

The story stayed on the front page of the newspaper for weeks to come. One news article pointed out that Mississippi law called for a sentence of death in the event the two men were convicted without recommendation of mercy; if mercy was recommended, the penalty would be life imprisonment. Elizabeth Wright, Till’s aunt and a witness in the case, continued to question why police insisted only two men were involved instead of three, according to the article.³⁰² According to a Louis Lautier article that ran Friday, September 9, 1955, NAACP officials spoke for an hour and forty minutes with the Assistant Attorney General in Washington, D. C. about violence and intimidation against blacks trying to vote in Mississippi and whether the federal government could become involved in the Till case, but no commitment of action was made for either situation.³⁰³

On Saturday, September 10, 1955, readers learned that the men would go on trial on Monday, September 19, 1955.³⁰⁴ In this article, readers were told that Till was beaten with an ax. The *World* reported that the NAACP received criticism from several Louisiana and Mississippi newspapers, which condemned the murder but charged the organization with trying to stir up racial strife.

The *World* continued to point out the discrepancy between the number of men who abducted Till (the black witnesses said three, but the Sheriff insisted only two) and

to assert that Till's murder should be considered a lynching. In an editorial on Tuesday, September 13, 1955, however, the *World* suggested that the bigger question was whether the perpetrators would be adequately punished, and that if they were, then perhaps this could lift the murder out of the lynching category, since most lynchings went unpunished.³⁰⁵ Expressing a glimmer of hope that the tide would turn for unpunished crimes of whites against blacks, the *World* editorial stated that "Mississippi has an opportunity of emerging in good standing, in the forthright handling of the trial of those accused of murdering the Till lad; she can make a contribution to the good offices of this country."³⁰⁶

In a Friday, September 16, 1955, article, Sheriff H. C. Strider reiterated that he did not believe the body retrieved from the river was Till's. He said he was willing to testify as such during the trial. Strider thought the body was too badly decomposed to have been in the water only three days.³⁰⁷

Readers soon learned that the Till case evoked national attention. In an article on Sunday, September 18, 1955, readers were told that newspapermen and photographers from New York, Chicago, Detroit and other cities had flocked to the courthouse to cover the case in Sumner, Mississippi, which had a population of only 700 at the time.³⁰⁸ The jury that would try Bryant and Milam was to be chosen from a panel of 120 white men, because women could not serve on Mississippi juries at the time, and no blacks were registered to vote in Tallahatchie County at the time, according to the article.³⁰⁹ The ratio of blacks to whites then in the region, however, was two to one.³¹⁰

The courtroom's sweltering temperature of ninety degrees was as hot as the case had become. Judge Curtis M. Swango presided over the trial, for which ten jurors -- eight

of them Delta farmers, one a retired carpenter, and another an insurance salesman -- had been selected and sequestered in a Sumner hotel.³¹¹ Courtroom spectators were searched for weapons, because the sheriff stated that he had received 150 threatening letters from individuals in Chicago, New York, Detroit and other cities. "If anyone is going to use guns around this courtroom, it will be me and my deputies," Sheriff Strider declared.³¹²

Bryant and Milam each had two small sons, and from time to time, the boys sat on their fathers' laps. The courtroom was crowded to capacity and droves stood in the hallway, according to the article. At one point, the crush of people became so great that a window broke, the article stated. The heat did not abate, and the judge allowed spectators to remove their jackets, as two large fans struggled to do the impossible.³¹³

African American reporters were allowed to sit at a "Jim Crow" press table about five feet to the rear of the white press table of twenty newsmen, according to a short article that ran September 20, 1955. The table was to the left of the presiding judge and in front of any spectators. "I've provided a table for white reporters and Negro reporters," Sheriff Strider said. "We don't mix down here."³¹⁴

As usual, the *World* gave very prominent attention to the Till case on September 21, 1955. A banner headline stretched across two articles flanking a photograph of a sheriff's deputy searching courtroom spectators. Judge Swango said he was concerned that the sweltering, over-crowded courtroom could be a fire hazard.³¹⁵ "After today, no one will be permitted to stand in the courtroom who has no official business here," Judge Swango said. "We want to accommodate all of the public that we can but we must take proper precautions."³¹⁶ The jury selection process was recessed for an afternoon to give the prosecution an opportunity to confer with new witnesses, who had been named by

other state witnesses as people who might prove valuable to the case, according to the Wednesday, September 21, 1955, newspaper article.³¹⁷

Atlanta Daily World reporter James L. Hicks (who was also a correspondent for the NNPA) helped Congressman Charles C. Diggs of Michigan, who at the time was the nation's third-ranking black Congressman, to be seated in the courtroom at the press table designated for blacks. Diggs and two aides were waiting outside as the jury was to march into the courtroom. A photographer informed those at the "colored press table" that Diggs was waiting outside. Hicks went outside, where aide James Del Rio explained that they could not get into the courtroom. Hicks took one of Diggs' business cards and had it presented to the judge by special prosecutor R. B. Smith, and the judge then told the sheriff to escort Diggs and his party into the courtroom.³¹⁸ The sheriff told those at the colored press table, "You folks will have to make room for him at your table."³¹⁹

Meanwhile, Till's mother, Mrs. Bradley, caused a bit of a commotion when she entered the courtroom. She later said she had received nearly 2,000 letters concerning her son's tragic death. Mrs. Bradley was asked if she believed the body found in the river was that of her son. She quickly replied, "If I hadn't been sure that that was my boy I'd be down here right now looking for him."³²⁰

Reporters searched for two missing young African American men who were believed to have been at the scene of the Till murder, according to a short article on Wednesday, September 21, 1955. Leroy "Too Tight" Collins and Henry Lee Logan (later named as Henry Lee Loggins) were said to have worked for one of the defendants. The young men were rumored to have been in front of the house from which Till was taken, as well as at the crime scene itself. The *World* reporter did confirm that Collins was

missing from his former residence, according to the article. His former landlady was quoted as saying, “They came and got him Monday a week ago.”³²¹

At the trial, the Rev. Mose Wright “told a tense, hot southern courtroom” on Wednesday, September 21, 1955, his account of the night when several white men kidnapped and killed his fourteen-year-old greatnephew.³²² According to the article, “The 64-year-old Negro sharecropper, a wiry man with graying hair and a jutting chin, stood up in the packed Sumner Courtroom, and pointed a lean finger at Roy Bryant and J. W. Milam” -- an act that was almost unheard of at the time.³²³ “There they are,” Wright was quoted as saying.³²⁴ On Thursday, September 22, 1955, the tone of one *World* article was hopeful, stating that there were rumors of evidence that would strengthen the state’s case and that the prosecution was adding to its list of witnesses more African Americans who might be able to “split the case wide open.”³²⁵ It said the defense cross-examined Wright about his identification of the men and of the body pulled from the river. That same day, the *World* carried a photograph of Wright and his twelve-year-old son, Maurice, (Wright had twelve children) on the front page, as well as a photograph of another witness, Auntie Lou Martin, another of Till’s relatives, who said she was 112 years old. She was pictured barefoot and smoking a cheroot.

On Friday, September 23, 1955, a banner headline told that the prosecution was resting its case without hearing from a “surprise” witness. The prosecuting attorneys had called five witnesses Thursday and seven on Wednesday and said they felt they had sufficiently proved that the two men killed Till in a barn on August 28, 1955.³²⁶

Willie Reed, an eighteen-year-old farmhand and student, testified that he saw Milam enter a barn in Sunflower County on August 28, 1955, and seconds later heard

human screams coming from the barn.³²⁷ Mamie Bradley, Till's mother, identified the ring that was removed from the body of her son after he was dragged from the river.³²⁸ The ring had been taken by a black undertaker, Chester Miller, who turned it over to the sheriff's office. Mrs. Bradley said the ring had belonged to her husband, a deceased soldier, Louis Till, and that Emmett was wearing it when he left Chicago.³²⁹ Mrs. Bradley told how she identified her son's body through careful study of what was left of his face.

The *World* article hinted at subtle racist overtones during the trial. The *World* article pointed out that the Caucasian prosecutor, who was specially assigned to the case by Governor White, referred to Till's mother on the stand as "Mamie" and not as "Mrs. Bradley." The defense attorney, according to the article, made the "unusual request that he be allowed to remain seated while cross examining her," the article stated, although he soon rose to his feet.³³⁰ He, too, addressed her as "Mamie." After asking if she was born in Mississippi, which she had been before leaving at the age of two, he asked if she subscribed to the *Chicago Defender*, a black-owned newspaper. The prosecutor sternly objected and pleaded with the judge not to allow the defense to follow that line of questioning. "He did not say so but he apparently had the tense racial situation in mind here," the reporter surmised.³³¹

The banner headline that ran on Saturday, September 24, 1955, may have been unexpected by some of the *Atlanta Daily World's* readers. "MISS. ACQUITS TILL DEATH SUSPECTS" was above a subheading that let readers know that the jury only deliberated an hour to come to its "not guilty" verdict during the historic five-day trial.³³² The jury had begun deliberating at 2:35 p.m. and came back with its verdict at 3:42 p.m. The judge warned that there was to be no demonstration when the verdict was read, the

article stated. Only a murmur swept the crowded courtroom after the verdict was read, but the buzz immediately stopped after the judge looked sternly at the spectators.

According to the article, Bryant and Milam looked at each other happily while others nearby shook their heads. Both defendants lit cigars after the verdict was announced.³³³

The *World* ran an editorial that same day (Saturday, September 24, 1955) still contending that the Till murder was indeed a lynching. In making its case, the *World* cited the testimony of Reed, the young man who said that on the morning of the kidnapping, he saw a boy whom he later identified as Till in the company of six men in a pickup truck along a country road in nearby Sunflower County, according to the editorial. A few minutes later, according to the *World*, Reed testified he passed a red barn on the property of Leslie Milam, the brother of the defendant, and saw the same pickup truck parked near the barn. Then he said he heard some sounds of beating and shouts coming from the barn. J. W. Milam emerged from the barn carrying a pistol, and went to a nearby well for a drink of water.³³⁴

In its signature pat on the back of whites who were helpful to African Americans, the *World's* reporter James Hicks commended the closing arguments of District Attorney Gerald Chatham. "In one of the most passionate pleas ever made by a white man in the South on behalf of a Negro, [Chatham] begged an all-white jury to forget about race and condemn what is 'morally and legally wrong' and convict Roy Bryant and J. W. Milam for the murder of Emmett Till," Hicks wrote.³³⁵ "For here was a southern-born white man, facing an all-white jury and asking that jury to render a verdict which could hang two white men for killing a Negro. No white man has ever been given a death penalty in Mississippi for killing a Negro."³³⁶

The Till case “reverberated all over” the globe and a watchful world voiced its horror about the verdict, according to an article on Tuesday, September 27, 1955. British and French newspapers gave front-page coverage to the “not guilty” verdict. Concerned for their safety, many of the principal witnesses in the trial left the area immediately. Mose Wright gave away his three dogs, sold his chickens and furniture and headed for Albany, N.Y. where he had been promised a lifetime job with a nursery company, according to the article.³³⁷ Congressman Diggs personally moved witnesses Willie Reed and Mrs. Mandy Bradley (no relation to Mamie Bradley) to Detroit. According to the article, a group of white men had come to the home of Mandy Bradley -- who was said to be over 100 years old -- and she had to escape out of a window.

Hicks wrote a front-page column on Thursday, September 29, 1955, about what he deemed a “mockery of justice.”³³⁸ “Mississippi thus stands in the eyes of the nation today as a place where judgment and fair play have flown to the four winds and where men either have lost their reason or refuse to recognize it when they are faced with it,” Hicks wrote.³³⁹

Hicks wrote on Tuesday, October 4, 1955, what he called the “true story of what happened in the hectic five day trial” which had “never been written before” because while he was in Mississippi, he feared bodily harm to himself, his colleagues and to potential witnesses.³⁴⁰ Hicks wrote in a lengthy article of more than 2,000 words with a New York dateline that he was ashamed that he did not “throw caution to the wind” and try to have the story published exactly as it unfolded, but he felt that had he tried, he would not be alive. He pointed out that he never lied during the coverage but that he “did not dig or go far enough into the truth. It just wasn’t safe to do so.”³⁴¹ Hicks’ charges

were as follows: (1) Sheriff Strider did not take an impartial person to the Charleston, Mississippi, jail to check on whether Leroy “Too Tight” Collins was there or not. (2) It was reported that Collins was not there, but he was indeed there on the Friday that the case went to the jury. (3) Prosecutors Chatham and Robert Smith were told about this but decided that since the sheriff had given them his word, then Collins likely was not in the jail. Thus, they proceeded to close out the trial without Collins’ testimony, which many believed could have positively “hung the crime on the two white men and seriously implicated at least one other white man.” (3) Collins may know of the whereabouts of Henry Lee Loggins and the two of them might have been proven to be the two black men who were seen by Mose Wright and Willie Reed riding on the truck that took Till away.³⁴²

Despite such questions and suspicions, a grand jury declined to indict Bryant and Milam on kidnapping charges. Later the two men confessed to the murder of Till when offered money by a publication to tell their story, since they could not be tried twice for the same crime. United States Justice Department officials recently decided to re-open the Till case and new indictments are considered a strong possibility.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

At the same time that the Till case was happening in Mississippi, neighboring Alabama was addressing a different civil rights issue concerning African Americans’ use of public accommodations. Many people credit the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955 as marking the beginning of an organized movement for the rights of African Americans. Therefore a look at how the *World* covered this event offers insight into its record of

chronicling the movement.

The headline “Rev. M. L. King, Jr. Asks Changes in Treatment on Ala. Buses,” ran atop a 400-word article on Saturday, December 10, 1955, in the middle section of the front page above the fold. The story, which carried a Scott Newspaper Syndicate byline and a Montgomery dateline, was almost incredulous in tone, as it led with the statement that the Rev. M. L. King, Jr. “asked for modification of segregation practices under the law while ironically pointing out that his group is not interested in changing present segregation laws.”³⁴³ It was as if the *World* would have pushed for more change -- a change to alter the segregation laws itself, while King’s group only was asking that African Americans be seated on a first come-first served policy in which they would continue to fill in the seats beginning in the rear and whites would continue to be seated from the front. King’s only complaint, according to the article, was that a black person who was already sitting should not have to get up and relinquish the seat to a white person once the black was sitting down.³⁴⁴ King, described as a member of a group of Negro leaders conferring with officials over a boycott of city buses in Montgomery, also asked for the employment of African American drivers for more courteous treatment of black patrons, according to the article.³⁴⁵

The article then pointed out that police promised to safely escort those blacks who were continuing to ride the buses to protect them.³⁴⁶ Reserve police officers were pressed into service to guard buses running through black communities. The article further stated that police were trying to determine whether shotgun blasts in which two homes of blacks (including one black police officer) were struck were connected with the bus controversy; however, no clues had been found to connect the incidents to the boycott, police said,

according to the article.³⁴⁷

One day can make a difference in coverage. Since the Sunday newspaper was the most widely read issue, it is not insignificant that the Sunday coverage of the bus boycott carried more detail and featured a good deal of King's rhetoric in all its brilliance. A front-page story on Sunday, December 11, 1955, by Emory O. Jackson of the *Birmingham World*, also owned by the Scotts, opened by stating that African American civic leaders there were waging a "pocketbook attack with prospective legal action in the background" to protest "alleged injustices on the Montgomery City Bus Lines."³⁴⁸

The use of the word "alleged injustices" showed that the newspaper was trying to be unbiased in its reporting and use the journalistic jargon that would be used in other cases with legal implications. According to the article, an overflow crowd of 5,000 people turned out at the Holt Street Baptist Church there to obtain further instructions about "withholding patronage from the bus line in a mass protest growing out of the Nov. 1 arrest of Mrs. Rosa Parks, seamstress, church worker and civic leader."³⁴⁹

Describing King as an "eloquent" pastor with a Ph. D. degree who heads the "fashionable" Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, the article stated that King delivered the keynote address, calling the boycott "'serious business' growing out of a determination as 'American citizens to exercise our citizenship to the fullness of its meaning.'"³⁵⁰ King told the crowd, according to the article, that the "alleged mistreatment-on-buses problem had 'existed over endless years' and created a 'paralysis which is crippling the spirit. There comes a time when people get tired of being trampled by the iron feet of oppression.'"³⁵¹ King told the listeners that while stories in the general press stated that Mrs. Parks would not surrender her seat and move back into the colored section of the

bus when the driver instructed her to do so, the truth -- according to legal scholars who informed King -- was that there was no so-called "colored" section on the bus and that blacks simply filled in seats starting in the back and whites filled seats starting from the front.³⁵² The Montgomery bus seat law had never been clarified, King said, according to the article. "Work and fight until justice runs down like water," King was quoted as saying, adding that boycotters should perform peacefully, within the law and as law-abiding citizens, according to the article.³⁵³

An editorial that ran Tuesday, December 13, 1955, showed that the *World* was against Jim Crow treatment on buses, and that the newspaper favored a legal attack.³⁵⁴ "Segregation is a blockade to fairness," the editorial stated. "Segregation becomes dictation. Segregation laws can no longer find constitutional support in the federal courts. Until a legal attack is made, however, city and state segregation laws will continue, we believe, to be used as excuses for mistreatment of Negro persons."³⁵⁵

On Friday, December 16, 1955, the bottom right of the front page carried a story about the Montgomery bus boycott, written by Emory O. Jackson of the *Birmingham World*. The headline "Montgomery Leaders Hold 3rd Meet on Bus Situation" did not scream about blacks fighting for rights. It was a very matter-of-fact story that spelled out that civic leaders were scheduled to hold the third in a series of mass meetings at First Baptist Church, whose pastor was the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy (considered King's "first lieutenant" in the Civil Rights Movement) to discuss developments and plans in the fourteen-day-old boycott of the Montgomery City Bus Lines.³⁵⁶ According to the article, more than 200 automobile owners had volunteered to use their cars free of charge in order to give boycotters rides free of charge.³⁵⁷ The article pointed out that the leaders of

the bus boycott had not said whether they planned to prepare for a legal test of the bus segregation laws.

The article described King as “the erudite pastor of famed Dexter Avenue Baptist Church,” and quoted a lengthy statement prepared by King.³⁵⁸ In his statement, King stated that the position of the protestors was that the Montgomery City Lines should adopt a policy “of loading buses from rear to front with colored passengers and that all passengers be permitted to retain their seats on a 'first come-first served' bases ...”³⁵⁹ The article went on to quote Dr. King as saying that under the City Code of Montgomery, “no person, white or colored, can be required to give up a seat unless there is a vacant seat in the portion of the bus to which the passenger is assigned.”³⁶⁰

Atlanta handled segregated busing much more quietly. A half-dozen ministers sat at the fronts of buses only one day and then filed a desegregation suit. While that suit was still in court, another pastor took the bus desegregation to federal court, which secured the desegregation of buses. Eventually, African Americans were allowed to sit in any part of a city bus, but there were other public accommodations they were excluded from as well and more barriers to be torn down.

Desegregating Atlanta's Municipal Golf Courses

A prominent spot in the top right-hand corner on the front page of the *World* was the space utilized for an article on the Supreme Court's ruling to desegregate municipal golf courses handed down in the Federal District Court in Atlanta. The short story, which was roughly 280 words, ran on Tuesday, December 20, 1955.³⁶¹ The article was written in a very straight-forward manner, emphasizing that the ruling finally had been filed at

the Federal District Court in Atlanta. Although the article did not mention this point, it is important to note that rulings such as this often were not honored in the South until officials had the decree in hand. The article apprised readers that one month and twelve days after the actual ruling, a “true copy” of the decision had finally arrived.

Implicitly relaying the message that the South often did what it wanted to on matters of desegregation, on Friday, December 23, 1955, a 400-word article ran with the headline “Mayor Hartsfield Says City Will Comply With Court Rule.” This article stated that Mayor William Hartsfield intended to comply with the Supreme Court’s decision prohibiting segregation on city-run public golf courses. The ruling ended a “cycle of litigation begun earlier this year when Dr. H. M. Holmes, Oliver W. Holmes and Alfred Holmes were denied permission to play at the Bobby Jones Golf Course.”³⁶²

In classic southern style, Hartsfield pointed out that there were two ways to comply with the ruling: one would be to keep the golf courses “open on a non-segregated basis,” and the other would be to “close down and discontinue operation of the courses.”³⁶³ Hartsfield said it would be a shame to do the latter, since this would “deprive nearly 70,000 white players and nearly 100 city employees of their jobs and their rights, in order to deny a few dozen Negro players the use of the golf links.”³⁶⁴ Hartsfield went on to point out that golf “by its very nature is a segregated game, and neither necessary nor compulsory,” and that southern cities all report that “the number of Negro players is uniformly very small,” and that “there have been no incidents.”³⁶⁵ Hartsfield was also quick to point out that “swimming pools and playgrounds are not affected and will continue to operate as before” in a segregated manner, and that, “We have provided swimming pools and playgrounds for the Negro citizens.”³⁶⁶

Housing for African Americans in Atlanta

Another question was that of housing for an expanding African American population in Atlanta. The December 9, 1959, edition of the *Atlanta Daily World* gave prominent attention to the Atlanta Board of Aldermen's defeat of a petition to rezone land that would allow a former hospital building to be turned into a public housing project for African Americans. At the time blacks had been displaced during urban renewal efforts and were in desperate need of homes. In this edition alone, the *World* ran three articles on the subject: a main story with two side-bars clustered in the top right-hand corner of the front page. The fact that the newspaper ran three articles on the Aldermen's decision in this particular location on the front page showed how important the newspaper thought this topic was to the black community.

The main story's headline read "Funds For Forrest Road Project To Stay Frozen Until Rezoning Is Done: Official Feels Land Will Be Put Up For Sale." This is the largest headline among the three articles, and the choice of words is not very sensational. The decision to word the headline as such perhaps showed some use of caution. However, the smaller headlines for the sidebars (discussed below) were a bit more daring. The main article pointed out to readers that the actions by the Atlanta Board of Aldermen raised major questions concerning what was going to happen with the property -- an old Egleston Hospital building on Forrest Road that could have been turned into a 350-unit housing complex for blacks.³⁶⁷ The Board of Aldermen had declined the petition to do so by a vote of eleven to three. Demonstrating the newspaper's role of holding elected officials accountable for their actions, the article documented the *World's* efforts to find out how much had been spent on the building and what was going to happen to it now

that it was not going to help ease the overcrowding of blacks in the relatively few areas they were allowed to live. According to the article, the housing authority had spent \$475,000 to buy the property, and another \$50,000 on architects' fees and plans, plus an additional \$10,000 in interest on the loan to purchase the facility.³⁶⁸ The article stated that one official thought the land would be put up for sale in order to recoup the money spent. The article also questioned whether federal funds going to the public housing project would be cut off permanently following the rezoning defeat.

Apparently, this vote was a surprise to some. Housing authority officials who had been interviewed for the article stated that they thought the expenditures were justified even without initial rezoning, since originally, no opposition was expected.³⁶⁹ This demonstrated that the *World's* reporter had questioned the officials on how wise it was for the housing authority to put so much money into the project before knowing for sure that it would be able to use the facility in the manner it intended.

The *World* also questioned whether money spent on the project would have to be repaid to the federal government by the city. A housing administration official did not comment on the need for repayment by the city; however, he said the federal agency would continue to freeze funds to the 350-unit project until the needed property was rezoned.³⁷⁰ The article also discussed whether this would impact plans for a 650-unit housing project for blacks that was to be built in the Bankhead area of northwest Atlanta. The housing authority official was quoted as saying that the freeze on the Forrest Road project would not affect the Bankhead area project, but that funds would be made available for the latter project only after rezoning for that project took place.³⁷¹ Many people, according to the article, thought the success of one project depended on the other.

Therefore, the *World* was helping its readers understand that this defeat did not signal a defeat of other similar plans.

This article fell into the category of accountability journalism, considering the role that newspapers play in explaining issues to readers and answering questions they think readers may have for officials. By asserting that the money arguably was wasted, and by pushing for answers about what would happen with the Forrest Road site and the possible effects on the Bankhead project, the *World* proved that it was not timid about questioning city and federal authorities on certain matters that affected the black community. However, by opting for a subdued headline and a calm, explanatory tone in the article, the newspaper seemed to avoid alarming readers.

Under the headline, “More Leaders Protest ‘Action’ Of Aldermen,” the secondary story had angrier content. This article stated that the Atlanta Board of Aldermen was being bombarded by “blasts from citizens” about its refusal to rezone the old Egleston Hospital site.³⁷² The article, written by Paul Delaney -- a *World* reporter who later became a senior editor at *The New York Times* -- quoted Jesse Hill, who was then chairman of the All-Citizens Registration Committee (and who later became president of the Atlanta Life Insurance Company on Auburn Avenue and now has a street named after him in the area). Hill called the defeat “regrettable and very serious” and said the actions were “racial” with “serious political overtones.”³⁷³ Hill even linked the defeat to efforts by “clients” of the president of the Board of Education -- perhaps implying tactics to keep blacks away from nearby white public schools.³⁷⁴ By failing to clearly explain clearly what Hill meant, however, perhaps the newspaper was opting for at least some caution as Hill hurled accusations. The article also listed which aldermen voted for and against the

rezoning issue. This made it clear to elected officials in general that the *World* would reveal to the black community who supported and who did not support issues of importance to it -- a fact that had gained greater importance following a huge increase in black voter registration during the previous decade. This article put more “bite” into the coverage of the aldermen’s actions and allowed the newspaper to be used as a forum or sounding board for leaders in the black community.

The third story was headlined “Housing Viewed As Grave Concern To Bap. Ministers.” This article, written by the *World* Religious Editor, the Rev. Taschereau Arnold, illuminated two things -- the prominence of the black church in the community (and the subsequent role of the black newspaper in conveying church-related news) and efforts by the newspaper to interject the management’s own views. The article covered a speech by C. A. Scott, described in the article as editor and general manager of the *World*, to a group of ministers attending a weekly session of the Atlanta Baptist Ministers’ Union at Wheat Street Baptist Church, a large black church also located on Auburn Avenue. Choosing his words cautiously, the article quoted Scott as simply saying, “The question of additional housing for Negroes who have been displaced by Urban Renewal should be a matter of grave concern to all of our citizens.”³⁷⁵ Scott, who was also a member of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Urban Renewal, mentioned the critical housing situation among blacks in the northeast area and expressed disappointment over the fact that city aldermen failed to rezone a section in that area for a black housing project.

Always a champion of blacks using the court system to let their voices be heard, Scott -- who was also chairman of a committee of the Atlanta Negro Voters League --

urged the ministers to send a list of names of “qualified Negroes” to serve as jurors in the local courts.³⁷⁶ At this meeting, Scott also urged the ministers to make contributions to the *World’s* Christmas Cheer Fund, which helped over 800 families, the story stated.

This article illustrated the many “hats” worn by black newspaper publishers, who often were not expected to serve as unbiased, disconnected, objective journalists, but who were expected to play a major part in affecting social change in their communities. By serving on the Atlanta Negro Voters League, the Citizens Advisory Committee on Urban Renewal, and conducting the Christmas Cheer Fund, the publisher of the *World* was an active player in the news that the paper covered. *World* management also used its pages to make sure the readers knew this was the case.

Summary of Coverage From 1945 to 1959

In the time period from 1945 to 1959, the *Atlanta Daily World* took on an advocacy role as it covered news stories of interest to African Americans. This was due in part to the fact that publisher C. A. Scott served as vice president of the Atlanta chapter of the NAACP and was president of the Citizens Democratic Club of Fulton County during this time. Therefore, the newspaper used its pages to help raise money for the families of African Americans involved in tragic cases, such as the Monroe massacre, in which two couples were killed, and the Ingram case, in which a mother and her sons initially received the death penalty for killing a man apparently in self-defense.

Among the topics analyzed during this era, the most newspaper space was devoted to the murder of Emmett Till, the Brown v. Board of Education ruling, the Monroe massacre, and voting rights. (See Chapter Summary Chart.) There were several

recurring themes in the *World's* coverage at this time, which were more obvious in some articles than in others. Overall, a theme of democracy emerged, since the newspaper's management felt that voting, using the court system, and obtaining an education were the best avenues to promote the advancement of the black race. These themes emerged during coverage of voting rights, court cases involving black defendants and the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court ruling. The newspaper pointed to the tenets of democracy as a mirror to be held up in the face of American racism to show America when it was being hypocritical about its own doctrines. As noted, management at the *Atlanta Daily World* felt that black power could best be demonstrated at the ballot box. Therefore, the newspaper made sure that readers knew that while there were efforts to thwart African Americans from voting -- such as the purging of hundreds of names from the registered lists (a front-page topic in the *World*, but a page fourteen story in the *Atlanta Constitution*) -- there were thousands of blacks in the area who were becoming registered and exercising their right. Ostensibly to take the "scare" out of registering and voting, the newspaper put a great deal of effort into publicizing efforts in the African American community to register voters and often featured stories or photographs about these endeavors on the front page.

The killings of four African Americans near Monroe, Georgia, in 1946 led to on-going front-page coverage of the case. The *World* evoked images of Hitler's actions during the Holocaust, which was fresh on the minds of readers following World War II. The *World* also wrote of the hopelessness that people felt when crimes went unpunished, and it blamed political campaigns that emphasized white supremacy and racial hatred for arousing criminal minds. The *World* helped to raise money to aid the families of the

victims, to serve as additional reward money for information leading to the apprehension and conviction of the murderers, and to assist monetarily with future cases involving civil rights violations. *World* employees also helped protect a potential witness in the case by bringing him back to Atlanta where he would be safe until needed to testify.

Unfortunately, there was never a trial, since authorities failed to find what they deemed sufficient evidence to bring charges.

Another theme that emerged was that of a need for blacks to remain calm and level-headed, since there were many gains and failures during this period that could erupt into frenzied demonstrations -- the kinds of uprisings the newspaper would rather have avoided.

A theme of opening doors was another the *World* took on with its coverage and its status. The *World* helped blacks to enter several arenas where they had been excluded in Atlanta and in the nation's capitol. The *World's* position as a daily helped correspondent Louis Lautier to integrate the United States Senate press gallery. After lauding this on the front page in 1947, the newspaper then ran articles by Lautier on topics including United States policy toward Africa, the treatment of blacks in the armed forces, federal aid to education, and proposed anti-lynching legislation.

After pressing behind the scenes for the hiring of African Americans as police officers, the *World* triumphed on Saturday, April 3, 1948, when eight new officers took to the streets for their first patrol. The *World's* coverage pictured them almost like a group of superheroes. The *World* initially wrote an understated article announcing that Atlanta's first black police officers were going to appear on Auburn Avenue that day, and in an editorial, made it clear that the police chief did not want a public brouhaha when the men

reported for their history-altering jobs. However, the *World* reported in the Sunday newspaper -- the day it sold the most newspapers -- that the excitement over these police officers was more than anyone could contain. The men became the leaders of a virtual parade of onlookers. In classic *World* fashion, some details were slipped in -- almost mentioned in passing -- such as the facts that the officers were stationed at the Butler Street YMCA, which was designated for colored people (and not at the regular police precinct), and the officers were only allowed to patrol a small area in a predominantly African American section of town. When it came to the fact that the officers were not allowed to arrest whites, the newspaper was more vocal, with separate articles about this fact. Even still, the articles ran on the bottom right of the front page, or on the left, just above the fold of the front page -- neither of which are the most prominent positions. This gave the message that while this was something that needed to be pointed out, it was still not as important as Atlanta taking the major step of hiring African American police officers in the first place.

After the United States Supreme Court ruled on Monday, May 17, 1954, that segregated public schools were unconstitutional, over the next eight days, the *Atlanta Daily World* carried nineteen articles and six editorials on the topic. Coverage of school desegregation in general would continue in the *World* for years. Coverage following *Brown v. Board of Education* included articles on how significant the ruling was to the history of blacks in America; how the ruling demonstrated democracy in action at its best; how the black community needed to remain calm and peaceful; how the religious community felt about the decision; and how black leaders called on others to refuse to compromise with those who wished to evade the decision. Coverage of school

desegregation remained prominent for years to come, with scores of front-page, above-the-fold articles about efforts to move the ruling from paper to reality.

As it did in the Monroe massacre case, the *World* covered the Emmett Till case in 1955 vigorously, even though it happened outside the Georgia borders. The *World* splashed banners across the newspaper and kept coverage in prominent spaces on the front page for weeks. Interestingly, the newspaper did not publish the photograph that would make the Till case legendary, since the photograph went against the newspaper's policy of avoiding pictures considered too graphic and incendiary. It only used words to apprise readers of what happened to the Chicago teenager who was murdered in Mississippi for allegedly whistling at a white woman. The coverage at times showed the kind of objective journalism one might expect from a non-black newspaper, such as mentioning criticism that the NAACP received from white newspapers in Mississippi and Louisiana, and referring to the suspects as "alleged" kidnap-lynchers. However, the newspaper remained true to the kind of journalism seen in African American-owned newspapers in reporting discrepancies in statements between black witnesses and white authorities, such as the number of men who came to retrieve Till that fateful night, as well as the question of whether the Till murder should be classified as a lynching.

While justice was lost in the Till case, African Americans were winning on another front -- the integration of public accommodations, beginning with public transportation. The initial story of the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955 was written in a very matter-of-fact style without screaming headlines or dramatic language. Contrary to reports that Scott was against the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Civil Rights Movement, this story first appeared on the front page of the paper, albeit near the bottom

right corner. This may have been, however, because the protest was not in Atlanta. Also King was described as the “erudite pastor” and a very lengthy statement of his was published in the newspaper, showing a high regard for his efforts and words.

Another public place to be integrated was the public golf course. On Tuesday, December 20, 1955, the *World* devoted a prominent top, right-hand spot to the arrival in Atlanta’s Federal District Court of the Supreme Court’s ruling to desegregate city-run golf courses. It did not, however, press the issue further and quote African Americans who were ready to line up at the golf course club house doors for their chance to putt. The article simply apprised readers that roughly forty-two days after the actual ruling was rendered by the Supreme Court, a copy of the decision had finally arrived in the local Federal District Court.

Even more basic than needing to play golf or ride buses was the need for a decent place to live. The *World* took a more aggressive stance on its coverage of a housing issue in 1959. At a time when many African Americans resided in overcrowded black-only areas of the city, it was clear that more housing was needed. The Atlanta Board of Aldermen, however, voted down a measure to turn an old Egleston Hospital building on Forrest Road into a 350-unit housing complex for blacks. The newspaper did not take this vote lying down, as it obviously put forth an effort to investigate how much had been spent on the building, what was going to happen to the property next, and whether this vote would impact other housing projects that were in the works.

The *World* took on an advocacy role in other ways during this era. To encourage literacy, in the mid-1950s the *World* began sponsoring the Georgia statewide Spelling Bee, conducted annually by the Georgia Association of Educators. It also became the first

black-owned newspaper to participate as a sponsor in the national Scripps-Howard Spelling Bee. In 1959, the *World* was the recipient of the Georgia Chamber of Commerce's "Accolade of Appreciation" for its economic contributions to the state for more than twenty-five years. Prior to that date, no black institution had received such recognition from the state's Chamber of Commerce.³⁷⁷

Throughout the time period of 1945-1959, the *Atlanta Daily World* proved itself to be a voice and an advocate for African Americans in Atlanta and in the nation. However, in its effort to maintain this voice, it often exercised caution, which was both due to a fear of retaliation, as well as a dedication to conservative values that were shared among some in the older black business community and among advertisers. As previously noted, Scott said in an interview, "*We had to be careful, because they were killing Negroes.*"

**Chapter Summary Chart of Top Four Topics*
(1945-1959)**

Topic	Dates	No. of Articles in Sample	No. of Editorials in Sample	Word length range: Articles	Word length range: Editorials	Articles placed at or near top of front page	Lead Editorials	Total Words Devoted to Topic**
Emmett Till	9/1/55 - 9/25/55	30	5	230 - 2,110	250 - 830	15 = 50%	4 = 80%	20,370
Brown v. Board	5/18/54 - 5/25/54	18	6	140 - 1,130	340 - 830	10 = 56%	4 = 66%	12,870
Monroe Massacre	7/27/46 - 8/11/46	18	3	100 - 820	250 - 530	13 = 72%	3 = 100%	9,620
Voting Rights	7/12/46 - 12/13/55	17	3	160 - 820	160 - 350	13 = 77%	2 = 67%	9,030

* These are the top four topics during the era from 1945-1959 in terms of the number of articles, editorials and total words.

** The total number of words devoted to the topic refers only to those found in the sample of articles and editorials examined for this dissertation during the dates provided.

Notes for Chapter Five

¹ See “THE RIGHT TO VOTE” in the masthead section of the editorial page, *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, April 6, 1948, p. 6.

² Ibid.

³ Ruth L. Cornelius, “Vote Purge Moves Into 4th Day; 4 More Disqualified: Wrong Criminal Records fall In Hands Of Purgers,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, July 12, 1946, p. 1. Top left; 670 words.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ “Vote Purge On Negroes Mount All Over State: ‘Stop-Negro Move’ Blankets Whole State, Say Leaders,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, July 12, 1946, p. 1. Middle, just below fold; 290 words.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Constitution State News Service, “Talmadge ‘Purge’ of Negro Voters Bogging Down in Georgia Counties,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Friday, July 12, 1946, p. 14. Top middle; 760 words. See also, “‘Stay Away From White Folks’ Ballot Boxes’ Gene to Negroes,” *The Atlanta Constitution*, Friday, July 12, 1946, p. 14. Middle; 320 words. See also “Putnam Negro Voters Being Disqualified,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Friday, July 12, 1946, p. 14. Middle; 130 words.

¹⁰ “‘Stay Away From White Folks’ Ballot Boxes’ Gene to Negroes,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Friday, July 12, 1946, p. 14. Middle; 320 words.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Joel W. Smith, “CHALLENGER STILL REFUSES TO TALK IN PURGE HEARINGS: 21 Out of 54 Disqualified In Purge Cases; Hearings To Be Resumed Monday For Other Negroes,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, July 13, 1946, p. 1. Top middle; 680 words.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ “Clark Assistant Says District Offices Can Act; Justice Dept. Will Back Up Any Prosecution,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, July 13, 1946, p. 1. Top right; 650 words.

¹⁵ “Other Boards Told To Appear In Court Monday: Federal Judge Scarlett Makes Stern Ruling,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, July 14, 1946, p. 1. Top right; 640 words.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ “3 Voter Rallies To Wind Up Primary Series: Nearly 9,000 Have Taken Part In Meetings; Machines, Records Of Candidates To Be Shown, Aired,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, July 14, 1946, p. 1. Top left; 450 words.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ “U.S. OFFICIALS PROVING KLAN ACTIVITIES: Promise To Take Proper Legal Action; Georgia Offers To Supply Files On Klan Manipulation,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, August 1, 1946, p. 1. Top near right; 350 words.

²⁰ Scott Newspaper Syndicate, “Intimidation of voters Under Federal Probe: District Atty. Daniels Confers With Officials; Data Gathered With View Of Prosecutions,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, August 2, 1946, p. 1. Top left; 200 words.

²¹ Ibid.

²² “In Arkansas and Texas,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, August 3, 1946, p. 4. Lead editorial; 160 words.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ “Nearly 500 Qualify To Vote At BTW,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, April 3, 1948. Near top right of page; 190 words.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ C. Lamar Weaver, “300 Howard Students Register To Vote,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, April 8, 1948, p. 1. Left, near bottom; 500 words.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ “Citizens In All Walks Join Voters Campaign,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, April 13, 1948, p. 1. Top right corner; 580 words.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ “Registrars in Summerhill Area Thursday: Arrangements Made To Prevent Lengthy Standing,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, April 18, 1948, p. 1. Top right corner; 820 words.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ International News Service (INS), “CHARGES RANDOLPH COUNTY WITH DENIAL OF VOTING RIGHTS: Attorney Duke Tells of Economic Pressures On Rights Seekers,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 15, 1955, p. 1. Top right; 550 words.

³⁹ “A Decided Disservice To Democracy,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 16, 1966, p. 4. Second editorial; 350 words.

⁴⁰ “ASKS END TO MISS. REIGN OF TERROR,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, September 20 1955, p. 1. Near bottom middle; 210 words.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Scott Newspaper Syndicate, “Judge Says Illegal Procedure Proven In Qualifying Negroes,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, September 20 1955, p. 1. Top left; 790 words.

⁴³ Scott Newspaper Syndicate, “Judge Tells Jury Defendants Violated Registration Laws,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, September 21, 1955, p. 1. Top left; 350 words. Beneath banner above nameplate “RANDOLPH OFFICIALS TO PAY \$880 IN VOTE CASE.”

⁴⁴ “The Westside Voters League Takes Off,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, December 13, 1955, p.6. Lead editorial, 280 words.

⁴⁵ Cornelius A. Scott was interviewed by the author on April 30, 1999 at his home in the Hunter Hills section of Atlanta. He was 91 years old at the time of the interview, and he died at age 92 on May 7, 2000.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Joel W. Smith, "History's Worst Lynching Takes 2 Women, 2 Men," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, July 27, 1946, p. 1. Top right; 700 words.

⁶² Associated Negro Press, Walter White Charges Clark Holds Names: Claims Attorney General, FBI Need Pressure," *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, August 11, 1946, p. 1. Top right; 280 words.

⁶³ Joel W. Smith, "History's Worst Lynching Takes 2 Women, 2 Men," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, July 27, 1946, p. 1. Top right; 700 words.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Geo. H. Andrews (Scott Newspaper Syndicate), "Bullet Torn bodies Of Lynch Victims Horrible Sight," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, July 27, 1946, p. 1. Top right; 700 words.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² "Records Point To Lynching Upsurge," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, July 27, 1946, p. 1. Middle right; 460 words.

⁷³ Associated Press (AP), "U. S. Probes Monroe Lynching," *Atlanta Constitution*, Saturday, July 27, 1946, p. 1. Top left; 1,150 words. See also: Bennett Deloach (AP), "How 4 Negroes Died, "They Counted to 3, Then Boom -- Harrison," *Atlanta Constitution*, Saturday, July 27, 1946, p. 1. Left middle; 530 words. See also: Constitution Washington Bureau, "Stop Lynching Marcantonio Urges Truman," *Atlanta Constitution*, Saturday, July 27, 1946, p. 2. Middle; 120 words.

⁷⁴ "Are We Capable of Downing Mob Rule?" *Atlanta Constitution*, Saturday, July 27, 1946, p. 4. Lead editorial; 240 words.

⁷⁵ "FBI Probing Massacre Of 4 At Monroe: Nation Aroused by Atrocity; Talmadge Speaks," *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, July 28, 1946, p. 1. Top right; 820 words.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ “Scott Wires Gov. Arnall for Action,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, July 28, 1946, p. 1. Top center of page; 100 words.

⁸⁰ Scott Newspaper Syndicate, “Lynch Victims Laid To Rest On Gas. ‘Black Sunday’,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, July 30, 1946, p. 1. Near top left; 310 words.

⁸¹ I. P. Reynolds, Scott Newspaper Syndicate, “Lynch Victims Laid To Rest On Ga. ‘Black Sunday’,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, July 30, 1946, p.1. Top left; 310 words.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ “FBI Probers Take Over Monroe Massacre; Harrison Guarded: Reward Hiked To \$12,500 As Interest Mounts,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, July 30, 1946, p.1. Top middle; 640 words.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ “D.C. Delegation Protests Lynching,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, July 30, 1946, p.1. Bottom mid-left; 170 words.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ “Drastic Action Is Needed,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, July 30, 1946, p. 6. Lead editorial, 530 words.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ “Mass Meet At what Street Thursday Night: Leaders to Seek Statewide Aid for Sorrow-Stricken,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, July 31, 1946, p. 1 Top right of page; 360 words.

⁹⁷ Scott Newspaper Syndicate, “Instructs Dept. Of Justice To Use All Means: Attorney-General Personally told to Study Mass Murder,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, July 31, 1946, p. 1. Top center of page, 520 words.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

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- ⁹⁹ Scott Newspaper Syndicate, “Nat’l Club Women Protest Lynching,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, July 31, 1946, p. 1. Bottom middle of page, 400 words.
- ¹⁰⁰ “Freedom From Fear,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, July 31, 1946, p. 6. Lead editorial; 420 words.
- ¹⁰¹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰² Ibid.
- ¹⁰³ “This Is Everybody’s Concern,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, August 1, 1946, p. 6. Lead editorial; 250 words.
- ¹⁰⁴ “Georgia Leaders To Push \$100,000 Defense Drive,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, August 8, 1946, p. 1. Top left; 680 words.
- ¹⁰⁵ V. W. Hodges, “Today Is Church Day In Defense Fund Effort: World and Masons Contribute \$500; Many Responding,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, August 11, 1946, p. 1. Top middle; 580 words.
- ¹⁰⁶ “Lynching Reward Posters Not Seen In Monroe Area,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, August 9, 1946, p. 1. Top right; 410 words.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁸ Associated Negro Press, Walter White Charges Clark Holds Names: Claims Attorney General, FBI Need Pressure,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, August 11, 1946, p. 1. Top right; 280 words.
- ¹⁰⁹ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁰ Ibid.
- ¹¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹¹² William A. Fowlkes was interviewed at age 85 by the author on November 5, 1999 at the *Atlanta Daily World* .
- ¹¹³ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁵ William A. Fowlkes, “Seeing and Saying: At The Crossroads,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, August 11, 1946, p. 4. Top middle of editorial page, ; 940 words.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁷ “Branches, Individuals Respond To Emergency Call,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, August 15, 1946, p. 1. Top middle, 500 words.
- ¹¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ “Big Wheat Street Mass-Meet Tonite,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, August 16, 1946, p. 1. Bottom middle, 260 words.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Associated Negro Press, “No Arrests In Atrocity After Three Weeks: Sheriff Admits He Is Doing Nothing On Case,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, August, 18, 1946, p. 1. Top right; 590 words.

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ “World Launches Drive For Negro Guardsmen,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, August 18, 1946, p.1. Top mid-left; 510 words.

¹²⁷ “The Ballot, A Solution, Yes. But Negro Troops Would Help Immediately,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, August 20, 1946, p. 6. Lead editorial; 640 words.

¹²⁸ “Monroe Lynch Probe Chief Resigns Job; Speculate Reasons,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, August 20, 1946, p. 1. Middle, below fold; 230 words.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ “Seeking Further Scrutiny Of Harrison Claims: No Bond Record Found By Prober; Definite Act Urged,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, August 25, 1946, p. 1. Top right; 460 words.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Scott Newspaper Syndicate, “Anti-Lynch Law Being Planned By Senators,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, August 27, 1946, p. 1. Middle of page, 250 words.

¹³⁵ Associated Negro Press, “Delegation Of Leaders At White House: Dr. Benjamin E. Mays Among Those In Discussion,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 22, 1946, p. 1. Top right; 370 words.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

¹³⁷ “Probers Find Nothing After 2-Month Search: U.S. Agents Still Checking Possible Leads, Weeks Says,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 29, 1946, p. 1. Top right; 250 words.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ “No Hope, This Time,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, June 16, 1948, p. 6. Lead editorial, 340 words.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ William A. Fowlkes was interviewed by the author November 5, 1999 at the *Atlanta Daily World* office. He was 85 years old at the time of the interview.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, "Senate Rules Body Favors Gallery Spot: Correspondent for Atlanta World Said To Meet All Tests," *Atlanta Daily World*, March 20, 1947, p. 1. Top center of page, beneath banner "PRESS GALLERY OPENED TO LAUTIER;" 500 words.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Louis Lautier (Negro Newspaper Publishers Association [NNPA]), "States Have Absolute Control," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, April 7, 1948, p. 1; top center of page, beneath banner "Federal Aid To Education Bill Minus Bias Bars, Passes Senate;" 650 words.

¹⁵² Louis Lautier (NNPA), "Bias Against Group Continues Under Selective Service Measure," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, April 14, 1948, p. 1. Top right of page; 480 words.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Louis Lautier, "African Seen As 'Continent Of future'; Nations Seek Materials: U.S. Aiding British, Wants Products Itself," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, May 5, 1948, p.1. Top middle; 610 words.

¹⁵⁵ Louis Lautier (Scott Newspaper Syndicate), "ANTI-LYNCH MEASURE FACES FILIBUSTER THREAT [banner]; Southerners Brace For Stiff Rebuttal,," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, June 15, 1948, p. 1. Top right; 450 words.

¹⁵⁶ "Negro Policemen Go On Patrol Duty Here Today," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, April 3, 1948, p. 1. Top left corner; 240 words.

¹⁵⁷ "Your Negro Policemen," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, April 3, 1948, p. 6. Editorial page; second editorial (beneath editorial about segregation in the military); 230 words.

¹⁵⁸ "Mayor Hartsfield, Chief Jenkins charge Officers In Undertaking: Hundreds Follow New Police On Tour of Duty," *Atlanta Daily World*, April 4, 1948, p. 1. Left above fold beneath corner photo of police officers; 800 words.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ “Words of Wisdom,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, April 4, 1948, p. 4. Editorial page; third editorial (beneath editorials on a black high school’s voter registration efforts and about splitting the black vote to support Henry A. Wallace for President); 420 words.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ C. L. Weaver, “Police No Longer Novelty; Bear Down On Disorders,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, April 11, 1948, p. 1. Bottom right; 400 words.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ “Court Bars Negro Police From Arresting Whites,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, April 15, 1948, p. 1. Bottom right; 370 words.

¹⁶⁸ “High Court Rules Only On Police Chief’s Discretion: Jenkins Says Negro Police Have Area Arrest Authority,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, April 16, 1948, p. 1. Left above the fold; 230 words.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ A “Gallery of Greats” 2002 calendar poster on “Power in the Press: Black Publishers Righting History.” It had portraits of C. A. Scott and W. A. Scott, II (among others) on the front and in biographical sketches on the back. The poster stated that C. A. Scott “participated in the selection of Atlanta’s first African-American police officers.” The poster was sponsored by the Miller Brewing Company and the Thurgood Marshall Scholarship Fund.

¹⁷¹ Ernest Lyons was interviewed at age 79 by the author on November 29, 1999 at his home in Atlanta. Lyons died at age 80 on October 29, 2000.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ “More Donations For Ingrams,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, April 4, 1948, p. 8. Middle of page; 180 words.

¹⁷⁸ NNPA, “President Truman Hears Of Georgia’s Ingram Case; Reveal Justice Department Is Studying Affair,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, March 28, 1948. Top left; 190 words.

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- ¹⁷⁹ “Ingram Funds Sent To Family,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, March 28, 1948. Bottom left; 150 words.
- ¹⁸⁰ Associated Negro Press, “Californians In Ingram Rally,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, April 2, 1948, p. 1. Middle-right below fold; 270 words.
- ¹⁸¹ William A. Fowlkes, “Judge Harper Commutes Death Penalty: Appeal To Supreme Court Is Indicated,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, April 7, 1948, p. 1. Right above fold, huge banner alluding to article above *World* “nameplate;” 500 words.
- ¹⁸² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸³ “Broad Welfare Program For Ingrams Planned,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, April 8, 1948, p. 1. Middle-right below fold; 150 words.
- ¹⁸⁴ SNS, “Ingram Appeal Set by NAACP Counsel In N.Y.,” Friday, April 9, 1948, p. 1. Top left; 170 words.
- ¹⁸⁵ “Two Cases for Appeal,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, April 9, 1948, p. 6. Editorial page; first and only editorial; 550 words.
- ¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁸⁷ NNPA, “Mrs. Ingram’s Mother Grateful,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, April 11, 1948, p. 1. Near bottom right; 160 words.
- ¹⁸⁸ “World Receives More funds For Ingram Family,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, April 13, 1948, p. 1. Bottom left, 180 words.
- ¹⁸⁹ “Ingram Family Mass-Meeting Set Thursday,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, April 14, 1948, p. 1. Middle of page; 190 words.
- ¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹¹ “Citizens Rally to Appeal For Homestead for Ingram Family,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, April 17, 1948, p.1. Left above fold, 600 words.
- ¹⁹² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹⁵ “NAACP Reports On Ingram Defense Fund,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, April 18, 1948, p. 1. Middle of page, banner below *World* nameplate stated “Nearly \$16,000 Collected For Ingram Defense;” 260 words.
- ¹⁹⁶ “Attorneys For Ingrams Confer In Atlanta Today,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, April 20, 1948, p. 1. Right, above fold, but not at top; 180 words.

¹⁹⁷ “SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS OUTLAWED BY U.S. SUPREME COURT,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, May 18, 1954, p. 1. A huge banner headline stretched across the top of the *Atlanta Daily World* above the nameplate.

¹⁹⁸ INS, “Chief Justice Warren Reads Court’s Unanimous Decision,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, May 18, 1954, p. 1. top right corner, 700 words. The article was in the top right-hand corner of the newspaper’s front page, flanked by a photograph of Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP attorney who argued the case, on the right, and a photograph of U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren on the left.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Edward Peeks, “Significance of Decision Aired by City Leaders,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, May 18, 1954, p. 1. Top middle of front page, 700 words.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ William Gordon, “Reviewing the News: For the Negro, There will Be No Violence,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, May 18, 1954, p. 1. Top left of front page, written by the *World*’s managing editor, 800 words.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ “Atty. Marshall, NAACP Prexies Here Saturday,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, May 18, 1954, p. 1. Middle right of front page, 310 words. words.

²¹² INS, “Texas Church Leaders Applaud High Court Segregation Ruling,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, May 18, 1954, p. 1. Middle of front page, 500 words.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ “NAACP Leaders At Friendship Baptist Church Sunday At 3 P.M.,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, May 20, 1954, p. 1. Center above the fold on front page, 400 words.

²¹⁷ INS, “Southern ‘White’ Reaction On Court Decision,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, May 19, 1954, p. 4. Middle-right side of page, 650 words.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

²²⁰ Ibid.

²²¹ Edward Peeks, “‘Clark Ready To Admit Whites,’ says Brawley, Dean At Hungry Club,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, May 20, 1954, p. 1. Middle of front page below the fold, 700 words.

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ “The Decision of A Century,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, May 18, 1954, p. 6. Editorial page; lead editorial; 700 words.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid.

²²⁷ Harmon G. Perry, “‘Man on the Street’ Views Anti-Segregation Decision,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, May 18, 1954, p. 3. Top center of page, 370 words.

²²⁸ Ibid.

²²⁹ Ibid.

²³⁰ Ibid.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² NNPA, “SOME FAVORABLE REACTIONS BY METROPOLITAN PRESS,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, May 20, 1954, p. 2. Top right corner of page, 700 words.

²³³ “Another Momentous Day,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, May 23, 1954, p. 4. Editorial page; lead editorial; 360 words.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ “‘Atlanta Declaration’ Maps Program To End Segregation,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, May 25, 1954, p. 1. Top left corner of page, 1,130 words.

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ “WHITE PRESS COMMENT ON SEGREGATION RULES,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, May 19, 1954, p. 1. Bottom middle portion of page, 670 words.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ INS, “Lauds ‘Calm, Reasonable Approach to Southerners,’” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, May 20, 1954, p. 1. Top right-hand corner of page beneath the five-column banner “Supreme Court Not Under Any Administration, States President,” 380 words.

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ “A Significant Declaration for Freedom,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, May 25, 1954, p. 6. Editorial page; lead editorial; 830 words.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Ibid.

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ INS, “Nat’l Council of Churches Lauds Court Ruling,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, May 20, 1954, p. 1. Left-middle of page, 260 words.

²⁵⁶ “Ministerial Alliance Lauds Bias Decision,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, May 20, 1954, p. 1. Left below the fold, 140 words.

²⁵⁷ Marion E. Jackson, “NAACP Views ‘No Compromise’ On School Bias,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, May 23, 1954 p. 1. Top left of page, 700 words.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ Ibid.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² “Let Us Not Compromise The Court, Nor Our Rights,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, May 20, 1954, p. 6. Editorial page, lead editorial, 430 words.

²⁶³ Ibid.

²⁶⁴ “ ‘Must Not Try to Circumvent Decision’ Says N.C. Committee,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, May 21, 1954, p. 1. Top, middle of page, 900 words.

²⁶⁵ Ibid.

²⁶⁶ “The Effects of a Unanimous Decision,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, May 19, 1954, p. 6. Second editorial (underneath editorial condemning rape in the African American community); 340 words.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ INS, “Oklahoma Gov. Won’t Attend Virginia Meet,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, May 22, 1954, p. 1. Top right corner of page, 340 words, placed under the all-cap half-banner headline, “SOUTHERN GOVERNOR’S ASS’N HEAD SEES NO NEED FOR SPECIAL MEET.”

²⁷⁰ “An Extreme Position,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, May 25, 1954, p. 6. Editorial; second editorial (under “A Significant Declaration for Freedom,” also about *Brown v. Board*); 560 words.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Scott Newspaper Syndicate, “INVESTIGATION PROCEEDS IN SLAYING OF BOY IN MISS: Two Held In Connection With Chicago Lad's Death,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 1, 1955, p.1. Top middle; 730 words. See also: INS, “Investigation of Boy's Death Ordered By Mississippi Gov.,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 2, 1955, p. 1. Left, above the fold; 630 words.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Ibid.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ INS, “50,000 View Body Of 14-Year-Old Boy Found Slain In Mississippi,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 4, 1955, p. 1. Right, slightly above fold; 370 words.

²⁷⁸ Scott Newspaper Syndicate, “INVESTIGATION PROCEEDS IN SLAYING OF BOY IN MISS: Two Held In Connection With Chicago Lad's Death,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 1, 1955, p.1. Top middle; 730 words. See also: Scott Newspaper Syndicate, “INVESTIGATION PROCEEDS IN SLAYING OF BOY IN MISS: Two Held In Connection With Chicago Lad's Death,” *Atlanta Daily World*,

Thursday, September 1, 1955, p.1. Top middle; 730 words.

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ INS, "Investigation of Boy's Death Ordered By Mississippi Gov.," *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 2, 1955, p. 1. Left, above the fold; 630 words.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Ibid.

²⁸⁴ "The Mississippi Lynch—Murder, *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 2, 1955, p. 4; lead editorial; 640 words.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

²⁸⁷ INS, "Body of Miss. Slay Victim Returns Home," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, September 3, 1955, p. 1. Top right; 230 words.

²⁸⁸ Ibid.

²⁸⁹ Ibid.

²⁹⁰ INS, "50,000 View Body Of 14-Year-Old Boy Found Slain In Mississippi," *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 4, 1955, p. 1. Right, slightly above fold; 370 words.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² William Gordon, "Reviewing The News: The Sins Of Mississippi," *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 4, 1955, p. 4. Top middle; 640 words.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ "It Now Becomes All Our Business," *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 4, 1955, p. 4. Second editorial below editorial denouncing segregation; 490 words.

²⁹⁶ E. J. Mays, INS, "Pair Indicted In Lynching Of 14-Year-Old Lad In Mississippi: Rites Held In Chicago For Victim As Hearing Goes On," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, September 7, 1955, p. 1. Top middle; 520 words.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

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- ²⁹⁹ Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, "New Details For Kidnapping In Till Case Are Revealed," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, September 7, 1955, p. 4. Bottom middle; 670 words.
- ³⁰⁰ Ibid.
- ³⁰¹ Ibid.
- ³⁰² Scott Newspaper Syndicate, "Possibility Of Early Trial Looms For Miss. Lynch-Murder Suspects: Trial Date To Be Set Today; Suspects Jailed Without Bond," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 8, 1955, p. 1. Top middle; 620 words.
- ³⁰³ Louis Lautier, "Official Is Cautious On Lynch-Murder Commitment," *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 9, 1955, p. 1. Left, above the fold; 470 words.
- ³⁰⁴ E.J. Mays, International News Service, "Lynch-Murder Suspects To Face Trial For Murder September 19: Accused of Kidnap-Death of 14-Year-Old Chicago Boy," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, September 9, 1955, p. 1. Top center; 340 words.
- ³⁰⁵ "Adequate Punishment Is The Important Question," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, September 13, 1955, p. 4. Lead editorial; 250 words.
- ³⁰⁶ "How Much Can Mississippi Stand?" *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 15, 1955, p. 6. Lead editorial; 360 words.
- ³⁰⁷ INS, "125-Man Venire Named For Trial Of Miss. Lynch Suspects: Sheriff Plans To Deny Body That Of Youth," *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 16, 1955, p. 1. Top left; 320 words.
- ³⁰⁸ James L. Kilgallen, (INS), "Trial Starts Tomorrow For 2 charged With Lynch-Murder Of Chicago Youth: National Interest In Case; Governor Promises Justice," *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 18, 1955, p. 1. Top middle; 730 words.
- ³⁰⁹ Ibid.
- ³¹⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹¹ James L. Kilgallen, (INS), "Jury Selection For Mississippi Lynch-Murder Trial To Be Completed This Morning: Sheriff, Deputies Search All Spectators For Hidden Arms," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, September 20, 1955, p. 4. Top left; 660 words.
- ³¹² Ibid.
- ³¹³ Ibid.
- ³¹⁴ "James L. Hicks (NNPA), "Jim-Crow Press Table Provided At Sumner Court," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, September 20, 1955, p. 1. Left, just above the fold; 420 words.
- ³¹⁵ James L. Kilgallen (INS), "SURPRISE STATE WITNESSES CAUSE JUDGE TO RECESS LYNCH-MURDER TRIAL UNTIL TODAY: Judge Also Cites Danger Of Fire In Crowded Courtroom," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, September 21, 1955, p. 1. Top middle; 700 words.

316 Ibid.

317 Ibid.

318 James L. Hicks, "Till's Mother, U.S. Congressman Seated At Jim-Crow Press Table," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, September 21, 1955, p. 1. Top right; 830 words.

319 Ibid.

320 Ibid.

321 "2 Missing Boys May Hold Key To Till Case," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, September 21, 1955, p. 1. Right middle; 280 words.

322 James L. Kilgallen (INS), "SLAIN BOY'S UNCLE IDENTIFIES 2 MEN WHO ABDUCTED YOUTH: New Witnesses Promised All Possible Protection By State," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 22, 1955, p. 1. Top middle; 680 words.

323 Ibid.

324 Ibid.

325 Ibid.

326 James L. Hicks, "PROSECUTION RESTS CASE ON LYNCH SUSPECTS WITHOUT HEARING FROM 'SURPRISE' WITNESS: Witness Disappears; Others, Discovered By Press, Ignored," *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 23, 1955, p. 1. Top middle; 440 words.

327 Ibid.

328 "Mother Of Slain Boy Testifies On Identity Of Son's Body, Ring," *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 23, 1955, p. 1. Middle; 570 words.

329 Ibid.

330 Ibid.

331 Ibid.

332 James L. Kilgallen (INS), "MISS. ACQUITS TILL DEATH SUSPECTS: Jury, Mostly Farmers, Deliberates One Hour For 'Not Guilty' Verdict," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, September 24, 1955, p. 1. Top middle; 850 words.

333 Ibid.

334 "A Lynching Definitely Established," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, September 24, 1955, p. 4. Lead editorial; 480 words.

335 James L. Hicks, "Writer Reviews Passionate Closing Plea Of Till Case Atty.," *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 25, 1955, p. 1. Near bottom right; 990 words.

336 Ibid.

337 Chester M. Hampton, "World Shocked By till Trial; Old, Young Leave Mississippi," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, September 27, 1955, p. 1. Left, just above the fold; 740 words.

338 James L. Hicks (Negro Newspaper Publishers Association), "Mockery Of Justice Seen By Writer At Miss. Lynch Trial," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 29, 1955, p. 1. Middle bottom; 880 words.

339 Ibid.

340 James L. Hicks, "Hicks Says Key Witnesses In Jail During Till Case Hearing," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, October 4, 1955, p. 1. Top right; 2,110 words.

341 Ibid.

342 Ibid.

343 Scott Newspaper Syndicate, "Rev. M.L. King, Jr. Asks Changes In Treatment On Ala. Buses," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, December 10, 1955, p. 1. Middle section, above fold, 400 words.

344 Ibid.

345 Ibid.

346 Ibid.

347 Ibid.

348 Emory O. Jackson, "Leaders Continue Protests Against Montgomery Bus Co.," *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, December 11, 1955, p. 1. Middle section of front page above the fold, nearly 700 words.

349 Ibid.

350 Ibid.

351 Ibid.

352 Ibid.

353 Ibid.

354 "Blockade To Fairness," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, December 13, 1955, p. 6. Second editorial (beneath editorial on voting); 312 words.

355 Ibid.

356 Emory O. Jackson, "Montgomery Leaders Hold 3rd Meet on Bus Situation," *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, December 16, 1955, p. 1. Bottom right of page, 740 words.

³⁵⁷ Ibid.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ “Supreme Court’s Golf Ruling Reaches Ga.; Action After Jan. 3,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, December 20, 1955, p. 1. Top right corner of page, 280 words.

³⁶² “Mayor Hartsfield Says City Will Comply With Court Rule,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, December 23, 1955, p. 1. Top middle of page, 400 words.

³⁶³ Ibid.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ “Funds For Forrest Road Project To Stay Frozen Until Rezoning Is Done: Official Feels Land Will Be Put Up For Sale,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, December 9, 1959, p. 1. Top right corner of page, 810 words.

³⁶⁸ Ibid.

³⁶⁹ Ibid.

³⁷⁰ Ibid.

³⁷¹ Ibid.

³⁷² Paul Delaney, “More Leaders Protest ‘Action’ Of Aldermen,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, December 9, 1959, p. 1. Top right of page (left of article listed above), 280 words.

³⁷³ Ibid.

³⁷⁴ Ibid.

³⁷⁵ Rev. Taschereau Arnold, “Housing Viewed As Grave Concern To Baptist Ministers,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, December 9, 1959, p. 1. Top right of page (to left of article listed above), 380 words.

³⁷⁶ Ibid.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

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A Congressional committee placed its report on the United Nations...
The committee...
The report...
The committee...
The report...
The committee...
The report...



DR. AND MRS. J. H. JACKSON IN ATLANTA

Dr. Jackson Discusses "Farm Aid" Plans Here

Baptist Leader Discloses Church's Action To Aid Tennessee Farmers

By J. H. JACKSON, President of the National Baptist Convention, finished on a one-day visit to Atlanta Tuesday night, during which he revealed plans of his organization to launch a "Farm Aid" program, pledged a more active effort toward developing the American way of life, here and abroad, and provided those who have contributed to the changing climate toward Civil Rights and human dignity.

Mississippi Says No Applications Have Been Made

(By United Press International) New integration trouble flared on both sides of the Mason-Dixon line Tuesday.

In New Rochelle, N. Y., the city board of education voted to appeal a federal ruling ordering the Lincoln Elementary School desegregated.

At Oxford, Miss., eight highway maintenance workers were stationed at the University of Mississippi administration building when a rumor swept the campus that Negroes would try to enroll in classes.

Despite repeated reports of imminent integration attempts at the University of Mississippi, school officials said that no proper applications had been received by late Tuesday afternoon.

Kennedy 'Confident' That Weaver Is Loyal American Who Will Give U. S. A. 'A Outstanding Service'

President Intervenes When Southerner Fights Approval

WASHINGTON (UPI)—President Kennedy told the Senate Banking Committee Tuesday he has no doubts about the loyalty of Robert C. Weaver, his nominee for federal housing chief.

Kennedy rushed a letter to committee chairman A. Willis Robertson, with the unqualified endorsement after Robertson refused to start a hearing on the Weaver nomination without it.

At last, however—the letter, which he read at a packed hearing, Robertson began his fight on the appointment of the New York former NAACP official. He had held up the hearings more than one and one-half hours.

Kennedy wrote Robertson that, "As is customary in nominations of this importance, the FBI conducted an investigation."

And it fully followed and evaluated, Kennedy said. "If confirmed, I am most confident Mr. Weaver will perform an outstanding service to our country as assistant secretary of the Housing and Home Finance Agency."

Robertson, a Virginia Democrat who has already announced his opposition to Weaver, called the committee in to executive session and cleared the room. He announced that he was unable to start the hearing until he received a letter from Kennedy giving assurances of Weaver's loyalty.

Later in the hearing Dr. Weaver acknowledged Tuesday that he once associated with three organizations which a senator said were branded subversive by the Justice Department.

Weaver made the statement to the Senate Banking Committee shortly after President Kennedy had named Weaver to the post, but he had not yet been confirmed and was still in the nomination.

When Weaver finally got to testify he was in response to a question that he was a panel member at the second National Negro Congress in Philadelphia in 1947, organized by the Washington Cooperative Book Shop in 1941 and endorsed the program of the Council of African Affairs.

LISTED AS SUBVERSIVE
Sen. William Bradley, D-Texas, asked the New Yorker if he had any other affiliations with subversive organizations.

Robertson summoned Weaver back for further questioning on Wednesday. He said he doubted if the committee would vote this week on Weaver's nomination to the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Charges against four of the demonstrators were dismissed for lack of evidence. However, one was bound over to \$100.00 bond in Municipal Court at 4:30 yesterday afternoon.

He said he doubted if the committee would vote this week on Weaver's nomination to the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

He said he doubted if the committee would vote this week on Weaver's nomination to the Housing and Home Finance Agency.



KENYAN RICE GROWER—Pictured above is a Kenyan rice grower who has been successful in his efforts to increase the yield of his rice crops. He is one of the hundreds of Kenyan tenant farmers participating in the current Kenya Government settlement project which has for its purpose the raising of the standard of farm living throughout the country. (AP Photo)



ROBERT C. WEAVER

Board For U.S. School Aid, Attendance Law

The Education Board of Education was to stand before Congress Tuesday to discuss school attendance and federal school aid Tuesday in a meeting that coincided with legislative committee scrutiny of the board's budget.

The board voted 8-1 in favor of a resolution asking the Georgia congressional delegation to support federal aid to state schools so long as the state board delegates have the money to spend.

The board then voted 8-1 opposition to a bill that would abolish Georgia's compulsory school attendance law. The bill has been passed by the House Education Committee but has not come up for floor action.

During the hearing, State School Superintendent Claude Purcell and Dr. Allen Smith, director of the Education Department's administration and finance division, testified before a joint legislative committee hearing.

The education officials were first to be called to appear before the committee's subcommittee on appropriations committees, which are working on a new state budget.

The committees were known to be searching departmental budgets, including the "operating" and "capital" budgets of the Educational Department.

An Education Department spokesman claimed this "overhead" amounts to only 2.2 per cent of the entire federal-state outlay for education.

The AFL-CIO President, George Meany, ordered legislative representatives of the parent labor organization to stay away from the session after Powell invited Edwart, a labor leader, to testify.

Edwart, a labor leader, testified before the AFL-CIO committee on the federal policy. But he had no authority to enforce a boycott on the AFL-CIO members.

The AFL-CIO has attempted to impose at least a partial quarantine on the labor leaders who testified before the committee.

13 Students Are Bound Over After Sit-In Here

By STANLEY S. SCOTT
Seventeen Negro college students were arrested Tuesday morning at Sprouberry's Cafeteria, 888 Peachtree Road, when they attempted to gain food service in the building that houses federal government office agencies.

The students were arrested by Police Captain J. E. Muggler after the proprietor turned out lunch and stated, "I don't want you in my cafeteria. I want you to leave now."

The arrests were made under Georgia's anti-discrimination law which makes it a misdemeanor to fail to obey such an order by an employer or manager.

Charges against four of the demonstrators were dismissed for lack of evidence. However, one was bound over to \$100.00 bond in Municipal Court at 4:30 yesterday afternoon.

He said he doubted if the committee would vote this week on Weaver's nomination to the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

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Boost Of Minimum Wage Asked For By The President

WASHINGTON (UPI)—President Kennedy asked Congress on Tuesday to raise the minimum federal minimum wage to \$2.00 over the past three years.

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6 Burns Death Here

Turned matches led from the living room to the little Donnie Gale Brock, age 6, of 7124 Villa...
A human inferno and burned to death while playing Monday evening, police reported.

Early Income Tax Returns Urged To Speed Money Flow

WASHINGTON (UPI)—Internal Revenue Commissioner Mortimer B. Caplan urged taxpayers Tuesday to file their income tax returns early so the government can send out refund checks as an anti-inflation device.

Committee Declines To Take Lincoln's "Angles"

WASHINGTON (UPI)—The House Committee on Education and Labor declined Tuesday to take up a bill to authorize the release of the first Lincoln cent postage stamp to be placed on the stamp since 1899.

LIFTED FROM ADDRESS

Sen. Richard Russell, D-Miss., announced Tuesday that he had lifted from Lincoln's address, in which he called for the removal of "our nation's" to help lead the developing national trend.

WASH. STATE ATTENTION

WASHINGTON (UPI)—The Washington State Legislature is expected to pass a bill to authorize the release of the first Lincoln cent postage stamp to be placed on the stamp since 1899.

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Chapter Six: Conservatism and Civil Rights -- Coverage of African American Rights from 1960 to 1969

Introduction

In the 1960s, after court cases and other legal means often failed blacks in the 1940s and 1950s, blacks began to take their fight for equality to the streets, launching sit-ins, marches, demonstrations and in some cases riots. The more conservative black leadership, including C. A. Scott of the *Atlanta Daily World*, still favored the ballot as the most effective way to bring about change. Segregation in Atlanta was dismantled legally in major stores, restaurants, buses, libraries, parks, playgrounds, restaurants, and theaters in the 1960s as a result of the Civil Rights Movement. In addition, a few African Americans began to take part in the political arena, as well, foreshadowing the surge of black elected officials that would come in the following decades. The *World* chronicled demonstrations of all kinds in Atlanta and in other parts of the United States in its news pages, and spoke out against the more destructive rioting in its editorials.

The newspaper, still operating out of two bustling offices on Auburn Avenue, wanted racial equality and justice for its readers. These values seemed somehow to be captured in the former logo on the newspaper's nameplate, which consisted of two globes on either side of a radiant Statue of Liberty floating above clouds. However, having young college students sit in jail cells in Fulton County did not seem to be the way the *World* thought this freedom should be obtained.

The *Atlanta Daily World's* circulation was 29,000, and the advertising flat line rate was eighteen cents in 1960. By 1969 the circulation was listed as 30,100 and the

advertising rate was between twenty-one and twenty-five cents, according to the *Editor & Publisher International Yearbook*. William A. Fowlkes was the managing editor, George M. Coleman, who had a bachelor's degree in journalism from Lincoln University, was the city editor, Marion Jackson was the sports editor, and Ozeil F. Woolcock was the society editor during the 1960s. The newspaper's management considered it to be a politically independent newspaper and it subscribed to the United Press International (UPI) news service.

Thaddeus T. Stokes' "Brass Tacks" column on the editorial page gave biting commentaries on the happenings of the decade, and Coleman, who eventually became the managing editor during this decade, sometimes used poetry or other forms of creative writing to capture the whirlwind of events during this decade of change.

In the 1960s the advertisements in the *Atlanta Daily World* ran the gamut from black-owned hair care and banking businesses to white-owned grocery and department stores. By the end of the decade, the newspaper had grown to between twelve and sixteen pages and had two sections. On Sunday, July 6, 1969, a small advertisement for the black-owned Bronner Brothers Discount Center on Hunter Street (now Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Dr.) showed a silhouette of a woman with an upswept hairdo and told of great savings on wigs, cosmetics, and other beauty products. Another ad that day announced the grand opening on July 21, 1969, of Don Clendenon's (a restaurant and bar on Hunter Street named for an African American baseball player from Atlanta who played for the New York Mets), which was featuring the Julius Wimby Trio, a musical group led by a local trend-setting African American jazz pianist. Atlanta's first black-owned savings and loan company, Mutual Federal, located at 205 Auburn Avenue, had an advertisement on

Sunday, August 10, 1969, that said it paid its savers 4-1/2 percent, so “Why don’t you put something in the kitty?”

Pepsi Cola had an almost-full-page advertisement on Thursday, July 3, 1969, that boasted about a new resealable twist-off cap and stated that “The only opener you need is your hand.” The same day, two grocery stores, A&P and Big Apple, each had full-page advertisements about sales on turkeys and other meats. Atlantic Department Stores, a frequent advertiser with the *World*, directed readers to its location at 1599 Memorial Drive in a lower-income white area of Atlanta. On Thursday, July 3, 1969, a full-page advertisement with drawings of white models wearing the store’s clothing told of permanent press culottes for children for \$1.00, Swiss watches for \$4.00, and men’s better knit shirts for \$1.99. An advertisement that took up roughly one-third of the page on Friday, July 4, 1969, stated that at R. J. Reynold’s, “things are on the move,” and it showed photographs of African American employees working at the company. On Thursday, August 21, 1969, Sears had a nearly one-half-page advertisement about its permanent press dresses at a cost of three for \$10. The ad featured six girls, two of whom were African Americans. These ads and others showed that white-owned businesses advertised frequently in the *World* -- a phenomenon that could be explained by the *World*’s less than radical tone.

As the *World* moved into the 1960s, it had a trained staff that did not necessarily agree with Scott. While the sit-ins of the 1960s were placed below the fold on the front page, the newspaper gave more prominent coverage to topics including a proposal for United States’ cities to adopt a comparable city in Africa, an ice storm that gripped Georgia causing massive power outages and school closings, calls for the United Nations

to help restore order in the Congo, the fight for teacher pay raises in Georgia, and the appointment of Robert Weaver, an African American, as the federal housing chief by President John F. Kennedy.

Focus of Chapter

The *World's* coverage of pivotal events of the 1960s is analyzed in this chapter. This includes highlights of the *World's* coverage of the Civil Rights Movement (including marches, riots, demonstrations, efforts led by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and difficulties with school desegregation), plus the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the bombing of a church in Birmingham, Alabama (which resulted in the deaths of four girls), and the March on Washington (where King delivered his famous “I Have a Dream” speech). In addition, there is dialogue from interviews with George M. Coleman, former managing editor and city editor, and Curtis Cooper, a former Linotype department supervisor.

George M. Coleman

George Mason Coleman, a former managing editor for the *Atlanta Daily World* and the first black member of the Atlanta Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi (now the Society of Professional Journalists), said he had been writing poetry since he was about eight years old. He even wrote poetry while he served overseas in the U. S. Army. Not long after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Coleman went overseas in June of 1942 to Great Britain, North Africa, Italy, France and Germany. After returning to America three years later, his sister who lived in Atlanta showed his poetry to a woman who worked at a segregated

Veterans Administration office, and she suggested he should study journalism. Coleman had studied a year at Hampton Institute (now Hampton University) in Virginia before serving in the Army, then enrolled at Lincoln University in Jefferson City, Missouri, which was one of the few black schools with a journalism department. Coleman said he became as popular as a football player after writing his first college newspaper article about a local diner that served greasy, awful food.

Coleman remembered what the journalism dean at Lincoln, Armistead S. Pride, told Coleman and his classmates -- advice that would help him during his career at the *World*. *“He told us, ‘You’re going out to work in the Negro press, and you’re not going to find hardly anybody out there with a degree in journalism, and they’re not going to know the journalism that you know, but don’t look down your nose at them, because they have more heart than you will ever have, and if they had not had that heart, the race would not have been able to move forward,’”* Coleman recalled in an interview at his home in 1999 in northwest Atlanta at the age of seventy-seven.¹

When he returned to Atlanta, Coleman went to talk to C. A. Scott about working at the *World*, and he was given a job initially as a rewrite man in January of 1951. Soon thereafter, Bob Johnson (who later became the associate publisher and executive editor of *Jet* magazine) was leaving his position at the *Atlanta Daily World* as a police reporter to study for a master’s degree. Coleman was assigned to the job Johnson had, so Coleman began covering police-related stories. *“By the time he got back, I was fully established as a police reporter then,”* Coleman said. *“Then Lerone Bennett, who later became a senior editor at Ebony, was in the Army in Korea, and he came back and the three of us used to raise sand with W.A. Scott,”* III, known to most as “Junior.”²

Coleman said his stint as a police reporter went “*very well.*” He said he became quite close with Atlanta Police Chief Herbert T. Jenkins, who was chief when the first black policemen were hired in 1948. His first day at the police precinct was not quite so smooth, though. “*My first day over there, when I walked in there with a hat on, a white policeman came up and knocked my hat off,*” Coleman recalled. “*Then I went to the chief and told him, and he told me I made a mistake by wearing it. I had to get back on the white people’s side after that, because they got mad with me.*”³

Coleman recalled covering trials for the *World*, particularly those of African American defendants. “*I would go sit in those courtrooms all day long and take notes and actually cover the trial,*” Coleman said. “*You had the Atlanta Journal, the Atlanta Constitution, and the Atlanta Daily World, and we were all in competition. I had a pretty interesting time.*”⁴

The newspaper operated on a shoe string budget and with few resources. There were usually only about two reporters, sometimes one, or as many as three, according to Coleman. “*Once C.A. Scott called the managing editor [William Fowlkes at the time] into his office and told him, ‘We missed two or three stories today. You’ve got to get your men put in better positions so we can cover everything.’ And he [Fowlkes] looked around at him and shocked him by saying, ‘If the general manager would hire enough reporters to cover the news, I’d be happy to do it.’*”⁵

Coleman said it was sometimes difficult working in an environment where the management was more conservative than most of the workers. “*The joke was that the ownership was Republican, and the employees were Democrats,*” Coleman said, adding, “*I have no interest in politics. I don’t like politicians. I don’t like political parties, and I*

*stayed as far away from it [politics] as I could, because I liked freedom and writing. And he [Scott] allowed me much more freedom than he did the average person.”*⁶

One day, however, Scott decided he wanted to explore Coleman’s political leanings. *“He approached me one day and asked me what did I think about the Republican Party, and of course I told him I don’t like any politics, but if he wanted to know the truth, I thought that the Republican Party was founded before the Civil War to get rid of slavery and that the conservative whites had turned around and taken it over, and I didn’t think it was the party for our race to be a part,”* Coleman recalled. *“And he said, ‘You Democrat so-and-so.’ And I said, ‘Mr. Scott, I am not a Democrat.’ He said, ‘Well what do you think about the Democrats.’ I said, ‘I don’t think they’ve done anything either. Well, they passed civil rights bills, they claim; so to me they’ve done enough to get the black vote. But neither party has really done much. It’s all politics, you know.’”*⁷

Coleman recalled covering a story on July 23, 1966, when white restaurant owner Lester Maddox pointed a pistol at three black students who tried to eat at his restaurant, which he did not want to integrate even though laws had been passed outlawing segregation. *“He said he would lose all his customers,”* Coleman said. *“And what we did was we forced him to integrate or close down.”* This occurrence drew both media and legal attention. Upon seeing light-skinned black lawyers and reporters (such as Coleman), Maddox, according to Coleman, verbally lamented, *“Mixed-breed lawyers, mixed-breed reporters come around here trying to tell me how to run my business.”* Maddox later would become the governor of Georgia.

Covering legal affairs in the 1960s was not easy. Coleman recalled a hearing he

had to cover in which he was made to feel very uneasy:

At the beginning of the hearing, I walked up there, and they got a guy from the Constitution or the Journal a big chair, a little table with a pitcher of water, and a glass. Then he [courtroom aide who provided the white reporter with his amenities] looks at me and says, 'Boy, you wanna get in here, you go stand in the back.' And I'm about to reply when they start proceeding. I've got to hear what's going on; so I go to the back of this crowd, and everybody's seeing that I'm very embarrassed. I'm standing in the back. Finally, I can't stand it any more, and I walk out and go over to the U.S. Marshall and pull out my credentials and tell him what happened. He goes in front of all those whites and gets this man to go get me a chair, place in between the two white reporters, go get a table with a pitcher of water. Then the Marshall asked, 'Will that do, Sir?' I said, 'Yes.' But I didn't want all of that. . . . When they passed out the results of the hearing in federal court, we all went up to the window to get our copy. Those whites were so mad to see me. They passed out the results to the white guys. And I finally said, 'Sir, I've got my press card. Don't you see me standing here, Sir?' This was what you had to go through in the '50s and '60s.⁸

When there did not seem to be much going on in black Atlanta, Coleman said he found a way to fill the newspaper pages. *"This is what I used to do called Black History Gems,"* he said, pointing to a scrapbook with articles he wrote for the *World* over the years about historical moments in the history of African Americans in Atlanta or the nation. *"When I didn't have anything to do but wanted something to keep the paper alive, I got the information out of the World [from their archives of old newspapers]. I didn't have to go anywhere. I'd go back there in the files and find what happened. The public just ate these things up."*⁹

Coleman wrote Black History Gems on such topics as James Weldon Johnson, who wrote "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing," known as the black national anthem; well-known journalist Ida B. Wells; the nation's first housing project for African Americans, which was named University Homes in Atlanta; and a history of Auburn Avenue, which was lined with black businesses. Another idea of Coleman's allowed him to showcase another side of his writing. *"I came up with this crazy idea. I don't know what made me try this --*

*to do Negro history in poetry,” Coleman said, pointing to newspaper clippings of his poetry. “I started on it, and the people wouldn’t let me quit for a while. I kept on ‘til I just got tired of it.”*¹⁰

The Civil Rights Movement with its often dangerous demonstrations put C. A. Scott in an awkward position. *“He was scared those kids were going to go out there and get killed,”* Coleman said. *“It was as simple as that.”*¹¹

“I can’t stand these young Negroes out here cutting and shooting and saying, ‘We’ve got nothing to live for.’ If they only knew their history, what these people have been through all these years -- people like Thurgood Marshall, James Weldon Johnson, and all the others,” Coleman said, adding that the black press is the vehicle through which youngsters could learn of their history. *“Down at the World, whether you liked C.A. or you liked some of the things they did, the World made the difference.”*¹²

Coleman worked at the *World* from 1951 to 1967 and then returned in the early 1980s after working at the Urban League and then the *Atlanta Voice*, a competing black-owned weekly newspaper with a slightly smaller circulation at the time. After a dispute with the *Voice*’s publisher over his role with that newspaper, Coleman went back to work for the *World*.

Coleman covered such topics as black policemen and black firemen. *“It was known that if you did something to a black policeman or a black fireman, I was going to do something in the newspaper about it,”* such as write news articles exposing injustices within the departments, Coleman said. *“It got to be known around the city that it was one of my causes.”*¹³

Another “big cause” Coleman took up was that of the American Cancer Society:

One day I read a report . . . that said black people were dying at a higher rate of cancer because they weren't taking tests, and the report suggested it was because [blacks] feel society was a wee bit racist and they didn't feel comfortable. So I wrote this series of articles called 'Cancer and the Black Man.' I was telling about all these problems out there but how you've got to save yourself through early detection. So after about a year, the Georgia division of the Cancer Society asked me to serve on the board of directors. So for about six years, I served on that. I think we did a lot to get our people to take their cancer tests on time.¹⁴

To Coleman, health awareness is a form of civil rights. *"There are so many civil rights,"* Coleman said. *"For the American Negro sitting on the bottom of the ladder, everything is a civil right. It doesn't have to be done through politics."*

Despite the ups and downs, highs and lows both inside and outside the *World*, Coleman said he valued his experiences at the *World*. *"I loved working down there. . . . I've enjoyed doing everything I ever did in my life. You don't let things beat you down. It was still a good experience, and I think the World deserves a much bigger place in history than it's getting,"* Coleman said, adding that he thinks the conservative label has helped rob the *World* of its place in the history of black journalism.¹⁵

Sit-in Demonstrations

During the 1960s, race relations had been rubbed so raw that African Americans were taking to the streets for marches, riots, sit-ins and demonstrations. When a group of African American college students entered Sprayberry's Cafeteria in a building that housed federal government office agencies on Tuesday, February 7, 1961, the proprietor turned off the lights and stated, "I don't want you in my cafeteria. I want you to leave now," according to a front-page article in the *World* the next day.¹⁶ Seventeen students were arrested at the cafeteria at 888 Peachtree Road in Atlanta for violating Georgia's

anti-trespassing law that made it a misdemeanor to fail to obey such an order by an owner or manager, the article stated. Lonnie King, Jr., one of the sit-in participants, stated that “we were about to leave” when Atlanta Police Captain J. F. Moseley “stated that we were under arrest. Apparently we did not leave soon enough for him.”¹⁷ An African American employee of the restaurant testified in court that when the students came in, H. J. Sprayberry, the owner, told the employees to stop serving. “It might cost me my job, but that’s all I know,” Dorothy Brown stated, according to the article.¹⁸

Eighteen college students plus two additional demonstrators were arrested Wednesday, February 8, 1961, for sit-ins, according to a front-page article that ran in the *World* the next day.¹⁹ Seven had been arrested at Denny’s Grill at Forsyth and Hunter Streets in Atlanta, and thirteen were arrested at Sprayberry’s Cafeteria during a second demonstration at that location, according to the article. A judge set bond at \$100 and bound the demonstrators over to Fulton County Criminal Court, but the demonstrators refused to post bond because, according to one unnamed student, “We feel that our stay in jail will be significant in solidifying the Negro race in the area of economic withdrawal and for support for the entire student movement program.”²⁰ The students were from Spelman College, Clark College, and Morehouse College, according to the article.

Thirty-seven sit-in demonstrators were bound over to criminal court on Thursday, February 9, 1961, and their leader was sent to jail for contempt of court, according to an article in the *World* on Friday, February 10, 1961. Lonnie King was sentenced to spend five hours in the city jail after he “created an incident” in the courtroom where the students were brought for arraignment under Georgia’s anti-trespass law.²¹

The *World* carried a few additional articles on the sit-ins below the fold on the

front page, with only a small amount of copy on the front and the rest on the jump (where the article continues on an inside page).²² For example a short 342-word article at the bottom of the front page told readers that the NAACP would be kicking off its membership campaign and would be discussing this “controversial phase” of the “Civil Rights campaign as the NAACP assumes more importance as the leader of the movement.”²³ Top billing during this time went to foreign news from Africa about civil war in the Congo and the alleged slaying of ex-premier Patrice Lumumba.

A front-page editorial on February 16, 1961 written by *World* Washington correspondent Louis Lautier (also writing for NNPA) spelled out what were obviously some of the *World*'s sentiments on the sit-in movement. Lautier said that staying in jail and refusing to post bail “does not make sense.”²⁴ Lautier continued by stating, “The ‘jail-in’ tactics actually hurt the young people who are acquiring police records which may haunt them in later life. The arrest statistics which these young people are piling up also injure colored people generally by making them appear to be more criminal than they are.” He then went on to state that the sit-ins themselves served several useful purposes, such as dramatizing the issue of eating establishments refusing to serve blacks at their lunch counters, and bringing about cases that test the validity of the application of laws against trespassing, disorderly conduct, breach of the peace and unlawful assembly. Once the test case has reached the courts, however, “the wisdom of staging demonstrations for the purpose of getting arrested and going to jail is questionable.”²⁵

In its own editorial that day, the *World* referred to Lautier's front-page piece, reiterated the points he made, and went further to say that the students should consider the loss of time and expense in terms of their college education. “Cessation of the

demonstrations and the release of the students in jail will help reduce the tension and provide a more favorable atmosphere for the trial of the cases and the settlement of the issue.”²⁶

The first sit-in at Sprayberry’s cafeteria made it onto page three in the *Atlanta Constitution*, a mainstream newspaper, and the second sit-in there appeared on page six, focusing mainly on the fact that the protestors were arrested and held under \$100 bonds for violating Georgia’s anti-trespass law.²⁷ By contrast, the *Atlanta Inquirer*, a competing black-owned weekly founded in 1960, ran its articles on the sit-ins of early 1961 on the front page above the fold, in some cases with large banner headlines and with articles of up to 1,100 words in length featuring a good deal of rhetoric about the college students being fed up with segregation and not wanting to wait any longer to be served alongside whites.²⁸

The March on Washington

On Sunday, August 25, 1963, the *Atlanta Daily World* reported that more than 100,000 people were expected to demonstrate in Washington, D.C. for equal rights and better jobs and also would be paying tribute to the many people who had lost their lives in the struggle for civil rights.²⁹ The demonstration was being called the “March on Washington” and would be a parade between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial along Constitution Avenue. A pamphlet about the demonstration mentioned the recent deaths of Medgar Evers and William Moore. Evers was field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and had been shot to death by a sniper after returning to his home in Jackson, Mississippi, late at night.

Moore, a white man, was a postman in Baltimore and a member of the Congress of Racial Equality. He was killed during his lonely “walk for freedom” when he crossed the Tennessee border and moved into Alabama. The pamphlet stated that the March on Washington would be a “dignified” tribute.³⁰

Just below the aforementioned article was another article stating that some African American congressmen expressed doubt that the March on Washington would bring about the desired result, which was to “dramatize support for civil rights legislation pending in Congress,” according to the article.³¹ On the other hand, none of the five African American congressmen expressed outright disapproval of the March, but their views ranged from “unreserved endorsement -- by Congressmen Adam Clayton Powell and Robert Nix-- to skepticism and caution and doubt -- by William Dawson, Charles Diggs and Augustus Hawkins,” the article stated.³²

An article that ran on the second page of the *World's* second section on Sunday, August 25, 1963, focused on the fact that even though hundreds wanted to travel to the March on Washington from Albany, Georgia, there would only be funds to help 100 to 150 people go on the trip, according to the Reverend Charles Sherrod, director of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee.³³ The national office of the March was providing half of the \$32.20 fare for the first 100 people leaving from Albany, and benefit dances and contributions from businessmen and others provided additional funds.³⁴

A Scott Newspaper Syndicate story that ran in section two, page three, of the newspaper on the same Sunday as above, stated that the College of Bishops of the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church had called an emergency session to urge members

to help assure success for civil rights legislation before Congress.³⁵ Calling it the March for Freedom, the bishops' message stated in part, "It is our opinion that the March for Freedom . . . will be a public and visible demonstration of God's concern for the rights of citizens now oppressed and discriminated against because of race, creed or color."³⁶

The top middle of the front page featured an article by UPI with the headline, "Negro Leaders Say March Worth Risk Of Violence."³⁷ This sentiment was put forth by Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, who nevertheless predicted there would be no disorder despite the presence of what was expected to be (by this time) up to 200,000 people. The risks of the March, Wilkins said, "aren't that great, and the gains are immeasurable."³⁸ Wilkins, as well as the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., rejected the idea that activists were pushing for civil rights too far, too fast. "I'm convinced that we must push on," King said, "not only for ourselves, but for the United States as a whole."³⁹ The article also stated that the leaders of the ten organizations that were sponsoring the March warned participants against provocations of violence and to make the March "a disciplined and purposeful demonstration," according to the article.⁴⁰

An expected four or five bus loads were to leave Atlanta at 5 p.m. on Tuesday, August 27, 1963, to carry the group from outside the Atlanta NAACP's office on Hunter Street to the first assembly point in Washington, D. C., the article said.⁴¹ It named a who's who list of Atlantans participating in the March, ranging from State Senator Leroy Johnson to Attorney A. T. Walden and Dr. C. Miles Smith, a well-known dentist. "I'm going because I think this is the greatest single action in the social revolution taking place in America today," Johnson was quoted as saying, adding that the March would serve as proof that blacks in both the South and North were dissatisfied with "second class

citizenship.”⁴²

On Wednesday, August 28, 1963, the front page carried an article stating simply that the nation’s capital was awaiting the mammoth group of marchers. The participants would be wearing official March buttons depicting white and black hands clasped. Slogans on posters stated things like, “We march for integrated schools now,” or “We march for jobs for all at decent pay now.”⁴³ More than 2,000 U.S. and foreign newsmen had press passes for the event, and more than 6,500 policemen were on hand to maintain order, plus 1,000 riot-trained Marines and Army troops stood by at three nearby bases, with 3,000 more scheduled to move in Wednesday morning, according to the article. In addition, the article pointed out that roughly 50,000 white Protestants, Catholics and Jews, who believed racial discrimination to be morally wrong, were expected to march alongside the African Americans, the article stated. Religious leaders could not recall “a previous occasion in the nation’s history when members of all three faiths joined forces on such a massive scale to protest a social injustice,” the article stated.⁴⁴

Supporters of civil rights were not the only ones planning to attend the demonstration. Representatives of the Ku Klux Klan planned to be there as well. In fact on Wednesday, August 28, 1963, the *World* reported that a small plane carrying Alabama Ku Klux Klan officials to Washington for the protest crashed, leaving the pilot dead and the national imperial wizard of the Klan injured.⁴⁵ There were also two new racial bombings, one in Columbia, South Carolina, and another in Buras, Louisiana, with both apparently related to the issue of school desegregation, according to the article.

Not all blacks supported the idea of the march. Another small front page story that same day stated that the Georgia Young Republicans, a predominantly white group, said

the March would create an image of irresponsibility and un-Americanism.⁴⁶ The vice chairman of the Georgia Young Republicans, Dr. Lee R. Shelton, a noted black surgeon, took issue with the statements released by the group and wrote his colleagues on the eve of the March, stating that he too would be participating in the demonstration and that, “I am going to make myself felt before Congress as an American citizen with a grievance from which I want immediate relief.”⁴⁷ Shelton was referring in general to his experiences with segregation and discrimination, according to the article.

A second-page story by UPI on Wednesday, August 28, 1963, gave an overview of the March, stating that as many as 200,000 were expected to converge on Washington in a massive cry for an end to all discrimination for what was being billed as the biggest demonstration in the nation’s history.⁴⁸ The March was aimed at Congress and the government and demanded the passage of President John F. Kennedy’s broad civil rights program, plus other equal rights and employment opportunities, the article stated. The director of the March was A. Philip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council. There were ten March leaders, including James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality; John Lewis of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Roy Wilkins of the NAACP; and Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, among others. The event was to begin when the March leaders presented their demands to Congressional leaders at the Capitol and to President Kennedy at the White House, according to the article.

In an editorial that ran the day of the March, the *World* stated that when the newspaper’s management first learned of the March, it seemed to be billed as a mass

march on the White House and Congress; however, the position was modified “for a more symbolic protest which would dramatize the urgency of enacting civil rights laws as a means of tempering tensions, curbing demonstrations, removing the resentment of unemployment, and the injustices and inequities of discrimination.”⁴⁹ The editorial spoke of the March changing from a march “on” Washington to a march “in” Washington, which the newspaper found more palatable -- even though the latter title never stuck. “We took editorial disagreement with the original concept” of the March “because we thought such action had too much risk at loss and little prospect of a net long-range gain. There was too much danger of violence,” the editorial said.⁵⁰ It stressed that the newspaper hoped that there would be no violence.

It was no surprise that the huge banner headline the next day emphasized the orderliness of the gathering. The lengthy 1,430-word UPI article stated that, indeed, more than 200,000 demonstrators from all across the country walked from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial on Wednesday, August 28, 1963, in the greatest and perhaps most orderly rally ever staged for “Negro equality.”⁵¹ Standing before a statue of Abraham Lincoln, the March leaders submitted ten civil rights demands, including equal access to jobs and total school desegregation. There was criticism of the Kennedy Administration from Wilkins of the NAACP, who called the President’s civil rights legislative program so moderate that removal of even one provision would result in “little more than sugar water.”⁵² Lewis of the SCLC told the crowd that the Kennedy Administration’s civil rights program was “too little, too late.”⁵³ King said they had a “very fruitful” session with Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana, while other leaders described their conferences with House and Senate leaders as “all

right.”⁵⁴ African American singers Marian Anderson and Mahalia Jackson performed “He’s Got the Whole World in His Hands,” and “I’ve Been Buked and I’ve Been Scorned,” respectively.

Referring to the demonstration as the “March In Washington,” the *World* placed highlights from the demonstration in the top middle portion of the front page of the newspaper on Thursday, August 29, 1963, which included news briefs about a false bomb scare at the Washington Monument, as well as how the organist at the Lincoln Memorial did not know how to play “We Shall Overcome,” a song considered the battle hymn of the Civil Rights Movement, until a black minister sketched the notes for him.⁵⁵ In a short article inside the newspaper on Thursday, August 29, 1963, Wilkins of the NAACP rejected any Communist participation in the March.⁵⁶ The comments came after Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett accused King of attending a classroom session at an alleged Communist school -- charges Barnett made while testifying at a Senate committee on the administration’s civil rights package.

An editorial with the headline, “The March In Washington, A New Record!” stated that the march was a success from at least three perspectives. First, it marked the largest protest and political demonstration in the nation’s history at the time; second, the crowd was orderly, disciplined and free of violence; and third, it emphasized to white Americans “the injustices and barriers that still handicap our racial group” and made them “mindful of the gap between our American practices and the great American principles.”⁵⁷

A photograph in the top middle section of the front page the *World* on Friday, August 30, 1963, showed March leader A. Philip Randolph standing with the solemn

statue of President Lincoln in the background. Randolph, according to the photograph's outline, had met with Speaker of the House John McCormack and had been assured that if a Fair Employment Practices Commission was included in the civil rights package, it would be passed by the House. Another front-page article on Friday, August 30, 1963, told of how the March showed cooperation between religious, civic and labor groups, who all were pushing for passage of an effective civil rights bill.⁵⁸ The article also stated that the favorite of the crowd was King, who did not emphasize legislation but stressed that demonstrations would continue. The article named some of the speakers at the event, including U.S. Undersecretary of State Ralph Bunche, comedian Dick Gregory, and Georgia State Senator Leroy Johnson. Actor/singer Harry Belafonte introduced several entertainers present, including white actors Burt Lancaster and Charlton Heston, Marlon Brando, and James Garner, according to the article.

Approximately 150 Georgians attended the March, based on figures from the Atlanta office of the NAACP. The *Atlanta Daily World* asked some of those who made the trek to Washington if it had been worth it, and all who were asked said "yes."⁵⁹ Attorney A. T. Walden said the March "put the nation on notice that the Negro and others who love freedom are determined to secure their rights NOW."⁶⁰

The *World* reported that the March echoed throughout the world with newspapers and news agencies from London, East Germany and the Soviet Union writing about the event. A support march took place in Europe a week prior to the one in Washington, with 200 people, led by African American novelist James Baldwin, who presented a petition to the U.S. Embassy in Paris, and smaller groups petitioned other embassies as well.⁶¹ In Cairo, thirteen representatives of the African Nationalist organizations marched to the

U.S. Embassy with signs reading, “Down With United States Imperialism and Racial Discrimination,” and “Remember The Negroes Also Built America.”⁶² Ten non-Americans representing the “Afro-Asian-Caribbean Organization” went to the American Embassy in London with a petition demanding “an end to racism in the United States.”⁶³

On Sunday, September 1, 1963, the top right corner of the *World’s* front page was the spot for a UPI analysis of the March, which stated that although the March was not likely to change the votes of members of Congress in terms of civil rights legislation, the March was the source of immense racial pride.⁶⁴ The same edition of the newspaper carried an article in the bottom right corner of the front page stating attorney Walden’s dismay that Georgia’s top member of Congress was “in the forefront of the opposition to changes which are inevitable in the area of race relations.”⁶⁵ Walden, who headed the Atlanta delegation to the March, was referring to U. S. Senator Richard B. Russell, who was outspoken in his opposition to President Kennedy’s civil rights bill. An article on Friday, September 6, 1963, stated that the March brought the country’s three major religious faiths closer than any issue in the nation’s peacetime history. A survey of participants showed that Protestant, Catholic and Jewish groups around the country worked to make the March a success.⁶⁶

The March on Washington brought to life “a world-wide dramatization of the Negro’s plight here in the United States and his determined struggle for full citizenship,” according to the *World*.⁶⁷ In a page six column called “Between the Lines,” Dean Gordon B. Hancock, writing for the Associated Negro Press, wrote that the March also was a tribute to President Kennedy, who welcomed and encouraged the movement and who “refused to let the calamity howlers of the Old South and its sympathizers intimidate him

in one of the great crises of his career and administration.”⁶⁸ Hancock also stated that the March was a tribute to A. Philip Randolph, “who was the first to dream of a ‘March on Washington,’ by Negroes.”⁶⁹ The March was also a tribute to King, “whose inspiring leadership within the last few years has kindled in the hearts of the Negroes the fires of a new determination to be free. His great leadership in Montgomery where Negroes won their first great victory against segregation did something to the Negroes’ pride and confidence that can never be undone.”⁷⁰ The column continued, “It took the dream of a Randolph and the genius of a King to make such a spectacle as a March on Washington possible.”⁷¹

Birmingham Church Bombing

George M. Coleman, a *World* staff member, expressed his wrath over a church bombing in Birmingham in a poem. In the 290-word “Cry Birmingham,” which ran Friday, September 20, 1963, on the editorial page, Coleman wrote:

Birmingham, oh, Birmingham,
What good was your dynamite?
You’ve blown up your cause like Judas
Even biased men will hate this Night.⁷²

On Sunday, September 15, 1963, a bomb thrown from a passing car exploded in a crowded African American church, killing four girls and injuring twenty people.⁷³

Although the article on this bombing ran in the top middle section of the *World*’s front page, the headline was relatively small, and only a small portion of the lengthy article was on the front page.

The article, written by UPI, gave this account of the bombing and its aftermath: The bombing triggered violent outbreaks that left two more people dead in the streets.

The bombing took place at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, killing eleven-year-old Denise McNair, fourteen-year-old Carol Robertson, fourteen-year-old Cynthia Wesley, and ten-year-old Addie Mae Collins, who were attending Sunday school classes at the time. There had been about 400 people at the church, 80 of them children, at the time of the incident. The bomb apparently exploded in an unoccupied basement room and blew down the wall, “sending stone and debris flying like shrapnel into a room where children were reassembling for closing prayers following Sunday school. Bibles and song books lay shredded and scattered through the church.”⁷⁴

About eleven hours after the bombing, someone shattered the window of a food store located in an area that was dubbed “Dynamite Hill,” due to a wave of recent bombings. Shots could be heard sporadically throughout the city, and stones were smashed into cars driven by whites.⁷⁵ Police units patrolled the streets, and 500 National Guardsmen stood by at an armory. Police shot and killed Johnny Robinson, a sixteen-year-old African American youth who had been stoning cars and then refused to halt as he tried to flee down an alley.⁷⁶ A thirteen-year-old African American boy, Virgil Ware, was shot while riding a bicycle around the same time, according to the article, which did not give further details of that incident. The article pointed out that thousands of hysterical people poured into the area around the church that Sunday morning and that police spent two hours trying to control the crowd and firing rifles into the air, according to the article.

Shortly after the bombing, the article reported police broke up a rally of white students at another location protesting the integration of three Birmingham schools. It was the fourth bombing in four weeks in Birmingham -- the third since the school

integration crisis there came to a boil on Wednesday, September 4, 1963, when African Americans registered at a Birmingham grade school, according to the article.⁷⁷ It was also the twenty-first bombing in Birmingham in eight years and the first to kill victims, the article stated.

Beneath the article on the incident was another article with a huge banner headline in all capital letters stating, “PRESIDENT, U. S. JUDGE PROMISE FEDERAL AID IN FINDING BIRMINGHAM BOMBERS,” which ran beneath a “kicker” headline that stated, “Kennedy Says Violence Was ‘Encouraged’.” The article, which was 720 words long, stated that President John F. Kennedy expressed “outrage and grief” over the deaths of the girls and pledged federal help in preserving the peace and finding the guilty parties.⁷⁸ It quoted Kennedy as stating that he hoped the bombing would awaken the entire nation “to a realization of the folly of racial injustice and hatred and violence,” and that “It is regrettable that public disparagement of law and order has encouraged violence which has fallen on the innocent.”⁷⁹

The article pointed out that Kennedy made no mention of Alabama Governor George Wallace, who had twice clashed with federal authorities over school integration. White House Secretary Pierre Salinger, however, “did nothing to curb speculation that the President had the governor in mind with this assertion,” the article stated.⁸⁰ Salinger also was quoted as saying Kennedy planned to reply personally to the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., who had demanded that the President provide federal assistance for the situation in Birmingham.

In a third story that ran the same day (Tuesday, September 17, 1963), the newspaper combined two incidents that ostensibly were not connected. The article stated

that five black children quietly attended integrated classes in three schools the previous day and that a federal judge told a special grand jury the bombing of the black church was a “sin against humanity.”⁸¹ United States District Judge Clarence W. Allgood said that law enforcement agencies and the courts would not rest until the “insane murderer or murderers of those children are brought to justice,” the article reported.⁸² It stated a team of FBI agents sifted through debris at the church and more than 1,400 local police, state troopers and National Guardsmen were dispersed throughout the city.

An article written out of Washington painted the picture of a group of senators who had strong words about the bombing. African American leaders and senators called for a nationwide day of mourning and protest for the children killed in the Birmingham bombing. It reported Senate Democratic Whip Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota led a group of bipartisan colleagues in asking President Kennedy to proclaim the following Sunday as a day of national mourning for the four girls killed in the bombing.⁸³

The newspaper used its top right corner spot on the front page on Wednesday, September 18, 1963, to highlight the closed-casket funeral of one of the bombing victims -- fourteen-year-old Carol Robertson.⁸⁴ The girl’s family wanted her funeral to be a private affair, and decided against a joint funeral for all four girls, the article said. The pastor, Fred L. Shuttlesworth, assured the families of the other three victims that the funeral would not be whipped into a promotion of the “Negro civil rights cause.”⁸⁵

Just below the aforementioned story was another with a headline stating, “Ala. Bombings Seen Helping Passage Of Rights Bills; Sections To Be Broadened.”⁸⁶ The article spoke of a House judicial subcommittee announcing it had given tentative approval to broadened versions of the voting and school desegregation sections of

President Kennedy's civil rights bill.

A short story on the topic, only about 160 words, gave the church pastor's first-hand account of what happened that fateful morning. The Rev. John Cross of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church told readers (via UPI) that the blast, which ripped one child's head completely off, happened so unexpectedly that it took a moment to sink in before causing complete chaos.⁸⁷ Ironically, it was youth day at the church. The blast went off at 10:22 a.m. In the article, the pastor surmised that the bomb must have been planted before dawn inside the east wall of the church, as he did not believe it had been thrown.⁸⁸ It tore down the wall between the room in which it went off and the room in which the children were assembled. There was almost complete destruction at the site of impact and window panes were shattered throughout the church, he said.

Readers got a glimpse of the *Birmingham World's* view on the subject in an editorial with the headline "KILLERS OF THE INNOCENTS" on page six that ran Wednesday, September 18, 1963. The 800-word editorial stated that the girls were victims "of cruel madness, the vile bigotry and the deadly hate of unknown persons."⁸⁹ The editorial stated that the *Birmingham World*, also owned by the Scotts, "has been in the struggle against this kind of insanity, intolerance, disrespect of the House of God, defiance of established law, and disregard of human values since its beginning ..." Then it made the suggestion, "Yet, if members of the Negro group pour into the churches on Sunday, stream to the voter-registration offices, make their dollars talk freedom, and build up a better leadership, those children might not have died in vain."⁹⁰

A solemn final tribute was paid to three of the four girls who were killed in the bombing, according to an article that ran Thursday, September 19, 1963. Dr. Martin

Luther King, Jr., head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, delivered the tribute for McNair, Wesley and Collins before a crowd of “several thousand mourners.”⁹¹

A photograph that ran that day showed the body of one of the girls being taken from the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. A half-banner headline stated, “Kennedy to Meet With Negro Leaders Today In Birmingham.” An article written out of Washington by UPI that ran Thursday, September 19, 1963, stated that Kennedy agreed to meet with African American leaders who were urging the use of federal troops to maintain order in Birmingham.⁹² The announcement came shortly after Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP national office in New York, called on Kennedy to cut off federal funds to Alabama. King and six other black leaders had wired the President from Birmingham several days prior requesting an immediate conference to discuss “the extreme tension that grips the city and state” following the bombing.⁹³ King and his associates had asked the President to dispatch federal troops to Birmingham to keep order, but the White House said it had not received the message. The article continued on page three of the newspaper where readers learned that Wilkins criticized what he called the Kennedy Administration’s “hesitant and slow approach that has been taken toward protecting civil rights.”⁹⁴ Wilkins also stated that the church bombing was an act of war by foes of civil rights and that the federal government “ought to conduct a ‘war’” on the behalf of African Americans.⁹⁵

Protests against the bombing spread across the northern United States, according to an article that ran Thursday, September 19, 1963. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) was planning a march on the White House and a loose confederation of student organizations at fifty colleges across the nation was planning demonstrations as well.⁹⁶ In

Boston, Catholic, Protestant and Jewish clergymen joined in a memorial service in Boston Commons for the Birmingham victims. In Saginaw, Michigan, a fourteen-foot wooden cross led a protest parade, while bells rang out in mourning in Flint and Bay City, Michigan, the article reported. In a separate, very short story, the African Methodist Episcopal Ministers Union of Atlanta announced it had adopted a resolution deploring the bombing and stating that the organization would request that the Justice Department and President Kennedy bring swift justice to those responsible.⁹⁷

A photograph of a seemingly sorrowful Birmingham mayor ran on page six on Thursday, September 19, 1963, with a cutline underneath stating that he asked citizens to end “this senseless reign of terror.”⁹⁸ Next to his picture was a photograph of a group of people sitting amid broken glass near the church that was bombed. A force of 1,400 policemen, state troopers and National Guardsmen were at the ready in the tense city, according to the cutline.

The chairmen of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom called upon President Kennedy to guarantee federal protection for African Americans in Alabama, according to an article on Thursday, September 19, 1963, written out of New York.⁹⁹ The telegram to President Kennedy was signed by numerous black leaders including the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., March organizer A. Philip Randolph, John Lewis of the SCLC (later a U. S. Congressman), and Roy Wilkins of the national NAACP. The telegram stated, “If no federal protection can be found for the Negroes of Alabama and elsewhere in the South, the links of the chain will extend to the national government, because helplessness in Washington is an invitation to lawlessness in Birmingham.”¹⁰⁰ The March organizers were calling on Americans across the nation to observe Sunday,

September 23, 1963, as a day of mourning for the slain children and directed their appeal primarily to the quarter of a million people who participated in the August 28 March on Washington, according to the article.

President Kennedy appointed a special two-man team to try to restore racial peace in Birmingham and opted against using troops, according to a front-page story that ran Friday, September 20, 1963.¹⁰¹ African American leaders who had been urging a dispatch of federal troops met with Kennedy and indicated they were satisfied with his approach but wanted further action to allay racial tension, the story reported. The two-man task force was comprised of former Army Secretary Kenneth C. Royall and famed former West Point football coach Earl Blaik. In another front-page article, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy stated that the use of federal troops never could solve the civil rights problem in the South.¹⁰² “People can’t be led by bayonets,” Robert Kennedy said. “Only a change of heart can bring about the changes needed in the South.”¹⁰³

Five hundred National Guardsmen who had been “held on the ready” since the church bombing were released Thursday, September 19, 1963, by orders from Governor George Wallace, according to an article that ran the next day.¹⁰⁴ Meanwhile, African American leaders broke up a demonstration following the funeral of three of the four girls before a clash could occur between demonstrators and a wall of police who had barricaded a street. The two other victims -- Ware and Robinson -- who were killed in outbreaks following the bombings were to be buried the following Sunday. Police at this time were saying that Robinson was accidentally shot by police, who were firing over the heads of demonstrators to break up a group of rock throwers. Ware, police said, was shot by two white youths who were returning from a segregation rally, according to the article.

Royall and Blaik were planning to meet in New York with Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall, who had recently returned from Birmingham, according to an article on Saturday, September 21, 1963. Marshall had been “on the scene at almost every civil rights flare-up over the last three years,” and planned to brief the two men before they were to go to Birmingham the following week to try to mediate between white and black leaders, it reported.¹⁰⁵

On Saturday, September 21, 1963, a news story reported the bomb that killed the four girls had been planted underneath the steps of the church, according to United States Attorney Macon Weaver, instead of having been hurled from a passing car.¹⁰⁶ Weaver also announced that no evidence indicating the identity of the bomber had been found at that point, according to the article. Meanwhile, community leaders on both sides of the racial divide were hypothesizing about why there was such racial tension in Birmingham. One black attorney, Arthur Shores, whose home had been bombed twice, said he thought there was discontent due to “a lack of participation of Negroes in the mainstream of the city’s economy” as a result of “discrimination.”¹⁰⁷ City officials blamed a scarcity of jobs for both blacks and whites, particularly in unskilled labor, according to the article.

On Saturday, September 21, 1963, a twenty-four-hour watch was posted on black churches in Birmingham to minimize the chances that the following Sunday would be just as tragic as the one before. The move was announced by the Rev. A. D. King, brother of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. A. D. King said guards would remain on duty throughout the weekend and would make a final check of the buildings before church hours on Sunday.¹⁰⁸ The article also mentioned that two sixteen-year-old white youths, Larry Joe Sims and Michael Lee Farley, had been charged with the murder of thirteen-

year-old Virgil Ware, who had been shot in the face and chest while riding his bicycle. The two youths were bound over to a grand jury without bond. Coroner J. O. Butler said he would ask for a grand jury investigation into the death of sixteen-year-old Johnnie Robinson, who had been shot by police officer Jack Parker. The Rev. A.D. King said, "I just don't know why the police would have to shoot a boy in the back who was alleged to have been throwing rocks."¹⁰⁹

Coverage of bombing victim Carole Rosamond Robertson's funeral appeared on Sunday, September 22, 1963. The Rev. John H. Cross, pastor of the bombed church, said, "This dastardly act, this inhuman deed, has brought us together as children of God."¹¹⁰

Smiling photographs of the four attractive girls ran across the top of the middle of the newspaper's front page on Tuesday, September 24, 1963, just beneath the nameplate. All across the nation, people banded together to protest the bombing and make their voices heard, the news report said. An article with the headline "Nation Mourns Birmingham Dead," told of how there were multiple demonstrations throughout the country on the Sunday one week following the bombing.¹¹¹ Approximately 5,000 participated in a mute protest march at Washington D.C.'s Lafayette Square facing the White House. New York Mayor Robert F. Warner proclaimed "an official day of respect and sympathy" for the victims and a "predicted crowd of 10,000" gathered in Foley Square to hear novelist James Baldwin and other speakers, the article noted.¹¹² Among some of the demonstrations that were listed were the following: About seventy-five African Americans wearing black arm bands walked twenty blocks down the main street of North Little Rock, Arkansas in memory of the girls; in Philadelphia, eight members of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) continued a sit-down demonstration around the

Liberty Bell that had begun the day before; and the Ohio state flag flew at half-staff at the executive mansion in Columbus on orders of Governor James A. Rhodes, who also asked Ohioans to observe a day of statewide mourning.¹¹³

Using their collective weight beyond the pages of their newspapers, the National Newspaper Publishers Association (formerly the Negro Newspaper Publishers Association) sent President Kennedy a telegram urging him to use “direct action now” to protect black citizens from “further outrages” in Alabama, according to an article that ran Wednesday, September 25, 1963.¹¹⁴ “We implore you to assert the authority of your high office, in the name of decency, in the name of humanity, to protect Negro citizens from further outrages which have been systematically encouraged by the Governor of Alabama, whose spirit and attitude are that of Hitler,” the telegram stated.¹¹⁵ The article reported other actions in response to the bombing as follows: Americans for Democratic Action sent a telegram to the Democratic National Committee Chairman John Bailey demanding the removal of Eugene “Bull” Connor, the former Birmingham Police Commissioner, from the Democratic National Committee, due to his alleged “dedication to the rankest kind of racial activity.”¹¹⁶ The National Women’s Committee for Civil Rights wrote an open letter to the women of Birmingham, to “express the feelings of more than 300 major women’s organizations” about recent events in Alabama.¹¹⁷ “Perhaps your children died that we might see the tragic folly of our hate,” the letter stated.¹¹⁸ Other organizations released statements on the tragedy, including the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches, whose executive director stated the following:

Christian people throughout this land feel a terrible sense of sorrow and shock at the bombing of the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church . . . It is time for the white

Christian people of Birmingham to arise and speak out openly and forcefully against the madness which has swept their city, a madness which was allowed to take root and grow by their silence and which has been encouraged and inflamed by the reckless and irresponsible statements of open defiance made by their governor.¹¹⁹

The Commission also announced that it established a fund to help rebuild the church and to help reduce the expenses of the victims' families.

In an article on Tuesday, October 1, 1963, the newspaper announced that two men with Ku Klux Klan backgrounds were being interrogated by state police in connection with a series of racial bombings, including that of the church.¹²⁰ R. E. Chambliss, fifty-nine years old, and Charles Cagle, twenty-two years old, both from the Birmingham area, were being held in connection with the bombings, according to Col. Al Lingo, head of the Alabama state police. Cagle had been arrested near Tuscaloosa in June a few days before the University of Alabama was integrated and was charged with carrying a concealed weapon, and Chambliss had a record of several arrests in connection with various Klan activities, according to the article.¹²¹ Meanwhile, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. had issued an ultimatum to city officials demanding that Birmingham's racial climate be improved soon and saying that he would recommend more demonstrations, the article stated. About 2,000 blacks had been arrested and jailed during a massive demonstration earlier that year (1963), according to the article. It said one city official threatened to arrest King if demonstrations commenced again. It reported two African American leaders (whom the newspaper did not name) had issued a joint statement deploring King's threat and asking that the present negotiations be continued.¹²²

In an editorial on Tuesday, October 1, 1963, the *World* welcomed the news that suspects were being held in connection with the bombing.¹²³ The editorial mentioned that

although roughly forty-seven bombings had been recorded in the state of Alabama up to that date, not a single legal action had been taken in connection with the blasts.

The next day, the newspaper stated that three men were charged with the misdemeanor of illegal possession of dynamite in connection with Birmingham's racial bombings.¹²⁴ The third suspect was John W. Hall, who had not been taken into custody at the time the names of the two men charged were disclosed. R. E. Chambliss was ordered released on \$300 bond. The charges carried a maximum of 180 days. Rewards of \$80,000 had been offered for information leading to the arrests and convictions of those responsible.

On Tuesday, October 8, 1963, Charles Cagle was convicted of illegally possessing dynamite the night the home of African American attorney Arthur Shores was bombed.¹²⁵ That particular bombing, which took place September 4, 1963, touched off a riot, during which one person was killed. Cagle was fined \$100 and sentenced to six months hard labor.¹²⁶ Cagle's trial began shortly after King demanded that Birmingham officials hire twenty-five black policemen within two weeks or face more demonstrations. King also asked that the city council conduct face-to-face negotiations with black leaders to discuss the hiring of clerks, firemen and other civil employees in order to show a "good faith" effort toward lowering segregation barriers, the article stated.¹²⁷ The following day, misdemeanor convictions also were handed out against Chambliss and Hall for dynamite possession on the night Shore's house was bombed. The men were sentenced to 130 days in jail and \$100 fines -- the maximum penalty for violating the dynamite act, according to the article.¹²⁸ Birmingham Mayor Albert Boutwell said the city was considering King's requests and would try to do what was best for all concerned.¹²⁹

John F. Kennedy Assassination

On Friday, November 22, 1963, African Americans lost an ally in their struggle for civil rights when President John F. Kennedy was assassinated, and the *World* mourned along with other Americans. There were six stories on the front page of the *Atlanta Daily World* about the assassination of President John F. Kennedy on Saturday, November 23, 1963. The front-page banner headline stated, "PRES. KENNEDY ASSASSINATED; JOHNSON SWORN INTO TOP OFFICE." The main story about the incident had the headline "Shot Through Temple Takes Kennedy's Life," and was written by a UPI reporter, as was much of the coverage on the topic. The article reported that Kennedy was shot at 12:30 p.m. Central Standard Time while riding in an open-top White House limousine in downtown Dallas as he waved and smiled at a crowd of 250,000 people.¹³⁰ He died about a half hour later, according to the article.

A moment before her husband's startling assassination, Jacqueline Kennedy had turned to him and said, "You can't say Dallas wasn't friendly to you," as they drove past cheering onlookers, according to a UPI story with the headline, "Her Last Word to Her Husband."¹³¹ Jacqueline Kennedy helped lift her dying husband onto a stretcher, the article stated. The two aforementioned stories were flanked by a photograph of John F. Kennedy on the right and a photograph of Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson being sworn in as President on the left.

World publisher C.A. Scott wired a telegram to Mrs. Kennedy expressing grief and sympathy, according to a small eighty-word article.¹³² While the *World* rarely ran articles about stock market reports, it ran a UPI story in the top left corner of the front page that spoke of the impact of the assassination on the New York Stock Exchange.¹³³

Another article covered Johnson's being sworn in as the new President.¹³⁴ Located in the bottom right section of the front page was an article about Lee Harvey Oswald being held by police.

The front-page story written by a *World* staff member (and nephew of the publisher) was located underneath the main story on the right side of the front page. The nearly 800-word story by Stanley S. Scott had the headline "Atlantans Join *World* Mourners."¹³⁵ It quoted blacks lamenting the death of a "best friend" of the African American community. The story pictured some Atlantans visibly weeping in the street, while others stood silently praying. Mayor Ivan Allen was quoted as saying, "At this time we must seek divine help and guidance to carry us through this crisis. The deepest sympathy of every Atlantan goes to Mrs. Kennedy and the President's family." Dr. Lionel Newsom of Atlanta was quoted as saying, "It's the darkest hour in American history, particularly for the Negro and all other citizens seeking an equal share of democracy . . . Our best friend is now dead."¹³⁶ The article spoke of a "hushed silence" that "reigned through the predominantly Negro business district of Auburn Avenue as word of the shooting was relayed through the streets."¹³⁷ The story quoted a litany of prominent Atlanta blacks, including T. M. Alexander, Sr., an executive with Southeastern Fidelity Insurance Company, who called the assassination "a challenge to all who cherish democracy," and the Rev. William Holmes Borders, Sr., pastor of Wheat Street Baptist Church, said, "Certainly President Kennedy was one of the tallest of American Presidents . . . many, many years ahead of many, many people in the world and [he] was rapidly implementing the seemingly impossible in many areas."¹³⁸ Dr. Hilliard Bowen, area superintendent of Atlanta Public Schools, said, "We'll have to have a strong President to

take up the civil rights fight or we'll have a full scale revolution."¹³⁹ State Senator Leroy Johnson said, "Like Lincoln, Kennedy died in the midst of a great struggle. A challenge of America today is to fulfill the dreams of the President, that is to see all Americans free, and possessed with the fruits of America's democracy."¹⁴⁰ Warren R. Cochrane, executive secretary of the Butler Street YMCA, said, "The Negro people of America have lost their greatest leader since Abraham Lincoln."¹⁴¹ On page five of the Saturday, November 23, 1963, newspaper, *Atlanta Daily World* editor George M. Coleman stated in a poem titled "Peace To Kennedy":

Oh, God, who welcomed valiant
Lincoln to the final throne of peace,
We vicious human beings send you yet
Another one, whose shocking death
Builds up the score of heroes, killed
For love of human dignity.¹⁴²

Leaders from around the world, including the Pope, former presidents and congressmen, responded to the killing of Kennedy in another article on page five the day after the assassination.¹⁴³ "Kennedy Was Many Things," was the headline to a short 270-word article by UPI that quoted Kennedy as once saying that "the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans."¹⁴⁴

The lead editorial that day stated that Kennedy was "a young man of courage and one who represented the noble types of genuine Americanism."¹⁴⁵ The editorial also added the perspective that Kennedy had won by one of the narrowest margins in United States history and was the first Roman Catholic ever elected to the Presidency, and the fourth U. S. President to be assassinated. Kennedy was to be buried the Monday following his death -- a day which was proclaimed a day of mourning by President Johnson.¹⁴⁶ Along these lines, another article stated that the six colleges comprising the

predominantly African American Atlanta University Center would suspend all classes on that Monday.¹⁴⁷

More reactions from prominent Atlantans were in the lengthy, 1,010-word front-page article, “Many Shocked Over President’s Death.” Civil rights attorney A. T. Walden, who considered Kennedy a personal friend, issued a statement saying, “The tragic death of President Kennedy is a grievous loss to the world, particularly to the free world and those desiring to be free.”¹⁴⁸ W. L. Calloway, president of the Empire Realty board, said, “We have not only lost a great president and leader, but we have also lost a fighting champion of housing for all Americans majority and minority.”¹⁴⁹ Frequent reactions heard in the black community in general were, “The Negroes’ best friend is dead,” or “I didn’t think it could happen in America,” or, “This is a tragic loss to mankind,” according to the article.¹⁵⁰ Some people were openly weeping or praying in the streets, the article stated. Mrs. Kennedy’s extreme composure during the chaos and horror of her husband’s assassination was the topic of a brief, 190-word front-page article on Sunday, November 24, 1963.¹⁵¹

In a lead editorial, “The National And The World Mourn,” the *Atlanta Daily World* juxtaposed the assassination of Kennedy to the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln.¹⁵² The editorial also suggested that the Eisenhower Administration had already laid some of the groundwork for the cause of civil rights, which Kennedy carried forth. Kennedy, the article stated, “was truly a man endowed of courage and that strong will to espouse the cause of the equality and freedom for man. He has not died in vain.”¹⁵³

In perhaps some of the most searing words, William A. Fowlkes, managing editor of the *Atlanta Daily World*, in his “Seeing and Saying,” column, wrote the following:

His unfettered stand for total civil rights for all Americans was a constant threat to the demagogues and to the racists who lived to 'see things return to normalcy.' The 'normalcy' they longed for, would see the minority pushed back to a less hopeful position than fully recognized citizenship and opportunity. Many of them reportedly have been heard to say in the marketplace, along the streets and in private homes that they are glad that 'n-----r lover' is dead.¹⁵⁴

On Monday, November 25, 1963, Kennedy was buried at Arlington National Cemetery. An estimated 800,000 mourners lined the streets as Kennedy's body was transported from the Capitol to the White House to St. Matthews' Cathedral, and finally to the cemetery, the paper reported.¹⁵⁵

On Tuesday, November 26, 1963, Coleman of the *World* staff wrote an article about how Kennedy's mourners were of all races:

In death proof of the fruits of his efforts beamed over television sets to the entire 50 states as Negro faces were a very active part of each event, from the sad return to Washington, to the moment a Negro soldier and a Negro sailor helped lower the body to its final resting place.¹⁵⁶

A small article told of how local churches throughout Atlanta -- including Wheat Street Baptist Church, Union Baptist Church, and First Congregational Church, all predominantly black -- were holding memorial services in honor of Kennedy.¹⁵⁷

A photograph in the top left corner of the newspaper on Tuesday, November 26, 1963, showed Mrs. Kennedy and her two young children, Caroline and John Jr., waiting for the President's body to be put on the caisson for the start of the final procession to the Capitol. A 750-word article seemingly told of Mrs. Kennedy's every move while the uniformed bearers gently placed her husband's flag-draped casket on the same catafalque that once held the bodies of three other presidents who also had been assassinated.¹⁵⁸

The bottom right corner of the front page of the newspaper on Tuesday, November 26, 1963, bore an article about another figure in the Kennedy saga -- Lee

Harvey Oswald, Kennedy's accused assassin. The article was about the burial of Oswald's heavily guarded body, which was taken from a Fort Worth funeral home that Monday for an immediate burial.¹⁵⁹ Inside the newspaper, we learned more details of how a vengeance-inspired strip tease club owner, Jack Ruby, 42, had shot and killed Oswald as he was being transferred under heavy guard from the city to county jail.¹⁶⁰ Photographs of the mob scene following the murder of Oswald and of Oswald's body being rushed into an ambulance added a sense of frenzy to the page.

Inside the newspaper that Tuesday were other articles, including one describing the processional route, which was lined with 300,000 people and another about it being John F. Kennedy, Jr.'s third birthday when his father was buried.¹⁶¹ The latter article described the touching image of John Jr. saluting his father's casket as it passed.

On Wednesday, November 27, 1963, the top left corner of the front page had an article by the news service of the NNPA that again told of how Kennedy was mourned and honored by people of all races. Louis E. Lomax, an African American author and civil rights spokesman, was quoted as saying that Kennedy "did more for civil rights than any other President in history. . . . He did not do all we asked, but it is undeniable that he was our warm friend and champion. The Negro community will miss him."¹⁶²

Civil Rights Workers Killed

The *World* reported more atrocities connected with civil rights in other parts of the country as well. It carried a story on a news conference on Tuesday, December 1, 1964, at which the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. said FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover indicated there would be arrests in the next few days in connection with the slaying of

three civil rights workers near Philadelphia, Mississippi the previous summer.¹⁶³ Prior to the more than hour-long conference with Hoover, King had charged that the lack of arrests showed that the FBI failed to protect blacks in the South. The three civil rights workers, all of whom had been shot, were twenty-year-old Andrew Goodman of New York, twenty-four-year-old Michael Scherner of Brooklyn, and twenty-one-year-old James Chaney of Meridian, Mississippi, who was the only African American among the victims. Their bodies had been found in a grave about two months after they were last seen alive. Acting U.S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach was quoted as saying the arrests had not yet been made because of the refusal of Mississippians to come forward and testify.¹⁶⁴ In the year 2005 an arrest finally was made in the case.

King-Led Civil Rights Demonstrations

As authorities in Mississippi dealt with the controversial case, King's message of non-violence was making an impact world wide, which the *World* reported. On Sunday, December 20, 1964, an article by Harmon G. Perry of the *World* staff told of King returning home to Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta to a hero's welcome after receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in Sweden, participating in a special meeting with President Lyndon Johnson, and receiving a rousing tribute from the city of New York the day before.¹⁶⁵ At the Atlanta airport, King was quoted as telling newsmen that he had been "on a mountaintop" for the past few days but would now "come back down to the valley of the problems" facing African Americans.¹⁶⁶ To his church, according to the article, King said that the Nobel award was not his alone but a tribute to the courage of millions of blacks and whites who had involved themselves in the struggle for freedom

and equality.¹⁶⁷

An article that ran Wednesday, January 20, 1965, stated that King, who had been slugged by a segregationist in a Selma, Alabama, hotel on a Monday, watched from a car Tuesday while sheriff's deputies arrested sixty-seven of his followers during a voter registration march on the courthouse in Selma.¹⁶⁸ The arrests came after integrationists refused to move from in front of the courthouse and into an alley while awaiting their turn to register. King called the arrests unlawful and unjust and said in the future, Selma blacks would take their voter application forms directly to a federal judge and bypass local authorities. King filed a petition with the U. S. Justice Department seeking to restrain Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark from interfering with black voter registration and demanded immediate release of those taken into custody.¹⁶⁹ The man who slugged King, Jimmy George Robinson of Birmingham, appeared before a city magistrate and was sentenced to sixty days in jail and a \$100 fine -- the maximum penalty on two counts of assault and disturbing the peace.

In a lead editorial that ran Wednesday, January 20, 1965, the *World* stated that the attack against King in a Selma hotel by a white segregationist and member of the National States Rights Party was deplorable.¹⁷⁰ The editorial stated that the unprovoked attack by an admitted racist occurred while King was registering for a room in the previously all white hotel. It also stated the following:

We deplore violence and to commit it against one of the most prominent members of our race might have the effect of encouraging similar action against the rank and file member of the race. We recognize the right of difference of opinion on the race issue, but to express this opinion in the form of violence should not be tolerated. We commend the police for swift action in making an arrest. . . . Dr. King might consider, for the sake of safety, delegating more detail work of registering and voting and other Civil Rights projects to local people.¹⁷¹

Selma police arrested King when he led a massive protest march Monday, February 1, 1965, against Alabama voter registration procedures, according to an article that ran the next day.¹⁷² King and about 270 other protesters were taken into custody as they converged on the Dallas County Courthouse. King was charged with parading without a permit. It was King's first arrest since he won the Nobel Peace Prize the previous December. The thirty-five-year-old King issued a statement declaring "war on the evils of demagoguery."¹⁷³ At the time, the number of integrationists arrested in Selma since King launched his drive there on January 10, 1965, had risen to 546, the article stated. King had been arrested approximately thirty times since 1955 when he launched the bus boycott in Montgomery, according to the article. During the cold, wet afternoon in Selma, as many as 400 African American children paraded to the courthouse in a continuous demonstration. Some participants as young as ten years old had been put into buses and taken to an all-black school. As the buses left the courthouse, the children sang songs and chanted such slogans as, "We don't want to educate; we want to integrate," the article continued.¹⁷⁴

The top right corner of the first page of the newspaper on Thursday, March 18, 1965, carried an article stating that a federal judge ordered Alabama Governor George C. Wallace not to interfere with a civil rights protest march from Selma to Montgomery. In fact, according to the judge cited in the article, Wallace, the state police, and the Dallas County sheriff's department were ordered to protect the marchers. The march was to start on Friday, March 19, 1965, and end on Tuesday, March 23, 1965. The first attempt at a Selma to Montgomery walk on March 7 had ended in a bloody melee when police routed demonstrators with tear gas and billy clubs. Another attempt two days later was turned

back without incident. King announced to hundreds of his followers who had amassed before the courthouse that the federal judge had approved “a Negro protest march” from Selma to Montgomery.¹⁷⁵ A photograph of an “Atlanta sympathy march” ran next to the article showing a crowd of roughly 2,300 Atlantans who assembled in front of the Old Post Office Building downtown to protest the conditions in Selma.

In the most massive racial demonstration in the history of the segregated Deep South, King and United Nations Undersecretary Ralph Bunche led more than 30,000 demonstrators in a march on the Alabama Capitol on Thursday, March 25, 1965, according to an article that ran the next day. The flag-waving crowd chanted and sang freedom songs, but Alabama Governor George Wallace refused to meet with them and sent out a message saying, “I will not, I repeat, I will not see any group of citizens whatsoever until this demonstration and march has concluded and dispersed.”¹⁷⁶ The march was the culmination of a fifty-mile, five day trek from Selma where a Negro voter registration drive by King had resulted in massive demonstrations and two deaths, the article stated. The demonstrators carried a petition addressed to Wallace that said in part the following:

We come petitioning you to join us in spirit and in truth what is history’s movement toward the Great Society: A nation of justice where no one shall prey upon the weakness of others; a nation of plenty where greed and poverty shall be done away; a nation of brotherhood where success is founded upon service and given for nobleness alone . . .¹⁷⁷

Outside Atlanta, which some called “the city too busy to hate,” a protest was launched to call attention to some of Georgia’s racial problems. Two civil rights organizations joined forces to “explode the false image of racial harmony” in Georgia, according to an article on Tuesday, July 27, 1965.¹⁷⁸ Hosea Williams, an official with

King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, selected Baker and Sumter counties as their major targets. Alleged violence and harassment in Baker County and the arrest of four black women in a voting line designated for whites in Americus (in Sumter County) touched off what was called the new "trouble spot."¹⁷⁹ Blacks in Americus were asking that charges against the four women be dropped; that the previous week's election for justice of the peace be declared void because of segregated voting; and that a black voting registrar be hired. Williams charged that Governor Carl Sanders had "done a marvelous job in developing a false image of Georgia throughout the country" by spreading the word that the state had tranquil race relations. "It is not our desire to destroy the image . . . But to see to it that this is a true and authentic image throughout the state of Georgia and not just in the Atlanta area," Williams was quoted as saying.¹⁸⁰

Northern Protests

The protest movement continued to grow with marches and demonstrations in the North. In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, King was to participate in a demonstration at the all-white Girard College, according to an article on Wednesday, August 4, 1965. King had attended two earlier rallies in Philadelphia that attracted about 8,000 people, and he had told newsmen that Philadelphia had a critical shortage of jobs for blacks, the article stated.¹⁸¹ King described the non-violent demonstrations as a useful method for blacks to work out their frustrations. "We know the demonstrations in themselves cannot accomplish anything," he was quoted as saying. "They provide moral tension in the minds of the American people. We only have the weapons of our own souls and

bodies.”¹⁸²

In Chicago, thousands of civil rights demonstrators, led by King, marched on City Hall to plead for an end to “racism and exploitation” of African Americans, according to a UPI article that ran Tuesday, July 27, 1965.¹⁸³ The crowd -- three-fourths of which was African American -- was estimated at 10,000 by a police spokesman and 20,000 by march organizers. The march route began at downtown Chicago’s Grant Park and headed west toward City Hall. Demonstrating King’s commitment to the cause, the article stated that the march started more than an hour late because King was being treated for a fever and sore throat. This march was billed as King’s first of several scheduled “invasions” of northern cities to push for civil rights gains.¹⁸⁴

Urban Riots

Despite the peaceful marches and demonstrations urged by King, protests marked by violence began to erupt in urban areas, receiving continued coverage in the *World*. Rioting took place in Los Angeles the summer of 1965, causing one religious/civil rights leader to be quoted as stating that the rioting in California was not “anarchistic, wild, hysterical behavior, but studied, deliberate, punitive action on the part of the Negro poor against the white people they consider to be their enemies -- white store owners and white people who exercise economic control in the Watts ghetto.”¹⁸⁵ The Rev. Dr. Gayraud S. Wilmore, executive director of the United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race in New York, also stated that the five days of mass destruction in Los Angeles sprung from “unwise and imprudent police action and delay on the part of the white power structure in meeting the demands of the grass-roots leadership of the Negro

ghetto.”¹⁸⁶ Some of the demands included an end to police brutality and provisions to combat unemployment, according to an article on the riots, which ran Sunday, August 22, 1965, near the bottom of the front page.

In a “Brass Tacks” column that ran regularly on the editorial page, Thaddeus T. Stokes wrote that same day that, “A riot is a calamity more damaging than a hurricane. It is a contagion more dreaded than the bubonic plague. It is as inhuman as the deeds perpetrated at Germany’s Buckenwald [sic] . . .” a concentration camp during the Holocaust. He went on, however, to state, “At best one can only attempt to ascertain the immediate action which ignited the riot, [but] the underlying cause had its origin in the second class citizenship accorded the Negro centuries ago.”¹⁸⁷ According to the column, Georgia Governor Carl Sanders placed the blame on a “breakdown in respect for law and order across the nation in the wake of civil disobedience teachings of civil rights leaders,” which “indirectly implicates Dr. Martin Luther King.”¹⁸⁸ Stokes, however, did not blame King for the disrespect for the law that was being displayed. Instead, he laid blame with the behavior of southern whites dating back to the 1800s when they “defied the supreme authority of this country and took up arms against law and order and the democratic process . . . and aided and abetted the denial of equal protection for Negro citizens.”¹⁸⁹

George M. Coleman, managing editor of the *Atlanta Daily World* at the time, wrote a column that also ran that Sunday that the riots made scenes from “Buck Rogers” look like an everyday tale. “There is as much difference between a registered voter and he who casts a ballot in a hateful southern town as there is between the proverbial bird in the hand and the lucky fellow in the bush,” he wrote.¹⁹⁰ Governor Sanders and other law abiding citizens “were alternating between blasting Los Angeles Negroes and calling Dr.

M. L. King, Jr. dirty names,” Coleman said, juxtaposing the image of the same type of citizens being unmoved when they heard “the screams in their day in the dark of night, when a Negro who had talked back died in a flame of tar and feathers, or a kerosene picnic where Bible reading whites brought fuel and lunches to watch a lone Negro burned to death.”¹⁹¹

On Saturday, September 4, 1965, the *World* ran an article in which Senator Robert F. Kennedy, the New York Democrat, stated that forestalling race riots was not only the job of the white power structure but also that of affluent African Americans.¹⁹² According to Kennedy, unemployment, overcrowded housing and white indifference have created situations where “riots are waiting to happen,” but “too many Negroes who succeed in climbing the ladder of education and well-being fail” to help other African Americans.¹⁹³

As a testament to the need for better treatment from the white power structure, a federal grand jury failed to indict anyone for alleged police brutality against civil rights demonstrators in Selma, Alabama, according to an article on Wednesday, September 22, 1965. The jury had investigated the use of billy clubs and tear gas by state troopers and Dallas County authorities who were blocking a civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, during which scores of blacks were injured the previous March 7, the article stated.¹⁹⁴

A Call For Rioting to End

After the bloody summer of 1965, riots slacked off in many cities and the *World* turned its attention to other civil rights matters. Back from a historic civil rights march in Mississippi, the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. told a full congregation at Ebenezer

Baptist Church in Atlanta that the “hope of the world is not in the majority but in a creative minority,” according to a page three article on Tuesday, July 5, 1966.¹⁹⁵ He told members of the congregation to stand up for what is “right, just and true,” while adding that they may be persecuted, abused and talked about for doing so.¹⁹⁶ King also said that many white people supported justice for blacks but were afraid to let it be known for fear of social and economic reprisal.

On Wednesday, July 27, 1966, the mid-right section of the front page featured a small article that let readers know that King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference had taken out a \$6,000 advertisement in the *New York Times* to restate his faith in non-violent protest by blacks instead of the so-called “black power” concept of obtaining equality.¹⁹⁷ King was quoted as saying he considered the slogan “black power” unwise from the outset and that violent connotations that go along with the phrase make it “dangerous and injurious.”¹⁹⁸

On Wednesday, July 26, 1967, the top right corner of the newspaper carried an article in which King called for an end to the riots in the nation’s ghettos and reiterated that non-violence was the most effective tool for bringing about change.¹⁹⁹ The article stated that King supported President Johnson’s decision to send federal troops to quell a disturbance in Detroit and felt that when a riot erupted, it had to be halted. King stated in a telegram to President Johnson, however, “There is no question that the violence and destruction of property must be halted, but Congress has consistently refused to vote [for] a halt to the destruction of the lives of Negroes in the ghetto.”²⁰⁰ King proposed that the federal government create an agency to provide jobs for the poor similar to the Works Project Administration of the Depression, the article stated. “If our government cannot

create jobs, it cannot govern. It cannot have white affluence amid black poverty and have racial harmony,” King stated.²⁰¹ In trying to shed light on riots that must have been puzzling to some outsiders, King was quoted as saying to newsmen that “a riot is the language of the unheard. It is almost a suicidal act, that last desperate act when a Negro says, ‘I’m tired of living like a dog.’”²⁰²

Congress had called for an end to the riots, according to an article on Wednesday, July 26, 1967, but was tangled in a bi-partisan spat over who was to blame for the uprisings.²⁰³ The House Education and Labor committee ordered its staff to investigate whether anti-poverty workers were guilty of abetting the Newark, New Jersey, riots, as charged by some local officials, and a committee spokesman said the investigators would also look into the cause of the Detroit riot, according to the article.²⁰⁴

Another article suggested that President Johnson literally had lost sleep over the upheaval in Detroit. After deciding to send in U.S. troops to quell the rioting, the President slept only about five hours and was awakened three times with reports from Detroit, according to the article. It reported a broadcast in which Johnson said that looting, murder, pillaging and arson would not be tolerated in the nation and that such actions had nothing to do with civil rights.²⁰⁵

In an editorial, the *World* came out against the riots, suggested that Atlanta was lucky for avoiding similar outbreaks, applauded President Johnson for sending federal troops to Detroit and applauded King for his condemnation of the riots. The editorial stated, “We in Atlanta and the South in general can be thankful that no widespread and highly damaging disorders, rioting and looting have occurred here as have in Newark, Detroit and other cities in those areas. There is simply no justification for such violence,

damage and murder which have come from rioting.”²⁰⁶

On Thursday, July 27, 1967, an article in the top right corner of the newspaper stated that four of the most prominent leaders in the Civil Rights Movement had spoken out against rioting. Calling the uprisings unjustified, the leaders called for the criminal prosecution of those taking part.²⁰⁷ It included a joint statement against rioting by King, A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney Young, Jr., which maintained that killing, arson, and looting, as well as inciting such acts, were not justified. It said that riots did not solve the problems of joblessness, poor education, and substandard housing conditions.²⁰⁸ The *World* commended these leaders as well as local leaders who denounced rioting in an editorial that stated, “In our issue of yesterday and other recent editions we have editorially suggested that these riots call for a strong denunciation by our leaders because they do no good and cause tremendous loss and damage to innocent citizens.”²⁰⁹

President Johnson created a special advisory commission to investigate race riots and called on the nation to pray, according to an article that ran in the top right corner of the front page on Friday, July 28, 1967.²¹⁰ It referred to Johnson’s announcement in a television and radio broadcast the previous evening that he had directed the Defense Secretary to order National Guard units to begin undergoing special training in riot control. The commission would investigate the origins of the recent uprisings and make recommendations for measures to prevent or contain them in the future, according to the article.²¹¹

Going a step beyond simply covering those speaking out against the riots, the *World* also carried an editorial that proposed solutions to end the riots. One interesting

proposal to prevent rioting, according to the *World*, would be the reestablishment of an Atlanta Voters League, which the newspaper's management thought might help poor blacks to feel more empowered, according to two editorials.²¹²

Photographs of the spoils of a Detroit riot, including a demolished building and a long line of people outside of a grocery store because a food shortage loomed were in the middle-right section of the front page on Saturday, July 29, 1967. The article stated that President Johnson was planning to meet with his new commission.²¹³ It included a statement by the Atlanta branch of the NAACP asking ministers to devote part of their sermons on the following Sunday to discouraging rioting by taking a so-called "Progress Through Law and Order" approach.²¹⁴

Georgia's Fifth District Congressman Fletcher Thompson, a Republican, declared the Johnson-Humphrey Administration must "shoulder a great deal of responsibility for the riots that have ravaged our cities this summer," according to a front-page Sunday article on July 30, 1967.²¹⁵ The article went on to state that Thompson felt the Administration had failed to act forcibly in a number of situations that produced the psychological mood conducive to rioting.²¹⁶

In Washington, D. C., the article said, a Congressional subcommittee was told that peace would not come to the nation's urban cities until the people living "in the empty belly of poverty see themselves as legitimate shareholders in the great American Dream," according to Dr. Cleo W. Blackburn, executive director of the Board for Fundamental Education, an organization that helped the poor to become homeowners.²¹⁷

Another article on Sunday, July 30, 1967, stated that riots across the nation were beginning to wane. Rioting had taken place during the summer of 1967 in various cities

including Detroit; Philadelphia; Cambridge, Maryland; South Bend, Indiana; Memphis, Tennessee; as well as the Ohio cities of Cincinnati, Lorain, Toledo, Mansfield, and Springfield, but all had reported lessening tensions.²¹⁸ There was new violence, however, in Wilmington, Delaware; Passaic, New Jersey; and Chicago, according to the article. A similar news article reported that President Johnson had instructed his new anti-riot commission to find out what caused big-city race riots and to recommend ways to prevent them.²¹⁹ It said Johnson had signed an executive order defining the commission's powers and asking for an interim report by March 1, 1968, and a final report and recommendation within a year.²²⁰

In an article on Friday, January 5, 1968, the *World* proclaimed in its headline that Georgia Governor Lester Maddox sought riot control legislation that would give him a "dictatorial grip on citizens."²²¹ Maddox's proposed riot-control legislation would make rioting a felony and would give him power to close down a city in an emergency if necessary, the report said. It also included a catch-all section that said the governor might suspend any activities he reasonably believed "should be prohibited to maintain life, health, property or the public peace."²²²

Meanwhile, the *World* reported, New Jersey was learning its officers had acted too aggressively during a riot, according to a authorities. On Sunday, February 11, 1968, the *World* wrote that a blue ribbon commission appointed by the governor of New Jersey charged that some police and National Guardsmen used "excessive and unjustified" force against Newark blacks in the North's first big-city race riots the previous summer.²²³ During the July 12-17 riots, twenty-six people were killed, more than 1,000 were injured, more than 1,400 were arrested, and property losses were estimated at more than \$10

million, according to the Commission on Civil Disorders. The scathing report said evidence showed that police and National Guardsmen shot into black-owned stores without justification, physically mishandled and verbally abused some blacks, and at times, mistakenly shot at each other in panic.²²⁴

In Orangeburg, South Carolina, according to an editorial on Sunday, February 11, 1968, three African American college students were killed and thirty-seven were injured during a melee that started after black students attempted to use a bowling alley. The *World* called it a “terrible price to pay for trying to use a bowling alley” and called for blacks in “every city of an appreciable size” to “effectively organize our people on a bi-partisan political basis and give our people sounder leadership based on political influence.”²²⁵

During this time, debate about a civil rights bill continued in Congress. The U. S. Senate refused to end an ongoing debate, or filibuster, on President Johnson’s civil rights bill. The vote against gagging debate (which could have opened the way to passing the bill) was 55 to 37 -- just seven votes short of the required two-thirds majority. The bill already had been approved by the House and was designed to make it a federal crime to injure or intimidate blacks and civil rights workers during certain activities such as voting, registering to vote, serving on a jury, attending school, working, and using public accommodations.²²⁶ In a *World* article on Wednesday, February 28, 1968, Senate Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen was quoted as saying there was “a very substantial major agreement” with Senate liberals on a civil rights and open housing bill, which he predicted would pass despite Southern opposition.²²⁷

Speaking at Florida State University, according to a *World* article on Saturday,

March 2, 1968, Vice President Hubert Humphrey said the report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders pointed to the need for a "tremendous, coordinated, massive program of rehabilitation and social action."²²⁸ Humphrey said, "If this nation can afford to spend \$30 billion to put a man on the moon it can afford to spend what it takes to put a man on his feet right here on earth."²²⁹ He also said it would not be enough to give African Americans rights they have been denied for a century. "It's not enough just to open the doors," he said. "You also have to help the people walk through those doors."²³⁰

The *World* reported on the eleven-person commission appointed by President Johnson after the Detroit riots during the summer of 1967, headed by Democratic Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois and Republican Mayor John Lindsay of New York, who were chairman and vice chairman respectively. The two blacks on the commission were U. S. Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts and Roy Wilkins of the NAACP. The group found that the nation would be split into "two societies, one black, one white -- separate and unequal" unless some costly remedies for riots were initiated, according to an editorial on Sunday, March 3, 1968.²³¹ The commission's report also stated that "white racism" was essentially responsible for the "explosive mixture" that had been accumulating in America's cities since the end of World War II.²³²

According to the *World*, which endorsed the report, the commission recommended, among other things the following: (1) The creation of two million new jobs; (2) A federal subsidy for on-the-job training; (3) A guaranteed minimum income for all Americans; (4) Bringing six million new and existing dwellings within reach of low- and moderate-income families in the next five years; (5) expanding the rent subsidy

program; (6) enacting a federal housing program to provide more low-income housing for blacks outside of the ghetto areas.²³³ The *World's* editorial on the commission's findings ended by stating, "The best interest of our nation lies in the races cooperating and working for mutual understanding."²³⁴

In a front-page article by UPI on Tuesday, March 5, 1968, the riots commission accused the Cambridge, Maryland, police of helping to start the 1967 summer riot by overreacting to a speech by H. Rap Brown, a militant leader of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee.²³⁵ The article pointed out the thirty-five-page analysis of the Cambridge riots was not a part of the official commission report. Brown was under indictment for inciting the riot that took place on July 24 and July 25 in 1967 and resulted in the destruction of two full blocks of the "Negro quarter" in the Maryland eastern shore town.²³⁶ On the same day, the *World* reported the U. S. Senate voted to end a six week debate on a civil rights bill and thereby make it possible to pass the bill which would outlaw discrimination in the sale or rental of most housing in America.²³⁷

The Senate tacked onto the civil rights bill an anti-riot provision, according to an article on page four of the *World* on Wednesday, March 6, 1968.²³⁸ The article pointed out that most liberals reluctantly went along with the provision to avoid antagonizing lukewarm supporters of open housing. Attorney General Ramsey Clark had opposed an anti-riot amendment such as this one because he felt it would be difficult to prove a suspect's intention to initiate a riot when he crossed a state line, the article said. The measure was partly aimed against then-twenty-four-year-old Brown, who was under indictment in Maryland for inciting the riot the previous July in Cambridge, Maryland.

A couple of days later, the *World* reported, the Senate gave tentative approval to

open housing legislation that would outlaw discrimination in the sale or rental of 68 percent of America's homes.²³⁹ The Senate approved the administration's 1968 civil rights bill and its controversial open housing amendment, which then had to go to the House, where its fate lay in the hands of undecided Republican leaders, the article on Tuesday, March 12, 1968, said.²⁴⁰ President Johnson called on Congress to stop "fiddling and piddling" and approve the civil rights bill with its controversial open housing provision, according to an article on Thursday, March 28, 1968.²⁴¹ The article also mentioned that at a White House ceremony, Johnson signed a bill to outlaw discrimination in the selection of federal juries.

As the political debate continued to rage, protests and demonstrations continued around the nation and were covered by the *World*. Although King was known for his non-violent stance, in Memphis, Tennessee, a 3,000-person march led by King on Thursday, March 28, 1968, erupted into bloody violence, leaving a sixteen-year-old boy dead.²⁴² The violence brought 4,000 National Guardsmen rushing into Memphis, and a 7:00 p. m. curfew was placed upon the city, according to news reports in the *World*. At least 105 people were arrested and dozens of policemen and rioters were injured. Rioters pelted police with rocks and bottles and attacked them with clubs, while officers countered with tear gas, nightsticks, and mace.²⁴³ The violence started after about 150 young blacks broke away from the main line of the march and ran screaming along streets, clubbing policemen, smashing windows and looting stores, according to the article on Friday, March 29, 1968. The main body of marchers were led back to the Clayborn Temple AME Church, the rallying point for the march, but firebombing and looting continued throughout the afternoon, according to the article.²⁴⁴

The violence in Memphis did not sit well with others awaiting future demonstrations led by King, the *World* reported. Two Democratic Senators, Robert Byrd of Virginia and John Stennis of Mississippi, demanded King's planned march in Washington slated for April 22, 1968, be blocked. "If this self seeking rabble rouser is allowed to go through with his plans here, Washington may well be treated to the same kind of violence, destruction, looting and bloodshed," Byrd was quoted as saying in an article on Saturday, March 30, 1968.²⁴⁵

In an editorial that implicitly outlined the kind of marches the *Atlanta Daily World* favored, it stated that a parade as part of a membership drive for the NAACP was slated for Sunday, March 31, 1968, in Atlanta.²⁴⁶ The editorial pointed out that a proper parade permit was obtained without any duress. "If the fad of this age is to march and demonstrate, then march and demonstrate, but be sure of the purpose of your march; be sure the cause is worthy of the effort," the editorial stated.²⁴⁷

The Memphis fiasco also led the *World* to write an editorial with the headline, "The Washington March Should Be Called Off."²⁴⁸ A list of reasons was laid out including the following: (1) the grave danger of violence, such as that which took over in Memphis, forcing the National Guard to be called; (2) the danger of the march getting out of line at the behest of some riot opportunist who might infiltrate the movement in a saboteur fashion for the purpose of discrediting the Civil Rights Movement on the whole, and to embarrass some of those in Congress eagerly backing the measure; and (3) grave doubt that at this time the march would have any favorable impact on members of Congress.

After King's Assassination

On April 4, 1968, King was shot and killed while standing on the balcony of the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee. James Earl Ray, a white segregationist, was arrested for King's murder. *World* newspapers from April 1 to April 20, 1968, are listed as missing by the microfilm company, which precludes reading coverage of King's assassination. After King's untimely death, a myriad of tributes to him took place, and the *World* chronicled many of them. In a 1,000-word article on page five of the newspaper on Sunday, April 21, 1968, an article covered several tributes, ranging from one in the Druid Hills section of Atlanta, to one by President Lyndon Johnson.²⁴⁹

Former President Dwight D. Eisenhower called for a move to end urban racial tensions by relocating ghetto dwellers into new communities and providing them with practical job training, according to a UPI article in the *World* on Wednesday, April 24, 1968.²⁵⁰ The report, which quoted from an article in the May 1968 issue of the *Reader's Digest*, referred to Eisenhower as saying the federal government would have to supply some of the money, but much of the planning and impetus would have to be at the community level. "The first essential of any realistic housing plan is to reduce the density of population by encouraging large numbers of people to relocate in new, more wholesome communities," Eisenhower was quoted as saying, adding that the new areas should be integrated and "made inviting to decent people of all races."²⁵¹

A somber editorial cartoon that ran Wednesday, April 24, 1968, on page six, showed a pensive King with his chin resting on his closed hand, superimposed with images of a bus (symbolic of the bus boycott), the Lincoln Memorial, the Washington Monument, and finally his casket in a mule-drawn wagon. The caption below read,

“Leadership . . . An Iron Will Combined With Integrity of Purpose.”²⁵²

One of many editorial-type tributes to King -- this one written by Rodney Meeks -- spoke of how people of all walks of life came to honor King after his assassination. Arm in arm, there walked “the conservative, militant, moderate, extremist, segregationist, nationalist, liberalist, non-conformist, and separationist [sic] bound in a human chain with one common denominator The spirit of ‘LOVE’ . . .”²⁵³

In Washington, the *World* reported, Congress was still debating whether the so-called poor people’s campaign, inspired by King, should be permitted to hold a march in Washington in May of 1968. The Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, considered King’s successor and then the head of the SCLC, had toured Washington to ascertain what kind of support there would be for a march, an article on Saturday, April 27, 1968, said.²⁵⁴ Some Congressmen felt only a token delegation of march leadership should have access to Washington to confer with government officials, while others felt all of the marchers should be welcomed to present their petition, the article stated.²⁵⁵

In an editorial on Saturday, April 27, 1968, the *World* reminded readers that the newspaper had carried wire and press reports indicating that the murder of King was more than a one-man job. A prison inmate was reported to have heard James Earl Ray say that if he ever got out of prison, he would collect a million dollar bounty for assassinating King. The editorial stated that the *World*’s management believed the slaying was the work of a paid killer and that “the persons responsible should be promptly brought before the bar of justice and punished according to the law.”²⁵⁶

Attempts to Restrain Poverty and Racism

In a lengthy 2,700-word article on Tuesday, May 7, 1968, the *World* quoted former Vice President Richard Nixon who outlined in a national radio address ways to build economic bridges “between the developed and under-developed parts of our society -- between rich and poor, white and black -- human bridges, economic bridges, bridges of understanding and of help.”²⁵⁷ His plan called for laying economic stepping stones of meaningful, productive jobs and encouraging black pride through the vigorous development of black management and black capital ownership, according to the article. Tax incentives should be provided to business owners who locate branch offices or new plants in areas of poverty, whether in cities or in rural regions, the article quoted Nixon as saying. The development of black-owned and black-run businesses should be undertaken and there should be an increase in black home and land ownership, the article also quoted him as saying.²⁵⁸

A short but prominently placed 230-word article on Friday, May 10, 1968, stated that in the District of Columbia, police patrols had been reinforced by 20 percent in some areas in response to the demands of merchants who wanted more protection.²⁵⁹ While being sure not to suggest that the extra patrols were a way of gearing up for the so-called “Poor People’s March,” whose participants were planning to arrive the following Sunday, authorities said the action was taken after merchants -- liquor store owners in particular -- sought more protection following three days of rioting in April that ended only with the intervention of 12,000 federal troops.²⁶⁰ A story that ran inside the newspaper on page four painted a picture of 136 people, three of whom were white, from Edwards, Mississippi, hopping on an old school bus and rumbling off to Washington, D. C. for the

Poor People's March.²⁶¹ The bus was followed by carloads of FBI agents, highway patrolmen, and newsmen, the article stated.

Unfortunately, a white man who was picketing the march in Boston was stabbed in the arm, according to an article on Saturday, May 11, 1968.²⁶² The man was carrying a sign that read, "I Am Fighting Poverty -- I Work! Try It -- It Works."²⁶³ The man had scuffled with demonstrators on two previous occasions and was stabbed in the arm while he sat at the wheel of his car, the article stated. At this point, about 2,700 people were "on the move" from different parts of the United States in caravans going to Washington for the march, the article stated.²⁶⁴ The march, which had been conceived by the late King, was aimed at forcing the government to pour billions of dollars into programs to stamp out poverty, the article stated.²⁶⁵ An article on Sunday, May 12, 1968, told of the caravans from different parts of the United States arriving in the District of Columbia, and stated that King's widow, Coretta Scott King, was planning to play a prominent role in the Poor People's March, which was the last project organized by her husband before he was assassinated. She was to lead a welfare rights march on Mother's Day that Sunday, and then share the spotlight for the Poor People's March with Abernathy, who was King's successor.²⁶⁶

John L. Davis of the *World* news staff wrote an article that appeared on page two of the newspaper on Sunday, May 12, 1968, about a group bound for the Poor People's March that arrived in Atlanta. The group of about 2,000 was hosted by the Atlanta Summit Leadership Conference and met at Maddox Park in the Bankhead Highway area, then headed to Morehouse College, where they were provided with a meal, then they went to Ebenezer Baptist Church for a dedication service in memory of King, followed

by a trip to King's birthplace on Auburn Avenue.

In a front-page article that ran Thursday, January 2, 1969, Julian Bond was quoted as telling the audience at an NAACP Emancipation Day service that he endorsed a political philosophy that recognized the following ideas: 1) The social system as it operates today is no longer solving the problems of poverty and race; 2) white America lacks the will, courage and intelligence to give black people their civil rights and has to be pressured and forced; 3) as minorities, blacks must make alliances to achieve racial goals; 4) blacks should avoid marriage to any one political party; 5) there should be more support for massive programs of civic and political education; and 6) there is a need for race consciousness in a racist society.²⁶⁷ In the speech at Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Bond was quoted as saying that the "Black Movement" of 1969 would face organized violence as a result of blacks feeling powerless, desperate, bitter, and hopeless.²⁶⁸ Bond said that what African Americans needed were jobs, homes and education.²⁶⁹

The NAACP launched a nationwide Leadership Development Program in early 1969 designed to recruit and train volunteers to handle community, social, and economic problems, according to an article on Tuesday, January 7, 1969.²⁷⁰ The program was funded by a Rockefeller Foundation grant of \$100,000 over four years. The program, according to Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, represented "the continuation of a tradition which the association has served almost since its establishment, namely, the provision of constantly renewed leadership pools for the Negro community."²⁷¹ The program sought to improve leadership, to increase understanding of groups, and to prepare leaders to meet the demands of the nuclear age, Wilkins said.²⁷²

An institution in Atlanta's African American power structure was the Hungry Club Forum, a weekly luncheon meeting with a speaker, held at the Butler Street YMCA to address concerns in the black community, and the *World* consistently covered its meetings over the decades. The year's first forum session in 1969 featured Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., who told the group that the rate of disadvantaged people -- mostly African Americans -- moving to Atlanta was very high and that "We just can't let them come here and sit down. We must educate and train" these migrating citizens, according to an article in the *World* on Thursday, January 9, 1969, by Portia Scott, daughter of the publisher.²⁷³ Allen, a white man, told the group he was particularly concerned about improving education, pointing out that the Atlanta Public School System at the time was 60 percent black, which disturbed him because it showed that blacks were moving into the city, while whites were moving away from it. Allen told the crowd of roughly 200 people that Atlanta led the nation in low-income housing and that he was proud of the gains the city had made in civil rights, employment, major sports, and business. The mayor said he advocated a national housing law, but pointed out that Atlanta, as he saw it, was the only city in the nation with such a "magnificent Negro neighborhood set up under a segregated system."²⁷⁴

The SCLC announced a "new thrust" for the organization, according to *World* reports, changing from short-term to long-term plans, with an emphasis on such subjects as housing, poverty, labor groups, black economic development, voter registration, education, student involvement, and urban problem solving.²⁷⁵ At a press conference during an SCLC retreat in Frogmore, South Carolina, the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, then president of the organization once headed by King, stated that the "Poor People's

Campaign is just beginning,” and outlined plans for the SCLC to conduct a full-scale labor-organizing campaign, and to support non-profit organizations, as well as black-owned businesses aimed at black economic development, according to a *World* article that ran Thursday, January 9, 1969.²⁷⁶ It reported Hosea Williams, a top aide, also was on hand at the press conference as head of a campaign to “redeem the soul of America” by electing candidates who were more responsive to the poor in local and congressional elections in 1970. “Those who turn their backs on the poor will have to account for it,” Williams was quoted as saying.²⁷⁷ Abernathy was quoted as stressing that those who can organize the poor of all races will hold the key to “open the door to equality and justice for all.”²⁷⁸ The organization also announced a groundbreaking for a new low-cost housing unit near the Atlanta Stadium and memorial plans for King, as well as plans to try to make King’s birthday a national holiday, the newspaper said. Coretta Scott King, wife of the slain civil rights leader, announced plans for a Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Center to honor all of the “human endeavors” of her late husband and the commitment to the “causes for which he lived and died,” according to a *World* article on Thursday, January 16, 1969.²⁷⁹

The first commemorative service for King at Ebenezer Baptist Church on what would have been his fortieth birthday drew crowds from all over the world, according to an article on Thursday, January 16, 1969.²⁸⁰ While the service was intended to last an hour, it extended into four hours as more than a dozen speakers paid homage to the civil rights leader, the article stated. Many of Atlanta’s businesses and colleges were closed that day, and drivers rode with their lights turned on during the day in honor of King.

The late 1960s offered a preview of the gains African Americans would make in

Atlanta's political arena, allowing the *World* to cover legislation proposed by black lawmakers. A group of African American legislators introduced a bill in the Georgia House of Representatives that called for African American history to be taught in the state's public schools, according to an article on Friday, February 14, 1969. The bill, signed by Representatives Julian Bond and Ben Brown, among others, provided that public schools offer instruction in the "role and contributions of the American Negro and other ethnic groups in the history of this country and Georgia," and gave the State Board of Education the power to order textbook manufacturers to stop selling textbooks that did not "truthfully" portray the role blacks have played in the history of the state and the nation.²⁸¹

In an article that ran on Tuesday, February 18, 1969, the *World* wrote that President Richard M. Nixon "took prompt action" to implement at least two recommendations made to him by NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins during a half-hour conference in Washington, D.C.²⁸² Nixon agreed to dispatch a White House aide to Hazlehurst, Mississippi, where a tornado had killed thirty-one people, leveled numerous homes and otherwise destroyed property. This area primarily was inhabited by blacks, and Wilkins had asked the President for assistance similar to that which a white California community received after a flood disaster. In addition, the article said, the Nixon Administration's Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Robert H. Finch, announced he would withhold federal funding from three southern school districts which had failed to desegregate their schools. The districts were located in South Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee.²⁸³

According to a news story that ran Wednesday, March 5, 1969, the Nixon

Administration had announced the day before a crackdown on suspected violations of federal school desegregation laws in fourteen “non-southern” states.²⁸⁴ In some of the states, school officials had been notified of apparent violations of the 1964 Civil Rights Act forbidding federal financial assistance to any local program or activity practicing discrimination, and some school districts had been referred to the Justice Department for possible action, according to Finch. School districts in the following states were under review or recommended for review: Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Finch stated that racial segregation was sometimes more difficult to uncover in the North but pledged that his department would be “moving forward against discrimination wherever it may exist in this nation.”²⁸⁵ Meanwhile, Martin County, North Carolina, one of five southern school districts that had its federal funding withheld, had submitted a desegregation plan permitting restoration of the money, according to an article on Wednesday, March 5, 1969.²⁸⁶

In an editorial on March 9, 1969, the *World* wrote about its concerns over the announcement by Maynard Jackson, a young African American attorney, that he would seek the position of vice mayor for the City of Atlanta. “[I]t is our opinion that any member of our race who desires to enter a city-wide or county-wide race, except on a political party ticket, should get a consensus of Negro opinion before announcing,” the *World* admonished, adding that winning such a race would require the united vote of the black community.²⁸⁷ The editorial pointed out that the thirty-two-year-old Jackson was from a prominent Atlanta family. His father was a Baptist minister and his maternal grandfather, the late John Wesley Dobbs (for whom a street in Atlanta was named), was

“outstanding in civic and political circles.”²⁸⁸ The editorial praised Jackson’s “handsome personality,” but went on to express concern that Jackson’s announcement “could have the effect of giving support for the One-Government bill which would provide for a single government for both Fulton County and the City of Atlanta” and thereby “greatly reduce the political influence of the Negro community.”²⁸⁹ (This bill was never enacted and the city and county governments never combined.)

In a “Brass Tacks” column that ran that same Sunday, Thaddeus Stokes wrote that current civil rights fighters, “imbued with the ‘Black Power’ Philosophy,” had been aiming a lot of verbal attacks against the black middle class -- some justified, some not justified.²⁹⁰ The column stated that the “middle class Negro” disassociated himself from the main fight of the “poor, the disadvantaged, the illiterate Negro masses,” and that the tragedy of this was that the “middle class Negro” was not fully aware of his plight in the socio-economic scheme of the American social structure and did not enjoy total acceptance among either the “white middle class” or the “lower Negro class.”²⁹¹ In the end, Stokes suggested that middle class blacks “return to the folds and identify with the fate of the Negro masses.”²⁹²

Just a few days later, Atlanta received word of a significant legal development. A banner headline on Tuesday, March 11, 1969, announced that “RAY PLEADS GUILTY, GETS 99 YEARS,” for the assassination of King.²⁹³ James Earl Ray pleaded guilty to the murder of King in exchange for his life but kept alive the theory of a conspiracy, according to the UPI article that ran at the top mid-right section of the front page. The judge told the jurors that it had not been established at that time that there was a conspiracy, but later Ray himself interrupted the proceeding to say he didn’t agree with

the foreman's assurances that there was no conspiracy, according to the article.²⁹⁴

Witnesses, as reported in the article, told of the single rifle shot that killed King as he stood with friends on the second floor balcony at the Lorraine Motel at dusk on April 4, 1968. Another front-page article that day stated that King's wife, Coretta, as well as the Rev. Ralph Abernathy, who succeeded King as head of the SCLC, both shared the strong belief that a conspiracy brought about King's death.²⁹⁵

Civil Rights Issues Continue

Other articles reported on protest marches. Georgia state troopers arrested seven or eight youths when a crowd of nearly 100 demonstrators marched on the State Capitol to protest what they called "Georgia's racist policies," according to an article that ran Wednesday, February 26, 1969.²⁹⁶ Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen, carrying a daffodil given to him by a protester, was able to disperse a group of college students from the streets next to the State Capitol as 150 armed state patrolmen watched, according to a front-page article on Thursday, March 6, 1969.²⁹⁷ The demonstrators were protesting racism in Georgia and had marched from a nearby park to the Capitol. The students, most of them white, were from Georgia State University, Emory University and Agnes Scott College. They carried a large Confederate flag with a black hand and a white hand stretching across the flag to shake hands. They also carried signs that said, "Down with racism," "God Bless America," and "Free the South." When helmeted state troopers would not let them on the grounds of the Capitol, the protesters sat down in an intersection across from the building shouting jeers and taunts at the troopers. Allen told the demonstrators they could march in front of the Capitol but asked them to clear the street, and they agreed and

almost immediately dispersed, according to the article.²⁹⁸

World columnist Thaddeus Stokes mainly dealt with race relations and civil rights in his editorial page comments during this period. On Thursday, July 3, 1969, his column was about how time can bring about change. Stokes wrote of complaints lodged several years before by leaders of the African American community that an Equal Opportunity Administration office being established in Atlanta was systematically excluding blacks from planning and higher administrative positions. Several years passed before William Allison, an African American man, was named deputy administrator, Stokes continued. Later, the executive administrator resigned and the board unanimously elected Allison as the new head of the EOA, Stokes pointed out. He also wrote that Allison said he planned to increase the participation of public and private agencies in programs to aid the poor. "Time can change things -- Time can do so much," Stokes wrote.²⁹⁹

A very short article of 280 words ran inside the newspaper on page three on Friday, July 4, 1969, stating that the NAACP had condemned Nixon's proposal for new voting rights legislation. Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington bureau, was quoted as saying the Nixon Administration's plan would weaken enforcement of the present law's ban on literacy tests in states and counties -- primarily in the Deep South -- in which less than 50 percent of the voting-age population was registered or voted in the 1964 national election.³⁰⁰

The NAACP held its national convention in Jackson, Mississippi, and adopted several resolutions and released statements that the organization was planning to take more vigorous action on civil rights matters, according to an editorial that ran Sunday, July 13, 1969.³⁰¹ The *World* pointed out that the NAACP "did not take any official action

of criticism against the Nixon Administration” at the convention, but reported that “some delegates did express [criticism] relative to two recent administration proposals affecting civil rights -- school desegregation and voting rights laws.”³⁰² The editorial stated further that the *World* saw no need to force white children to attend predominantly black schools at the time. The editorial stated the following:

In the first place, we believe that the President desires to improve our rights as a minority race in these two fields. In reference to school desegregation, we believe his plan to put the enforcement of desegregation in schools under the Department of Justice is better because it will allow more flexibility in dealing with this problem. We think it will produce more desegregation from our point of view and less cutting off of funds which is the penalty now for refusing to desegregate after a reasonable time. When federal funds are cut off as under the present law, who is hurt most? Our children are hurt the most. Something is very wrong when something is done to help a person and it ends [up] actually hurting him.³⁰³

In addition, the editorial stated that the *World* disagreed with the NAACP’s position and that it agreed with Nixon’s proposal to bar literacy tests for voters anywhere in the United States. The 1965 Voting Rights Act barred literacy tests for voters only in certain southern states, the editorial stated. “We agree with the Administration in broadening the right to vote,” the editorial stated. “There are certain persons in some northern cities who might be denied the right to vote on grounds of alleged illiteracy.”³⁰⁴

The newspaper pictured the fight for the rights of minorities moving from the streets to the legislative branch of state government with the election of State Senator Leroy Johnson, the first African American in modern times elected to the Georgia General Assembly. Johnson said he intended to propose strong civil rights guarantees for a new state constitution that was being drawn up by a special commission, according to an article on Friday, July 18, 1969.³⁰⁵ Johnson, a member of the commission’s Bill of Rights Article Committee, said his proposal would include guarantees of open housing

and voting rights and a ban against job discrimination. Johnson, however, had a difficult road before him. The committee was chaired by a Macon attorney who in years past had been hired by several governors to defend state segregation legislation in federal courts. The Atlanta senator said he realized his proposals were covered by federal laws, but he wanted them to be embodied in the state constitution. He admitted he might have difficulty getting his proposals approved by the committee, the legislature, or even voters; however, he said he felt it was his responsibility to present the issues, according to the article, which appeared at the bottom middle of the front page.³⁰⁶

Some fifteen years after the U.S. Supreme Court decision banning segregated schools, the controversy remained at the forefront of the African American struggle in Georgia, according to an article at the top mid-right section of the *World's* front page on Sunday, August 3, 1969. As a result, the United States Justice Department filed a school desegregation lawsuit against the state of Georgia three weeks after giving the state Board of Education fifteen days to come up with a voluntary plan for desegregating its 192 public school systems.³⁰⁷ The federal government charged that Georgia officials continued racial segregation in their public schools. It was the first ever suit brought against a state board of education under the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the article quoted U. S. Attorney General John N. Mitchell as saying.³⁰⁸ The suit was designed to restore funds to the thirty school districts in Georgia that had their funds terminated by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the article stated.

The federal government stated that only 15 percent of Georgia's 360,000 African American students attended predominantly white public schools the previous school year. The state had 734,000 white students that year. On July 9, 1969, the U. S. Justice

Department gave Georgia officials fifteen days to outline how they planned to integrate pupils and teachers by September of 1969, and the state Board of Education replied on July 23, 1969, that it would do everything within its legal authority but claimed it had no power to control internal operations of local school districts, the article stated.³⁰⁹ The lawsuit maintained that the state Board of Education was empowered under Georgia's constitution and state law to regulate local school districts but had failed to take "adequate steps to disestablish the dual school system and has not required the local systems to adopt and implement plans for the abolition of the dual system."³¹⁰ The lawsuit, according to the article, asked the court for an injunction to prohibit school officials "from discrimination against Negro students in the Georgia public school system on the basis of race" and it also asked the court to require the state "to take affirmative action to disestablish the dual systems of schools . . . based on race and to correct the effects of past discrimination based on race."³¹¹ The attention given the suit foreshadowed the *World's* concern over desegregation, a topic it continued to cover for years to come. As the *Atlanta Daily World* continued covering this and other civil rights issues, getting the newspaper out became a struggle within itself, since the newspaper faced unrest among employees in the printing department in the late 1960s.

Curtis M. Cooper

One former employee who remembers when the composing room employees (who were involved mainly in the printing process) went on strike at the *World* is Curtis M. Cooper, who worked there from 1958 to 1969 and was in charge of the Linotype department. A Linotype was a typesetting machine that cast solid lines of type from metal

dies that were selected automatically by actuating a keyboard. At the time, the *World* had six Linotype machines and six workers who each operated a machine, Cooper said.³¹²

By the time Cooper began working there, the Linotype department “*had slowed down. They used to work around the clock, but they only had two shifts when I came there -- a day shift and an evening shift,*” Cooper said.³¹³ Sometimes, the *World* would send an employee to school in Tuskegee to learn to be a Linotype operator, but Cooper also began training others to operate the machine at the office.

Cooper said he didn’t know how much money most of the composing room employees were paid, but as head of the Linotype department, he made \$82.50 a week. “*Scott would say, ‘You’re the highest paid person here, so don’t be telling people what you’re making.’ But if you discussed it, you might find out somebody might be making more than you. He just didn’t want people to know who was making more money. But there wasn’t a set scale. Everybody there probably was making a different salary.*”³¹⁴

To make more money, workers could do “*piece-work,*” which allowed them to be paid based on each galley (roughly twenty-one inches of type) they produced. “*They would pay something like \$5 a galley, if you wanted to do piece-work,*” Cooper said. “*If you really worked hard, you could possibly set two galleys an hour, or [get] \$10 an hour, which was good money then.*”³¹⁵ Despite the occasional extra pay from piece work, money was an issue.

Cooper recalled a strike in the late 1960s that the printing and mechanical department employees waged in an effort to unionize and appeal for better pay and benefits. There were roughly twenty-five strikers, Cooper recalled, ranging from Linotypists, press workers (who kept the presses oiled and running), makeup workers

(who picked up the Linotype material, inked it, and printed it for the proofreaders), and lead loaders (who would load lead into the Linotype machines). The civil rights organization Bread Basket also joined the strikers in a show of pro-union solidarity.

“[C. A.] Scott wouldn’t even recognize the union,” Cooper said. “The main thing we wanted was for them to recognize the union. So we started a process of trying to get a raise, but in every meeting we had, [C.A. Scott] wouldn’t agree on the union coming into his shop. We knew they couldn’t pay the scale that the Atlanta Constitution or all these other papers were paying, but we wanted a union shop. At that time, the World didn’t even offer insurance or retirement or anything. All you got was a check, and I understand that they gave you a week’s vacation at the discretion of the company.”³¹⁶

Before the decision to strike, the *World* workers sought assistance from the printer’s union at the *Atlanta Constitution*, Cooper said. After contacting a representative with the Atlanta Linotype Printers Union, *“They advised us as to what to do. One morning after we got to work, we just all walked out after we got there,”* Cooper said of the beginning of the strike. *“Then when the evening people came in, maybe one or two of them went inside to work, and the rest of them just stayed outside. When we walked out, we didn’t know if we’d get a penny or anything, because we weren’t a member of the union.”³¹⁷*

The strikers picketed about three or four weeks and had roughly a half-dozen meetings with the *World*’s representative, *“but their mind was set that there wasn’t going to be a union. We went into arbitration, but they still didn’t recognize the union.”*

About three months later, *“when I saw it wasn’t going anywhere, I went on and got me another job.”* Cooper said, adding that Scott had started getting the newspaper

printed at another printing company in metropolitan Atlanta.

“Then the next year, they started the offset printing process, and he said he really didn’t see the need to hire them [the strikers] back,” Cooper said, adding that he and perhaps two or three others were offered jobs to return to the *World*.

Cooper said in retrospect, he went on strike mainly to help the other workers, because he *“was making decent money . . . he treated me fair, but I didn’t have any insurance, no pension or anything like that.”*³¹⁸

Cooper said during the year prior to the strike, he almost never missed a day’s work, but then one day he got sick. *“C. A. Scott sent his neighbor who was a doctor to my house, and the World paid the bill,”* Cooper recalled. *“But when we went on strike, he sent me [a] bill” to repay the doctor’s fee.*³¹⁹

The *Atlanta Daily World* usually grossed around \$500,000 during this time, which did not provide much of a profit margin for the operation, according to Scott family members. All in all, Cooper said, *“The strike didn’t amount to too much. I think everybody lost in it, because we knew that they couldn’t pay more money.”*³²⁰

Summary of Coverage From 1960 to 1969

The *Atlanta Daily World* covered the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s consistently but cautiously. Coverage of the college student-led sit-in demonstrations appeared on the front page of the *World* in short- to medium-length articles (roughly 350 words) with understated headlines at or below the fold of the newspaper. While the newspaper did not sensationalize coverage of the topic by splashing large headlines about the sit-ins across the top of the newspaper, it chronicled the topic and used its editorial

pages to voice disapproval of what it saw as a controversial and often dangerous form of demanding rights. While some of the sit-ins made it onto page one in the *World*, the *Atlanta Constitution* ran its articles on the inside pages, focusing mainly on the students' arrests, as though the topic was a routine police matter about trespassers. On the other hand, the *Atlanta Inquirer*, a black-owned weekly, ran lengthier articles with bold banner headlines and photographs of participants behind bars for some of its sit-in coverage.

Among the topics analyzed during this era, the most newspaper space was devoted to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the Birmingham bombing, the March on Washington, and the assassination of President Kennedy. (See Chapter Summary Chart.) The *Atlanta Daily World* provided King with a great deal of coverage, but it seemed to focus mostly on his teachings of non-violence. Insofar as the *World* saw the federal government as a friend of the African American race, the newspaper seemed to tilt away from harsh demonstrations and criticism of the government at the national level.

The riot coverage emphasized that the looting, killing, arson and other destructive acts were wrong. There were editorials and front-page articles denouncing rioting in some of the nation's urban, black areas. The *World*, however, made it clear that members of the poor urban population who were participating in such acts felt disenfranchised and frustrated because they believed they did not own a piece of the proverbial American pie.

Whenever violence was perpetrated against civil rights protesters, the *World* published reports about it and carried editorials deploring such behavior. It was the demonstrations involving children that made the *World's* management the most uneasy, since the paper's leadership believed the reactions of white segregationists were unpredictable and could easily result in harm to children who were participants.

Although the newspaper was against rioting, it disapproved of proposed riot-control legislation by stating in a headline that Georgia's governor was seeking to have a dictatorial grip on citizens with laws that would allow the governor to stop any activity that he felt could possibly result in a riot -- which perhaps could be any initially peaceful gathering of black demonstrators.

The *World* often used its editorials to explain in more depth news about certain issues, such as the Kerner Commission report in 1968 following the urban riots. The *World*, nevertheless, made sure to praise white leaders who promoted any measure that could assist African Americans. A very lengthy article told of how former Vice President Nixon gave a radio address in which he called for more black ownership of businesses, homes, land, and capital. This perhaps explains in part why C. A. Scott had a large poster of Nixon hanging in his personal office at the *World* for many years.

World columnist Thaddeus Stokes summed up one column by stating that time itself was a very strong agent for change. He used as an example the Equal Opportunity Administration's Atlanta office, which had been blasted by African American leaders for excluding blacks from planning and higher administrative positions. Eventually, however, a black man became its head. What appeared to be unspoken was the idea that if African Americans would be more patient and less prone to demonstrations, marches and sit-ins, time would bring about changes favorable to African Americans without the threat of injury or loss of life.

While articles, most of them positive, began appearing daily about President Nixon on the front page of the newspaper, a few were placed inside the newspaper when African American leaders lodged complaints against Nixon. The *World* wrote

prominently about the Nixon Administration's responses to demands brought by African American groups or leaders. When there was criticism of the Nixon Administration lodged by an African American group, the *World* noted in an editorial that the group did not take an official stance of opposition to the Administration and was merely pointing out its differences on a particular point. In this manner, the *World* stayed loyal to its Republican leanings while allowing blacks occasionally to air their grievances with a Republican regime. The newspaper also chided readers not to oppose Nixon simply because they did not support him in the election and to keep an open mind toward the President for the sake of the nation and the African American race.

The newspaper made known the issues raised by African American groups such as the NAACP and Democratic State Senator Julian Bond -- even when their views showed disagreement with the Republican Party, such as in the news story that ran under the heading "Bond Shuns Nixon." This headline, in relatively small type, was placed before the larger headline comparing the times of the late 1960s to the era shortly after the Emancipation Proclamation.

After President John F. Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963, the *Atlanta Daily World* devoted its greatest amount of space to articles about the reactions of prominent African Americans leaders in Atlanta to the death of President Kennedy. This is what made the *World's* coverage different from the coverage of mainstream newspapers and wire services. A recurring theme in the articles was that Kennedy was a best friend to African Americans at the time. The coverage provided by Stanley Scott illustrated the *World's* role of giving the local black view of national tragedies. The coverage also showed the newspaper transcended its political leanings when it came to

national coverage of major events, particularly when the news concerned a Democrat who was viewed as empathetic to causes that concerned the black community.

Nevertheless, Republican President Lincoln was evoked on more than one occasion in comparing Kennedy's impact as a President on African Americans.

The mere title of the demonstration -- "March On Washington" -- made the *Atlanta Daily World's* management uneasy. The federal government was located in Washington, and the federal government was often the friend, champion and cheerleader for the rights of African Americans, when local leaders, particularly in the South, were not. Therefore, the idea of marching "on" -- which almost sounds like stomping on -- the institution that often gave rise to hope for some blacks was not a palatable idea to the *World*. While some articles on the impending march ran on the inside of the newspaper's second section, articles emphasizing discipline, orderliness and the underlying ideals of the march ran on the front page in August of 1963.

The coverage of the Birmingham bombing beginning in September of 1963 spoke to some of the apparent fears that the *World* had during a time of great violence and unrest. The *World* ran the stories on the bombing and its aftermath in the middle of the front page above the fold. What is interesting about the coverage of the Birmingham bombing was the *World's* heavy use of articles by UPI reporters rather than *Birmingham World* reporters. Although the *Birmingham World* did receive threats during this time, the Birmingham paper ran articles by its reporters, and the *Atlanta Daily World* simply opted to use UPI copy because those articles came in quickly over the wires, according to Scott family members.

The newspaper also included coverage of bombings and school desegregation, but

it usually did not suggest a link between the two, even though some people believed those responsible for the bombings were upset over school integration. Some of the harshest language criticizing the federal government's response to the bombing appeared in the latter portion of the articles that ran on the inside pages, rather than on the front page, such as Wilkins' criticism of the Kennedy Administration's reaction to the bombings and hesitancy to use federal force.

Coverage of the funeral of one of the victims was on page five of the second section of the newspaper on Sunday, September 22, 1963. Why the article ran five days after the funeral is baffling, and why it was buried inside the paper is, too. Nevertheless, this was one of the first articles about the bombing by the Scott Newspaper Syndicate to run, since the previous coverage was almost exclusively by UPI.

Telegrams and letters were seen by the *World* as an effective way to make the wishes and ideas of black leaders known. It was a tactic that allowed the requests of those involved to steer free from getting tangled up in a protest demonstration, and it did not depend on white leaders reading the black press to find out what black leaders were thinking. During this time, it seemed that authorities could more easily recognize inhumane bias outside of America than inside. Therefore, as reported in the *World*, the black newspaper publishers' group compared the Governor of Alabama to Hitler when asking President Kennedy in a telegram for national assistance to maintain order in Birmingham. The Americans for Democratic Action sent a telegram to the Democratic National Committee asking that Eugene "Bull" Connor, the former Birmingham Police Commissioner, be removed from the Democratic National Committee. The National Women's Committee for Civil Rights (composed of 300 women's organizations) sent an

open letter to the women of Birmingham to share their sympathy and let the mothers of the deceased children know their daughters did not die in vain.

Through the pages of the *World*, readers first began to see that not all blacks took solace in the actions of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., since, according to the *World*, unnamed African American leaders issued joint statements deploring King's threat to conduct more demonstrations if racial tension was not decreased in Birmingham. Perhaps reporting such information contributed to the impression held by some that the *World* did not support King's actions. The *World* clearly supported the advancement of the struggle for civil rights for African Americans but seemed to prefer a slower pace with less confrontational tactics. The *World* wrote flatteringly about King in the late 1950s and 1960s but seemed less enthused about his multiple demonstrations for fear that they could erupt in violence. One former employee recalled that C. A. Scott once stopped the presses to take a story about a King-led demonstration off the front page and move it to an inside page, but the employee could not recall specifically what the story was about. Several of the articles leading up to the March on Washington were run on inside pages of the *World*, but after the march took place and was free from violence, the *World* ran front-page articles on how more than 200,000 people attended the orderly march and gave highlights from the event.

C. A. Scott was not very forthcoming in an interview at age ninety-two concerning his feelings about King. "I wasn't anti-King. . . . We knew what to print and not to print," Scott said. "If we had printed everything, I wouldn't be [alive] to tell this tale. I would have been buried down there [at the newspaper office]."³²¹ King's assassination in itself seemed evidence enough to Scott that the newspaper did not need

to become solidly aligned with the civil rights leader.

According to Scott family members, the *World* shied away from printing news and photographs that were considered too graphic or sensational, as well as content thought to be based on rumors or extremely negative or embarrassing to African Americans.

**Chapter Summary Chart of Top Four Topics*
(1960-1969)**

Topic	Dates	No. of Articles in Sample	No. of Editorials in Sample	Word length range: Articles	Word length range: Editorials	Articles placed at or near top of front page	Lead Editorials	Total Words Devoted to Topic**
Dr. M. L. King, Jr.	8/27/63 - 3/11/69	37	3	190 - 1,430	240 - 370	23 = 62%	3 = 100%	27,920
Birmingham Bombing	9/17/63 - 10/10/63	27	3	100 - 910	290 - 800	12 = 44%	2 = 67%	13,610
March on Washington	8/25/63 - 9/19/63	20	1	180 - 1,430	320	8 = 40%	1 = 100%	12,390
J. F. Kennedy Death	11/23/63 - 11/27/63	21	3	80 - 1,140	170 - 500	6 = 29%	2 = 67%	11,860

* These are the top four topics during the era from 1960-1969 in terms of the number of articles, editorials and total words.

** The total number of words devoted to the topic refers only to those found in the sample of articles and editorials examined during the dates provided.

Notes for Chapter Six

¹ George Mason Coleman was interviewed by the author at his home in northwest Atlanta on November 11, 1999. He was 77 years old at the time.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Stanley S. Scott, "13 Students Are Bound Over After Sit-In Here," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, February 8, 1961, p. 1. Mid-right, just below the fold; 390 words.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ "18 Students Are Arrested Here After Sit-Ins," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, February 9, 1961, p. 1. Mid-right, headline starts just above the fold; 360 words.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ "37 Students Are Bound Over Here After Sit-Ins," *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, February 10, 1961, p. 1. Middle, just above the fold; 520 words.

²² See “College Students March Downtown,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, February 2, 1961, p. 1. Left, below fold; 410 words, with only 132 words on the front and the rest in the jump. Also see “6 More Students Arrested Here Refuse Bonds,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, February 11, 1961, p. 1. Middle, below fold; 270 words.

²³ “NAACP Kicks-Off Campaign Monday, Discusses Sit-Ins,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, February 12, 1961, p. 1. Bottom middle; 340 words.

²⁴ Louis Lautier (Washington Correspondent for NNPA), “Says Jail-Ins Hurting Race,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, February 16, 1961. Middle, above the fold; 960 words.

²⁵ *Ibid.*.

²⁶ “The Students Should Make Bond,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, February 16, 1961, p. 8. Lead editorial; 290 words.

²⁷ Keeler McCartney, “Lonnie King, 12 Others Held Under \$100 Bond in Sit-In,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Wednesday, February 8, 1961, p. 3. Top middle; 520 words. See also Keeler McCartney, “13 Arrested in Second Sit-In,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Thursday, February 9, 1961, p. 6. Top right; 410 words.

²⁸ “King Explains Student March,” *Atlanta Inquirer*, Saturday, February 4, 1961, p. 1. Right, above the fold; 320 words. See also “ATL. STUD’TS JAM JAILS, REFUSE BAIL: Arrests Climb Past 70,” *Atlanta Inquirer*, Saturday, February 11, 1961, p. 1. Top mid-left; 250 words. A large photograph of one of the student protesters who was released from jail after the sit-in demonstration ran to the left of the article. See also “STUDENTS LEAVE JAIL, ADULTS: WE’LL BACK YOU [banner headline]: Hundreds Sign Petition, Pledge ‘For The Duration’ Support,” *Atlanta Inquirer*, Saturday, February 25, 1961, p. 1. Top right; 700 words. See also “SIT-IN TERMS UNDER FIRE, L. KING OUT, IN AGAIN [banner headline]: Public Dissatisfied, Confused On Lunch Counter Agreement,” *Atlanta Inquirer*, Saturday, March 11, 1961, p. 1. Top right; 1,100 words. See also “SIT-INS AT LOCKHEED [banner headline],” *Atlanta Inquirer*, Saturday, March 25, 1961, p. 1. Top right; 560 words.

²⁹ United Press International (UPI), “Demonstration To Tribute Those Who Have Lost Lives,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, August 25, 1963, p. 1. Top left; 190 words.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Associated Negro Press (ANP), “Solons Divided On March Issue,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, August 25, 1963, p. 1. Left, above the fold; 180 words.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ “Many from City To Take Part In Washington March,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, August 25, 1963, Section 2, p. 2. Middle of page; 380 words.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Scott Newspaper Syndicate, “Bishops Urge Support For Demonstrations For Freedom,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, August 25, 1963, Section 2, p. 3. Middle, above the fold; 590 words.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ UPI, "Negro Leaders Say March Worth Risk Of Violence," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, August 27, 1963, p. 1. Top middle; 240 words.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Harmon G. Perry, "Local Groups Prepare For Washington Trip," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, August 27, 1963, p. 1. Bottom middle; 670 words.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ UPI, "National's Capital Awaits Marchers," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, August 28, 1963, p. 1. Right, just above the fold; 980 words.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ UPI, "Racial Bombings Rip School, Home," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, August 28, 1963, p. 1. Bottom left; 440 words.

⁴⁶ "Dr. Lee Shelton To Join Marchers," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, August 28, 1963, p. 1. Bottom middle; 190 words.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Steve Gerstel (UPI), "Washington March May Draw 200,000," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, August 28, 1963, p. 2. Top mid-left; 780 words.

⁴⁹ "The March In Washington," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, August 28, 1963, p. 6. Lead editorial; 320 words.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ "OVER 200,000 'ORDERLY' MARCH IN WASHINGTON," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, August 29, 1963, p. 1. Top right; 1,430 words.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ "HIGHLIGHTS: March In Washington," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, August 29, 1963, p. 1. Top middle; 380 words.

⁵⁶ UPI, "Wilkins Rejects Reds In Washington March," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, August 29, 1963, p. 4. Top mid-right; 220 words.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ “March Speaker Reveal Cooperation Of Groups,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, August 30, 1963, p. 1. Top mid-left; 1,400 words.

⁵⁹ Harmon Perry, “Atlantans Give Impressions Of March In Washington, D.C.,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, August 30, 1963, p. 1. Bottom right; 510 words.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ UPI, “March, Racism Headlined In Europe Press,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, August 31, 1963, p. 1. Middle, above the fold; 460 words.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Louis Cassels (UPI), “March Reflected Racial Pride,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 1, 1963, p. 1. Top right; 950 words.

⁶⁵ “WALDEN LAUDS MARCH; LASHES U.S. SENATOR,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 1, 1963, p. 1. Bottom right; 590 words.

⁶⁶ “March Brought Religions Closer Than Ever Before,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 6, 1963, p. 4. Middle, above the fold; 910 words.

⁶⁷ Dean Gordon B. Hancock (Associated Negro Press), “BETWEEN THE LINES: The March On Washington: A Great Tribute,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 19, 1963, p. 6. Right, below the fold; 580 words.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² George Coleman, “Cry Birmingham,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 20, 1963, p. 4. A poem under lead editorial; 290 words.

⁷³ Robert Gordon (UPI), “Birmingham Bombing Kills Four Children,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, September 17, 1963, p. 1. Top middle, 670 words.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Merriman Smith (UPI) "PRESIDENT, U.S. JUDGE PROMISE FEDERAL AID IN FINDING BIRMINGHAM BOMBERS," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, September 17, 1963, p. 1. Middle, 720 words.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Robert Gordon (UPI), "Grand Jury Told To Indict Killers," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, September 17, 1963, p. 1. Right, middle, just above the fold, 530 words.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Robert M. Andrews, "Congressmen Blast Birmingham: Nationwide 'Mourning' Day Sought," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, September 18, 1963, p. 1. Top left; 790 words.

⁸⁴ Leon Daniel (UPI), "'Bombing' Victim Buried," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, September 18, 1963, p. 1. Top right, 500 words.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Arnold B. Sawislak (UPI), "Ala. Bombings Seen Helping Passage Of Rights Bills; Sections To Be Broadened," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, September 18, 1963, p. 1. Middle, above the fold; 600 words.

⁸⁷ The Rev. John Cross, "Pastor Tells How Bombing Left Church," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, September 18, 1963, p. 1. Top middle; 160 words.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ From the *Birmingham World*, "KILLERS OF THE INNOCENTS," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, September 18, 1963, p. 6. Only editorial; 800 words.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ UPI, "Thousands Attend Rite For 3 'Bombing' Victims," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 19, 1963, p. 1. Top, near right; 300 words.

⁹² UPI, "Sunday March In Washington Is Slated By Leaders," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 19, 1963, p. 1. Right, just above the fold; 520 words.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ UPI, "Protests Spread Against Bombings," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 19, 1963, p. 1. Right, below fold; 340 words.

⁹⁷ “AME Ministers Hit B’ham Acts,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 19, 1963, p. 1. Middle, just above the fold; 100 words.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ “Protection for Birmingham Citizens, Mourning Day Urged,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 19, 1963, p. 8. Middle, just above the fold; 290 words.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Alvin Spivak (UPI), “Birmingham Asked To Seek Peace: U.S. Won’t Permit Rights Violations, Kennedy Says,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 20, 1963, p. 1. Top right; 800 words.

¹⁰² Alvin Spivak (UPI), “Troops Won’t Settle Racism, Atty. Gen. Says,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 20, 1963, p. 1. Top near right; 370 words.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ William O. Bryant (UPI), “Wallace Releases All B’ham Guardsmen,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 20, 1963, p. 1. Bottom right; 430 words.

¹⁰⁵ Alvin Spivak (UPI), “Birmingham Truce Team To Meet With Rights Expert,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, September 21, 1963, p. 1. Top right; 270 words.

¹⁰⁶ William O. Bryant (UPI), “Bomb ‘Deliberately’ Planted At Birmingham Church, U. S. Attorney: NO EVIDENCE TO SHOW IDENTITY OF BOMBERS,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, September 21, 1963, p. 1. Right, above the fold; 390 words.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ UPI, “24-Hour Watch Posted On Churches In Birmingham,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 22, 1963, p. 1. Bottom middle; 420 words.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Scott Newspaper Syndicate, “Impressive Rites Held For Carole Rosamond Robertson; Rev. Cross Pays Fine Tribute To One Of Victims Of Deadly Dynamite Here,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 22, 1963, Section 2, p. 5. Left, just above the fold; 620 words.

¹¹¹ Jerome Brazda (UPI), “Nation Mourns Birmingham Dead,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, September 24, 1963, p. 1. Top middle; 410 words.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ National Newspaper Publishers Association, “Publishers Urge President To Act Quickly In Alabama,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, September 25, 1963, p. 2. Top middle; 360 words.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ National Newspaper Publishers Association, "Birmingham Tragedy Seen As Clarion Call To Women," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, September 25, 1963, p. 2. Right, just above the fold; 360 words.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ "Church Council Hits Birmingham Bombing," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 26, 1963, p. 5. Top left; 370 words.

¹²⁰ William O. Bryant, UPI, "ALABAMA POLICE INTERROGATE 2 IN BIRMINGHAM BOMBING: Identities Revealed After State Police Questioning," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, October 1, 1963, p. 1. Middle, just above the fold; 540 words.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ "Arrests Made In Birmingham," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, October 1, 1963, p. 6. Lead editorial; 290 words.

¹²⁴ William O. Bryant, "Three Men Charged With Illegal Possession Of Dynamite As Bombing Probe Continues: Charge Only Misdemeanor; Viewed As 'Holding Action,'" *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, October 2, 1963, p. 1. Middle, just above the fold; 380 words.

¹²⁵ William O. Bryant, (UPI), "Former Klansman Fined; Gets Term For Dynamite," *Atlanta Daily World*, Wednesday, October 9, 1963, p. 1. Top middle; 500 words.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ William O. Bryant, (UPI), "2 Other Suspects Convicted Of Illegally Possessing Dynamite In Birmingham's Bombing Crisis," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, October 10, 1963, p. 1. Right, just above the fold; 490 words.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Merriman Smith (UPI), "Shot Through Temple Takes Kennedy's Life," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, November 23, 1963, p. 1. Top middle; 540 words. Beneath banner: "PRESIDENT KENNEDY ASSASSINATED; JOHNSON SWORN INTO TOP OFFICE."

¹³¹ UPI, "Her Last World To Her Husband," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, November 23, 1963, p. 1. Middle, above the fold; 330 words.

¹³² "World Publisher Wires Grief to Mrs. Kennedy," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, November 23, 1963, p. 1. Middle, below the fold; 80 words.

¹³³ Lewis A. Webel, "Stock Market Drops As News Is Reported," *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, November 23, 1963, p. 1. Top left; 380 words.

¹³⁴ UPI, “ ‘Will Do My Best,’ Johnson Tells U. S.,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, November 23, 1963, p. 1. Middle, above the fold; 290 words.

¹³⁵ Stanley S. Scott, “Atlantans Join World Mourners,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, November 23, 1963, p. 1. Bottom right; 730 words.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² George M. Coleman, “Peace To Kennedy” (a poem), *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, November 23, 1963, p. 5. Mid-right; 170 words.

¹⁴³ UPI, “World Leaders Reveal Staggering Loss, Grief,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, November 23, 1963, p. 5. Middle; 960 words.

¹⁴⁴ UPI, “Kennedy Was Many Things,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, November 23, 1963, p. 5. Middle; 270 words.

¹⁴⁵ “The Tragedy Of The Nation . . . The Death Of President Kennedy,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Saturday, November 23, 1963, p. 8. Lead editorial; 300 words.

¹⁴⁶ Alvin Spivak, (UPI), “Johnson Proclaims Monday Mourning Day,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, 24, 1963, p. 1. Top right; 890 words.

¹⁴⁷ “Colleges Tom Suspend All Classes Monday,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, 24, 1963, p. 1. Mid-right; 190 words.

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³²¹ Cornelius A. Scott was interviewed by the author on April 30, 1999, at his home in the Hunter Hills section of Atlanta. He was 91 years old at the time of the interview. He died May 7, 2000, at the age of 92.

Flu Outbreak Reported In Cities Across The Nation

(UPI) — A flu outbreak of "A1" type is being reported in 25 cities across the nation, according to a report from the Centers for Disease Control.

The CDC said influenza-like activity is reported in the following states: Alaska, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, Illinois, Ohio, South Dakota, Utah, Arizona, Oregon, New Jersey, Alabama, and Connecticut.

In Atlanta, health authorities were checking for flu-like illnesses that had affected several in two counties.

Influenza and pneumonia death rates increased above the epidemic threshold in the Pacific and west south cen-



WORLD

FRATERNITY LEADING PROBE OF KING, JFK SLAYINGS GET TENTATIVE OK BY HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE

Environmentalists sue to block work on St. ... from cuts foreign aid as oil income drops.

Continued on page 4

'Final' Probe Of King, JFK Slayings Get Tentative OK By House Rules Committee



Lewis Congratulates Young

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The House Rules Committee has voted to resurrect a panel to investigate the murders of John Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. but imposed a tight budget and said it has two months to justify its existence.

By voice vote, the committee passed a resolution to reconstitute the 12-member committee and said the assassination panel has until March 21 to set its rules before seeking additional funds and a full mandate to investigate the assassinations.

The resolution was expected to go to the House by Thursday. Passage is expected, but only after debate and amendments.

Originally created by the last Congress for a "final" probe of assassinations of Kennedy and King, the panel expired Jan. 3 with the last session. It was unable to gain permission to reestablish itself because of disputes over a two-year budget request of \$13 million and a proposed investigative unit.

In introducing a compromise resolution to get the assassination panel back in action, Rep. Richard Pilling, D-No., said, "It's a temporary extension and the House will later make a

Full Probe Go Ahead Is Delayed

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UNITES TODAY FOR MRS. HAUGBROOKS AT WHEAT STREET

Federal Services for Mrs. Geneva Moten Haugbrooks, 318 Woodbury Drive, S.W., Atlanta, Ga., will be held today at 11 a.m. at the West Street Baptist Church, 200 West Street, N.W., Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. Haugbrooks was married to Thomas Haugbrooks in December, 1907. It was at this point Mrs. Haugbrooks decided to make Atlanta her new home, and immediately joined the West Street Baptist Church, where she worked faithfully until her death.

Before establishing Haugbrooks, Panama, from 1929 to 1932, Mrs. Haugbrooks worked as a cook for Governor Atton for some eight years, taught school at St. Marks School in Fayette County for three years and managed the A. B. Com- mings Funeral Home for eight years. So Mrs. Haugbrooks took the knowledge she had gained from her ex-

Hopefuls Line Up For 34th Dist. House Race

The resignation of Ben Brown from his 34th House district seat has prompted several residents of the district to announce their intentions to campaign for the seat that is expected to be held upon March 13.

Among the candidates expected to run are: Calvin Jackson, a young businessman, who campaigned successfully for the seat at last Tyronne Brooks, a local communications director for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Dr. D. P. Glover, a minister; Dr. M. Brown, a prominent businessman in the food management field.

Brooks was the latest candidate to enter the race when he announced Tuesday that he would run.

Brown stepped out as the deputy chairman of the school desegregation committee and Brooks, 36, in a speech at the state capital Tuesday, said he would seek the seat.

Brooks, a native of Washington, said he had never held a political race previously, but had worked in campaigns for United Negro College Fund.

Dr. Elias Blake Is Clark's New Prexy

Dr. Elias Blake Jr. has been chosen to succeed the late Dr. Vivian Henderson as Clark College's new president.

Dr. Blake, of Washington, D.C., currently is president of the Institute for Services to Education, Inc. (ISE), a nonprofit corporation based in Washington, D.C. The institute he presently heads is involved in research and program development with related to greater access for blacks in higher education.

An official of Clark College said the nationwide search for a new president, headed by E. L. Simon, president of the board of trustees, ended Tuesday when Dr. Blake was selected from among three final candidates.

Dr. Charles L. Knight has served as acting president since Dr. Henderson's death on Jan. 25 of last year after 11 years as the college's chief executive officer.

He has worked primarily with the predominantly black colleges in the development of policy research supportive of greater opportunity for black youth, the development of demonstration programs in curriculum reform; in technical assistance to improve the Atlanta University Center. This group of institutions form the largest private black consortium of higher education in the world.

\$3.8 BILLION JOBS PLAN PUSHED BY GOP

WASHINGTON (UPI) — A group of Republican senators Friday proposed a \$3.8 billion program to provide training and jobs for an estimated 2 million people between the ages of 16 and 25.

The two year program would operate in cities, suburbs and rural areas and would give local authorities wide discretion to decide just how the money could best be spent in their areas.

It has been estimated by recent Urban League study that 25 per cent of the black work force in 167 cities was unemployed in 1970. The program proposed by the Republican senators, if approved by the Carter Administration, could alleviate this condition in the near future.

However, disappointment has already been expressed by black leaders over the Carter Administration's proposal for an economic stimulus program. Both Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson and National Urban League head Vernon Jordan said they were "extremely disappointed" and unimpressed with Carter's program.

Lewis Calls Swearing-In Of Young 'Great For Blacks'

WASHINGTON — U.S. Ambassador Andrew Young and his wife Jean are congratulated by John Lewis after Young is sworn in. Lewis, former head of the Voter Education Project, is running to succeed Young in Congress.

WASHINGTON — Congressmen J. Lee Lewis says Andrew Young's swearing-in to the United States as U.S. Ambassador is "a great day for black Americans."

Lewis said, "Only a dozen years ago, he (Young) was helping lead the struggle for Black people simply for the right to vote."

"Now he is representing the United States in the United Nations; he is a symbol of America to the rest of the world."

Lewis, who is running to succeed Young in Atlanta's Fifth District Congressional seat, attended Young's swearing-in ceremonies at the White House Sunday afternoon.

While there, Lewis, chatting with President Jimmy Carter and his family, urged him to campaign hard in the crucial Fifth District race.

The former head of the Voter Education Project, who resigned to run for Congress, called the White House ceremony "one of the most moving I've seen in a long time."

Lewis said to Andy Young was his position as U.S. Ambassador to inject a new sense of morality in foreign policy. It will be more compassionate and caring.

"Food, medical aid, economic development... these will be provided to other nations not for political purposes, but because it's right."

Later, discussing Georgia's frigid weather, Lewis said poor people, infants and the elderly should be the first concern of public authorities during this winter's bitter weather.

"No person, and no family, should go without heat because of economic circumstances this winter," Lewis said.

Lewis also went on record as supporting Pres. Carter's plan to assume adequate natural gas supplies to all areas of the nation during the nationwide winter cold snap, one of the worst in history.

"Emergency suspension of price controls will assure a flow of natural gas to the hardest hit areas, including Georgia and Atlanta," Lewis said. But he called for a close watch on prices so that all people will be assured of adequate heat.

It came to light during Lewis' remarks that he had released his energy and environmental platform at the Georgia Conservancy's weekend meeting at Callaway Gardens. He was one of only two candidates to attend the conference.

Lewis also voiced his support.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Robber Locks Up Employees, Takes \$120 From Food Store

After walking into a local food store and caving the place out, an armed robber locked the 17-year-old cashier and two witnesses in a back room and made off with \$120 and a case of cigarettes.

According to Atlanta police reports, a black man around twenty years old and six-foot-two inches tall, walked into the Dollar Value Food Store on Main Street Monday, locked around and then purchased a bag of cookies. The suspect left the store and came back five minutes later and asked for change.

The suspect, who is described as having a long hair on the left side of his face, a small afro and a mustache, was arrested.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

2 JAILED IN FHA AND VA LOAN SCHEME

(UPI) — A mortgage broker and real estate agent were sentenced to prison terms Monday as part of an alleged scheme to use fraud in obtaining government insured home loans for their clients.

Raymond Lewis Tate, a former loan officer for a former branch of the Atlanta Federal Savings & Loan Association, was given a three-year sentence and Ronald Lee Brown, a former agent for Brown Realty Associates of Decatur, was given a two-year term.

Gary C. Jones, a former teacher with Atlanta Federal Savings & Loan Association, was given two years probation. Dorothy M. Dixon, a former credit reporter for Retailers Commercial Agency, was sentenced to three years probation.

The four were named in a 74 count indictment charging a conspiracy to obtain Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration home insurance on homes for purchasers who could not meet credit requirements. They pleaded guilty to obtain-

TAPES ON DR. KING ORDERED SEALED FOR NEXT 50 YEARS

WASHINGTON (UPI) — A federal judge has ordered the FBI's tapes of its bug and wiretaps on Martin Luther King Jr. be sealed in the National Archives and removed only on court orders during the next 50 years.

U.S. District Judge John Lewis Smith gave the FBI 42 days to assemble all known copies of the tapes and transcripts of its surveillance of King and officers of a Southern Christian Leadership Conference between 1963 and 1968.

If a Smith refused to award damages to the SCLC or Bernard Lee, former assistant to the slain civil rights leader, who had filed suit on grounds the surveillance was a civil rights violation.

Smith stated a damage award was barred by a three-year statute of limitations, which he said began to run at the time Lee and "discovered" facts about the surveillance.

"Starting in the mid 1960s and reaching a peak in 1968 and 1969, the nation's leading newspapers were rife with accounts of buggings of Dr. King," Smith said.

"Under these circumstances, plaintiffs" advised that they had no knowledge of the source of the tapes until 1975 report by the Senate Select Committee on the FBI's past work.

It came to light during investigation of the surveillance of King that it had been personally ordered by then FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

Lee charged in particular that the FBI bugged conversations in King's room in Washington's Willard Hotel in 1963, sent a copy of the tape to Mrs. King in 1964 and later as a harassment, sent King himself a copy.

Smith said the FBI had not disclosed the existence of the tapes until 1975 report by the Senate Select Committee on the FBI's past work.

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REAR IDENTIFIED ATLANTA... Atlanta... Atlanta...

High School U.N. Delegates... Washington High School students Angela Christian (D) and Stanley Oler (r) recently arrived as delegates to the Atlanta Area High School Model United Nations, held at Georgia State University.

Washington High School students Angela Christian (D) and Stanley Oler (r) recently arrived as delegates to the Atlanta Area High School Model United Nations, held at Georgia State University.

Chapter Seven: Remaining Relevant -- Coverage of Minority Affairs from 1970 to 1985

Introduction

The era from 1970 to 1985 was a difficult one for black-owned newspapers in general, as affirmative action and integration allowed talented black journalists to begin working in more significant numbers in the newsrooms of white-owned newspapers. Around this time, the *Atlanta Daily World* newspaper took on a slightly new look with thinner column widths and switched to offset printing. The newspaper cost ten cents and each edition was usually eight pages at the beginning of the 1970s. The newspaper was published on Sundays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays. In 1970, the circulation was 30,100, and advertising cost \$3.50 per column inch, according to the *Editor & Publisher International Yearbook*. By 1985, circulation had dropped to 20,000, the newspaper cost 20 cents, and advertising was between \$7.00 and \$7.56 per column inch, according to the *Editor & Publisher International Yearbook*, which also listed the newspaper's political affiliation as Independent.

Advertising revenues came from a variety of sources. A full-page advertisement from the United States Postal Service ran Tuesday, April 9, 1974, asking, "How can I mail a birthday present so it gets there in time for the birthday?" The ad then gave options ranging from regular parcel post to special delivery. Rich's, a white-owned department store, ran a nearly full-page ad on page five of the Thursday, April 11, 1974, newspaper about a linen sale, featuring sheets for \$4.49. White-owned grocery stores, Kroger and A&P, had ads, half-page and full-page respectively, on Sunday, April 14, 1974.

The *World* continued its tradition of community service during this era. On Thursday, October 24, 1985, *World* publisher C. A. Scott was pictured in the newspaper after receiving the NAACP's Langston Hughes Award for many years of support of the NAACP's programs. A list updating the names of donors to the *Atlanta Daily World's* Christmas Cheer Fund, which raised roughly \$5,000 per year to provide food baskets for poor Atlantans, ran on the front page of the newspaper every day in November and December in the 1970s. The *World* also featured front-page photographs associated with the State-Wide Spelling Bee sponsored by the Georgia Association of Educators and the *Atlanta Daily World*.

Focus of Chapter

Coverage from 1970 to 1985 took on a more conservative tone politically, but concern for the African American community remained prevalent. This chapter consists of an interview with Portia A. Scott, former senior editor and assistant to the publisher of the *Atlanta Daily World*, as well as analyses of coverage of varied events. This includes the busing of children in Atlanta Public Schools to alleviate segregated schools, the election of Maynard Jackson as Atlanta's first African American mayor, Atlanta Braves baseball player Hank Aaron breaking the home run record, Andrew Young's political career, the crowning and resignation of the first black Miss America, blacks and the Republican Party, affirmative action, and Jesse Jackson's campaign for president. These topics represent the rise of African American participation within the mainstream in the fields of politics, sports, beauty, and corporate America.

Portia A. Scott

Portia A. Scott, who formerly held positions including senior editor, acting managing editor, and assistant to the publisher (under her father C. A. Scott) at the *Atlanta Daily World*, remembered being baffled when roughly twenty employees walked off the job during a strike that lasted from 1967 to about 1970. “*Family members came to pitch in and filled in the gaps, and we were able to keep on operating on a shoestring -- and we never missed an issue,*” Portia Scott said, adding that there were roughly a dozen family members and other loyalists working at the paper during the strike.¹

Portia Scott said that one reason the printers wanted to unionize was to fight for higher salaries and benefits. She said she did not remember how much the *World* printers were being paid and how much the *Atlanta Constitution* printers (who largely made up the union) were being paid, but “*I know it was a big gap. It really would have put us out of business. We couldn’t pay the same salaries that the Atlanta Constitution was paying anyway. We were a smaller paper operating on a much smaller scale.*”²

The average range of salaries for most employees even as late as the 1990s was from about \$16,000 to \$21,000, Portia Scott said. “*You have to realize that not only were the printers getting low salaries, but the editorial staff members were getting low salaries, too,*” Portia Scott said, adding that when she left the *World* in 1997, “*our salaries were all under \$25,000 a year.*”³

After the strike, the *World* went out of the printing business and switched to offset printing, “*which we were going to do anyway because technology was going to dictate that,*” Portia Scott said, referring to an end of an era of using “*hot type,*” which was becoming obsolete.⁴

Portia Scott, who has a bachelor's degree from Howard University and a master's degree from American University, worked at the *Atlanta Daily World* for more than thirty years, starting initially with a teen column when she was in high school. After graduating from Howard University, she returned to the newspaper as a proofreader under the direction of her aunt, Vashti Scott Ellis. Later, she served as a reporter and columnist, and like many people involved in a family business, she worked "*wherever I was needed. . . . After I wrote stories, I typeset, made proofreading corrections, and did some layout.*"⁵ Sometimes during her career there, she also served as "*night editor, night production assistant. We never left until the paper was ready to go to press. I can remembering seeing the sun come up sometimes when we switched from hot type to cold type. That was a challenge for us.*"⁶

Portia Scott remembered the *World's* office as a place that was open seven days a week during its heyday up through the 1970s. "*My father often said he didn't need a key, because there was always someone there. We had a full staff. There was a sports department with a sports editor and sports reporter, and an editorial department with three, four or five reporters. We had night editors, day editors, a managing editor. I would say we had about eleven or twelve fulltime editors and reporters in 1960s and 1970s.*"⁷

Portia Scott said the newspaper's greatest contribution to the African American community has been its long-term service. "*We always covered the community very well,*" Portia Scott said, "*and people looked to the Atlanta World even after the other newspapers [like the Atlanta Inquirer and the Atlanta Voice] started in the '60s during the Civil Rights Movement, they still looked to the World as being the 'constant' for*

*providing coverage and service and informing the community. Anything going on in the black community, we were there. We were in their mailboxes or on their steps or in the news stands out there in the community.”*⁸

Portia Scott said she always felt people misunderstood the *Atlanta World’s* stance during the Civil Rights Movement. Because the Scotts also owned the *Memphis World* and the *Birmingham World*, Portia Scott said she believes if you add up coverage of the movement in all three newspapers owned by the Scotts, a clearer overall picture of coverage would emerge. “*We probably covered more of the Civil Rights Movement than most of the other black publications in the country,*” Portia Scott said. “*We may have disagreed with some of the student movements in the editorials, but that was not the whole movement. That was just one aspect of the Civil Rights Movement.*”⁹ In fact, Portia Scott said, “*We didn’t really disagree, we just looked at how the students were being sacrificed in terms of doing things that the business community and adults should be doing.*”¹⁰

By the 1970s a good deal of the *World’s* most heralded advocacy journalism was a part of its past. Portia Scott cited the Monroe Massacre of 1946 as a story for which the *World* was very proud of its coverage, as well as a case in 1959 for which the *World* raised \$5,000 to defend a young black father scheduled to die for raping a white woman - a crime he had not committed. The man was acquitted in January of 1960, and later that year, the Supreme Court ordered a stay on all pending executions for rape.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the *World’s* devotion to the Republican Party became much more evident. Hence, the newspaper’s political editorials and political news coverage began to draw criticism because they were more politically conservative than

the views of most African Americans in the community. Portia Scott, who followed in her father's footsteps and became a proud, unapologetic Republican, took leaves of absence from the editorial side of the newspaper to run for several political positions, including a United States Congressional seat and a State Senate seat. Her political bids were unsuccessful in part because she was running as a Republican in a predominantly African American district. She held two federal appointments under the Reagan Administration (on a commission that oversaw federally-sponsored African American art around the country, and on a commission to oversee the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. historic site) and served on the President's advisory board for historically black colleges and universities under the George H. W. Bush Administration.

Portia Scott said she believes her father was a Republican *"because of his background, growing up in the South under one-party domination [traditionally by the Democrats] and seeing the bigotry and the racial strife that the Democrat Party imposed on black people."*¹¹ Portia Scott said the following to describe why C. A. Scott became and remained a Republican:

*You have to realize he was a New Deal Democrat, too. But when Eisenhower ran in '52, that's when he changed to become a Republican. He liked Ike because he was a strong military man. He started reading up on the Republican Party, and his father was a Republican, and when you start understanding the history of the Democrat Party and the history of the Republican Party, I think there was little doubt in his mind which convictions he believed in and wanted to strengthen. He wanted to share the two-party system with his race. I think he realized one-party domination just doesn't help people. You need to be able to bargain and have clout in both parties. You need to be able to be represented when either party is in office. He believed in 50 percent of blacks being Democrats and 50 percent of blacks being Republicans. I just hope that people will realize that sometimes a minority view doesn't mean that you are against the race. A minority viewpoint of being Republican certainly didn't negate him from being pro-black or conscious of his race. He always used to say, 'There's nothing wrong with being consciously aware of race.' And he always felt he was consciously aware of race, but he was not a racist, and he didn't perpetuate one race over the other.*¹²

The *World's* coverage of the Republican Party as the group that could help promote black capitalism did not always sit well with its readership. Letters to the editor arrived at the newspaper's office, and personal letters were sent to publisher C. A. Scott to complain about the newspaper's Republican bent. The newspaper also was called and asked for comments by national wire services and newspapers when it endorsed Presidents Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, and George H. W. Bush (although the newspaper did endorse Lyndon B. Johnson over Barry Goldwater in 1964 since the latter did not support a civil rights bill). Criticism of the *World* sometimes was published in competing black newspapers, Portia Scott said, adding that a few readers said they vowed not to read the newspaper again; however, "*Black people are resilient, and they may have been upset for a while [after reading about a Republican endorsement], but after the President was elected, then it became accepted that he was the President, and they [blacks] would read our paper again and come to us to publish information about their achievements or events that were happening.*"¹³ She even surmised that some of their paper carriers who were Democrats may not have worked as hard as they could have to deliver the newspaper.

All that said, Portia Scott maintained she does not believe their conservative philosophy was a major contributor to a decline in circulation. "*All newspapers, including white-owned newspapers, saw a decline in circulation in the 1970s and 1980s after people began reading less and relying more on television news.*"¹⁴

There were no other black Republican newspapers in the South, and the *Cleveland Call and Post* was the only other Republican African American newspaper Portia Scott could recall. The *Atlanta Inquirer* and the *Atlanta Voice*, two liberal black-

owned weekly newspapers that were founded in the 1960s, gave the *World* competition it had not had since 1928, but Portia Scott insists the fact that the *World* was published several days a week gave the *World* a distinct advantage over the weeklies. “*We were still the premier black newspaper in Atlanta,*” Portia Scott said with a bit of bravado. “*We considered the Atlanta Journal-Constitution to be our main competition.*”

In fact, in the early 1970s, the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* decided to publish zoned weekly sections, one of which was the “Intown Extra,” which featured a great deal of news about African Americans as the city became predominantly black. “*We [the World, Inquirer and Voice] fought that [the “Intown Extra” section] very hard, because we felt like it was a Jim Crow section of their newspaper, and they were under-selling the advertising in that section to be more in line with our advertising rates,*” Portia Scott said. Representatives from the black newspapers met to discuss the matter with the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*’s representative, who incidentally was Portia Scott’s cousin, M. Alexis Scott, a former reporter at the *Journal-Constitution* who had been named editor of the “Intown Extra” section, which kept its low advertising rates.

Portia Scott attributes the longevity of the newspaper to its service and commitment to the community and the sacrifices of family members who worked for low salaries for long periods of time. “*We put a lot in, and we got little [monetarily] out,*” Portia Scott said. “*We also survived because of our independence. We were not beholden to anybody. We couldn’t be bought.*”¹⁵

All in all, Portia Scott said she believes the role of the *World* has been “*educating the public and informing them on social and economic issues that affect them from day to day. That’s basically what the Atlanta World was trying to do -- educate and*

improve the economic and social status of the black race. And I think we did a very good job of that.”¹⁶

Atlanta Public Schools Busing

The *World* was a champion of education, but it did not support the massive busing of African American students to predominantly white neighborhoods to integrate the Atlanta Public Schools. The *World* stated in an editorial about Nixon’s re-election “the majority of black and white parents want quality education and an equal chance to get that education as opposed to mass busing of their children from school to school. Mass busing is not necessary to give our children quality education. It is wasteful.”¹⁷

The issue of how to desegregate the public schools in Atlanta became a complicated one, given that the housing patterns in Atlanta were so severely segregated. The NAACP filed a lawsuit against the Atlanta Public Schools opposing segregation in 1968, and the problem was still not resolved in the early 1970s. The only apparent way to integrate schools seemed to be to bus children from African American neighborhoods into white ones to attend school and vice versa, but drafting a plan that would be acceptable to the federal court system proved to be a difficult undertaking.

On Friday, November 17, 1972, the *World* wrote that no agreement had been reached by the three subcommittees that had sought to present a plan to the United States District Court for settlement of the Atlanta Public Schools case.¹⁸ An interracial committee had been named by the court to work with local committees from the local NAACP and the Atlanta School Board. The *World* wrote that it had learned that a basic disagreement between the Legal Defense Fund (LDF) of New York and the Atlanta and

National NAACP groups was part of the reason the plan had not been approved. The plan would encourage more students to use the “majority to minority” plan that was currently in place, and had called for the busing of 2,000 African American students and the same number of white students from their neighborhoods to schools where they would be in the racial minority, according to the article.¹⁹ The plan also had called for school attendance areas to be drawn up to incorporate a greater amount of desegregation based on black-white residential patterns and the pairing of schools in adjacent school zones, according to the article.²⁰

On Sunday, November 19, 1972, a half-banner headline told readers a plan to further desegregate the Atlanta Public Schools had been sent to the United States Fifth District Court of Appeals. The 510-word article in the top right corner of the front page stated that the Atlanta Board of Education had approved a plan for mass busing that a group of white parents had made clear they were against.²¹ The board members present (ten, with two out sick) stated that they selected the plan that would disrupt the school system the least. “In an atmosphere charged with emotion and a display of anti-busing signs,” the article read, “the officials present made it clear in the face of retaliation that they were totally against busing, and only acting to prevent massive busing via a case already on the dockets.”²² One of about 200 white parents present charged the NAACP with “trying to force all whites to leave Atlanta,” the article stated.²³

An editorial on Sunday, November 19, 1972, stated that the Atlanta School Board presented a plan to the Fifth District Court of Appeals whereby 881 black students and 1,979 white students would have been transferred, requiring about 1,400 to be bused and costing about \$200,000 per year.²⁴ The school system was already spending \$200,000 to

bus the children who voluntarily requested a transfer to a school where their race was in the minority, the editorial stated. The *World* wrote that Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of the Atlanta Board of Education (and former president of Morehouse College), reportedly expressed doubt that the court would accept the plan submitted by the board and that Mays apparently wanted more mass busing than the board suggested.²⁵

The *World* then stated that “certain Negro leaders are playing politics with this integration issue. This is more unfortunate and for this reason we hope our Negro parents and citizens will wake up and express themselves about busing their children and creating more expense and taxes for them to pay.” In the 510-word editorial, lengthier than most, the *World* called on Atlanta NAACP president Lonnie King to call a meeting of the organization’s members to ascertain their wishes about busing.²⁶

Bickering between the LDF, which was handling the original lawsuit to desegregate Atlanta’s public schools, and the local NAACP and the Atlanta School Board continued, according to reports in the *World*. On Friday, November 24, 1972, the newspaper reported that a compromise plan that was in compliance with the federal court order was near at hand between the Atlanta Board of Education and the Atlanta NAACP, but the LDF had not sanctioned it, the article stated.²⁷ The LDF was planning to file a brief with the appeals court protesting the local NAACP’s hiring of an attorney to act as counsel for eight plaintiffs in the case when the LDF, which represented nineteen plaintiffs, did not agree with plans that would place less emphasis on student desegregation.²⁸ Neither the LDF nor the local NAACP agreed with a school board plan adopted the previous week calling for the transfer of 2,860 students across racial lines and the busing of about 1,400, but the board attorney submitted the plan to meet the

November 17 deadline, according to the article.²⁹ Meanwhile, the Atlanta School Board continued to meet with the local NAACP to come up with another plan that it liked better, according to the article.

Readers learned that the three-man federal court ordered the case sent back to U. S. District court, which was instructed to supervise preparation of a new plan and clear up the confusion over legal representation, according to an article that ran in the top right corner of the *World's* front page on Sunday, November 26, 1972.³⁰ This order postponed the desegregation of the city's school system and its 94,000 students. In an editorial that day, the *World* chided the conduct of some of those involved in the legal wrangling of the case and stated that busing should be kept to a minimum.³¹

After a three-hour session at Pascal's Motor Hotel, the venue for many civil rights-related meetings throughout the years, officials with the NAACP and the NAACP-affiliated LDF agreed to present a united front after conferring with a number of black leaders, including Jack Greenberg, director of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund; the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Congressman-elect Andrew Young; School Board President Benjamin E. Mays; Atlanta NAACP President Lonnie King, and various attorneys involved in the case, according to an article on Sunday, December 3, 1972.³² In an editorial on Tuesday, December 5, 1972, the *World* expressed its hopes that the compromise would not mean the local officials simply had to agree to bus larger numbers of children as the New York-based LDF had wished.³³

A fourth plan, which represented a new compromise between the local NAACP and the LDF, was drawn up and scheduled to be presented to the Atlanta Board of

Education, according to a *World* article on Thursday, December 7, 1972, on the front page in the top left corner.³⁴ The local NAACP and the LDF had resolved the issue of which attorneys would represent the plaintiffs in the case, the article said.

Since the busing of students would affect children of both races, this subject naturally made it onto the front page and the editorial page of the *Atlanta Constitution*. A very straight-forward, matter-of-fact article that made no use of the emotional scenes described in the *World* ran in the *Constitution* on Thursday, January 18, 1973, about a proposed plan to pair contiguous schools in the creation of new middle schools to serve both races.³⁵ Stronger language in the *Constitution* appeared in a column by Hal Gulliver on the editorial page stating that “The public schools are often simply asked to bear and do too much in connection with not just school desegregation, but the desegregation of our society.”³⁶ Calling the wait to see how desegregation efforts would pan out “frustrating,” Gulliver went on to say that the NAACP “can probably have an all-black Atlanta city school system” -- since desegregation efforts would likely chase whites to other districts or to private schools.³⁷ Gulliver mentioned that roughly thirty Atlanta schools had gone from all white to desegregated to all black, and he added that one cynic defined school desegregation as the period from the time when the first black child moved in until the last white child moved out. Gulliver’s prediction is essentially what happened. More than a decade later, however, the *Constitution* ran a lead editorial about a ruling by a federal district judge stating that the city of Norfolk, Va., could end its successful busing program. The 1984 editorial called this measure “a virtual retreat to the shameful Jim Crow ‘separate but equal’ era.”³⁸ This showed that the *Constitution* by this time definitely favored school desegregation efforts.

Numerous articles on busing ran in early 1973 that spoke of struggles between the school board, parents of students, the Atlanta NAACP and the Legal Defense Fund and efforts to seek a compromise.³⁹ In a lengthy 570-word editorial on Sunday, February 18, 1973, the *World* stated that the Atlanta school system had adopted a plan for voluntary integration by permitting children to transfer on request to a school where their race was in the minority and that this measure provided enough integration.⁴⁰ The editorial also stated that “the old agreement called for too much disturbance and busing of children as we see it. However, an agreement voluntarily entered into, if it is to work, must be reached. The NAACP will risk the alienation of the public if it lets the Legal Defense Fund or any other source influence it in demanding too much integration.”⁴¹

On Tuesday, February 20, 1973, a front-page article appeared in which mostly African American citizens were reported to have gathered at a church to express their opposition to busing. C. A. Scott was quoted as saying during this meeting that busing was not necessary to give black students a quality education and that “administration is the key to any successful plan and the NAACP should not demand too much busing for the sake of integration.”⁴²

In 1979, Benjamin E. Mays rejected the idea of massive busing. The Atlanta as well as the Fulton County public school systems each implemented a minority to majority program (known as the M to M Program) involving the voluntary busing of students to schools where they were in the racial minority. The M to M program was phased out in Atlanta in the 1980s after the school system decided to implement magnet schools (each with a specialty focus, such as math and science or performing arts) to which children could transfer out of their neighborhoods. The Fulton County School System continued

its M to M program and was scheduled to phase it out by the 2011-2012 school year in accordance with a court-approved Unitary Status Agreement.

Maynard Jackson Becomes Atlanta's First Black Mayor

Blacks began making political gains in the 1970s, which seemed to almost take the *World* by surprise. In a front-page article on Sunday, September 23, 1973, the *World* stated that its reporter had interviewed a cross-section of voters about the upcoming election and that most of the interest centered on the mayor's race between Mayor Sam Massell and Vice Mayor Maynard Jackson. The article quoted citizens as saying they hoped the voters would look at the candidate and his ability to do the job rather than at his color and that they hoped voters would cast their ballots on the basis of the best man and not on an emotional basis.⁴³ In an editorial deemed important enough for the front page with the headline "The Requirements To Be A Successful Mayor," the *World* listed a number of qualifications for Atlanta's mayor, such as having the "courage of his convictions," "sufficient personal economic strength," and "compassion for all people."⁴⁴ The editorial added that "to act primarily on the basis of race will be a big mistake."⁴⁵

On Thursday, September 27, 1973, the *Atlanta Daily World* ran a front-page article announcing that Mayor Sam Massell, who is white, deserved re-election, even though his opponent, Maynard Holbrook Jackson, was an African American attorney and a graduate of Morehouse College. The article spoke of Massell winning two strong endorsements when the *Atlanta Daily World* as well as Warren Cochrane -- head of the Butler Street YMCA for more than twenty years before retiring -- announced their support for Massell's re-election.⁴⁶ Cochrane was quoted as saying that "There are

several good candidates in the race for Mayor of the City of Atlanta, but none has the experience that Sam Massell has now acquired. Atlanta has always rewarded good leaders by not deserting them. Mayor Massell has angered some people. But he is fundamentally honest and free from social prejudice.”⁴⁷

In a lengthy 470-word editorial the same day, the *World* stated that 1973 was not the right time for a black to run for mayor and that Massell would “do a better job with the new officials elected next Tuesday. He has made more appointments of our people to important boards and committees than all mayors before him in the history of the city. We just can’t ignore this splendid record of performance.”⁴⁸

There were eleven candidates for mayor in all -- two of whom were black, including Jackson and State Senator Leroy Johnson. The *World* publicized some of the statements made in various campaign speeches of the five leading candidates for Mayor of Atlanta in a front-page article that ran in the top right corner of the newspaper on Friday, September 28, 1973, just four days before the election.⁴⁹ Next to the same article was a sidebar about a voters’ rally two nights prior at the Bethlehem Church of God, where some of the candidates appeared. The Rev. Benjamin W. Bickers, an African-American preacher, spoke on behalf of Massell, explaining that it was the beginning of a Jewish holiday and that was the reason the mayor could not attend.⁵⁰ He pointed out that Massell had appointed a “large number of Negroes.”⁵¹

On Sunday, September 30, 1973, a front-page article in the top right corner announced that a bi-racial group of supporters had praised Massell at a news conference at City Hall two days earlier. Of the twenty-one supporters of the mayor, five were black, according to the article. “Sam Massell made us a good mayor,” said Beatrice Garland, an

African American community worker who was chairman of the Fulton County Democratic Party and had worked in Massell's 1969 campaign.⁵² The same day, the newspaper ran photographs of nine of the candidates it endorsed for various positions on the Atlanta City Council and the Atlanta Board of Education. Massell was the only Caucasian among the group.

Two political factions, as the *World* put it, developed for this mayoral race, according to an article on Tuesday, October 2, 1973. Jesse Hill, president of Atlanta Life Insurance Company, a black-owned business on Auburn Avenue, served as Jackson's campaign manager. State Rep. Ben Brown and Alfred McClure, president of Trans World Financial Corporation, endorsed State Senator Leroy Johnson, who was also African American, as their choice for mayor. The article stated that an interracial committee (consisting of twenty-one prominent people -- five of whom were black, according to the *World*) met in City Hall in support of the re-election of Massell, who had also gained the endorsement of two organizations of taxi drivers.⁵³ The article also mentioned that the *World* was being picketed by a group led by the Rev. Joe Boone because the newspaper had endorsed Massell. The article quoted C. A. Scott as saying the newspaper endorsed Massell for his "splendid" record during his first four-year term.⁵⁴

The *World* declared that the pickets against the newspaper for endorsing Massell were unfair in an editorial on Tuesday, October 2, 1973:

The *WORLD* has never in its 45-year history exploited the race issue to promote its own interest. We have seen the error of white politicians doing this and we are not going to make the same mistake. We have always thought a racist was against a member of another race. In this case we support a member of the opposite race because of his experience and proven ability in the job he holds. A racist charge against us is absurd and ridiculous.⁵⁵

During the election on Tuesday, October 2, 1973, Jackson received 47,342 votes,

which represented 46.6 percent of the total number of votes cast, and Massell received 20,161 votes or 19.8 percent, according to an article on Thursday, October 4, 1973.⁵⁶ The article said there would be a run-off election on October 16, 1973. For president of the Atlanta City Council, Wyche Fowler (a white candidate) received 29,876 votes (31 percent), and Hosea Williams, an African American civil rights activist, received 28,457 votes (29.9 percent), according to the article.⁵⁷

The *Atlanta Daily World* on Thursday, October 11, 1973, ran an article in the top right corner of the front page that stated in the headline, “The Question Of Getting Too Much Power Arises With Negro Leaders Here.” The article stated that “in light of the great gains made by Negro representation in the October 2, 1973, election a number of leaders in our community had expressed the idea that perhaps the voters should be asked if ‘we should seek executive power of the mayor’s office this year.’”⁵⁸ The article quoted Cochrane as pointing out that blacks had won five spots on the Board of Education and at least nine spots on the City Council and possibly could gain three more positions on the council in the run-off election, giving blacks control of the council. The article called such gains by blacks “big and unexpected” and stated that the Atlanta Frontiers Club two days earlier had conducted a discussion on the question of the wisdom of seeking the mayorship and council presidency at this time.⁵⁹ The same question was raised at a meeting that same night on Hunter Street on behalf of the re-election of Massell; however, no resolutions were made at either meeting, according to the *World*.⁶⁰

Next to this article was a photograph of Jackson among a group of black youths with fists raised high in the air. A headline above the photograph stated “Look Carefully At This Picture And Give Sober Thought.”⁶¹ The short 140-word article stated that the

photograph showed “Jackson with a big smile and some youths giving the clinched fist black power salute.”⁶² The article compared the black power sign to the “emotional salute” the Germans adopted that “almost brought them to destruction” and stated further, “Let us not support those who make emotional and racial appeals which inevitably lead to racial prejudice and violence. Let’s only encourage the salute to the American Flag.”⁶³

A full page ad ran Thursday, October 11, 1973, on page nine showing Massell at a mixed-race gathering including African American children and adults. The 370-word ad, paid for by the Committee to Re-elect Sam Massell Mayor of Atlanta, proclaimed in large bold capital letters, “ATLANTA’S GREATEST BLACK LEADER DOESN’T HAPPEN TO BE BLACK” and went on to say:

The black leaders, and you know who they are in this election, talk a smooth game.

But let’s face it. They haven’t done diddley squat for you. The black community.

Mayor Massell, whose skin is white, has hired more blacks to responsible positions in city government than any other administration.

Fact is, the closer you look at his record, and the less you look at his skin, the better he looks.

Out of five new department-head appointments made by Mayor Massell, three have been black. He appointed black people to two of the three positions on the City Personnel Board. He created and filled the position of Contract Compliance Officer on the Mayor’s staff with a black man. Two out of three judges he appointed are black. The Urban League singled out the Mayor for “outstanding contributions toward the goal of equal opportunity.”⁶⁴

During this election, of the 206,267 people eligible to vote in the October 2, 1973, Atlanta elections, 100,496 or 48.7 percent were estimated to be black and 105,770 or 51.3 percent were white, according to a *World* article by Atlanta politician and former employee John H. Calhoun.⁶⁵ In the October 2, 1973, election, Jackson received 81.4 percent of the black vote and 3.1 percent of the white vote, and Massell received 7.5 percent of the black vote, according to the article.⁶⁶

An editorial on Friday, October 12, 1973, told black Massell supporters not to be intimidated by other African Americans who had received telephone calls from people who believed they should support “the black candidate.”⁶⁷ “This is carrying race pride too far. This is actually racism from which we have suffered in the past,” the editorial stated, adding that Massell had appointed sixty-nine African Americans to various committees or commissions.⁶⁸ In another editorial on Sunday, October 14, 1973, the *World* stated that while it is “somewhat natural” for blacks to feel it was their year to elect a black mayor, citizens should consider the questions of “ability and experience.”⁶⁹ In addition, “we must consider the fine record of Mayor Sam Massell and the generous consideration he has shown our people since he took office. We must show appreciation when it is due.”⁷⁰ Besides endorsing Massell, the *World* also endorsed Alderman Wyche Fowler, a white man, for president of the Atlanta City Council over black civil rights activist Hosea Williams. “The only purpose that would be served by electing a black mayor and president of council would be to accelerate white flight to the suburbs.” The editorial mentioned that this trend threatened to destroy Atlanta’s already inadequate tax base.

In the end, a huge banner headline ran across the top of the newspaper on Thursday, October 18, 1973, proclaiming “JACKSON IS ELECTED MAYOR,” and a subhead that read, “Fowler Wins Over Rev. Williams Easily.”⁷¹ The article pointed out in the sixth paragraph that Jackson’s election made him the first black mayor in a major southern city.⁷² A large photograph of Maynard Jackson ran beside the lengthy article, along with smaller photographs of some of the other run-off winners. An editorial that same day stated, “the voters have spoken and we congratulate Mayor-elect Maynard Jackson on his victory and we pledge our cooperation to him in meeting the problems of

this city.”⁷³

In his subsequent runs for mayor in 1977 and in 1989, the *Atlanta Daily World* supported Jackson’s campaigns, which resulted in overwhelming victories. In 1977, the *World* praised Jackson in an editorial with a headline stating that Jackson deserved to be re-elected. The editorial praised Jackson for standing up for African Americans to get “a fair share” of the city jobs and city contracts, as well as for the revitalization of the Auburn Avenue and West Hunter Street areas (two primary black business districts), and for crime reduction, and for his handling of a sanitation workers’ strike.⁷⁴

Hank Aaron Breaks Babe Ruth’s Homerun Record

The *Atlanta Daily World* for decades had been one of the only newspapers in Atlanta that chronicled the triumphs of African American athletes on its sports pages. One of the biggest gains in sports for African Americans -- which did make it into both mainstream and black-owned news publications -- came by way of a humble baseball player whose record still remains unmatched thirty years later.

On the first of two sports pages in the *World* on Sunday, April 7, 1974, a 900-word article announced that Henry “Hank” Aaron of the Atlanta Braves baseball team had tied Babe Ruth’s record of 714 home runs. Aaron, an African American, scored the home run his first time at bat on Thursday, April 4, 1974, sending the ball rocketing over the left-field fence during the National League opener between Atlanta and Cincinnati at the Riverfront Stadium.⁷⁵ The game took place in the aftermath of a tornado, according to news accounts. Cincinnati won the game with a score of 7 to 6.

The *World*’s George Coleman wrote to help capture how proud African

Americans were and how they saw Aaron's feat as much more than a gain for his baseball career. In "Hank Hit The Homer," Coleman wrote the following in the third verse:

Hank hit the homer, and each hopeful heart;
One more for a black man, of this world be part
Hank brings the warm depth -- that could end racial strife;
Take a simple homer, and make us friends for life.⁷⁶

A crowd of several hundred fans showed up at the Atlanta airport Sunday, April 7, 1974, to welcome home the forty-year-old Aaron and the team after they opened their 1974 season in Cincinnati.⁷⁷ On Tuesday, April 9, 1974, a front-page article in the top right corner proclaimed that Aaron was the "man of the hour in Atlanta" that day "as his home run-hitting feats, unsurpassed by any mortal," focused "national attention on this deep south city and the Atlanta Braves."⁷⁸ Aaron, a Mobile, Alabama, native, had been a major-league baseball player for twenty years at that point, and had "equaled the most distinguished records compiled over one hundred years" and was the "toast of Atlanta, the nation and many far away countries, where his heroics [had] been made known."⁷⁹ In an editorial on Sunday, April 7, 1974, the *World* stated that "Hank, destined to surpass the feats of Babe Ruth, an American baseball legend, might well be on the threshold of creating new bridges in race relations and achieving much more than the stroke of his bat seems to be doing on the baseball diamond."⁸⁰

On Sunday, April 7, 1974, on the first of the *World's* two sports pages, was a column by a United Press International (UPI) southern division manager named Fred Parker, who recalled Aaron's first two years in major league baseball when Aaron played for the Milwaukee Braves (which was later relocated to Atlanta in 1966). His column

opened with “You knew Henry Aaron was going to be a great baseball player from the start. You knew, too, he was going to have to earn his reputation the hard way.”⁸¹

Remembering what he thought of Aaron’s attributes early on, Parker wrote, “Even as a young sports writer, you spotted those quick, powerful wrists, that solid stance at the plate, those lightning reflexes.”⁸² Aaron stated that after equaling Ruth’s home run record, he felt “much more relaxed” and that it “took all the pressure off,” according to an article on Sunday, April 7, 1974, on the second sports page (page seven).⁸³ Aaron also said he received a call from President Richard M. Nixon at 9:30 a.m. on Friday, April 5, 1974, according to the article. “He congratulated me, wished me well and said he hopes I hit No. 715 quickly,” Aaron was quoted as saying of his conversation with Nixon.⁸⁴

On the second sports page on Sunday, April 7, 1974, there was a drawing of Aaron’s face beside a sketch of the Atlanta Stadium, along with dates of baseball games against the Dodgers, Reds and Padres. Another article on the page reminded readers that there would be a game against the Los Angeles Dodgers the next night.⁸⁵ It also hinted at the extravaganza planned for the game in which Aaron was expected to surpass Babe Ruth’s home run record. The event, with the theme “Atlanta Salutes Hank Aaron,” was to include the Jonesboro High School marching band, the Morris Brown College choir, and the Atlanta All-Star Drillettes. There would also be a presentation to Aaron by Atlanta Chamber of Commerce President Brad Currey, as well as Governor Jimmy Carter, Mayor Maynard Jackson, and Chairman of the Fulton County Commission Charlie Brown.

In an article that foreshadowed criticism of Aaron that was yet to come, a UPI article that ran Tuesday, April 9, 1974, on the sports page (page two) in the *World* reported that Aaron had a bad day and failed to break Ruth’s record while playing in

Cincinnati against the Reds.⁸⁶

On Thursday, April 11, 1974, a banner stretched across the newspaper beneath the *Atlanta Daily World* nameplate stating “AARON REIGNS AS HOME RUN KING,” along with four photographs. “A new edition of the baseball record book chapter dealing with home runs will be written and this time it will include a king, none other than King Henry Aaron, who owns the record for the most homers,” *World* sports writer James D. Heath wrote in a front-page 1,300-word article.⁸⁷ Aaron hit his 715th home run in the fourth inning during his second time at bat, breaking the record Ruth had set thirty-nine years prior, the article stated. Four photographs than ran above the article showed Aaron hitting the record-breaking home run, Aaron being embraced by his mother, Aaron clutching the home run ball in his hand with his body guard at his side, and a bronze bust of Aaron that was to be displayed at the downtown Citizens & Southern Savings Bank.

Coleman, who wrote a poem when Aaron equaled Ruth’s record, had another one when Aaron surpassed it called, “The Victory.” On Thursday, April 11, 1974, in the bottom left portion of the ninth page of the *World*, Coleman wrote a verse that read as follows, referring to Aaron’s batting ability and what he hoped it could accomplish:

And me, I trust that my small arm
Will help to set all people free,
And in this land of people of all creeds,
Bring forth a peace that every man can see⁸⁸

Photographs ran on page eight of the Thursday, April 11, 1974, newspaper about the festivities before Aaron hit the home run. One showed Aaron and his parents, another showed entertainer Sammy Davis, Jr., Congressman Andrew Young, Mayor Maynard Jackson, Fulton County Commission Chairman Charlie Brown, and Governor Jimmy Carter. Another photograph showed the actual award Aaron received for the 715th home

run, and depicted him addressing the news media with a bundle of microphones in front of him. On the next page, a photograph showed two unidentified white fans helping Aaron trot around the bases after hitting his record-breaking home run. According to the outline, the two spent the night in jail because it is illegal to run on the playing field.

In an editorial that ran Thursday, April 11, 1974, the *World* wrote that “it would be difficult to find one [a hero] more exemplary than the humble Atlanta Braves Superstar. . . . Hank has remained as modest and gracious as is possible for any man.”⁸⁹ In a column that ran on the editorial page on Thursday, April 11, 1974, *World* writer Charles E. Price wrote that sports fans were finally showing Aaron the respect he deserved.⁹⁰ The column then stated that from this moment on, “some effort will be made to minimize or throw cold water on the exploits of Aaron.”⁹¹ Price wrote that unfair comparisons would be made between Aaron and Ruth that would point out that Aaron hit 714 home runs with 11,290 times at bat, while Ruth hit 714 home runs with 8,399 times at bat, the column stated. Price, however, believed that the fact that Aaron was more of a team player contributed to this difference. Price also stated that in 1973, Aaron hit home runs for every ten times at bat, a record that put him “ahead of Ruth,” according to Price, who did not elaborate.⁹²

Officials from other Atlanta sports teams offered praise for Aaron on Thursday, April 11, 1974, in an article by *World* sports writer James D. Heath. Frank Wall, president of the Atlanta Falcons football team, was quoted as saying, “I feel the American sporting public has seen an event that will never be duplicated.”⁹³ Cliff Fletcher, general manager of the Atlanta Flames hockey team, was quoted as saying Aaron’s feat was “the greatest achievement that I’ll see in my lifetime.”⁹⁴

A “SPORTS OF THE WORLD” column on the sports page by Milton Richman on Friday, April 12, 1974, also addressed detractors and stated people were going to continue to criticize the fact that Aaron had more times at bat than Ruth and that he had a poor performance in Cincinnati.⁹⁵ Aaron was to become a spokesman for Magnovox Consumer Electronics Company, and a photograph on Friday, April 12, 1974, on page five, showed the president of the Magnovox, Alfred di Scipio, and Aaron holding up a ball with 715 written on it.

Andrew Young Becomes Congressman, Ambassador, Mayor

African Americans were not only making gains in the world of sports in the 1970s, they were also gaining political power in the City of Atlanta. The political career of Andrew Young was chronicled in the *World* during that 1970s and 1980s. Woven into an article about President Nixon’s landslide victory over McGovern was mention of the fact that Andrew Young won the United States Fifth Congressional District race against State Rep. Rodney Cook, a white Republican who stated during his campaign that he opposed several racist issues, according to the *World* on Thursday, November 9, 1972.⁹⁶ Small photographs of Young and Cook ran on the page with a caption calling their Congressional race a close one.

The next day, on Friday, November 10, 1972, Young’s victory comprised the first four paragraphs in an article situated in the top right section of the front page of the *World*. The headline noted that Young planned to work hard to deserve his victory, and in the subhead, it stated that he was the first black United States Congressman in 100 years from the state of Georgia.⁹⁷ “I see this as a city-wide mandate of people of both races

working together to achieve the kind of representation that his area so badly needs,” Young stated at a press conference, according to the article.⁹⁸ The 610-word article then launched into apparent reasons why Nixon won a landslide victory.

Young was on his way to making history again in 1976 when President Jimmy Carter nominated him to be a United States Ambassador to the United Nations. Just a few days after President Carter was inaugurated, the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved Young as United States ambassador to the United Nations, according to an article that ran Thursday, January 27, 1977, near the bottom of the front page. This came despite opposition from Rep. Larry McDonald, a Democrat from Georgia, who told the committee he opposed Young’s appointment, stating that Young “has made it clear that his views are outside the mainstream of American constitutional thought and tradition.”⁹⁹ Young explained that he has “always tried to reconcile diverse tensions of our society,” and he confirmed plans to travel to Africa shortly after his Senate confirmation, adding that he would be the first high official of the administration to go there.¹⁰⁰ Young’s confirmation as ambassador made page 2-A of the *Atlanta Constitution* and was the topic for the mainstream newspaper’s second editorial on Thursday, January 27, 1977, which discussed Young’s anguish in making the decision to leave his Congressional post.¹⁰¹

On Tuesday, February 1, 1977, the *World* reported that Carter was sending Young to Africa to attend celebrations in Tanzania and Nigeria and to discuss “African problems.”¹⁰² On Thursday, February 3, 1977, the *World* reported that Congressional candidate John Lewis said Andrew Young’s swearing in as U. S. Ambassador to the United Nations “was a great day” for African Americans.¹⁰³ The article ran below a

photograph of Lewis shaking hands with Young, who was standing next to his wife, Jean. Lewis called Young “a symbol of America to the rest of the world,” citing the fact that only a dozen years prior, Young was helping to lead the struggle for blacks to have the right to vote.¹⁰⁴ Lewis added that he predicted Young would use his new position “to inject a new sense of morality in foreign policy. It will be more compassionate and caring,” the *World* reported.¹⁰⁵

In Young’s first large just-below-the-nameplate headline, the *World* reported that in his first diplomatic mission for the Carter Administration, Young called on a joint Anglo-American effort to get the deadlocked talks on Rhodesia going again in an effort to aid the transfer of power to Rhodesia’s black majority.¹⁰⁶ Young had met with Ivor Richard, Britain’s chief negotiator in the stalled Geneva talks on the transfer of power in Rhodesia, and Ted Rowlands, the Foreign Office Minister of State in charge of African Affairs. Young said the Geneva talks must be resumed if a peaceful settlement was going to be worked out. In this article, Young responded to the notion held by some that by abandoning his Congressional seat, he took himself out of a position of “real authority to take a lesser role as U. N. ambassador.”¹⁰⁷ “Too many people remember that those who have served in this position in the past have failed at the job and many blacks felt I was taking myself out of the limelight,” Young said.¹⁰⁸ In an article on Sunday, February 6, 1977, Young was quoted as saying that Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith had to be included in all talks on that country’s future but that Smith’s plans to pursue an internal settlement were doomed to failure.¹⁰⁹ Young also told reporters he planned to meet the leaders of Tanzania, Zambia, Burundi, Rwanda, Madagascar, and the Comoro Islands for a round of informal talks, the *World* reported, using a UPI wire service article.

Thousands of Nigerians staged a spectacular ceremony in Young's honor that included thousands of horses, hundreds of camels and 20,000 tribesmen, according to an article in the *World* on Friday, February 11, 1977.¹¹⁰ Prior to the ceremony, Young met with top Nigerian leaders. Young told reporters that oil-rich Nigeria was as important in African development as the five "front line" states struggling for majority rule in southern Africa, the article stated.¹¹¹

Young was forced to resign from his post as ambassador in 1979 amidst controversy after it became known that he had met with a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Two years later, he took on a new political challenge and garnered enthusiastic support from the *Atlanta Daily World*. The front page on October 29, 1981, had a banner headline shouting, "YOUNG ELECTED MAYOR," along with a photograph of an exuberant Young speaking with supporters following the run-off election on October 27, 1981. The accompanying article by *World* reporter Vincent McCraw, who later went on to work at the conservative *Washington Times* based in the District of Columbia, stated that voter turnout for the run-off nearly matched that of the city primary election three weeks prior (October 6, 1981), with voters giving Young about a lead of roughly 10 percentage points.¹¹² A sidebar article talked about the effects that racism had on the election, since the run-off contest was between Young and State Rep. Sidney Marcus, a white candidate. The article mentioned that the election took on a nasty tone following a speech by Mayor Maynard Jackson to the Hungry Club on October 14, 1981, during which he criticized blacks who backed Marcus for assuming that only a white person could run the city, according to the *World* article by reporter Deric Gilliard.¹¹³

While the *Atlanta Daily World* just touched on the issue of race coming into play during the campaign, the *Atlanta Constitution* took the matter a step further. On Saturday, October 24, 1981, the *Atlanta Constitution* ran a photograph on the front of its City/State section with a broadly smiling black supporter of Sidney Marcus wearing a bumper sticker across her shirt that read “Shuffling Grinning Negro.”¹¹⁴ A black supporter of Marcus had the bumper stickers printed after Jackson’s controversial speech at the Hungry Club. The article quoted Young as saying that Marcus supporters had been waging a behind-the-scenes racist campaign for two years and that the Marcus camp had waged a “systematic attempt to buy off grass roots black leadership or at least confuse them” by paying temporary workers and tenant leaders in several housing projects to promote Marcus’ candidacy, as well as by hiring black Vietnam veterans to work in his campaign, and by amassing property throughout the black community.¹¹⁵ What the *Atlanta Constitution* was showing on its front page during this time was an on-going series called “Black And Poor In Atlanta,” which revealed blacks living in utter squalor.

On Friday, October 30, 1981, the top right spot on the *World*’s front page stated that when all the votes were counted, Young garnered 55.1 percent and Marcus earned 44.8 percent of the votes.¹¹⁶ McCraw’s article painted a picture of Atlanta that would make Young’s new job appear quite challenging: Young, who was forty-nine years old at the time, would be taking on “a city of 422,000 beset with crime and white flight to the suburbs and struggling with a \$15 million budget shortfall. A string of twenty-eight slayings of young blacks has gripped the city for more than a year and accused killer Wayne Williams still must be tried.”¹¹⁷ (Williams, who is black, later received a sentence of life in prison for what was called the “Missing and Murdered Children” case of

Atlanta.) Atlanta made history that year by becoming the first major Southern city to succeed one black mayor with another, according to a sidebar by Gilliard in the *World* on Friday, October 30, 1981.¹¹⁸

The *World* and the Atlanta Bi-Partisan voters League, of which C. A. Scott was vice co-chairman, heaped praise upon Young in a front-page article and in an editorial on Sunday, November 1, 1981, when Young was successful in the run-off primary for mayor of Atlanta. A statement released by the League stated, “He is our endorsed candidate and his experience as a congressman and U.N. Ambassador give him a prestige and influence very few men can boast. Also, his experience in supervising a large staff and his close association with the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. will provide added help in filling the requirements of his position as mayor.”¹¹⁹ The statement from the League went on to suggest that Young had agreed with the League to appoint a bi-partisan and bi-racial advisory committee and develop the black community’s historical streets Auburn Avenue and Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive.¹²⁰

On Sunday, October 6, 1985, a full-page advertisement with 130 words of type on page sixteen proclaimed that Mayor Andrew Young had been the driving force in attracting \$25 billion in new investment and 250,000 jobs to metropolitan Atlanta and that under his leadership, the City of Atlanta had awarded 601 contracts worth \$124.7 million to minority businesses, thus providing employment and recycling dollars in the black community, and had worked to bring 579 new businesses to metropolitan Atlanta.¹²¹ Young won 81 percent of the vote in 1985, according to the *World*.¹²²

When it came to city elections in Atlanta, which were non-partisan, the *World* often found itself endorsing black Democrats to help ensure that the local political

landscape remained controlled by African Americans, according to Scott family members.

Black Elected Officials

Atlanta witnessed an upsurge of African Americans being elected to hold public offices in the 1970s, and the *World* charted these victories. On Friday, November 10, 1972, a front-page article mentioned that, at the time, blacks had gained their largest delegation in the United States Congress since Reconstruction, with at least sixteen members.¹²³ The article referred to Andrew Young, Barbara Jordan of Houston, and Yvonne B. Burke of Los Angeles, all of whom are Democrats, as three of the more prominent members among the group. On Sunday, November 12, 1972, the *World* ran an editorial congratulating the fifteen African American Congressmen and one black senator.¹²⁴

Two hundred twenty-seven blacks held seats in thirty-eight state legislatures nationwide, based on a survey by the Joint Center for Political Studies, according to an article that ran on page five on Friday, November 25, 1972.¹²⁵ This was an increase of twenty-one more black legislators over the previous year in thirty-seven states, the article stated. All but five of the black legislators were Democrats, the article stated.¹²⁶

A UPI article ran in the *World* on Sunday, February 4, 1973, stating that hundreds of blacks had been elected to political positions throughout the South. While the article did not mention Georgia, the study by the Voter Education Project, Inc., found Alabama to be the leader in the number of blacks elected to office in 1972, which was 117 out of 242 that ran.¹²⁷

On Tuesday, January, 11, 1977, *World* reporter Yvonne Shinhoster (who later joined *The Washington Post*, becoming an assistant city editor and later director of staff development) wrote that several black state legislators greeted the previous day's opening of the 1977 General Assembly with excited optimism, while others saw the new session as a continuation of the struggle to get meaningful bills and resolutions passed.¹²⁸ Some of the black state legislators included Rep. Clint Deveaux of the 28th District in downtown Atlanta, who was paying particular attention to issues involving senior citizens and the aging; Rep. David Scott (who is not related to the *World* owners), who was concerned with gun control, the death penalty, taxes and revenue; Rep. Mildred Glover, who wished to sponsor legislation seeking to change the three-man tax assessor's board to a one-man professional office, and to get a 3 percent cost of living increase for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC); Rep. Betty Clark, the first black to head the DeKalb-Rockdale delegation, who wanted to push the Equal Rights Amendment.¹²⁹ Others included State Rep. Henrietta Canty of Atlanta, who concerned herself with teacher retirement and the regulation of natural gas dealers; Rep. Douglas Dean of Atlanta, who expected to propose legislation dealing with the establishment of housing code standards, according to the article; and Rep. Hosea Williams of the DeKalb-Rockdale delegation, who hoped to make the January 15 birth date of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a state holiday.¹³⁰ Canty predicted that legislation dealing specifically with black problems or needs would "have a rough road to follow."

On Friday, January 28, 1977, the *World* ran an editorial stating that "the idea of a black judge, able under the law to hold court in any section of Georgia is nothing short of wonderful, and should be a realization to us all that the sacrifices for the advancement of

a downtrodden race are worth it.”¹³¹ The lead editorial stated that Horace Ward had become the first African American member of the Judicial Circuit of Georgia as a Fulton County Superior Court judge.¹³² The editorial pointed out that there had been black judgeships in City Court and Fulton County Court and that Ward had been an assistant city attorney and a county judge, and Georgia’s second black state senator in ninety years. On Friday, February 4, 1977, the *World* reported that Judge Ward told the audience at the weekly Hungry Club Forum that they must never forget those who made progress in Georgia possible for blacks. He cited Judge Austin T. Walden and attorney Donald Hollowell, both of whom had been avid civil rights attorneys. “If Judge Walden had been white, he would have been a federal judge,” Ward said, adding that he and a white colleague had recently agreed on that observation while looking back on Walden’s accomplishments during the heyday of segregation.¹³³

In view of the need to select a successor for Young’s Fifth Congressional District seat after he became an ambassador, the *World* ran an editorial on Sunday, January 30, 1977. It stated that a “consensus candidate” should replace Young in Congress.¹³⁴ The editorial further stated that “We also immediately saw the danger of losing this post being held by a member of our racial group.”¹³⁵ Therefore, the *World* suggested that the Atlanta Bi-Partisan Voters League should take the lead in the selecting the best one or two candidates, who would be acceptable to most of the voters in this district while paying no attention to political party affiliation.¹³⁶

On Friday, February 4, 1977, a second editorial stated how pleased the *World* was with the response to its editorial suggestion that civic and political leaders find the best consensus candidate to replace Young in the Fifth Congressional District. The co-

chairmen of the Atlanta Bi-Partisan Voters League, the Rev. A. S. Dickerson and the Rev. W. W. Weatherspool, expressed their desire to call a special meeting of the League to ask for suggestions as to how the number of candidates could be reduced.¹³⁷ The editorial said the *World* was most pleased with the unanimity of the opinion that the seat should be filled by another African American person. One person suggested that a poll be done to find out who was considered the strongest candidate. Several people, according to the editorial, suggested that it would be “most embarrassing to the Atlanta Negro political leadership” to help elect a President (Nixon) and then “fail to show the ability and unity to retain the Andrew Young post.”¹³⁸

Around this same time, the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (which combined editions on the weekends) ran a political analysis on Sunday, January 30, 1977, written by the *Atlanta Journal*'s political editor David Nordan. He predicted that the run-off election to fill Young's Congressional seat definitely would pit a black candidate against a white. “And it doesn't matter which black or which white,” Nordan wrote.¹³⁹ He thought the most likely top contenders were John Lewis, the former Voter Education Project Director, who is black, and his opponent, Wyche Fowler, the Atlanta City Council President, who is white. He said that during interviews, both candidates insisted they could win votes from and serve both races and that they both voiced similar political viewpoints. He went on to write that “in a city in a Deep South state where racial demagoguery and politics have been interchangeable words, every candidate who wants to be taken seriously is walking a tightrope not to offend anyone of a different color.”¹⁴⁰ Lewis, a civil rights activist who had been beaten by state troopers and deputies on the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, during a voting rights march on March 7,

1965, went on to win the seat and hold it for more than two decades.

As part of the recognition of Black History Month, Georgia Governor George Busbee and Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson honored the Georgia Association of Black Elected Officials (GABEO) for providing strong leadership to the black community and proclaimed Friday, February 4, 1977, as GABEO Day in the state and in the city, according to an article on Sunday, February 6, 1977.¹⁴¹ The GABEO was founded in November of 1972 and sought to promote the education and self-improvement of its members, thereby enabling them to better serve their constituents, according to the article. The organization had four units -- legislative, county, municipal and school board. The municipal units, headed then by Mayor Jackson, were instrumental in the appointment of blacks to municipal judgeships, and the legislative unit, serving the Legislative Black Caucus, was responsible for the appointment of blacks to positions in state government and to numerous state boards and commissions, according to the article by *World* reporter Shinhoster. On Tuesday, February 8, 1977, the *World* wrote an editorial initially congratulating the GABEO but then adding that “we must state a few of our officials have shown questionable conduct.” While the *World* did not hint at what misdeeds to which it referred, the editorial suggested that the GABEO set up an ethics committee and discipline its members. “We have comparatively few such officials and they must constantly bear in mind they are under critical scrutiny and must be extra careful about their conduct,” the editorial added.¹⁴²

City elections on October 4, 1977, marked the first time that there were more African Americans than whites voting in the City of Atlanta, according to an article in the *World*. The article, which ran in the top right corner of the newspaper Thursday, October

6, 1977, announced Mayor Jackson's second win as mayor, as well as the results of thirteen contests for the eighteen-member city council. With the results, the council was evenly divided with nine African Americans and nine whites, and Carl Ware, who is black, retained his position as president of the city council.¹⁴³

An article in the *World* on Friday, October 11, 1985, mentioned Young's victory as Mayor of Atlanta, along with other African American City Council winners like Bill Campbell, Archie Byron, Ira Jackson, Jim Maddox, Robb Pitts, Carolyn Banks, Myrtle Davis and John H. Lewis, Sr. (no relation to the Congressman and civil rights leader).¹⁴⁴

Blacks and the Republican Party

While most of the black elected officials were either Democrats or nonpartisan, the *World* kept emphasizing what it saw as a need for blacks to be represented on both sides of the political fence. On a national level, the *World* supported the Republican Party and was a very strong advocate of Richard Nixon. Advertising dollars, however, allowed the other side to make its case. The *World* allowed an advertisement to be purchased by Democrats that was paid for by the McGovern for President Committee. The ad, which ran on page nine on Friday, November 3, 1972, showed a group of African Americans with disgusted looks on their faces, and one in front was holding a photograph of Nixon. The text stated, "What's Nixon Done For Us! The Job, Drug And Crime Problem Didn't Get Better Under Nixon. It Got Worse. . . ." ¹⁴⁵

The newspaper's true leanings, however, were made clear on Sunday, November 5, 1972, when a banner headline proclaimed, "LEADERS URGE VOTERS TO JOIN 'NEW MAJORITY' WITH NIXON." The article, in the top right corner of front page,

stated that Milton J. White, chairman of the Black Atlanta-Fifth District Committee for the Re-Election of the President, said that African Americans in Atlanta should give Nixon 60 percent of their vote in 1972 as they did in 1968.¹⁴⁶ In addition, the 920-word article quoted Charles E. Price, a dean at historically black Morris Brown College, who stated that a black voter should become a part of the ‘new great majority which is forming in the nation,’ because if not, “he may find himself isolated front the source of national political power.”¹⁴⁷ A black preacher, the Rev. E. R. Searcy, pastor of Mt. Zion Second Baptist Church, was also quoted in the article as saying that blacks “cannot afford to be left out. We must be in on this movement in substantial numbers in order to share its policies and destiny.”¹⁴⁸

On page ten of the same issue, an article ran with the headline declaring that “Democrats Lashed For Using Blacks As ‘Political Slaves.’” The article reported that the Democratic Party was described as never keeping its promises to black people and that “two party votes can free us from political slavery.”¹⁴⁹ McGovern was chided in the article for “failing to vote on every single piece of civil rights legislation.”¹⁵⁰

“RECORD VOTE FOR NIXON EXPECTED OVER NATION,” was the banner stretched across the top of the front page along with a 1,080-word article next to a photograph of Nixon with singer Ray Charles and a 130-word outline in which the singer reportedly asked African Americans to support Nixon’s re-election. The lead in the article told of how black Republican leaders called upon other blacks to help give Nixon a “record victory.”¹⁵¹ The article also asked readers to support black Republican candidates such as John Calhoun, a former Atlanta City Councilman who was running for the Georgia Senate from the 36th District, and the Rev. William Holmes Borders, who

was running for the Georgia legislature from the 28th District. Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, who had served as president of Morehouse College, had called on African Americans to vote the straight Democratic ticket on election day, according to the article, which then quoted Borders as responding by saying, "It is absolutely impossible for all good to be on one side and all bad on the other."¹⁵² Borders also stated that Nixon had put \$602 million in civil rights enforcement (a 700 percent increase), was spending \$371 million to combat drug abuse, was helping 12 million poor people with food stamps, and had placed more blacks in top government positions than any other president, according to the article.¹⁵³

The *World* told readers in a lead editorial of 400 words on Tuesday, November 7, 1972, that they should vote for Nixon to serve a second term because he has "practically brought the war to an end. The economy has been somewhat stabilized and inflation has been reduced."¹⁵⁴ In addition, the editorial stated, "Much has been done by President Nixon to advance the position of our people through employment and improvement of our economic position."¹⁵⁵ To be sure voters could carry out this mandate, a second editorial that day told readers how to vote, giving blow-by-blow instructions on casting a ballot.

On Thursday, November 9, 1972, the banner stated "NIXON GETS LANDSLIDE VICTORY; 12 NEGRO LEGISLATORS ELECTED." The 760-word article ran at the top middle of the front page beside a photograph of African Americans casting their ballots despite bad weather. According to the article, Nixon appeared to have gained much of his support "from many of the voting blocs that President Franklin D. Roosevelt fashioned into the coalition that kept the Democrats in power except for Eisenhower -- for a full generation."¹⁵⁶ Nixon carried all the states except Massachusetts

and the District of Columbia, with a total of 529 electoral votes, compared to McGovern's 12 electoral votes, the article reported.¹⁵⁷

In the lead editorial on Thursday, November 9, 1972, the *World* stated that “the two party system, which we have advocated since 1952, is almost a reality.”¹⁵⁸ The editorial also stated that Nixon “has kept his promise of 1968 to encourage Black capitalism and to aid our race in building businesses whereby we can produce our share of economic progress and create jobs.”¹⁵⁹ The editorial also praised Nixon for giving generous support to black colleges and appointing African Americans to federal positions including top positions in the Armed Services.

The following day the sole editorial stated that “blacks and whites, Democrats and Republicans, winners and losers should join in solving the most critical domestic problems facing our nation, and particularly black and poor people. These are the problems of urban decline and welfare.”¹⁶⁰ The editorial stated that Congress should reconsider Nixon's welfare reform proposal that was defeated by the Senate, with critics charging that the program offered too little in monetary compensation to the poor.¹⁶¹ The *World*, however, thought Nixon's welfare reform proposal offered solutions to the “welfare problem,” and would encourage welfare recipients to work by eliminating the provisions that penalized recipients for earning portions of their income. In addition, the plan would “eliminate provisions that force able-bodied fathers to leave families for fear of causing loss of public aid to their families. This more than anything would probably prevent the tragic ‘welfare cycle,’ which often is caused by delinquency of children who never learned the vital respect that often comes from having a father.”¹⁶² As a sign of the economic times, there would be a guaranteed annual income of \$2,400 a year for a family

of four under Nixon's plan, according to the article.

On Sunday, November 19, 1972, a front-page article above the fold in the middle of the page quoted National Urban League Director Vernon Jordan expressing the view that President Nixon's landslide victory gave him the "political freedom and moral duty" to greatly aid African Americans in achieving their long-sought-after goals of "freedom and equality."¹⁶³ Jordan was speaking to a group of about 700 at the Urban League's Equal Opportunity Day Dinner. In the fifth paragraph, the article stated that Jordan implied he felt the Nixon Administration during the past four years had not done as much for blacks as it could have, and in some instances appeared to adopt a policy of "benign neglect."¹⁶⁴

A former *World* employee and Scott family member was proudly featured on the front page of the *World* on Sunday, January 14, 1973, in the top left corner. Stanley Scott, the son of Lewis Augustus "Gus" Scott, an older brother of C. A. Scott, was named special assistant to President Nixon for minority affairs, making him the highest ranking African American on the White House staff.¹⁶⁵ Stanley Scott, who was thirty-nine years old at the time, had served the previous eighteen months as assistant to the White House Director of Communications. Stanley Scott had been a reporter at the *Atlanta Daily World* and had been editor/general manager of the *Memphis World*, the article stated. In addition, he had worked for UPI and Westinghouse Broadcasting Corp. and had served as assistant director of public relations for the NAACP.¹⁶⁶ In a follow-up article on Tuesday, February 13, 1973, Stanley Scott was quoted as saying he predicted the Nixon Administration would be making bold new initiatives in the areas of welfare reform and the continuation of aid to minority business enterprises.

The *World* printed large chunks of President Nixon's inaugural address in an editorial on Tuesday, January 23, 1973, which apprised readers that C. A. Scott had attended four Presidential inaugurations by that time.¹⁶⁷ The editorial pointed out parts of Nixon's speech that dealt with policies promoting a "new era of peace," as well as efforts to ensure better education, health, housing, transportation, and an improved environment for Americans, and to promote welfare reform that emphasized work and self-reliance.¹⁶⁸

On Thursday, January 25, 1973, the front page of the newspaper proclaimed in bold letters that President Nixon had announced an agreement ending the war in Vietnam.¹⁶⁹ According to the article, Nixon said the agreement would "end the war and bring peace with honor in Southeast Asia."¹⁷⁰

The *World* wrote about black Republicans making strides in other states, such as when Dr. Aris T. Allen, an African American physician and former House of Delegates member, was elected the first black state chairman in the 125-year history of the Republican Party in Maryland, according to a front-page article on Friday, September 30, 1977.¹⁷¹ Coverage of the Republican Party and its benefits to blacks continued into the 1980s. A front-page article in the top right corner on Thursday, July 26, 1984, declared that President Reagan said in a press conference that there was a further need to cut unnecessary government spending before considering a tax increase and that the economy's recovery was due to his policy of cutting taxes.¹⁷² A photograph of a smiling Reagan accompanied the article. In reference to a question about registering voters, Reagan was quoted as saying that he wanted votes from both "black and white Americans."¹⁷³ The article also mentioned that Reagan would be visiting Atlanta that week and would lead a rally at a local mall. "A number of blacks, local and statewide, are

expected to show their support of the President at the rally today,” the article stated.¹⁷⁴

A study by the non-profit Tax Foundation in Washington, D. C. showed that the Reagan tax-reduction legislation of 1981 had reduced the taxes of the poor more than those of the rich, according to an article on Thursday, July 12, 1984. The headline announced that the foundation refuted the notion of the “rich getting richer, [and] the poor getting poorer” under Reagan’s leadership.¹⁷⁵ According to the study, taxpayers in the top 5 percent of income levels in 1982 saw decreases in their bills averaging 0.2 percent, while all other taxpayers saw tax reductions averaging 3.9 percent that year, the article maintained.¹⁷⁶

Perhaps a crowning moment for the *World’s* admiration for the Republican Party came at the start of 1986 when a red banner headline announced “KING HISTORIC HOLIDAY JAN. 20: Pres. Reagan Signs King Bill” on Sunday, January 19, 1986. Underneath the headline was an archival photograph that stretched the width of four columns showing President Reagan signing the bill in 1983 that would make the third Monday in January a national holiday beginning in 1986 in honor of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s birthday. Reagan was flanked by King’s widow, Coretta Scott King, and other political dignitaries. Portia A. Scott wrote the accompanying article, which told readers that the first national holiday of the late civil rights leader would officially be celebrated the following day, making it the tenth federal holiday and only the second time the birth of a leader had been so honored in America (with the nation’s first president, George Washington, being the first).¹⁷⁷ The article quoted Reagan as having said, “our country is different and better” because of the struggle against racial prejudice led by King.¹⁷⁸

First Black Miss America

Political changes in America led the way for social changes, and one largely white institution in America -- the Miss America Pageant -- finally had a historic moment in 1983. At the top center of the *World's* front page on Friday, September 2, 1983, were photographs of the four young women who had won their state titles and were going to compete in the sixty-third annual Miss America Pageant. The pageant was scheduled to air September 17, 1983, on NBC, and most African Americans had no idea that history would be made that night.

“VANESSA WILLIAMS FIRST BLACK TO WIN MISS AMERICA PAGEANT: Suzette Charles Also First Black [First] Runner-Up In Pageant,” was the headline and subheading that went along with a UPI article that ran in the top right corner of the newspaper on Tuesday, September 20, 1983. Photographs of the two beautiful women accompanied the article. At the time, Williams was a twenty-year-old Syracuse University junior, who was the daughter of two Millwood, New York, public school music teachers. Most of the questions reporters asked Williams, who was also the first African American to win the Miss New York title, focused on her race, according to the article in the *World*. “At times I get annoyed because it seems the people and press aren’t focusing on my accomplishments,” Williams was quoted as saying. “I’ve made some waves and I’m ready to handle that. People aren’t used to dealing with changes, but it just had to happen.”¹⁷⁹ By 1983, only a dozen African Americans had competed in the national pageant after a “whites only” rule was lifted in 1950, according to the article. The first black woman actually to compete in the national pageant in 1970 was “Miss Iowa,” the article stated.

Just two months before her reign would have been complete, the twenty-one-year-old Williams made history again -- this time in a very embarrassing way. On Tuesday, July 24, 1984, a front-page story with a headline beginning just above the fold told that Williams was asked four days prior to step down within three days because she had posed nude in photographs in suggestive positions with another woman.¹⁸⁰ Pageant officials claimed they received calls over the weekend, with 98 percent of the calls supporting the committee's decision to demand Williams step down because of the photographs. Pageant officials said the photographs violated a morals clause that required "the maintaining of the dignity of the crown of Miss America."¹⁸¹ *Penthouse* magazine was planning to publish the photographs in its September 1984 issue.

A short 130-word editorial in the same newspaper stated that the *World* was "proud of that recognition and honor for a person from our racial group" when Williams was crowned Miss America and that the newspaper's management was "sad" upon learning that Williams had posed nude.¹⁸² "We agree such conduct and action of moral turpitude cannot be tolerated. Therefore, to avoid further unnecessary publicity she should resign as demanded by the Miss America Pageant Committee."¹⁸³

After Williams resigned, a sizeable photograph of the new Miss America, Suzette Charles of New Jersey, who was also an African American, graced the center of the front page of the *World* on Thursday, July 26, 1984. The article quoted Williams as saying that the publication of the nude photographs made it impossible for her to complete her reign and that "the potential harm to the pageant and the deep division that a fight may cause has convinced me that I must relinquish my title as Miss America."¹⁸⁴ The next day, an editorial ran after the *World's* management apparently had seen the actual photographs

taken of Williams. It called the pictures “revolting” and stated that Williams “owes the general public another expression of regret and [should] ask to be forgiven.”¹⁸⁵

Affirmative Action

In the late 1970s, affirmative action became a hot topic for the front page of the *Atlanta Daily World*, and this subject alone is where the *World* shed its conservative cloak and supported a program usually associated with liberals. In an editorial on Sunday, September 25, 1977, the *World* commended the federal government for sanctioning “affirmative action programs, in general, as a legitimate tool for making ours a more racially just society.”¹⁸⁶ The *World*’s position on affirmative action -- one not largely associated with conservative Republicans -- was made clear:

For hundreds of years, blacks, women and other minorities have been shamefully denied educational, job, social and political rights that have led to grim results. A major one is that such denial has retarded the progress of many minorities in reaching their full potential in American society.

In this day and age, only the most racially biased would dispute this.¹⁸⁷

The editorial chastised the Justice Department for refusing to explicitly support California in the *Bakke v. California* case that was being challenged before the United States Supreme Court. Coverage of the Bakke case received front-page attention in the *World* for months to come, particularly in articles optimistic that the United States Supreme Court would uphold affirmative action.¹⁸⁸ Allan Bakke, a white male, challenged a special admissions program at the University of California at Davis medical school after he failed to be admitted. He went to court after finding out that some “less qualified” minority applicants were accepted under the program, which set aside sixteen of the one hundred spots in the entering class for “disadvantaged” people, the *World*

reported in a UPI article.¹⁸⁹ In 1978, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of Bakke, ordering the medical school to admit him, but the opinion found that race could be used as a “plus” factor in admissions by universities seeking a diversified student body.

Affirmative action closer to home was covered in a number of ways as well. In a front-page, top-right-corner article on Tuesday, September 27, 1977, the *World* wrote about Mayor Maynard Jackson submitting to the Atlanta City Council two ordinances designed to aid his administration’s efforts to increase the participation of minorities and women in city government.¹⁹⁰ One ordinance established an Office of Equal Opportunity to coordinate the administration and enforcement of Equal Employment Opportunity and Affirmative Action Programs, and the other made discrimination on the basis of gender illegal if committed by the City of Atlanta or any of its appointed bodies, the article stated.¹⁹¹

In the 1980s, affirmative action helped many Atlanta entrepreneurs achieve success unknown in the past, and the *Atlanta Daily World* chronicled these victories. One example was an article on Sunday, July 1, 1984, stating that three fuel contracts with a total value of more than \$2 million had been awarded to two Atlanta area minority-owned firms through the state of Georgia’s competitive bid process.¹⁹² Efforts such as the state’s Minority Awareness Programs and statewide seminars helped to increase the number of minority vendors registering to do business with the state under Governor Joe Frank Harris. In another front-page article in the same issue, the *World* told readers that a local minority firm was working on the final assembly of fifty rapid rail cars for the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority, known as MARTA.¹⁹³

On July 15, 1984, the top right corner of the front page promoted a minority

business fair seminar that was scheduled for July 20. The Minority Business Procurement Fair Seminar would bring procurement agents from the transit authorities who buy software and hardware equipment and supplies from such businesses. “The push here is to move into the next phase for equality, economic participation” for African Americans, said Arthur Fletcher, president of Arthur Fletcher and Associates, Inc., who was planning and promoting the fair, according to the article.¹⁹⁴ Atlanta was selected to be the first of twenty sites to host such seminars by United States Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole and Ralph Stanley, the administrator of the Urban Mass Transit Administration, the article stated. According to Fletcher, \$7 billion had been set aside out of the Surface Transportation Act to allow federal, state and local governments to make “every good faith effort” to provide business for minority businesses, the article stated.¹⁹⁵

When the United States Supreme Court opened its 1985-86 term, it announced it would conduct a sweeping review of affirmative action plans that the Reagan Administration said discriminated against white people, according to a UPI article in the *World* on Thursday, October 17, 1985.¹⁹⁶ The Justices had ruled in a case from Memphis, Tennessee, that whites could not be laid off before blacks with less seniority, and the Reagan Administration had argued that the ruling meant minority hiring quotas were unconstitutional and that such relief could only be granted to those who could prove they had been actual victims of discrimination, according to the article.¹⁹⁷

On Friday, October 18, 1985, a front-page UPI article stated that civil rights leaders were charging that the Reagan Administration was trying to disenfranchise black voters by pursuing allegations of voting fraud in Alabama, where more than 2,000 voters

were questioned in a year-long investigation of election practices in an Alabama region known as the Black Belt.¹⁹⁸ The article quoted the Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Atlanta-based Southern Christian Leadership Conference, as saying that the investigation appeared to be selective persecution directed at black leaders and that in doing so, the Reagan Administration was “assaulting two major elements of racial justice -- voting rights and affirmative action.”¹⁹⁹ As a result of this investigation, eight officials in five counties were indicted on charges of tampering with absentee ballots, and at the time the article was printed, an all-white jury in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, had just convicted civil rights leader Spiver Gordon of federal voting fraud. Earl Shinhoster, regional director of the NAACP, urged civil rights groups to work on increasing voter registration and to raise funds to help defend leaders against the legal charges.²⁰⁰

In the same issue, the *World* reported on the front page that more than twenty-five representatives of national organizations had attended a meeting in Washington, D. C. to continue discussions on strategies for saving and strengthening affirmative action programs.²⁰¹ D. C. Mayor Marion Barry, president of the National Conference of Black Mayors, Inc., issued a call to action for a meeting in Memphis, Tennessee on July 19, 1985, in response to the U. S. Justice Department’s campaign to overturn affirmative action court decrees in more than 50 jurisdictions, the article stated.²⁰² Barry was quoted as saying, “Our challenge is to mobilize all forces required to turn around public attitudes on affirmative action, expose the myth of ‘reverse discrimination,’ and halt the Administration’s attack on affirmative action.”²⁰³

Jesse Jackson Runs For President

While some elected officials fought for affirmative action, another African American leader was readying for a run at political history. In 1984, the Rev. Jesse Jackson became what some referred to as the first viable black candidate for President of the United States. His status as a Democrat, however, did not place him in the good graces of the *World*.

On Sunday, July 1, 1984, the lead editorial stated that when Jackson was preparing to go to Syria to help free Lt. Robert Goodman, “the white press was writing articles and headlines as though he was the only candidate for president. This was flattery and part of the strategy to keep the black vote in the Democrat bag.”²⁰⁴ The editorial went on to suggest there were dangers inherent in Jackson’s actions. “Through the Goodman freedom, Syria has gotten the upper hand in Lebanon and other international peace forces have left,” the editorial stated. On another matter concerning twenty-two Americans jailed in Cuba and twenty-six anti-Castro Cubans who Jackson brought back to the United States, the editorial stated, “Americans that candidate Jackson is bringing from jails in Cuba are mostly convicted for drugs, according to reliable sources.”²⁰⁵ While the *World* said the twenty-six Cubans may prove to be assets here, “Castro remains our nation’s enemy and should be dealt with accordingly.”²⁰⁶ Finally, the editorial stated that the *World* deplored what was happening in foreign policy and asked, “Jackson At What Cost?”²⁰⁷

An article on Tuesday, July 3, 1984, told of how one of the twenty-two Americans brought back from Cuban prisons by Jackson criticized Jackson for his “overtures to

Fidel Castro.”²⁰⁸ The prisoner had been kept in almost constant solitary confinement and had been fed a diet of mostly bread and water, according to the article, which added that the man did not say anything disparaging to Jackson until after he was safely on an airplane to America. The commercial pilot had been accused of flying marijuana from Jamaica to Florida when he was forced to ditch in Cuban waters and was arrested, the article stated.²⁰⁹ This article ran next to a news brief apprising readers that the Black Republican Council of Fulton County would be holding a meeting that night.

If the *World* seemed tough on Jackson, the *Atlanta Constitution* ran even tougher criticism in the form of a syndicated column by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak. The column called Jackson “the first American presidential candidate to fully embrace the Third World political agenda: anti-capitalist, anti-democratic, anti-Zionist, anti-Western, anti-American.”²¹⁰ Two days later, however, the *Atlanta Constitution* ran a syndicated column by Mary McGrory, who normally wrote for the *Washington Post*, which called criticism of Jackson’s trip to Cuba “inaccurate and unfair.”²¹¹ News coverage of Jackson’s trip ran on page 6-A in the *Constitution* and emphasized how ill-planned the trip was and how it lacked organization.²¹² Nevertheless, the article ran alongside a photograph of a beaming Jackson showing a “thumbs up” sign and a brief article in which the travel agent who arranged Jackson’s four-nation peace pilgrimage praised the trip for its historical significance for black Americans.²¹³

In the Tuesday, July 3, 1984, issue of the *World*, the editorial page carried an editorial about Jackson’s complaints about election runoffs and convention delegate selection, stating that Jackson was understandably disappointed with the situation, because he received 21 percent of the popular vote in the primary but would control only

7 percent of the delegates at the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco.²¹⁴

The editorial nevertheless stated that it was difficult to see how reform could be attained in the state primaries because each state sets its own rules. The editorial was much less sympathetic about Jackson's alleged complaint about the highest two vote-getters having a run-off election if neither has a majority of votes in the initial election. This system, the editorial explained, was intended to avoid splinter party candidates winning seats if there are a dozen or so candidates, and a change could allow a candidate with only 15 percent of the popular vote to be elected.²¹⁵ In a second editorial that day, the *World* re-ran a June 13, 1984, editorial stating that the issue Jackson raised about runoff elections would give blacks and the ever-expanding Hispanic population in America less freedom and political power.²¹⁶

The NAACP held its seventy-fifth annual convention and heard addresses from the three Democratic presidential candidates, Walter Mondale, Jesse Jackson, and Gary Hart, as well as Reagan cabinet member Elizabeth Dole, the Secretary of Transportation, according to an article in the joint Thursday-Friday, July 5-6, 1984, newspaper, which was combined for the Independence Day holiday.²¹⁷ On the same front page, a very small article of only 100 words stated that the director of the American Jewish Congress recently commended Walter Mondale for condemning Louis Farrakhan and called on Jackson to do the same.²¹⁸

The editorial page that day stated that it was understandable that President Reagan declined an invitation to speak at the NAACP convention, since the organization's leadership favored the Democratic Party.²¹⁹ The editorial stated that the Independence Day holiday was a good time to "broaden the outlook and the necessity of supporting the

two-party system. The essence of this goal is to provide a difference of opinion between citizens about the best route to achieve the goals of patriotism, freedom, equal opportunity with justice for all.”²²⁰ The editorial page then carried reprints of the two editorials criticizing Jackson’s complaints about the delegate and run-off systems.

President Reagan warned Jackson against a planned trip to the Soviet Union and suggested that Jackson had violated a federal statute barring private citizens from negotiating with foreign governments on behalf of the United States during his trip to Cuba, according to a front-page article on Sunday, July 8, 1984.²²¹ Jackson, denying that he broke any law, vowed to pursue his personal diplomatic efforts with a “peace mission” to Moscow to intervene on behalf of a Soviet dissident.²²²

The top right spot on the front page on Thursday, July 19, 1984, characterized Jackson and Senator Gary Hart, another contender for the Democratic nomination for president, as having “floor fights” at the Democratic National Convention that were “expected to continue until the final gavel.”²²³ Although Vice President Walter Mondale was expected to receive the nomination, the article stated that Jackson planned to submit four minority reports, calling for “anti-discrimination quotas,” objecting to run-off primaries, advocating that the United States should not be the first to use nuclear weapons, and seeking reductions in the rate of military spending, according to the article.²²⁴

The Friday, July 20, 1984, *Atlanta Daily World* told of Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young and Jackson clashing on the issue of election run-offs, which came to a head at the Democratic National Convention, when Young delivered a speech in favor of run-offs at Mondale’s request. Being an African American politician speaking out against another

African American politician did not bode well for Young, who was met with angry boos that began with his introduction and continued throughout his speech, the *World* reported.²²⁵ Run-off elections are second elections held in eight Southern states when no candidate captures more than 50 percent of the vote in the first contest, the article explained. Jackson, who lost on the issue, wanted to see official Democratic Party disapproval of run-offs, maintaining that the system made it difficult for black candidates to win elections because of racial block voting, the article stated.²²⁶

An editorial on Friday, July 20, 1984, stated that the second full day of the Democratic National Convention was full of excitement and bitterness.²²⁷ The editorial stated that Jackson was polarizing the nation by injecting the issues of race and foreign policy into the national election.²²⁸ The editorial described the booing against Mayor Young as “strong” but commended him for having the courage to keep speaking.²²⁹

The *Atlanta Constitution* wrote in an editorial that Jackson’s speech to the Democratic National Convention was a “theatrical success” and used the terms “theatrical,” “high drama” and “artfulness” to describe the speech.²³⁰ The *Constitution* also wrote that Walter Mondale’s campaign was diminished while Jackson was a rival.

The Sunday, July 22, 1984, front page of the *World* had a banner headline stating “DEMOCRATS END CONVENTION WITH DIVISION,” and the accompanying article quoted an Atlanta pollster as saying that the Democrats had failed to pinpoint President Reagan’s weaknesses.²³¹ According to the article, among the 500 African American delegates to the convention, “a number of them . . . left the convention feeling as though they received nothing, particularly with the loss of Jesse Jackson’s four minority planks to the party platform.”²³²

In an editorial that day, the *World* reiterated that the Democratic Party was divided after Jackson's minority proposals were defeated. It maintained that Mondale failed to reveal any real issue that the Republican opposition was not dealing with effectively and added that the theme against the President was "too negative."²³³ The editorial then added that, "We strongly believe in the two-party system which allows free men a choice and real opportunities."²³⁴

Summary of Coverage from 1970 to 1985

Among the topics analyzed during this era, the most newspaper space was devoted to former Mayor and Ambassador Andrew Young's political career, efforts to desegregate the Atlanta Public Schools by busing students, Hank Aaron capturing baseball's homerun record, and the merits and use of affirmative action. (See Chapter Summary Chart.) The *World* stood against the mass busing of African American students into white neighborhoods to attend their schools, stating that it was not in the best interest of the children and would create more expenses and increase taxes. It did, however, favor voluntary busing for students who chose to attend schools in areas where their race was in the minority. Coverage in the *World* on this topic depicted black and white parents showing up at school board meetings, singing "We Shall Overcome," as both sides asked for their children not to be forced to ride buses to schools outside their districts in an effort to desegregate the school system. The *Atlanta Constitution*, by comparison, ran a column by Hal Gulliver stating that the school system was being asked to bear too much in the name of desegregation. Although C. A. Scott and Gulliver both seemed to share this view, it was likely for different reasons -- just like the black and white parents who

disagreed with busing. Some blacks did not want to be forced to go where they were not wanted, and some whites did not want a barrage of blacks in their neighborhood schools. Gulliver's column did not say outright whether he was against any busing whatsoever for the sake of desegregation; it simply stated that forced busing would likely lead to an all-black Atlanta city school system, because white parents probably would flee to the suburbs or place their children in private schools to avoid the situation. Eventually, the school system went with voluntary rather than forced busing, and the school district became a predominantly black one.

The *World* did not support Maynard H. Jackson during his first bid for mayor of Atlanta in 1973, seemingly because the white incumbent had a record of responding to the black community's concerns, appointing blacks to policy-making committees, and increasing a black presence among employees at City Hall. This was expressed most blatantly in a full-page advertisement stating that Atlanta's greatest black leader did not happen to be black and asking readers to vote for Massell. The *World* seemed to feel that Massell was not the man to desert as a political leader. Nevertheless, in Jackson's subsequent bids for mayor in 1977 and in 1989, the *Atlanta Daily World* supported Jackson, who won overwhelming victories. The *World* praised Jackson in 1977 for his efforts in the areas of affirmative action, crime reduction, and urban revitalization in Atlanta's black business districts, and for his handling of a sanitation workers' strike. Hank Aaron, by contrast, was elevated to much more than a baseball player when he broke Babe Ruth's home run record. The Atlanta Braves' player was portrayed as someone who could help bridge the gap between the races and was worthy of emulation for his humble, gracious style.

Much of the coverage involving Andrew Young ran on the front page of the *World* but usually near or below the fold. However, when he journeyed to Africa to help resume the Geneva talks on the transfer of power to Rhodesia's black majority, his efforts wound up at the top of the front page. Not much was mentioned about Young when he won the United States Fifth District Congressional seat in November of 1972. This information was woven into a larger political story on Nixon's landslide.

When Young ran for mayor of Atlanta in 1981, the Atlanta Bi-Partisan Voters League, of which C. A. Scott was vice co-chairman, heaped praise upon Young, endorsing him and releasing a statement of support, which the *World* ran in the newspaper on both the front and editorial pages. Young agreed with the League's suggestion that he appoint a bi-racial, bi-partisan advisory committee, among other measures. While the *World* mentioned the racial overtone the campaign had, the *Atlanta Constitution* brought it to life with a photograph of a smiling Marcus worker with a "Shuffling Grinning Negro" bumper sticker strapped across the front of her "Sidney Marcus for Mayor" shirt and quoted extensively accusations made by Young supporters against Marcus and his alleged attempt to buy off black voters.

The *World* ran stories on the black elected officials in the state. The *World* also maintained that it was important to keep Young's former Congressional seat filled by an African American when he resigned from Congress to become the United States ambassador to the United Nations. The *World* suggested a plan for helping to direct readers to the candidate thought to be strongest for replacing Young's position in Congress. The *World* rejoiced and gushed in an editorial when Horace Ward was sworn in as the first black member of the Judicial Circuit of Georgia when he became a Fulton

County Superior Court judge. The *World* often conspicuously omitted the party affiliations of black state legislators when writing about them, as it did in an article about the 1977 opening of the Georgia General Assembly and the types of measures different black lawmakers were hoping to push. Sometimes articles about black elected officials received less prominent coverage than might have been expected, perhaps because so few of them were Republicans. An example was the article that ran on page five on Friday, November 25, 1972, about there being 227 blacks nationwide holding seats in state legislatures after the November elections in 1972. All but five were Democrats.

While the *World* made it clear that it wanted the Fifth District Congressional seat vacated by Young to go to another black person, the mainstream *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* (in its combined weekend edition) ran a political analysis by *Journal* political editor David Nordan stating that the top contenders in the run-off election would likely be a black candidate and a white one, and that it did not matter which black or which white. Nordan seemed irritated by the fact that the candidates had given very similar answers to questions in separate interviews, and that if either did say something different, his opponent was likely to agree on the matter if questioned about it.

C. A. Scott and other citizens worked to wield their influence over elections by giving endorsements, which sometimes came with stipulations. If a candidate did not have a stellar record, the *World* sometimes aired the candidate's misdeeds on the front page, as it did on Sunday, October 27, 1985, when Scott and a group of concerned citizens of Atlanta's third District met and endorsed John H. Lewis, Sr., (who is not related to the Congressman and civil rights leader) for a city council position. He was their choice over an incumbent who had been arrested and charged with driving under the

influence and who had conducted business through a consulting firm that garnered huge fees. Nevertheless, this councilman retained his seat, leading to an article that told of citizens' mixed feelings about the election results.

In the 1970s the *World* began to show a political world that many blacks had not experienced -- a black Republican world with professors, clergy and community activists all touting the merits of the Republican Party and the advantages it had for African Americans. The *World* hinted at its view that blacks should be a two-party race when it ran a large banner headline across the front page two days before the 1972 presidential election in which a local political leader suggested that blacks in Atlanta should give 60 percent of their votes to Nixon in the upcoming election. To make sure readers could carry out their duty of voting -- preferably for a Republican -- the *World* gave readers detailed instructions on how to cast a ballot in a 1972 editorial that ran just beneath another editorial singing the praises of Nixon on election day. The *World* predicted that the Nixon landslide foreshadowed the notion that the two-party system as a way of political life for blacks was almost a reality. This prediction, however, has not come to fruition.

When African American leaders criticized the Nixon Administration, the *World* would sometimes bury the criticism in subsequent paragraphs below more optimistic statements about the Republican president, as it did in an article about National Urban League Director Vernon Jordan speaking at a dinner hosted by the organization. The *World* was sure to praise Nixon, for everything from promoting peace to welfare reform. While the *World* seemed a little less enthusiastic for President Reagan, it carried the Republican torch throughout his administration as well. In 1984, the *World* quoted

President Reagan as saying he wanted votes from both black and white Americans.

Nevertheless, its promotion of African Americans as refined, poised and comely never waned. The *World* apprised readers when African Americans represented their states in the Miss America pageants so that those interested would know to tune in to cheer on the members of their race. A triumph for one African American beauty ended in terrible disappointment when the first black woman crowned Miss America, Vanessa Williams, later became the first title holder asked to relinquish her crown. The *World* showed its conservative bent on social behavior when it came to controversial photographs, as it ran editorials condemning Williams' nude photographs and suggesting that she needed to apologize to the country.

Articles on affirmative action began appearing frequently in the *World* in the late 1970s, particularly following the Bakke case which was taken up by the United States Supreme Court when a white student challenged an affirmative action admissions policy at the University of California at Davis medical school. Articles about affirmative action in general, as well as articles about minority firms receiving government contracts and blacks being promoted to management positions in corporate America, graced the pages of the *World* during this era. The *World* even parted company with the Reagan Administration on this topic. One UPI article along these lines ran on the front page in 1985, stating that the Reagan Administration felt affirmative action discriminated against white people. The *World* did not challenge the President in an editorial that day. Instead, the next day, the *World* used the front page to combat the Reagan Administration's stance by running an article in which leaders of several national organizations praised the merits of affirmative action. In editorials during this era, the *World* made clear its position on

affirmative action, using a track race as an analogy in which a runner who was given more extensive advantages and training in the past (symbolic of whites) was lined up to race against someone new to the game (symbolic of blacks). Another article stated that civil rights leaders had charged the Reagan Administration with trying to disenfranchise black voters through an investigation of alleged voting fraud in Alabama.

Economic enterprise and entrepreneurship were topics promoted in the *World*, which ran articles about minority business fairs on the front page of the newspaper. Despite conservative leanings, except when it came to the subject of affirmative action, the *World* was regularly recognized by black organizations, such as the Atlanta Chapter of the NAACP, for the work it did in the field of civil rights.

The conservative editorial leanings of the *World* management became very evident with its coverage of the Rev. Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign. The *World* seemed resentful that Jackson had received some favorable coverage in the mainstream media during his campaign when he went to Syria to help free Lt. Robert Goodman. The *Atlanta Constitution* ran news articles about Jackson's pilgrimage to help free American prisoners in places like Cuba in which it criticized Jackson's trip for being disorganized but made it seem like a commendable undertaking. One syndicated column in the *Constitution* called Jackson's trip anti-American, but another -- a column run two days later -- called the criticism inaccurate and unfair.

The *World* often would refer to the "Democrat Party" as opposed to the "Democratic Party," since it seemed less lofty and neither party could claim democracy as its own. The *World* was sure to contradict Jackson's suggestions, such as when he complained about the process of selecting delegates for the Democratic National

Convention and election run-offs in July of 1984. No direct quotes from the candidates' speeches were provided in an article about the three top Democratic presidential contenders -- Walter Mondale, Jesse Jackson and Gary Hart -- addressing the national NAACP annual convention in July of 1984. The Reagan Administration had sent cabinet member Elizabeth Dole, the Secretary of Transportation, to speak at this affair.

The *World* characterized the 1984 Democratic National Convention in San Francisco as having floor fights between the contenders for the party's nomination to run for president. Though Jackson is known for his eloquent speeches with catchy phrases, the *World* did not give any extensive quotes from Jackson's speech at the convention. The Democratic National Convention coverage was mostly negative and concluded with a banner headline stating that the convention ended with division. The accompanying article said African Americans felt as if they had received nothing from the convention, since Jackson's four minority planks were all defeated.

Throughout this era of redefining itself, the *World* became decidedly more conservative during a time when the newspaper came out against African American leaders like Maynard Jackson during his first bid for mayor and Jesse Jackson during his bid for President, as well as NAACP officials during the Atlanta public schools busing saga. This did not always go over well with some readers, but the *World* stood its ground and perhaps made up for such actions when it supported affirmative action or told readers that the Congressional seat vacated by Young needed to be retained by a black person. Always difficult to define, the *World* carried on in its futile quest to usher African Americans into a dual-party, racially harmonious society -- one likely never to exist in a residentially segregated society with a Jim Crow past.

Chapter Summary Chart of Top Four Topics*
(1970-1985)

Topic	Dates	No. of Articles in Sample	No. of Editorials in Sample	Word length range: Articles	Word length range: Editorials	Articles placed at or near top of front page	Lead Editorials	Total Words Devoted to Topic**
Andrew Young	11/9/72-10/11/85	15	3	250 - 1,530	160-480	9 = 60%	2 = 66%	9,590
Atlanta Schools Busing	11/9/72 - 2/20/73	8	5	440 - 1,090	350 - 570	7 = 88%	5 = 100%	7,850
Hank Aaron	4/7/74 - 4/12/74	11	3	200 - 1,300	240 - 340	2 = 18%	1 = 33%	7,380
Affirmative Action	9/25/77 - 10/11/85	8	1	280 - 580	470	6 = 75%	0	4,050

* These are the top four topics during the era from 1970-1985 in terms of the number of articles, editorials and total words.

** The total number of words devoted to the topic refers only to those found in the sample of articles and editorials examined during the dates provided.

Notes for Chapter Seven

¹ Portia A. Scott, age 61, was interviewed at her home (formerly the home of the late C. A. Scott) in southwest Atlanta on January 16, 2005. She was working as an adjunct journalism instructor at Clark Atlanta University.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ “The New Majority,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, November 9, 1972, p. 4. Lead editorial; 420 words.

¹⁸ “NO AGREEMENT REACHED BY COMMITTEES REGARDING ATLANTA SCHOOL CASE: Difference Revealed Between NAACP And LDF Group,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, November 17, 1972, p. 1. Top right; 440 words.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ “PLAN FOR FURTHER DESEGREGATION OF SCHOOLS SENT TO APPEALS COURT [half banner headline]: It Reportedly Would Require Busing of 1,400 Children; White Parents Make Protest And Threaten A Boycott Here,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, November 19, 1972, p. 1. Top right; 510 words.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ “Wake Up Parents!” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, November 19, 1972, p. 4. Lead editorial; 510 words.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ “SCHOOL BOARD, LOCAL NAACP SEEN AGREEING ON DESEGREGATION PLAN: PARENTS PLAN BOYCOTT IN ANGRY PROTEST HERE,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, November 24, 1972, p. 1. Top right; 670 words.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ “JUDGES FROWN ON DESEGREGATION PLAN; ORDER LOCAL ACTION BY LOWER COURT: DEMANDS CLEARING UP OF NAACP LEGAL SQUABBLES,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, November 26, 1972, p. 1. Top right; 1,090 words.

³¹ “Disgraceful Conduct,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, November 26, 1972, p. 4. Lead editorial; 350 words.

³² “NAACP, LEGAL DEFENSE FUND HUDDLE AND AGREE TO UNITE IN SCHOOL SUIT: Agree To Seek Just, Unitary School System,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, December 3, 1972, p. 1. Top right; 560 words.

³³ “Unity At What Price?” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, December 5, 1972, p. 6. Lead editorial; 450 words.

³⁴ “New Compromise Plan Reported Drawn Up By NAACP, LDF Plaintiffs,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, December 7, 1972, p. 1. Top left; 900 words.

³⁵ Steve Stewart, “City School Pairing Is Proposed,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Wednesday, January 17, 1973, p. 1. Top right; 720 words.

³⁶ Hal Gulliver, “Our Schools Asked to Bear Too Much,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Thursday, January 18, 1973, p. 4A. Column on editorial page; 730 words.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ “Ruling winks at Jim Crow,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Wednesday, July 11, 1984, p. 14-A. Lead editorial; 460 words.

³⁹ Douglas Wells, “NAACP, School Board Seek Compromise Integration Plan,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, January 25, 1973, p. 1. Middle, headline starts just above fold; 930 words.

⁴⁰ “Agreement Must Be Reached,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, February 18, 1973, p. 4. Lead editorial; 570 words.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² “Citizens Express Opposition To Busing School Children: Parents, Teachers, Students Quiz NAACP President King,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, February 20, 1973, p. 1. Top right; 450 words.

⁴³ “Voter Interest Centers On Massell, Jackson For Mayor: Johnson And Weltner Draw Little Mention,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 23, 1973, p. 1. Top left; 350 words.

⁴⁴ “The Requirements To Be A Successful Mayor,” Sunday, September 23, 1973, p. 1 Mid-left, above the fold, labeled as an editorial; 400 words.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ “Mayor Sam Massell Wins 2 Strong Endorsements,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 27, 1973, p. 1. Mid-left above the fold; 310 words.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ “Mayor Sam Massell Deserves Re-Election,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 27, 1973, p. 4. Lead editorial, 470 words.

⁴⁹ “Political Races Here Now In ‘Home Stretch’: Voters Meeting To Make Final Choices,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 28, 1973, p. 1. Top right; 530 words.

⁵⁰ “Rev. Bickers Speaks For Massell,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 28, 1973, p. 1. Top right; 310 words.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Douglas Wells, “Bi-Racial Supporters Give Mayor Massell Big Boost: Meet At City Hall And Praise Employment Record; Jackson, Johnson Get Aid,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 30, 1973, p. 1. Top right; 1,010 words.

⁵³ “TWO POLITICAL FACTIONS PUT OUT DIFFERENT TICKETS FOR VOTERS: Jesse Hill Leads Group For Jackson; Brown For Johnson; Mayor Massell Is Favored For Re-Election On Record,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, October 2, 1973, p. 1. Top middle; 640 words.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ “Pickets Are Unfair,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, October 2, 1973, p. 4. Lead editorial; 340 words.

⁵⁶ “MASSELL, JACKSON IN RUN-OFF ELECTION FOR MAYOR OCTOBER 16: October Election May Give Total of 9 In Council; DR. MAYS, DR. YANCEY RE-ELECTED TO BOARD,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, October 4, 1973, p. 1. Top middle; 780 words.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ “The Question Of Getting Too Much Power Arises With Negro Leaders Here: Frontiers Club Discusses Issues; Massell Workers Meet,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, October 11, 1973, p. 1. Top right; 770 words.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ “Look Carefully At This Picture And Give Sober Thought,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, October 11, 1973, p. 1. Top right; 140 words.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ A full page ad with the headline “ATLANTA’S GREATEST BLACK LEADER DOESN’T HAPPEN TO BE BLACK” ran Thursday, October 11, 1973, on page 9 and consisted of roughly 320 words.

⁶⁵ John H. Calhoun, “An Analysis Of Last Week’s 1973 City Election Voting,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, October 11, 1973, p. 1. Mid-left, above the fold; 600 words.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ “Don’t Be Intimidated,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, October 12, 1973, p. 4. Lead editorial; 230 words.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ “Let’s Help Keep Sam Massell,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, October 14, 1973, p. 4. Lead editorial; 320 words.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ “JACKSON IS ELECTED MAYOR: Fowler Wins Over Rev. Williams Easily -- Cong. Young Denies Massell Is Racist,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, October 18, 1973, p. 1. Top middle; 970 words.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ “The Runoff Election,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, October 18, 1973, p. 4. Lead editorial; 360 words.

⁷⁴ “Mayor Maynard Jackson Deserves Re-Election,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, September 27, 1977, p. 4. Lead editorial; 450 words.

⁷⁵ “Hank Aaron Ties Ruth’s Home Run Record of 714,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, April 7, 1974, p. 6. First of two sports pages, bottom mid-left; 900 words; Cincinnati dateline.

⁷⁶ George Coleman, “Hank Hit The Homer,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, April 7, 1974, p. 1. Top left; 200 words; beneath photograph of the profile of a smiling Hank Aaron.

⁷⁷ “Hank Aaron Is ‘Man Of Hour’ As Tonight’s Game Is Seen Drawing Enthusiastic Crowd: Nation Focuses Attention On Heroics Of ‘Hammer,’” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, April 9, 1974, p. 1. Top right; 700 words.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ “Aaron -- Good Man, Good Athlete,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, April 9, 1974, p. 4. Second editorial; 340 words.

⁸¹ Fred Parker (United Press International [UPI]), “Writer Recalls Hand Aaron’s First Two Years,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, April 7, 1974, p. 6. First of two sports pages; top left; 440 words.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ “Hank Aaron: I Feel Much More Relaxed,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, April 7, 1974, p. 7. Second of two sports pages; bottom left; 630 words.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ “Atlanta Braves Open Home Season Monday Against L.A. Dodgers,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, April 7, 1974, p. 7. Second of two sports pages, top left; 460 words.

⁸⁶ “Braves Record First Win Of Season, 5-3,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, April 9, 1974, p. 2. Cincinnati dateline; top right; 450 words.

⁸⁷ James D. Heath, “Humble Hero Captures Most Coveted Record,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, April 11, 1974, p. 1. Top middle; 1,300 words.

⁸⁸ George Coleman, “The Victory,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, April 11, 1974, p. 9. Bottom left; 360 words.

⁸⁹ “Hank Aaron - - New National Hero,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, April 11, 1974, p. 4. Editorial page; first editorial; 240 words.

⁹⁰ Charles E. Price, “Henry The Great -- Hank Aaron,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, April 11, 1974, p. 4. Editorial page; top middle; 240 words.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ James D. Heath, “Local Pro Teams Praise ‘The Hammer,’” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, April 11, 1974, p. 9. Top left; 320 words.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Milton Richman, “SPORTS OF THE WORLD” (column), *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, April 12, 1974, p. 5. Sports page; top left; 800 words.

⁹⁶ “NIXON GETS LANDSLIDE VICTORY; 12 NEGRO LEGISLATORS ELECTED: Young Wins In Congress Contest,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, November 9, 1972, p. 1. Top middle; 760 words.

⁹⁷ ““Will Work Hard To Deserve Victory” For The People, Young Says: First Black Congressman In 100 Years,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, November 10, 1972, p. 1. Top right; 610 words.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ UPI, “Young OK’d As Ambassador To U.N. By Senate Panel,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, January 27, 1977, p. 1. Near bottom middle; 380 words.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Mike Doan (AP) “Young Confirmed As Envoy to U.N.,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Thursday, January 27, 1977, p. 2-A. Top right; 440 words. See also “Andrew Young,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Thursday, January 27, 1977, p.4-A. Second editorial; 480 words.

¹⁰² UPI, “CARTER SENDS YOUNG OFF TO AFRICA TODAY,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, February 1, 1977, p. 1. Middle near left below fold; 580 words.

¹⁰³ “Lewis Calls Swearing-In Of Young ‘Great For Blacks,’ ” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, February 3, 1977, p. 1. Mid-right, headline just above fold, 450 words.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ UPI, “Young Urges Anglo-U. S. Effort To Get Talks On Rhodesia Going Again: Expresses Hope That Meetings Will Resume,” [half-banner headline] *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, February, 4, 1977, p. 1. Top middle; 470 words.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ UPI, “Young Says Smith Must Be A Part Of Rhodesia Talks,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, February, 6, 1977, p. 1. Bottom left; 430 words.

¹¹⁰ “U. N. AMBASSADOR YOUNG AWED BY SPECTACLE STAGED IN NIGERIA: YOUNG CITES IMPORTANCE OF NIGERIA,” [half-banner headline] *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, February 11, 1977, p. 1. Top right; 250 words.

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Vincent McCraw, “YOUNG ELECTED MAYOR: Byron, Cuffie, Yancey Are Also Victors,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, October 29, 1981, p. 1. Top middle; 500 words.

¹¹³ Deric Gilliard, “In Election Of New Mayor: Blacks and Whites Differ On Racial Voting Impact,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, October 29, 1981, p. 1. Top left; 650 words.

¹¹⁴ Carole Ashkinaze, “Young Denies Raising Race Issue; Marcus Workers Wear ‘Shuffling Negro’ Stickers,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Saturday, October 24, 1981, p. 1-B. Middle (centerpiece) of City/State section front; 1, 310 words.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Vincent McCraw, “YOUNG’S VICTORY MOLDS FUTURE: Runoff Races Seat New Officials,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, October 30, 1981, p. 1. Top right; 1,530 words.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Deric Gilliard, “Black Atlanta Rallies Around Andrew Young,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, October 30, 1981, p. 1. Middle; 770 words.

¹¹⁹ “VOTERS LEAGUE PRAISES VOTERS FOR SERVING ITS RECORD OF VICTORIES [half-banner headline]: Issues Statement Praising Mayor-Elect Andrew Young,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, November 1, 1981, p. 1. Top right; 760 words. See also: “A Statement By The League,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, November 1, 1981, p. 4. Lead editorial; 290 words. See also: “An Unprecedented Victory,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, October 29, 1981, p. 4. Lead editorial; 160 words.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ A full-page advertisement for Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young’s re-election that ran on Sunday, October 6, 1985, in the *Atlanta Daily World* on p. 16.

¹²² Mathias A. Odoemele, “EIGHT IN CONTEST FOR FUN-OFF: Voters To Decide Outcome Oct. 22nd,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, October 11, 1985, p. 1. top right; 520 words.

¹²³ “‘Will Work Hard To Deserve Victory’ . . .,” *Atlanta Daily World*. (See endnote 97.)

¹²⁴ “Tuesday’s Election,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, November 12, 1972, p. 4. Lead editorial; 310 words.

¹²⁵ “227 Blacks Now Hold Seats In 38 State Legislatures,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, November 25, 1972, p. 5. Top left; 520 words.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ “HUNDREDS OF BLACKS ELECTED TO OFFICES THROUGH SOUTH,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, February 4, 1973, p.1. Mid-right, above the fold; 410 words.

¹²⁸ Yvonne Shinoster, “Ga. Black Legislators Facing New Year With New Hopes,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, January 11, 1977, p. 1. Bottom middle; 1,395 words.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ “Judge Horace Ward,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, January 28, 1977, p. 6. Lead editorial; 280 words.

¹³² *Ibid.*

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- 133 “Hungry Club Told: ‘We Must Not Forget What Others Have Done,’ -- Ward,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, February 4, 1977, p. 1. Bottom right; 130 words.
- 134 “Consensus Candidate Needed,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, January 30, 1977, p. 4. Lead editorial; 610 words.
- 135 *Ibid.*
- 136 *Ibid.*
- 137 “A Fine Response,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, February 4, 1977, p. 6. Second editorial; 300 words.
- 138 *Ibid.*
- 139 David Nordan, “Skin Color An Issue or Not in 5th District?” *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, Sunday, January 30, 1977, p. 15-A. Top left; 1,000.
- 140 *Ibid.*
- 141 Yvonne Shinhoster, “GA. BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS HONORED,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, February 6, 1977, p. 1. Left, near bottom; 410 words.
- 142 “We Join In Congratulations,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, February 8, 1977, p. 6. Lead editorial; 190 words.
- 143 “MAYOR JACKSON IS REELECTED : WINS SWEEPING TRIUMPH OVER SIX CHALLENGERS,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, October 6, 1977, p. 1. Top right; 890 words.
- 144 *Ibid.*
- 145 An full-page advertisement in the *Atlanta Daily World* that stated “VOTE NOV. 7TH The McGovern/Shriver/Democratic Ticket,” ran on Friday, November 3, 1972, p. 9.
- 146 “LEADERS URGE VOTERS TO JOIN ‘NEW MAJORITY’ WITH NIXON [banner headline]: WHITE RECALLS BIG VOTE GIVEN PRESIDENT IN 1960,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, November 5, 1972, p. 1. Top right; 920 words.
- 147 *Ibid.*
- 148 *Ibid.*
- 149 “Democrats Lashed For Using Blacks As ‘Political Slaves,’” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, November 5, 1972, p. 10. Top left; 750 words.
- 150 *Ibid.*
- 151 “RECORD VOTE FOR NIXON EXPECTED OVER NATION [banner headline]: Both Republican Groups Endorse Thompson, Cook, Tankley, Borders, Calhoun,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, November 7, 1972, p. 1. Top middle; 1,080 words.

152 Ibid.

153 Ibid.

154 “Vote Your Conviction,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, November 7, 1972, p. 6. Lead editorial; 400 words.

155 Ibid.

156 “NIXON GETS LANDSLIDE VICTORY; 12 NEGRO LEGISLATORS ELECTED: Young Wins In Congress Contest,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, November 9, 1972, p. 1. Top middle; 760 words.

157 Ibid.

158 “The New Majority,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, November 9, 1972, p. 4. Lead editorial; 420 words.

159 Ibid.

160 “Two Urgent Needs,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, November 10, 1972, p. 4. Lead (and only) editorial; 530 words.

161 Ibid.

162 Ibid.

163 “Urban League Leader Says: Nixon Has ‘Political Freedom’ to Foster Racial Equality,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, November 19, 1972, p. 1. Middle, above fold; 520 words.

164 Ibid.

165 “Former Atlantan Is Appointed Nixon Aide,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, January 14, 1973, p. 1. Top left; 340 words.

166 Ibid.

167 “The President’s Address,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, January 23, 1973, p. 6. Lead editorial; 800 words.

168 Ibid.

169 Eugene V. Risher (UPI) “President Nixon Announces Agreement Ending Viet War [banner headline]: Goes Into Effect Saturday, 7, P. M.,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, January 25, 1973, p. 1. Top right; 815 words.

170 Ibid.

171 “BLACK GOP CHAIRMAN ELECTED IN MARYLAND,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, September 30, 1977, p. 1. Middle, near left; 260 words.

¹⁷² “President Says His Program Is Working,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, July 26, 1984, p. 1. Top right; 210 words.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ “Foundation Refutes ‘Rich Getting Richer, Poor Getting Poorer,’” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, July 12, 1984, p. 1. Bottom right; 400 words.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Portia A. Scott, “KING HISTORIC HOLIDAY JAN. 20 [red banner headline]: Pres. Reagan Signs King Bill; They Come From All Walks Of Life To Honor His Life,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, January 19, 1986, p. 1. Top right; 510 words.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Louis Toscano, (UPI), “VANESSA WILLIAMS FIRST BLACK TO WIN MISS AMERICA PAGEANT: Suzette Charles Also First Black [First] Runner-Up In Pageant,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, September 20, 1983, p. 1. Top right; 600 words.

¹⁸⁰ “Panel Demands Miss America Quit; Says Caller 98% With Panel,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, July 24, 1984, p. 1. Mid-left, headline just above fold; 490 words.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² “Miss America Should Resign,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, July 24, 1984, p. 6. Lead editorial; 130 words.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ “Miss Williams Steps Down; Suzette Charles New Queen,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, July 26, 1984, p. 1. Top center; 260 words.

¹⁸⁵ “Vulgar Pictures for Profit,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, July 27, 1984, p. 6. Second editorial; 140 words. Second editorial; 140 words.

¹⁸⁶ “Case For Affirmative Action,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, September 25, 1977, p. 4. Second editorial; 470 words.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ For example, see “EEOC Head Sees High Court Okaying Quotas,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, September 29, 1977, p.1. Top right; 380 words.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ “MAYOR ASKS COUNCIL TO APPROVE OFFICE OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, September 27, 1977, p. 1. Top right; 550 words.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² “2 Area Minority Oil Firms Win Contract,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, July 1, 1984, p. 1. Middle near bottom; 380 words.

¹⁹³ “Local Minority Firm Assembles MARTA Cars,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, July 1, 1984, p. 1. Bottom left; 440 words.

¹⁹⁴ “Minority Business Fair Seminar Here July 20,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, July 13, 1984, p. 1. Top right; 530 words.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Henry J. Reske (UPI), “High Court To Widen Review Of Affirmative Action,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, October 17, 1985, p. 1. Near top right; 440 words.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Holly Planells, “Rights Leaders Charge Disenfranchise Of Blacks,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, October 18, 1985, p. 1. Top left; 580 words.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ “Affirmative Action Defended By National Organizations,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, October 18, 1985, p. 1. Near top right; 280 words.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Ibid.

²⁰⁴ “Jackson At What Price?” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, July 1, 1984, p. 4. Lead editorial; 350 words.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ UPI, “Jackson Criticized For His Actions,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, July 3, 1984, p. 1. Mid-left, starting just above the fold; 250 words.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, “Jackson’s Caribbean journey may cost Democrats dearly,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Tuesday, July 3, 1984, p. 15-A. Top right; 1,050 words.

²¹¹ Mary McGrory [syndicated columnist who wrote for the *Washington Post*], “A Jackson attempt to spring the Sakharovs is worth a try,” *Atlanta Constitution*, Thursday, July 5, 1984, pp. 11-A. Top right; 1,000 words.

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- ²¹² Andrew Mollison, "Jackson's trip lacked smooth organization," *Atlanta Journal and Constitution*, Sunday, July 1, 1984, p. 6-A. Top left; 780 words. See also, Andrew Mollison, (Cox News Service) "Jackson pilgrimage hailed," *Atlanta Constitution*, Sunday, July 1, 1984, p. 6-A. Top right; 330 words.
- ²¹³ Andrew Mollison, (Cox News Service) "Jackson pilgrimage hailed," *Atlanta Constitution*, Sunday, July 1, 1984, p. 6-A. Top right; 330 words
- ²¹⁴ "Jackson's Complaints," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, July 3, 1984, p. 4. Lead editorial; 300 words.
- ²¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²¹⁶ "Democracy & Power," *Atlanta Daily World*, Tuesday, July 3, 1984, p. 1. Reprinted from June 13, 1984; second editorial; 220 words.
- ²¹⁷ "NAACP Confab Ends; Hears Candidates," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday,-Friday, July 5-6, 1984, p. 1. Left near top; 260 words.
- ²¹⁸ "Jewish Group Asks Reply From Jackson," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday,-Friday, July 5-6, 1984, p. 1. Left middle; below fold; 100 words.
- ²¹⁹ "The NAACP Convention," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday,-Friday, July 5-6, 1984, p. 4. Lead editorial; 380 words.
- ²²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²²¹ "President Warns Jackson Against Trip To Moscow," *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, July 8, 1984, p. 1. Top right; 370 words.
- ²²² *Ibid.*
- ²²³ "Walter Mondale Favored; Contest Continues To Floor: President Answer Charge On Question Of His Christianity," *Atlanta Daily World*, Thursday, July 19, 1984, p. 1. Top right; 400 words.
- ²²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²²⁵ "Jackson, Young Differ On Run-Offs: Mondale Receives Nomination; Hart Stays In Race To End," *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, July 20, 1984, p. 1. Top near right; 630 words.
- ²²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²²⁷ "An Exciting, Emotional Day," *Atlanta Daily World*, Friday, July 20, 1984, p. 4. Lead editorial; 520 words.
- ²²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²³⁰ "Jackson finds the Democrats," *Atlanta Constitution*, Thursday, July 19, 1984, p. 14-A. Lead editorial; 500 words.

²³¹ “DEMOCRATS END CONVENTION WITH DIVISION [banner headline]: Vice President Nominee Speaks; Mondale Accepts Nomination,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, July 22, 1984, p. 1. Top left; 430 words.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ “Demos Fail To Find A Real Issue,” *Atlanta Daily World*, Sunday, July 22, 1984, p. 4. Lead editorial; 340 words.

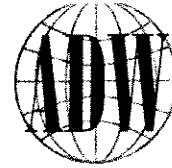
²³⁴ *Ibid.*



**Foxx Shines
As Ray
Charles
Page 7**



**DeKalb
Medical
Trainers
Page 10**



**Election
Viewpoints
Page 11**

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My Part Of The World Vote For Kerry & See My Picks In Other Contests

By M. ALEXIS SCOTT

I cannot imagine that anyone is still undecided about their pick for president of the United States for the next four years. We have a crystal clear choice.

Both President George Bush and his challenger U.S. Sen. John Kerry have revealed themselves to the nation, and there is a significant difference.

I choose John Kerry for three reasons: the War in Iraq, the economy and health care.

We as a nation cannot afford four more years of President Bush's arrogant approach to fighting against terrorism in the world. His determination to continue on the same path in the same way in the face of new and different information is frightening. His go-it-alone stance is alienating other nations that we need as partners.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3



Visual History Celebrated In ADW Exhibit

Slices of visual history will be served up at the Atlanta Daily World's first "World in Pictures" photography exhibit and auction. The event will be held on Thursday, Oct. 28 from 6:00 to 8:30 p.m. at the Atlanta Life Financial Group headquarters on Auburn Avenue.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

New Poll Question

Do you think that the media has done a good job covering election issues?

Poll Results

World Mourns Losses



Photo By M. Alexis Scott/ Inset Studio Photo circa 1940
Lucile McAllister Scott admires roses during her 103rd birthday celebration this past summer at Laurel Baye Nursing Home in Decatur, where she had been a resident since 1997. The inset photo shows her circa 1940 when she was a career woman at the Atlanta Daily World. She was the first wife Atlanta Daily World founder William A. Scott II, and grandmother of current publisher M. Alexis Scott. Also lost to the Scott Family last week was William Alexander Scott V, great-grandson of the founder and chief layout designer for the paper. See story below.

Lucile McAllister Scott, 103, Dies

Staff Reports
Lucile McAllister Scott, grandmother of the current publisher and first wife of the founder of the Atlanta Daily World, died Tuesday at age 103.

Funeral Services will be held at 11 a.m. Nov. 1 at First Congregational Church, 105 Courtland Street, with Sellers Bros. handling arrangements. Burial will be at Lincoln Cemetery.

Ms. Scott had been a resident of the Laurel Baye Nursing Home since 1997.

Known to her family as "Muddy," she was a career woman before being a career woman was the norm. At the nursing home, she was well known for her stories about her many adventures, including her great friendships with the likes of Duke Ellington and Billy Eckstine.

"Her style and class is what impressed us the most and she never failed to remind us of what a lady she was," said Toni Echols, receptionist at the nursing home. "She is a part of Atlanta history that only

us native Atlantans can appreciate."

Her long life included being a college graduate, newspaper columnist, newspaper circulation manager, editor for her sorority, a fashion model and mentor of young women, the official hostess for the first integrated political meeting place in Atlanta, an office manager for an insurance company, a mother, grandmother, great-grandmother and great-great-grandmother.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Family & Friends Remember Full Life Of World's William Alexander Scott V

Staff Reports
Hundreds of family and friends paid tribute this week to William Alexander Scott V, 24, who died Oct. 22 following a year-long battle against cancer.

Known to his family and friends as Alex, he was the great-grandson and namesake of the founder of the Atlanta Daily World. He had worked at the newspaper since 1998 and for the last three years was its chief layout designer, webmaster and computer network troubleshooter.

"We are profoundly saddened by this great loss," said Atlanta Daily World Publisher M. Alexis Scott, who was also Alex's aunt. "Our thoughts and prayers are

with his wife and their two young children."

Though he died at a young age, he lived a full lifetime. His sweet spirit and loving nature coupled with a focus and determination allowed him to accomplish things that many people only dream about.

Alex's sense of focus started early. He was born May 9, 1980 to William Alexander Scott IV and Kiawanne Lipscomb Scott (now Nichols). The middle child in the family, Alex was the neighborhood entrepreneur. He sold candy and snacks out of a cooler on the back porch to the area kids who came to swim in his family's backyard pool.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3



William Alexander "Alex" Scott V and son, William Alexander Scott VI pose in December 2002.

Presidential Candidates On The Issues

By CALVIN WOODWARD
Associated Press Writer

With less than a week before Election Day, and with polls showing President George Bush and Democratic challenger Sen. John Kerry in a statistical "dead heat," metro Atlanta voters can read highlights of the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates' positions on several issues including the economy, health-care and the Iraq war.

ABORTION

Support abortion rights?
President Bush: Only in cases of rape or incest or when a woman's life is endangered.

Democrat John Kerry: Yes.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Bush: Opposes quotas; in place of affirmative action he supports programs that, for example, help low- and middle-income families fund college, or small businesses get loans.

Kerry: Opposes quotas, but says the nation has not moved far enough along to make affirmative action unnecessary.

BUDGET

Bush: Record deficits in a time of war, terrorism and tax cuts. Says annual deficits can be cut by half in five years but has not fully explained how.

Kerry: Would cut deficit by at least half in first term, in part through repeal of Bush tax cuts for wealthiest Americans. Has not fully explained how he'd achieve goal in light of major health, education and military proposals.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

Bush Gets Bad Marks On Iraq, Performance, New Poll Says

Special to the Daily World

Senator John Kerry beats President Bush among African American voters (69 to 18 percent) according to a new poll released today by the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.

Only 22 percent of African Americans give President Bush high job ratings, 67 percent of them view him unfavorably, and almost three-quarters of them disapprove of the president's handling of Iraq.

And yet, in a surprising contradiction, more African Americans say they are willing to vote for President George W. Bush on November 2 than did in

Morehouse Homecoming Is 75

Chapter Eight: Epilogue -- M. Alexis Scott and the New *Atlanta Daily World*

M. Alexis Scott became publisher of the *Atlanta Daily World* in August of 1997 after responding to a “*family call for help.*”¹ Her vision, she said during an interview on January 10, 2005, was to “*restore the paper to its premiere status in Atlanta as a source for black news, information and inspiration.*”²

Under Alexis Scott’s stewardship, the newspaper moved into the twenty-first century with upgrades other larger newspapers had seen in prior years. In late 1997, the *World* installed a computer network for editorial and business functions, and in 1998, front-page color photographs and graphics were added, along with the first new nameplate in roughly fifty years. Alexis Scott redesigned the inside format in an attempt to better organize the newspaper and aid easier reading through the re-classification of content in the various departments, which are: communities, emphasis, vitality, spirituality, sports, viewpoints, etc. The website was launched in 1999, and total desktop electronic production was implemented in 2000. The newspaper, as it has been for decades, remains marginally profitable.

Alexis Scott, who attended Columbia University’s Barnard College and Spelman College, also said the newspaper now has fewer typographical and editing errors, as well as a more creative design. The *World* reduced the size of the newspaper in 2002 to conform to new advertising standards. The *World* launched the first-ever book review section in 2003 with the goal of having three per year in 2005. The newspaper now uses wire copy from the Associated Press.

Alexis Scott said she believes that the newspaper has lasted so long out of sheer

*“family dedication, born from a huge family tragedy with the assassination of the founder back in 1934. Family members have been determined to keep the paper going.”*³ Alexis Scott said she thinks the paper has achieved the goals of the founder *“to be a voice for black people in the southern region as stated in the first editorial of the paper, [and] now, our challenge is to restore the distribution to the high levels that it once had relative to the market that we serve.”*⁴ Currently, the *World* has an estimated 10,000 readers weekly, and there are several *“marketing initiatives in place to increase circulation. We are combining advertising plans with sponsorship opportunities to provide newspapers for schools and churches.”*⁵ Alexis Scott said the readership increased by a third since 1997 *“because of the above mentioned initiatives and the increased profile of the paper and stepped up subscription campaigns. We have also improved our means of distribution and can track subscribers through software that was installed since my arrival.”*

The *World*'s press run went from 3,600 to 4,500, under the new publisher. *“The rule of thumb in the industry is that the readership is usually two-and-a-half times the press run or distribution, because in many cases, there are two or three people per household who read it, and there's also the pass-along factor; so our readership estimates are actually conservative,”* Alexis Scott said, adding that the Media Audit, a research firm based in Houston that provides readership and viewership numbers, conducted independent research that showed 122,000 people saw the *Atlanta Daily World* during a four-week period in the fall of 2004.⁶

In order to foster an interest in newspapers among Atlanta youths, the *World* and the city's day camp program sponsors an essay contest each summer, and the *World*

distributes the papers to recreational centers when schools are closed during the summer. *“The youth are given the papers to take home to their parents,”* Alexis Scott said.⁷ *“We award three students in the essay contest with prizes of computers and \$500 each.”*⁸

The *World* has non-paid internships for college students, but several students have been sponsored on a paid basis by organizations like the National Association of Black Journalists or through a program at Georgia State University. Those who work as unpaid interns do so for the opportunity to get real-world experience and to build a portfolio of clips for future employment. *“We usually have at least three interns on board at any given time,”* Alexis Scott said.⁹

In the newsroom, employees see the newspaper primarily as a stepping stone or training ground for the reporters, Alexis Scott said, adding that this is true also for some of the business employees. *“Because we are a small business operation, we will always have people coming and going on to better paying opportunities,”* Scott said.¹⁰

The newspaper dropped its Republican slant after Alexis Scott took the helm. *“Our political philosophy at the newspaper is to practice fair journalism with an eye on those issues of critical importance to the African American community,”* Scott said.¹¹ *“On our opinion pages, we carry columns that are decidedly progressive and liberal and focus on social justice issues. We do not, however, carry editorials stating an institutional position on any policy or other issues of the day.”*¹² In lieu of carrying editorials presented as the newspaper’s position, the newspaper carries columns on its “Viewpoint” page written by guest columnists or by regulars like George E. Curry of NNPA and Earl Ofari Hutchinson, an author and political analyst. *“I decided to do that because the paper was so closely identified with the Republican Party and its position, and I wanted the*

paper to be more reflective of our readership,” Alexis Scott said, adding that only a half-dozen or so times per year, she may write a personal column that is presented solely as her own opinion and not the position of the newspaper as an institution.¹³ One such column endorsed the Democratic candidate for President in the 2004 election.

Alexis Scott said the newspaper kept the word “*daily*” in its title for tradition and because it is on line daily. “*We do update [the website] between editions and we carry daily national news provided by our website host,*” she said.¹⁴ “*We also keep it in the masthead so we can tell people about the paper’s place in the history of the black press.*” She said it is not likely that the newspaper will print daily again, primarily because “*I’m not sure there is a market or appetite for a daily at this time.*”¹⁵

So that others may learn more about the *World*, the Atlanta History Center and the newspaper developed a traveling history exhibit with a study guide in 2003. The exhibit, which is available free of charge to schools, libraries, non-profit organizations, and community groups, chronicles the generations of family management. The exhibit and study guide feature photographs circa 1940 showing employees proofreading copy or working the printing press at the *World*’s office on Auburn Avenue, as well as more contemporary photographs that show Mayor Andrew Young speaking at a rally against Apartheid in Atlanta in 1985. The study guide, which refers to the *Atlanta Daily World* as “the most influential” of the roughly twenty black newspapers founded in the United States between 1915 and 1929, speaks to the history of African American newspapers, the prominent role of the *Atlanta Daily World* in the fight for civil rights, and the importance of newspapers as examples of entrepreneurial ventures in America.

Notes for Chapter Eight

¹ M. Alexis Scott, publisher of the *Atlanta Daily World*, was interviewed by the author at the *World* office on Monday, January 10, 2005.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion -- Longevity, Its Greatest Accomplishment

The *World* was not an angry newspaper. It was not a rabble-rouser. It did not wish to fan the flames of discontent. Its job was to inform, not to inflame. This, however, did not always sit well with those who were, indeed, disgruntled with the treatment of African Americans in Atlanta, in Georgia, and in the South in general. The *Atlanta Daily World* nevertheless did its job of crusading for the rights of African Americans in its own way -- a way that perhaps was necessary to keep the newspaper afloat. It may also have been a way to keep the newspaper safe -- safe from bombings or other retaliation from white supremacist organizations; safe from alienating white political leaders, some of whom were willing to help blacks; and safe from angering white-owned business owners, some of whom advertised in the *World*. Indeed, the longevity of the newspaper could be attributed to the fact that the coverage was not explosive and incendiary, but more cautious and conservative. While this alienated the *World* from some of its readers, it helped to keep the newspaper up and running.

Using descriptive, thematic analysis and in-depth interviews, this dissertation explored the question: How has the *Atlanta Daily World* crusaded for the rights of African Americans against a backdrop of changing times, particularly during the crucial forty-year period between 1945 and 1985? The study found that the *Atlanta Daily World* did this by using the power of the press to highlight information and events important to the black community and by relying on Scott family members and others who were willing to work long hours for low wages under the leadership of the newspaper's strong-willed publisher C. A. Scott.

In short, this study of the newspaper showed that the *Atlanta Daily World* fought against lynching, pushed for voting rights and raised money to help with the defense and other expenses for several African American defendants believed to be innocent in the 1940s and 1950s. The newspaper eschewed sit-in demonstrations in an attempt to force the eateries to desegregate in the 1960s, because they seemed dangerous and counterproductive when college students wound up in jail rather than in school. The *World* railed against bombings like the one at a Birmingham church that left four girls dead but was careful about what it wrote in part for fear the *World* office could be bombed next. It initially expressed reticence about a March on Washington since the federal government often helped blacks, but it trumpeted the merits of the affair after it turned out to be a phenomenal success. The *World* ran ads for Atlanta's black businesses, as well as ads for white department stores, even when some of them still had segregated lunch counters. It endorsed Republican Presidents, but it did not endorse Atlanta's first black mayor during his first bid for the office, nor the Rev. Jesse Jackson when he ran for President. The study further found that the newspaper drew a line against the conservative agenda when the *World* wholeheartedly endorsed the merits of affirmative action. Through the years, the study showed articles on these controversial topics ran alongside news about the NAACP's next meetings, the promotions and awards presented to African American businessmen and academicians, special scholarships obtained by black college students, church news, highlights of blacks in sports, and stories about gala events held by blacks at posh downtown hotels -- the kind of information that formed the backbone of its news coverage in the African American community.

Theories of the mass media that applied to this study of the *Atlanta Daily World*

include pluralism, the marketplace of ideas, and the agenda setting function of the mass media. Pluralism maintains that even though a society is made up of various interest groups competing for power and resources, they are largely in agreement on the governing rules. This helped to explain why the *Atlanta Daily World's* management was able to work well within the existing power structure of Atlanta and still affect change through dialogue, negotiation, voting power, and discretion. In journalism, pluralism may apply to the multiplicity of ideas and information that make up a newspaper's contents.

Along these lines, the *Atlanta Daily World*, from 1928 to the present, has consistently provided coverage of events in the black community, including information about subjects such as education, churches, crime, politics, sports and social events. Aside from news articles, columns that appeared in the *World* over the years included "Seeing and Saying" and "Brass Tacks" on political and current events issues, "Social Swirl" on Atlanta's black society, "Sports of the World" about black college and professional athletes, and "Church News" on events at religious establishments. This wealth of information found in the *World* fits into the mass media theoretical concept that the media serve as a marketplace of ideas. Under this concept, when people do not like the message, then the message producer goes out of business. The *World's* conservative ideology prior to the late 1990s could have led to its demise, considering this concept; however, the multitude of other material contained in the *World* may have been so needed and well appreciated (such as the promotions of black professionals, the accomplishments of black athletes, and the photographs from galas held by black social organizations) that they drowned out the abrasive nature of its conservative political philosophies.

The agenda-setting function of the mass media, which deals with the media's ability to suggest to readers what is important, was demonstrated by the *World's* placement of news articles on its front or inside pages. Repeated coverage of certain topics also told readers which issues were most important to the newspaper throughout its history.

For some causes, the newspaper gave its readers news as medicine, which it thought readers needed rather than wanted, such as its news and editorials preaching caution and patience instead of confrontation and protest during the Civil Rights Movement, as well as its positive news and editorials about the Republican Party. The *World* knew that the majority of African Americans would never become Republicans, and that is not what it sought. It wanted 50 percent of blacks to be Republicans and the other half to be Democrats. The notion was that if African Americans split themselves between both political parties, then the Democrats and the Republicans would each fight vociferously for the black swing vote. Since the Democrats had such a stronghold on the black race, the *World* felt it essentially needed to go overboard to win support for the other team. This came in the form of endorsements of Presidents like Nixon, Reagan and the elder Bush -- even as readers and other members of the Scott family, most of whom were Democrats, balked. Although it may have seemed like C. A. Scott's support for the Republican Party was a small voice in the wilderness of the black community, there were a number of elite African American businessmen, preachers, physicians and politicians who also shared his enthusiasm for the party of Lincoln.

Throughout the newspaper's history, the Scotts have chronicled their efforts and accolades in the *Atlanta Daily World*, which served as a personal reflection of their own

standing in their community. These have included efforts to contact state or federal authorities by telegram to secure a response for some injustice, drives to raise money to buy food and clothes for the poor, the running of photographs of family members attending gala events around the city, and photographs of the publisher receiving awards from civil rights organizations. This trend, one common in the black press, shows how the families involved with a newspaper become synonymous with the publication. Speaking to its position in society, throughout the years, the *World* has run photographs of people of prestige either visiting the newspaper office or posing with family members, including Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, college founder Mary McLeod Bethune, a son of Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi, the boxer Muhammad Ali, actress/singer Lena Horne, and musician Duke Ellington.

The newspaper's position in society -- garnered from promoting the black community and from being the most successful black daily in the United States in terms of its longevity -- has manifested itself with the newspaper garnering a plethora of awards, which have been chronicled in the *World*. One example is the photograph on the second page of the newspaper on Thursday, October 24, 1985, that showed Robert Flanagan, president of the Georgia NAACP, posing with C. A. Scott after presenting Scott with the organization's Langston Hughes Award to commend Scott and the *World* for their many years of support for the NAACP's programs. The *World* has received awards from the National Association of Media Women, the World Media Association in Washington, D.C., and the Atlanta Association of Black Journalists. For running health news, such as a series on combating cancer in the black community, the *World* received community service awards and honors from organizations like the American Cancer

Society, the American Heart Association, and the American Red Cross. The Boys and Girls Clubs of America and the National Council of Negro Women, Inc., have also presented awards to the newspaper. Many of these awards addressed the newspaper's years of service -- making its longevity one of its biggest and most noteworthy accomplishments.

One of the reasons the newspaper was able to stay afloat so long is because of the tenacity of the Scott family, whose members would work long hours for low salaries. Throughout the years at least forty members of the Scott clan have worked at the *World* in positions including those of reporter, columnist, photographer, receptionist, layout designer, advertising account executive, circulation manager, billing clerk, bookkeeper, typesetter, and proofreader. Most of those working there were the siblings of the founder, their children, and their grandchildren. If a family member could not make it to work, rather than simply call in sick, the employee might ask a parent, brother, or sister to go in as a substitute that day. In its earliest years, some family members on occasion would volunteer their services merely in anticipation of getting a hotdog at lunchtime.

The *Atlanta Daily World* gave prominence to those issues that could lead to the betterment of the black community through voting, legal maneuvering, participating in social and religious events, having access to mainstream employment, becoming a part of the city's political landscape, and by being a two-party race politically -- the latter of which did not catch on with readers as the *World's* former management had hoped.

Throughout the forty-year period analyzed, the *World* promoted African American rights as part of the running themes of democracy, patriotism, level-headedness, and racial harmony. Long-time *World* publisher C. A. Scott felt the right to

vote and the use of the court system were the best avenues to promote the advancement of the black race. The *World* wrote about the tenets of democracy often to show America when it was not living up to its own doctrines by engaging in racist activities. Even in the face of racism, however, Scott appeared to believe that African Americans needed to remain calm and level-headed in an effort to keep a lid on the city and avoid the kind of violence and uprisings that wracked other urban areas.

An analysis of hundreds of articles and editorials revealed that the *Atlanta Daily World* was strongest in the 1940s and 1950s. During this time, articles on topics pertinent to the African American community were more plentiful in terms of follow-up coverage. For example, articles on some court cases, lynchings, and school desegregation ran on the front-page for weeks or even months if the topic was deemed of utmost importance. The newspaper took on more of an advocacy role during this era as well, helping blacks to register to vote and at times helping to raise money for blacks who needed legal assistance. For example, the *World* helped raise funds for the families of African Americans involved in the so-called Monroe massacre, in which two couples were lined up and killed after one of them had an altercation with a white man. At least thirty-two articles or editorials ran in the *World* on the Monroe Massacre during the two-month period from July 27, 1946, to September 29, 1946. The persistence of the *World's* coverage and dedication of front-page space, as well as the *World's* leadership in raising funds and having its representatives speak at meetings, helped this story receive widespread attention.

Another case in which the *World* became heavily involved was the Rosa Lee Ingram case, in which a mother and her teenage sons initially received the death penalty

for killing a man in self defense after the man threatened the woman with a gun. The *World* helped raise funds for the Ingram's legal defense and to assist with living expenses for the eight additional Ingram children who were left behind when their mother and brothers were incarcerated. The *World* ran at least fourteen articles or editorials between April 4, 1948, and April 20, 1948, and then followed the case through the next decade until the mother was finally released.

Voting was seen as the main source of black power by the *World's* management. The *World* apprised readers of efforts to purge hundreds of names of African Americans from the registered lists and to use other intimidation tactics. It always encouraged voting by letting readers know that blacks were being registered by the thousands, by carrying front-page photographs of blacks standing in line to vote, by providing instructions on how to use the voting equipment, and by running editorials that told of the historical struggle of African Americans to vote and how important it was to do so. By comparison, the *Atlanta Constitution* ran articles on its inside pages about voter purging and focused more on the rhetoric of former Governor Eugene Talmadge, who warned blacks to stay in their places and keep away from the white folks' ballot boxes.

The *Atlanta Daily World's* crusading went well beyond Georgia's boundaries, as the newspaper saw itself as a national newspaper at times. When justice was lost outside of Georgia, the *World* covered some of those cases. Articles about local events sometimes took a secondary position to articles about happenings in other urban areas like Chicago. For example, on Saturday, April 3, 1948, the top right corner of the newspaper had an article about a crime commission in Chicago that was investigating an alleged racket against African Americans whereby blacks were arrested on petty charges

and ordered to pay \$50 fines -- exorbitant at that time -- and to give \$10 to a court driver to take them to the bank and back to the police station.

Over the eight-day period following the May 17, 1954, United States Supreme Court ruling outlawing segregated schools, the *World* ran twenty-five articles or editorials, demonstrating what a mammoth decision this was in the history of African Americans' battle to obtain the kind of equality implied in the United States Constitution.

A more gruesome and well-publicized out-of-state case was the one involving the brutal death of Emmett Till in Mississippi in 1955. While the *World* spread banner headlines about the Till case across front of the newspaper for weeks, it opted not to publish the horrific photograph of Till's dead, battered and decomposed body, in an attempt to refrain from being too graphic or from fanning too many proverbial flames. Other black-owned newspapers, like the *Chicago Defender*, did run the photograph of Till's dead body, a move that some say helped spark the fury that led to the Civil Rights Movement just prior to the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

Lerone Bennett, Jr., executive editor emeritus of *Ebony* magazine, who worked at the *World* during the 1950s, stated during the newspaper's seventy-fifth anniversary celebration on August 7, 2003, at the Atlanta History Center that when he worked at the *World*, the newspaper was essentially the only place where black journalists could go to gain indispensable daily journalism experience. As such, C. A. Scott often has been called the "dean" of black journalists. Reporters from the *World* went on to work for newspapers like the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Washington Times*, and the *Detroit Free Press*, as well as *Ebony* and *Jet* magazines, and the UPI wire service. The newspaper's daily status helped Louis Lautier, a pioneer journalist with NNPA's

Washington, D. C. bureau, gain access to the press gallery at the United States Senate, which only was open to journalists with daily newspapers. Hence, he was able to cover Congressional news of interest to African Americans, including subjects like the United States policy toward Africa, the treatment of blacks in the armed forces, federal aid for education, and proposed anti-lynching legislation. This allowed the *World* to run some of the topics that encouraged the Scotts to put the word “world” in the nameplate due to a desire to include coverage of blacks around the world, especially Africa. Throughout the years, the *World* ran articles about Africa on the front page, including news from the Congo, accounts of civil unrest or famine, and reports of diplomatic trips prominent Atlantans took to the continent.

When the Civil Rights Movement began to pick up steam, it appeared as if the *World* started losing a little of its steam, since angry blacks had moved their struggle from the courtroom to the streets -- a move the *World* did not view as a wise one. The Montgomery bus boycott received moderate coverage, with relatively short articles that usually appeared on the front page beneath the fold of the newspaper. The first articles on the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955 were written in a very matter-of-fact style without screaming headlines or dramatic language. This marked the beginning of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s ascension to mega-star status -- a career marked by some tactics that seemed to make the *World* nervous, like sit-in demonstrations and seemingly incessant marches, but the newspaper continued to cover King and his efforts to improve the plight of African Americans. While a number of African Americans in Atlanta around this time opted to walk or catch rides with others, the black leadership did not launch an ostentatious protest of segregated busing like the one in Montgomery. Instead, the matter

in Atlanta was handled in the courts after members of the religious community filed desegregation lawsuits.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was mentioned in an innumerable number of articles from the late 1950s through the 1960s, with the focus being primarily on his teachings of non-violence. Repeated demonstrations were eschewed in the *World*, particularly the student-led sit-in demonstrations, of which the *World* disapproved in its editorials due to the potentially dangerous nature of refusing to leave white establishments after repeated requests. The *World*, nevertheless, carried short news articles (of roughly between 300 and 500 words) about the cafeteria and restaurant sit-ins in February of 1961 on its front page. The *Atlanta Inquirer*, a competing black-owned weekly, ran lengthier articles above the fold of the newspaper with bold banner headlines and photographs of participants behind bars for some of its sit-in coverage, while the mainstream *Atlanta Constitution* put its articles on the same topic on inside pages and treated them like routine police matters about trespassers.

The cautious stance of the *World* was very evident in its coverage of the March On Washington, with the very title making the *World* uneasy. The *World* called the event the March *in* Washington in an apparent attempt to make it sound less aggressive. Nevertheless, the *World* ran eighteen articles or editorials on the March on Washington in less than one month between August 25, 1963, and September 19, 1963. The *World* initially was not in favor of a march but warmed up to the idea as more African Americans made it clear that the march would not represent a trampling on the federal government -- often a proponent of African American rights -- but rather would be a symbolic coming together to dramatize a collective dismay with the second-class

treatment of blacks.

The Birmingham church bombing on September 15, 1963, garnered on-going front-page coverage with articles that were usually between 500 and 800 words long. The *Atlanta Daily World* opted to use mostly UPI articles because a multitude of stories on the subject came steadily over the wires on a daily basis, whereas the weekly *Birmingham World* newspaper provided its own coverage in Birmingham.

Sorrow continued to grip the African American community at large during this time. Partisanship was pushed aside when President John F. Kennedy was assassinated on November 22, 1963. The *Atlanta Daily World* wrote at length about the reactions from prominent black leaders in Atlanta, and a recurring theme was that Kennedy was a good friend to African Americans.

Sadness led to anger, which manifested itself in the form of urban riots in the mid-to-late 1960s. This was exactly the kind of acting out that the *World* deplored and dreaded. Coverage of the rioting emphasized that the looting, killing, arson and other destructive acts were wrong. There were editorials and front-page articles denouncing rioting in some of the nation's urban, black areas. The *World*, however, made it clear that members of the poor urban population who were participating in such acts felt disenfranchised and frustrated.

When it wanted to reach mainstream leaders to air the wishes, ideas, and dismay of the black community, the *World's* management sometimes communicated via telegrams to white political leaders. For example, when scores of African Americans were being purged from the voter lists in the 1940s, C. A. Scott, along with Charles L. Harper, president of the Atlanta branch of the NAACP, telegraphed Washington to ask

for immediate action. After the church bombing in Birmingham in 1963, the National Newspaper Publishers Association, of which Scott was an active member, sent President Kennedy a telegram urging him to use direct action to protect blacks from further violence in Alabama. The *World* publisher also wired a telegram to Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy expressing grief and sympathy after her husband was assassinated.

The black press in general has been described as a self-sacrificing entity, since black publications traditionally have not been able to pay as much as their white counterparts. Sometimes, however, the sacrifice was too high, as the *Atlanta Daily World* learned when its printing department went on strike from about 1967 to 1971 after the publisher, C. A. Scott, failed to recognize its efforts to unionize. Roughly twenty members of the printing and composing department walked off the job. The newspaper then switched to offset printing by utilizing a smaller staff of about twelve loyalists and family members.

By the 1970s and 1980s, the *World* had become a very politically conservative publication, where issues of importance to the black community fought for space with articles and editorials singing the praises of Presidents Nixon and Reagan. It parted company with the usual Republican Party line, however, when it came to the topic of affirmative action, of which the *World* was an ardent supporter. Calling affirmative action programs a legitimate tool for bringing about a more racially just society, the *World* ran articles on affirmative action across the top of the front page, and lead editorials stated the newspaper's firm support of giving special consideration to black applicants for jobs, college admissions, or government contracts in light of past discrimination.

While the *World* believed in harmony among the races, the *World* was against the

forced mass busing of African American students into white neighborhoods to attend their schools. It preferred voluntary busing only for those who wished to attend schools outside their neighborhoods. A multitude of articles and editorials let readers know that while forced segregation was not appreciated, neither was forced desegregation, if it meant requiring black children to endure long bus rides into white neighborhoods where they might be met by opposition reminiscent of scenes from the previous two decades when schools were integrated throughout the South amidst violence and shouting. The *World* was against forced mass busing but theoretically supported the concept of integrated schools.

The *World* historically stood by white politicians who helped the black community and did so even when a viable black candidate was running for mayor. The *World* did not support Maynard H. Jackson during his first bid for mayor of Atlanta in 1973, since Mayor Sam Massell, the white incumbent, had a record of responding to the black community's concerns, appointing blacks to policy-making committees, and increasing the black presence among employees at City Hall. The *World* felt he deserved a second term before turning City Hall over to a black leader during a time when more and more whites were fleeing to the suburbs -- a trend that eroded a portion of the city's tax base. After Jackson proved himself a competent politician, the *World* endorsed him for his subsequent bids for mayor in 1977 and in 1989, praising him for his efforts in the areas of affirmative action, urban revitalization in Atlanta's black business districts, crime reduction, and his handling of a sanitation workers' strike. Circulation dropped during the period from 1970 to 1985 from 30,100 to 20,000, which family members mainly attribute to declining circulations industry wide, rather than to their conservative

stance. This may be simply a rationalization, as some readers vowed not to read the *World* following glowing endorsements of arch-conservatives like President Ronald Reagan. The *World* had expressed more enthusiasm for President Nixon and noted that Nixon's ideas ranging from world peace to welfare reform were a cure for some of the ills of the nation.

Sports had long been an arena in which the *World* often was the lone voice covering the victories of African American athletes at the professional, college and high school levels in Atlanta. When Hank Aaron of the Atlanta Braves broke Babe Ruth's home run record in 1974, the *World* pictured Aaron as more than just a great athlete, but rather as someone who could help bridge the gap between the races.

The participation of African Americans in politics increased considerably during the 1970s and 1980s, and the *World* wrote extensively about blacks obtaining new political offices, ranging from city council and school board positions to judgeships. While an *Atlanta Journal* political editor questioned whether race should be an issue in a Congressional election, the *World* wrote an editorial about the importance of members of the black race maintaining control of a political position once another black had held it. Yet, the *World's* coverage of African American politicians was often unpredictable. It covered Andrew Young favorably throughout his political journey from United States Congressman to ambassador to the United Nations to mayor of Atlanta.

The *Atlanta Daily World* made mention of the issue of race being bantered about during Young's 1981 campaign for mayor. The *Atlanta Constitution* ran a photograph on the front of its City/State section with a broadly smiling black supporter of Young's white opponent (Sidney Marcus), wearing a bumper sticker attached across her shirt that read

“Shuffling Grinning Negro.” (The bumper stickers were made in retaliation to a speech by a black leader who criticized members of his race who supported Marcus.) On its front page during this time, the *Atlanta Constitution* was running a series called “Black And Poor In Atlanta,” which highlighted African Americans living in dire conditions, ironically in a city with a considerable population of black, educated, upper-middleclass residents (partly the result of having a consortium of five black institutions of higher learning in the city). While it may have been a well-intentioned attempt to bring attention to the plight of the disadvantaged, it contributed to some of the complaints blacks have had with the mainstream press in Atlanta for decades -- that it either showcased poverty and ignorance among uneducated blacks, or infighting and buffoonery among the more educated ones.

Criticism of the mainstream press has always helped keep the black press alive. The *World*, however, was not always the antidote to its white counterparts. For example, the *World* was not prepared to endorse a Democrat when America got its first viable African American candidate for President in 1984 in the form of Jesse Jackson. Rather than quote Jackson’s passionate speech during the convention, the *World* focused on division within the Democratic Party and the frustration African Americans felt since Jackson’s four minority planks were defeated. The *World* remained indifferent to the Democratic Party, often conspicuously omitting the party affiliations of black Democratic state legislators, as it did in an article about the 1977 opening of the Georgia General Assembly and the types of measures different black lawmakers were hoping to push. On the contrary, political party-affiliation was mentioned in a bevy of articles on black Republicans. This infrequently seen political enclave of African American Republicans

was revealed to readers of the *World*, with professors, clergy, professionals, and community activists being quoted on the merits of the Republican Party.

Despite changes in the Republican Party, some blacks, like C. A. Scott, looked to the party's roots for their reasons for continued loyalty. In outlining the historical context for black conservatism, Ronald W. Walters wrote that "economic motives, as well as a fealty toward Abraham Lincoln, considered the 'Great Emancipator,' were the basis of continued Black association with the Republican party. Blacks tried to use the party as a facilitator of their economic interests even as they supported the civil rights aspirations of their communities."¹ A discussion of conservative black thought often conjures the image of Booker T. Washington, one of America's most well-known black conservatives in the earlier part of the Twentieth Century who felt that "to reach the highest position," blacks should look to education, morality, entrepreneurship, and self-help.² A well-respected black Republican in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century (when most blacks were Republicans) was Frederick Douglass, who emphasized a maximization of individual rights, legal equality, and political participation, as well as the transformation of freed slaves from "destitute peasants tied to the land to free laborers and entrepreneurs, participating as equals in the southern economy."³ C. A. Scott held on to the idealism of the Republican Party as the party of Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass.

In more recent times, Walters noted, contemporary black Republicans have advised that blacks should "be adherents of both political parties, because if most of them are loyal to a single party, it will take them for granted."⁴ This, too, is a view the Scotts pointed to as a reason for urging more blacks to become Republicans. C. A. Scott, however, did not exhibit all of characteristics Walters provided to describe the more

staunch neo-conservatives like U. S. Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas and communications professional Armstrong Williams. Walters concluded that most of the new black conservatives accept accommodation as the mode for achieving self-development and self-advancement; adopt the white community's values, goals and leadership; negate and distort the validity of black values, including the struggle against white racism, and view blacks as the major cause of their arrested development; support issues that are often incompatible with the black agenda; hold established conservative views on policy values and operational issues; hold deep hostility toward traditional methods of achieving black progress, such as those developed by the Civil Rights Movement and towards the leadership that attempted to actualize such methods.⁵

C. A. Scott did not fall squarely into this group. He used behind-the-scenes negotiations with white political, civic, and business leaders to help make strides that he thought would benefit the black community as well as his newspaper. He placed articles on the Civil Rights Movement on the front page of the newspaper on a daily basis in the late 1950s through the late 1960s. He believed whole-heartedly in the merits of affirmative action. In addition, he pushed for blacks to maintain control of any political position that another African American had already succeeded in attaining. Unlike the black conservatives who Walters described as separating themselves from the black community, Scott stayed true to supporting, working in, and living in the black community.

Scott perhaps was more of a visionary who could see how more liberal public policies could lead to the decline of the black family through welfare laws that financially rewarded mothers who were not married to their children's fathers, and how

integrating white corporate America could lead to a decline in black entrepreneurship, of which Atlanta's Auburn Avenue was once a beacon. Others say that Scott simply was at odds with some of Atlanta's older Democratic black leaders on occasion and used his newspaper to counteract his sometime adversaries. Still others insist that the dangers inherent in growing up black in Mississippi during the earlier part of the Twentieth Century, as Scott did, shaped his perspective and made him fearful of being too radical.

A significant cadre of Atlanta's older black leadership consisted of Republicans, including C. A. Scott, John Wesley Dobbs (the maternal grandfather of former Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson), and the Rev. Martin Luther King, Sr. (known as "Daddy King"), as well as city councilman John Calhoun (who was very active in the local NAACP, and who once hid in the *Atlanta Daily World's* office when white vigilantes were demanding a copy of the Atlanta's NAACP membership roster), the Rev. W. W. Witherspool, and Dr. Lee Shelton, a prominent surgeon. While a number of them, including Dobbs and King, Sr., later became Democrats, others, like Scott, stuck with the Republican Party for theoretical reasons that had more to do with making sure blacks were still at the table when Republican leadership was in power than with attempting to push conservative ideology. Scott also was a stubborn leader who balked at the new black leadership emerging in Atlanta and wished to set himself apart from it. The fact that Scott voted for Lyndon B. Johnson, a Democrat, for President when the Republican candidate, Barry Goldwater, did not support the Civil Rights Bill in 1964, and later came out in favor of affirmative action, showed that Scott was not simply a puppet of the Republican Party.

The *Atlanta Daily World* seemed to transform itself with each decade, making it

difficult to pigeonhole. During the period between 1945 and 1985, the *World* went from being a powerful advocate in the struggle for judicial and voting rights for African Americans to being a commanding promoter of conservative political values -- a stance that may have helped with advertising from white-owned businesses but hurt its circulation and reputation in Atlanta's African American community. Criticism of the newspaper manifested itself in letters to the editor, personal letters to the publisher, criticism in other black newspapers, and actions of paper carriers who may not have peddled the paper as hard as if the content had been more liberal. Some readers said they vowed never to buy the newspaper again. The newspaper was picketed for not endorsing Maynard Jackson, an African American, for mayor of Atlanta when he first ran.

Members of the Scott family who had control of the newspaper during this time remained undaunted and steadfast in their conservative beliefs. Ultimately, Scott family members said they believe readers forgave the *World* for having a minority view within the black community and that readers continued to depend on the *World* to publish news about their accomplishments, meetings and events in a more timely fashion than competing newspapers that came out weekly. In other words, the role of the newspaper in disseminating valuable black-oriented news overrode its occasional unpopular political editorials and front-page news on Republicans. C. A. Scott carried on his futile quest to usher African Americans into a dual-party, racially harmonious society -- one likely never to exist in a residentially segregated society with a Jim Crow past. All the time, he had in mind the betterment of the status of the black race. If he were alive today, he likely would point out that it was the Republican Party -- the same one that freed the slaves -- that put two African Americans into the esteemed position of United States Secretary of

State. Although the *World* was pro-Republican under C. A. Scott, it was always pro-African American rights.

This conservative view never caught on in the African American community and was an albatross that some family members wished to remove from around the proverbial neck of the newspaper.

In 1997, a new phase began at the *Atlanta Daily World*, with a new publisher, a more neutral political philosophy, a website, and a face-lift including a splash of color. The *Atlanta Daily World*, as envisioned by M. Alexis Scott, the granddaughter of the founder, eschews allegiance to any political party but is more progressive and liberal. In 2003, the newspaper reached a milestone -- its seventh-fifth anniversary, which helped the newspaper acquire long-awaited recognition. The new publisher has shied away from printing institutional editorials presented as the *World's* position and opts to run columns from various writers with a much more progressive, liberal bent. During one of the half-dozen or so occasions when M. Alexis Scott, did decide to run a personal column, it was to endorse a Democratic candidate for President in the 2004 election.

The *Atlanta Daily World*, now a weekly (it kept "daily" in the name for historical reasons and because the paper's website is updated daily), continues to struggle like other black-owned newspapers to find its new role in an integrated society at a time when blacks are more assimilated than ever into the fabric of American society.

This dissertation contributes to the study of journalism history because it is the first in-depth scholarly study on the *Atlanta Daily World*, the longest-publishing African American daily newspaper in the country. It shows the efforts of a conservative black newspaper to publish in a period of great social struggle dominated by liberal ideas, while

expanding the black public sphere to include a conservative viewpoint. The *World* demonstrates that the African American community is not always a politically and ideologically homogeneous society. It shows how the *World* managed to maintain itself as a voice of middle-class African American belief in the democratic process by highlighting voting and the use of the court system as ways to bring about equality.

Notes for Chapter Nine

¹ Ronald W. Walters, *White Nationalism, Black Interests: Conservative Public Policy and the Black Community* (Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 2003) p. 227.

² Sidnel M. Wilhelm, *Who Needs the Negro?* (Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1970), p. 50.

³ Peter Eisenstadt, "Southern Black Conservatism, 1865-1945" in *Black Conservatism: Essays in Intellectual and Political Theory* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999), p. 52.

⁴ Walters, *White Nationalism, Black Interests*, p. 227.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

Appendices

A partial list of the Scott Newspaper Syndicate newspapers printed at the *Atlanta Daily World* office is provided below, followed by a copy of a Scott Newspaper Syndicate brochure. The list was printed in Sadie Mae Oliver's 1942 thesis at Hampton Institute called "The History and Development of the *Atlanta Daily World*: the nation's only Negro daily newspaper."

Newspaper	City
<i>Alabama Tribune</i>	Montgomery, Alabama
<i>Arkansas World</i>	Little Rock, Arkansas
<i>Atlantic City Eagle</i>	Atlantic City, New Jersey
<i>Birmingham World</i>	Birmingham, Alabama
<i>Capital City Post</i>	Tallahassee, Florida
<i>Chattanooga Observer</i>	Chattanooga, Tennessee
<i>Cincinnati Observer</i>	Cincinnati, Ohio
<i>Cleveland Guide</i>	Cleveland, Ohio
<i>Detroit World Echo</i>	Detroit, Michigan
<i>District Baptist</i>	Bastrop, Louisiana
<i>East Tennessee News</i>	Knoxville, Tennessee
<i>Falls City News</i>	Louisville, Kentucky
<i>Flint Brownsville News</i>	Flint, Michigan
<i>Galveston Voice</i>	Galveston, Texas
<i>Hamtramck Echo</i>	Hamtramck, Michigan
<i>Illinois Times</i>	Danville, Illinois
<i>Iowa Observer</i>	Des Moines, Iowa
<i>Jackson Advocate</i>	Jackson, Mississippi
<i>Lansing Echo</i>	Lansing, Michigan
<i>Lighthouse and Informer</i>	Charles, South Carolina
<i>Macomb County Echo</i>	Mt. Clemens, Michigan
<i>Memphis World</i>	Memphis, Tennessee
<i>Pensacola Courier</i>	Pensacola, Florida
<i>Phoenix Index</i>	Phoenix, Arizona
<i>Pontiac Echo</i>	Pontiac, Michigan
<i>Shreveport World</i>	Shreveport, Louisiana
<i>Southwest Georgian</i>	Albany, Georgia
<i>Southwest Torch</i>	El Paso, Texas
<i>Sunlight</i>	Pine Bluff, Arkansas
<i>Toledo Voice</i>	Toledo, Ohio
<i>Trenton World</i>	Trenton, New Jersey
<i>Tri-State News</i>	Huntington, West Virginia
<i>Tropical Dispatch</i>	Miami, Florida
<i>Twin-City Tribune</i>	Monroe, Louisiana
<i>Vicksburg American</i>	Vicksburg, Mississippi
<i>Winston-Salem Telegram</i>	Winston-Salem, North Carolina

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

To

PUBLISHERS

And

PROSPECTIVE PUBLISHERS

of

S. N. S.

Papers

(Contents)

INTRODUCTION
PRINTING COST
CONTENTS
INSTRUCTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS
SUMMARY OF GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS
HOW TO GET STARTED IN RIGHT WAY
CIRCULATION INCOME
GETTING AND KEEPING CIRCULATION
ADVERTISING INCOME
IMPORTANT NOTE
CONCLUSION

SCOTT NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE, Inc.,

W.A. Scott Founder C.A. Scott Gen. Mgr.
210 Auburn Ave., N. E.

Atlanta, Ga.

210 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

INTRODUCTION

we In this pamphlet I have tried to include all information needed to start publishing an S. N. S. paper. Although this is a pamphlet, every word of it is highly important. Therefore, let me strongly urge that you acquaint yourself with every detail before getting started and do not write asking any questions at all until you have read and re-read this entire booklet.

we First, I want to make it absolutely clear that you are the owner and publisher of the paper. We are only the printers. The prices quoted herein are just enough to cover cost of printing, and they include no profit. Our profit comes from national advertising carried. This we expect to average about \$2.00 per paper net.

It must also be clearly understood that no credit whatever can be extended, as all prices are based on cash payments.

Each week you will have to mail your local news and advertising by special delivery in envelopes furnished by us. (Use Air Mail if it quicker). It will reach us on schedule; we will print on schedule, ship on schedule and your paper will arrive on schedule.

REQUIREMENTS

Our only requirement is that you make us a standing deposit of \$10 which remains on hand so long as we print the paper you publish and will be returned to you when we cease, provided all monies owed have been paid. This deposit entitles you to membership in the organization, as well as advertising placards and dodgers free of charge.

Membership in the organization gives the various publishers the advantage of national news and features at no extra cost, which would mean an investment of from fifteen to twenty-five dollars if they were purchased individually.

Although it will lessen the amount of the C.O.D. shipment of your papers each week to send in a deposit, we do not specifically make this request of publishers who have qualified for membership. Therefore, the \$10 standing deposit entitles you to the privilege of having your papers sent C.O.D. for the full amount due each week.

PRINTING COST

The paper will contain eighteen pages and the lowest number of copies any publisher can order is 200 which will cost \$13.00. At this price you may insert only two galleys, which is equal to two full columns of local news. It takes 3 full, double-spaced, type-written pages, 10 inches deep and 66 typewriter spaces wide, to make one galley of type. Part of it may go on the front page, Society, Editorial, or Sports pages. For each additional copy above 200 you will pay 3c per copy or

Page 3

\$3.00 per hundred. All prices include transportation charges.

WHENEVER LOCAL NEWS INSERTED EXCEEDS THE NUMBER OF GALLEYS ALLOWED, IT WILL BE CHARGED FOR AT THE RATE OF 90c PER GALLEY. (A galley of type is the same as a full 20-inch column).

Local advertising may be inserted for 6c per column inch, and re-run advertising may be inserted for 2c per column inch. A column inch is a space one column wide and one inch deep. You should sell it at rates ranging from 25c to 50c, depending upon the rates charged by your local dailies. Money to pay for first run and re-run advertising, additional copies and additional composition will be added in the balance due C. O. D.

An order for the number of copies wanted must be received in this office each week not later than Monday morning as the second section and the rotogravure sheets for all of the papers are printed on Monday, and they will not be printed for any paper which has not sent an order to guarantee their use that week.

Personal checks will not be accepted unless certified.

When the full amount to cover the complete cost of the week's issue is not sent with the last batch of copy, the papers will ALWAYS be shipped C. O. D. for the balance due.

Quite a few of the publishers figure the cost of the papers each week and enclose a money order for the full amount with their copy and the papers are sent open account. They figure as near as they can and if there is a balance due of less than \$2, this amount is carried forward to the next issue. This is a much better way to handle the bill each week as it is more convenient and does away with the necessity of having a lot of cash on hand to pay the C. O. D. *\$3.25*

K25 If cuts are to be made for the black and white section, the cost will be ~~2.00~~ for a single column cut, and ~~3.00~~ for a double column cut. These are approximate costs and will vary slightly. The money should accompany the picture. When it is not paid in advance the amount will be added to the cost of your paper for the week and included in the C. O. D.

In view of the fact that a paper must have a definite income from circulation on which it can depend at regular intervals, we urge all publishers to start with a paper which can be sold for ten cents, since the income from it will be double that from a paper which sells for less.

CONTENTS OF PAPER

Page—

First Section

1. National and Local News
2. Sports News
3. Local Society News and Advertising

4. Story Page
5. Woman's Page
6. Editorial Page

Page— **Second Section**

7. General National News and Pictures
8. General National and Society News
9. News
10. Sports
11. News
12. Realm of Culture
13. Comics
14. News

The above fourteen pages will be full newspaper size and the other four pages will be the rotogravure sheet which is tabloid size.

After making a detailed study and investigation of local conditions, taking into consideration the competition offered by other publications, economic status of the community in general, etc., if you decide that a success cannot be made of a ten cent paper, we can print one which will sell for five cents at the following rates: \$11. for the first 200 copies; \$1.50 per 100 for additional copies up to a thousand and \$1.25 per 100 for additional copies over a thousand.

The advertising rates and the composition allowance for this paper will be the same as those quoted above for the ten cent paper.

The paper will consist of six pages black and white, having the same contents as those outlined for the first section of the ten cent paper, and the four page rotogravure section, making a total of ten pages.

The membership requirements are the same whether you publish a ten or five cent paper.

INSTRUCTIONS AND SUGGESTIONS TO EACH PUBLISHER, WHICH MUST BE CAREFULLY OBSERVED TO INSURE PROMPT AND SATISFACTORY SERVICE.

This office will supply you with self-addressed envelopes marked "Special Delivery" to be used in dispatching copy. A Special Delivery stamp and the proper amount of postage should always be placed on each dispatch. If the package cannot be weighed, it is far better to put too much postage on it than not enough.

1. Society and club news, personal mention and church news are the most important kinds and sell your paper much faster. Do not send in editorials at the outset. We can supply an appropriate introductory editorial for your first issue. Do not make your church news too long. Mention as many names as possible. Do not show favoritism in selecting news. One humble person's name in the paper will cause him or her to tell 500 friends. Therefore, cater to the masses. Make friends everywhere. Do not have someone to write a column or essay in the beginning. In other words, use all of your space in carrying news of the common people.

2. Type all copy **DOUBLE SPACED**, leaving ample room for the writing of heads for each article. See to it that all names are legibly and correctly spelled. Use **ONE** side of the paper only and let it be a uniform size of paper. Do not use small pieces.

We can supply enough copy paper for 3 months for 50c. Send in your order with your copy any week and it will be shipped to you.

3. Remember that a headline story should be at least six inches long (approximately one sheet of copy paper double spaced). Indicate which stories you want for the headlines.

4. **CUTS** enliven your paper and make it more interesting to your readers. Send in as many as you can get already made.

5. Try to send in at least three **GOOD** news stories of reasonable length for the front page each week. Important sports and society articles should be marked: "important."

6. It is most important that your ad copy be distinct and legible. If you must use a pencil, be sure that it will not smear so that we cannot read the copy clearly. Prices, especially, must be plainly written.

7. Most important of all, mark every separate page or part of a page clearly in the **UPPER RIGHT HAND** corner with the name of the town in which your paper is published on each page, not the whole name, just Lexington, Miami, Jackson, Winston-Salem, or whatever it may be. This marking should appear also on the advertising copy.

If this is not carried out each week, it will be necessary for us to have a stamp made with which to mark your copy and charge the expense to your account.

8. A list of ads to be run must be included, giving the name of the advertiser and the size of the ad. On this same page also should be a list of the ads to be re-run, which were held up from the previous week.

Also cut out the ads to be re-run from the issue of the previous week and paste them on a sheet of paper. This will enable us to locate them quickly, and prevents any insertion being missed. When an ad misses an insertion for two weeks, it is counted a first run.

9. Unmounted pictures are all that are required for the "GRAVURE WEEKLY," with eighteen or twenty words of reading matter. No cuts can be used in the GRAVURE WEEKLY.

Below are several points, which must be observed in sending in your pictures:

(a) Each paper should by all means carry one picture each week, so that local competitors and knockers will not say that no local pictures are carried.

(b) All pictures must be sent in two weeks at a time, as two issues of the GRAVURE WEEKLY are printed at a time.

(c) These pictures must be in this office three weeks before the Saturday on which the first of the

two issues printed is published.

(d) Send in recently taken pictures of attractive young women, babies, etc. Do not send in pictures from albums, or old, out of date pictures, as they cannot be used, and they detract rather than help. The more attractive a picture is, the "larger" the GRAVURE editor makes it, and if it is extremely attractive, it goes on the front page, consequently aiding the local paper whose picture is on the front page. Gloss prints are preferable to tinted photographs.

(e) A picture of the leading minister or principal of the leading high school is a good investment since they will be obligated to advertise the paper from the pulpit or school platform. These can be run free, especially if they agree to urge the members, or the children and faculty members to buy the paper in which the picture appears.

(f) BE SURE TO SEND IN AT LEAST ONE PICTURE EACH WEEK AND SEND IT IN ON TIME.

(g) Always mark the name of the paper and the person whose picture it is on the back of the picture, and remember that not more than fifteen or twenty words can be used under a picture.

(h) Carefully wrap each picture in corrugated or stiff cardboard to prevent bending.

(i) Each paper ordering at least 300 copies per week is allowed one picture per week in the GRAVURE WEEKLY.

10. NEVER MISS AN ISSUE. First, because at least 10 percent and sometimes as high as 20 percent of the subscribers of any paper are lost, when one issue is skipped. A number of them will be following continued stories, etc., and will become angry because they have to miss an installment. Secondly, we will be forced to charge \$4.00 to pay for the brown sheets, which have been already printed, and the time of the eight or ten men, who are scheduled to work on your paper at a certain time for a certain number of hours each week. These men must be paid each week and cannot be laid off during the time they are supposed to be working on your paper.

11. If possible, all news and advertising matter should be enclosed in one large envelope and sent in one batch. Always when the last batch is sent, state the number of papers wanted and say that there will be no more copy or advertising to follow.

Copy must be marked FINAL or HOLD FOR MORE COPY. If a batch is received and it is not marked, we will not hold it up, but will send it through without waiting to see if more copy is to arrive.

Any copy coming after paper has been printed will be returned for the next week's issue.

SUMMARY OF GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

Unless the above instructions are carried out to the letter, we cannot guarantee anything like prompt and

satisfactory service. The first week your paper starts, you will be given a definite time each week in which to mail your copy.

1. Follow a definite schedule for mailing your copy. Try to send it all in one batch if possible. ALWAYS MAIL COPY BY SPECIAL DELIVERY.

2. Mark each piece of copy.

3. Write on one side of paper only. Typewrite copy whenever possible.

4. List first run and re-run ads. ALWAYS SEND COPY ON ADS.

5. Condense all news matter and carefully edit it before mailing.

6. Send in at least one attractive local picture for each week in ample time for publication.

7. Never fail to order the desired number of copies each week.

8. Always state if more copy is to come. MARK FINAL COPY OR STATE IF WE ARE TO GO TO PRESS.

9. In short, give us every ounce of cooperation possible. We are leaving no stone unturned to build an organization here which will enable you to publish a paper at a real profit to you.

HOW TO GET STARTED IN THE RIGHT WAY

If your paper is to live, it must do two things—first produce enough revenue to pay the printing bill, and secondly, enough revenue to pay your living expenses and a profit for your time. Therefore, the most important thing is getting started right.

There are just two main sources of income—advertising and circulation. It is highly important that you fix it clearly in your mind that circulation income is much superior to advertising income, because it can be depended upon week in and week out. Twelve or fifteen advertisers will quit much quicker than four or five hundred subscribers.

I attribute my success with the "ATLANTA DAILY WORLD," our only Negro daily, to the fact that I have always depended upon three-fourths of my income from circulation and one-fourth from advertising. Therefore, after four years of successful experience depending upon income from circulation, I am in position to highly recommend it.

CIRCULATION INCOME

The next question is how to build circulation income! When the publication date of your first issue is fixed you should then put up placards in public places throughout the city and distribute dodgers throughout the residential sections. We will supply specially prepared placards and dodgers free when your deposit of \$10.00 is made.

After these have been thoroughly distributed, you should call on every pastor in your city personally,

make his acquaintance, tell him of your plans, pledge him your cooperation in publishing his news, and ask for his cooperation in return in either allowing you to speak in behalf of your paper, or announcing the appearance of your paper and urging everyone in his congregation to read it. This step is very important, as the pastors have more influence over the people than anyone else, and it is highly advisable that you make friends with every pastor in your city.

You will next begin a house-to-house canvass, soliciting subscribers, having them sign subscription blanks, which can be supplied by us free of charge. Ask each person to subscribe for three months at 10c per week, and then it will be up to you to keep them going.

The following points may be used in soliciting:

1. Your paper will be a large local paper, carrying all of the local news and national news, in addition to contents listed elsewhere in this pamphlet. Dwell on these features one by one, especially the rotogravure section.

2. It will furnish employment for local boys and girls and is a part of an organization which employs more than a hundred and fifty men and women full time and upwards of 2,500 news boys and girls. If the prospect has a child, ask her what she is educating him or her to do, and where her child will find a job?

3. Be sure to bring out the fact that she will be helping to build a race enterprise, which will bring to her important news events of the world that affect the Negro and will come to her defense whenever the occasion arises. Several other sales arguments may be developed out of the three above mentioned.

To begin with, I strongly urge that you do not use any boys at all. Until your subscription list exceeds 500, you should throw all of the papers yourself and do all the collecting.

You might pay a boy 50c or \$1.00 to help you to throw the papers. If you follow this method on 500 subscribers, you should collect at least 90%, which is \$45. 500 papers including extra news and ads will cost about \$25.00, allowing a profit of about \$22.00 from circulation alone.

You should order at least 50 papers more than needed for regular subscribers. These should be sold as you cover your route, and the remaining copies, if any, should be sold on the streets Saturday afternoon to the people who come to the city to shop.

Continue to build your circulation income until you have satisfied yourself beyond all doubt that every person in your city who is able to pay a dime a week is buying your paper. You will then have no trouble paying the C. O. D. on your papers when they arrive. It will be far more convenient to send all of your money when you mail your copy, and when your

papers arrive, there will be no hitch.

HOW TO BUILD CIRCULATION INCOME

IMPORTANT NOTE:—The following information was prepared by J. E. Oakes, who is by far the most successful and experienced circulation man we have in the organization.

On the 10c paper, it is better for you to handle and collect for the first four or five hundred papers, and then use the newsboy system outlined for additional circulation.

GETTING AND KEEPING CIRCULATION

Getting a subscriber for a colored newspaper is best done by the independent carrier or "little merchant" plan. A new newspaper in a new town cannot be sold on merit alone.

It is assumed that the paper will be full of live news and pictures, both local and national. In short, you have a good paper, and your problem is to sell it.

There are only two ways you can handle circulation. Either you will have to lay out the town in routes and assign a boy to each route, or you will have to get a large number of boys and let them sell the paper wherever they can. The first system is the "route system" and is rarely successful in establishing a paper. The second is the "little merchant" system and the one we shall discuss.

In the "little merchant" plan, every boy is his own boss, buying the papers from you and selling them everywhere. You are really selling the boy and not the paper. People who never read a colored newspaper will buy one to help out their favorite youngster.

The simplest way to operate this plan is as follows: Go to each school in your community. First ask for news. Write up the principal and all of the activities. After securing the school's good will, ask for permission to get boys to sell papers.

Go to each room from the fourth grade up. Explain your proposition and ask for volunteers. You will get plenty, mostly boys. Get all of the boys together. Have a copy of an "ATLANTA WORLD," or dummy of what your paper will look like, and a brown sheet. Explain in detail all of the features of the paper and emphasize that the paper will print local news.

Explain carefully the rate. If the paper sells for 10c, let the rate be 6c to the boy. You might sell the paper for 5c after a sufficient volume is secured by the best boys. At first, sell no papers to boys less than 6c. If you can do so, start with 6½c or 7c. Then when the kick comes, you can drop the price.

Have a form letter written and addressed to the parents, stating that their boy has been recommended as a hustler by his teacher, etc., and that you are anxious for him to sell papers, what the rate is, etc.

that you would like to have the parents' consent, etc., and trust that they will allow their boy to sell the papers.

Ask each boy to get as many subscribers as he can. This should be done a week before the first issue arrives. When the paper comes, go to the schools, give each boy the number of papers he wants, plus extras. Arrange with the principal for the boys to bring their money to school the following Monday.

Try to contact the boys at school entirely. If not, see some at their homes, and let others come to your office. Get as much money as possible on Sunday. Give the boy return privileges until your circulation is built. Since you are selling the boy and not the paper, nurse the boy, talk with his parents, have meetings, give prizes, free movies, etc.

Keeping circulation depends upon how hard you work and how well you plan. Get up early, work late, collect from the boys, and get new ones. When the paper is established and people ask for it, you can use the "route system" and sell the paper on its merits.

ADVERTISING INCOME

While I emphatically urge that you arrange to get three-fourths of your income from circulation each week, I do not mean that advertising possibilities should be overlooked or under-estimated.

The best way to build advertising income at the start is to call on every local business man, one by one, and explain your program. Be able to answer any questions they might ask and sell them an ad to be run weekly for at least four weeks for any rate you can get per inch. Use a uniform rate for all. Get them to spend from 50c to \$5 each, per week. The rate per inch should range from 25c to 50c. (Note: A newspaper inch is a space one column wide and one inch deep).

You can sell this advertising with the argument, first that it will be effective, due to the novelty of the new paper and, second, impress them with what it means to have a local paper, which will enable them to publish their advertising and news matter as they desire and when they desire. Several other arguments can be used, basing them on local conditions.

I would suggest that you not try to collect the first week in advance. Use your own capital or borrow \$12 to pay for the first issue and arrange to collect for the ads after the first issue appears in the city.

This is exactly the method I used in starting the ATLANTA WORLD as a weekly paper more than four years ago, and IT WILL WORK TODAY. Do not make any exaggerated circulation claims in selling advertising.

You should start work two weeks before your paper appears. Spend about ten days soliciting subscribers, going to every home in the city and about three

days in selling advertising.

CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion, I wish to say that these same general instructions were sent out the third week in January and in fourteen weeks 48 papers had started publication. Practically all of them took the advice contained herein and are succeeding.

The information in this pamphlet is the result of five years experience in newspaper publication and each word of advice is based on actual experience. Therefore, after you have read and understood everything contained here, ACT NOW. Get started in the city of your choice next week. DON'T LET ANOTHER MAN BEAT YOU TO IT. There are only about 40 important cities in the United States that are not occupied by SCOTT NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE members and in sixty days, every one of these is likely to be taken.

Address all correspondence to the SCOTT NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE, Inc., W. A. Scott, General Manager, 210 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Ga.

Trusting that the contents of this pamphlet will enable you to get started successfully in one of the open cities and that you will be making a splendid profit in four weeks time as other members have done, I am

Yours for an S. N. S. paper everywhere
SCOTT NEWSPAPER SYNDICATE, Inc.
W. A. SCOTT, General Manager.

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The primary sources used for this dissertation include in-depth interviews conducted with the owners, employees, and former employees of the *Atlanta Daily World* listed below, as well as back issues on microfilm and more recent issues of the *Atlanta Daily World*, which were studied at the Auburn Avenue Research Library of African American Culture and History.

George M. Coleman, interview by the author, Atlanta, Ga., November 11, 1999.

Curtis Cooper, interview by the author, Atlanta, Ga., November 7, 1999.

William A. Fowlkes, interview by the author, Atlanta, Ga., November 5, 1999.

Ernest Lyons, Sr., interview by the author, Atlanta, Ga., November 29, 1999.

Cornelius A. Scott, interview by the author, Atlanta, Ga., April 30, 1999.

M. Alexis Scott, interview by the author, Atlanta, Ga., January 10, 2005.

Portia Scott, interview by the author, Atlanta, Ga., January 16, 2005.

Ruth Scott Simmons, interview by the author, Atlanta, Ga., November 2, 1999.

Archival Materials

Othello "Chico" Renfroe collection, ca. 1938-1991. Catalogued as part of the Georgia Archives and Manuscripts Automated Access Project: A Special Collections Gateway Program of the University Center in Georgia. (Renfroe was sports editor at the *ADW*.)

General Instructions to Publishers and Prospective Publishers of S.N.S. Papers, Scott Newspaper Syndicate, Inc., 210 Auburn Avenue, N.E. Atlanta, Georgia. A brochure that includes an introduction, printing cost, contents, instructions and suggestions, summary of general instructions, how to get started right way, circulation income, getting and keeping circulation, advertising income, an important note, and conclusion. From publisher M. Alexis Scott's personal archives.

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