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[Organized Crime](#)

[Celebrity Crime](#)

[Serial Killers](#)

[Corruption](#)

[Sex Crimes](#)

[Capital Punishment](#)

[Prisons](#)

[Assassinations](#)

[Justice Issues](#)

[Crime Books](#)

[Crime Films](#)

[Crime Studies](#)

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March 14, 2005



Leo Frank (photograph c. 1915)

The Lynching of Leo Frank

by [Denise Noe](#)

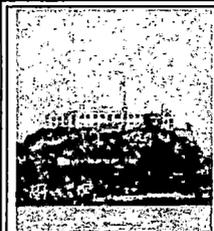
At approximately 3 a.m. on Sunday, April 27, 1913, the night watchman of the National Pencil Company in Atlanta discovered a girl's brutally battered body in the factory's basement. Covered with sawdust, her skull was caked with dried blood, her eyes were bruised, her face slashed and some of her fingers out of joint. A piece of rope, along with a strip taken from her own underpants, encircled her



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neck.

She was soon identified as 13-year-old Mary Phagan, the child of a working-class family. She had been employed at the factory putting metal tips on pencils. She had recently been laid off because the factory had run out of the metal required for her job. On Saturday, April 26, 1913, Confederate Memorial Day in Atlanta, she planned to see the parade but first wanted to stop off at the factory to collect \$1.20 in wages owed her.

The killing captured the next day's headlines and news about it would appear on the front pages of Atlanta newspapers for more than a year afterward. Much of Atlanta suffered a paroxysm of grief over this murder. About 10,000 people showed up at the morgue and over 1,000 attended her funeral. Those grieving over this stranger were nicknamed "Mary's People" while she became known as "the little factory girl."

The crime touched an exposed nerve because it symbolized the vulnerability of young women during a time when the South was transitioning from a rural to an urban economy. During the first two decades of the 20th century many ruined farmers migrated to the city where they, their wives, and often their children, got jobs in factories.

In death, Mary Phagan became the psychological sister and daughter of many Georgians because her killing symbolized the deepest fears they had for their own female relatives and young women in general. Public outcry meant the police were under tremendous pressure to solve this homicide. Atlanta's mayor warned the police: "Find this murderer fast, or be fired!"

Two semi-literate notes were found beside her corpse. One read: "Mam that negro hire down here did this i went to make water and he push me down that hole a long tall negro



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[American Lynchings](#)

Writers' Archives

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[J. D. Chandler](#)

[Ron Chepesiuk](#)

[Denise M. Clark](#)

[Peter Davidson](#)

black that hoo it wase long sleam tall negro
I wright while play with me." The other read:
"he said he wood love me land down play
like the night witch did it but that long tall
black negro did buy his slef."

The notes appeared to point to the night
watchman who had found her body, an
African- American named Newt Lee who
was tall, slim and dark skinned. "Night
witch" could be a misspelling of "night
watch." Lee was arrested. Police held him
while arresting others. The "hole" referred to
seemed to be the factory chute.

But police attention soon focused on
another suspect: factory superintendent,
Leo Frank, the last person known to have
seen Mary alive.

Leo Frank, at age 24, had left Brooklyn in
1908 for Atlanta to become superintendent
of the National Pencil Company's factory.
He wed Lucille Selig in 1910. A pretty but
heavyset young woman, she had artistic
inclinations and a mischievous side.
According to Steve Oney in *And the Dead
Shall Rise*, she was initially attracted to Leo
"because I liked to make him blush." The
couple did not have children.

Frank was elected president of the Atlanta
chapter of B'nai B'rith, a Jewish fraternal
organization, in 1913. Albert Lindemann in
The Jew Accused wrote that Frank
"appointed a committee . . . to investigate
the complaints against Jewish caricatures
that are becoming so frequent on the local
stage."

Four hours after the discovery of Mary's
body, police visited Frank at his home. A
nervous Frank initially denied knowing
Mary, although he soon recalled a girl who
had come for her wages.

Police took Frank to the place where the
body had been discovered. The group got
into the elevator and descended to the
basement. As Steve Oney wrote in his book

Michael Esslinger

Don Fulsom

Mark S. Gado

Oliver Gaspirtz

Charles Hustmyre

John F. Kelly

Doris Lane

Jason Lapeyre

Ronald J.
Lawrence

David Lohr

Lona Manning

Hal Mansfield

Allan May

Denise Noe

Pat O'Connor

John O'Dowd

Robert Phillips

Patrick Quinn

Ryan Ross

Anneli Rufus

John Tait

Phillip K. Wearne

Peter L. Winkler

about the murder: "The instant the lift hit bottom, a powerful stench wafted up from beneath the men" as the lift smashed human feces. The significance of the feces would not be realized until much later.

On Tuesday, April 29, police arrested Frank. Lindemann has pointed out that the police first suspected Frank for "a number of perfectly legitimate reasons having nothing to do with his Jewishness. First, he was one of the few in the factory on the day . . . of the murder. Since it was never seriously questioned that the murder took place in the factory, he automatically became one of a few natural suspects."

Physical evidence appeared to point to Frank. Spots that looked like blood were found in the metal workroom across from his office, as were hairs around the lathe. Witnesses said the hair was Mary's.

Neither of these supposed links would stand up to scrutiny. At Frank's trial, a detective would testify that authorities did not know with certainty that the stains were in fact blood. It would not come out until after Frank's trial, but a biologist would find that the hair strands were not Mary's.

The Frame-Up

On Wednesday, April 30, 1913 a Coroner's Jury inquest convened and the frame-up of Leo Frank commenced. Erroneous evidence given here and widely reported painted Frank as a menace to young women. An acquaintance of Mary's named George Epps testified that he had ridden into town with her on the last day of her life. Bruce L. Jordan wrote in *Murder in the Peach State*, "Epps claimed that he had been told that day by Mary that she was afraid of her boss, Leo Frank, because he was too familiar with her and made advances towards her." However, as Jordan further wrote, "Epps had been interviewed by an *Atlanta Georgian* reporter a few days earlier and had said only that he sometimes

rode to town with her. During that interview Epps said nothing of having ridden to town with her the day she was killed."

After the Coroner's Jury's inquest, more bogus evidence damning Frank surfaced. A police officer claimed to have found Frank in a wooded area with a girl and that Frank had admitted taking her there for "immoral purposes." This same police officer would later admit that he had made a mistaken identification, but this information did not appear on the front pages of the newspapers.

"On May 23, the Atlanta police released an affidavit from Mrs. Nina Formby, the proprietor of a 'rooming house' in Atlanta, disclosing that on the day of the murder Frank had telephoned her repeatedly and had attempted to secure a room for himself and a young girl," Leonard Dinnerstein wrote in *The Leo Frank Case*. Her maid disputed Mrs. Formby's story about Frank making a call to her rooming house. Quoting Dinnerstein, "In the middle of June the maid . . . said that the detectives had been pestering her on numerous occasions to make an affidavit supporting Mrs. Formby's contention that Frank had phoned several times for a room on the evening of the murder. The maid refused because she claimed that there had been no such call that evening, and if there had been she certainly would have answered the phone."

The most damaging evidence against Frank came from 27-year-old Jim Conley, the janitor at the pencil factory, a heavy drinker with a criminal record. According to Bruce L. Jordan's *Murder in the Peach State*, Conley had "several previous arrests for theft and disorderly conduct." Author Steve Oney wrote that Conley "had served two sentences on the chain gang. Three months before the Phagan killing, Jim had fired a shot at Lorena Jones [his common-law wife]." He missed but grazed another woman and served a jail term. Conley, a short, stocky, light-skinned African-

American, had been arrested in connection with the Phagan murder on May 1 after a factory foreman told police he had seen Conley trying to wash what looked like bloodstains from a shirt. According to Oney, Conley told police "he'd just been trying to rinse away some rust marks because he had nothing else to wear to the coroner's inquest." Authorities believed – despite being in possession of two semi-literate notes left near Phagan's corpse that Frank could not have possibly written or even dictated – that Conley could not be the killer because he had told them he was illiterate.

Atlanta's Solicitor-General Hugh Dorsey took charge of the case. Three days after Conley's arrest, Frank was indicted for murder.

On May 16, they found out Conley was semi-literate. Exactly how they discovered this was disputed. Frank always claimed he was the source of this finding. Oney wrote that, "in the report the agents submitted to both defense counsel and police, they failed to mention Frank's contribution." Rather, they said assistant superintendents and the day watchman of the factory were the sources for this information. They discovered that Conley had written notes to a firm from which he was buying a watch on installment and confronted him with his own signature.

Police insisted Conley write what they dictated: the Phagan notes. What Conley wrote was almost identical to the originals.

The janitor admitted he wrote the originals but claimed they had also been dictated to him – by Frank. Conley would tell three stories pinning the murder on Frank. In the first, as Jordan wrote, Conley said "he had been summoned to Leo Frank's office the day before the murder and ordered to write them. Conley claimed in this first affidavit that while writing the note for his boss, Frank mumbled what Conley believed to be, 'Why should I hang? I've got wealthy people

in Brooklyn.' Conley also initially claimed that he was not even in the factory on the day of the murder." This story meant that Frank had plotted the murder at least a day in advance. Police found this unbelievable because they did not think it had been premeditated.

Pressed, Conley changed his story, admitting he had been at the factory and had written the notes on the day of the killing, but he still denied knowing anything else.

On their third try, the police pulled from Conley the story they wanted. Conley claimed that Frank had summoned him to his office. He stated that the superintendent told him that he had let a girl fall against a machine in the metal room and wanted him to bring her out of the room. Conley said he went into it and found the girl dead. He said he reported this to Frank who asked him to help carry the body to the elevator. Conley said the two of them together took the corpse to the basement and left her in the corner. Afterwards, the pair returned to Frank's office where Frank dictated and Conley penned the notes.

Given the South's history of anti-black prejudice, why was Conley's word accepted instead of Frank's? After all, Frank was a successful businessman with no criminal record.

Part of the explanation lies, as Dinnerstein noted, in the "alien" image Frank projected "as a Northerner, an industrialist, and a Jew." Dinnerstein quotes a pastor saying, "when . . . the police arrested a Jew, and a Yankee Jew at that, all of the inborn prejudice against Jews rose up in a feeling of satisfaction."

Conley understood racist ideology and manipulated it. He explained his complicity by saying, "I was willing to do anything to help Mr. Frank because he was a white man and my superintendent." Adopting this

Uncle Tom persona won over investigators. In essence, Conley told a story that was vivid with detail that supported the investigators' preconceived notions regarding Frank's guilt.

The Trial

Frank's trial began July 28, 1913. Two respected Georgia lawyers, Luther Rosser and Reuben Arnold, represented him. Frank Hooper assisted Solicitor Dorsey with the prosecution. The judge was Leonard S. Roan. Conley was charged as an accessory to the crime.

Spectators packed the courtroom and a throng gathered outside it. The temper of that crowd was so anti-Frank that the police had many officers guarding the courtroom throughout the trial.

Lucile Frank sat close behind her husband each day of the trial. She was unwavering in her belief in his innocence and integrity. To the press she said, "He ever has been just the plain, more or less studious and serious minded Leo, gentle and thoughtful, sincere and true."

The state put on witnesses who said Mary's hairs were on a lathe in the second-floor workroom across from Frank's office. They put on doctors who testified that she died between noon and 12:15 p.m.

Employee Monteen Stover took the stand to discredit Frank's story that he had not left his office between noon and 12:30 p.m. and that he had handed the money due Mary to her sometime between 12:05 p.m. and 12:10 p.m. Stover said she had arrived at 12:05 p.m. and not seen Frank in his office.

Detective Starnes testified that he saw red stains in the workroom but acknowledged on cross-examination that he could not know if they were blood.

Conley was the prosecution's star witness.

Both Dinnerstein and Oney record that he testified that Frank had told him he was expecting a young lady to come to his office for a "chat." Conley also told the court that he regularly "watched out" for Frank when ladies visited him. According to his story, when Frank stamped his foot Conley would lock the front door, then unlock it after hearing Frank whistle.

On this day, Conley claimed to have seen Mary go upstairs. He also said he heard footsteps going in the direction of the workroom and heard a scream. He said that after that scream, he saw Stover go to the second floor.

He recalled the signal of the stomping foot and locking the front door, hearing the whistle, then unlocking the door and trekking up to Frank's office.

Conley said that when he got to Frank's office that Frank was "shivering and trembling and rubbing his hands." In those hands, Conley said, Frank held a piece of rope. Conley testified that Frank asked him if he had seen "that little girl who passed here just a while ago?" Conley said he answered that he had seen "one come along there and she came back again, and then I saw another one come along there and she hasn't been back down."

Conley quoted Frank as confiding, "I wanted to be with the little girl, and she refused me, and I struck her and I guess I struck her too hard and she fell and hit her head against something." Conley further claimed Frank told him to go to the workroom and see how she was. He found her dead, and reported that back to Frank. Conley then described how the two of them together took Mary's body onto the elevator, then left it in the basement.

They returned to Frank's office, where Frank dictated the notes found next to Mary's body.

Rosser and Arnold cross-examined him for three days but were unable to shake him on anything substantive.

They did draw a disclosure – which they failed to pursue – that could have proved vital to Frank's defense. Under cross-examination, Conley testified that he had defecated at the bottom of the elevator shaft on the morning of the murder. Later, others examining the facts in this case would see this admission as key to the real murderer.

Conley had been well prepped for cross-examination by his own lawyer, William Smith. As Oney wrote, "Smith, a fair mimic, gave [Conley] a taste of . . . Rosser's corrosive manner, preparing him for the inevitable courtroom encounter." Smith said he hoped "to render Conley impervious to cross-examination" and he had.

The defense put on witnesses to show that Frank simply did not have the time to do all the things Conley said he had done. According to Dinnerstein, Conley testified that Mary Phagan had been in the pencil factory prior to Monteen Stover's arrival. Stover said she had been outside Frank's office from 12:05 to 12:10 p.m. However, both the motorman and conductor of the trolley Phagan took claimed she left the car at 12:10 p.m.

Defense doctors disputed the time at which their prosecution counterparts had pinpointed her death.

Frank took the stand in his own defense. He testified he left the factory to go home for lunch at 1 p.m. Several defense witnesses took the stand to say they had seen him between 1 p.m. and 1:30 p.m., contradicting Conley's assertion that the two of them had been in the factory at that time. To murder the child, transport her body to the basement, return to the office and write the murder notes would have taken at least half an hour according to Conley, other witnesses, and common sense. Yet all of

Frank's time during the supposed period when he was about his dirty work was accounted for save a period of approximately 18 minutes between 12:01 and 12:20 p.m. *The Atlanta Constitution* observed that the "chain of testimony, forged with a number of links, has established a seemingly unbreakable corroboration of Frank's account of his whereabouts."

Frank testified that Monteen Stover may have missed seeing him at his desk when she arrived because "it is impossible for me to see out into the outer hall when the safe door is open, as it was that morning, and not only is it impossible for me to see out, but it is impossible for people to see in and see me there." He also said he might have been temporarily out of his office for a trip to the restroom. He derided Conley's story as a "tissue of lies."

The defense called a number of character witnesses, several of them females who worked at the pencil factory. Each testified that Frank's conduct had been unimpeachable. The defense also called witnesses who claimed Conley had a reputation for lying.

Lawyers for both sides rested after four weeks of testimony. In his first closing argument, Dorsey called Frank a "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," appearing to be a decent man to friends and family while cruelly indulging his sexual appetites at the expense of young women.

In his closing, defense attorney Arnold brought up the issue of anti-Semitism, saying, "If Frank hadn't been a Jew there would never had been any prosecution against him."

Dorsey objected on his second summation as saying that, "the word Jew never escaped our lips."

Outside the jury's presence, Judge Roan

summoned Frank's attorneys to the bench. According to Jordan, Roan, fearing violence in the event of an acquittal, "recommended that neither they nor Frank attend the announcement of the verdict. The attorneys agreed without consulting Frank."

The jury convicted Frank of first-degree murder. Albert S. Lindemann wrote in *The Jew Accused*, that, "the jubilation in the streets of Atlanta was extraordinary." Jordan wrote, "When Solicitor Dorsey exited the courthouse and reached the sidewalk, he was physically lifted into the air by the cheering crowd and passed across the street to his office with tears rolling down his cheeks, his hat raised over his head, his feet never touching the ground until he reached his office.

Frank was in his jail cell when he received the news. Shocked, he exclaimed, "My God! Even the jury was influenced by mob law."

The next day Judge Roan sentenced Frank to hang. Jim Conley later pled guilty to being an accessory after the fact and was sentenced to serve one year on a chain gang.

The Case Becomes a Cause

Frank's attorneys announced that they would appeal. Little known outside the South prior to Frank's conviction, the case gained notoriety in the North as investigators turned up evidence casting doubt on the verdict.

The Atlanta Journal revealed that, as Jordan recorded, "the state biologist had issued a report to Solicitor Dorsey shortly after Mary Phagan's murder. After having examined with a microscope the hair found on a lathe in the metal room, the biologist concluded in his report that the hair was not Mary Phagan's." *The Journal* asked Dorsey why he withheld the report from the jury and he replied that he relied on other witnesses who believed the hair was hers.

Adding to doubts were prosecution witnesses' recantations. According to Steve Oney in *And the Dead Shall Rise*, Albert McKnight, husband of the Frank's family's cook, signed an affidavit saying "he had concocted his tale regarding Frank's failure to eat lunch the day of the crime and subsequent hasty departure from home." McKnight claimed he had made up this story, Oney wrote, "at the behest of his employers at Beck & Gregg Hardware – who like so many others had been angling for the reward's offered in the slaying's aftermath." Nina Formby contacted *The New York Times* to claim that she had made up the story of Frank's wanting to rent a room under police pressure. Finally, George Epps claimed police had pressured him into his statement about Mary's fear of Frank.

The hair evidence and the raft of recantations led *The Atlanta Journal* to run an editorial calling for a new trial.

To add to the confusion, McKnight, Formby and Epps all soon recanted their recantations. Without explaining why they had made the first recantations, they each insisted their testimony against Frank had been accurate.

Frank's defenders found ammunition in a fresh examination of the notes. Dinnerstein recorded that attorney Henry Alexander "showed that these notes were written on the carbons of old order pads which had been used previously by a former factory official. The dateline read 190-," indicating that the forms must have been at least four years old. The official who signed the orders left the employ of the factory in 1912, and all his office records, including pads, had been removed to the basement, near where Mary Phagan's body had been found. Alexander concluded that this proved that Conley could not have written the notes on a pad which Frank had given him *in his office*."

Alexander also believed that a phrase in

one of the notes pointed to their author. That phrase was "night witch," previously assumed by investigators to be a misspelling of "night watch." Alexander believed it meant exactly what it said because the "night witch" was a character in Southern African-American folk belief, a witch who strangled children to death. Alexander believed it improbable that Frank, a Northern Jew, would be familiar with this belief and certain that Conley would be.

Judge Roan rejected Frank's first appeal. However, he wrote, "I have thought about this case more than any other I have tried. I am not certain of the man's guilt. With all the thought I have put on this case, I am not thoroughly convinced that Frank is guilty or innocent. The jury was convinced. . . . I feel it is my duty to order that the motion for a new trial be overruled."

A month and a half later, Frank's attorneys went before the Georgia Supreme Court. They argued that the prejudicial atmosphere precluded a fair trial. The court rejected their appeal.

Frank got a new defense team, made up of Herbert and Leonard Haas (brothers), Henry Alexander and the firm of Tye, Peoples, and Jordan. They made errors attributed to Frank's trial attorneys, Rosser and Arnold, the basis of an appeal. In Jordan's words, they claimed that "Rosser and Arnold did not have the right to waive Frank's presence in the courtroom when the jury returned their verdict." U.S. Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendall Holmes denied the appeal but added that there was doubt about the fairness of Frank's trial because of "the presence of a hostile demonstration and seemingly dangerous crowd, thought by the presiding judge to be ready for violence unless a verdict of guilty was rendered."

According to Jordan, "In February of 1915, Frank's attorneys were given one more chance to be heard by the U. S. Supreme

Court, this time petitioning for a writ of habeas corpus." It was denied.

Frank's supporters believed his only chance was a commutation. They received unexpected support in that effort from Conley's attorney.

Smith, Conley's attorney, announced on October 2, 1914, that he believed his client killed Mary Phagan. Smith claimed he did not act unethically in implicating his own client since Conley, convicted as an accessory, could not be tried again because of the constitutional protection against double jeopardy. Smith added that he felt compelled to speak out because the life of an innocent man was in danger.

While Frank garnered support, his case also became a cause that lined prominent people up against him. One of the most notable of these was Tom Watson, who had started his career as a Populist with relatively liberal racial views. Unfortunately, by the time of the Frank affair, he had curdled into an extremist frequently denouncing African-Americans and Roman Catholics. Still seen as a champion by poor white Protestants, he published a weekly, *The Jeffersonian*, and a monthly, *Watson's Magazine*.

In *The Jeffersonian* Watson ran a lengthy editorial called "The Frank Case: When and Where Shall Rich Criminals Be Tried?" He also posed the question: "Does a Jew expect extraordinary favors and immunities *because of his race?*"

Frank's supporters looked to Governor John Slaton for a commutation. Slaton made a painstaking study of the evidence. He was under a great deal of tension since, as Dinnerstein wrote, "the governor was bombarded with pleas for commutation or demands that the prisoner hang. More than a thousand of the petitioners threatened to kill Slaton, and his wife, if he let Frank live."

Early on the morning of June 21, he told his wife that he had decided to commute Frank's sentence to life in prison. He admitted he feared for his life. According to Jordan, his wife told him, "I would rather be the widow of a brave and honorable man than the wife of a coward."

Knowing the decision could provoke violence, Slaton directed officials to transport Frank from Atlanta's Fulton County jail to the state prison at Milledgeville over 100 miles away.

Then Slaton made his decision public. In it he said he had grave doubts about Frank's guilt. One factor in his decision was the probability that Mary had been shoved down the chute rather than transported in the elevator as Conley asserted. Here Slaton referred to a "disagreeable" matter, that of the feces at the bottom of the elevator shaft.

The mystery in the case is the question of how Mary Phagan's body got into the basement. . . . Conley testified that on the morning of April 26 he went down into the basement to relieve his bowels and utilized the elevator shaft for the purpose.

On the morning of April 27 at 3 o'clock when the detectives came down into the basement by way of the ladder, they inspected the premises, including the shaft, and they found there human excrement in natural condition.

Subsequently, when they used the elevator, which everybody, including Conley, who had run the elevator for 1 1/2 years admits only stops by hitting the ground in the basement, the elevator struck the excrement

and mashed it, thus demonstrating that the elevator had not been used since Conley had been there." The governor noted other evidence tending to point toward Conley's guilt rather than Frank's including, as Jordan recorded, "the fact that the notes were written on pads normally kept in the basement and not in Leo Frank's office.

The governor was applauded by some newspapers and burned in effigy by those outraged. In Marietta, a town outside Atlanta, the effigy bore a sign reading "John M. Slaton, King of the Jews and Georgia's Traitor Forever."

In *The Jeffersonian*, Tom Watson blasted the decision, writing, ". . . let no man reproach the South with Lynch law: Let him remember the unendurable provocation: and let him say whether Lynch law is not better than no law at all."

The Lynching

"Less than two weeks after Slaton had commuted Leo Frank's sentence state newspapers prominently featured the somber pilgrimage of saddened Georgians to the unveiling of Mary Phagan's monument. . . A group of 150 men, who called themselves the Knights of Mary Phagan, then met secretly near her grave, and pledged to avenge the little girl's death," Dinnerstein wrote.

On the night of July 18, 1915, a prisoner named William Creen slashed the sleeping Frank's throat. Two other prisoners, both doctors, managed to clamp the jugular vein. Frank was taken to the prison hospital and his wound stitched. According to Dinnerstein, when Frank was conscious he said, "I am going to live. I must live. I must vindicate myself."

One month later, on Aug. 16, a mob of

about 25 men stormed the Milledgeville prison. They overpowered the two guards on duty, then went to the hospital room where Frank was recovering. The intruders handcuffed Frank and ushered him into the back seat of a waiting car with two men on either side of him. The kidnapers tried to persuade Frank to confess, even offering to spare his life if he did so. The prisoner adamantly denied the crime. According to Dinnerstein, "he sounded so sincere that two of his listeners thought that perhaps he really had not murdered Mary Phagan, and that he should be returned to the prison farm."

The doubters were overruled. When they got to a wooded area on the outskirts of Marietta, they led Frank to an oak tree. Jordan wrote, "Frank was asked if he wanted to make a statement. He said no. He removed his wedding ring from his finger, handed it to one of his abductors and asked that it be given to a newspaperman who would forward the ring to his wife. The request was granted, and the ring eventually was returned to Mrs. Frank."

A rope was wrapped around his neck, then flung over and attached to a sturdy limb of the tree. Frank was forced to stand on a table and the table was kicked out from under him.

The Rule of Lynch Law

Lynching was common in the American West before formal legal institutions became established. As *The Columbia Encyclopedia* noted, "Pioneers formed vigilance committees to repress crimes."

The South was the other major area for lynch law. Lynching was not always associated with racism but the very word would eventually conjure up the image of an accused African-American strung up by an angry, white Southern mob. According to the *Encyclopedia Americana*, "The antebellum South was known as the land of

lynching before prejudice against black people became a major factor. Of the more than 300 persons hanged or burned by mobs between 1840 and 1860, fewer than 10% were black." However, protecting the slave system was often at issue as mobs set upon white abolitionists for aiding escaping black slaves.

After the defeat of the South in the Civil War, lynching focused more heavily on black victims. "There are 2805 [documented] victims of lynch mobs killed between 1882 and 1930 in 10 southern states, according to Stewart E. Tolnay and E.M. Beck, *A Festival of Violence: An Analysis of Southern Lynchings, 1882-1930*. "Although mobs murdered almost 300 white men and women, the vast majority – almost 2,500 –of lynch victims were African-American. Of these black victims, 94 percent died in the hands of white lynch mobs. The scale of this carnage means that, on the average, a black man, woman, or child was murdered nearly once a week, every week, between 1882 and 1930 by a hate-driven white mob."

As *The Columbia Encyclopedia* noted, lynching was used "to intimidate blacks into political, social, and economic submission." Contrary to white supremacist myth and widespread perception, most lynched blacks had not been accused of raping or attempting to rape a white woman; that allegation was at issue in only one-quarter of cases in which black men were lynched. Blacks were lynched for a variety of offenses ranging from common crimes to actions that were "crimes" only according to white supremacist ideology such as "insulting" a white person or registering to vote.

The Leo Frank case was also exceptional, perhaps even unique, in that the victim was a white man lynched for a crime almost certainly committed by a black. However, according to Robert L. Zangrando's segment of "About Lynching," victims

included "Native Americans, Latinos, Jews, Asian immigrants, and European newcomers." Lynching targets were also "labor union organizers, political radicals, critics of America's role in World War I, and civil rights advocates."

An anti-lynching movement had started almost a quarter of a century before a mob took Leo Frank to a tree in Marietta. Its primary leader was African-American journalist Ida B. Wells-Barnett. She published a series of newspaper columns decrying the injustice of lynching and, in 1892, an influential pamphlet called *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases*. Groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People worked to fight lynching through both education and legal action.

In the 1920s and 1930s, many white women, offended by the defense of lynching as necessary to "protect" them, became prominent in the anti-lynching movement. According to Dickson D. Bruce, Jr. in "[Antilynching Campaign](#)," they "worked to create a climate of opinion among white southerners that would lead to lynching's demise." The practice began to die off in the 1940s.

Aftermath

Much of the Georgia public believed justice had been served by Frank's lynching. The local Marietta newspaper proclaimed: "We regard the hanging of Leo M. Frank in Cobb County as an act of law abiding citizens."

No one was ever charged with a crime in connection with the lynching. Dinnerstein quoted the Greensboro, Ga., *Herald-Journal* as saying that "the lynchers could confess, publish their confession in the Atlanta papers, and they would never be molested." While Tom Watson and many other prominent Georgians praised the lynching, there were also voices raised in condemnation. *The Atlanta Constitution*

called it "Georgia's Shame!" and wrote, "No word in the language is too strong to apply to the deliberate and carefully conspired deed of the mob."

Gov. Slaton never held another elected public office. By contrast, Jordan wrote, "In 1916 Hugh Dorsey was elected governor of Georgia riding the coattails of his popularity over the prosecution of Leo Frank and with the substantial endorsement of Tom Watson." Dorsey was re-elected in 1918. During that term, he broke ranks with Watson by criticizing Georgia's treatment of African-Americans. The two of them ran against each other for a U. S. Senate seat. Watson won by a wide margin and died in office in 1922.

Lucile Frank lived for several more decades but never remarried. In 1916, she left Atlanta for Tennessee when a brother-in-law offered her a job in a women's clothing shop. In the 1920s, she returned to Atlanta where she worked at the glove counter managed by her brother-in-law at a J.P. Allen clothing store.

Although she functioned outwardly, those close to her believed she never stopped mourning Leo. An internist who treated her, Dr. James Kauffman, said, "She somatized [made physical] her complaints. She had chest pains, headaches. When I think of her, I think of depression. Leo may have been killed but she served a life sentence." She signed her name "Mrs. Leo Frank" until her death in 1957. Among her affects were the wedding ring a doomed Leo had asked to be returned to her and letters Lucile had written to her husband – several of them penned after his death.

After serving a year on a chain gang for his confessed crime of accessory after the fact for helping to move Mary Phagan's body, Jim Conley was released. He had more scrapes with the law for offenses ranging from public intoxication to burglary and died in 1962.

B'nai B'rith established the Anti-Defamation League shortly after Frank's trial. Frank's trial was one of the factors leading to the formation of this organization but by no means the sole cause.

After Frank's death, the Knights of Mary Phagan served as the launching pad for the resurrected Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, an organization that had been dormant since its Reconstruction heyday. According to "The Leo Frank Case" compiled by Charles Pou, "It must be noted that the Phagan family has not condoned Klan activity, especially in regards to Mary. In fact the family expressly forbade a Klan request to hold a ceremony at Mary Phagan's gravesite."

Pou recorded that on March 11, 1986, "the Georgia Board of Pardons and Paroles finally issued a posthumous pardon to Leo Frank, based on the state's failure to protect him while in custody; it did not officially absolve him of the crime."

Jordan wrote, "On the 80th anniversary of the lynching of Leo Frank, Rabbi Steven Lebow had a plaque placed on an office building near the intersection of Roswell and Frey's Gin roads at the site where Frank was hanged. It reads, 'Wrongly accused. Falsely convicted. Wantonly murdered.'"

Almost a century after her death, people have still not forgotten "the little factory girl" who went to pick up her pay and never returned home. According to Joan Ellars, Executive Director of Keep Marietta Beautiful that oversees the Marietta City Cemetery at which she is buried, they still visit Mary Phagan's grave and leave gifts of toys and model angels.

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A	Abbeville	Abbeville Chronicle	1898-1954	title chang Wilcox Co Chronicle
		Wilcox County Chronicle	1955-Jan. 1971	title chang Abbeville

	Acworth	*Acworth Neighbor	Dec. 1991-present	
		Acworth Progress	Jun. 1949-Apr. 1958	
		North Cobb News	Dec. 3, 1964-Feb. 22, 1968	

	Adel	Adel News	Sep. 21, 1900-Nov. 18, 1904; Jan. 3, 1919-Jun. 29, 1983	merged wi County Tri form Adel Tribune
		Cook County Tribune	Sep. 10, 1980-Nov. 11, 1981	merged wi News to fc News Trib
		*Adel News Tribune	Jul. 6, 1983-present	title forme merger of and Cook Tribune
		Cook County Shopper	Mar. 15, 1978-Aug. 27, 1980	
		Jaroy Journal	May 6, 1936-Feb. 22, 1945	
		Sowega Standard	Mar. 8, 1923-Sep. 18, 1952	

	Alamo	Wheeler County Eagle	Mar. 14, 1913-Apr. 1915; Aug. 1929-Dec. 1980; Jan. 1985-Dec. 1987; Feb. 1989-Dec. 1996	
		Wheeler Herald	Jan. 3, 1913	
		Alamo News	Jun. 14, 1912	

	Alapaha	Berrien County News	May 19, 1877-Jul. 2, 1881	
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	Albany	Albany Advertiser	Oct. 11, 1879	
		Albany Courier	May 8, 1847	
		Albany Journal	Mar. 14, 1941-Mar. 1952	
		Albany Patriot	Apr. 16, 1845-Dec. 1866	

		Albany News	Jan. 1872-Sep. 9, 1880	
		Albany Times	Feb. 17, 1982-Feb. 15, 1984	
		Albany Weekly Herald	Feb. 1892-Dec. 1901; Mar. 5, 1910-Jun. 4, 1910	
		Albany Daily Herald	Jan. 1906-Jun. 28, 1906	
		American Standard	Sep. 27, 1855-Nov. 8, 1855	
		Cavalcade	Dec. 1966- May 31, 1971	
		Georgia Courier	Dec. 24, 1853-Jul. 26, 1855	
		The Journal	Jan. 1974-Dec. 7, 1979	
		Sword and Scabbard	Feb. 1969 (v. 1, no. 1)	
		Weekly News and Advertiser	Oct. 16, 1880-Aug. 13, 1892	

	Alma	Alma Times	Mar. 19, 1915-Dec. 1936; Jan. 1939-Nov. 1939; Jan. 1941-Dec. 1956; Jan. 1965-Dec. 1984	title had di publisher f Times liste
		Alma Times	Mar. 23, 1939-Jun. 2, 1949; Mar. 16, 1950-Dec. 1960; Mar. 7, 1963-Dec. 1974	title had di publisher f Times liste
		*Alma Times Statesman	Nov. 1984-present	

	Alpharetta	Alpharetta Free Press	Oct. 26, 1906-Sep. 12, 1932	
		Alpharetta Sun	Nov. 8, 1962-Dec. 26, 1968	title chang Alpharetta
		*Alpharetta Neighbor	Jan. 2, 1969-Dec. 31, 1970; Jul. 31, 1991-present	title chang Alpharetta
		Roswell Neighbor		listed unde Roswell

	Alto	Beacon	Aug. 24, 1962-Nov. 1973	
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	Amelia Island, FL	Amelia Convention Islander	1994	
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	Americus	Semi-Weekly Sumter Republican	Dec. 19, 1877-Sep. 22, 1883	
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		Tri-Weekly Sumter Republican	Oct. 6, 1866-Aug. 27, 1867	
		Weekly Sumter Republican	May 3, 1870-Oct. 1885	
		Americus Daily Press	Dec. 16, 1902-Jun. 30, 1903	
		Americus Daily Recorder	Jan. 1885-Sep. 20, 1888; May 2, 1889-Jun. 29, 1889; Sep. 24, 1889-Dec. 24, 1890; Apr. 19, 1891-Dec. 1891	title merge Americus to form An Times-Rec
		Americus Daily Times	Jun. 10, 1890-Feb. 1891	title merge Americus Recorder + Americus Recorder
		*Americus Times-Recorder	Jan. 1892-present	title former merger of Daily Recd Americus
		South Georgia Progress	Nov. 3, 1911-Sep. 30, 1916	
		*South Georgia Sunday	May 11, 1997-present	
		Southern Empire	Sep. 1891	
		Southwestern News	Aug. 6, 1856	
		Tri-County News	Oct. 6, 1933-Oct. 5, 1934; Nov. 8, 1935-Aug. 1937; Sep. 1937-Sep. 1953	
		Americus Weekly Recorder	Dec. 7, 1883-Mar. 1891	
		Americus Recorder (Tri-Weekly)	Dec. 1881-Dec. 24, 1882; Jan. 2, 1884-Dec. 31, 1884	
		Americus Times-Recorder Weekly/Weekly Americus Times-Recorder	Apr. 10, 1891-Nov. 19, 1921	

	Arlington	Arlington Advance	Dec. 5, 1879; Feb. 11, 1881-Oct. 1881; Feb. 18, 1882-Jun. 16, 1882	
		Calhoun County Courier	Jul. 28, 1882-Feb. 21, 1946; a separate reel of acquired missing issues, 1939-1946	
		Tri-County Courier	Feb. 28, 1946-Dec. 1970	title chang Calhoun C
		Calhoun Courier	Apr. 1971-Dec. 1981	title chang Tri-County

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	Ashburn	Ashburn Advance	Apr. 1897-Apr. 1900	
		Turner County Banner	Dec. 29, 1905-Dec. 1912	
		Wiregrass Farmer and Stockman	Jan. 5, 1906-Oct. 11, 1984	title shorte Wiregrass
		Wiregrass Farmer	Oct. 18, 1984-present	title shorte Wiregrass and Stock

	Athens	The Advertiser	Jan. 1962-Feb. 1964	title chang Athens Ad
		Athens Advertiser	Feb. 16, 1964-Jun. 1965	title chang The Adver
		Alumni News	Sep. 1981-Sep. 1987	
		The Athenian	Jan. 1827-Mar. 1832	title chang Southern I
		Southern Banner	Mar. 20, 1832-Nov. 1848; Jan. 11, 1849-Mar. 14, 1882	title chang The Athen
		Athens Chronicle	Oct. 1885-May 1888	
		Athens Gazette	Feb. 17, 1814-Oct. 5, 1820	
		Athens Daily Banner	Jan. 23, 1880-Mar. 2, 1882; Jan. 1890-July 1893; a Fall/Winter trade edition for Dec. 12, 1893; Nov. 1894-Nov. 1898; July 1899-Nov. 1905; Mar. 1906-Sep. 1913	title chang Athens Ba
		Athens Banner	Oct. 1913-Aug. 1923	title chang Athens Dæ title chang Banner He
		Banner Herald	Sep. 1923-Apr. 1926	title chang Athens Ba changed to Banner-He
		*Athens Banner-Herald	May 1926-Jun. 1929; Oct. 11, 1929; Nov. 1929-present	title chang Banner He
		Athens Daily Herald	Jul. 1913-Dec. 1918; Jul. 8, 1920; Jan. 1922-Feb. 9, 1923	
		*Athens Daily News	Jun. 17, 1965-present	
		Athens Daily Times	Apr. 29, 1934-Sep. 5, 1937	
		Athens Observer/Observer	Jan. 3, 1974-Jan. 8, 1998	

		Noble Endeavor	Dec. 8, 1997
		Athens Review	Spring 1981-Fall 1981
		Athens Star	Oct. 2, 1991-Nov. 1994
		Athens Tribune	Aug. 2, 1902-Oct. 24, 1902
		Athens Voice	Jun. 15, 1975-Mar. 19, 1977; July 1980
		Athens Weekly Chronicle	Aug. 1878-May 1882
		Athens Weekly Georgian	Aug. 14, 1877
		Banana Skin	Oct. 6, 1928
		The Caldron	1848-1849
		Calendar of Campus Events	Feb. 24, 1947-Dec. 6, 1948
		Campus Observer	Sep. 16, 1991-Dec. 2, 1991
		Campus Sentinel	July 10, 1984-Nov. 21, 1985
		Campus Times	Sep. 17, 1990-Aug. 7, 1991
		Canteen	Mar. 1, 1917
		Clarke County Courier	May 1, 1903-Jan. 25, 1913
		Columns	Nov. 23, 1970-Dec. 1994
		*Flagpole	Oct. 1987-present
		Flags and Flowers	1925
		Georgia Alumni News	Oct. 1970-May 1976
		Georgia Collegian	Mar. 5, 1870-Apr. 13, 1872
		Georgia Democrat	Sep. 28, 1933-Feb. 16, 1934; Jul. 4, 1947
		Georgia Express	Aug. 6, 1808-Aug. 13, 1813
		Georgia Landscape	Fall 1979-Fall 1982
		Georgia Spirit	Feb. 6, 1912
		Georgia Young Alumni News	Mar. 1971-Dec. 1975
		Grady Gazette	Nov. 19, 1973-Spring 1986
		Gullah Gazette	1954-1958
		Hot Java	Dec. 1980
		Lucy Cobb Institute Messenger	Mar. 1876-Apr. 1876
		Memorial Day Echoes	Apr. 26, 1900-Apr. 26, 1902
		Microscope	Dec. 1911
		Normal Light	Aug. 1920

		Progressive Era	Sep. 2, 1899	
		*The Red and Black	Nov. 24, 1893-Dec. 2, 1914; Mar. 1915-present	
		Richard's Weekly Gazette	Jul. 21, 1849-Aug. 25, 1849	
		Semi-Weekly Banner	Apr. 2, 1895	
		Sentinel	Jun. 6, 1901-Feb. 6, 1902	
		Southern Cultivator	Mar. 1869	
		Southern Watchman	Jan. 4, 1855-Mar. 1882	title chang Banner-W
		Banner-Watchman	Apr. 6, 1882-May 19, 1889	title chang Southern
		Southern Literary Gazette	May 13, 1848-Dec. 1852	
		Southern Whig	Dec. 29, 1838-Dec. 19, 1850	
		Southern Mutual Insurance Company Servants Register	1848-1856	
		SRA Sentinel	Apr. 13, 1970	
		Suburban Review	Nov. 9, 1994-Dec. 1996	
		Summer School Bulletin	Jun. 2, 1903	
		Summer School News	1904-1907	scattered i
		The Tattler	Oct. 9, 1901-Dec. 11, 1901	
		Tenth District Sun	Sep. 1966	
		UGA Schedule of Recitations	1904-1905; 1926-1927; 1931-1932	
		University Union	Mar. 1976	
		Weekly Banner Watchman	Aug. 1888-Jun. 11, 1889	
		Athens Weekly Banner	Feb. 3, 1880; Feb. 4, 1890-Jan. 27, 1891	title had di publisher t below
		Athens Weekly Banner	Jun. 18, 1889-Dec. 1890	title had di publisher t above; title to The We Banner
		The Weekly Banner	Jan. 1891-Jul. 1921	title chang Athens W Banner
		Woman's Work	May 1890	

	Atlanta	ATL	Sep. 1977-Dec. 1987; Jan. 1990-Sep. 1993	title mover Jonesborc
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				1993
		Atlanta Art Papers	Mar. 1980-Nov. 1980	
		Atlanta Art Workers Coalition Newspaper	Sep. 1979-Jan. 1980	
		Atlanta Bulletin	Jan. 4, 1958-Mar. 8, 1958	
		Bulletin: Official Newspaper of the Diocese of Atlanta	Mar. 22, 1958-Dec. 8, 1962	
		Atlanta Business Chronicle	Nov. 1994-Nov. 1, 1996	
		Atlanta Constitution: The Great Southern Weekly	Jan. 1872-Oct. 1888; Feb. 16, 1892-Dec. 12, 1898; Jan. 1, 1900-1903	title is also The Const
		Atlanta Daily Examiner	Jul. 18, 1857-Mar. 9, 1858	
		Atlanta Daily Herald	Aug. 22, 1872-Dec. 31, 1873; Jul. 1, 1875-Dec. 31, 1875; Feb. 5, 1876	
		Atlanta Daily New Era	Aug. 5, 1869-Dec. 24, 1869	
		Atlanta Daily News	Jan. 1901-Oct. 1901	
		Atlanta Daily Post	Mar. 22, 1879-Aug. 3, 1880	
		Atlanta Daily Register	Mar. 19, 1864; Mar. 23, 1864; Apr. 3, 1864	
		Atlanta Daily World	Jul. 1964-Dec. 1967; Apr. 21, 1968-Dec. 1969	
		Atlanta Evening Capitol	Aug. 26, 1885-Aug. 11, 1887	
		Atlanta Evening Herald	Mar. 16, 1893; Apr. 5, 1893	
		Atlanta Evening News	Oct. 1, 1906-Dec. 31, 1906	
		Atlanta Gazette	Sep. 4, 1974-Jan. 17, 1980	
		Atlanta News	Oct. 1, 1903-Dec. 1903	
		Atlanta Georgian	Jun. 1, 1906-Dec. 31, 1906	title changed to Atlanta Georgian News
		Atlanta Georgian and News	Mar. 26, 1907-Apr. 13, 1912	title changed to Atlanta Georgian News
		Atlanta Georgian	Apr. 15, 1912-Dec. 17, 1939	title changed to Atlanta Georgian News
		Atlanta Independent	May 9, 1872	

		Atlanta Inquirer	Jul. 31, 1960-Dec. 30, 1995	
		Atlanta News Digest	May 10, 1946-Jun. 7, 1946	
		Atlanta Phoenix	Dec. 1970-Sep. 1975	
		Atlanta Post Appeal	Feb. 10, 1882-Jun. 19, 1882	
		Atlanta Republican	May 15, 1880	
		Atlanta Semi-Weekly Journal	May 1899-Dec. 23, 1919	
		Atlanta Sunday Herald	May 3, 1874	
		Atlanta Telegram	Jan. 20, 1877-Jan. 26, 1877	
		Atlanta Tri-Weekly Journal	Sep. 29, 1921	
		Atlanta Tribune		see Rosw
		Atlanta Universalist	Apr. 1881-Jul. 1882	
		*Atlanta Viet Bao	Sep. 1994-present	
		Atlanta Voice	Jan. 15, 1972-Jul. 7, 1990	
		Atlanta Weekly Examiner	Dec. 20, 1855	
		Atlanta Weekly Herald	Dec. 1873-Sep. 1874	
		Atlanta Weekly Intelligencer (and Cherokee Advocate)/Weekly Atlanta Intelligencer	Oct. 28, 1854-Sep. 28, 1855; Oct. 14, 1858-Oct. 6, 1859; Sep. 10, 1860-Apr. 1871	title varies
		Atlanta Weekly Journal	Nov. 4, 1890-Nov. 28, 1893	
		Atlanta Weekly Post	Nov. 27, 1880-Aug. 18, 1881	
		Atlanta Weekly Sun	Apr. 15, 1873	
		Atlantian	Apr. 1911-Dec. 1920; May 1921-Sep. 1929	
		Art Papers	Jan/Feb. 1981-Jul/Aug. 1988	
		Buckhead Atlanta	Aug. 18, 1975-Mar. 7, 1980	
		Business and Financial News	Jan. 12, 1976-Jun. 1976	
		Christian Index and South-Wester Baptist	Jan. 1867-Dec. 14, 1871	
		Christian Index	Feb. 11, 1875-Jan. 1897; Jun. 13, 1907	
		Christian Index Southern Baptist	Jan. 27, 1881-May 31, 1883	
		*Creative Loafing	Jun. 1974-present	
		Current Keely Literature	Jan. 1893	

		Daily Commonwealth	May 8, 1863	
		Daily Intelligencer	Dec. 1851-Apr. 1871	
		Daily Locomotive	Sep. 8, 1860	
		Daily New Era	Oct. 6, 1866-Jun. 1867; Jan. 1, 1868-Jun. 1868; Jan. 1870-Dec. 1871	
		Daily Opinion	Aug. 29, 1867-Feb. 15, 1868	title chang Southern (
		Daily Southern Opinion	May 16, 1868-May 27, 1868	title chang Daily Opin
		Daily Press	Jul. 4, 1894-Nov. 2, 1894	
		(Atlanta) Daily Sun	Jun. 2, 1871-Jul. 24, 1873	
		*Fulton County Daily Report	Feb. 1889-present	often listec Daily Repr
		Decision Line	Sep. 1981-Sep. 1988	
		Dixie Business	Feb. 1926	
		Dixisteel Ladle	Jan. 1944	
		Down and Out Bugle	Dec. 14, 1924-Dec. 25, 1934	
		El Calendario Semanal de Mundo Hispanico	Mar. 23, 1989-Sep. 1, 1990	
		El Nuevo Dia	Jan. 19, 1994-Jan. 1996	
		Emory Wheel	Sep. 29, 1938-Apr. 15, 1943; Jan. 28, 1960-Feb. 21, 1963	
		Emphasis GSU	Aug/Sep. 1973-Jan. 1987	
		Gate City Guardian	Feb. 12, 1861-Mar. 2, 1862	
		*Georgia Bulletin	Jan. 4, 1863-present	
		Georgia Commercial Post	Mar. 7, 1977-Nov. 14, 1977	
		Georgia Farmer	Feb. 1975-Jan. 1977	
		Georgia Farmers Market Bulletin	Feb. 21, 1924-Sep. 24, 1925; Jan. 1926-Feb. 1969	title chang Farmers a Consumer Bulletin
		*Farmers and Consumers Market Bulletin	Mar. 1969-present	title chang Georgia F. Market Bu
		Georgia Business and Securities News	Jul. 28, 1968-Dec. 22, 1975	
		Georgia Crusader	Nov. 7, 1861-Nov. 28, 1861	
		Georgia Grange	Oct. 1874-Jul. 14, 1877	

		Georgia Guardsman	Jul. 1943-Sep. 1945; Apr. 1979-Mar. 1994	
		Georgia Homestead	Jan. 5, 1939-Nov. 1, 1940	
		Georgia Labor News Digest	Feb. 11, 1949-Oct. 10, 1951	
		Georgia Leader	Jun. 18, 1896	
		Georgia Legionnaire	May 1929-Nov. 1949; Apr. 1950-Nov/Dec. 1987	
		Georgia Literary and Temperance Crusader	May 17, 1860-Sep. 12, 1861	
		Georgia News Digest	Jan. 24, 1946-Feb. 4, 1949	
		Georgia Labor News Digest	Jan. 10, 1950-Jan. 13, 1954	
		Georgia Press	Nov. 24, 1945-Sep. 11, 1948	
		Georgia Press/Northside Press	Mar. 24, 1944-Oct. 28, 1944	
		Georgia Record	Jul. 1, 1899-Feb. 2, 1906	
		Georgia State	Oct. 21, 1954	
		Georgia State Reporter	Aug. 1945-Jan. 1946	
		Georgia Voter	Jun. 1928-Nov. 1929	
		Georgia Weekly Opinion	Sep. 3, 1867-Apr. 28, 1868	
		Georgia Woman's World	Oct. 15, 1935-Sep. 9, 1938	
		The Golden Age	Mar. 1906-Apr. 22, 1915	
		Great Kennesaw Route Gazette	Jan. 1886-Jul. 1886	title chang Kennesaw
		Kennesaw Gazette	Aug. 1886-Dec. 1890	title chang Great Ken Route Gaz
		Great Speckled Bird	Mar. 15, 1968-Oct. 1976; May 1984-Dec. 1984	
		GSU Recreation	Fall 1981-Winter 1986	
		GSU Recreation Rap Up	Winter 1986-Spring 1987	
		The GTRI Connector	Oct. 1984-Aug. 1997	
		Health for Life	Jan. 1970-Oct. 1977	
		The Jeffersonian/Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine	Jan. 1907-Nov. 17, 1910	
		Jewish Tribune	Feb. 28, 1896	

		Kaleidoscope	April 1885	
		Leisure Times	Mar. 10, 1961	
		Living Issues	Oct. 1893-Aug. 1894	
		Looking Glass	Apr. 1894-Dec. 1897	
		Methodist Advocate	Jun. 16, 1869-Jun. 12, 1878	
		Metropolitan Herald	Dec. 16, 1954-Aug. 2, 1967	
		*Mundo Hispanico	Feb. 1982-present	
		Mystic Owls	Oct. 20, 1880	
		The National	May 11, 1982	
		National Field	Aug. 20, 1914	
		National American	Nov. 24, 1860	
		New Western Railway	Nov. 1887	
		North Atlanta Neighbor	May 1, 1969-Dec. 31, 1970	
		*Northside Neighbor	Mar. 7, 1968-Dec. 31, 1970; Apr. 1989-present	
		North Side News	Aug. 21, 1942-Aug. 16, 1946; Jul. 28, 1950-Oct. 1963; Aug. 14, 1969-Oct. 30, 1969	
		North Side Press	Apr. 6, 1939-May 1, 1941	
		Outdoor Georgia	Jul. 15, 1944	
		Penny Pincher	Dec. 4, 1969	
		People's Party Paper	Apr. 28, 1892-Aug. 12, 1898	
		People's Voice	Aug. 2, 1968	
		Pilgrim	Jan. 1926-May 1928	
		Planet Atlanta	Jan. 1994-Sep. 1995	
		Rebel Yell	Sep. 1965-Oct. 7, 1965	
		*Sandy Springs Neighbor	Jan. 1, 1997-present	also listed Sandy Spri
		Snap Shots	Nov. 1928	
		The Searchlight	Sep. 1921-Aug. 1923	
		Sears Dixieland News	Oct. 1958-Nov. 1966	
		Showtime Magazine	Apr. 1970	
		Georgia State College Signal	Apr. 7, 1966-Feb. 6, 1969	
		Georgia State University Signal	Sep. 15, 1969-Oct. 22, 1971-Nov. 1987; May 15, 1990-Dec. 15, 1998	
		Sounds	Fall 1984-Spring 1985	

		Southern Advance	Dec. 21, 1882-Jan. 1886	
		Southern Alliance Farmer	Nov. 29, 1889-Aug. 2, 1892	
		Southern Confederacy	Mar. 4, 1861-Aug. 11, 1861; Jan. 9, 1862-Jul. 23, 1863; May 29, 1864-Jul. 9, 1864	
		Southern Cultivator and Dixie Farmer	Nov. 1, 1902-Mar. 15, 1926	
		Southern Israelite	Mar. 1929-Dec. 1986	title chang Atlanta Je
		*Atlanta Jewish Times	Jan. 1987-present	title chang Southern I
		Southern Miscellany and Upper Georgia Whig	Dec. 4, 1847	
		Southern Ruralist	Dec. 1900-Feb. 1, 1910 (scattered issues); Jul. 1, 1929-Aug. 1, 1930	
		Southern Printer	May 1950-Jul. 1955	title chang Southern I Lithograph
		Southern Printer and Lithographer	Aug. 1955-Apr. 1961	title chang Southern I
		Southern World	Feb. 1, 1882-May 1, 1885	
		Southline	Feb. 13, 1985-May 11, 1988	
		Southside Edition Neighbor	Sep. 18, 1968-Nov. 13, 1968	
		Southside Neighbor	Sep. 18, 1968-Dec. 30, 1970	
		Spirit of the Times	Apr. 15, 1975-Jun. 17, 1975 (scattered issues)	
		Sunday Gazette	Oct. 6, 1878-Jan. 11, 1880	
		Sunday Phonograph	Aug. 17, 1879-Nov. 13, 1881	
		Sunny South	Mar. 6, 1875-May 1907	
		Tattler of Boys' High School	Feb. 1930-Apr. 1930	
		Tech Topics	Nov. 1964-Jun. 1995	
		Technique	Jul. 1976-May 29, 1998	
		Travesty	Apr. 1, 1982-Apr. 1, 1984	
		Tri-Weekly Constitution	Nov. 19, 1925	
		University Signal	Jan. 15, 1954-Dec. 10, 1954	
			Jan. 19, 1869-Aug.	

		Weekly Constitution	1885	
		The Weekly Defiance	Oct. 3, 1885	
		Weekly New Era	Jan. 20, 1870-Jan. 7, 1872	
		Weekly Republican and Discipline	Mar. 28, 1856-Jun. 13, 1856	
		Weekly Southern Opinion	May 12, 1868-Jun. 2, 1868	
		Weekly Star	Jul. 3, 1958-Mar. 3, 1960; Nov. 16, 1961-Sep. 11, 1968	
		(Atlanta) Weekly Sun	Jun. 1871-Jun. 1873	
		Wesleyan Christian Advocate		see Maco
		West End Neighbor	Sep. 18, 1968-Dec. 30, 1970	
		West End Times	Mar. 7, 1941-May 12, 1954	
		The Whistle	Jul. 1974-Dec. 29, 1997	

	Augusta	Augusta Advertiser	Nov. 10, 1877	
		Bulletin of the Catholic Laymen's Association	Jan. 1920-Dec. 21, 1957	
		Georgia State Gazette or Independent Register/Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State/Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Advertiser	Oct. 1786-Dec. 1791	title varied five years; changed to Chronicle Gazette of
		Augusta Chronicle and Gazette of the State	Jan. 1792-Aug. 1808	title chang Augusta C
		Augusta Chronicle	Sep. 1808-Apr. 1818	title chang Augusta C and Gazet State; title Augusta C and Georg
		Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Gazette	May 1818-Aug. 1823	title chang Augusta C title chang Augusta C and Georg Advertiser
		Augusta Chronicle and Georgia Advertiser	Sep. 1823-Dec. 1837	title chang Augusta C and Georg
		Augusta City Directory	1841-1939	
		The Augusta Courier	Apr. 8, 1946-Sep. 16, 1974	
		Augusta Evening Dispatch	Jan. 20, 1858-Jun. 6, 1861	

		*Augusta Focus	Jan. 1995-present	
		Augusta Herald	Jul. 17, 1799-Dec. 28, 1821; Oct. 1838; Jul. 1898-Dec. 1898; Mar. 3, 1900; Feb. 1, 1905-Mar. 31, 1931; scattered issues from Apr. 1, 1939-Jan. 27, 1948	
		Augusta Mirror	Oct. 17, 1840	
		Augusta Observer	Jan. 30, 1931-Nov. 13, 1931	
		Augusta News Review	Nov. 22, 1972-Mar. 16, 1985	
		Augusta Newspaper Digest	1861-1873	
		Augusta Progress	Feb. 11, 1888	
		Augusta Tribune	Jul. 1, 1904-Dec. 22, 1904	
		Augusta Weekly Chronicle	Jan. 11, 1893-Jul. 22, 1898	
		Augusta Weekly Press	Jan. 9, 1869	
		Banner of the South/Banner of the South and Planters' Journal	Mar. 21, 1868-Oct. 15, 1870; Dec. 17, 1870-Jun. 22, 1872	
		Bell Ringer	Oct. 31, 1958-Apr. 8, 1968	
		Boot and Shoe	Spring 1883	
		Bulletin	Nov. 27, 1937-May 31, 1947; Aug. 30, 1952-Dec. 25, 1954	
		The Chronicle and Constitutionalist	Jan. 1877-May 6, 1885	title chang Augusta C
		Augusta Chronicle	May 7, 1885-Dec. 1949	title chang The Chror Constitutic
		Columbian Sentinel	Aug. 2, 1806-Dec. 23, 1809	
		The Constitutionalist	Jan. 4, 1825-Dec. 1827	title chang Georgia Constitutic
		Georgia Constitutionalist	Jan. 1828-Dec. 1844; Jan. 1846-Dec. 1846	title chang The Const
		Daily Press	Jan. 1, 1866-Jul. 27, 1867	
		Daily Chronicle and Sentinel	Jan. 1840-Dec. 1841; May 1842-Dec. 1843; Jan. 1845-Dec. 1849; Jul. 1850-Jun. 1851; Jan. 1852-Dec. 1852;	

			Jul. 1853-Jul. 1855; Jul. 1856-Dec. 1856; Jul. 1858-Dec. 1876
		Daily Constitutionalist/Daily Constitutionalist and Republic	Jan. 1847-Dec. 1849; Jan. 1851-Jun. 1851; Jul. 1853-Dec. 1853; Jul. 1854-Dec. 1854; Jan. 1856-Jun. 1856; Jan. 1857-Dec. 1859; Jul. 1860-Mar. 8, 1877
		Daily Loyal Georgian	Jun. 1867-Jul. 1867
		Daily Register	Sep. 16, 1864-Dec. 6, 1864
		Daily True Democrat	Nov. 17, 1860-Dec. 16, 1860
		Democratic Champion	Sep. 21, 1844
		Evening Sentinel	Oct. 1878; Apr. 1879
		Georgia Baptist	Oct. 13, 1881
		Georgia-Carolina Agriculturalist and Weekly Augusta Chronicle	Dec. 8, 1910-May 18, 1911
		Georgia Courier	Jun. 7, 1827-Dec. 25, 1828; Oct. 7, 1830
		Hussar Fair Bulletin	Dec. 3, 1884
		Loyal Georgia	Feb. 24, 1866-Jun. 22, 1867
		Mirror of the Times	Oct. 24, 1808-Mar. 19, 1814
		Musketeer	Feb. 24, 1942
		National Republican	Jan. 1, 1868-Dec. 31, 1868
		News Review	Mar. 25, 1971-Dec. 30, 1971
		Pacificator	Oct. 1864-Jun. 1865
		Richmond County Times	Feb. 16, 1956-Dec. 1987
		Southern Centinel and Gazette of the State	Apr. 23, 1795-Mar. 10, 1796
		Southern Field and Fireside	May 28, 1859-Apr. 30, 1864
		Southern Republic	Feb. 5, 1861
		Southerner	Jun. 13, 1840
		Trench and Camp	Oct. 10, 1917-Jan. 29, 1919
		(Tri-Weekly) Chronicle and Sentinel	Jan. 1838-Dec. 31, 1841; Jan. 4, 1845-Oct. 6, 1850; Aug. 20, 1851-Apr. 27, 1875

		Tri-Weekly Constitutionalist	Jun. 9, 1850-Sep. 7, 1851; Sep. 1867-Dec. 1870	
		Tri-Weekly Republic	Mar. 23, 1849-Jul. 12, 1851	
		Weekly Chronicle and Sentinel	Nov. 30, 1838-Nov. 10, 1847; Dec. 1851-Apr. 4, 1877	title chang Weekly Ct Constitutic
		Weekly Chronicle Constitutionalist	Apr. 11, 1877-May 6, 1885; some scattered issues up to Feb. 3, 1899	title chang Weekly Ct and Sentir
		Constitutionalist and Republic	Aug. 10, 1851-Dec. 28, 1851	
		Weekly True Democrat	Dec. 19, 1860	
		The Washingtonian/Total Abstinence Advocate	Jun. 11, 1842-May 20, 1843	title varied changed to Washingtc
		Augusta Washingtonian	Jun. 10, 1843-Jul. 12, 1845	title chang The Washingtc Abstinenc
		Weekly Constitutionalist/Georgia Weekly Constitutionalist/Weekly Georgia Constitutionalist (and Republic)	Feb. 20, 1856-Dec. 1863; Nov. 1865-Mar. 7, 1877; Aug. 2, 1848-Sep. 18, 1850; Jul. 9, 1851; Sep. 3, 1851-Mar. 28, 1855	title varied
		Weekly Loyal Georgian	Aug. 10, 1867-Feb. 15, 1868	
		Weekly Review	Dec. 1, 1967-Jan. 23, 1970	
		Weekly Sentinel	Oct. 3, 1885	
		Weekly States' Rights Sentinel	Sep. 2, 1836-Oct. 21, 1836	

	Auraria	Western Herald	Apr. 9, 1833-Jan. 31, 1834	
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	Austell	Austell Courier	Feb. 20, 1931	
		Austell Enterprise	May 1948-Sep. 1973	
		*Austell Neighbor	Apr. 1989-present	
		South Cobb News	Oct. 1988-Aug. 1990	
		Sweetwater News Enterprise	Oct. 1973-Dec. 1978; Jan. 1981-Sep. 15, 1988	
		Tri-County News	Sep. 1990-Sep. 18, 1991	

B	Bainbridge	Bainbridge Argus	Jan. 9, 1869-Sep. 30, 1871	
		Bainbridge Democrat	Jan. 2, 1872-Dec. 7, 1876; Oct. 27, 1881-Jan. 1901; Jul. 18, 1907-Feb. 1909	
		Bainbridge Searchlight	Feb. 9, 1901-Feb. 7, 1913	
		Bainbridge Semi-Weekly Argus	Jan. 17, 1905-Dec. 1905	
		Southern Georgian	Jan. 13 & 20, 1869	title contin Bainbridge Sun; is on identified a "Bainbridg Sun, Jan. 1873"
		Southern Sun	Feb. 11 & 17, 1870; May 5, 1870-Jul. 13, 1872	title contin Bainbridge Sun; is on identified a "Bainbridg Sun, Jan. 1873"
		Bainbridge Argus	Feb. 12, Mar. 5, & May 7, 1870	title contin Bainbridge Sun; is on identified a "Bainbridg Sun, Jan. 1873"
		Bainbridge Weekly Sun	Jul. 20, 1872-Jan. 1873	title immec preceding was South these issu same reel ("Bainbridg Sun, Jan. 1873")
		Bainbridge Weekly Sun	Feb. 1873-Sep. 17, 1874; Dec. 12, 1873- Apr. 1, 1874	continuat titles, but c separate r
		*Post Searchlight	Jan. 6, 1916-present	
		Southern Georgian	Oct. 10, 1866	title chang Bainbridge Sun in 187 issue is or separate r other issu title (see S Georgian,

	Barnesville	Daily Gazette	Mar. 14-15, 1884	
		Barnesville Gazette	Sep. 1884-Dec. 1885	
		Barnesville News Gazette	Nov. 19, 1868-Dec. 1891; Jan. 1893-Dec. 1899; Jan. 1902-Dec. 1912; Jan. 1914-Dec. 1915; Jan. 1918-Dec. 1922; Jan. 1925-Dec. 1925; Jan. 1929-Dec. 1930; Jan. 1932-Oct. 1941; Jan. 1942-Dec. 1943	title chang Gazette
		News Gazette	Jan. 1944-Jan. 1980	title chang Barnesville Gazette
		Barnesville Herald and News Gazette	Feb. 6, 1980-Feb. 25, 1981	title was fc union of th Barnesville and the Ne Gazette; ti continued Herald Ga
		*Herald Gazette	Mar. 1981-present	title contin the Barnes Herald and Gazette
		Orthodox Democrat	Jan. 3, 1889	

	Baxley	Appling County Citizen	May 30, 1974-Sep. 12, 1974	
		Baxley Herald	Mar. 23, 1939-Dec. 5, 1940	
		News Banner	Jan. 11, 1907-Nov. 8, 1912	title chang Baxley Ne
		*Baxley News Banner	Nov. 15, 1912-present	title chang News Ban

	Blackshear	*Blackshear Times	Oct. 10, 1889-Dec. 1928; Jan. 1920-Dec. 1974; Jan. 1977-Dec. 1978; Jan. 1981-present	
		Georgia Observer	Mar. 28, 1958-Jun. 6, 1958	
		*Pierce County Press	Feb. 21, 1980-present	
		Express	Feb. 28, 1983-Nov. 1, 1989	

	Blairsville	Blairsville Free Press	Jul. 28, 1892	
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		Blairsville Herald	Jul. 19, 1892-Nov. 14, 1902 (scattered issues)	
		Georgia Democrat	Dec. 16, 1938	
		Mountaineer	Apr. 1958-Sep. 1962	
		Northeast Georgian	Nov. 29, 1907-Aug. 3, 1917	
		*North Georgia News	Nov. 10, 1922-Mar. 8, 1962 (scattered issues); Jan. 7, 1965-present	
		Union County Citizen	Jan. 4, 1940-Dec. 28, 1944	
		Union County Banner	Apr. 1904-Jun. 6, 1907	

	Blakely	*Early County News	Nov. 4, 1863-Jan. 1, 1931; Jan. 8, 1933-Apr. 1972; Jan. 1981-Feb. 1983; Oct. 1985-present	
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	Blue Ridge	Blue Ridge Post	Jun. 29, 1893; Jan. 11, 1900; Nov. 20, 1913	
		Blue Ridge Summit Post	Jan. 12, 1922-Sep. 1987	
		Fannin County Times	Apr. 19, 1931-Aug. 1969	
		The Observer	May 1987-Apr. 1990	title chang Observer
		*News Observer	May 1990-present	title chang The Obser

	Bogart	Bogart News	Jul. 23, 1897-Jul. 30, 1897	
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	Boston	Boston Journal	Jul. 1, 1893	
		Boston Times	Jan. 23, 1903; Feb. 1903	
		Boston World	Jun. 13, 1891	

	Bowdon	*Bowdon Bulletin	Oct. 10, 1913-present	
		Bowdon Intelligence	May 22, 1890-May 29, 1890	

	Bremen	Bremen Gateway	Jan. 22, 1915-Aug. 1983	title chang Haralson (Beacon
			Sep. 1, 1983-Dec.	

		Haralson Gateway Beacon	1985; Jan. 1987-Jan. 1995	
	Broxton	Broxton Journal	Jun. 24, 1932-Mar. 10, 1933	
	Brunswick	Brunswick Advertiser and Appeal	Mar. 24, 1875-Dec. 1884	title chang Brunswick Advertiser Appeal
		Brunswick Weekly Advertiser and Appeal	Jan. 1885-Nov. 8, 1889	title chang Brunswick and Appea
		Brunswick Appeal	Nov. 20, 1879-Dec. 9, 1879	
		Brunswick Call	May 13, 1896; Jan. 7, 1898-Nov. 9, 1898; Jan. 20, 1899-Aug. 14, 1900	title merge Brunswick form Brun: Times-Cal
		Brunswick Times	May 2, 1896; May 9, 1896; Mar. 2, 1897-Jan. 18, 1898; Apr. 25, 1889-Aug. 15, 1900	title merge Brunswick form Brun: Times-Cal
		Brunswick Times-Call	Aug. 16, 1900-Dec. 29, 1901; Jan. 10, 1902	title forme merger of Call and B Times
		Brunswick Daily Advertiser	Apr. 24, 1889-Dec. 30, 1889	
		Brunswick Daily News	Jan. 24, 1904-Sep. 29, 1906; Sep. 8, 1908-Jun. 29, 1909	
		Brunswick Evening Advertiser	May 5, 1896-Apr. 28, 1897	
		Brunswick Journal	Mar. 1, 1905-Dec. 30, 1905; Jan. 2, 1908-May 4, 1908	
		Brunswick Mariner	Feb. 13, 1943-Oct. 19, 1945	
		*Brunswick News	Jan. 11, 1902-Dec. 1902; May 3, 1903-Jan. 31, 1904; Oct. 13, 1906-present	
		Brunswick Pilot	Aug. 6, 1926-Oct. 1, 1937	
		Brunswick Seaport Appeal	May 22, 1869	
		Brunswick Times Advertiser	Jan. 2, 1894-Nov. 30, 1896	
		Coastal Georgian	May 24, 1946-Oct. 19, 1947	

		Daily Advertiser Appeal	Jan. 14, 1888-Jan. 10, 1889	
		Glynn County Echo Shopper's Guide	Jul. 6, 1983	
		Glynn Reporter	Dec. 7, 1967-Oct. 28, 1971	
		Harbor Sound	Oct. 12, 1983-Jan. 1991	
		Harbor Sound Shopper's Guide	Aug. 17, 1983-Nov. 2, 1983	
		Jekyll Sound	Aug. 10, 1988	
		News Digest and Glynn Reporter	Sep. 22, 1968	
		Port City Post	Jan. 26, 1977-Jan. 25, 1978	
		Shopper's Guide	July 27, 1983	
		Southeast Georgia Shopper's Guide	Mar. 17, 1982-Jun. 22, 1983	
		St. Simon's Sound	Jan. 13, 1988-Jul. 27, 1988	

	Buchanan	Haralson Banner	Feb. 16, 1884-Jan. 1, 1891	title chang Banner Me
		Banner Messenger	Jan. 8, 1891-Feb. 23, 1899; Jan. 10, Apr. 26, & Nov. 29, 1900	title chang Haralson f
		Tribune	Mar. 25, 1898-May 3, 1917	title chang Haralson (Tribune
		Haralson County Tribune	May 10, 1917-Aug. 25, 1983	title chang Tribune

	Buena Vista	Argus	Sep. 24, 1875-Dec. 17, 1875	title chang Buena Vis
		Buena Vista Argus	Jan. 7, 1876-Mar. 26, 1881	title chang Argus; title to Marion Argus
		Marion County Argus	Apr. 2, 1881-Jan. 23, 1884	title chang Buena Vis
		Marion County Clipper	Sep. 3, 1885-Mar. 26, 1886	
		Marion County Messenger	Aug. 1966-Dec. 1967	
		Marion County Patriot/Ellaville Citizen	Apr. 9, 1886-Sep. 1974	two titles r then chan; Patriot Citi
		*Patriot Citizen	Oct. 1974-present	title chang Marion Co and Ellavil
			Feb. 6, 1884-Aug. 27,	

		Marion County Sentinel	1885	
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	Buford	Buford Advertiser	May 17, 1917-Feb. 1964	
		Hog Mountain Herald	Oct. 1993-Apr. 15, 1996	
		Gwinnett Herald	May 1, 1996-Dec. 25, 1996	
		The News of Gwinnett	May 1965-Aug. 1970	

	Butler	Butler Herald	Dec. 18, 1876-Feb. 12, 1884; Jan. 20, 1885-Nov. 1913; Jan. 1914-Jul. 1962	title chang Taylor Co and Butler
		*Taylor County News and Butler Herald	Aug. 3, 1962-present	title chang Butler Her



Last update: June 15, 2001

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URL=<http://www.libs.uga.edu/gnp/listab.html>

Narrator's Name: Ernest Vandiver
Tape Number: 1

37

from seven to nine, it had been seven for a good many years. We had to do that by constitutional amendment. What we were trying to do was add three divisions of three each, so that you could assign particular cases to particular panels. At one time I had appointed, I believe, six of the nine to the Court of Appeals. I had only one appointment to the Supreme Court. I appointed my old law partner, Joseph Quillian. That elevated him from the Court of Appeals to the Supreme Court. I had an excellent rapport with the courts.

Narrator's Name: Ernest Vandiver
Tape Number: 1

36

The relationship with the judiciary was good. I had been fairly active in the practice of law. I had a good association with the bar association and with lawyers throughout the state. I had several appointments to the courts. I know at one time we increased the Court of Appeals

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TRANSCRIBED BROADCASTS FROM THE WSB RADIO COLLECTION

The following transcription was made from preservation tape number APR.1993.52, which contains two separate broadcasts; #M84-20/74b, Congressman John S. Wood speaking on behalf of Judge J.M.C. Townsend, candidate for Court of Appeals, n.d.; and #M84-20/75b, Leo S. Gilbert, candidate for Georgia House of Representatives from Fulton County, featuring guest speaker Mr. Bill Hastings, 09/02/48.

M84-20/74b, Congressman John S. Wood on behalf of Judge J.M.C. Townsend, n.d.:

[COMMERCIAL]: Bulova, official timepiece of American Airlines flagship fleet . . .

ANNOUNCER: We present a political address by Congressman John S. Wood of Canton, Georgia, in behalf of Judge J.M.C. Townsend, candidate for renomination to the Court of Appeals in the forthcoming Democratic primary. This is a commercial service available to all candidates in this race.

Mr. Wood.

CONGRESSMAN JOHN S. WOOD: My friends and fellow Georgians, as a member of the legal profession, and as a citizen deeply interested, as I know you are, in the character, integrity, and qualifications of the jurists who comprise our appellate courts, I am privileged and delighted to speak to you this evening in behalf of Judge J.M.C. Townsend, who is a candidate to succeed himself as a member of the Court of Appeals of this state in the forthcoming Democratic primary, to be held on September 8th.

It has been my very good fortune to know Judge Townsend long and intimately. I have seen him in the flush of public triumph and in the unreserved freedom of the domestic circle. I have seen him on occasions that showed his manly strength of character, and what is better, on occasions that showed his manly weakness of his human heart.

Judge Townsend was born on a farm in Wildwood, a rural community of Dade County, Georgia, on November 30, 1899. He still owns the farm that was the place of his birth, and it still remains his home. His parents, not being blessed with worldly goods sufficient to ensure his college education, nevertheless instilled within him an indomitable determination, so characteristic of the pure Anglo-Saxon people that was his heritage, to acquire knowledge and fit himself for a legal career.

He took various correspondence courses and academic work, in order to prepare himself for his legal education. So determined was he to have the benefit of a college education that in 1921, he secured employment at the United States Post Office in Chattanooga, Tennessee, delivering special delivery letters on a bicycle on the streets of that city during the hours of the day in order to earn sufficient funds with which to pay tuition while attending at night the Chattanooga College of Law.

In 1923, he was graduated from that institution with a degree of Bachelor of Laws, and, immediately thereafter, was admitted to the practice of law in the state of Georgia. Following his admittance to the bar in Georgia, but still possessed with an insatiable desire to learn and better equip himself for his chosen profession, he again matriculated in the Chattanooga College of Law and in the minimum of time commensurate to his ability to learn, he was awarded his degree of Master of Laws. Thereafter, he was admitted to practice in the appellate courts of Georgia, the United States District Court, and the Supreme Court of the United States.

From the very beginning of his professional career, founded upon his legal acquirements, deep and broad in the thorough knowledge of the common law, grappling with and mastering its most perplexing subtleties and obsolete technicalities, it is not surprising that with such natural endowment and tireless industry, he achieved instant and brilliant success amongst competitors of ripe experience and rare ability.

He practiced his profession for more than 20 years, and then was elevated to the bench. Time would fail even had I had the required data to enumerate the important cases in which he was employed. Many of them are still referred to by his professional brethren as examples of the highest juridical ability.

I venture the opinion that while he was engaged as a practitioner at the bar of this state, not only the people but the lawyers of Georgia would have relied upon his knowledge and ability for the exposition and maintenance of any legal principle before any legal tribunal with equal preference to the knowledge and ability of any other lawyer of this state. Nor was he less successful before a jury than before the bench. His keen perception, his unusual ability to discard the complex technicalities and abstruse reasoning suited only to a man of professional culture and to substitute therefor good, robust, common sense, with which he is so richly endowed, peculiarly qualifies him to continue serving in his present capacity as a member of the Court of Appeals of this state.

His record as a practicing lawyer and a jurist is not a whit less brilliant than his record as a statesman. The mere length and character of the services which he has and is rendering his county and state would be sufficient of itself in securing for him a permanent and conspicuous place in our political history. At an early age in his professional career, he served his county as a local school trustee

in his own community. He has served his county and state three times in the General Assembly as a representative of his county of Dade.

He has served in the capacity of Assistant Attorney General of the State of Georgia. And for four years, he served as Superior Court Judge of the Cherokee Judicial Circuit, a circuit composed of six counties and which adjoin the county in which I live. And when he was elected to that high office, he carried every militia precinct in his entire circuit except two. On April 9, 1947, he was elevated to the Court of Appeals of this state, in which capacity he is now serving and for which office he is now a candidate to succeed himself.

For the better part of his entire life, he has been an active member of the Methodist Church. And since attaining the age of sixteen years, he has served his church continuously, either as superintendent or as teacher of the Sunday School. He is a Mason, Knight Templar, and a Shriner, an Elk, and also a Woodman.

Judge Townsend believes in the Constitution of our state and nation. He believes in and values as much as any man could, possibly value the Bill of Rights and stands ever ready and eager to defend those cherished rights granted to the people under that sacred document. He believes in fair trials, and what is more, he believes in reversing cases when reversible error apparently has been committed and in not reversing cases when reversible error is not evident.

During the four years in which he presided over the courts of the Cherokee circuit, while never forgetting the high office he held or the dignity and responsibility due to the laws he was elected to enforce, he was a judge who would not permit his court to be used as an instrumentality to oppress the people he served.

By a fair interpretation and a just enforcement of the laws of this state, he did much to instill into the hearts and minds of the people he served a reverence and respect for our courts and our system of jurisprudence. He is always kind, accommodating, and considerate of the feelings, not only of the members of the bar, but of every litigant, be he prince or pauper, who appears in his presence. He passionately loves truth and justice. He as passionately despises the false and hypocritical, wherever it raises its ugly head.

His unusually kind consideration of the young members of the bar did not long go unnoticed. He is always ready and anxious to assist them in their awkward stumblings up the difficult pathway to success, to correct their errors, to encourage their efforts, to make suggestions to them when in doubt, and always ready to lend them a helping hand. Experience has taught me that young lawyers are often sorely in need of this encouragement and wise suggestions. And the young lawyers, particularly of his own circuit, will never forget how much they have received from his hands.

As I have already told you, it has been my happy privilege and my good fortune to know Judge Townsend intimately for many years, and if I were asked to say what is Judge Townsend's outstanding characteristic, I would unhesitatingly answer, his love of life and people. His hearty laugh is his badge of identification throughout the width and length of this great state. I venture this statement without fear of serious contradiction: that Judge Townsend knows more people and has fewer enemies than any man in public life in Georgia today.

I have seen him when the bleak and cruel winds of adversity beat around his red but unbowed head. And I've seen him stand fast for principles of honor, right, and justice, when expediency offered an easier way.

No man can truthfully say that this great Georgian has ever compromised a principle, betrayed a trust, violated a confidence or sacrificed a friend. With a spotless private character, with a big heart full of the flowing fire of pure patriotism with an intellect surpassed by few men of his generation, he is yet as gentle as a woman, and as firm and courageous and immovable in his advocacy of the right and his devotion of the highest concept of official duty.

He is a loving husband, a firm parent, a devoted friend, a good citizen, and an upright judge. It is a source of rare and genuine pleasure to me to have this privilege of commending to your consideration this great Georgian, this splendid jurist, for continued service on the Court of Appeals of Georgia which he so richly deserves. Let us always keep our courts above partisan politics.

I thank you.

ANNOUNCER: We have presented a political address by Congressman John S. Woods in behalf of Judge J.M.C. Townsend, candidate for renomination to the Court of Appeals in the forthcoming Democratic primary. This is a commercial service available to all candidates in this race.

ANNOUNCER: You are tuned to 750 WSB, the Voice of the South, Atlanta.

Music on the following program is transcribed.

ANNOUNCER: It's music by Thornhill.

[Recorded music begins.]

[Recorded music continues, "Oh, You Beautiful Doll...."]

M84-20/75b: Leo S. Gilbert, candidate for Fulton County Representative, and Mr. Bill Hastings, 09/02/48 begins here:

ANNOUNCER: Six-thirty, the time.

ANNOUNCER: We present a political address by Leo Gilbert, candidate for representative in the state legislature from Fulton County in the forthcoming Democratic Primary. This is a commercial service available to all candidates in this race.

Mr. Gilbert will be introduced by Mr. Bill Hastings. And, now, Mr. Gilbert [sic].

MR. BILL HASTINGS: Twenty years ago, I made a daily three minute talk over WSB on Georgia history and points of

interest. This is Bill Hastings speaking. My daily salutation was, "Howdy, folks! How are y'all?" It is like old home week to again greet you in the same neighborly way.

Tonight's occasion is the candidacy of Leo S. Gilbert. He wants to work for you in the legislature.

I was born and reared in Atlanta. My work for more than thirty years has required considerable traveling here and abroad. Consequently, I have visited many of the world's great cities. As delightful and as interesting as all of them are, I have never seen one that I would swap for Atlanta as a place to live.

My grandmother and my mother were refugees from Atlanta just before the city was destroyed. I have picked wild blackberries on Ponce de Leon Avenue where magnificent apartment buildings now stand. As a boy, I often went in swimming as naked as a jaybird in washholes where almost impenetrable forests gave boys complete privacy in parts of our county that are now thickly settled. Consequently, no person could love our section with greater ardor, so I am especially anxious for us to select legislative representatives who are capable, honest, fair, and dependable. That is why I am supporting Mr. Gilbert.

I have known Leo Gilbert for twenty-five years. Unlike myself, Mr. Gilbert was not born in Atlanta. I had no choice, but Mr. Gilbert did. He selected Atlanta a quarter century ago as a good place to live, a good place to rear and educate the three fine boys who blessed his marriage, a good place to establish his own business.

At the end of his service in World War I, Mr. Gilbert chose Atlanta for his homeplace. Like many of our good citizens who came from other parts, Mr. Gilbert was inoculated with the Atlanta spirit. He started a business on a small scale. He had little capital. That enterprise has grown into an essential service to the business interests of this section. In the twenty-five years he has operated his business, he has won the respect and confidence of his fellows. I know Mr. Gilbert is intelligent. I know he is honest. I know he is capable. I know he can hold his own in debate in the House of Representatives. I know he has the ability to work with others, which is supremely important to any legislator, more so one from Fulton County.

I had the honor of representing you during two sessions of the Georgia legislature. I know from experience that a Fulton representative, to be of any service to you, must be able to make friends and work with people.

There are 205 representatives in the House. The majority of them are from rural counties. Their main interests are agricultural. Many of them know little about the problems of a thickly populated county with great industrial, social, and commercial problems, as well as agricultural ones. Every person who has represented Fulton County during the past twenty years will tell you he experienced a barrier of suspicion against our so-called "city county" on the part of many members from strictly rural counties. Unless he overcame this through ability to get along with fellow members and win their confidence and respect, he simply became one vote out of 205 -- a member [number?] with little ability to get things done.

Leo Gilbert is equipped by personality, by training, and by ability to cope with such a condition and to acquire sufficient influence with fellow members to get things done. It is rather tragic that some of our fine citizens are so concerned over the local matter of annexation they have allowed that one issue to press other important considerations from their minds. Your Fulton representatives will have to work for or against hundreds of important measures that will directly affect you as a citizen of Georgia. Therefore, it seems penny wise and pound foolish to allow one local issue to obscure the importance of the whole task. I have said many times, and I wish I could say it with such force and eloquence that it would indelibly impress the consciousness of every voter in our democracy, that the office of the legislature is more important than the office of governor -- not any individual legislator, mind you, but the legislature itself, because it is the body which governs the governor. The legislature prescribes the scope of his activities.

So I beg you, my fellow citizens, for the sake of our county, our state, for the sake of all of us in Georgia, ponder the merits and demerits of your legislative candidates as seriously as you undoubtedly will those seeking the governor's office. Satisfy yourself that the man you vote for is capable of handling his own business before trusting him with your far weightier affairs. From twenty-five years acquaintance with Leo Gilbert, I can assure you he will make a fair, honest, intelligent and creditable representative of whom you will be proud.

Speaking at such length about Mr. Gilbert reminds me of a shoe salesman who was displaying his line. He talked endlessly, finally saying, "Brother, these shoes speak for themselves!" The weary prospect exclaimed, "Then, for heaven's sake, shut up and give them a chance!" So this is Bill Hastings now shutting up to give Mr. Gilbert a chance to speak for himself.

Fellow citizens, Mr. Gilbert.

MR. LEO GILBERT: Thanks, Bill. Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. I want to take these few minutes to talk to you on a subject close to the hearts of all of us: good government. It is not an immediate issue in the sense of being a partisan matter, subject to debate, pro and con. But it is the most important issue in this or any other campaign for public office today. We are all against bad, weak, inefficient government, but that isn't enough. Being against bad government is no assurance that we will have good government.

The very fact that we all believe in good government is perhaps the greatest single hazard to the fullest attainment of it. The earnest and constant attention of each of us is essential, and not once for all the future, but all the time. There is no such thing as good government by default.

If government on any level is static when the times demand action, if it is indifferent or contemptuous of our rights as citizens and equals before the law, or if it is corrupt or dictatorial, we have only ourselves to blame. The responsibility is the responsibility of the individual who casts his ballot on election day. There have been charges in this campaign of power-mad politicians and machine politics. The record does not bear out these charges, for there has been no proposal to broaden the powers of any official.

All of this has been wild talk, some of it deliberately reckless, but if these statements could be sincere and those who make them honest in their convictions, what is the answer? If there should be power-mad politicians in Atlanta and a resort to machine politics in the conduct of the city administration, to whom should we look for the remedy? Can it be said to lead to good government in Atlanta to narrow the proposition down for a moment, when a large number of those who are residents of this immediate community, and essentially one with its hopes and aims, have removed themselves from the arena? Can it lead to good government when these citizens are helpless to exercise the corrective force of the ballot?

My first public statement set out my reasons for seeking a seat in the Georgia legislature as one of your representatives from Fulton County. I said then that a number of my friends had urged me to make the race, that there were many reasons why I could enter, and none of importance why I could not. At that time, I also stated that I had no platform but good government and that, in my opinion, good government, like charity, begins at home. Good government very literally begins at home. It begins in the grass roots of town hall meetings and precinct rallies. It builds upward on foundations laid by an informed and a concerned electorate. It does not begin with national and state-wide elections and filter down. It begins with our vote in local elections and with the men we send to represent us in city council, the county commission, and the state legislature. These are the men who will formulate the laws and regulations we must live by here at home. These are the men who will give expression to our belief in good government on local levels. These are the men who will give form and direction to our conception of what good government ought to be and ought to do in proportion to their integrity and capacity and their devotion to the principles of good government.

Good government is always positive, never negative. It doesn't just happen. It must be brought to happen. Our selection of a candidate for public office is the first step in bringing it to happen. None of us would play down the importance of the man in office or excuse him for his actions in a discussion of good government, but it vastly more important that we play up the responsibility of the electorate who put him there.

This is Leo Gilbert speaking in behalf of his candidacy for the state legislature. We cannot talk about good government, here on our own ground, without agreeing it is important that the city of Atlanta and county of Fulton go forward as the greatest metropolitan area and county seat of the South, today and in the future. As in the '60s [1860s] when Atlanta was the hub of the Confederacy, as in the days of Reconstruction when it builded so valiantly from the ashes of defeat, as in the present when it is recognized as the cultural, commercial, and financial capitol of the South, this is the important thing -- important that we be not diverted from our destiny and our vision of the future by side issues or false issues or platforms or personalities, important that we grow and expand in civic character and in the tradition and responsibility of leadership, important that we not be swayed unduly by petty fears or doubts, and that we not be bound to our yesterdays in a restricted city area that shuts us off from many of our finest citizens and shuts them off from the rest of us.

I submit this is of paramount importance to the state of Georgia which receives approximately one-third of all its revenues from Atlanta and Fulton County, to the city and the county themselves if they expect this area to continue to enjoy the good government they have fortunately had in the past, and to every resident who expects to rear his children here and earn his living and maintain his security here.

These are the important things. When we think of good government here on the home front, we think in terms of bringing about these admittedly desirable ends. And when we think of the type of government that will best serve the interests of our community, we think in terms of the best government it is possible for us to have today, bearing in mind that government is not static and that some practical program of the future may hold an even greater promise. It is not important that I or any other candidate, as an individual, be elected. It is important only that to the best predictable ends of good government, the best qualified candidate be named to serve you.

Speaking for myself, the people of this community have been good to me. My roots are in the ground here in Georgia, and I feel and long have felt that Atlanta and Fulton County have a claim on me at any time or in any way I can be of service.

It would be presumptuous of me to assume all the virtues to myself and delegate all the shortcomings to the other fellow. But I do feel that my business career has taught me something about administration and something about organization and the vital part these play in our affairs, whether they be in the public interest or in private pursuits. I have sought in this short period to present my fundamental views on good government honestly and fairly. I do not pretend to have all the answers to all the problems that may arise next year in the General Assembly. I do not pretend to know even all that may arise. But I do know, whatever they may be, they can be met by examining them in the light of sound principle and testing them against the measuring stick of good government.

This is Leo Gilbert asking your support for election as a representative from Fulton County to the Georgia legislature.

Thank you.

ANNOUNCER: We have presented a political address by Leo Gilbert, candidate for representative in the state legislature from Fulton County in the forthcoming Democratic primary. This is a commercial service available to all candidates in this race.

ANNOUNCER: Your Atlanta --

[end of recording]