ATTORNEY AT WALDEN GALVANIZED, SOLIDIFIED ATLANTA’S BLACK VOTE

David Kenneth Pye, PhD., Special Contributor


The Atlanta that Austin Thomas and Mary Ellen Walden encountered upon their arrival in 1919 was one still simmering from the infamous 1906 race riot. The 1906 Atlanta Race Riot and its aftermath affected black society by instilling a new, more rigid demarcation between the races. For black lawyers, this period of increased racial separation proved devastating for a group already limited in number. The actual number of black lawyers in the early twentieth century is unknown, because many blacks with legal training never practiced law for lack of clients. The United States Census Reports of 1910 and 1920 listed the number of black attorneys in Atlanta at six.

Despite these obstacles, Attorney Walden still desired to practice law in Atlanta. Walden, who had begun his career as a criminal defense lawyer before winning some respect from the white bar and judiciary, was perhaps the only black man in 1927 who could stand in a Georgia courtroom and forward an argument for a black citizen against the police force.

Partly because of his stature as the only black man practicing law in the courts, black Atlanta accepted Walden as one of its leaders. Though he fought dogmatically for black rights, Walden never openly challenged white southerners’ superior social position. It always seemed that Walden was working within the limits placed by whites. At the same time, throughout the early part of his career, the majority of black Atlantans did hold Walden in high esteem—many because he was a black man who dared argue against whites in court. For Walden, his success in the black world was partly due to his legal training. Yet, the traditional view of Walden as the primary leader of black Atlanta in the pre-civil rights years ignores the dissension he faced within civic organizations and the social complexity of the black community. The years 1924 to 1936, Walden headed the Atlanta branch of the NAACP. By 1936, Walden, who still headed many other civic organizations, and received a position on the national NAACP board, seemed unperturbed by his loss of the [local] directorship and began focusing more on regaining the franchise for blacks. In fact, to him, access to the ballot was the only assured way for blacks to gain and subsequently maintain equality and fair treatment in Atlanta courtrooms.

1 Osgood Williams, interview with Clifford Kuhn, May 12, 1988 as part of Georgia Government Documentation Project (GGDP). P1988-15, Series B. Public Figures, Georgia Government Documentation Project, Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University Library, Atlanta.

2 Westley Wallace Law, interview with Clifford Kuhn and Timothy Crimmins, November 15 and 16, 1990, GGDP, Series E, Box 2, 168, Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University Library, Atlanta.
To mitigate the “hell” blacks experienced in Atlanta prior to the civil rights movement, Walden, a Democrat since the Presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and John Wesley Dobbs, a staunch Republican for life, settled their ideological differences and formed the bipartisan Atlanta Negro Voters League (ANVL) in 1949. The ANVL’s intent was to organize the entire black community into one voting bloc that the city’s white power structure could no longer ignore.

Before 1949, Atlanta’s blacks, along with all blacks in Georgia and the South, had no vote in local elections. Though the United States Constitution protected the black franchise, southern legislatures found ingenious ways to circumvent the law and render the black vote ineffectual. Those blacks who somehow managed to avoid this official harassment and registered still had to deal with the extralegal terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan, the Blackshirts, and various other entities designed to make the voting process less than pleasant for blacks.

In the South, a region where Republicans had hardly ever won elections since Reconstruction, the general election was a moot point. As for Georgia, the Democratic Party continued its white-only primary until 1946’s Chapman v. King, in which the United States Supreme Court, following the precedent set in Texas (1944), ruled specifically against the Georgia white [only] primary. Owing to a myriad of obstacles designed to keep them from voting, registered black Atlantans numbered only 958 in 1935, representing only six percent of the total registered population. As historian Ronald H. Bayor notes, black Atlanta’s leaders knew it was time for action because “a voteless people is a helpless people.”

Mayor William Berry Hartsfield further exacerbated the urgency of Walden’s desire to register more blacks when he uttered his now famous reply to the black leader’s request for streetlights in the community: “Get 10,000 black voters and come back then.” So, in 1949, excited by the Chapman v. King decision, Walden co-founded and co-chaired the ANVL to increase the number of black voters, to end partisanship among black leaders, and to make Mayor Hartsfield responsible to black citizens. To Walden, these efforts all had the overall goal of producing equality before the law.

Walden, who had served as a local civil defense air raid patrolman during World War II, possessed intricate knowledge of every corner of Atlanta’s black neighborhoods. He used this fact to assist the voter registration campaign by asking the same people who had served as block wardens for civil defense during the war to serve as block captains for the ANVL. These captains held the responsibility of registering their people and making sure they got to the polls on election day. Most acquiesced and the ANVL quickly registered 10,000 blacks for the 1949 primary election.

This election pitted the incumbent mayor, William Berry Hartsfield, against his longtime nemesis, Fulton County Commissioner Charlie Brown. Blacks refused to offer unsubstantiated loyalty to any white candidate. It became known that any white candidate for office would have to win the black vote just the same as he did the white vote: through actions and keeping promises.

Walden and Dobbs requested that both candidates meet with the ANVL at the Butler Street YMCA to discuss the issues. Hartsfield, cognizant of the ANVL’s power to sway the black vote, agreed, but Charlie Brown, hoping to gain votes from whites who felt Hartsfield had already done too much for blacks, declined the invitation. Using the bloc vote strategy to prevent a white backlash against the black favorite, blacks helped

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win the election for Hartsfield. ANVL Secretary John H. Calhoun stated in a report one month following the election that "10,000 Negroes voted in the primary, and at least 8,500 of them cast their votes in favor of Mr. Hartsfield...The fact that he gained only 2,800 more votes than...Mr. Charlie Brown, clearly indicates the effect of the Negro vote." 7

Following their meeting, Walden told Hartsfield that the ANVL backed only those white candidates willing to take the political risk of visiting the black community and voicing support for black causes. 8 Throughout his long tenure in office, Hartsfield won the black vote repeatedly with Walden by his side, thus demonstrating that blacks held the balance of power in these Mayoral elections. 9

It was the organized structure of the ANVL, led by Walden’s old civil defense plan that assigned voting captains to every block in the black community, that forced all future mayoral candidates to listen to black concerns. In this respect, A.T. Walden helped transform Atlanta's political, social, and economic history by making the black vote a force politicians could not ignore.

Being Atlanta's only black lawyer for many years and leading the Negro Voters League propelled Walden to even greater stature. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, white city officials chose to deal with only a handful of select representatives from the black community. 10

Respected, to some extent, by both blacks and whites, Walden became one of these liaisons between the races.

Furthermore, in his dealings with the white power structure, Walden’s approach was definitely nonconfrontational, a fact that would eventually endanger his credibility with more militant blacks.

As is true of the black professional class in general during the Jim Crow era, Walden’s role is fraught with ambiguity.

During the 1961 sit-in crisis in which students from the historically black Atlanta University College staged demonstrations in downtown eating establishments, city officials, unable to negotiate with the militant students, called upon Walden, a trusted leader, to diffuse the situation. While younger leaders continued pressing for immediate desegregation of the Rich’s Department Store lunch counters, Walden began private negotiations with Mayor Hartsfield, Robert Troutman, and Rich’s owner, Richard Rich.

Students began to plan a new round of sit-ins despite the settlement agreement signed by Walden. Witnessing his rapidly declining appeal among the masses, Walden begged the students to accept the agreement in a speech given at Warren Methodist Church near Atlanta University. It finally took an impassioned plea from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was in attendance, to quiet the jeering students. Though the students eventually honored the settlement agreement, they did so unfortunately out of respect for King, not Walden.

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., as a gesture of goodwill, placed A.T. Walden on the bench as a Municipal Traffic Court Judge in 1964. Sadly, Walden died a year later.

The Atlanta Daily World, usually considered a conservative black newspaper, printed an editorial recalling Walden’s legal career. On Walden’s life as a southern black man of unquestionable talent, Coleman argued that Walden should have served on the United States Supreme Court rather than settle for a minor traffic court position, which never allowed him the opportunity to sit on the bench.

Coleman continued by writing that, “He was not justly honored. He should have been much more. This life is such a waste, your sad heart cries.” 11

For somewhat militant blacks in the late 1960s, A.T. Walden’s life became a metaphor for the limited prospects blacks faced in the South.

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Permission granted by Managing Editor Stan Deaton.

Named after Toccoa Falls, Toccoa had been a destination for various Native groups such as the Mississippi, Cherokee, and Catawbas Tribal Nations who lived in the region long before whites settled in the area. Most Blacks in Toccoa migrated from the surrounding rural areas where their families were formerly enslaved and then worked as sharecroppers until the early 1930s after the boll weevil destroyed cotton fields across the state. Stephens County native Larry Gholston recalls stories of when his paternal grandparents moved to Toccoa from Franklin County. “My grandmother brought her chickens and my grandfather insisted on bringing his mule,” he said. His aunt had a garden and a chicken coop, and his uncle built the house where his grandparents lived. At 86 years of age, his late aunt knew what herbs worked for homemade remedies to keep the family healthy.

As Southern cotton industry struggled back from the boll weevil infestation of the 1920s and 30s and the Great Depression, manufacturing made its way from the North and Midwest. “They brought jobs, yes. But most Blacks [here] couldn’t get those jobs, Gholston said. His mother may have been considered one of the lucky ones as she worked at Wrights Manufacturing, also known as Morona Sports, making and pressing men’s pants.

Gholston described how the families he knew celebrated life despite living in poverty. “During those days, many Blacks did not consider themselves as being poor. They were working people who lived by sharing with others. Community was a verb,” he said. The Black church was central to this communal way of life. According to Gholston, the earliest Black churches in the Toccoa area were Fair Play (founded in 1850), Greater Hope Baptist (1877), and Mt. Zion Baptist (1899), founded by enslaved individuals and later sharecroppers who worked the land in Banks, Franklin, and Stephens counties. He said church kitchens served as shared food pantries and a place for group activities like canning and quilting.

Gholston shared about his grandfather who raised hogs for the Ginn Family in Carnesville. The Ginn family also owned the local funeral home there. His grandfather was hired to raise the hogs for sale and slaughter. Gholston said Black folks would use the parts of the hogs the whites did not want—pig feet, ears, brains and intestines. Some even made a congealed dish from the head called hog head cheese, he added. In the Carnesville area, families such as the Gillespies, the Carnes, and the Seegers would plant 30+ acres of cotton and hire Black sharecroppers to harvest it. They were paid for each pound they picked, only to turn around and give all the money back to Whites who owned the local store and the housing. Sharecropping created a system of unchecked racialized economic domination that disenfranchised Black people.

Gholston works to save historic sites like Arnolds Chapel School in Franklin County. Credit: Melissa Jest/HPD

Coats & Clarke Inc. still packages sewing thread in Toccoa. This former plant stands vacant. Credit: Melissa Jest/HPD

He said, his mother “made production” in a factory where both Blacks and Whites worked on the factory floor together during the legal racial segregation.

3 Larry Gholston, interview with Nedra Deadwyler, September 17, 2020. Notes filed with Interviewer.
Gholston recalled seeing the church kitchen stacked to the ceiling with home-canned fruits and vegetables.

The roots of entrepreneurship run deep in Toccoa’s Black community. In the Broad Street business district bounded by Broad, Wood, Spring, and Goodman Streets were small mom-and-pop businesses such as Drew’s Dry cleaners, S & M Grill, Holly Barbershop, Gray Cab Company and Mayfield Garage. Two funeral homes-Drews Funeral Home and Moss, Stovall, and Neal--served the community as well. Gholston has a family connection to S & M Grill through his maternal aunt who moved to Boston in 1955. There she attended culinary school and learned how to make pastry. In the mid-1960s, she returned to Toccoa to open S & M Grill until 1975.

Gholston said many left before his aunt in search of better as part of the Great Migration. This phrase describes the mass exodus of Black people from the agricultural South to the Northeast and Midwest from 1910 to the early 1970s. Historian Matthew Wills points to racial violence stating that during the late 19th and early 20th centuries Southern blacks were exposed to truly incredible levels of lethal violence both at the hands of white mobs and the white criminal justice system. Mr. Gholston named several families in the Banks, Franklin, and Stephens counties that served and influenced the larger Black community-- the Drews, Keils, Mayfields, Martins, Neals, Swifts, Swillings, Scotts, Smiths, 5 Christine Leibbrand, Catherine Massey, J.Trent Allexander, Katie R. Genadke, , Stewart Tolnay. “The Great Migration and Residential Segregation in American Cities during the Twentieth Century”, Social Science History 2020:44 no.1(2020): 19-55. Doi:10.1017/ssh.2019.46. https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PM7297198. Accessed November 6, 2020

As for famous Toccoans, he noted that Bobby Bird who played with music icon James Brown built his first wife’s home in Toccoa, and native son Dale Davis, former center for the Indiana Pacers NBA team who maintains tie there. Gholston also credited the ingenuity of Black women, who were led in the community and in their homes, and who prevailed in the absence of their men. Many Black women left the fields for the city and found regular work as a domestic workers, he said. These women were able to persist because they supported and cooperated with each other.

By remembering the “old ways”, one can learn how to be independent and self-sustaining which are relevant lessons Gholston wants to keep alive for the generations yet to come. He founded the Cultural and Historical Society of Banks, Franklin, and Stephens Counties two years ago to present the rich and complex legacies of Black life to young audiences. Instead of asking youth to shoulder a history focused on enslavement, the Society seeks to promote an enduring culture of ingenuity, cooperation, and pride in the face of sustained oppression.

Telling stories about foodways traditions, the spiritual traditions of sharecropper churches and their field songs that date to the mid-1800s, and local history of Black entrepreneurship on Toccoa’s Broad Street inspired Larry Gholston and his family to start the Poke Sallitt festival in 1990.

As with many Black traditional foodways, Gholston said Black families in Toccoa and surrounding counties supplemented their food budget by growing vegetables and gathering wild greens like the poke weed, the main ingredient in the vegetable dish, poke sallitt.

Festival founder Larry Gholston (far right) and family in 2019. Courtesy Seth Gholston
Poke or pokeweed is a poisonous perennial weed with leafy green leaves, common in the South. It has a magenta red stalks, white flowers, and clusters of deep purple berries and can grow to 8 to 10 feet tall. Food historian Michael Twitty, describes the conditions of poor whites and Blacks was such that because of walking barefoot, medicinal cures were needed to de-worm and [eating poke] became part of the diet both out of necessity and as folk medicine. Poke has vitamin A, C, iron, calcium, and a unique antiviral protein. The name is unusual and a blend of two cultures, poke comes from a word for “blood” or “dye” in an indigenous North American language as the red, bright berries can be used to make dye when ripe. Gholston added that poke berries were also used for war paint by Native warriors. The word sallit (or sallitt) comes from an older form of the English and refers to a cooked salad. Gholston described making poke sallitt as a long process of cleaning, cutting and boiling the greens outside in large caldrons for several hours. He said a community of women would come together, each performing a role in the long preparation. Growing up, Gholston said poke sallit was served with fat back and cornbread.

And that is how Gholston and family served it at their annual Poke Festival held at Emory “Bullett” Johnson Park in Toccoa. He said his mother-in-law would also prepare fried fish at the festival. “You should see folks coming,” he laughed. The annual Festival is held in May on Memorial Day weekend and includes other activities such as a cake walk and a spelling bee. One year, it featured a basketball tournament sponsored by NBA player Dale Davis. Along with Toccoa’s Poke Sallitt Festival, Gholston reported two other festivals in the southeast in Arabia, Alabama and Chattanooga, Tennessee.

The late singer-songwriter and Louisiana native Tony Joe White popularized the dish in his 1969 hit song “Polk Salad Annie” that found success on the R&B and pop charts.

Gholston described Black life in Toccoa from 1930 through the 1950s as being shaped by the opportunities, or lack there of, available to rural Black people migrating in from the farms. “In the 1940s, these small towns weren’t like Atlanta. The town was mostly dirt roads. The [local government] sprayed them down with water to keep the dust down,” Gholston explained. Chicken coops dotted neighborhoods and most families had a small garden. “They (the elders) had their techniques for making things work. Andhey had to!”

When racial integration occurred, Gholston said people, “ran away from their heritage”. The Cultural Historical Society of Banks, Franklin, Stephens County in tandem with the Poke Sallitt Festival aims to uphold the history and traditions of Black people who migrated to Toccoa and established communities that have endured. The Society offers annual February programs in local churches and exhibits artifacts like caldrons, Dutch ovens, oil lanterns, and family Bibles to provide the context for his narrative on Black life. “I want the youth today to have pride in where they come from and to not hang their head in shame,” he explained.

The Society, a nonprofit, 501C(3) organization headquartered in Toccoa, seeks to expand the reach of its travelling history programs and to collect oral histories from elders in the three counties it serves. Gholston envisions promoting local Black heritage and culture to visitors and tourists discovering Toccoa and the Georgia Mountains region. By keeping this important history and culture visible through public history and community preservation, Gholston hopes to uplift local Black youth and families who remain and to encourage those who have moved away that their family homesteads are worth maintaining and returning to in the future.

Young Cooper helped harvest Poke for the 2019 festival. Courtesy of Seth Gholston

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GAAHPN steering board welcomes six new members located throughout Georgia

Celebrate with the Georgia African American Historic Preservation Network (GAAHPN) and steering board as it welcomes its new board members from four of Georgia’s planning regions. (Please find the full board listed on p. 9)

The GAAHPN board looks forward to engaging preservation colleagues and supporters from all twelve of Georgia’s regions on its committees and in its future virtual workshops.

GAAHPN “Network” is composed of nearly 5,000 advocates and constituents from community organizations and heritage groups and various preservation-related fields committed to preserving and promote the places and oral history that tells of African American life and contributions in Georgia.

For information about 2021 virtual workshops and other ways to connect the GAAHPN network, please contact GAAHPN liaison Melissa Jest.

Georgia Historic Preservation Division
Melissa.Jest@dca.ga.gov | www.georgiashpo.org

Image credit: Georgia HPD

National Trust awards grant to GAAHPN’s “Building A Better Network” Initiative

GAAHPN, in cooperation with HPD, was selected as one of 27 significant places or projects to receive a 2020 grant from the African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund (AACHAF) of the National Trust for Historic Preservation with support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

This AACHAF support will allow GAAHPN to improve its efforts to engage grassroots advocates, promote the inclusion and use of diverse places throughout Georgia, and build leadership capacity with the network through training and technical assistance.

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Image credit: National Trust for Historic Preservation

Historic Preservation Division joins Georgia Department of Community Affairs, moves to new offices

The Georgia Historic Preservation Division is now a division of the Georgia Department of Community Affairs. As of December 21, 2020 HPD will be located in the DCA offices at 60 Executive Park South, NE Atlanta GA 30329. David Crass continues as HPD Director/Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer. For information, contact Allison Asbrock at Allison.Asbrock@dca.ga.gov.

Georgia Historic Preservation Division
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Image credit: Georgia Dept. of Community Affairs
The Georgia African American Historic Preservation Network (GAAHPN) was established in January 1989. It is composed of representatives from neighborhood organizations and preservation groups. GAAHPN was formed in response to a growing interest in preserving the cultural and built diversity of Georgia’s African American heritage. This interest has translated into a number of efforts which emphasize greater recognition of African American culture and contributions to Georgia’s history. The GAAHPN Steering Committee plans and implements ways to develop programs that will foster heritage education, neighborhood revitalization, and support community and economic development.

The Network is an informal group of over 3,000 people who have an interest in preservation. Members are briefed on the status of current and planned projects and are encouraged to offer ideas, comments and suggestions. The meetings provide an opportunity to share and learn from the preservation experience of others and to receive technical information through workshops. Members receive a newsletter, Reflections, produced by the Network. Visit the Historic Preservation Division website at www.georgiashpo.org. Preservation information and previous issues of Reflections are available online. Membership in the Network is free and open to all.