**Atlanta, 1913: Justice for Mary Phagan and Leo Frank**



**A Reacting Game**

**by**

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*This open-access reacting game was built in partnership with the Digital Library of Georgia and made possible by an Affordable Learning Pilot Grant from the University System of Georgia. Janice Hume is a professor and head of the Department of Journalism, and Andrea Briscoe is a doctoral candidate, in the Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Georgia.*

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Photograph of Mary Phagan: AJCP402-102h, Atlanta Journal-Constitution Photographic Archives. Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University Library. Photograph of Leo Frank: P.F. Collier Inc., 1914, University of Georgia Libraries.



*This stereograph card from 1907 shows Peach Tree Street from the east, a typical*

*Business district in Atlanta. From the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.*

**Prologue**

It’s 1913, and you live in a city on the rise. Atlanta represents the epitome of what journalist (and white supremacist) [Henry W. Grady called the “New South,”](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/henry-w-grady-1850-1889) betting its future on manufacturing and transportation rather than farming. It is a gateway to the region. More than 150 trains rumble through the city daily from five railroad lines. New factories produce everything from farm machinery to textiles. Buildings reach to the sky. Large competing newspapers offer daily headlines and gossip. You read them sipping Coca-Cola, a hometown brew bottled here since 1894. The Georgia School of Technology, now 25 years old, promotes a new industrial economy, and Emory College is on the verge of expanding to a full-fledged university. Atlanta University, Morehouse College and the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary offer opportunities for a growing Black middle class.

Yes, you live in a diverse city. Among the population of roughly 150,000 Atlantans, more than 35,000 are African-American. Atlanta boasts a small but vibrant Jewish community, including a growing number of Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, but also quite a few businessmen from the North and their families.

Atlanta is also a segregated city beset by poverty and simmering with racial unrest. Just seven years ago, it erupted in a terrifying and violent riot, fueled by unfounded rumors published in newspapers of sexual assaults by Black men on White women. When the dust settled, 27 people were dead, 25 of them Black, and more than 70 injured. Poor sharecroppers and farmers now flood the city in search of a better life, but it’s tough. Their children, some as young as 10, work in factories for meager pay just so their families can survive.

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Early Sunday morning, April 27, something happens that shakes you to the core. The battered body of 13-year-old [Mary Phagan](https://dlg.usg.edu/record/gsu_ajc_5620) is discovered in the basement of the National Pencil Company’s factory. She has been strangled. You don’t like to speak of such things, but she has probably been violated as well. Soon Jewish factory manager Leo Frank is arrested and charged with her murder. Atlanta erupts. What follows will teach you much about yourself, the city of Atlanta, the legal system, mob violence, and the journalism of the day.

**Reacting**

For the next month, you will participate in a reacting (role playing) game. In doing so you will consider issues of gender, poverty, child labor, race, anti-Semitism, politics, law and journalism ethics. You will step into the shoes of a person who lived in 1913 and will speak and write in his or her voice, even if you vehemently disagree with everything that person says or does. You will try to make sense of this terrible crime, debating what justice might look like for Mary Phagan, Leo Frank and the larger Atlanta community.

**Factions**

During the game, you will try to persuade others to your character’s point of view, and others will try to persuade you. Is Leo Frank guilty? One faction argues yes, the other no. Is he getting a fair trial? Or is he being railroaded? Your faction is your team. You’ll be more successful if you work together.

You will also debate the extensive, sensational press coverage of the trial and its aftermath. If you are a journalist, you will defend your newspaper’s coverage and entice new readers.

When the game is over, everyone will vote on Frank’s verdict, and each player will choose to subscribe to a newspaper.

**Characters on the fence**

Like many who learned about Mary Phagan’s murder in 1913, some of you won’t have a strong opinion at first. You won’t know who is guilty or innocent. You don’t belong to a faction yet. You’re just trying to find out the truth based on press coverage, testimony and conversations. You might write letters to the editor of a newspaper, or question other players like the prosecutor or Leo Frank’s wife. In the end, your vote counts double because the factions will have to work hard to persuade you. In the end, with your vote, you join a faction.

**Wild cards**

Some characters have secret tasks and powers to give others influence and points. Who are they? Only the game master knows for sure.

**How to react**

This is a game about communication, strategy and teamwork. Mostly it’s about understanding the past. Points will be awarded to winning factions and publications, and to you as an individual for required assignments. You also have the opportunity to earn extra personal influence points (PIPs).

*Only one person will win the game and the grand prize, but don’t worry. Your grade will not be determined by who wins, but by the quality of your participation and your enthusiasm.*

Your instructor will give you some historical context and a list of readings which will be important for your understanding of the issues of the day. Keep up with the reading and be persistent in your search for primary documents. It will help if you read these documents in the mindset of your character. Also, be sure that you understand the rules of play.

It’s important to note that your instructor’s job is to observe the game, not participate in it. A student will preside over each session and will ensure that everyone has a chance to speak. Once the game starts, it’s in your hands.

**Enter the Gate City:**

**Atlanta in the time of Mary Phagan and Leo Frank**

When Mary Phagan was murdered and Leo Frank arrested in 1913, Atlanta was a city of great contrast. It was the “gateway” to the South, open for business and manufacturing and ready to embrace the 20th century. Yet it clung to the past, the [“lost cause”](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/lost-cause-religion) of the Civil War and its antebellum disposition. It was a city of wealth and staggering poverty, of opera singers and fiddlers, of hope and fear.

Imagine Georgia in 1913. There was no air-conditioning to bring relief from the sweltering heat and humidity, though if you lived in Atlanta’s posh new [Ponce de Leon Apartments](http://album.atlantahistorycenter.com/cdm/singleitem/collection/athpc/id/278/rec/4) you could at least have ice delivered.[[1]](#footnote-1) Clothing didn’t help much. Custom dictated that both women and men [cover up](http://album.atlantahistorycenter.com/cdm/ref/collection/athpc/id/2553) almost completely, though [women could show a little ankle](http://fashionthroughtheyears.weebly.com/1910-1919.html). Summer or winter, most people walked where they needed to go, or rode in [carriages](http://album.atlantahistorycenter.com/cdm/ref/collection/athpc/id/2753) or [streetcars](https://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/vanga/photos/fra/jpg/fra027.jpg). A growing number of [automobiles](http://album.atlantahistorycenter.com/cdm/ref/collection/athpc/id/221) made their way up and down Peachtree or Marietta streets, but they were novelties and wouldn’t be embraced by the middle class for another 40 years.

People moved to Atlanta in search of a better life, particularly rural Southerners who left their failing farms in droves. “It was not only economic opportunities that attracted people…; by the early teens the city boasted over a dozen skyscrapers; one of the country’s best streetcar systems; drugstores, ice cream parlors, and nice restaurants; landscaped neighborhoods; a thriving entertainment industry and numerous other urban amenities,” wrote Franklin Garrett.[[2]](#footnote-2)

Yet growth had its difficulties. There weren’t enough police officers and fire fighters to protect the public, and there weren’t enough water closets (working restrooms) to keep the smell of raw sewage out of the poorer neighborhoods. The cost of living was excessive. Atlantans paid 9 percent more for food than did New Yorkers. In 1913 alone, the city warden received 5,000 requests for assistance for the poor.[[3]](#footnote-3)

Only about half of Atlanta’s children received any kind of formal education, many in dilapidated public schools. “The need to contribute to the family income, accompanied by loosely monitored and inadequate child-labor laws and the lack of a compulsory attendance law, kept many poor children away from school, as did an out-of-date curriculum and the absence of free textbooks until the 1920s,” recalled an era teacher.[[4]](#footnote-4) Children as young as 10 (some called them “lint heads”) worked as many as 60 hours per week in the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills or for smaller manufacturers like the National Pencil Company. Sadly, childhood was an entirely different experience for them than for kids in 21st-century Atlanta.

Approximately 150,000 people lived in this bustling city, including more than 35,000 African-Americans. Segregation was the law. If you were Black, you couldn’t vote or check out a book at a public library. “Blacks and whites attended separate schools, drank from separate water fountains, worshipped at separate churches, rode in separate railroad cars, and visited separate parks and recreational facilities,” noted Edward A. Hatfield. “When separate facilities were unavailable or prohibitively expensive, as with movie theaters or public buses, blacks were confined to separate sections, usually in the rear.”[[5]](#footnote-5) There was no public high school for Black students until 1924, and in 1913, the Board of Education tried to get rid of seventh and eighth grades in Black schools “on the grounds that those grades were unnecessary for future manual laborers.”[[6]](#footnote-6)

Atlanta’s City Council passed a residential segregation ordinance in 1913.[[7]](#footnote-7) Black domestic workers sometimes lived in small communities in or near White Atlanta neighborhoods where their employers lived, or even in small dwellings constructed in alleys behind the houses.[[8]](#footnote-8) Some lived in low-lying flood zones or other less desirable properties. More affluent African-Americans lived in segregated neighborhoods near Black colleges, businesses and influential churches. And there were at least a few wealthy Black businessmen, including [Alonzo Herndon](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/business-economy/alonzo-herndon-1858-1927), formerly enslaved, who made a million dollars first as proprietor of a popular barber shop and then by founding an insurance company.

Atlanta didn’t attract many immigrants. Fewer than 5 percent of its residents were born in another country. However, a small number of German-born Jews did settle there, and many Atlantans thought that was a sign their city was growing more prosperous and cosmopolitan. These Jewish residents were mostly welcomed at first. Later, Jews from Russia and eastern Europe were more stigmatized. Some lived in or adjacent to Black neighborhoods, something “most of the gentile white majority did not approve of,” while others moved to poorer White neighborhoods including in the cotton mill districts.[[9]](#footnote-9) Many lived next to their small shops, south of downtown, above their stores, or in back, according to oral histories of the era. “In order to maintain their closeness and identity, it was necessary to stay together,” one man recalled of his community.[[10]](#footnote-10)

It was on streetcars that people of different races, classes and ethnicities mixed. Both the state and the city had laws that divided Black and White, so White passengers sat in front of the streetcars and Black passengers in back. “There were all sorts of needing to move back and move up and keep that line, that imaginary line,” recalled a streetcar monitor of the era. “And there would be all kinds of things happening, some of which had the elements of direct physical brutality.”[[11]](#footnote-11)

Decatur Street was another place where Atlantans mixed. *Journal Magazine* in May 1913 described it this way:

Decatur Street is the home of humanity as it is, where the negro is found in his element of fried fish and gaudy raiment, and characters which might have walked through the pages of Dickens or O. Henry, have their joys and their sorrows, and laugh and cry, make love and die, even as their brothers and sisters of Peachtree Street… Here bearded mountaineers from Rabun County brush shoulders with laborers fresh from the Old Country. Jewish shopkeepers pass the time o’ day with the clerk of the Greek ice cream parlor next door. The Yankee spieler cries his wares and the Confederate veteran buys ‘em….[[12]](#footnote-12)

Whites on Peachtree Street lived a different kind of life. For example, when the new $1 million [Ansley Hotel](http://album.atlantahistorycenter.com/cdm/ref/collection/Rogers/id/1915) opened on June 30, 1913, more than 5,000 affluent Atlantans, along with [Governor John M. Slaton](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/government-politics/john-m-slaton-1866-1955) and his wife, attended an elaborate banquet where they were entertained by five different orchestras.[[13]](#footnote-13)

Moonshine was sold on the sly in Atlanta. The city had lived with a prohibition statute since 1908, long before national prohibition. Atlanta had rivaled all other major U.S. cities for arrest rates for drunkenness. Mayor James. G. Woodward was a controversial figure in part for scandalous incidents of public intoxication. But prohibition didn’t help much as Atlanta became known as the “white lightning capital.” Bootleggers often threw house parties, complete with dancing and music, to sell their wares.[[14]](#footnote-14)

What else did Atlanta residents do for fun? Both playing and watching baseball were popular pastimes. Companies like the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill, Georgia Power Company, Atlantic Steel and Atlanta Gas Light Company had teams that competed after work.[[15]](#footnote-15) Atlanta had a White professional baseball team, [“The Atlanta Crackers,”](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/sports-outdoor-recreation/atlanta-crackers) which by 1913 was playing in Ponce de Leon Park as part of the Southern League.[[16]](#footnote-16) Atlanta also had a Black professional team, first called the Deppens and later the Atlanta Cubs, which was made up mostly of college students. The Cubs would later become the [Atlanta Black Crackers](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/sports-outdoor-recreation/atlanta-black-crackers) in 1919.

There were also plenty of private social clubs in Atlanta for people of all ethnicities. The Piedmont Driving Club, Brookhaven and East Lake didn’t admit Jews or African-Americans. Jews joined the Standard Club, the Mayfair Club and the Progressive Club. “High society customs and clubs also existed in the black community,” recalled an era musician. “The private clubs provided a major outlet for Atlanta’s dance band musicians.”[[17]](#footnote-17)

Indeed, music was an important part of the city’s culture. “Atlanta vibrated with a jangling cacophony of guitars, organs, fiddles, cellos, pianos, banjos, harmonicas, bassoons, and voices, and the musical creativity the city helped foster spread rapidly to remote corners of the New South…,” wrote Gavin James Campbell.[[18]](#footnote-18)

Major musical events in 1913 were “Opera Week,” [“The Colored Music Festival”](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/atlanta-colored-music-festival-association) and the [“Georgia Old-Times Fiddlers’ Convention.”](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/georgia-old-time-fiddlers-conventions) Atlantans had enjoyed opera since before the Civil War, and by 1910 New York’s Metropolitan Opera annually visited for week-long celebrations. Atlanta was the only place the Met performed outside of New York.[[19]](#footnote-19) “The newspapers covered the week’s festivities in numbing detail, never failing to overlook a single minute that opera stars spent in public and covering with breathless fascination their appearances, hobbies, opinions and manners,” according to Campbell. “Whole neighborhoods gussied up their streets and storefronts, encouraged by enthusiastic opera fans who motored through the city sporting small red pennants that urged residents to ‘clean up and paint up.’” [The Rev. Henry Hugh Proctor](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/henry-hugh-proctor-1868-1933) organized The Colored Music Festival to recognize musical and other accomplishments of African-Americans. “It is hard to overestimate the enormous race pride the festival generated,” Campbell wrote. Many thousands of music fans attended the Old-Time Fiddlers’ Convention. “Though mill villagers made up the bulk of the raucous crowd, they had no small competition from a large cross section of Atlanta’s most prominent bankers, lawyers, judges, entrepreneurs, newspaper editors, and politicians whose presence alone caused comment and whose behavior caused outright astonishment.”[[20]](#footnote-20)

Atlanta was, indeed, a city of contrasts in 1913. [W.E.B. Du Bois](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/w-e-b-du-bois-georgia) called it “the center of the upward striving of the poor whites.”[[21]](#footnote-21) Those poor Whites shared the city, though in different neighborhoods, with poor Blacks, a proximity that generated much tension. Clifford Kuhn noted, “The very size, growth and anonymity of the city meant that every day one was in close physical proximity with strangers, perhaps people different from and threatening to oneself, in a way that marked a clear departure from the comparatively close-knit locales of the rural South.”[[22]](#footnote-22)

Kuhn wrote, “For as much as any place in the region, Atlanta at this time epitomized the tensions between traditional ways and modern times, at the cusp of change in the New South, as well as resistance to that change.”[[23]](#footnote-23) The murdered Mary Phagan became a symbol of change and of fear – fear of industrialization, racial integration and changing norms for women. She became, according to historians, “the very child of the New South.[[24]](#footnote-24)

For more reading:

America in 1915: [Long Hours, Crowded Houses, Death by Trolley](https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/02/america-in-1915/462360/) by Derek Thompson.

**Violence in the New South**

**A city too busy to hate?**

To understand race relations in segregated Atlanta in 1913 you need to look back to 1906 and the [Atlanta Race Riot](http://album.atlantahistorycenter.com/cdm/ref/collection/athpc/id/1044). It’s difficult to fathom the hatred and terror. On September 22, more than 11,000 White men went on the attack downtown. They murdered 25 African-Americans and injured hundreds more. The police did not intercede. Among the victims were two Black barbers, their bodies dumped at the feet of the monument to [Henry W. Grady](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/henry-w-grady-1850-1889), and a disabled young shoe-shiner.[[25]](#footnote-25) The massacre set off a five-day race war. On the first day, armed Blacks successfully defended neighborhoods in the city’s center and in Brownsville south of the city. Whites returned to Brownsville the next day backed by three militia companies that assaulted, threatened and arrested many Black men.[[26]](#footnote-26)

What could have caused such events? Atlanta newspapers bore at least some of the blame. They repeatedly published “lurid stories about black men allegedly assaulting white women,” charges that were false but that stirred anger and fear in the White community.[[27]](#footnote-27) This was a dangerous practice with a sadly predictable outcome. Rebecca Latimer Felton, the first woman to serve in the United States Senate, infamously proclaimed in 1897, “[I]f it takes lynching to protect woman’s dearest possession from drunken, ravening beasts, then I say lynch a thousand a week if it becomes necessary.”[[28]](#footnote-28) Newspapers did not condemn vigilantes. Rather, they praised lynching and other violent acts.[[29]](#footnote-29) On the day the Atlanta Race Riot began, three evening newspapers reported that a Black fiend” had raped a White woman.[[30]](#footnote-30) *The Atlanta Evening News* published the editorial, “It Is Time to Act, Men,” which White men took it as an invitation to violence.[[31]](#footnote-31)

There were 508 lynchings in Georgia between 1882 and 1930, including 30 to 50 in Dekalb and Fulton counties, despite the claim that Atlanta was a “city too busy to hate.”[[32]](#footnote-32) Most victims were Black, and some were women. Lynchers did not cover their faces or hide from photographers. They were proud of what they did. “The fact that these harrowing scenes are recorded in photographs underlines the complete impunity of the perpetrators and their accomplices,” wrote Duane J. Corpis and Ian Christopher Fletcher. “Lynchings were not staged simply to kill specific people; they were spectacles intended to send a message far and wide, including through postcards until banned by the post office in 1908.”[[33]](#footnote-33) People flocked to witness lynchings, even bringing children to view the bodies. They pasted the [photos](https://dlg.usg.edu/record/dlg_vang_wht002) in family albums and hung them, framed, on walls of bars and clubhouses. They sold pieces of the ropes as souvenirs.

With this historical context in mind, how do you think Black Atlantans felt and acted when news broke about young Mary Phagan’s murder and possible rape? About Leo Frank’s arrest?

For more reading: The New Georgia Encyclopedia has more information about the [Atlanta Race Riot](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/atlanta-race-riot-1906) and about [lynching in Georgia](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/lynching). The Atlanta History Center holds a number of [oral history interviews](http://album.atlantahistorycenter.com/cdm/search/searchterm/Atlanta%20Race%20Riot%20oral%20history/order/nosort) of those who experienced the 1906 riots.

**Anti-Semitism in the South**

Judaism and Jewish people have a unique place in Southern history, [particularly in Atlanta](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/jewish-community-atlanta). In the century leading up to the Leo Frank case, the population grew from obscurity to a large and prominent community. Unfortunately, many in Atlanta’s mostly White, Christian neighborhoods felt threatened by that community. Why were Jews perceived to be a threat? Some Southerners argued that Jews had not properly served in the Civil War. In the depressed post-Reconstruction South, Jews were accused of monopolizing businesses.

By the 1870s, the Ku Klux Klan was a terrifying force, and anti-Semitism was one of the byproducts of the hate group that also targeted African-Americans and Catholics.[[34]](#footnote-34) In fact, it was during the end of the 19th century that the term anti-Semitism came into common use.[[35]](#footnote-35) The Jewish community in Atlanta was understandably afraid.[[36]](#footnote-36)

In 1913, Jews in Atlanta made up 2.6 percent of the city’s population, including many who had moved to Atlanta from Savannah and Charleston.[[37]](#footnote-37) Yet members of the KKK outnumbered all of the Jewish people in the United States.[[38]](#footnote-38) The Klan and others accused Jews of being outsiders who were exploiting farmers and laborers, and Southerners in general.[[39]](#footnote-39) Hateful rhetoric and exclusion became common practice.

The Temple on Peachtree Street was a place of refuge for Jews in the city. The rabbi, David Marx, was a proponent of “Reform Judaism,” which upheld the tenants and traditions of Judaism, while still acknowledging that changes might be necessary in order for his community to participate fully in the culture of a modernizing Atlanta.[[40]](#footnote-40) Reform Judaism was welcoming to the growing middle-class Jewish population in the city, but some Jews in the North were critical. They mocked Atlantans for changing and assimilating to Southern culture.[[41]](#footnote-41) Despite such struggles over particular practices and beliefs, Jews in Atlanta formed a strong, unified community, one that established philanthropic outreach efforts through various social groups.

Jews contributed to the city’s booming economy. Most did not work in factories. Rather, they owned more than 10 percent of Atlanta’s retail businesses.[[42]](#footnote-42) Jewish Atlantans embraced the concept of the New South, and appreciated the South’s new economic development.[[43]](#footnote-43) But perhaps their economic contributions were simultaneously terrific and terrible. Atlanta was moving away from agriculture and toward an industrial economy, a change that was difficult and frightening for many. Some Georgians were fearful of the rapid growth of technology and the societal changes that came alongside industrialization, and channeled this fear into hate.[[44]](#footnote-44)

Jewish business people found allies in the North including networks that could help provide capital and other support as the number of factories continued to grow.[[45]](#footnote-45) Thus, they were able to recover more quickly from Reconstruction.[[46]](#footnote-46) Their success inspired resentment from their neighbors struggling to make ends meet. But it wasn’t just the poor who were resentful. Even prominent business leaders were known for their intense hatred of Jewish people. Some businesses owners posted signs reading, “No dogs or Jews allowed.”[[47]](#footnote-47) The Anti-Defamation League was formed in 1913 to combat this kind of hate-fueled behavior.[[48]](#footnote-48)

Race was also a key ingredient to anti-Semitism. The Atlanta Race Riot, which occurred only seven years before the Leo Frank case, was still in the back of many Southerners’ minds. Jewish people worried they could face that same kind of violence. [[49]](#footnote-49)

One of the loudest voices of anti-Semitism in Georgia belonged to [Thomas E. Watson](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/thomas-e-watson-1856-1922), an on-again-off-again politician and populist. In 1913, Watson served as the publisher of the *Jeffersonian* and circulated widely his anti-Semitic rhetoric.[[50]](#footnote-50) This publication promoted a narrative of the greedy, lecherous Jew preying on White girls with his “Unlimited Money and Invisible Power.”[[51]](#footnote-51) The *Jeffersonian* was ruthless in its reporting against Leo Frank. Watson and his politics were still commemorated in Georgia with a statue at the front entrance of Georgia’s capitol until it was relocated to a less prominent place in 2013.[[52]](#footnote-52)

The Knights of Mary Phagan, 75 men outraged over the death of Mary Phagan, would form after Frank’s sentencing, and encourage even greater growth in the KKK. Approximately 3,000 Jewish people left Atlanta, fearing for their futures.[[53]](#footnote-53) Everything that frustrated White Southerners at this time, was wrapped up into one package: The Leo Frank case. The case embodied the anxiety associated with industrialization, the resentment towards successful Jewish businessmen with Northern values, concern for the purity and safety of White women, and growing fear of the exploitation of children for cheap labor.

**Child labor, class struggle and a changing economy**

About 40 percent of Atlanta was destroyed during the Civil War, but the city’s significance to the state remained unaltered, and it actually grew in relevance and power during the trying times of recovery. Transportation infrastructure and access to railroads had made the city a crucial distribution center. It had been Confederate military headquarters for Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, and shortly after the war became the new capital of Georgia.Families from rural Georgia and the region began moving to Atlanta seeking jobs and a better life.[[54]](#footnote-54)

With more people came new educational institutions. By the time of the Leo Frank case, the following schools were available in the Atlanta area: Atlanta University, Georgia School of Technology, Oglethorpe, Morehouse, Spelman, Agnes Scott, and Georgia State. Emory College would soon become a university. A few institutions were created with the intention of providing emancipated African Americans access to education. However, most catered to wealthy and White citizens. While education was not as accessible as we might think of it today, Atlanta was becoming a growing hub for higher education in the South.

Georgia, once known for farming, underwent dramatic changes during this era of industrialization. Atlanta, specifically, experienced unprecedented economic development. New factories sprang up throughout the city. Manager of the *Atlanta Constitution* Henry W. Grady encouraged Northerners to invest in Southern companies, touting the abundance of cheap labor, and many did. What became known as the “New South” grew from this interest of Northerners in Southern companies and the new growth and industrialization in the South. Jewish people owned a number of these new factories with support from Northern investors. They embraced new business values and ways of living. [[55]](#footnote-55)

Of course, new factories meant new jobs. Poor rural families, in vast quantities, relocated to Atlanta to seek employment and relief from an agricultural depression. They could make slightly more money in a factory than on a struggling farm, but often it took everybody in the family working to provide enough to live.[[56]](#footnote-56) And working conditions were poor. Depending on the season, factories were either sweltering or frigid. Unsanitary work environments went largely unregulated. The rich got richer, and the farmers who had moved to Atlanta to earn a better living, would never rise to middle- or upper-class life. Instead, they became subject to some of the poorest and most unsafe living and working conditions in the country. Many felt the New South had exploited farmers during their economic struggles, because the managers of these factories, like Leo Frank, were thriving.

With an increase in manufacturing by 75 percent from 1900 to 1905, Atlanta was earning its reputation as an urban, industrialized city. But there were serious problems, including the exploitation of children for labor.[[57]](#footnote-57) Georgia had some of the worst child labor laws in the country. Children as young as 10 toiled in factories which, more often than not, were unsafe. They worked as many as 60 hours a week and made as little as 10 cents a day while many of their employers gained dividends of up to 95 percent.[[58]](#footnote-58)

Very few child labor laws protected these children, and factory inspections were rare.[[59]](#footnote-59) Georgia legislators, in an effort to attract as many businesses as they could to Atlanta, overlooked harmful working conditions. Some even argued that the greed of parents was causing harm to children, and not the factories. In 1905 a bill that would move the child labor age limit to 12 was defeated in the Georgia legislature.

However, child labor reform movements were gaining more support.[[60]](#footnote-60) During the next legislative session, a bill passed making it illegal for children under the age of 14 to work, unless they could read and write, and the work day was shortened. The new laws changed very little in reality, because the laws didn’t require factory inspections.

The Leo Frank case embodied many of the frustrations involving the changing economics in the South. Frank operated a successful pencil factory in downtown Atlanta, a business that employed children. Mary Phagan, a 13-year-old girl, served as a symbol of the many children who were subject to the terrible working conditions. She was paid very little, and was ultimately fired from her job; she was assaulted and murdered in the process of picking up her final paycheck of $1.20.

Read: Alton Dumar Jones, "The Child Labor Reform Movement In Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* v. 49, n. 4 (December 1965), 396-417. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40578524>.

**Suffrage and women**

Women in Atlanta in 1913 were divided about what their role should be in the new century. Some were nostalgic for what they perceived life was like before the Civil War and Reconstruction. They valued a domestic life, and they idealized “purity.” Other women envisioned themselves as laborers who worked alongside men.

Women outnumbered men in Atlanta and were becoming a necessity in the workforce, even though this contradicted many of the norms, values, and expectations of Southern womanhood.[[61]](#footnote-61) The women’s suffrage movement was an important part of the backdrop to the Leo Frank case. It was a divisive issue even among women. Some demanded more rights while others wanted to maintain the status quo.

While Atlanta industrialized at a phenomenal pace, many young, single women in the city were eager to work. And with their newly earned salaries, at least some Atlanta women had a freedom that once belonged only to men – the freedom to spend, however frivolous or unladylike it seemed. Women socialized outside the home. They drank alcohol and spent their time as they pleased, even at the theater or dance halls. Women who clung to traditional Southern values severely frowned upon those who ventured outside the home for work and entertainment.[[62]](#footnote-62)

Working women were sometimes targeted by law enforcement for “unruly” behavior, as police officers became morality enforcers. African-American women were the most frequent target of law enforcement, but every working woman was a potential target. Women were charged with “disorderly conduct” and “indecent dress.” Decatur Street gained a reputation as an unruly place. Law enforcement was attracted there, in particular, and eventually hired extra people on the force dedicated to policing women.[[63]](#footnote-63)

While working women in Atlanta struggled with the criminal justice system, many also advocated for the right to vote. In 1866, the Georgia legislature granted married women property rights. In the same year, the American Equal Rights Association was formed to focus on human rights, Black suffrage, and women’s suffrage in the United States. The AERA would eventually divide into two groups separating over the right to vote, with The American Woman Suffrage Association lobbying for a state’s rights approach to women’s suffrage, and the National Woman Suffrage Association arguing for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would grant women the right to vote. The two groups would eventually reunite in 1890 to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association. The Georgia branch of this group had members in five counties.[[64]](#footnote-64)

Women’s suffrage and women’s issues did not receive much press attention. Newspapers and magazines did not advocate for women’s suffrage in the South, but the *Atlanta Journal, Atlanta Constitution*, and *Columbus Ledger* did routinely dedicate space in their papers to discuss the topic. A rally for women’s suffrage wouldn’t be held in Atlanta until March of 1914.[[65]](#footnote-65)

Some women participated in *anti*-suffrage movements in the South, including the Georgia Association Opposed to Women’s Suffrage. (Later, Georgia would be the first state to vote against the Nineteenth Amendment, which gave women the right to vote.) The anti-suffragists were often White, well educated via one of the women’s colleges, part of influential families, with important social status roles in their communities. Many worried that giving all women the right to vote would ultimately challenge their status in society. They believed that women could and should influence their husbands and sons to vote appropriately. The vote, anti-suffragist women argued, would change the very definition of what it meant to be a Southern woman.[[66]](#footnote-66)

The mythical ideal of Southern womanhood, created in large part by Southern White men, played a significant role in the anti-suffrage movement in Georgia. A lady was passive and innocent.[[67]](#footnote-67) But most importantly, an ideal Southern lady was beautiful and genteel, qualities that could not be achieved while working in a factory or marching in the streets to demand voting rights.

Read: E. Lee Eltzroth’s [“Woman Suffrage”](https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/woman-suffrage) in the New Georgia Encyclopedia.

**The Mighty Newspaper**

If you wanted to know what was going on in Atlanta in 1913, you bought an issue of one or more of the city’s competing newspapers. You couldn’t *listen* to news until WSB Radio began broadcasting nine years later, so when Mary Phagan was murdered and Leo Frank charged, you read the shocking reports and talked about them with family, friends, neighbors and colleagues.

This was the era of “yellow journalism,” a pejorative term that accused the press of being too sensational and loose with the facts. Journalists wouldn’t follow a code of ethics until 1922, the year the American Society of Newspaper Editors organized, and the year that Walter Lippmann published his influential book *Public Opinion* calling on journalists to be more scientific and objective.

A journalism textbook from 1912 told aspiring journalists, “Many a good piece of news is ruined by a bald, dry recital of the facts.” Journalists should, it noted, “make every story so attractive and interesting that the most casual reader cannot resist reading it.”[[68]](#footnote-68) To accomplish that, some journalists perpetrated hoaxes, fabricated interviews, and didn’t do much fact checking even while doing legitimate reporting. Headlines for their melodramatic stories got bigger and bigger.

However, the industry was moving toward an era of more professionalism, “including the formation of journalism schools and associations focused on standards and ethics, conventions and awards,” noted historian Teri Finneman.[[69]](#footnote-69) Thus some journalists favored a staid and more professional approach, producing factual and non-partisan articles. Both kinds of journalists worked in Atlanta.

Newspapers in 1913 were powerful and highly profitable. Revenue came mostly from advertisers who wanted to push their products to as many people as possible. And almost every literate person read the paper. In fact, there was one paid daily newspaper subscription for every two people in the United States, and that didn’t account for on-street sales and sharing. Newspaper owners in the modern era can only dream about that kind of reach.

Thanks to technological advances, presses could print 72,000 pages per hour, which meant newspapers could quickly produce “extra” editions when important news broke. They published photographs and used spot color. Reporters took advantage of bicycles, streetcars, telephones and typewriters.

“The dominant voices in Georgia journalism… belonged to the morning *Atlanta Constitution*, the mouthpiece of the New South, and the evening *Atlanta Journal*, which, as its masthead proclaimed, Covered Dixie Like the Dew,” noted journalist and historian Steve Oney. “The papers were in many ways similar. Each boosted Atlanta’s metropolitan aspirations. Each devoted countless inches to the doings of the capital’s social elite. And each, it went without saying, purveyed the stereotypic view of Negroes.”[[70]](#footnote-70)

William Randolph Hearst, whose media empire in San Francisco and New York defined yellow journalism, had purchased and sensationalized *The Atlanta Georgian*, another afternoon daily. Oney wrote, “Every day, the *Georgian’s* redesigned front page played up a jarring local crime story, and if there were no jarring local crimes, the editors would pull together a dozen unrelated items from the police blotter and run them beneath the banner CRIME WAVE SWEEPS CITY.”[[71]](#footnote-71) Readers flocked to this new kind of newspaper. As an era *Georgian* reporter said, “Our paper was, in modern parlance, a wow. It burst upon Atlanta like a bomb and upon the *Constitution* and the *Journal* like the crack of doom.”[[72]](#footnote-72)

Another influential publication, *Jeffersonian Magazine*, was edited by white supremacist Thomas Watson who was known for his virulent condemnations of African-Americans, Catholics and “rich Jews.” Watson “heaped bitter and, at times, vicious criticism upon his opponents” and, according to a biographer, “did more than any other individual in the nation to release ‘the forces of human malice and ignorance and prejudice.’”[[73]](#footnote-73)

Mary Phagan’s murder was national news, and *The New York Times* and *Collier’s Weekly* added to the media maelstrom by covering the story and later advocating for Leo Frank, something that didn’t go over well with Georgia residents.

Imagine being the *Constitution* reporter who tagged along with police when they answered the 3 a.m. call that a young girl’s body had been discovered at the National Pencil Company. Or the *Journal* reporter who managed to get his hands on a note discovered beside Mary Phagan’s body. Imagine being an editor at the *Georgian*, which published an extra nearly every hour following the murder, “each topped with crimson streamers.”[[74]](#footnote-74)

**The Game**

**For the next month, your classroom will transform into 1913 Atlanta**

**On Mondays, you will gather on the steps of the Fulton County Court House** where witnesses, lawyers, police and others impacted by the events of the day will tell their stories from their perspectives. Who is most persuasive? Judge Roan will maintain order.

**On Wednesdays you’ll do some illegal drinking at a speak-easy on Decatur Street** since Atlanta has a prohibition law. Journalists will defend how they covered the murder and trial. Moonshine Joe will maintain order.

**On Fridays, you will have strategy meetings with your factions**, in large or small groups, and hear more speeches. You’ll also vote. Who was most persuasive this week? Why?

**How will you earn Personal Influence Points (PIPs)?**

Writing -- Required (1-5 points, depending upon quality), using primary documents

Position papers

Letters to newspapers (op-eds)

Letters to other characters

Responses to characters who are critical or supportive ofyou

Speaking – (1-5 points, depending upon quality), using primary documents

Events from your perspective, courthouse steps

Defending your news coverage over a pint

Organizing a protest

Responses to characters who are critical or supportive of you

*When it’s your turn to speak publicly, make sure you have some supporters in the audience who will applaud rather than boo!*

Finding a new relevant primary source that hasn’t been provided – Boom! (5 points)

Remembering your badge and lanyard every session – (3 points)

Adding to the atmosphere of the game – Strongly encouraged (3 points each)

Wear clothing from the time period

Make a protest poster

Draw a political cartoon

Make a flyer for your cause – child labor, suffrage, justice for Mary Phagan or Leo

Frank

Make a snack from a 1913 cookbook and bring to share

Create a playlist of 1913 music

Write a poem or a song about a character or issue (double points if you share)

Something else? Use your imagination!

**Votes and readership**

Did the people of Atlanta find you to be persuasive during the game this week?

(Winners of the weekly vote get 5 points.)

Which faction (guilty or innocent?) will get the most votes?

(If you are a part of a winning faction, you get 20 points.)

To what newspaper will the most people subscribe?

(Those who subscribe to the winning newspaper get 20 points.)

**Can I lose points?**

Missing deadlines and stepping out of character during the game could cost you valuable PIPs. For example, don’t begin your speech with “Hi guys.” Rather, you might say, “Ladies and gentlemen.” If you are writing a letter, it should reflect how Atlantans in 1913 wrote letters. How would someone speak in 1913? Remember, during class time you are not yourself, but your character.

**IMPORTANT NOTE:** **This reacting game will NOT be true to history in one important way.** *You may not use hate speech as did people in 1913. Please, no vulgar racist or anti-Semitic language in speeches, written arguments or posters.* Sadly, you will see this language in press coverage and other documents and in that way will learn what it was like to be part of an oppressed minority in 1913.

**Requirements**

You will write, speak publicly, think critically, collaborate, negotiate, problem solve, adapt to changing circumstances, all under deadline. You must write at least one 3- to 5-page document every week, using primary and secondary sources (1-5 points, depending upon quality). You should make at least one 3- to 5-minute public speech during the course of the game (1-5 points, depending upon quality). Beyond that, grab as many points as possible by writing more, speaking more, and earning PIPs.

**Where do I begin?**

Take a look at the timeline prior to each Monday. Read the newspaper coverage of the week’s events *in character*. Read any other related primary or core documents. Think about how you will use what you have read to meet your goals. Then write and send letters to officials, journalists or other characters you want to persuade. Prepare to argue your case in a SHORT speech. **Be sure to file anything you write in the assignments portal so that you will earn your points, and also deliver it via e-mail to the player for whom it is intended.**

* If you are a court official, witness or family member of Leo Frank or Mary Phagan, you’ll need to be ready on Mondays. Contact the judge ahead of time to get on the speaking schedule.
* If you are a journalist, you need to be ready on Wednesdays. Contact Moonshine Joe ahead of time to get on the speaking schedule.
* If you are a member of the Temple community, factory worker or any other character, you can jump in either day, but you will need permission from the Judge or Moonshine Joe.
* On Fridays you will have faction meetings and free-for-all speech days. The judge and Moonshine Joe will work together to maintain order. If you weren’t able to make your case this week, and really need to, this is your last chance.
* You can earn extra PIPs any day. If you do, please make note of it on one of the index cards provided in class.

**TIMELINE OF EVENTS**

**Week One Class Time – April 28 to July 28, 2013**

Mary Phagan’s body is discovered

The funeral

Newt Lee and Leo Frank are held

Jim Conley questioned

Grand Jury indicts Leo Frank

Jury selection

Trial begins with Prosecution

**Week Two Class Time – August 4 to Aug. 25**

Conley takes the stand

Prosecution rests

Defense arguments

Leo Frank takes the stand

Final arguments

Verdict

**Week Three Class Time – Aug. 26 to Dec. 21**

Sentencing

Motion for a new trial

Georgia Supreme Court

Appeal to District Court

Appeal to United States Supreme Court

**Week Four Class Time – May 21 to June 20, 2015**

Pardons and Paroles

Governor considers commutation

**FACTIONS**

**Supports defense**

Leo Frank

Rae Frank

Lucille Frank

Luther Rosser

Reuben Arnold

Temple community

Alonzo Mann

Albert Lasker

Adolph Ochs

**Supports Prosecution**

Fannie Coleman

Thomas Watson

Newt Lee

Jim Conley

Hugh Dorsey

Factory workers

**On the Fence**

Judge Leonard S. Roan

Governor John Slaton

W.F. Anderson

R.J. Brown

Henry Hugh Proctor

Henry McNeal Turner

Herbert Asbury

Harold Ross

Harllee Branch

Charles Phillips Jr.

Sidney Ormond

Vernon Stiles

Britt Craig

Archie Lee

William Flythe

Independent journalists

Moonshine Joe

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**Leo Frank**

**National Pencil Company Factory Manager**

You are Leo Frank, 29, a Jewish businessman and Atlanta transplant. You grew up in New York and studied mechanical engineering at Cornell University. You are smart and have an entrepreneurial spirit. You moved South in 1908 following a fellowship in Europe at a pencil manufacturer. Now you are supervisor of the National Pencil Company’s factory located in newly industrialized Atlanta. You embrace the New South, and believe industrialization will benefit a state suffering from a long agricultural depression.

You have been married since 1910 to Lucille Selig, a member of a prominent Jewish family in Atlanta. Though quiet and inward looking by nature, you are active in the community, now president of the Atlanta chapter of B’nai B’rith, a Jewish leadership organization.

You start the game in a good place in life – part of an elite Atlanta family, running a prominent business in the community, leading a philanthropic organization.

Your good fortune will soon end. You become the prime suspect in a murder case involving one of your employees, 13-year-old Mary Phagan. The murder will spark a media frenzy, turning this local tragedy into a national obsession. Your wife, mother, and members of the Jewish community support you while you learn to cope with the negative press and intense hatred directed at you from people in Atlanta and throughout the country.

This is especially troublesome. One of Mary Phagan’s friends says she confided in him that you had made advances at her. Other female employees come forward and accuse you of inappropriate workplace behavior. Throughout the case, in front of your wife, you will be accused of being a flirt and an unfaithful husband; some have even accused you of being a homosexual, something that 1913 Atlanta does not embrace.

Even worse, a janitor at your factory, Jim Conley, tells people he helped you move the dead body. He also tells law enforcement that you dictated notes found beside the corpse. He describes your erratic behavior the day of the murder as well as the days leading up to it.

Fortunately for you, other witnesses have placed you at your home at the time of the murder. Your defense team will line up numerous character witnesses to speak on your behalf. Some of these witnesses will describe Jim Conley as a known liar. You will testify on your own behalf for more than four hours and will describe how horrified you were upon seeing the dead body.

While you know you’re innocent, the court of public opinion will turn against you. This is in part a product of anti-Semitism and resentment towards Jewish businessmen in the South. You wholeheartedly and consistently state your innocence.

**Objectives**

You have one objective – to prove your innocence. Tell your story to as many people as possible, and encourage your faction to do the same. Do this like your life depends upon it, because it does. Make your case not only using what happens in court, but also using political and cultural arguments about why you think you are being scapegoated. Encourage people to read news accounts that speak to your innocence. Rail against those that do not.

**Rae Frank**

**Leo Frank’s mother**

You are Leo Frank’s mother. You raised your son in Brooklyn, sent him to college at Cornell and watched him rise in prominence in Atlanta. At 29, he manages Atlanta’s National Pencil Company factory and is a leader in Jewish philanthropic organizations. You are horrified that he is the subject of an investigation into the murder of one of the young girls who worked for him.

You stand by your son throughout the case, but emotion gets to you at times because you are certain of his innocence. On April 13, 1913, you will cry out during courtroom proceedings and be escorted out. It will happen while Hugh Dorsey, the attorney general, questions witnesses about your son’s alleged inappropriate sexual behavior. You think it’s all a lie, a way to deceive the jury and public.

You believe the ugly narrative is a byproduct of anti-Semitism in the South. You also know that cultural attitudes about (and of) women are shifting, and you worry that your son is caught in a crisis not of his own making. You can’t let your son become the focal point of Atlantans’ fear and anger about poverty, race and the dangers their young children face every day in the city’s factories.

**Objectives**

Your objective is to prove your son’s innocence. If you fail, he could be executed. You write letters to the editors of newspapers either praising or criticizing their coverage. You write letters to the defense attorneys and the judge. You speak out publicly whenever it is appropriate for a woman to do so. You try to persuade neutral players using not just what is said in court, but also the political and social factors that you believe are influencing this case.

**Lucille Frank**

**Leo Frank’s wife**

You are a 25-year-old Jewish woman from a well-to-do family in Atlanta. You’re active in women’s clubs and involved in various elite and volunteer activities. Since 1910, you have been married to an ambitious and successful man, Leo Frank. The two of you live in your parents’ house. Some whisper that your marriage was a political act and not one of love, but you reject that accusation. Just because your husband’s social status rose when he married into your family doesn’t mean you don’t have a good marriage.

Unfortunately, your husband is a leading suspect in the murder of a small girl who was found in the basement of the National Pencil Company factory he manages. Many believe he raped 13-year-old Mary Phagan. You believe your husband is innocent, but you face many ups and downs throughout the case. You stand by him even when he is accused of inappropriate sexual behavior by several more of his young female employees. You continue to support him while he faces accusations of homosexual behavior.

On June 4, 1913, you release a public statement that proclaims your husband’s innocence. You believe that solicitor Hugh Dorsey is tampering with evidence and bullying witnesses, and note that “arresting and imprisoning our family cook because she would not voluntarily make a false statement against my innocent husband, brings a limit to patience.” The solicitor general denies such activities and releases a statement of his own. In August, after an outburst in court by your mother-in-law, you both might be banned from court proceedings.

Even though you are young, and only married for a brief time, you play a critical role as a support system and a voice for your husband when he cannot speak for himself. This process is emotionally draining, but you do what you can to help showcase Leo Frank’s innocence.

**Objectives**

Your main objective is to convince the world of your husband’s innocence. If you fail, he could be executed and your own life ruined. Write letters to newspaper editors, speak publicly as much as appropriate for a woman, and work to persuade neutral characters. Use not only what happens in court in your arguments, but also explain how the cultural and economic changes in Atlanta are hurting your husband’s chance for a fair trial.

**Luther Rosser**

**Attorney**

At 53, you are a prominent and powerful Atlanta attorney who counts many of the city’s corporate elites as your clients. You are a new law partner of governor-elect John Slaton.

You are also the lead lawyer on Leo Frank’s defense team. Frank, who manages the National Pencil Company’s Atlanta factory, has been accused of murdering 13-year-old child laborer Mary Phagan, whose battered body was found in the basement of the factory.

This trial will cause a media frenzy, both in Atlanta and nationally, which puts you in the spotlight. You are up against strong prosecutors, but you are ready for the fight. You are six feet tall and weigh 220 pounds “with a massive, balding snapping turtle of a head.” You like to badger people, and you can be ornery. You refuse to wear a tie, even if you are arguing before the U.S. Supreme Court. You are “uncowed, unbowed and unrepentant,” according journalist and historian Steve Oney.

**Objectives**

It’s obvious that your main objective is to convince the court and the public that your client Leo Frank is innocent of murder. In the courtroom you have to stick to the evidence and testimony, but at the speak-easy you can make political and cultural arguments. You will write and share reports that summarize the trial from your perspective. During closing arguments you will speak to a rowdy crowd on the courthouse steps. You will try your best to convince neutral players of Frank’s innocence. Don’t tell, but if Frank is found innocent at the end of the game you get 10 extra points.

**Reuben Arnold**

**Attorney**

You are one of the lead attorneys defending Leo Frank, who has been accused of murdering Mary Phagan and leaving her body in the basement of the Atlanta pencil factory.

This is a tough case that will cause a media frenzy. You were added to the defense team to assist the more caustic Luther Rosser for whom you are the perfect complement. At 45, you are rich, the principal in a law firm that represents the *Atlanta Journal*.

According to journalist and historian Steve Oney, what makes you so effective is your speaking ability (you can turn a phrase) and the values you represent of property, prosperity and propriety. You are a dangerous and superb litigator who wins over juries without attacking your opponents.

You are the grandson of a congressman and son of a Confederate colonel. You grew up in the privileged world of Atlanta’s Peachtree Street. You attended the University of Georgia. You are best friends with U.S. Senator Hoke Smith.

You are “impressive but not threatening, handsome but not affected.”

**Objectives**

Your objective is to convince both the court and the public that Leo Frank is innocent. Working with Luther Rosser you will summarize court testimony from your perspective and share those reports with the community. You might have to smooth things over when Rosser makes people mad. You also read and analyze press coverage of the trial, and sometimes write letters to the editor praising or criticizing coverage. You cannot, however, criticize the *Atlanta Journal* because it’s your client. Don’t tell, but if Frank is found innocent, you get 10 extra points.

**Adolph Ochs**

**Journalist and publisher of *The New York* *Times***

You are a Jewish-American journalist and publisher. You began your journalism career at 11 years old as an office boy to the editor of *The Knoxville Chronicle* in Knoxville, Tennessee, where you were quickly promoted to paper boy. You continued to work there in a variety of different roles while also studying at East Tennessee University. You bought your first paper, *The Chattanooga Times*, in 1878. The newspaper industry is your life’s work.

At 57, you have owned *The New York Times* for 17 years and are working hard to try to keep it afloat. The newspaper is losing circulation and is not even the most popular paper in New York, much less the country. You are determined not only to save it, but to make it thrive.

In 1914, Louis Marshall, one of Leo Frank’s attorneys and a leader in the American Jewish community, tells you about the murder case. You become convinced of Frank’s innocence. These strong convictions inspire intensive reporting on the case in your newspaper. You dictate how the story is covered, as you know that reporting is critical to shaping the public’s understanding of the case. You even recreate the crime scene with staged photographs showcasing Frank’s innocence with the goal of publishing them in your newspaper, but the images ultimately never run.

Thanks in part to your coverage, the nation has become fascinated with and invested in the case. You believe that journalism shapes public debate, and, in turn influences public opinion. You use your power as a media elite to try to frame the case in terms of Leo Frank’s innocence.

**Objectives**

Your objective is to convince the public and public officials of Leo Frank’s innocence, while selling a lot of newspapers. You compete with Atlanta newspapers but are a leader in the journalism community. You are also a leader in the Jewish community in their faction and an ally to Frank’s family and his attorneys. You will read, analyze and defend *Times* coverage, and also try to persuade anybody and everybody of Frank’s innocence.

**Albert Lasker**

**Advertising executive**

You are a Jewish advertising executive, successful salesman, and millionaire located in Chicago. At 33, you have already revolutionized how people see and create advertising. You have made ads more informative and emotional believing that advertising is “salesmanship in print.” Last year you became sole owner of Lord and Thomas, a wildly successful agency.

You are convinced of Leo Frank’s innocence. Your advertising instincts also tell you that if the case becomes about religion, Leo Frank will emerge an innocent and free man. You make it your goal to frame the Leo Frank case as such, and to mobilize Jewish communities throughout the country to come to the aide of Leo Frank.

The Leo Frank case, you believe, is playing into some of the worst stereotypes of Jewish people, and so you organize Frank supporters in Chicago, New York, New Orleans, and Washington. You encourage Jewish people to donate money to support Leo Frank’s defense and also encourage newspapers and magazines to publish articles that highlight his innocence. You know this is a case about anti-Semitism, and the rest of the world must know it as well.

**Objectives**

Your objective is to convince people of Frank’s innocence using religion as a tool for persuasion. You are allied with Adolph Ochs, publisher of *The New York Times*, and with Frank’s defense attorneys and family. You will write letters to the editor of the *Times* as well as Atlanta newspapers, and you will speak in support of the Frank defense.

**Alonzo Mann**

**Pencil Factory worker**

Like many children living in Atlanta in 1913 you have a full-time factory job. At 14, you work at the Atlanta Pencil Company factory. Despite the difficult conditions and long hours, you try hard to be an active contributor to your family. You make $8 a week. On April 26, 1913, you spend the morning working with the manager of the factory, Leo Frank, a Jewish man from New York who will soon be at the center of a storm. He will be charged with the murder of another child laborer at your factory, 13-year-old Mary Phagan.

That morning, Jim Conley, an African-American janitor, will ask you for a dime to buy a beer. You refuse. At 11:30 a.m., you leave work to meet your mother at the Confederate Memorial Day parade. When you can’t find her, you head back to work. There you see Jim Conley holding the body of a dead girl. You are frightened, particularly when he threatens, “If you ever mention this, I’ll kill you.”

You run scared, home to your mother who tells you not to tell anyone. (*And you won’t for 69 years - even when called to testify in court.*)

Hostility is high in the city, from the Atlanta race riots to the rampant anti-Semitic rhetoric, and you want no part of any of it. You live with the weight of this on your heart, but as a small boy, fearful for your life and following your mother’s guidance, you do not speak up to tell what you know.

**Objectives**

Your objective is to speak and write without telling what you know. You have a moral dilemma. You identify with Mary Phagan who worked with you at the factory. Help people understand the plight of the child laborer. You also feel enormous guilt about Leo Frank and so try to quietly persuade others that he is innocent.

**Fannie Coleman**

**Mary Phagan’s mother**

You are the grieving mother of murder victim Mary Phagan. Your daughter, who went to the National Pencil Company factory to get her $1.20 paycheck on Saturday, April 26, did not come home. For the first few hours, you clung to the hope that she had taken the trolley to visit her cousins in Marietta, but that was not to be. At daybreak, a factory friend of Mary’s broke the news of her brutal murder. You collapsed and had to be sedated.

You have had a tough life. Your first husband, farmer William Joshua Phagan, died of the measles a few months before Mary was born in Florence, Alabama, so you moved to the Georgia countryside near Marietta to be closer to family. Eventually you opened a boarding house in the mill town of Eagan, south of Atlanta. You married again, to John W. Coleman, a former mill laborer who now works for the Atlanta sanitation department.

You have another daughter Ollie, and three sons, Joshua, Charlie and Benjamin.

You will be the prosecution’s first witness when a murder suspect is finally brought to trial.

**Objectives**

Your sole objective is to achieve justice for your murdered daughter, and for you that means the conviction of Leo Frank. You will talk and write to the judge, prosecutors and journalists to make your case. When others claim that Frank isn’t getting a fair trial, you focus on one thing only – speaking for your daughter, who can’t speak for herself.

**Harold Ross**

**Journalist, the *Atlanta Journal***

At 20, you are already a seasoned journalist who has led a colorful life.

You were born in a prospector’s cabin in Aspen, Colorado, the son of an immigrant miner and a school teacher. Your family landed in Salt Lake City, where as a kid you worked on the school newspaper and as a stringer for *The Salt Lake City Tribune*. When you were a sophomore in high school, you ran away from home to work with your uncle at *The Denver Post*, but you ended up back in Salt Lake at the *Telegram*, a small afternoon daily. You never went back to school.

By the time you moved south to work the crime beat at the *Atlanta Journal*, you had worked at newspapers in Sacramento and New Orleans.

You aren’t the best writer. In fact, you’re known for writing in first-person-plural. Your strength is in reporting the details of a story. You try to adhere to facts. You are a skeptic, a hard drinker and a chain smoker. You have a reputation for “borrowing” evidence and newsworthy documents.

**Objectives**

Your sole objective is to defend your work and your newspaper’s coverage. You’ll read it, summarize it and share the highlights over a pint. You will write to those who might be critical of how you cover the murder and trial. At the end you’ll have to join a faction. Is Leo Frank guilty or innocent?

**Herbert Asbury**

**Journalist, the *Atlanta Georgian***

You are a 23-year-old journalist trying to make a name for yourself, and you’ve got talent as a storyteller.

You were born in Farmington, Mo., where your father was a city clerk and your grandfather and great-grandfather were Methodist preachers. You denounced the church because when you were a child, religion was poured down your throat “in doses that strangled.”

You started your journalism career at the Farmington *Times*, and also worked for the Quincy (Ill.) *Journal* and the Peoria *Journal*. Now you work for the *Atlanta Georgian*, a sensational Atlanta newspaper owned by William Randolph Hearst, considered the inventor of Yellow Journalism.

So far you have worked on the newspaper’s campaign to reform Georgia’s child labor laws. You asked, “What can be said of a God who employs a Hearst newspaper as His instrument in a project involving the welfare of his little ones?”

You sometimes don’t let facts get in the way of a good story, which is what your newspaper rewards. Hearst newspapers are all about entertainment and excitement. “To be a Hearst reporter required talents unsought by sober journals – a lively imagination, a fictional sense that could touch up news stories with vivid glints, balanced by a subtle understanding of how far one could go without being accused of fakery.”

You would love to go to New York and work for one of the great dailies on Newspaper Row. Your success covering the Mary Phagan murder might just be your ticket.

**Objectives**

Your sole objective is to defend your work and your newspaper’s coverage. You’ll read it, summarize it and share the highlights over a pint. You will write to those who might be critical of how you cover the murder and trial. At the end you’ll have to join a faction. Is Leo Frank guilty or innocent? If given a chance, you advocate for child labor reform. Will that lead to more readers for the *Atlanta Georgian*? The end-of-game vote will give you your answer.

**Archie Lee, William Flythe**

**Journalists, the *Atlanta Georgian***

You are journalists working for the *Atlanta Georgian*, one of the newer newspapers in town. The *Georgian* is battling with the more established *Journal* and *Constitution* for readers and advertisers. William Randolph Hearst, legendary media mogul of New York and San Francisco, is your boss. Don’t even think about turning in a boring story. The name Hearst is synonymous with Yellow Journalism, which means human interest, crime, corruption, and sex. The Leo Frank trial is exactly the kind of story Hearst loves. You will work long, difficult hours to entertain and inform the *Georgian’s* readers.

**Objective**

Your objective is to pay attention to what’s happening on the courthouse steps, then read, summarize and defend the *Georgian’s* coverage over a pint at the speak-easy. What are the best stories and why? You must persuade as many people as possible to subscribe to the *Georgian*, a tough job in this competitive newspaper environment. You also need to decide for yourself whether Frank is innocent or guilty. With your decision you join a faction.

**Hugh M. Dorsey**

**Prosecutor**

You are a relatively unknown prosecutor who failed spectacularly to get convictions in your last two murder trials. Yet you have serious political ambitions. Perhaps that is why you will so vigorously prosecute your next high-profile case. It might be your last chance.

You were born in Fayetteville, Ga., in 1871. Your father was a prominent attorney, and so some of your education was in private schools in Atlanta and Hartwell, though you did attend public schools as well. You are a graduate of the University of Georgia and attended the University of Virginia’s Law School.

Despite your university experience and time spent in the city, you love to play the “hick” using folksy humor to your advantage. You especially play up the rural witticisms when addressing a jury of farmers. You are also at home with the Atlanta elite. You have been described as a “shrewd young owl,” ready to swoop down on your prey at any time.

For 15 years you worked in your father’s law firm, where you eventually became a partner, and in 1910 you were appointed solicitor general of the Atlanta Judicial Circuit. You and your wife Adair have been married for two years.

**Objective**

Your objective is to convince both the jury and the public that Leo Frank is guilty of murder and rape. You speak on the courthouse steps and write letters to newspapers stating your case. Don’t tell, but if at the end of the game players vote on Frank’s guilt, you will get 10 extra points on top of the points you will receive for belonging to the winning faction.

**Independent Journalist**

**Wildcard**

You are a freelance journalist covering one of the biggest stories ever in Atlanta, the murder of Mary Phagan and the trial of Leo Frank. You would like to work for one of the “big-three” newspapers in Atlanta, or maybe even move to New York’s Newspaper Row during this exciting time for journalists.

That means you pay close attention to how the story is being covered – by the major Atlanta papers, but also by other newspapers in Georgia and nationally.

Over a pint at the speak-easy you’ll share what you found, network with journalists you’d like to work with, and criticize those who are not covering the story well in your opinion. You’ll talk with players in both factions to figure out what you think.

You’ll also consider the case through the prism of one or more of the big social issues in Atlanta – child labor, women’s rights, anti-Semitism, racism/segregation and poverty.

As a wild card, you have special powers. *Don’t tell!* During the final vote, the newspaper you choose to subscribe to will get 10 extra points, and so will you.

**Objectives**

Your main objective is to learn as much about the case as you can from as many sources. You’ll speak up on Wednesdays, write letters to the editors of news organizations you’d like to praise or criticize. You’ll reach out to major players in the trial to interview them on their perspectives and use that information to help you make a final decision.

**Jim Conley**

**Sweeper at National Pencil Company**

You are a 27-year-old sweeper at the National Pencil Company factory. You were at work when 13-year-old Mary Phagan was brutally murdered. On May 1, you will be arrested, and as an African-American man you understand exactly what can happen to someone like you who is accused of rape. There have been nearly 500 lynchings since 1880 in Georgia. How you handle your testimony and role in this case couldn’t have higher stakes for you or for Leo Frank.

On that life-changing Saturday morning, Frank asked you to work the weekend. This is not something out of the ordinary, as you have worked on weekends before. Your job on the weekends, as you describe it, is to serve as a watchman for your boss as he brings various women visitors in who are not his wife. This Saturday it was Mary. You argue that she refused sexual advances from Leo Frank, and things got violent.

Leo Frank asks you to help in the cover up. The two of you carry the lifeless body to the basement of the factory. Frank says he’ll pay you $200 to write two notes and leave them at the scene of the crime. You’re worried if you don’t, your white boss will do something to hurt you, physically or financially.

During the trial, your honesty will be questioned and holes pointed out in your story. You admit that you didn’t always tell the truth because you were worried about Frank’s reaction. Defense lawyers will tell the jury that you don’t read and write well, making a point about the error-filled notes. A witness will testify that he saw you wash blood out of a shirt.

It’s rumored that your lawyer and the solicitor general are helping you train and practice for your testimony, and have even supplied you with new clothes. Some witnesses attack your character throughout the trial in hopes of painting a picture of Leo Frank’s innocence in the case.

**Objectives**

Your major objective is to stay alive and make people believe your story. If Leo Frank is found guilty, you’ll be safe. You will speak and write letters to prosecutors, newspapers and Mary Phagan’s family.

**John Slaton**

**Georgia Governor**

You are in your second term (though first elected term) as governor of the state of Georgia, following time as a state representative, state senator and lawyer in Atlanta. You graduated from Boys High School in Atlanta and went on to earn a master of arts degree with highest honors from the University of Georgia.

You’ve been a successful governor, paying teachers’ salaries in full, lowering taxes and protecting Georgia-owned Western and Atlantic Railroad from being crippled by another railroad route. You refinanced Georgia’s debt at a better rate. Politically, things are going pretty well for you.

Frankly, you wish the uproar surrounding Mary Phagan’s murder would just go away. It is interfering with your summer. You had planned a series of lawn parties and outdoor theatrical productions at your 75-acre estate, presided over by your “dramatically inclined” wife, Sallie. But the optics of that would be terrible with such a serious trial under way.

You need to pay close attention to public opinion. Unfortunately, you know that no matter your role in the trial and its aftermath, anything you do is going to be controversial. Attorney Luther Rosser is your law partner.

**Objectives**

You have several objectives. First, you need to keep up with the trial and assess whether you think it is fair. You need to maintain order in a city and state simmering with anger about the murder. You are a politician, so you want and need good press coverage. Public opinion is everything. Your ally is Judge Roan, and your nemesis is Adolph Ochs of the *New York Times*. You think his national coverage will fuel public discontent. Soon you will face a very difficult decision.

**Thomas Watson**

**Jeffersonian Publishing Company**

You are a controversial figure. A politician and publisher, you have been credited with being a liberal -- an egalitarian who supports labor, education and the poor. You are also a known white supremacist and bigot who speaks and writes virulently against Catholics, Jews and African-Americans.

You were born on a plantation eight years before the Civil War, the second of seven children. By the time you were old enough to enter Mercer University, your family was struggling financially. You had to drop out. Reconstruction made things tough in the South, and your family lost its plantation in 1873. You became a school teacher and studied law. You eventually rose in prominence, serving in the U.S. House of Representatives and the United States Senate.

You like to hang out at your Hickory Hill estate near Thomson, Ga., and write history and novels. You own Jeffersonian Publishing Company and you edit a popular magazine and a weekly newspaper. *Jeffersonian Magazine* provides a ready outlet for your diatribes, but it also has other high-profile contributors like Clarence Darrow and Theodore Dreiser.

You oppose African-American leaders like W.E.B. DuBois and Booker T. Washington, and you support the disenfranchisement of black voters. Your inflammatory rhetoric helped fan the flames of the Atlanta Race Riot of 1906. Now you are attacking in print the influence of Jews and Northerners in Georgia. The Leo Frank trial is of great interest to you, and its aftermath like gold.

You are a powerful force in Georgia politics, and you don’t mind flouting it. Since 1906, no Georgia governor has been elected without your support.

**Objectives**

Your main objective is to convince everyone, but especially the governor and judge, that Leo Frank is guilty. You believe that fanning the flames of anti-Semitism and racism will benefit you and your magazine, *The Jeffersonian*.

**Sidney Ormond, Vernon Stiles, Britt Craig**

**Journalists, the *Atlanta Constitution***

You are journalists working for the *Atlanta Constitution*, a daily morning newspaper known as the “mouthpiece of the New South.” Your newspaper is pro-business and loves to cover the social elite. The newspaper business is highly competitive and you work long hours covering the trial of the century. It is imperative the *Constitution* beat the *Journal* and *Georgian* with superior trial coverage and attract as many readers as possible.

**Objective**

Your sole objective is to defend your work and your newspaper’s coverage. You’ll read it, summarize it and share the highlights over a pint. You will write to those who might be critical of how you cover the murder and trial. At the end you’ll have to join a faction. Is Leo Frank guilty or innocent?

**Harold Ross, Harllee Branch, Charles Phillips Jr.**

**Journalists, *Atlanta Journal***

You are journalists working for the *Atlanta Journal*, a newspaper that “covers Dixie like the dew.” Your newspaper is pro-business and loves to cover the social elite. The newspaper business is highly competitive and you work long hours covering the trial of the century. It is imperative the *Journal* beat the *Constitution* and *Georgian* with superior trial coverage and attract as many readers as possible.

**Objective**

Your sole objective is to defend your work and your newspaper’s coverage. You’ll read it, summarize it and share the highlights over a pint. You will write to those who might be critical of how you cover the murder and trial. At the end you’ll have to join a faction. Is Leo Frank guilty or innocent?

Note: The *Journal* isn’t digitized for the entire trial and post-trial debate. It is available on microfilm at the library. Since you will know what dates to target, it will be easy to find what you need. Work together to take turns and share with your *Journal* colleagues.

**Newt Lee**

**Night watchman**

You are a night watchman for the National Pencil Company factory. At 3 a.m. you take a lantern down to the basement to use the “Negro toilet.” You discover the body of Mary Phagan, a 13-year-old factory worker and notify Atlanta Police immediately.

The police arrive about 10 minutes later and find notes by the corpse. They read the contents to you, and you realize the notes frame you as the murderer. This is terrifying because you understand the lynching culture in Georgia and how dangerous it is for a Black man to be accused of harming a white woman or girl.

An early prime suspect, you are one of the first people arrested in the case, and spend three days in the city jail. Your boss Leo Frank, who is also being interviewed by the police, makes comments that lead you to believe he thinks you are guilty. He says, “If you keep this up, we will both go to hell.”

You testify in court that on the eve of the murder, you received an unusual phone call from Frank. He asked you if everything was alright at the factory, something he had never done before. Soon the focus of suspicion turns towards Leo Frank, thanks to the testimony of Jim Conley, sweeper at the factory. Your role as a prime suspect is diminished.

**Objectives**

Your main objective is to stay alive, which means Leo Frank must be convicted. You will write and speak for the prosecution and the newspapers that cover the trial with an anti-Frank slant.

**Temple community member**

You are a member of a vibrant Temple community. Thanks to industrialization, Atlanta has the largest population of Jews in the South. Many own new business or work in management at the factories. Your neighbors have begun associating you with wealth and with changing values in Southern culture. You believe in the “New South,” and want Atlanta to be economically strong.

Your Temple practices reform Judaism, which has been a bit controversial but aligns with the values of a new and growing Jewish middle class. You are involved in philanthropic organizations and are committed to helping those in need.

However, you are confused and frightened by the Leo Frank case. You feel like Atlantans have turned against you. People say hateful things to you, and many businesses now refuse to serve you. The Ku Klux Klan is a real threat to you, and its membership numbers are quickly growing.

You show as much support for Leo Frank and his wife as you can, but you also begin to wonder if you should still call Georgia home.

**Objectives**

Your main objective is to tamp down the anti-Semitic fever spreading through Atlanta. Speak out against newspapers that seem biased against Jews, and support those who are on your side. Help people to understand the cultural factors that might be influencing their opinions about the case. Stand on the steps of the courthouse and let Atlantans know how you feel, but be careful, too. You have enemies in the crowd.

**Factory worker**

You work long hours for meager pay at the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill, one of 98 textile mills in the state of Georgia, and you live in Cabbagetown, the mill town on the east side of Atlanta. Conditions in the factory are terrible. It’s blazing hot in the summer and frigid in winter. No one really cares about your safety. If you get hurt using one of the machines, you will be financially devastated. Even if you aren’t in an accident, the work you do is bad for your health. A Department of Labor study found that mill workers actually become physically dwarfed because of the long hours, heat, noise and bad air. It’s not surprising that you are tired and dejected.

Sadly, many accidents in textile mills involve children, which terrifies you because your young kids work in the factory. Twenty-four percent of all mill workers are children. You wish your children didn’t have to work, but everyone in the family does, just to put food on the table. Your children can’t go to school, and you worry about their future. Frankly, the whole situation makes you angry. You know that your children are vulnerable, and not just because of the machines. Children are often mistreated and abused by adults in the factories.

Some of your co-workers want to unionize. In 1914, you will go on strike, which will cause even more financial stress. You want to make things better, but if the whole family is on strike, how will you buy food?

You are enraged by the murder of Mary Phagan, and when Leo Frank is arrested, he stands as the symbol of all your frustration.

**Objective**

Your main objective is to see that justice is done for Mary Phagan, and for you that means Leo Frank should be convicted. You will stand up for workers and the poor when making your arguments. Write letters to lawyers involved in the case or to newspaper reporters stating your arguments. Stand up on the courthouse steps and let the people of Atlanta know how you feel. You might even organize a protest.

**\*Moonshine Joe**

**Bootlegger**

You sell liquor at Moonshine Joe’s, which is just a big storage room behind your dry goods store on Decatur Street. It’s illegal, but you don’t care. Breaking Atlanta’s prohibition law is making you rich. You bring in dance bands and fiddlers to make sure people stay and drink until early hours of the morning. Business is booming. Lawyers, politicians and journalists gather there almost every night to tell stories and argue about news of the day.

Decatur Street is one of those places in Atlanta where people gather together despite their race, ethnicity or social class, though tensions are always bubbling below the surface. Your job is to sell liquor and encourage debate. But don’t let things get out of hand. You don’t want the Atlanta Police to start snooping around. You could end up in jail.

**Objective**

Your main objective is to manage your speak-easy so that as many people have the opportunity to speak as possible. You run the schedule. If you disagree with arguments made over a pint, send a letter to a politician or journalist, and speak up. You are in charge on Wednesdays.

*\*Moonshine Joe is obviously not a real person but represents many bootleggers in Atlanta who sold liquor from their homes or businesses, and sometimes threw wild parties to do so.*

**Leonard S. Roan**

**Judge and Wildcard**

You began your career as a lawyer at age 20, having educated yourself, and rose to become one of the most widely known jurists in Georgia. You are now 64 years old.

You served as judge of the Stone Mountain Circuit for 14 years, then were appointed to the Court of Appeals in Atlanta by Governor Slaton. When you announced your intention to seek another term in that office, the *Atlanta Constitution* wrote, “No judge who ever occupied the bench in Atlanta has more personal friends than Judge Roan and the announcement that he will offer for re-election will be received with universal satisfaction.”

While at the Court of Appeals, you presided over two of the most notable criminal trials in Georgia, those of Daisy E. Grace and Callie Scott Applebaum. Grace, an Atlanta socialite, was found not guilty of charges that she had drugged and shot her husband. Applebaum was acquitted of her husband’s murder, despite the fact that she was found in a locked room with his body and a revolver. The verdict was front-page news on the day little Mary Phagan was murdered. These trials were well-publicized by a yellow press. You are accustomed to publicity.

You believe in the rule of law, and once told a Grand Jury:

The laws are made for all, and for the good of all. No man can become so wealthy, so panoplied with the golden riches of this world, as to be independent of the law… The poor man in his hut, with no property save his faithful dog and a few chickens, cannot exist without law, because, in his dependent condition, he would be the prey of the more intelligent, the wealthier class, and he could be enslaved. Thus it is seen that neither the rich nor the poor can live and enjoy government without law.

**Objective**

Your main objective is to manage the speeches and announcements on the steps of the Fulton County Courthouse every Monday. You run the schedule and need to make sure all voices have a chance to be heard. If you disagree with arguments, write letters to the newspapers or lawyers involved. Don’t tell, but the faction you choose (guilty or innocent) will get 10 extra points. Listen!

**W.F. Anderson, R.J. Brown, L.S. Dobbs**

**Atlanta Police Officers**

You are Atlanta police officers who are called to the scene on the morning Mary Phagan’s battered body is found at the National Pencil Company factory. You got the call just after 3:30 a.m. and raced through empty Atlanta streets to get there. Your job is to gather evidence. Anderson, 31, is the call officer. Brown and Dobbs are both 49-year-old sergeants each with more than two decades on the force.

**Objective**

Your primary goal is to make sure the people of Atlanta stay informed about the investigation, particularly at the beginning of the game. You’ll give briefings on the courthouse steps and will write position papers that keep the two families informed. You are neutral, but at the end of the game, you’ll have to take a position on Frank’s guilt or innocence. Write to the judge, lawyers, governor and/or newspapers offering your professional or personal opinions on the case.

**If Pastor Henry Hugh Proctor asks you to shut down Moonshine Joe’s speakeasy or clear the courthouse steps, you will do so at the end of class that day. When that happens, no one who spoke will have a vote and they won’t be eligible for the “most persuasive” win.**

**Henry Hugh Proctor**

**Pastor, First Congregational Church**

You are pastor of a big, important church, which makes you a leader in the African-American community. Following the Atlanta Race Riot, you put aside denominational differences with other pastors in Atlanta so that you could lead in efforts to reduce violence in the city. You believe that one of the most important ways to do that is to shut down the saloons, and you supported the complete ban of alcohol in Georgia in 1908. You are on the lookout for illegal gatherings where drinks are served.

You are a significant figure in the Social Gospel movement, and your work is helping pave the way for the Civil Rights Movement. In your church, both Blacks and Whites can drink from the same water fountain, unlike at any other place in Atlanta.

You are a highly educated and hard-working man. You worked your way through Fisk College in Nashville, where you became friends with fellow student W.E.B. Du Bois, and then graduated with a degree in divinity from Yale, where you studied philosophy and theology and sang in a quartet with three other black students to earn money for tuition. You love music, and were one of the organizers in 1910 of the Atlanta Colored Music Festival Association.

**Objective**

Your main objective during the investigation and trial is to keep the city from erupting in violence. You will try to persuade the public and the newspapers to tamp down on the sensationalism. You will plead with the crowds to remain calm. You might rely on your friend W.E.B. Du Bois’ writing and thinking to clarify your arguments.

Don’t tell, **but you have the power to ask Atlanta Police Officer W.F. Anderson to raid and “shut down” Moonshine Joe’s speakeasy once during the course of the game and to clear the courthouse steps once**. While you won’t be able to silence the speakers, if you shut it down, no one who talks that day will have a vote, nor will they be eligible for a “most persuasive” win that day.

**Henry McNeal Turner**

**Bishop in the African Methodist Episcopal Church**

You are an influential religious and political leader in Atlanta.

You helped organize the Republican Party in Georgia and were elected to the Georgia Legislature during Reconstruction. Later, when White legislators voted to oust you and other elected African-Americans from office, you gave a passionate speech in protest. Soon you were threatened by the Ku Klux Klan. With your life at risk, it isn’t surprising that you support the migration of African Americans to Africa. You also support the ban of alcohol in the state of Georgia.

You lived in Washington, D.C., during the Civil War and organized the First Regiment of U.S. Colored Troops right in your own churchyard. You helped build the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) church in Georgia. You rose to the rank of bishop, and have enjoyed a productive, successful tenure in the church. You are the first AME bishop to ordain a woman, and you are author of the influential guide to Methodist policies, *The Genius and Theory of Methodist Polity*, published in 1885. You founded two newspapers, *The Voice of Missions* and *The Voice of the People*.

You have a bit of scandal in your background. You were forced to resign from a job as postmaster in Macon because it was rumored that you spent time with prostitutes and that you tried to spend counterfeit money. You have had four wives and fourteen children, though only four of your children have survived.

**Objective**

Your major objectives are to make sure that violence doesn’t erupt in Atlanta during the investigation and trial and to speak up for the African-American community. You will write and speak with that in mind, often using AME principles in your thinking.

**Core Texts**

Press coverage of the murder, arrest, trial and appeals in *The Atlanta Georgian, The Atlanta Constitution, The Atlanta Journal* and other regional and national newspapers.

Atlanta Georgian browse page (1913-1915)

[https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn89053729/](https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn89053729/" \t "_blank)

Atlanta Semi-Weekly Journal browse page (1913)

[https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn86090947/](https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/lccn/sn86090947/" \t "_blank)

*Atlanta Constitution*: Go to the UGA Library home page at libs.uga.edu. Search for *The Atlanta Constitution* via “E-Journals by Title.” Click onto the first result that has online access. You will find the newspaper available full text from 1881 to 1945 vie ProQuest, which has a variety of ways to search, including by date.

*The New York Times*: Go to the UGA Library home page a libs.uga.edu. Search for *The New York Times* via “E-Journals by Title.” Click onto the fifth result “The New York Times on the Web.” You will find the newspaper available from 1857 to 1922.

Twenty-seven primary documents located in the Leo Frank clemency collection (Georgia Archives): <https://vault.georgiaarchives.org/digital/collection/frankclem>

Era (1910) article on child labor available on your class page in eLC: A.J. McKelway, “Child Labor in the South,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* v. 25 n. 1 (January 1910), 156-164.

Georgia Historic Newspapers (GHN) Homepage

[https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/](https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/" \t "_blank)

GHN search page

[https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/search/advanced/](https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/search/advanced/" \t "_blank)

**Digital Exhibitions**

“Tragedy in the New South: The Murder of Mary Phagan and the Lynching of Leo Frank,” digital exhibition, Digital Public Library of America, <https://dp.la/exhibitions/leo-frank>.

America at work, 1894-1915, Library of Congress,

<https://www.loc.gov/collections/america-at-work-and-leisure-1894-to-1915/articles-and-essays/america-at-work/>

America at school, 1984-1915, Library of Congress

<https://www.loc.gov/collections/america-at-work-and-leisure-1894-to-1915/articles-and-essays/america-at-work/>

**You will find secondary sources available on your eLC class site that might help you build your arguments. You will likely need to search for more. Do that via the database “America History and Life with Full Text,” accessible through the library home page by selecting Databases A-Z.**

Michael Bronski, "The Return of the Repressed: Leo Frank Through the Eyes of Oscar Micheaux," *Shofar* v. 23, n. 4 (Summer 2005), 26-49. http://www.jstor.org/stable/42944289.

Dominic J. Capeci and Jack C. Knight, “Reckoning with Violence: W.E.B. Du Bois and the 1906 Atlanta Race Riot,” *The Journal of Southern History* v. 62, n. 4 (Nov. 1996), 727-766.

Michael R. Cohen, “Cotton, Capital, and Ethnic Networks Jewish Economic Growth in the Postbellum Gulf South,” *American Jewish Archives Journal* v. 64, n. 1-2 (2012), 112-136. <http://americanjewisharchives.org/publications/journal/PDF/2012_64_01_00_cohen.pdf#search=%20Cotton%20Capital%20>

Stephen J. Goldfarb, “The Slaton Memorandum: A governor looks back at his decision to commute the death sentence of Leo Frank,” *American Jewish History* v. 88, n. 3 (September 2000), 325-339.

Morouf Hasian Jr., “Judicial rhetoric in a fragmentary world: ‘Character’ and storytelling in the Leo Frank case,” *Communications Monographs* v. 64, n. 3 (September 1997), 250-269. https://doi.org/10.1080/03637759709376419.

Georgina Hickey, "Waging War on ‘Loose Living Hotels’ and ‘Cheap Soda Water Joints’: The Criminalization of Working-Class Women in Atlanta's Public Space," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* v. 82, n. 4 (Winter 1998), 775-800. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40583905.

Andrea G. Hunter, “The other breadwinners: The mobilization of secondary wage earners in early twentieth-century black families,” *History of the Family* v. 6 n. 1 (2001), 26 pp.

Alton Dumar Jones, "The Child Labor Reform Movement In Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* v. 49, n. 4 (December 1965), 396-417. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40578524>.

Eugene Levy, "‘Is the Jew a White Man?’: Press Reaction to the Leo Frank Case, 1913-1915." *Phylon v.* 35, n. 2 (2nd quarter, 1974), 212-22. doi:10.2307/274709.

Nancy MacLean, "The Leo Frank Case Reconsidered: Gender and Sexual Politics in the Making of Reactionary Populism," *The Journal of American History* v. 78, n. 3 (December 1991), 917-48. doi:10.2307/2078796.

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