

## **"MR. ANONYMOUS, JR.": PHILIP WELTNER AND UPLIFT FROM PROGRESSIVISM TO THE GREAT SOCIETY**

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Philip Weltner (1887-1981) was an Atlanta lawyer who helped shape higher education and social welfare policies in Georgia and the Southeast. He also influenced philanthropy as an activist in the Social Gospel movement and as a special consultant to Coca-Cola chief, Robert Woodruff.

Over the years of his long career Weltner formed opinions about education, philanthropy, and social policy which are especially interesting in light of current debates about the legacies of the New Deal and the Great Society.

Weltner, the son of German immigrants to New York City, was not from an aristocratic southern family. In 1893, on his first day of school in Georgia, he was called an unfamiliar, but obviously insulting, name: "Yankee." He recalled this as the first time he became aware of his position "in but not of the Old South." As he grew older he learned of the importance attached to ancestry, concluding "you were either a somebody or a nobody." Yet, his lack of southern roots did not prevent him from rising to a position of prominence in Atlanta life.<sup>1</sup> Concentrating his energies on giving others a chance to improve themselves, he was blessed with the ability to maintain friendships with people with political influence or sufficient wealth to make his benevolent work possible. Once, when writing to offer advice to his son, he said that he had learned not to be a "stand out," but rather a "stand in," meaning that he let others get the credit for efforts in which he played an important role. "In the end," he said, I "exercised far

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more influence though others whose friendships and trust I had won."<sup>2</sup>

Until 1906 his father, a minister, served a church in Augusta; he then moved to a mill village near Columbia, South Carolina, where the Weltners served a mission at St. Luke's Lutheran Church. Along with a government-salaried physician, they set up a health clinic in their home and established a night school.<sup>3</sup> While admiring his parents, Philip did not wish to become a minister as they desired; he did not like the scrutiny that a pastor's family must endure and harbored some doubts concerning the literal acceptance of biblical passages. Instead, he wanted to be a lawyer. After attending the University of Georgia, where he first encountered his future father-in-law, registrar A. L. Hull, he studied at Columbia Law School. On returning to Georgia in 1910, he passed the state bar exam and began practice in Atlanta.<sup>4</sup>

As a new lawyer Philip worked briefly at a firm specializing in real estate, which he found a drudgery. He attended the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer and became close friends with the pastor, Carl Schaeffer, Jr. Around this time he met Joe Logan, a Columbia Law graduate who had entered social work as a vocation, directing the Associated Charities of Atlanta. He also met John Eagan, a wealthy industrialist whose philanthropic interests included social and moral uplift, better working conditions, and improved race relations.<sup>5</sup> Logan and Eagan liked young Weltner and decided to invite him into their network of reformers. He was asked to serve on the executive committee of the Atlanta chapter of the Men and Religion Forward Movement, a well-known Social Gospel organization of the Progressive Era. Pastor Schaeffer served as secretary of the committee. While serving with this group Weltner became close friends with some of the city's most influential men. One such leader was attorney Marion Jackson, who headed the publicity committee. Jackson



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wrote sensational ads for the newspapers targeting immorality and what the committee saw as official benign neglect of vice. (In 1912, one committee member, Dr. Marion Hull, introduced Philip to his sister Sally; soon the couple made wedding plans which were fulfilled in September 1913.) The assistance of such a respectable young man as Weltner proved valuable to the committee. He was sent to the brothels and the police station to study the vice problem and offer prostitutes shelter in the group's halfway house. Weltner sometimes acted as a researcher for the group, as in the case when member John Manget reported that a motion picture theater on Whitehall Street was "being operated on a low moral plane" and Philip was sent to investigate. He also conducted a survey of black Fulton county prisoners to learn how lack of education, poor family circumstances, and missing moral guidance might have contributed to their corruption. In May 1914 Weltner was sent to Jacksonville, Florida to help community leaders there duplicate Atlanta's program of closing the "red light" district by finding suitable homes for its "inmates."<sup>6</sup>

In late 1910 Eagan created the Prison Association of Georgia, with Philip Weltner as director. The purpose of the organization was to help ex-convicts find success and to build public sympathy for reforms in prison conditions and sentencing. Weltner visited juvenile courts, studied reform efforts throughout the country, addressed the Southern Sociological Congress in 1912 and 1913, pushed for grand jury probes of abusive prison officials and greater scrutiny of work camp practices, wrote columns, and organized church women across the state to lobby for reform bills he had drafted, such as an adult probation bill, a bill activating a 1908 juvenile court law, and a bill for the construction of a state training school for girls. In April 1912 he disguised himself as a prisoner and spent a day working on a Campbell County chain gang, using the notoriety of his being "discovered" to draw

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attention to the conditions of real prisoners.<sup>7</sup>

In January 1911 Philip Weltner became the state's first Juvenile Court probation officer, having been appointed through the influence of Eagan. That April he opened an informal Children's Court. A goal of the program was to prevent juveniles from being introduced to the adult corrections system. To this end, he set up a children's detention center. As a judge Weltner tried to discover the underlying causes of the children's delinquency and to improve their circumstances. Under the adult probation law of 1913, Weltner was named the state's first chief probation officer; he served the Fulton County courts for slightly over one year. He also won funding for a city probation officer for white women and a county Home for Incurable Women, and he directed a campaign to have black churches provide the salary for a probation officer for black women. Weltner was unable to remain on the executive committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement beyond September 1914, however, when his activities on behalf of the group were questioned by the county warden and city probation officer. They charged that Weltner had ulterior motives, since he had taken at least one pardon case as a private attorney of which he had become aware through his work for the committee.<sup>8</sup>

With the birth of their first child, a daughter named Callender, in 1915 and the purchase of a home in Ansley Park, the Weltners agreed that Philip needed to seek a greater income than that offered by social work. His contacts with wealthy Atlantans helped in finding work. In assisting W. Woods White with a campaign against loan sharks, for example, Weltner was able to become counsel for the Atlanta Loan and Savings Company. He also began teaching at the Atlanta Law School.<sup>9</sup> Looking back on this period Philip later wrote to his youngest son about the "problem" of what one expects to "do" with his life:

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I set about doing what...might be of service to my fellowman. I started out just that way and then...it dawned on me that my first responsibility was to provide security and opportunity for them [his family], the goal however was never surrendered....that done I was free to follow my bent.<sup>10</sup>

In time, Weltner's practice was very profitable. Together with three partners he had made a great deal of money by the late 1920s. By the 1930s he was so financially secure that he was able to spend the rest of his career moving from different positions in government, education, and philanthropy, while also working as a legal consultant to his many friends throughout the state.<sup>11</sup>

Even during the period when Philip Weltner was engaged in the regular practice of law he did not lose touch with social reform. In June 1918 he took a temporary position as secretary of the newly established State Department of Public Welfare; Weltner and Joe Logan had drafted the bill creating the department. In 1923 Weltner served as chairman of a subcommittee on Juvenile Courts and Delinquency for the State Council of Social Agencies. In early 1931 Weltner drafted three bills on behalf of the Children's Code Commission of Georgia, each meant to assist children in desperate family situations.<sup>12</sup>

By this time his own family had grown. In 1918 a son, Philip, Jr., was born, followed by two more daughters: May in 1921 and Marion in 1924. In 1927 his last child, Charles, was born. Despite the economic hard times Philip Weltner would later recall, "The children as happy as larks never once experienced that America was in the grip of the Great Depression."<sup>13</sup> The state of Georgia, however, was in much worse financial shape than the Weltner family. This fact would figure heavily in Philip's next



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major foray into policy making: the Reorganization Act of 1931.

In 1929 Governor Lamartine Hardman established a commission on government reorganization under the direction of Ivan Allen, Sr. After studying the problems of Georgia's government and reform ideas, the commission appointed a committee of Atlanta lawyers to draft a reorganization bill. Allen chose Philip Weltner to direct the group in writing the proposal. When Governor Hardman sent the Allen Commission bill to the legislature in 1929 it passed in the Senate but failed in the House.<sup>14</sup> By the time the legislature met again in 1931, the need for economy in government caused by the depression together with the political skills of Speaker of the House Richard Russell had made reorganization much more likely. During a special session called by Governor Hardman in January 1931, the legislature again failed to pass a reorganization bill; but Governor-elect Russell was able to pass a resolution establishing a joint study committee to report during the regular session in June. This committee, which was headed by Senator Hugh Peterson, employed Philip Weltner as special counsel. The Peterson Committee produced a bill that passed both houses, becoming law in August 1931.<sup>15</sup>

One of the key features of the Reorganization Act was the creation of a Board of Regents. Philip Weltner had advocated this measure as a member of the Georgia Alumni Society; he believed that the university would be able to get a greater appropriation through such a board than it did in the contest of legislative lobbying for each individual school. When the board was organized in early 1932, one member was appointed for each of the state's congressional districts by the governor, who sat as an *ex officio* member. These members served four-year terms. In addition one at-large member was to serve at the pleasure of the governor; the first occupant of this position was Philip Weltner, to whom Russell said, "You know more about it than anybody else."

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When Governor Eugene Talmadge came into office in January 1933, Weltner's term was finished. In April, however, the board named Weltner as chancellor of the University System, replacing Charles Snelling. Weltner held this position until his resignation in May 1935.<sup>16</sup>

The board wielded tremendous power over the finances and curricular policies of state colleges. All of the state's agricultural and mechanical arts schools were closed and some were converted to junior colleges. Several academic programs were consolidated; salaries were lowered; and many professors' jobs were eliminated. Undergraduate courses were standardized throughout the system and funds for the institutions were appropriated solely to the board for its dispersal. The overall state appropriation for higher education was reduced by just over half a million dollars. Philip Weltner approved of most proposed cost-cutting efforts. But the Chancellor successfully argued against one austerity measure which he thought was against the best interests of the people: the closing of the Medical College of Georgia at Augusta.<sup>17</sup>

When Talmadge assumed the governor's office a struggle ensued between supporters of Russell and those of the new chief executive.<sup>18</sup> During the 1930s ideology increasingly played a larger role in Georgia's political fights. By late 1934 Talmadge's vigorous opposition to the New Deal and the support of it by other leaders, like Senator Russell and Congressman Carl Vinson, were combining to create deep divisions that complicated Georgia's political situation. Philip Weltner eventually jumped headlong into the defense of the Roosevelt program.<sup>19</sup>

In 1934, when Weltner presented his ideas for expanding the University System's outreach to poor farming communities through adult literacy programs and agricultural demonstration projects, Talmadge told someone, "Philip is sliding down another

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moonbeam," but agreed to support the plans.<sup>20</sup> Just before the opening of the legislative session of 1935 the chancellor had a pleasant meeting with the governor to see if he needed to stay at the capitol for any regents business. Talmadge assured him that he knew of nothing that would require his attention. Weltner's clash with the governor began the following morning.<sup>21</sup>

Seeking to take advantage of New Deal spending, the Board of Regents had decided to borrow \$2,817,000.00 from the Public Works Administration for construction. Years later Weltner recalled going to his office to prepare for a tour of colleges on the first day of the session and being surprised to hear that Talmadge forces had just introduced a bill blocking the building program. He eventually "learned that the measure had been concocted the night before at the Mansion as part of the Governor's vendetta against the New Deal." Instead of making his trip Weltner and Regents Chairman Marion Smith scrambled to defend the board's plan. Finally a compromise was reached whereby the Regents relinquished the federal loan in return for a promised state appropriation of one million dollars over three years. In the wake of this squabble, Weltner, sensing that new Talmadge appointees to the Board "would be out to slit my official throat," resigned his position in May 1935.<sup>22</sup> Weltner quickly found another appointment in government, this time in the heart of one of the New Deal's most controversial programs. In June 1935 Weltner became southeast regional director of the Resettlement Administration.

The Resettlement Administration was set up to establish a land-use program, resettle poor families from both rural and urban areas, build model suburban communities, and design a program of rural rehabilitation loans and grants to small farmers. The President named one of his most prominent liberal advisors, Rexford G. Tugwell, as administrator. Tugwell chose as his deputy



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administrator Dr. Will Alexander, an advocate of relief for poor tenant farmers and sharecroppers who led the Atlanta-based Commission on Interracial Cooperation. Philip Weltner knew Alexander through his association with John Eagan and Marion Jackson.<sup>23</sup> He was also familiar with the farm problem through his regents work.<sup>24</sup> As originally conceived, resettlement was to be coordinated by the university system with direct assistance from the University of Georgia's School of Agriculture and the extension services. Later Weltner wrote that the state would have probably done a better job than the federal government.<sup>25</sup>

One problem the Resettlement Administration faced was distrust from the established providers of assistance to farmers, including officials within the United States Department of Agriculture, state extension services, colleges of agriculture, and county agricultural agents. The New Deal itself had spawned a rivalry between its right and left flanks in farm policy through the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. In the South the Agricultural Adjustment Administration's crop reduction program had hurt tenant farmers and sharecroppers; they often failed to receive a share of the program's benefits from landholders and were frequently forced off the land.<sup>26</sup> Critics of the New Deal could point to the loose credit standards used for awarding farm assistance and domination of programs by social workers rather than farm experts. These flaws had resulted in numerous loan defaults and unproductive farm experiments. The Resettlement Administration desperately needed to improve the government's record. As regional director, Philip Weltner tried to make changes toward that end. Working together with State Extension Director Harry Brown and Georgia Relief Director Gay Shepperson, Weltner improved the relationship between county agents and resettlement officers, moved the state Resettlement Administration offices from Atlanta to Athens to facilitate cooperation with the

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extension service, replaced social workers with farming specialists in community projects, cut rural rehabilitation staff, and tightened lending practices so as to eliminate people unlikely to repay federal loans.<sup>27</sup>

Perhaps the best known example of all resettlement communities, due to its proximity to the president's home in Warm Springs, was Pine Mountain Valley. Although it was not directly controlled by the Resettlement Administration Weltner was involved in its development and management, once conducting a presidential tour of the community along with Shepperson.<sup>28</sup> In reflection, Weltner felt that one of the biggest problems at Pine Mountain Valley, and other such communities, was the inappropriate selection of "settlers." According to Weltner the valley's prospective farmers were actually textile workers from Macon who had gone on strike. With no real commitment to farming, they moved away as soon as paychecks for work on the development ceased to arrive. This problem was symptomatic of a more general problem in federal spending. Weltner later wrote, "Why does our government always spend billions, helter skelter, on ideas seldom, if ever, tried out beforehand."<sup>29</sup>

The Resettlement Administration's utopian projects attracted a great deal of attention. Actually such projects were probably the least important of its efforts to help poor farmers. More work was expended in offering financial assistance to individual farms than on anything else.<sup>30</sup> In recalling his work with the agency, Weltner was proudest of his role in helping small farmers. After becoming frustrated with the increasingly top-heavy staff of his regional headquarters, Weltner went to Washington and met with Tugwell in early 1936. He submitted a list of unneeded officials and agreed to step down to help make the dismissals easier. Even though the staff reductions were not carried out, his resignation became effective on January 31, 1936. He returned to

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private practice and assumed control of the financially troubled, Ruralist Press.<sup>31</sup> Still, in the summer of 1936 the lure of politics compelled him to launch a direct assault on the power of Eugene Talmadge with the so-called "Weltner Convention."

On July 4, 1936, Governor Talmadge announced he was seeking the Democratic nomination to the United States Senate, challenging Richard Russell. At the same time he announced his personal endorsement of State Senate President Charles Redwine for governor. Several prominent pro-Roosevelt Georgians were rumored to be running for governor in early 1936, among them Philip Weltner.<sup>32</sup> By the time of the governor's announcement, Weltner had already risked his own political reputation in an effort to unite the opposition to Talmadge behind a single candidate.<sup>33</sup>

Philip Weltner paid for small advertisements in newspapers across the state calling for citizens to join in a "hunt" for the right man for governor. Initially waging a one-man campaign , he travelled for several months throughout the state, speaking to prospective members of his movement. Refusing to be considered as a candidate himself, he established movement committees in each congressional district and set up his state headquarters in Atlanta under the direction of Dan Magill, editor of the Athens *Herald-Banner*. When the movement had grown sufficiently to warrant calling the group together the Macon City Auditorium was reserved for June 18th; Governor Talmadge had held his "Grass Roots" anti-Roosevelt convention in the same hall in January. When the delegates assembled their numbers exceeded Weltner's expectations. Credentials committee chairman Steve Nance, the president of the Georgia Federation of Labor, announced that 151 of the state's 159 counties were represented by a total of 1,625 delegates.<sup>34</sup>

The convention was keynoted by Judge Blanton Fortson of Athens, an outspoken defender of the New Deal.<sup>35</sup> The judge



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had come to be seen by some liberals as a "humanitarian minded" advocate of progressive measures.<sup>36</sup> Still, he was a relative unknown. Fortson later said that he went to the convention with no intention of running for governor. No nominating speeches were allowed, only the submission of names by each county delegation. Votes were counted following the county unit system. Before voting the convention adopted a platform calling for an end to "autocracy" in Georgia, cooperation with the Social Security program, more equitable distribution of education funding, protection for the rights of labor, and aid to farmers including action to reduce tenancy. Offering clear support for the president's program the platform stated:

In no state in the union is there greater need for laws to improve the condition of unfortunate men, women and children who never knew that such a thing as a New Deal was dreamed of until the present national administration came into power. We therefore applaud the great humanitarian who, in the nation's highest office, has used his powerful influence to bring new hope and opportunity to millions of despairing people in our cities, towns and rural areas.

We also condemn the obstructionist program in which the titular head of the democratic party in this state has persisted, and which has not only deprived our state of material benefits to which it was entitled, but has embarrassed the great president who is the proved friend of our state, by giving aid and comfort to the democratic party's traditional antagonists, on the eve of a crucial national campaign.<sup>37</sup>

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From the floor delegate Walter Sanders of Newnan proposed that the convention refrain from actually endorsing any specific candidate, but this motion failed. Fortson narrowly defeated E.D. Rivers, 168 votes to 154, on the second ballot. Rivers, already the front runner in the race, chose to ignore the decision of the convention, continuing his campaign; his fights with the governor during the 1935 session had positioned him as a leader among anti-Talmadge politicians and a proponent of the New Deal. Even though Fortson had won the nomination, he could not depend on other candidates, nor even the delegates, to support him.<sup>38</sup> Some political experts considered the Weltner group as naive and ill-suited for undermining Talmadge's support. The governor dismissed the convention by saying, "Democrats nominate their candidates in their own party primaries and nowhere else." It would be a difficult race. In the September 9th primary, which saw the defeat of Talmadge by Russell, Rivers won a total of 60 per cent of the popular vote; Redwine had 31.6 percent of the popular vote and Fortson the remainder<sup>39</sup> In postmortem notes to a friend Weltner wrote "no political effort ever encountered greater difficulties than the one which we sponsored," going on to explain that many would be supporters felt forced by circumstances into another allegiance. While he hoped for the best from the Rivers administration and was committed to cooperation with the new governor, he was resolved to resume the political fight again if disappointed.<sup>40</sup> In fact, the Fortson campaign was to be Philip Weltner's last leadership role in electoral politics.<sup>41</sup>

In late 1938 Weltner became the executive director of the newly established Atlanta Housing Authority. Charles Palmer, the Atlanta realtor who had pushed for the construction of the first public housing project, Techwood Homes, asked him to take the job.<sup>42</sup> Weltner served as director for one year. He continued to work with the authority as general counsel and briefly reassumed

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the directorship later when his successor became ill. At the time of his work with the authority Weltner wrote glowingly about the ability of housing projects to help fulfill the "great vision" of America. In thinking back on his involvement in the housing program Weltner detected a flaw in the plan, writing, "The philosophy animating this program was the belief that if a person's social environment is changed for the better, he will become a better person. True, true, but only in part. The aspiration for change must come from within." What was needed, he felt, "at the outset" was to provide tenants with services to further "self esteem, self direction and self support." This belief would influence his later work in philanthropy. In the winter of 1939 Philip Weltner joined the staff of the Office of Price Administration, briefly serving in Washington. In January 1940, he returned to Atlanta as the agency's regional attorney, a position he gave up in March 1943.<sup>43</sup>

Philip Weltner was also active in the Citizens Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia, a project of the League of Women Voters. In the late thirties and early forties the movement published a series of reports on public issues. Considered an expert in the field, Weltner was asked to prepare articles on education. Josephine Wilkins, director of the project, credited the high quality of Weltner's 1940 report with winning continued funding for the movement.<sup>44</sup> In the report Weltner stressed the community benefits of education over its individual rewards. Stating flatly that "Georgia has a race problem," he argued that "an educated community will not allow the lowest elements of either race to dominate racial relations." He also said other social and economic problems such as poor labor relations and business slumps could be better understood and ameliorated through education.<sup>45</sup> The reports were among the movement's most requested publications.<sup>46</sup>



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One of the biggest challenges Philip Weltner faced in his career came in late 1943, when he accepted the presidency of Oglethorpe University in Atlanta. The school was unaccredited and facing serious financial problems when Weltner took over, replacing the controversial Dr. Thornwell Jacobs. Weltner decided to close a medical school which Jacobs had established, and he reduced the faculty to cut costs. He found new patrons for the school and further developed the relationship with benefactors who had helped Jacobs, chiefly William Randolph Hearst. By the time Weltner retired from Oglethorpe in 1953 the school was operating on a sound financial basis and had earned its accreditation. The number of students grew under Weltner, although the school remained small in keeping with his desire to maintain high standards and a "family spirit." He consistently opposed the growth of educational institutions merely for the sake of growth itself.<sup>47</sup>

As Philip Weltner approached retirement he enjoyed a reputation as a progressive southerner who spoke for a "new and challenging approach to education."<sup>48</sup> Not only recognized as an able administrator, he was sometimes seen as a spokesman for a coming enlightenment of political life in the South through the realization of black voting rights and the rise of a two-party system.<sup>49</sup> His work in social reform and government and the opinions he had formed as a result were to have a tremendous influence on his son Charles, who was elected to represent the 5th Congressional District and later served on the Georgia Supreme Court. Philip Weltner's ties to influential people in Atlanta would also prove important to Charles. As he prepared to leave Oglethorpe, Philip was fortunate to form a friendship with one of the nation's most generous philanthropists: Robert W. Woodruff, the "boss" of Atlanta's corporate giant, Coca Cola.<sup>50</sup>

In 1952 Philip Weltner acted as a legal consultant to Emory University Medical School which was seeking a way to

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maintain a well-paid, high-quality faculty without operating at a loss. The result of this search was the creation of a partnership called the "Emory Clinic." Mr. Woodruff, who had ordered the study, was so pleased with Weltner's work that he asked him to serve as permanent consultant to the Emily and Ernest Woodruff Foundation<sup>51</sup> He also served the Coke-related Whitehead Family Foundations. For a person like Philip Weltner, who had always been interested in helping people better themselves, the Woodruff work was a great opportunity. Acting as the representative of Woodruff, who was known to Atlantans as "Mr. Anonymous," Philip Weltner's mission was to study the problems of people and areas needing improvement in Atlanta's growth and assess how Woodruff's wealth could be best used.<sup>52</sup> In the mid-1950s, when the Woodruff Foundation was considering funding of a boys club, Weltner was asked to study the needs of juvenile delinquents and make a recommendation about the project; he researched the issue for eight months. After visiting social service agencies and juvenile programs in New York and Boston, Weltner reported that such clubs alone would do little to correct the massive problems that contributed to delinquency. Neither did government agencies serve the underlying needs of problem youth and their families, he said. What was needed was a system of coordinating private social service efforts that could serve the familial and educational needs of delinquents. He found that "we have turned relief work over to government" and gone "whole-hog on group work" losing sight of individuals. Looking back on his own experiences he wrote:

Social work has changed one heck of lot....I and others like me went at it to clean people up, not to hold down a job. We had a mission to distressed, unwanted folk, the riff-raff whom nobody believed in. We believed in both them and even more in the saving grace of the Lord

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Jesus Christ....Since those days social work went "professional," inspiring the satirical line: "Organized charity crimped and iced, in the name of a cold, statistical Christ." However, it has not been in this name but in the name of social service.<sup>53</sup>

In 1954 Sally Weltner was diagnosed with cancer. After an operation she appeared to make a full recovery, yet suffered a recurrence of the disease and died in March 1957. Mr. Weltner never remarried. He spent his remaining years in various assignments as a legal consultant to private business and government. Still, his first obligation was always the work for Mr. Woodruff.<sup>54</sup>

In 1958 Weltner's friend Hughes Spalding, chairman of the board of Grady Hospital, asked him to study administrative problems at the facility and recommend changes. The following year the director of the State Board of Health commissioned Weltner to prepare a new Code of Health for adoption by the legislature. He assembled a group of four other lawyers to write the bill, one of whom was his son Charles. The measure became law in 1962. Another job Weltner accepted in 1959 allowed him to draw on things he had learned during his years in social work. He was named the chairman of a study commission on illegitimacy for the Fulton County Board of Family and Children's Services. In focusing on the causes of illegitimacy Weltner became convinced that early family life experiences and poor performance in school contributed to the problem.<sup>55</sup> While he had reservations about the government's ability to correct the problems of the family, Weltner believed that services should be made available on a neighborhood level to help the slum family "lift itself to a higher degree of aspiration and expectation for its members." In criticizing government social workers he later wrote:



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They never concern themselves with the whole person, the whole environment, a whole social malaise....The better day will not come from frantic Wars on Poverty but through intelligent mobilization of a community's schools, health services, employment services, including job training, and social workers capable of facing social problems. <sup>56</sup>

Accordingly, he was a driving force in establishing the Woodruff-sponsored Community Council of the Atlanta Area and organized the council's neighborhood service center in Atlanta's West End.<sup>57</sup>

He and Robert Woodruff shared a skepticism regarding the government's prospects. After President Johnson's 1965 State of the Union Message Philip Weltner wrote to Woodruff:

I think I know your reaction to the speech. You also realize that however much his proposals smack of the visionary, government will zig and zag along...whether we of more prudent mind like it or not.<sup>58</sup>

Despite these misgivings, Weltner still believed in the potential for social improvement through thoughtful intervention; in 1964 he was named director of the Regional Economic Development and Business Service Center at Atlanta University.<sup>59</sup> In this role he planned revitalization projects for the Georgia towns of Sparta in Hancock County and Madison in Morgan County. He had long maintained an interest in the national problems caused by rural economic decline. Weltner's report on conditions in Hancock County attracted particular attention with its observations about long-established racial inequality and warnings about what might happen if changes were not initiated. When Hancock County became a center of racial controversy through the political

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domination of a civil rights activist named John McCown, Weltner found himself in what must have been an uncomfortable position, having been credited with first attracting McCown to the community. In 1976 his son Charles, a Superior Court judge, was sent by Governor George Busbee to determine the validity of charges of electoral fraud against the McCown organization.<sup>60</sup>

Although Philip Weltner found his earlier experiences helpful in approaching the Woodruff work, he was almost totally unprepared for one of his most important jobs: planning the Arts Center.<sup>61</sup> Neither he nor Woodruff knew very much about music, the theater, or the visual arts. Yet, Woodruff did possess a desire to do "something big" for Atlanta and Weltner helped him decide to build a cultural center.<sup>62</sup> By researching the arts in Atlanta and visiting facilities in other cities, Weltner learned how Atlantans could benefit from the project. One guiding principle Weltner followed in advising Mr. Woodruff was to avoid open-ended commitments. In supporting the arts, Woodruff wanted to make sure programs could become self-sustaining; with this in mind, Weltner was very concerned with finance. In this regard he once reported to Woodruff, "Culture and business management ain't kissing kin."<sup>63</sup>

After Weltner's research had been considered by Woodruff and the latter had agreed to donate most of the needed funds, the project was expected to move forward. Construction was to begin in the early 1960s at a site in Piedmont Park. The city needed only to raise one and a half million dollars of the six million dollar cost. Voters were asked to approve the expenditure as part of a much larger bonded debt in 1962; when the matter became clouded with the struggle over integration they chose to reject the program.<sup>64</sup> Mr. Woodruff's initial reaction to this vote was to retreat from the cultural center idea. However, Weltner urged him to press on writing:

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Ivan [Allen, Jr.] won, as you know, by a coalition of the Northside and the Negro block. Ivan counted on this coalition helping him make good on his campaign promises. The coalition did not work. His opposition did. The figures are surprising as well as enlightening.... You said that the Community Center was a closed chapter .... The final word is rightfully yours. Of course I hate to quit. It may add to the grave danger all of us are in of finding our town drift into the hands of ill-tempered race mongers and blackguards." <sup>65</sup>

Soon a new plan took shape, which called for two million dollars to be raised from private sources. Tragically this effort, which found strong support among well-to-do Atlantans, was to be forever remembered for its connection with a very sad event in the city's history. On June 3, 1962 one hundred and six members of the Atlanta Art Association died in a plane crash in Paris; when the center Woodruff had envisioned was opened in 1967 it was named the Memorial Arts Center in their honor.<sup>66</sup> By 1967 Philip Weltner had started reducing his direct involvement in Woodruff's philanthropies. He remained a grateful friend of Robert Woodruff, once sending him a gift with the humorous signature: "Mr. Anonymous, Jr."<sup>67</sup> One of the crowning moments in his career was a luncheon given by Woodruff in honor of his 80th birthday and celebrating his lifetime of service to others.<sup>68</sup>

Philip Weltner died in 1981. He had been a part of many notable efforts to improve the lives of his region's people as a progressive crusader, a New Dealer, and an advisor to a great benefactor. Over the years of his service Weltner's ideas on the methods of social reform underwent some changes. By his own



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estimation, some of the New Deal's hope for improving the lives of the downtrodden through improvements in their material circumstances was somewhat misplaced. While he supported, and sometimes led, attempts to help improve physical conditions for the "casuals of society," he only did so in conjunction with his goal of supporting their attempts to raise themselves. "A society's security and progress are determined by its ability to keep open to the masses the doors of opportunity. Real progress is from the bottom up," he stated. He maintained a firm belief in the spiritual nature of uplift for both those giving and receiving aid, once writing, "a community can be no greater than the sense of responsibility which as individuals we feel for the welfare of others. Such a feeling is essentially religious."<sup>69</sup> In this respect he remained an advocate of the Social Gospel throughout his career. By the late fifties he was disappointed with the apparent loss of the missionary impulse in social work which, like bureaucratic education, was failing to stimulate the full development of the individual. In the "visionary" rhetoric of the Great Society, Weltner found much with which he could agree, yet he recognized the limitations of policy implementation. Perhaps other reformers of his generation--and those beyond--would have agreed with his analysis. His career provides a good example of a person wrestling with the issues of social policy for a large portion of the twentieth century, frequently involving himself in efforts to help others advance. His labors in these ventures, while often "anonymous," were nonetheless significant.

## NOTES

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1. Philip Weltner, *Recollections* (Atlanta, 1970), 9, 3, 20; Sally Weltner came from a prestigious Southern family. She was the granddaughter of T.R.R. Cobb and the niece of Senator Hoke Smith; In 1973 Philip Weltner was awarded the prestigious "Shining Light Award" presented by the Atlanta Gas Light Company and WSB Radio for outstanding achievement. In 1992 Justice Charles Weltner was given the same honor, making the Weltners the only father and son to have been so recognized.

2. Philip Weltner to Charles Weltner, 24 January 1966, Box 45, folder 22, Charles Weltner Papers, Atlanta History Center, Atlanta.

3. Weltner, *Recollections*, 4-5, 22-23,72; and Mrs. Joseph G. Cannon, phone conversation with author, 27 June 1994.

4. Weltner, *Recollections*, 13-15 ,27. While at Columbia he worked teaching French and German at a Catholic boys school and as an activities director at a camp for poor boys in Brooklyn. He also travelled to Europe for a second time, feeding his interest in his distinctly non-southern heritage. 4, 24-27; In later years Philip and his son, Charles frequently corresponded in German.

5. See Kendall Weisiger, "Joe Logan, Genius of Social Work in the South," *Atlanta Historical Bulletin*, 4 (January 1939): 3-16; see Martha Tovell Nesbitt, "The Social Gospel in Atlanta: 1900-1920," (Ph.D. dissertation, Georgia State University, 1975). Nesbitt interviewed Philip Weltner. Harry G. Lefever, "The Involvement of the Men and Religion Forward Movement in the Cause of Labor Justice, Atlanta, Georgia, 1912-1916," *Labor History*, 14 (Fall 1973): 521-535; Ann W. Ellis, "A Crusade Against 'Wretched Attitudes': The Commission on Interracial Cooperation's Activities and Atlanta," *Atlanta Historical Journal*, 23 (Spring 1979): 21-44; and Ellis "The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1919-1944: Its Activities and Results,"

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(Ph.D. Dissertation, Georgia State University, 1975)

6. Harry G. Lefever, "Prostitution, Politics and Religion: The Crusade Against Vice in Atlanta in 1912," *Atlanta Historical Journal*, 24 (Spring 1980): 10-29; Weltner, *Recollections*, 29-37; and "Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement," Christian Council of Atlanta Papers, Atlanta History Center, Atlanta.

7. Weltner, *Recollections*, 32-34; Nesbitt, 54-55; Robert B. McCord, "The Prison Association of Georgia," *The Review: National Prisoners Aid Association*, 11 (January 1912): 9-11; Jane Zimmermann, "The Penal Reform Movement in the South During the Progressive Era, 1890-1917," *Journal of Southern History*, 17 (November 1951): 473; "Newspaper Clippings 1905-1921," Child Service and Family Counseling Papers, Atlanta History Center; The use of chain gangs for public work itself was considered a "Progressive" measure in that it had expanded as a result of the abolition of Georgia's notorious convict lease system in 1908. Inasmuch as blacks comprised ninety percent of the state's prison population, reformers also thought public control of work crews, rather than private exploitation, would make for better race relations. Progressives also supported the "good roads movement" and saw convict labor as a reasonable means of achieving their economic development goals. Unfortunately, while the state was very successful in developing its road network, conditions for the prisoners were often horrendous, as Weltner and others would show. Alex Lichtenstein, "Good Roads and Chain Gangs in the Progressive South: 'The Negro Convict is a Slave,'" *Journal of Southern History*, 59 (February 1993): 85-110.

8. Weltner, *Recollections*, 30-37; "Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement," Christian Council of Atlanta Papers, Atlanta History Center; Weltner served on the Executive Committee of the



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Associated Charities until February of 1916, "Newspaper Clippings 1905-1921," Child Service and Family Counseling Papers, Atlanta History Center. In 1914 Weltner had praised the newly hired warden, a Mr. Girardeau, as a reformer. However, the man earned a reputation as a frequent user of flogging before moving on to the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary as Assistant Warden, *Atlanta Journal*, 1 January 1920. The probation officer was S. J. Coogler.

9. This was a difficult time for Weltner in that he was so unsuccessful in managing his parents' assets that he not only lost \$10,000 but came to owe a local bank an additional \$5,000. Only through the intercession of his "patron" John Eagan was he allowed to carry the debt, Weltner, *Recollections*, 36, 41; Callender Weltner later became Mrs. Jasper Dorsey. Mr. Dorsey, chief of Southern Bell, was a great admirer of Philip Weltner. See, Jasper N. Dorsey, interview with Thomas A. Scott, 4 October, 1989, Cobb County Oral History Series, number 16, Kennesaw State College.

10. Philip Weltner to Charles Weltner, 3 March 1970, box 45, folder 21, Charles Weltner Papers, Atlanta History Center.

11. Weltner, *Recollections*, 43, 70, 78. When Philip Weltner served as the President of Oglethorpe University from 1943 to 1953 he only accepted a salary for the first two years. His children remembered that he could afford to do this because he had earned a big fee in one case, Mrs. Joseph G. Cannon, phone conversation with author, 27 June 1994. "The Williams case" allowed Philip Weltner to do what he wanted, according to his son, Charles L. Weltner, videotape interview with Mel Steely, Kenneth Bindas and Jennifer Wewers, 16 May 1991, Georgia Heritage Project, West Georgia College.

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12. Weltner, *Recollections*, 42-43; "History of the Family Service Society," Child Service and Family Counseling Papers, Atlanta History Center; Series II, Josephine Wilkins Papers, Special Collections, Woodruff Library of Emory University. One was designed to force fathers to provide financial support for their deserted children, another was meant to make it possible to sue nonsupporting fathers on behalf of illegitimate children, and a third--about which Weltner had some misgivings concerning the prospects of funding and proper administration--was to provide direct financial assistance to indigent mothers.

13. Charles Longstreet Weltner, *Southerner* (New York, 1966), 13; Weltner, *Recollections*, 43-44; May Weltner became Mrs. William Norwood, Jr. and Marion Weltner became Mrs. Joseph Cannon.

14. Cullen B. Gosnell, *Government and Politics of Georgia* (New York, 1936), 97-100; Weltner, *Recollections*, 46; Weltner included Bond Almand, John Tye and two other lawyers in his group.

15. Mary Garwood Reeves, "Economic Depression in Higher Education; Emory University, The University of Georgia and Georgia Tech, 1930-1940," (Ph.D. dissertation, Georgia State University, 1985), 137-139; Cameron Fincher, *Historical Development of the University System of Georgia: 1932-1990* (Athens, 1991), 2-3; Gosnell, 101-103; Weltner, *Recollections*, 46; Gilbert C. Fite, *Richard B. Russell, Jr.: Senator From Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1991), 86-89.

16. Weltner, *Recollections*, 45-47, 52; Fite, 89; One criticism of the first Board of Regents was that it favored the University too heavily. Even though the law required that no more than five members of the board could be alumni of the same school; in fact nine members were from the University, five being

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graduates of the undergraduate program, Franklin College, and four from the Lumpkin Law School.

None was from Georgia Tech, leaving Tech supporters suspicious of the board; this feeling intensified when the School of Commerce was eliminated in 1933, removing 441 students and taking away the most popular major for Tech football players, Reeves, 140-148.

17. Fincher, 5-7; Weltner, *Recollections*, 47; One faculty member who was released from Georgia Tech was C. Vann Woodward. A rumor circulated that Woodward was fired because of his outspokenness, such as his support for the rights of communist Angelo Herndon. His friend and colleague Glenn Rainey recalled that Woodward did not believe the rumor. Rainey himself provoked the censure of university officials and politicians through his activism. In early 1935 a movement formed in the legislature to withhold Rainey's salary after he attacked private power companies and described himself as "definitely socialistic." Chancellor Weltner called Rainey to his office where he admonished him to "put [himself] on a firm economic foundation" in discussing such matters. Weltner accepted Rainey's equivocal explanation that he had been misquoted and settled the issue with the legislators without further action. Reeves, 255-261.

18. See William Anderson, *The Wild Man From Sugar Creek: The Political Career of Eugene Talmadge* (Baton Rouge, 1975), 82-97, 141-152; Roy E. Fossett, "The Impact of the New Deal on Georgia Politics, 1933-1941" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1960), 74-75, 78; Fite, 136-137.

19. Talmadge's techniques in struggling for domination of the government were attacked by his critics as dictatorial. Still, he maintained a loyal following among the rural "wool hat" voters who admired his dramatic style and pronouncements against big government, even as they benefitted from, and voted for, the New



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Deal. Fossett, 65-72, 80-120; Anderson, 82-85, 96-97.

20. Weltner, *Recollections*, 51; Philip Weltner recalled having drafted the "school book bill for" State School Superintendent M. D. Collins in 1934. Presumably this is the textbook bill vetoed by Talmadge in 1935, *Atlanta Constitution*, 27 December 1934, 29 March 1935; Charles Weltner kept the following note as a memento from his sixth year: "Dear Charlie, [Thanks] for the fine cigar you sent me yesterday by your father, and a pretty bouquet, why didn't you bring them in yourself? I would be glad to see you in my office some time," Eugene Talmadge to Charles Weltner, 12 June 1934, Box 115, "scrapbook," Charles Weltner Papers, Atlanta History Center.

21. Weltner, *Recollections*, 51-53.

22. Reeves, 164; *Atlanta Constitution*, 29 March 1935; Weltner, *Recollections*, 51-52; Marion Smith, the son of Hoke Smith, was Mrs. Weltner's cousin.

23. Sidney Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration* (Chapel Hill, 1968), 92, 95. Alexander "privately doubted the wisdom of and practicality of the resettlement projects and some of the more ambitious cooperative enterprises." favoring support for struggling farmers in more traditional settings, 109; Weltner, *Recollections*, 55; Eagan and Jackson had been founders of the Commission following the World War. See Ellis, "The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1919-1944."

24. As part of his rural outreach program he had planned for the construction of farm community between Monticello and Eatonton to be called "Chancellorsville." Federal funds were used to purchase the land. Weltner, *Recollections*, 50; in June 1934, when it became clear that the federal government would not allow

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the regents autonomy, the board abandoned the project. see, Michael S. Holmes *The New Deal in Georgia: An Administrative History* (Westport, Conn., 1975), "The Chancellorsville Homestead Community was to have 500 homes. When the Board of Regents withdrew from the project the land was controlled by the Subsistence Homesteads Division of the Department of the Interior, the source of the \$1 million for land acquisition. The settlement was renamed "Piedmont Homesteads," an all-black project. The number of homes was also cut back to 50; the project appeared doomed. In July 1935 the Resettlement Administration assumed control of the project, assuring it's survival, 272, 284; Harold Ickes, the Secretary of the Interior, found the Subsistence Homesteads Division to be a "headache." The program enjoyed little congressional support, having only been established through a little-noted amendment offered by Senator John Bankhead to the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933. Ickes was happy to learn that Roosevelt would move the resettlement projects to Tugwell's new agency. Baldwin, 70, 75.

25. Weltner, *Recollections*, 50; Ickes was unhappy with the lack of centralization in the program and moved to abolish local control in March 1934, Baldwin, 73; According to Holmes, "The government feared that 'with the University System involved too much attention will be paid to academics and theory,'" 272.

26. Baldwin, 115, 76-78.

27. Holmes, 279-282. Robert Vansant was the state director for the Resettlement Administration; According to Weltner the regional office was moved from Atlanta to Montgomery because of "Gene Talmadge's sniping at the New Deal...." *Recollections*, 55.

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28. Holmes wrote that Weltner planned the community, 275; Paul Conkin, chronicled the life of the project in, "It All Happened Down in Pine Mountain Valley," *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 47 (March 1963): 1-2. Shepperson had been named Works Progress Administration Director for Georgia.

29. Weltner, *Recollections*, 56-58; see also Holmes, 274-277.

30. George B. Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South: 1913-1945* (Baton Rouge, 1967), 423.

31. Weltner, *Recollections*, 55-60.

32. Fossett, 178, 163, 165-166, 180; Redwine's selection created a bitter division within the Talmadge camp because state party head Hugh Howell felt he was more deserving of the designation, Anderson, 155; Oddly, Weltner did not discuss the political revolt he led in his memoir.

33. Anderson wrote that the "free Democrats" led by Weltner were against Talmadge, "but not necessarily on a pro-Roosevelt stand," 153.

34. *Atlanta Constitution*, 18, 19, 14, 21, 15 June 1936; Judge W. W. Larsen of Dublin who failed to win the convention's nomination would later charge that the good intentions of Weltner and others were manipulated "by a group of Athens politicians" who took control of the meeting. In particular he blamed Dan Magill, *Atlanta Constitution*, 21 June 1936; Larsen, who had announced for Governor before the convention, withdrew from the race three weeks before the September 9th primary, Fossett, 181.



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35. *Atlanta Journal*, 19 June 1936; Dan Magill conducted an effort to familiarize the public with Fortson following the judge's speech of 28 June 1935 to the Athens League of Women Voters. Josephine Wilkins, the President of the League, participated in this effort, hoping to stir interest in the dinner debate series she planned for Atlanta. He suggested that she talk to Tarleton Collier of the *Georgian* and other editors who favored the New Deal; the "drama" of Fortson, a grand nephew of Robert Toombs, assailing the invocation of state's rights as a sign of weakness of anti-New Deal arguments was to be emphasized. A press release on Fortson was also to be issued by the League. Wilkins agreed with the plan "in toto." Weltner issued a statement in support of the debate as an attempt to "emancipate" discussion of public matters from domination by "purely personal" considerations. Josephine Wilkins Papers, Series I, Box 3, folders 6, 7 and 8, Special Collections Department Woodruff Library Emory University.

36. A member of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, he used his position on the bench to work against lynching, Ellis, "The Commission on Interracial Cooperation, 1919-1944," 100; Witherspoon Dodge to Josephine Wilkins, 2 July 1935, Series I, Box 3, folder 6, Josephine Wilkins Papers, Special Collections Department Woodruff Library of Emory University.

37. *Atlanta Constitution*, 19 June 1936.

38. Fossett, 181-184, 191-192; *Atlanta Constitution*, 19 June 1936; In response to the suggestion that he delay the convention until after the close of entrance lists for the race Philip Weltner had expressed confidence in the group's ability to name a candidate "truly representative of the democratic thought of the state.," *Atlanta Constitution*, 14 June 1936.

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39. Anderson, 154; *Atlanta Journal*, 19 June 1936; In August Fortson claimed that Rivers had cooperated with Republicans and had opposed Roosevelt in 1932. He presented affidavits from Republican leaders in south Georgia to support the claims. The Rivers campaign responded by accusing Fortson backer Dan Magill, editor of the *Athens Herald-Banner* with meeting with the manager of Redwine's campaign, who gave him the affidavits. These, were allegedly provided by the political commentator for William Randolph Hearst's *Georgian*. As a result, many Weltner Convention supporters withdrew support for Fortson, reports surfaced of national party opposition to the Fortson candidacy and the judge began to face very hostile crowds in campaign appearances, Roy E. Fossett, "The Impact of the New Deal on Georgia Politics," 193-195, 206, 198.

40. Philip Weltner to Emily Barnelia Woodward, 7 October 1936 and 26 October 1936, Emily Barnelia Woodward Papers, "Additions Boxes," Box 1, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University.

41. Charles L. Weltner, videotape interview, Georgia Heritage Project, West Georgia College.

42. Weltner, *Recollections*, 60-61; In the spring of 1938 Palmer convinced Mayor William B. Hartsfield to agree to the formation of a housing authority in order to win federal funds under the provisions of the Public Housing Act. One of Palmer's arguments was that Atlanta was in danger of falling behind other cities, including rival Birmingham, in securing federal money if no housing authority were formed. Charles Palmer, "Who's to Blame?" (unpublished speech of March 1938), Charles F. Palmer Papers, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University; Franklin Garrett *Atlanta and Environs: A Chronicle of its People and Events*. Vol. II (Athens, 1969), 959-960; Douglas Lee Fleming, "Atlanta, The Depression, And The

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New Deal" (Ph.D. dissertation, Emory University, 1984), 270-271.

43. *Atlanta Constitution*, 10 June 1940; Weltner, *Recollections*, 61-62; By 1941 Atlanta had a total of nine federal housing projects: all-white Techwood Homes and all-black University Homes, which were constructed by the Public Works Administration, and seven built by the housing authority under the oversight of the United States Housing Authority. For blacks there were, John J. Eagan Homes, Henry Grady Homes, Alonzo F. Herndon Homes, and John Hope Homes. For whites there were Clark Howell Homes, State Capitol Homes, and State Capitol Homes Extension, Fleming, 271.

44. Josephine Wilkins to Philip Weltner, 12 February 1940, Josephine Wilkins Papers, Series III, Box 16, folder 12, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University; Weltner also did a report on housing; The movement was organized through civic organizations such as the P.T.A., Lions and Rotary Clubs throughout the state. Wilkins was careful to maintain a "middle-of-the road" to conservative base of support in spite of her own more liberal leanings. The publications often presented a strong liberal reformist argument in socially acceptable rhetoric. Once Wilkin's friend George Stoney took her to task for not promoting the Southern Conference on Human Welfare. She responded by writing, "Do not for one moment think that the South would accept these reports from a joint meeting of Negroes and Whites." letters September 1939, Josephine Wilkins Papers, series III, Box 15, folder 12.

45. Concerning state financing of education Weltner called for an "honest" appropriations process, which would not cause schools to expect generous funding only to be disappointed when revenue shortfalls occur, criticized Georgia's adoption of the Homestead Exemption, "which crippled the counties in bearing



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their share of the load," and attacked political abuse of the governor's power to use the "red pencil" in slashing the budgets of state programs. Citizens Fact-Finding Movement, "Education," *Citizens Fact-Finding Movement Series III*, (February 1940): 7, 18-24.

46. Josephine Wilkins to Philip Weltner, 7 March 1940, series IV, box 17, folder 5, Josephine Wilkins Papers, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University.

47. Weltner, *Recollections*, 63-72; *Atlanta Constitution*, 27 December 1952; the school narrowly escaped being closed that Fall when a Clinton, South Carolina bank suddenly demanded payment on an old note. With a check from a friendly Atlanta bank, Philip and Charles rushed to the South Carolina bank to avert foreclosure on the debt, Weltner, *Recollections*, 67-86; Mrs. William Norwood, phone conversation with author, 29 June 1994; As an advisor to Woodruff, Philip Weltner took a dim view of school officials who wanted money to expand their programs for the sake of growth. He thought they were self-aggrandizing, Philip Weltner to Robert Woodruff, letter 1962, Document Case 289, folder 6, Woodruff Papers, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University.

48. Charles Palmer to Guy Greer, 19 June 1946, Charles Palmer Papers, series I, box 18, folder 5, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University.

49. *Collier's*, 27 September 1952.

50. See Frederick Allen, *Secret Formula* (New York, 1994), 334,336; Jennifer A. Wewers, "Charles Longstreet Weltner: A New South Politician" (Master's Thesis, West Georgia College, 1992); Joseph H. Dimon, "Charles L. Weltner: Political Biography of a Southern Moderate" (Master's Thesis, Georgia

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State University, 1979," and "Charles L. Weltner and Civil Rights," *Atlanta Historical Journal*, 24 (Fall, 1980): 7-20; interviews with Charles L. Weltner by Cliff Kuhn, 9 and 17 July 1986, Georgia Government Documentation Project, Special Collections, Georgia State University.

51. Weltner, *Recollections*, 73-74; Charles Elliott , *A Biography of the "Boss": Robert Winship Woodruff* (Atlanta, 1979), 258.

52. Elliott, 259-261; Weltner also advised Woodruff on matters concerning the Joseph B. Whitehead Foundation, and Lettie Pate Evans Foundation, Robert Woodruff Papers, document case 289, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University; In 1964 Boisfeuillet Jones, who had worked at Emory in cooperation with Woodruff's plans for improvement of the University, was named the first president of the Ernest and Emily Woodruff Foundation. The foundation's board of trustees comprised the following men: George Woodruff, Arthur Acklin, John Sibley, Paul Austin and two "alternates," James Sibley and Woodruff's personal secretary Joseph Jones. Waldemar A. Nielson, *The Big Foundations: A Twentieth Century Fund Study* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 231; In April 1967 Philip Weltner informed Robert Woodruff that he was resigning from foundation work due to his age, Robert Woodruff Papers, document case 289, folder 6, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University.

53. Philip Weltner to trustees of Woodruff Foundation, letters January-March 1956, document case 289, folder 6, Woodruff Papers, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University; regarding the creation of social service bureaucracies see Allen F Davis, *Spearheads For Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement 1890-1914* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1967, 1984 rpt.), Weltner's

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comments resemble observations made by Davis about the professionalization of settlement work and the loss of crusading zeal after the Progressive Era, 232.

54. Weltner, *Recollections*, 74-78.

55. *Ibid.*, 78-80.

56. *Ibid.*, 80.

57. *Ibid.*, 81.

58. Philip Weltner to Robert Woodruff, 6 January 1965, Robert Woodruff Papers, Document Case 289, folder 5, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University.

59. *Atlanta Constitution*, 10 August 1964. This project was funded with a grant of \$80,000.00 from the federal government's Area Redevelopment Administration [later called the Economic Development Administration] and \$10,000.00 from Atlanta University.

60. Philip Weltner, "The Old Market Town: Operation Comeback," *Atlanta Economic Review*, 15 (November, 1965): 3-4; Philip Weltner did not discuss his Sparta project in his memoir; misc. letters of Philip Weltner, box 7, folder 4, Charles Weltner Papers, Atlanta History Center; John Rozier, *Black Boss: Political Revolution in a Georgia County* (Athens, 1982), 29-30, 43-44, 47, 62, 164-65, 183; internal memos to Joe Jones January 1967 and January 1965. There was some affiliation with Emory's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, doc. case 289, folder 6, Woodruff Papers, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University. In the seventies Philip Weltner helped the founders of the Madison-Morgan Cultural Center find private funds for their project, *Atlanta Constitution*, 29 June 1986.



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61. Weltner, *Recollections*, 81.

62. P. Weltner recalled that Woodruff first mentioned this to him in the late 1950s, *Recollections*, 82; see Allen, 334.

63. Philip Weltner to Robert Woodruff, 18 April 1960, Robert Woodruff Papers, Document Case 289, folder 6, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University.

64. Elliott, 261-262; Harold Martin, *Atlanta and Environs*, Vol. III (Athens, 1987), 341;

65. Philip Weltner to Robert Woodruff, 6 August 1962, Robert Woodruff Papers, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University.

66. Martin, 345; Elliott, 262.

67. Philip Weltner to Robert Woodruff, 21 December 1967; Philip Weltner to Robert Woodruff, 5 May 1970, Robert Woodruff Papers, Document Case 289, folder 6, Robert Woodruff Papers, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University;

68. Misc. letters April-July 1967, Robert Woodruff Papers, Document Case 289, folder 7, Special Collections Department, Woodruff Library of Emory University; The guest list included the following: Hughes Spalding, John Sibley, Albert Love, Arthur Howell, James Sibley, A. B. Padgett, Boisfeuillet Jones, Sam L. Jones, J. W. Jones, and Pope Brock.

69. Citizens Fact-Finding Movement, "Education," *Citizens Fact-Finding Movement Series III*, (February 1940): 8-9.