EDGEWOOD/CANDLER PARK: A STUDY OF THE SUBURBANIZATION PROCESS IN ATLANTA, 1880-1980

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A Thesis

by

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Abstract

of

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Statement of Problem:

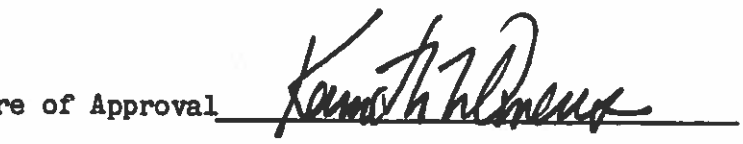
Edgewood, Georgia, evolved from an independent community on the outskirts of Atlanta in 1880 to its present configuration as two intown Atlanta neighborhoods. What caused the transformation of this unified community into two separate neighborhoods?; what were the pressures the growing city of Atlanta exerted on the community?; what major figures, institutions, and organizations played a role in community development?; and what does the evolution of Edgewood/Candler Park demonstrate about Atlanta's suburbanization process?

Sources of Data:

Sources included secondary works on Southern history and Atlanta's history; theses, dissertations, and articles related to the development of urban Atlanta and its sub-areas; and primary sources such as newspaper articles, maps and plats, city directories, census data, deed records, real estate advertisements, building permits; city council minutes, city planning data; and oral interviews.

Conclusions Reached:

Edgewood, an Atlanta suburb centered on the Georgia Railroad, was influenced greatly by the development of Atlanta as the regional center of the Southeast. As the city grew, it gradually enveloped outlying communities such as Edgewood. Regional and national trends in transportation, government, city planning, and racial segregation established themselves in Edgewood as part of the larger urban structure of metropolitan Atlanta. These trends led to differential development and population distribution on either side of the railroad, resulting in the two present-day racially and socio-economically distinct neighborhoods of Edgewood and Candler Park. The evolution of this community reflects the process of suburbanization in Atlanta's middle-class neighborhoods, as contrasted with other, elite, planned residential developments in the city.

Committee Chair's Signature of Approval 

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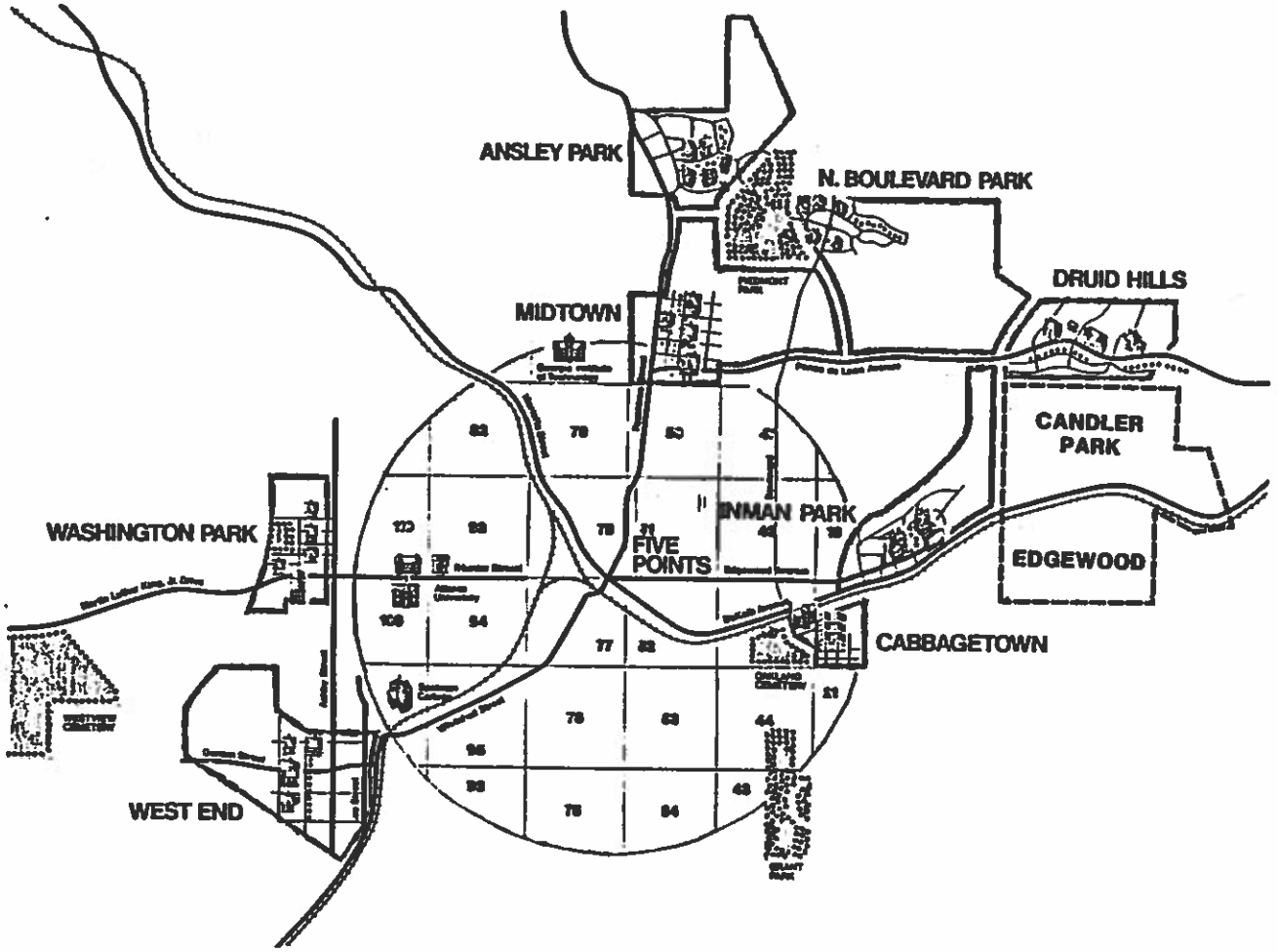
CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Atlanta, Georgia, the "Gate City of the South," is a regional center containing some two million people in a fifteen-county metropolitan area.[1] Within the city limits are more than 130 neighborhoods and a population of approximately 430,000, according to the Atlanta Planning Bureau. Two of these neighborhoods are known as Candler Park and Edgewood, with a combined population of over 10,000 (see Map 1).[2] Located approximately four miles east of Atlanta's central business district, Candler Park, named for the 60-acre city park within its boundaries, is a predominantly white middle- and upper-middle-class neighborhood of single-family homes, with several apartment complexes. Edgewood is predominantly black, with a substantially lower economic base and large numbers of multi-family housing units. These two neighborhoods, separated by the Georgia Railroad, together once formed the incorporated town of Edgewood, which was annexed to the city of Atlanta in 1909.

It is the intent of this study to trace the development of the Edgewood/Candler Park area from its emergence as an independent community following the Civil War, through its period of greatest prosperity and expansion—which ended in the early 1930s with the onset of the Depression--to its current situation as two racially distinct and physically separated neighborhoods within the city of Atlanta. This evolution demonstrates the suburbanization process that took place in similar middle-class Atlanta communities during the late nineteenth and



Map 1. Atlanta Neighborhoods

Base Map Source: Atlanta Historical Journal 26 (Summer-Fall 1982), between pages 12 and 13.

early twentieth centuries, and contrasts with the planned elite residential suburbs that were being developed at the same time. Though Edgewood/Candler Park has a unique history, its development was influenced by events, trends, and attitudes within the larger spheres of Atlanta, the South, and the nation.

Numerous studies about Atlanta have focussed on aspects of the city's development and its diverse neighborhoods. More recent studies, undertaken and directed by Atlanta's two respected urban historians, Timothy J. Crimmins and Dana F. White, have taken as their larger framework the city's urban structure. This framework is based upon urbanist Frederick Gutheim's research design for a "usable" urban history, and proposes that historians

> first, select for study the service and delivery systems that tie together the separate parts of the city; second, identify and examine a sampling of these smaller communities that together have created the larger metropolis. . . .
>
> Together the systems studies and area analyses will provide an organized picture of the physical development of a major American city . . . [and will] illuminate the central themes of "Regional City's" past: its evolution as a nineteenth-century railroad center, its fragile balance in the equilibrium of race relations, its nineteenth- and early twentieth-century suburban expansion, and its reliance on transportation as the determinant of physical expansion.[3]

This study will place Edgewood/Candler Park within the framework of the urban structure research design, focussing on the influences of transportation and race as they were applied on the community level and within the context of metropolitan, regional, and national events. It will contrast the suburbanization process within Atlanta's middle-class neighborhoods, as exemplified by Edgewood/Candler Park, with that of the elite planned residential suburbs of Inman Park, Ansley Park, and Druid Hills.

Atlanta's growth as a railroad center during the mid-nineteenth

century allowed outlying communities such as Edgewood to flourish along the various rail lines leading into the city. The railroad served as both a direct and indirect source of employment for Edgewood's early inhabitants, many of whom gained a living at the nearby factories lining the Georgia Railroad tracks or relied upon the train for their daily commute to and from their jobs in downtown Atlanta. Atlanta's outward expansion, an expression of its prosperity as a regional transportation center, in time erased the corporate boundaries of Edgewood and other satellite towns on Atlanta's east, west, north, and south sides. Through annexation to Atlanta's ever-increasing core area, these communities obtained the benefits of metropolitan water and sewer connections, sidewalks, paved streets, an educational system, and police and fire protection.

To understand the development of Edgewood within the context of an urbanizing Atlanta, the political, economic, and social climate of the "New South" that emerged after the Civil War should be discussed, for it was during this period that the Edgewood community appeared.

Emancipation and the Radical Reconstruction period of the late 1860s upset the antebellum traditions that had dictated the roles of whites and blacks in the society of the "Old South." Consequently, the coalition of Democratic "Redeemers" in each state set forth to reestablish Southern "home rule" under their own leadership. These spokesmen generally shared a middle-class, industrial, and capitalistic perspective.[4] Measuring progress by miles of railroad track and numbers of factories, they emphasized the importance of railroads, industrial development, and Northern capital in rebuilding the Southern economy. Where the antebellum institutions of staple-crop agriculture, a

plantation aristocracy, and black racial slavery had frustrated industrial and urban development, the New South boosters poured funds into civic construction programs to build waterworks, municipal buildings, streets, and bridges. Cities took the lead in carrying out social and political reforms and in hosting giant exhibitions to draw attention to the region's industrial potential.[5] Beginning in 1881 regional expositions took place almost biennially until the turn of the century in Atlanta, Louisville, Nashville, and New Orleans.[6] Regional leaders sought the solution to the South's ills by advocating industrialization, diversification of the staple-crop economy, immigration from the North and Europe, and an infusion of the spirit of business enterprise into the region.[7]

The pace of progress was unequal for blacks and whites in the South. While blacks had won legal equality, social equality eluded them. Even the great black leader Booker T. Washington preached the theme of racial accommodation to the Atlanta population in 1895. Relegated to the less desirable land, housing, and jobs, and excluded from equal participation in the white world, blacks formed their own society, typified by all-black churches, schools, banks, theaters, and professional and service organizations. In the process the black communities also created their own hierarchy of social and economic classes.[8] Black neighborhoods did not share in the expansion of municipal services during the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s; water mains, sewer lines, paved streets, regular garbage collection, and gas and electrical connections rarely reached into black neighborhoods. When streetcar service existed, it was unsatisfactory. <u>De facto</u> segregation and exclusion were firmly entrenched in city parks, theaters, zoos, and

places of amusement in the 1880s, before the first Jim Crow law was passed.[9] Howard Rabinowitz, in his study of Southern urban development, describes the conditions leading to segregation legislation:

> Southern cities were . . . at the core of the momentous decisions that occurred in the area of race relations. As had been the case in the antebellum period, it proved more difficult for whites to control blacks in the cities than in the rural areas. It is not surprising therefore that much of the early stimulus for disfranchisement came from southern cities and that most of the Jim Crow legislation was aimed at urban blacks.[10]

The New South creed then, as analyzed by Paul Gaston, a student of the New South philosophy, actually espoused a series of contradictions. Boosters pleaded an institutional explanation for the industrial backwardness of the Old South while believing that natural resources would assure industrialization in the new era. They put forth an elaborate propaganda campaign to attract immigrants to the region while alienating the large, extant, available labor pool. They preached a gospel of economic interdependence and reconciliation with the North as part of a regional campaign for independence and domination. They hailed freedom for the black in a politics of white supremacy, and dreamed of equal treatment of allegedly unequal races in separate societies devoted to mutual progress.[11]

As one of the strongest adherents to the creed of the New South, Atlanta reflected these attitudes toward social, occupational, and racial stratification. The city boosters of the late nineteenth century preached the merits of expanding Atlanta's territory, population, and industrial potential in their quest to make Atlanta the regional center of the South. The notion of separate development for blacks and whites influenced the location and types of residences, businesses, and institutions that each race created, as well as the patterns of economic

and social status and leadership that developed within the city of Atlanta and the early Edgewood community. Segregation, de jure and de facto, led to separate housing, jobs, schools, churches, social customs, and communal ties for the black and white residents of Edgewood/Candler Park as part of the larger Southern pattern.

During this postwar period and continuing into the twentieth century, national trends such as prohibition, advances in transportation technology (the street railway and the automobile), Progressivism, evolution in residential design (the bungalow), urban population shifts to the suburbs, and the Civil Rights movement influenced the development of metropolitan Atlanta and had a direct effect on the visual qualities of Edgewood/Candler Park, its underlying political and social structures, and its population distribution.

Atlanta's natural topography strongly influenced the historical development of both the transportation and caste systems. The earliest railroad lines and streets tended to follow the ridge lines, with the homes of the white elite generally occupying high ground and those of blacks and lower-income whites the less desirable bottomlands.

Since its founding as a rail terminus in 1837, its site chosen because of its desirable topographical situation, Atlanta has come to serve as the regional hub for the railway, interstate highway, and airline transit systems. These transportation systems have played an important role within the context of metropolitan development. Placement of the earliest railroad tracks determined the alignment of the city's gridded street pattern and the direction of the city's development, creating the first major "impress" on the land in the emergence of the new city. The street railway system, introduced in the

1870s, broke through the confines of the "walking city" and resulted in a more mobile and dispersed population by virtue of the system's speed, reliability, and scope. Those who could afford to ride the streetcar gained a wider range of residential choices--within the area traversed by the streetcar system. This mode of transportation led to suburban expansion beyond the edges of the old walking city. It was the automobile, however, that created the ultimate "horizontal city" in the early 1900s. Real estate development hit its peak as the burgeoning middle-class was freed from the limits of the streetcar lines and sought tranquil residential locations in new garden suburbs. Bungalow neighborhoods and elite planned communities of the 1910s and 1920s filled in the areas not served by the streetcars. The comparatively new interstate highway system has created more recently the "exurban" commuter who travels to work daily from beyond the outer limits of the suburbs. Thus,

> the late twentieth-century expressway system has created the modern metropolitan <u>form</u> over the earlier streetcar- and railroad-related impresses of a relatively compact city and outlying suburban towns, a form that in turn was laid on top of wagon roads and Indian trails which predated the urban settlement.[12]

While the transportation system of railroads, street grids, and trolley lines left its physical imprint on Atlanta's topography, largely determining the lines of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century residential expansion, the Southern caste system that emerged after the Civil War directly influenced the types and locations of housing available to blacks and whites. Equal opportunity under the law, granted to blacks under the XIV and XV Amendments, was realized only within the limits allowed by white leaders and politicians following the chaotic period of Reconstruction. The politics of Redemption during the

1870s emphasized race and tradition as the only ways to maintain white solidarity and, therefore, supremacy.[13] Such attitudes led to the passage of Jim Crow legislation beginning in the 1890s that reinforced an already existing pattern of racial segregation. The combination of white hostility and black voluntary action produced a dual society with separate black and white institutions, fraternal and benevolent societies, and residential and commercial sectors. Black neighborhoods generally occupied the less desirable areas on the fringes of the core city, along the railroad tracks, in the lower-lying areas, and surrounding industrial sites.[14] Black housing often took the form of the frame "shotgun" residence, one room wide with each room following successively from front to back. Rows of such houses, quickly and cheaply built and set closely together on narrow lots, are still found in Southern cities and towns. Many of the black residential and commercial areas of today's Atlanta, if not obliterated by urban renewal or commercial development, can trace their origins to the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century patterns of black population distribution and the differential expansion of the segregated black and white population clusters.

Edgewood/Candler Park's evolution from the small racially-mixed settlement of 1880 into the two separate communities of 1980--the predominantly white neighborhood on the north side of the Georgia Railroad and the overwhelmingly black neighborhood on the south side--can be studied by examining the area as a sub-unit within the framework of Atlanta's urban structure. This thesis will draw upon previous studies that have traced topographical, transportation, and social influences in other sub-areas of the city--the elite planned communities

of Ansley Park, Druid Hills, and Inman Park, black neighborhoods in the Old Fourth Ward and the West Side, and other middle-class areas such as Virginia-Highland, Oakland City, and West End--to demonstrate that Edgewood/Candler Park reflected local, regional, and national trends in its evolution as part of Atlanta's suburbanization process.

The second chapter of this study will place post-bellum Atlanta within the context of the New South philosophy and describe the booster spirit responsible for the city's rise to prominence prior to the turn of the century. It will explain the city's physical development, emphasizing the influence of transportation lines and topography in its early expansion. This chapter will describe the early years of the Edgewood community, a town bisected by the Georgia Railroad, with a population of approximately equal numbers of blacks and whites who earned a living from small farms, factories, and businesses located on both sides of the tracks.

Chapter 3 will discuss real estate development and economic diversification in the small community generated by the streetcar lines and later the automobile. The effects of these transportation advances can be seen in the clusters of nineteenth-century housing along the old streetcar lines and in the later bungalow subdivisions that accompanied the popularization of the automobile.

Chapter 4 will explore the racial attitudes and barriers that led to the present configuration of Atlanta's neighborhoods and business sectors. The early black and white residential patterns in Edgewood/Candler Park are still visible in the small frame dwellings south of the railroad tracks and in the black population clusters on the north side.

The study will conclude by examining some of the later twentieth-century developments that have affected the housing types, community spirit, and population distribution in the Edgewood and Candler Park neighborhoods. Civic organizations, the neighborhood revitalization movement, and city planning activity have all played a large part in creating the current image of Edgewood and Candler Park.

Notes

[1] U.S. Bureau of the Census, State and Metropolitan Area Data Book, 1982 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1982), p.2.

[2] Atlanta Public Library, Neighborhood Information Centers Project, Carlton C. Rochell, Director, and Frank P. Young, Research Associate, A Demographic Description of 181 Neighborhoods, 2 vols. (Atlanta: n.p., n.d.), 1:280, 305.

[3] Dana F. White and Timothy J. Crimmins, "Urban Structure, Atlanta," Journal of Urban History 2 (February 1976): 233-34.

[4] C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas, 1971), p. 20.

[5] Paul M. Gaston, The New South Creed: A Study in Southern Mythmaking (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), pp. 14, 20; Howard N. Rabinowitz, "Continuity and Change: Southern Urban Development, 1860-1900," in The City in Southern History: The Growth of Urban Civilization in the South, ed. Blaine A. Brownell and David R. Goldfield (Port Washington, New York: National University Publications, Kennikat Press, 1977), p. 98.

[6] Woodward, Origins of the New South, p. 124.

[7] Gaston, p. 25.

[8] Woodward, Origins of the New South, pp. 365-66.

[9] Rabinowitz, p. 119.

[10] Rabinowitz, p. 121.

[11] Gaston, p. 189.

[12] Timothy J. Crimmins, "The Atlanta Palimpsest: Stripping Away the Layers of the Past," Atlanta Historical Journal 26 (Summer-Fall 1982): 14.

[13] Woodward, Origins of the New South, p. 20.

[14] Rabinowitz, p. 100.

CHAPTER 2

Edgewood, the Town

Edgewood and similar satellite communities along the various rail lines leading into Atlanta flourished during the last third of the nineteenth century as a consequence of Atlanta's emergence as the rail capital of the South. The fortunes of these towns were linked inextricably with Atlanta's, and the welfare of all was similarly dependent on the railroads. The history of Edgewood, the tiny community that appeared in the 1870s along the Georgia Railroad line halfway between Atlanta and Decatur, must therefore be examined within the context of metropolitan Atlanta's development.

From the time of its founding, Atlanta prospered as the first major interior railroad terminus in the South. The pine barrens of the lowlands and the Blue Ridge and Cumberland mountain chains acted as geographical barriers that separated the cotton-producing Piedmont region in the early 1800s from its coastal markets and the Ohio Valley livestock and grain production centers. In the 1830s Georgia's Governor Lumpkin advanced the idea of direct rail links from the Mississippi River to the Atlantic Ocean and encouraged railroad construction as an internal improvement benefitting the state. The state chartered the Western and Atlantic Railroad in 1836 to run south from Chattanooga, Tennessee, to a point fixed six miles from the Chattahoochee River at an intersection of wagon roads and Indian trails.[1]

This crossroads grew into a rough little town known simply as Terminus until 1843, when it was renamed Marthasville after the daughter

of former governor Lumpkin as recognition for his efforts to promote the railroad and the town. When the Georgia Railroad line arrived in 1845, connecting with Augusta and Charleston to the east, Marthasville boasted a population of 100, a non-denominational church, and a newspaper. At this time Marthasville and the older market town of Decatur, which had earlier declined the honor of becoming the railroad terminus because of the noise, smoke, and commotion it would cause, began to compete in earnest for local trade.[2]

The Macon and Western Railroad, leading to Macon and Savannah, arrived in 1846 and a campaign began for renaming the town. Marthasville was legally incorporated as Atlanta (the feminine version of Atlantic) in 1847, its leaders dreaming of future greatness and prosperity, with a vision of creating a commercial highway from the Mississippi to the Atlantic.[3]

By 1850 Georgia ranked first among the Southern states in miles of trackage, boasting 643 miles and four major lines (including the Central of Georgia Railroad). It could claim to be the only Southern state with rail mileage and service at all comparable to the Northeast region. Though fulfilling its purpose as a transportation hub, Atlanta remained a tough railroad town, offering little in the way of social amenities or physical comforts. The first hotel was not built until 1846 and the 1848 population numbered only between five and six hundred.[4]

Union Station stood at the center of downtown, at the junction of the railroad lines. The town's four major wagon roads, as well as the rail lines, followed the ridges of higher ground leading north, east, and south. The gridiron street pattern, which ignored the area's topography, overlay the non-uniform course of the rail lines and wagon

roads and created awkward intersections and block sizes in the early downtown area. The numerous intersecting rail lines lay in a vast unbridged gulf.

Atlanta's better residential areas were generally found on the higher ground. The suburban towns that developed to the east and south of the railroad junction were also located along these ridges. Transportation and topography became the two major impresses shaping the early configuration of the city, as they would later begin to form the physical and social patterns of the Edgewood community.[5]

On the eve of the Civil War Atlanta had a population of 11,500. With the war's devastation, the population had declined to 10,000 in 1865. By 1870, however, the figure stood at 21,700 within an expanded boundary extending the city's original two-mile diameter to three miles. The dramatic increase in population and territory in the chaotic years after the war well-portrayed the city's Atlanta Resurgens motto, with its motif of a phoenix rising from the ashes.[6]

The postwar urbanization pattern shifted in emphasis from the coastal to the interior Southern cities and such developing population centers as Nashville, Birmingham, Richmond, and Atlanta. Whereas in 1860 Atlanta had not placed among the top ten Southern population leaders, by the turn of the century it had risen to third, behind New Orleans and Memphis.[7]

While the railroads continued to characterize Atlanta's postwar image, the city rapidly espoused the New South values of industrial expansion and interdependence with the North. City boosters lauded Atlanta's strategic location, its rail network, enthusiastic populace, and vast industrial potential. Designated the new state capital in

1876, Atlanta displayed its aspirations to elegance and urbanity by building fine public structures, hotels, office buildings, churches, residences, and an opera house.[8]

Although a major goal of the New South campaign for progress was to decrease the region's economic dependence on agriculture, the first industrial ventures proved to be cotton mills and other agriculturally-related industries. Regional manufacturing in the nineteenth century remained dependent on the processing of raw materials, primarily cotton and minerals. Cottonseed oil, ammonium sulphate, and phosphate rock, used in the manufacture of fertilizers, were plentiful in the South, and by 1890 Georgia claimed second place in United States fertilizer production. Cottonseed oil was the newly-discovered natural resource of the 1880s, which in its various forms could be used for stock food, fertilizer, cooking oil, paper stock, and fuel. Cottonseed oil mills and accompanying fertilizer factories sprang up at almost every important railway center of the cotton-raising states. Two of Atlanta's satellite factories located on the Georgia Railroad line in Edgewood employed a significant portion of that community's population.[9]

City boosters, foremost among whom was Henry W. Grady, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, strove to attract Northern and European capital and attention to Atlanta and the South by travelling and speaking around the United States. Cities launched promotional campaigns through distribution of literature extolling the region's assets. Industrial expositions were one extravagant and entertaining means to advertise the promise of the South. Atlanta hosted the International Cotton Exposition in 1881, followed by Louisville's Southern Exposition in 1883, the 1885 Cotton Centennial Exposition in

New Orleans, the 1887 Piedmont Exposition in Atlanta, the 1895 Cotton States and International Exposition (again in Atlanta and modelled consciously after the 1893 Chicago World's Fair), and in 1897 Nashville's Centennial Exposition, each bigger and better than the last.[10] "By the end of the 1880s," two urban historians have pointed out, "Atlanta was beginning to be recognized as a significant city on the threshold of extraordinary growth. The city grew with a noticeable air of self-assurance, developing quickly into a service center for the region and the nation."[11]

Edgewood emerged during this postwar climate of boosterism, industrial and urban expansion, and interregional cooperation. When northwest Georgia was opened for white settlement by means of the land lottery of 1821, ownership of the land lots that eventually became the town of Edgewood passed among several speculators. Building of the Georgia Railroad line increased real estate speculation in the area between Atlanta and Decatur, and during the 1860s Capel McLendon acquired much of the property on either side of the tracks.[12] The name McLendon was later attached to a long thoroughfare paralleling the railroad on the north side of the tracks.

The Edgewood area played a small role during the Civil War Battle of Atlanta when a corps of Union soldiers camped in what is now Candler Park from the afternoon of July 20th, 1864, until they marched south on July 22nd to the commencement of the Battle of Atlanta.[13] The Union entrenchment line was visible in the park well into the twentieth century, and it was probably because of this encampment that Land Lot 239 gained the title of "Union Square" found on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century city plats. Much of the military action during the

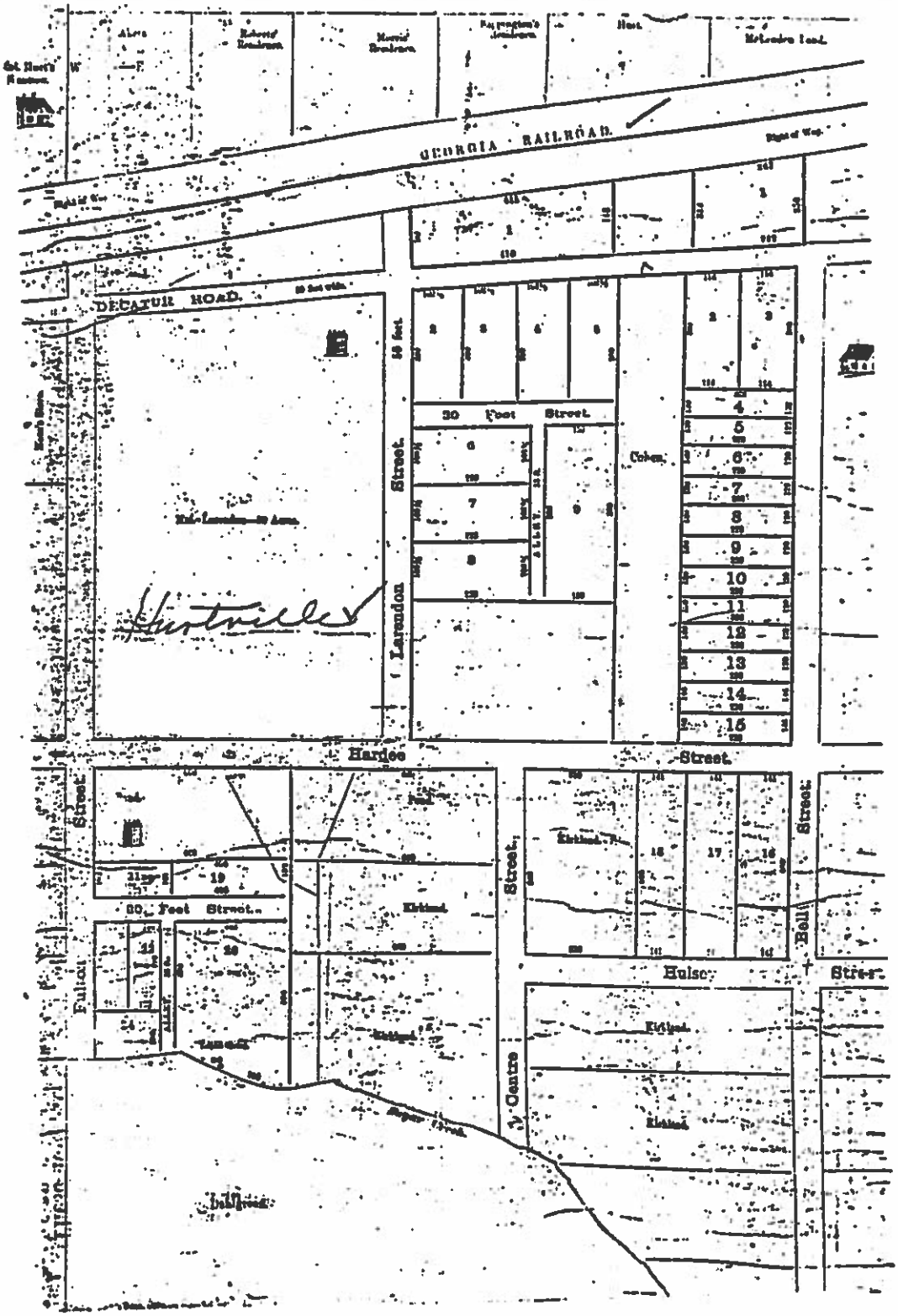
Battle of Atlanta took place immediately east and south of the Edgewood area.

The heavily-wooded area between Atlanta and Decatur remained thinly settled with small farms and country estates into the 1880s. The wagon road between the two cities ran along the Georgia Railroad line. Real estate advertisements around 1870, which showed scattered residences, sometimes referred to the Edgewood area as Hurtville (for nearby resident Colonel Hurt) or Hardeville. (See Map 2. Hardee Street, named for a Confederate officer, became the southern boundary of the incorporated town of Edgewood.)[14] Edgewood was the largest of the string of tiny settlements along the Georgia Railroad between Atlanta and Decatur, most of which were little more than passenger pick-up points for the daily commuter trains. Map 3 shows the location of Edgewood in 1895 relative to Atlanta's metropolitan expanse and other outlying communities and railroad depots.

The first mention of Edgewood as a place name appeared in an 1879-1880 gazetteer:

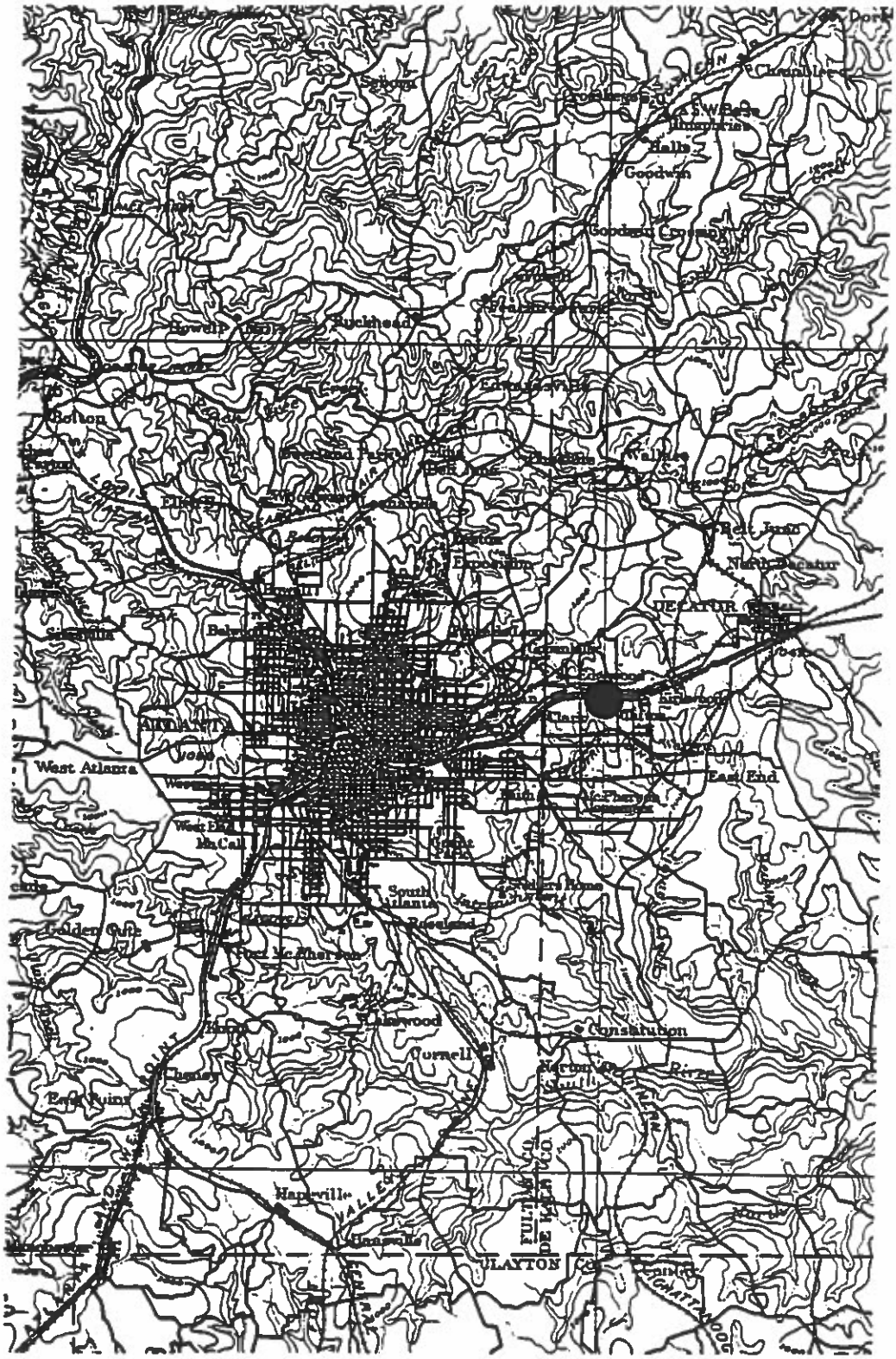
> A suburb of Atlanta, about 3 miles from Decatur--its depot on GA. R. R.--extending from the corporate limits of Atlanta to Kirkwood, near Decatur. Its population of 250 or 300 persons, is composed of business and professional men of Atlanta and their families. Although a comparatively new settlement, it is rapidly improving in population and wealth; contains a neat and well furnished church--Methodist--colored church, small public school, select school and many elegant residences and beautiful cottages. This location is most desirable, the climate healthy and the society of the best. The accommodation train stops at any point for passengers to the city every morning and returns at evening.[15]

The gazetteer listed several Edgewood citizens, whose occupations included those of nurseryman, carpenter, fruit grower, two Methodist ministers, storekeeper, physician, and schoolteacher. It is apparent that the settlement, though small, was composed of both black and white



Map 2. Plat of "Hurtville," 1870

Source: Adair Realty Company Plat, Book 2, p. 21, 9 June 1870, Atlanta Historical Society, Atlanta.



Map 3. Edgewood in Relation to Atlanta Metropolitan Area, 1895

Source: U.S. Geological Survey, Atlanta, Georgia, Sheet, edition of 1895, reprinted 1926, reproduced in Atlanta Historical Journal 26 (Summer-Fall 1982), p. 27.

residents, with separate institutions for each, and a populace that gained a living in Edgewood and Atlanta by varied occupations. During Edgewood's early years, community subsistence was probably based largely on farming. The 1886-87 state gazetteer lists twenty-three farmers in Edgewood with real and personal property valuations ranging between $500 and $20,000.[16]

Through the 1880s and 1890s much of the area between Atlanta and Decatur was commonly referred to as Edgewood. By 1900 Edgewood was a well-defined community lying between Kirkwood, the adjacent community to the east separating Edgewood and Decatur, and Inman Park on the west, Atlanta's first suburb. Early city directories and newpaper articles refer to many prominent Atlantans--such as former governers Alfred H. Colquitt and John B. Gordon; Asa Candler, the founder of the Coca-Cola Company; John S. Pemberton, Coca-Cola's inventor; and other local notables--as being residents of Edgewood, although their homes were actually in the areas that later became Kirkwood and Inman Park.

Several locally prominent and well-to-do persons, however, made their homes in what eventually became the town of Edgewood. One prosperous farmer was C. M. Morris, who bought twenty-three acres on the north side of the Georgia Railroad about 1870. He constructed a three-and-a-half-story turreted mansion of sand brick that boasted twelve large rooms, two great halls, a basement, beautifully carved woodwork, and three covered porches (see Figure 1).[17] Though this house was torn down in 1936, Elmira and Josephine Streets, named after Morris's wife and daughter, mark the location of the old Morris property in today's Candler Park neighborhood.

Another early residence, probably the oldest home now standing in

Figure 1. C. M. Morris House, ca. 1890

Source: Atlanta Historical Society Photographic Collection, Atlanta.

Edgewood/Candler Park, is the Smith-Benning house. Located at 520 Oakdale Road, the house was built in the 1880s by Charles Whitefoord Smith, a lawyer, state senator, and circuit court and appeals court judge (see Figure 2).[18] The Smiths probably settled in Edgewood after their marriage in 1881, but sold their two-story Victorian house with Eastlake detailing in 1889 because Mrs. Smith complained of its draftiness. Augustus H. Benning, a merchant sea captain who spent much of his career in Asia, bought the house and its five-acre property for $6,500. During the Benning's occupancy the house was furnished with Oriental treasures that fascinated neighborhood children and visitors.[19] The Smiths then constructed a large stuccoed brick Victorian residence, featuring multiple gables and a turret, on the opposite side of Oakdale Road (see Figure 3). This house stood until 1954. Oakdale Road was known as Whitefoord Avenue (after Judge Smith) until 1960, and that portion of the road south of the Georgia Railroad still bears his name.

Two other prominent families with adjacent large homes were also linked by kinship ties. James G. Thrower and his son-in-law, John M. Miller, owned back-to-back estates at the corner of McLendon Avenue and Mayson Avenue (now Candler Park Drive). Together they organized the Edgewood Temperance Society, a citizens' league that met across the street at Mayson's Academy, and a local construction business.[20] Both homes were situated on a large rise; the Thrower's home was often called "Rose Hill" because of the many roses they had planted.[21] The Miller's home, High Point, faced Miller Avenue and boasted fine furnishings and a solarium.[22] John Miller was a well-known Atlanta bookseller who had worked his way up from selling newspapers at a stand at the Opera House

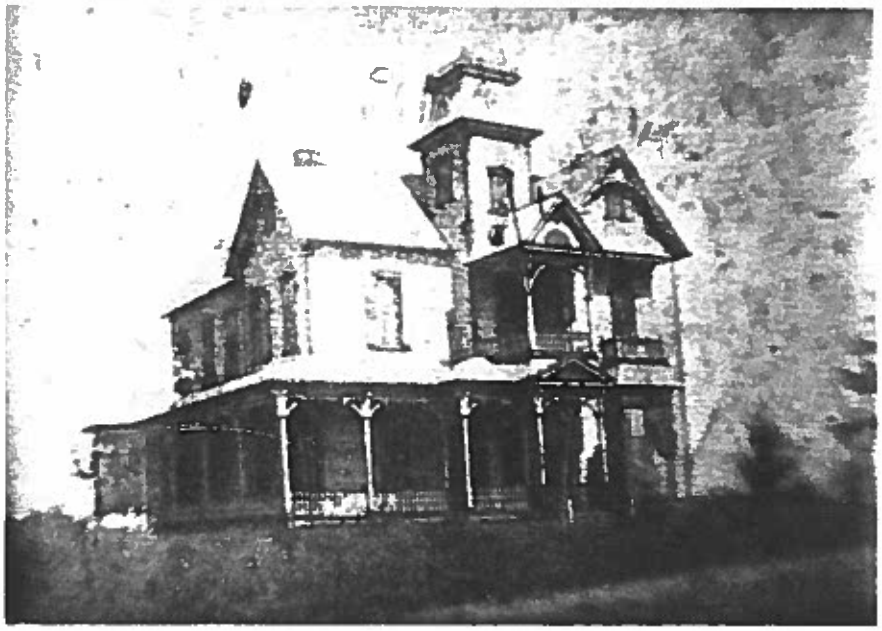


Figure 2. Early View of Smith-Benning House

Source: Daisy Frances Smith collection, DeKalb Historical Society, Decatur.

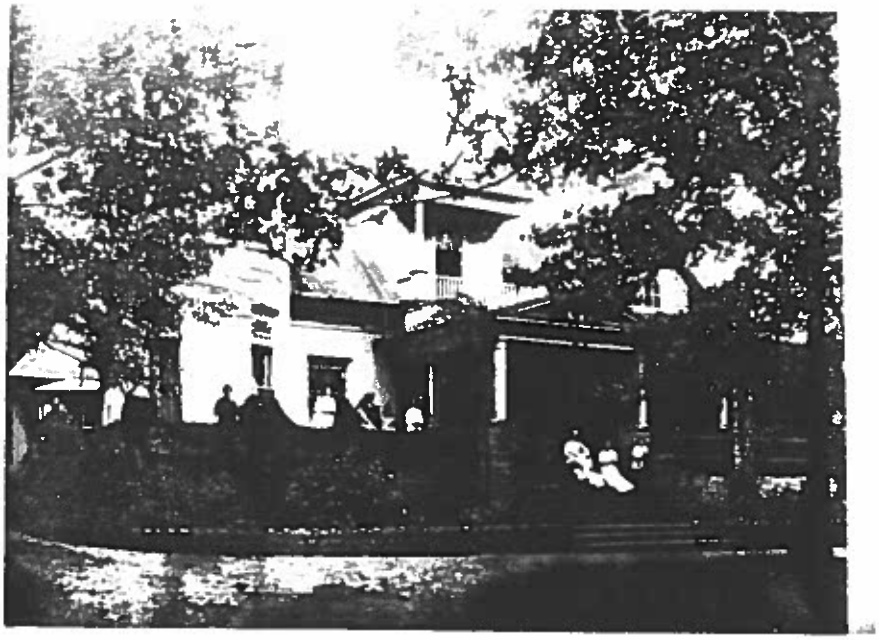


Figure 3. C. W. Smith House, 1906

Source: Daisy Frances Smith collection, DeKalb Historical Society, Decatur.

in 1881 to owning a three-story bookstore with a circulating library of 4,000 volumes by 1915.[23] Miller's book and stationery stores still operate in the Atlanta metropolitan area.

The Candlers, one of Atlanta's best-known families, had a representative in early Edgewood. John Slaughter Candler, brother of the Coca-Cola Company founder Asa G. Candler, lived in a large home facing the Georgia Railroad from the 1880s until he moved to Druid Hills in 1909. John Candler held various judicial positions including justice of the Georgia Supreme Court, and served as general counsel for the Coca-Cola Company.[24]

William A. Kuhns was a Prussian immigrant and early Edgewood resident whose house at 1192 McLendon Avenue still stands (see Figure 6). Kuhns opened a photographic studio on Whitehall Street in Atlanta in 1870. Several of his children also entered the photographic profession, working in the family studio. A Kuhns photographer appeared in the city directory nearly every year until 1946.[25]

The Edgewood Methodist Church, established in 1866, was the area's earliest institution, drawing its membership from the area between the city limits of Atlanta and Decatur. In 1878 the congregation constructed a new frame sanctuary and parsonage just south of the Georgia Railroad and east of Moreland Avenue (see Figure 4). In 1886 the church opened the first school in the community, known as Edgewood Seminary, with Reverend J. R. Mayson as principal.[26] Later known as Mayson's Academy, the school building was situated on the southeast corner of Mayson and McLendon Avenues on Mayson's large tract that also contained his home and a farm.

In 1890 several members of the Edgewood Methodist congregation

Figure 4. Edgewood Methodist Church and Parsonage, 1878

Source: Atlanta Historical Society Photographic Collection, Atlanta.

decided to organize their own church, holding their first services at the home of Charles Whitefoord Smith. The new church's first members included the C. W. Smiths, J. R. Mayson, and a number of Edgewood citizens active in local real estate development and later prominent in Edgewood town government. The new Epworth Methodist congregation met at Mayson's Academy until they were able to construct a church building in 1892 at the corner of Mayson Avenue and La France Street (see Figure 5).[27] The older Edgewood congregation became the Inman Park Methodist Church, constructing a sanctuary in 1888 near the new residence of Asa Candler, one of the church leaders.

The Antioch Baptist Church, a black congregation organized as early as 1872, met initially in the blacksmith shop of one of its members.[28] The congregation has had at least four homes since that time, but is still located in today's Edgewood community on Hardee Street. The earliest black Methodist church in the area, known as Smith Chapel African Methodist-Episcopal Church, is located on Mayson Avenue in the Edgewood neighborhood.

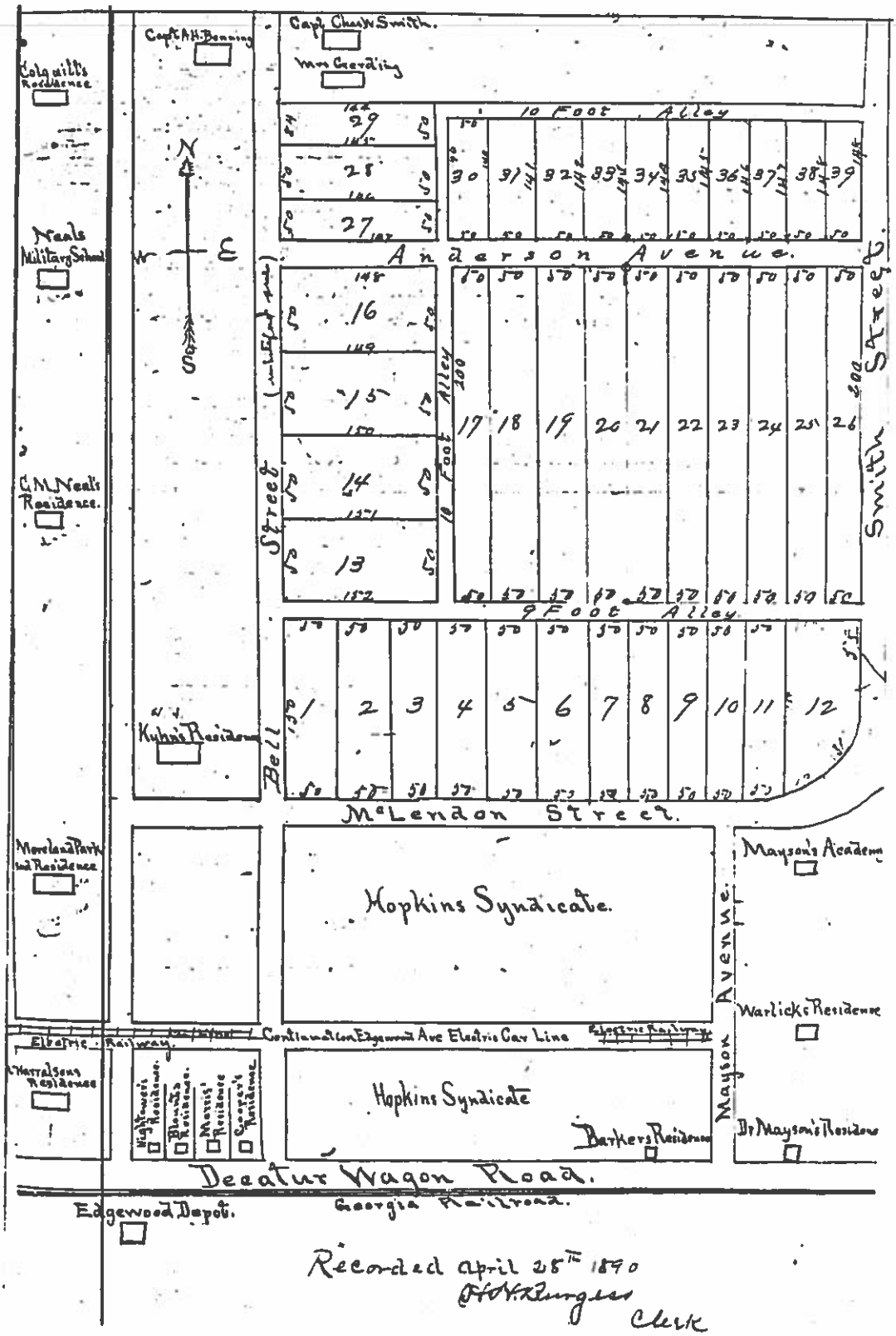
The cottonseed oil mills and fertilizer factories constructed during the 1880s provided a stable employment base for area residents. These factories, the largest of which were the Georgia Cottonseed Oil Company and the Virginia-Carolina Company, were located on the south side of the Georgia Railroad, just east of the main residential settlement. For area residents, the advantage of having large and stable employers nearby was offset by the odors these factories often created.

By 1890 the community of Edgewood spread for approximately three blocks on either side of the Georgia Railroad for about one-half mile

Figure 5. Epworth Methodist-Episcopal Church South, ca. 1900

Source: Original photograph at Epworth United Methodist Church, Atlanta.

Figure 6. William A. Kuhns House, 1192 McLendon Avenue



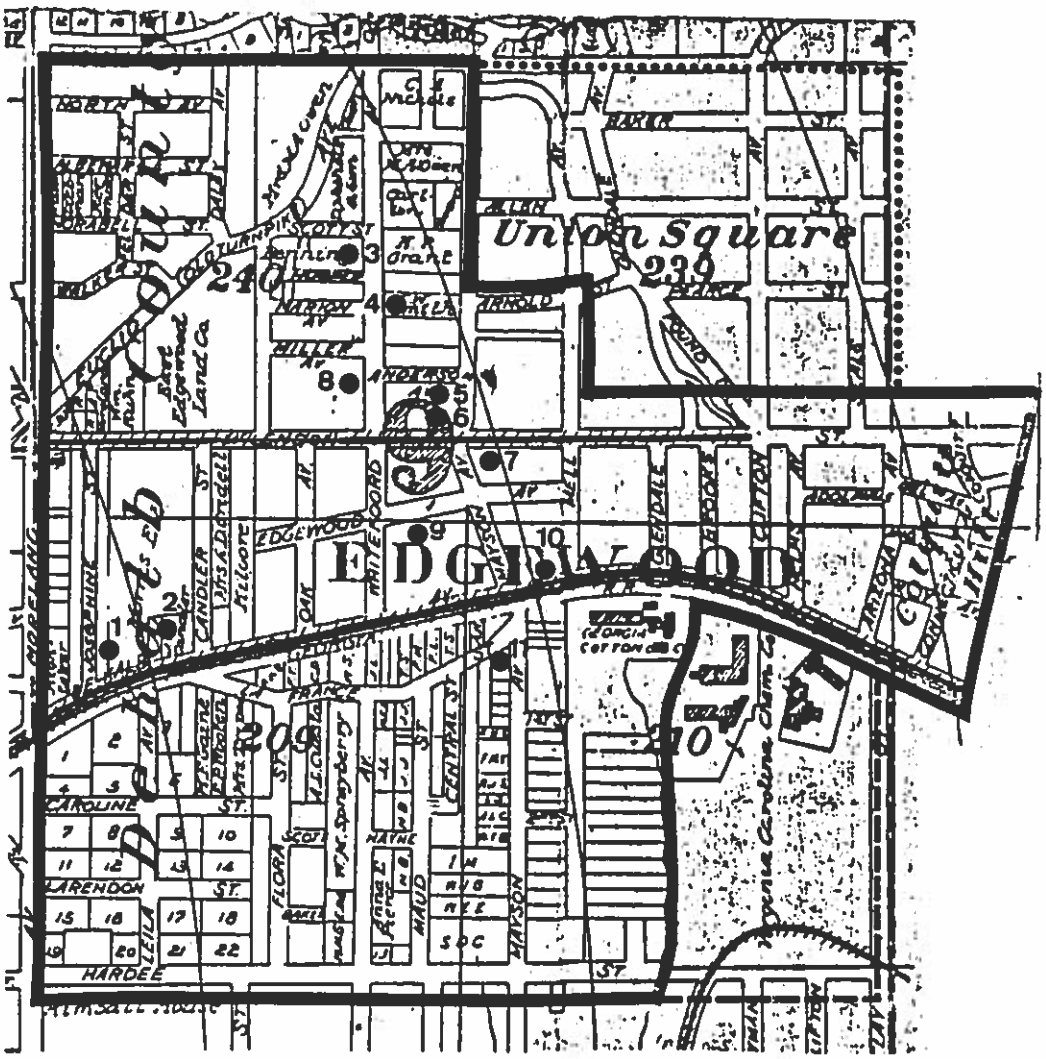
Map 4. Northeast Edgewood, 1890

Source: DeKalb County Deed Record, Book CC, p. 407, DeKalb County Courthouse, Decatur.

along its length. Passenger trains stopped at the Edgewood and Clifton "depots," located at the Moreland Avenue and Clifton Road crossings, respectively (see Map 4). The Georgia Railroad, with the main wagon thoroughfare running adjacent to it, was the center of the community during the nineteenth century and effectively linked the residents on both sides of the tracks as the main means of regular transportation. The large estates of the more prosperous residents were generally located within two blocks on either side of the railroad tracks, with smaller residences scattered around the gridded street plan. Small businesses were located near the railroad along the Decatur wagon road and at the crossings at Mayson and Whitefoord Avenues. Black residents lived in enclaves on both sides of the tracks. The largest black residential area, sometimes referred to as Barnesville (after a local family), was located south of the railroad adjacent to the fertilizer and cottonseed oil factories.

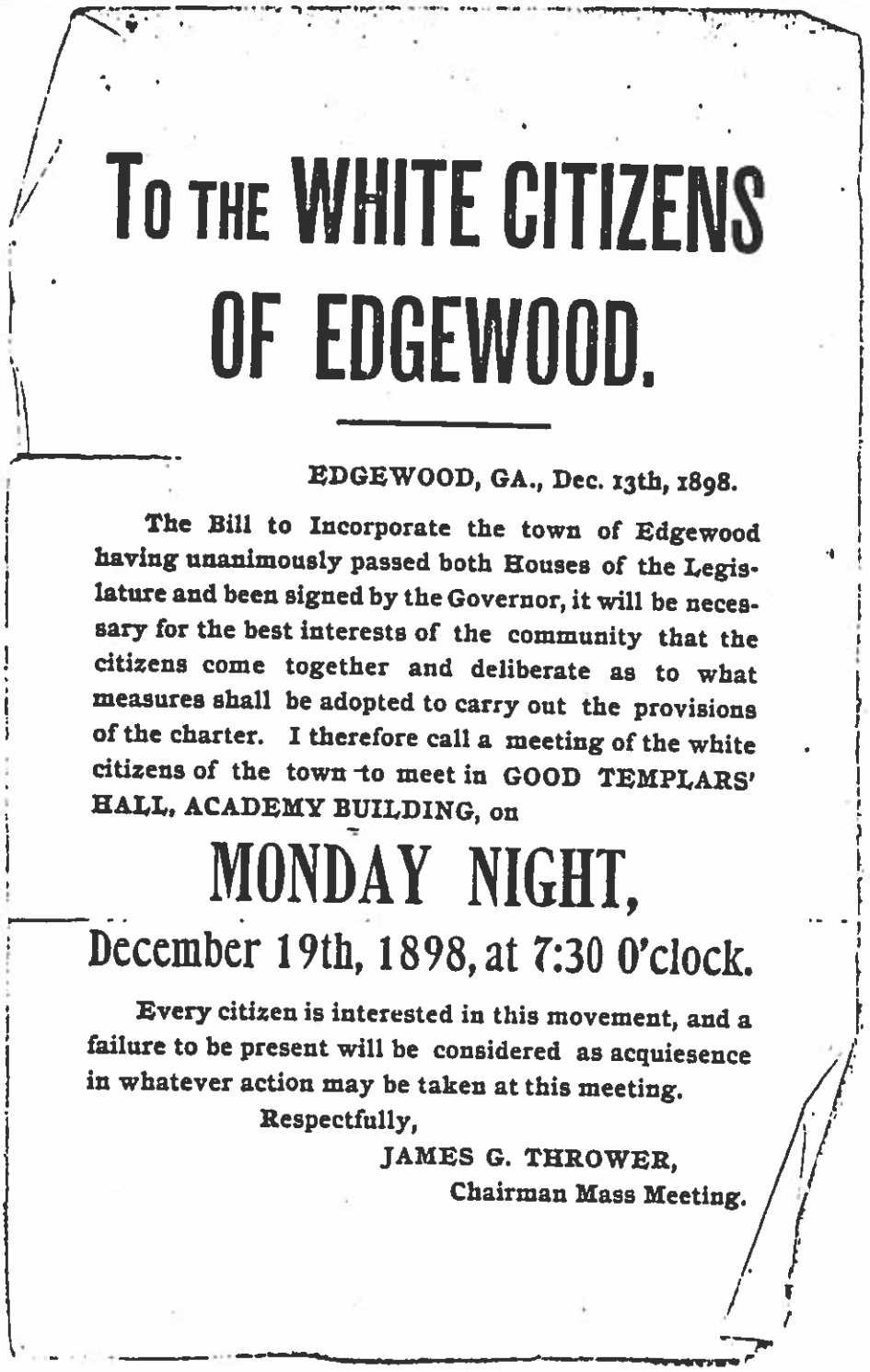
Atlanta's street railway system, which reached Edgewood in the 1890s, brought further growth to the community by providing more rapid and regular transportation into the heart of Atlanta. Map 5 shows the extent of Edgewood's development in 1905.

The increasing real estate and building activity in Edgewood and its accompanying population influx brought with it concern on the part of residents about the need for public schooling and police protection. Edgewood citizens began a campaign for town incorporation in order to create a means of taxation to support these services; creation of a public school system was considered of primary importance as a justification for incorporation (see Figure 7). Newspaper accounts chronicle the incorporation efforts:



Map 5. Edgewood, 1908

Base Map Source: O. F. Kauffman, Map of the City of Atlanta (Atlanta: O. F. Kauffman, 1909), Atlanta Historical Society, Atlanta.



TO THE WHITE CITIZENS OF EDGEWOOD.

EDGEWOOD, GA., Dec. 13th, 1898.

The Bill to Incorporate the town of Edgewood having unanimously passed both Houses of the Legislature and been signed by the Governor, it will be necessary for the best interests of the community that the citizens come together and deliberate as to what measures shall be adopted to carry out the provisions of the charter. I therefore call a meeting of the white citizens of the town to meet in GOOD TEMPLARS' HALL, ACADEMY BUILDING, on

MONDAY NIGHT,

December 19th, 1898, at 7:30 O'clock.

Every citizen is interested in this movement, and a failure to be present will be considered as acquiesence in whatever action may be taken at this meeting.

Respectfully,

JAMES G. THROWER,
Chairman Mass Meeting.

Figure 7. Notice to Edgewood Citizens of Public Meeting

Source: Gerald W. Gandy and Fontaine Y. Draper, "Historical Research of Edgewood Site," research paper in possession of Dr. Roy Dickens, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

> The town includes one of the most populous and wealthiest parts of DeKalb county. It is the largest settlement outside of Decatur in the western portion of the county and will be organized under a charter similar to those that are established for all other small towns. The population of the town will be about 1,500.
>
> The primary object of the corporation, it is alleged in the preamble to the charter at the meeting last night, is for the erection and establishment of a school. It has been a bone of contention for some time for the people of that section as to whether a school is necessary. Many methods for establishing one have been suggested, but none of them have met with so much popular favor as an incorporation, and although there was strong opposition on the part of some of the residents of the district to the incorporation, it was decided by a vote of the legal voters of the district that the proposed section should be incorporated. . . .
>
> A number of ladies were present at the meeting last night and were interested onlookers during the proceedings. Mr. J. G. Thrower presided and disposed of the business in a felicitous manner.[29]

The state legislature approved Edgewood's Act of Incorporation on December 9, 1898. The articles of incorporation set the corporate boundaries and provided for a municipal government consisting of a mayor and five aldermen empowered to enact ordinances and regulations and levy a tax for the establishment of a public school system. The act also prohibited the sale of alcohol within the town limits.[30]

The voters of Edgewood elected Charles Whitefoord Smith as their first mayor and Dr. Henry Smith, Charles Dowman, James G. Foote, and Walter R. Daley as aldermen. William T. Buchanan served as clerk, and John Miller and James Thrower, organizers of the temperance society, were designated constables.[31]

These men were among the most influential citizens of the Edgewood community. Dr. Smith was a family physician whose son, Linton, also became a doctor and carried on his practice in the town. James G. Foote belonged to an early Edgewood family that speculated in real estate and owned the Edgewood Trading Company--a lumber company and general merchandise operation.[32] Daley was a judge in the Decatur city court,

later a well-respected private attorney in practice with his son.[33] William T. Buchanan owned a farm in Edgewood and a furniture business in Atlanta.[34] These men, with the exception of Daley and Thrower, were all founding members of the Epworth Methodist Church.

It is apparent that Edgewood's political leaders came from what might be considered the town's upper crust. They were professionals and successful businessmen and controlled much property in Edgewood. Many of these men, because of their real estate investments, had a proprietary interest in seeing Edgewood grow and prosper. (Their involvement in real estate companies and land sales in the growing suburb of Edgewood will be further discussed in Chapter 3.)

Most of Edgewood's white population would be considered middle-class. Typical occupations were those of storekeeper, teacher, clerk, farmer, laborer, and gardener. The housing stock that remains in the neighborhoods within the old Edgewood community illustrates the income levels of the town's early residents. There are very few high-style Victorian dwellings comparable to those found in the adjacent Inman Park neighborhood, an elite suburb noted for its excellent Queen Anne architecture. Most nineteenth-century residences are one- or one-and-a-half-story frame cottages with some sawn and turned woodwork and an occasional stained glass window. Although the older Edgewood residences exhibit some fine examples of Victorian architectural details, their scale, design, and lot size suggest a less affluent population.

The 1900 census showed an Edgewood population of 1,196, with 155 white children and 210 black children of school age. The town council agreed to use Mayson's Academy, a two-story frame building with an auditorium, as the white public school, and 163 children enrolled in

1901. The council later initiated a bond issue for the construction of a new school building for white children on Main Street (Iverson Avenue), on a site now occupied by a public park. The town council also established a public school for black children, thus achieving the principal goal of incorporation--public education.[35]

The white public school building served many purposes in the Edgewood community, as it was the only building with an auditorium in which large meetings could be held. Used for church services, public meetings, society and club meetings, and other activities, it functioned as a regular gathering place for the white community. Edgewood supported a post office, but had no municipal offices. Voting took place at John B. Mell's store on the Decatur road and aldermen met at each others' homes.

Edgewood entered the twentieth century with a population of approximately 1,200. Progress during the following decade included two boundary expansions in 1903 and 1906 (see Map 5), creation of a school board and a bond issue for the construction of the new school, a tax increase for paving and repairing streets and sidewalks and for installing sewers and other improvements, and a bond issue for the construction of an electric generating plant to power street lights and incandescent lighting for homes and businesses.[36] The town population more than doubled during this decade, and town leaders involved themselves as actively in real estate activity as in political matters.

Edgewood's existence as an independent incorporated town lasted only ten years. In 1908 the state legislature repealed the town charter and incorporated a large chunk of territory east of Atlanta into the Atlanta city limits, including Edgewood as the only incorporated town

among the six areas that were annexed. This annexation, officially executed on the first day of 1909, increased Atlanta's population by 8,000 and added six square miles to its area.[37]

A mayor's committee had studied the subject of annexation shortly after the turn of the century, but proposed postponing the issue until two or three years before the 1910 census. In April 1907 the Atlanta Journal published a map drawn by the city engineer with a plan for annexing the eastern suburbs which, it claimed, would increase the city's population to 160,000 by 1910 (see Map 6). The article, after comparing the populations of the largest Southeastern cities, declared that annexation would boost Atlanta's population by 70,000 persons and increase its area by eleven square miles. With this action Atlanta could surpass in population Memphis, Richmond, and Nashville.[38]

The newspapers continued their advocacy of annexation, claiming to have originated the plan and citing endorsements by the city treasurer, the fire chief, the city marshal, a Supreme Court justice, and various bankers and businessmen. The mayor and members of the city board of aldermen supported annexation for reasons of sanitation, fire safety, and education. Asa Candler, then president of the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce and one of the original annexation study committee, encouraged the plan, stating that the lack of city amenities and schools had kept new residents out of the suburbs, and that most of the best residential property within the city limits had already been taken.[39]

An evaluation of Edgewood's assets conducted by the annexation committee showed a population of 2,700-3,000, taxable property worth $1 million, a system of electric lights being installed, a water main running through to the corporate limits of Kirkwood, and one of the

Map 6. Territory Proposed for Annexation, 1907

Source: Atlanta Constitution, 23 August 1908, p. 1

finest schools (supporting ten grades) in the territory considered for annexation. Additionally, the report stated, the town was nearly unanimous in favoring annexation.[40]

That the majority of Edgewood residents approved of the annexation concept was due in large part to the efforts of Judge John S. Candler, who served as chairman of the extension committee of Edgewood. In July of 1908 Edgewood's extension committee presented the Atlanta board of aldermen with a list of their terms and conditions for annexation. An appendix to the city's charter amendment extending the city limits set forth the eight special conditions requested by the town of Edgewood. Here the Atlanta city government agreed to assume Edgewood's bonded indebtedness of $25,000, incurred for school construction and the electric light plant; maintain the town's electric light system, schools, and street railway contracts; pave the main Edgewood streets and provide the area with city water and sewerage connections as soon as feasible; and continue to prohibit the sale of alcoholic beverages.[41] The election of Judge John S. Candler as one of the three aldermen of the new ninth ward, composed primarily of the annexed area, acted to further these goals. Several other Edgewood citizens accepted appointments to the various city boards: Walter R. Daley to the board of education; Lee Hagan to the board of health; Dr. Linton Smith as ward physician; Mrs. T. J. Hightower to the board of lady visitors to the public schools; Harlee Branch to the board of trustees of the Carnegie Library; and William T. Buchanan became the first city inspector of weights and measures.[42]

Edgewood residents gained a number of immediate benefits from annexation. During 1909 the Atlanta board of aldermen passed

resolutions that authorized water mains, curbs, sidewalks, street improvements, and street signs within the former town limits of Edgewood, all introduced by alderman John S. Candler.[43]

The city of Atlanta assumed the bonded indebtedness for the electric light plant, whose operation was turned over to the Georgia Railway and Electric Service. Newspaper accounts complained that the city had assumed a $25,000 burden by annexing Edgewood and the chairman of Atlanta's finance committee hinted that the Edgewood town finances had not been kept in immaculate order:

> We go to the former treasurer for information concerning Edgewood finances and he tells us that he knows nothing about them, that he simply signed the vouchers and checks presented to him by the town clerk, who was also the marshal, tax collector, deputy sheriff and a few other things. It will be sometime before the work of auditing will be completed.[44]

Although Edgewood and Atlanta residents may not have concurred in the conditions for annexation, the community's twentieth century development was readily apparent to most citizens. A "letter from Edgewood" that appeared in the county newspaper shortly after annexation reads:

> Any one who has been absent from here for several years would be surprised to see the change in appearance in so short a time. A few years ago there were only a very few buildings between Mason and Moreland avenues, which are the county lines; now there are but few vacant lots between the two streets. Mason avenue is all built up from McLendon to the Georgia railroad, and most of the lots on that street south of the railroad are covered with buildings.[45]

Edgewood's autonomy ended in 1909 with its annexation to the city of Atlanta. Although Edgewood had existed for approximately thirty-five years as a self-contained community, it never functioned independently of its larger neighbor. The existence of Atlanta was the raison d'etre for the Georgia Railroad, along whose tracks the Edgewood community aligned itself, and which provided transportation to the downtown

businesses and sparked the construction of the factories that were a stable source of employment for the residents of Edgewood and nearby communities.

By virtue of its proximity to and dependence on Atlanta, Edgewood became as much a product of the New South urbanization and industrialization trends as the neighboring metropolis. Edgewood's chemical and cottonseed oil factories typified contemporary industrial activity in all the metropolitan areas of the South. As the city of Atlanta grew, so did the town of Edgewood. The need for housing led city workers to look to outlying areas for residential property, often at better value and offering more amenities than city properties. As the city prospered, residential subdivisions along Atlanta's city boundaries multiplied and expanded until they reached small satellite communities like Edgewood. The race among Southern cities to reach the largest population by census time provided an additional incentive to annex adjacent areas, as city boosters continued to boast that they were bigger and therefore better than the competition.

The streetcar played no small role in the development of these nearby communities. This new mode of transportation, which arrived in Atlanta in the 1870s, triggered real estate activity along its routes and opened up new areas to residential expansion. The streetcar was responsible for creating subdivisions on vacant land and for transforming formerly autonomous communities into Atlanta suburbs. Chapter 3 will chronicle the influence of the streetcar and later the automobile on the Edgewood community in its evolution from farming community to intown suburb.

Notes

[1] Thomas M. Deaton, "Atlanta During the Progressive Era" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1969), p. 2; James Houstoun Johnston, Western and Atlantic Railroad of the State of Georgia (Atlanta: Stein Printing Co., 1932), pp. 6, 24, 28.

[2] Thomas A. Martin, Atlanta and Its Builders, 2 vols. (Atlanta: Century Memorial Publishing Co., 1902), 1:22, 29, 32, 33, 36-37.

[3] Martin, Atlanta and Its Builders, 1:38, 40.

[4] John F. Stover, Iron Road to the West: American Railroads in the 1850s (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), pp. 11-12; Martin, Atlanta and Its Builders, 1:45, 46, 73.

[5] Timothy J. Crimmins, "The Atlanta Palimpsest: Stripping Away the Layers of the Past," Atlanta Historical Journal 26 (Summer-Fall 1982): 18-21, 25, 28.

[6] Martin, Atlanta and Its Builders, 2:86.

[7] Howard N. Rabinowitz, "Continuity and Change: Southern Urban Development, 1860-1900," in The City in Southern History: The Growth of Urban Civilization in the South, ed. Blaine A. Brownell and David R. Goldfield (Port Washington, New York: National University Publications, Kennikat Press, 1977), pp. 92-93.

[8] Martin, Atlanta and Its Builders, 2:69-71, 82.

[9] Victor S. Clark, History of Manufactures in the United States, 3 vols. (New York: Peter Smith, 1949), 2:187, 289, 522.

[10] C. Vann Woodward, Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas, 1971), p. 124.

[11] Karen Luehrs and Timothy J. Crimmins, "In the Mind's Eye: The Downtown as Visual Metaphor for the Metropolis," Atlanta Historical Journal 26 (Summer-Fall 1982): 181.

[12] DeKalb County, Abstracts of Title, Land Lots 209, 210, 239, 240, TS, n.d., DeKalb Historical Society, Decatur.

[13] Atlanta Historical Bulletin 4 (April 1939): 131-32.

[14] Adair Realty Company Plats, Book 2, p. 21, and Book 3, p. 29, Atlanta Historical Society, Atlanta.

[15] C. W. Norwood, comp., Sholes' Georgia State Gazetteer and Business Directory for 1879 and 1880 (Atlanta: A. E. Sholes and Co., 1879), p. 484.

[16] This included a large area that did not become part of Edgewood's corporate boundaries in 1898. Georgia State Gazetteer, Business and Planters' Directory, 1886-1887 (Savannah, Georgia: J. H. Estill and A. E. Sholes, 1886), p. 124.

[17] Annie Hornady Howard, Georgia Homes and Notable Georgians (Atlanta: M. M. and A. H. Howard, 1937), p. 168.

[18] Atlanta Historical Bulletin 4 (April 1939): 131-32.

[19] Personal interview with T. Cobb Benning, Atlanta, Georgia, April 1983.

[20] Thomas L. Slappey, "Recollections of the Town of Edgewood, DeKalb County, Georgia From the Year 1901," TS, November 17, 1966, in possession of Lillian Epps, Decatur.

[21] Personal interview, T. Cobb Benning.

[22] Howard, p. 123; W. W. Goodrich and Sons, Architects, had made plans for the Edgewood residence of J. M. Miller, to cost $3,000, reported in Southern Architect 2 (August 1891): 204.

[23] J. H. Reed, "John M. Miller of Miller's Book Store," City Builder 7 (October 1922): 19.

[24] Charles Howard Candler, Asa Griggs Candler (Atlanta: Emory University Press, 1950), p. 36.

[25] Narrative introduction to Kuhns family photograph collection, Atlanta Historical Society Photograph Collection, Atlanta.

[26] Mrs. E. H. LeVert, Jr., A History of Inman Park Methodist Church (Atlanta: Methodist Information--Public Relations, 1968), booklet in grant file at Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Section, Atlanta.

[27] "History of Epworth Methodist Church," TS, n.d.; Billie Cheney Lovell, "Lightning Fails to Deter Church," Atlanta Journal, 16 November 1968, p. 10, both on file at Epworth United Methodist Church, Atlanta.

[28] Antioch East Baptist Church, Ninety-Seventh Church Anniversary and Memorial Book (Atlanta: n.p., 1969), Antioch East Baptist Church, Atlanta.

[29] "Citizens Decide to Incorporate," Atlanta Constitution, 23 August 1898, p. 7.

[30] Georgia, Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1898 (Atlanta: State Printer, 1899), pp. 176-78.

[31] Sarah H. Hill, "Prohibition and Edgewood," TS, June 2, 1982, paper written for History 855, Georgia State University, DeKalb Historical Society, Decatur.

[32] DeKalb County Record of Charters, Book 1, pp. 148-49, filed July 3, 1906, DeKalb County Courthouse, Decatur.

[33] Newspaper article dated 6 May 1927 in "Atlanta Obituaries, 1923-1932," ed. Franklin M. Garrett, scrapbook on microfilm at Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

[34] "Judge Buchanan's Lucky Shot," Atlanta Journal Magazine, 3 November 1929, p. 5.

[35] Town of Edgewood, Minutes of the Town of Edgewood from 3 February 1899 to 13 August 1906, entries dated 13 March 1899, 8 January 1900, and 13 May 1901, Atlanta Historical Society, Atlanta.

[36] Edgewood Minute Book, entries dated 6 September 1904, 14 November 1904, and 17 May 1906; Georgia, Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly, 1903, pp. 514-15; 1904, pp. 457-60; 1906, pp. 731-36.

[37] The areas were Copenhill, Brownwood, Druid Hills, Reynoldstown, East Atlanta, and Edgewood. Franklin M. Garrett, Atlanta and Environs, a Chronicle of Its People and Events, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1954), 2:539.

[38] "Let's Have a Greater Atlanta with Population of 160,000 in the Year 1910," Atlanta Journal, 18 April 1907, p. 1; Atlanta Journal, 13 August 1908, p. 5; R. R. Otis, "Atlanta's Plan, 1909-1932," TS, Atlanta Historical Society, Atlanta, p. 1.

[39] "City Officials Rally to 'Greater Atlanta'," Atlanta Journal, 19 April 1907, p. 1; "Many Prominent Citizens Give Endorsement to City Extension," Atlanta Journal, 20 April 1907, p. 1; Atlanta Journal, 13 August 1908, pp. 1, 5; City of Atlanta, Council Minutes, entry dated 6 May 1907, Atlanta Historical Society, Atlanta.

[40] Newspaper clippings pertaining to the growth of Atlanta and expansion of city boundaries, 1906-1914, in W. M. Scott Realty Company Scrapbook, Atlanta Historical Society, Atlanta.

[41] City of Atlanta, Charter and Ordinances of the City of Atlanta, Code of 1910 (Atlanta: Mutual Publishing Co., 1910), pp. 15-16.

[42] "Board Members for Ninth Ward," Atlanta Journal, 9 December 1908, p. 1; "Judge Buchanan's Lucky Shot," Atlanta Journal Magazine, 3 November, 1929, p. 5.

[43] City of Atlanta, Council Minutes, various entries dated 1909.

[44] "No Sinking Fund in Edgewood," Atlanta Journal, 13 February 1909, p. 3; "City Takes Over Lighting Plant," Atlanta Journal, 24

December 1908, p. 9.

[45] Irwin L. Teat, "Letter from Edgewood," DeKalb New Era, 23 February 1911, p. 12.

CHAPTER 3

Edgewood/Candler Park: The Suburb

By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, the Edgewood community had experienced great residential, commercial, and industrial development. The changes taking place in downtown Atlanta led to corresponding growth in the surrounding suburbs; both Atlanta and Edgewood made their greatest strides beteen 1890 and 1910. During this period Atlanta shed its railroad town image and, led by the vision of a small group of commercially competitive businessmen who emulated such models as New York and Chicago, metamorphosed into a regional and national service center with a true downtown commercial core and surrounding residential neighborhoods. The city's population increased from 65,535 in 1890 to 89,872 in 1900, and to 154,839 in 1910.[1] Edgewood paralleled Atlanta's expansion with increased real estate development and building activity to accommodate its growing population, capped by its ten-year exercise in municipal government.

This period of growth appeared not only in the pattern of urban sprawl that was beginning to characterize Atlanta, but also in the direction of its expansion. New office, hotel, and government buildings were added to the downtown core, while the city center began to shift northward away from the railroad terminals. Downtown Atlanta started to grow up as well as out, as skyscrapers appeared on the horizon and residential neighborhoods developed to the north, east, and south. "By 1900, a new city pattern had been established: separate areas of work, recreation, and living began to shape Atlanta into a modern

metropolis."[2]

One impetus for this expansion came from the introduction of the horse-drawn trolley car, a new mode of transportation that freed city dwellers from dependence on the horse and carriage, the accommodation trains, and the confines of the walking city. The Atlanta Street Railroad Company, headed by Atlanta real estate speculators George W. Adair and Richard Peters, laid the first trolley tracks in 1871. The initial rail lines led south, east, and north, terminating at well-established residential, recreational, or employment areas, and enjoyed almost immediate success and profit. It was not coincidental that the first street railway lines passed directly to or through areas where Peters and Adair owned substantial acreage. The two men used the proximity of streetcar lines in their real estate advertisements to attract buyers, and they offered free rides to persons attending the frequent property auctions held in their subdivisions.[3]

Although the slow speed of the horsecar--six miles per hour--limited suburban expansion to about three miles from the city center, the new mode of transportation altered the city's pattern of development. Whereas the commuter trains had led to cluster development around widely spaced stations, the horsecars stopped for passengers anywhere along the lines, bringing about continuous development along the new pattern of streetcar lines.[4] Whereas the walking city had juxtaposed businesses, residences, and industries, the new mode of transportation allowed an expansion that led to the eventual separation of uses and classes. The extension of the metropolis that followed upon the establishment of the street railways primarily benefitted the growing middle class. Since the wealthy elite were not limited by

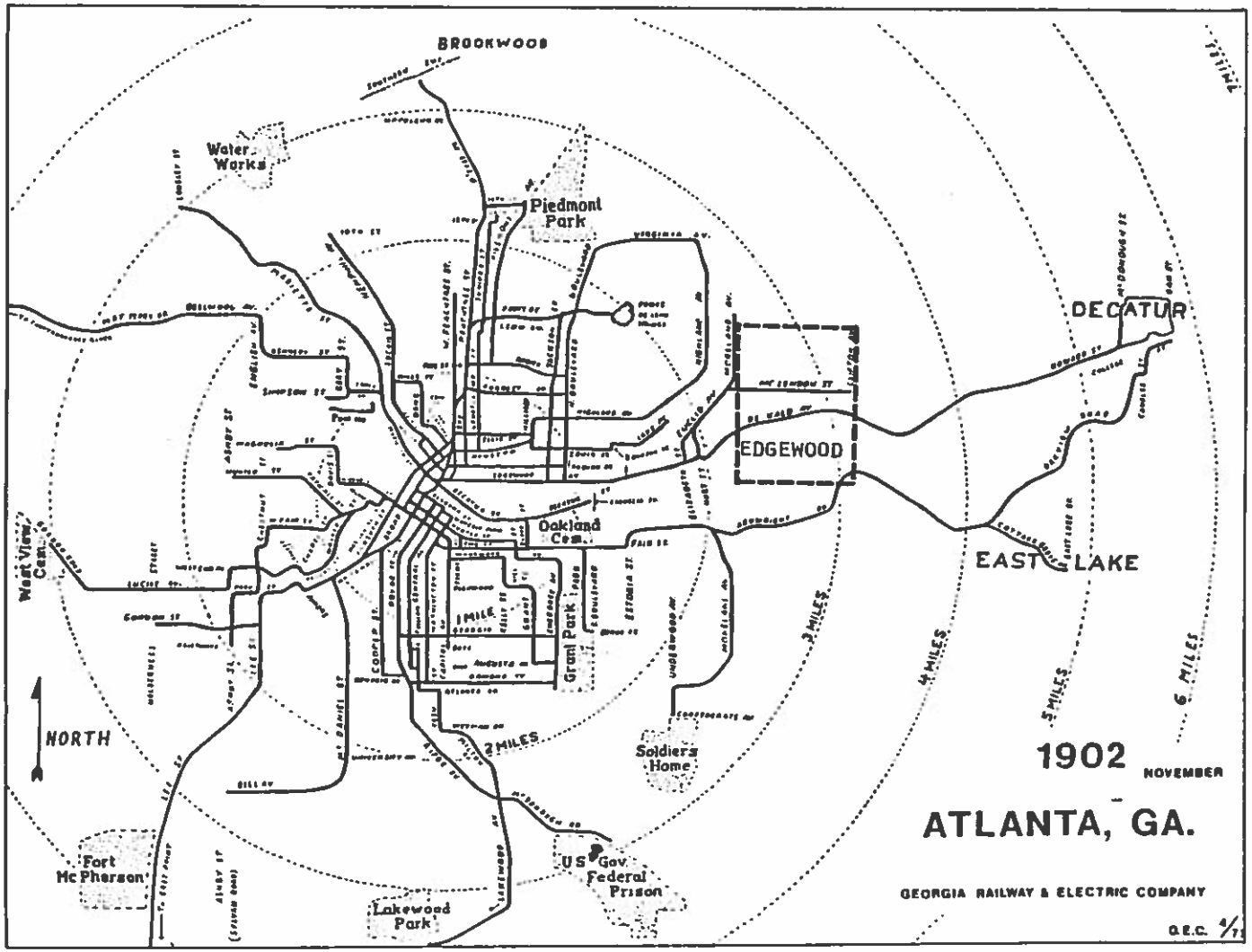
finances in their choice of residential locations, and since lower-income families were forced by the cost of transportation to live within walking distance of their employment, the streetcar offered the middle-class the opportunity to pursue the "rural ideal" of a single-family detached home in a suburban setting.[5] Atlanta's first true residential suburbs appeared soon after the streetcar's debut.

The city's sustained growth soon exceeded the capacities of the horse- and mule-drawn cars and required a more rapid and economical means of commuter transportation. Steam and electric streetcars replaced the horse-drawn trolleys in Atlanta during the 1880s. By the time the steam cars were introduced, they were nearly obsolete due to the invention of the cleaner, more efficient electric cars. Several steam lines continued to operate, however, with their obnoxious smoke and noise, after the arrival of the electric car.[6] Joel Hurt, an Atlanta entrepreneur with interests in street railways and real estate, introduced the city's first electric streetcar line in 1889. The car line led down Edgewood Avenue, extended by Hurt from the former Line Street, to Atlanta's first planned residential suburb, Inman Park. This development, designed by Hurt with curving streets, parks, large lots, plantings, and building restrictions, was intended for an elite market. Hurt refined the concept of using the street railway to promote suburban property by creating his own car line leading directly to a planned subdivision, demonstrating his belief that transportation must be part of the total plan for suburban development.[7] Inman Park enjoyed moderate success as an upper-class suburb around the turn of the century, as illustrated by the number of elegant Queen Anne homes found there today. Hurt meanwhile became a street railroad magnate, forming a

monopoly of streetcar interests and helping to create Atlanta's first electric company.[8]

Three streetcar lines eventually reached eastward to Edgewood, two continuing east to connect Atlanta and Decatur. The first, known as the South Decatur line, was a steam line opened by the Metropolitan Street Railroad Company in 1891. This line actually passed south of Edgewood, snaking north across Hardee Street into the residential area south of the chemical companies, then curving southward again. In 1893 the Atlanta City Street Railway Company opened the North Decatur line, which travelled along McLendon Avenue eastward to Decatur through Kirkwood. This line experienced immediate financial problems and eventually terminated at Clifton Road when the third line, called the Main Decatur line, began operation in 1901. This car line ran along DeKalb Avenue (the old Decatur wagon road) and was operated by the Atlanta Rapid Transit Company (see Map 7).[9]

These streetcar lines illustrate the common intertwining of nineteenth-century real estate and transportation interests found elsewhere in Atlanta. Aaron Haas, an officer of the Atlanta Suburban Land Company that owned several hundred acres immediately south of Edgewood, also served as president of the Metropolitan Street Railroad Company. The South Decatur car line (run by Metropolitan) passed directly through Haas's property.[10] Haas also maintained real estate investments in the Union Square Land Company, which owned property north of the Georgia Railroad in Land Lot 239. The North Decatur line along McLendon Avenue, which passed directly by the property belonging to the land company, opened through the efforts of Haas, J. R. Mell, and W. I. Zachry--officers of the Union Square Land Company. Haas and Zachry also

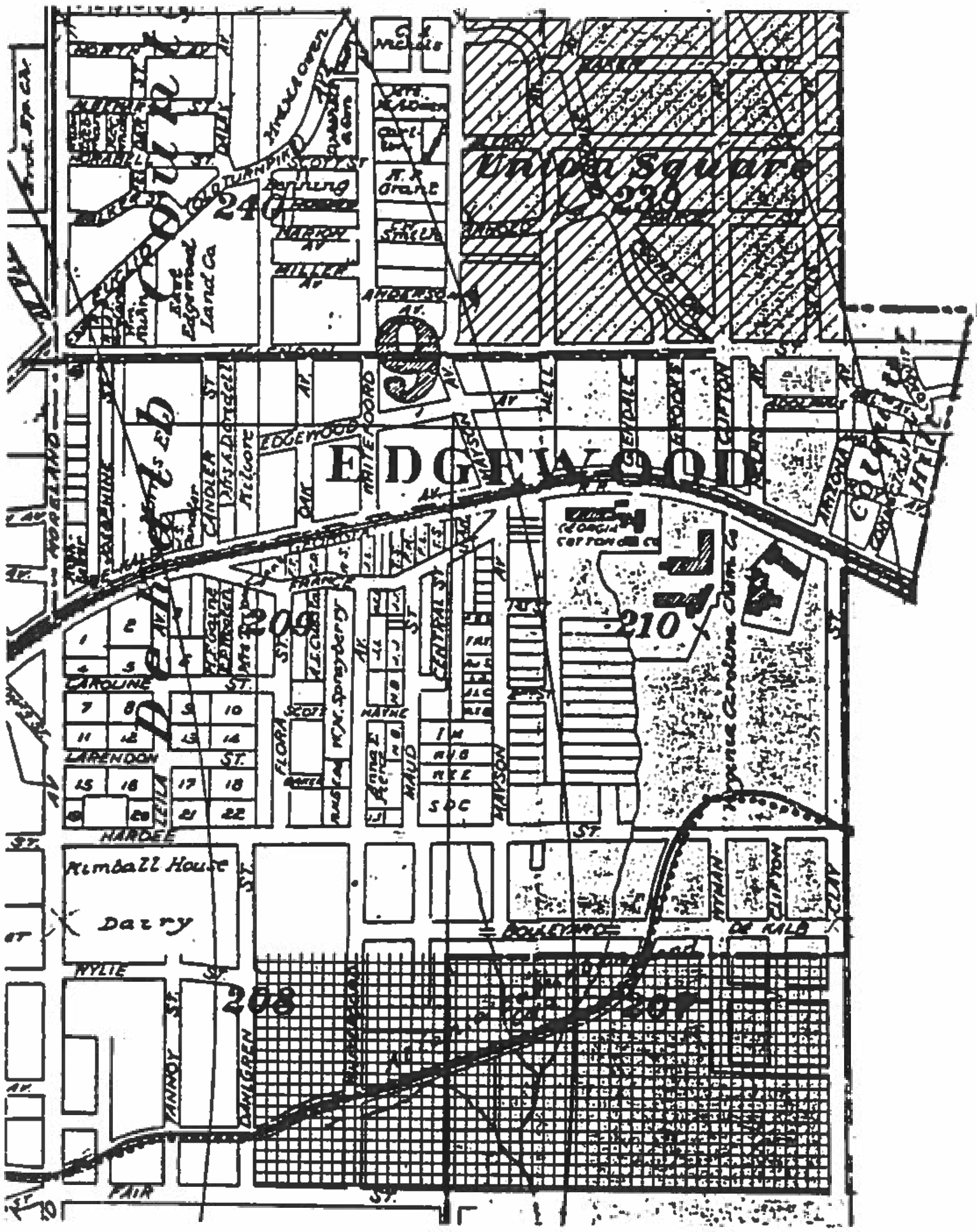


Map 7. Atlanta Streetcar Lines, 1902

Source: O. E. Carson, The Trolley Titans (Glendale, California: Interurban Press, 1981), p. 63.

served as president and vice-president of the Atlanta City Street Railway Company, which operated the North Decatur car line.[11] It may have been through the efforts of these three men that in 1906 the Edgewood town boundaries were extended north of McLendon and east of Mell Avenue to include the property of the Union Square Land Company.[12] Aaron Haas and Albert E. Thornton, president of the Atlanta Cotton Seed Oil Mill located in Edgewood, purchased shares in another streetcar operation, the Atlanta Street Railroad Company. This company, the Metropolitan lines, the Atlanta City Street Railroad Company, and a number of other railways merged to form the Atlanta Consolidated Street Railway Company in 1891. One of the directors of the new consolidated company was H. E. W. Palmer of the Edgewood vicinity, later a party in the organization of the Georgia Electric Light Company.[13] It is apparent that Edgewood and its leaders wielded much influence in the location and financing of the streetcar lines leading east from Atlanta, and in directing the consolidation of streetcar interests from which the city's first power and light company eventually developed. The streetcar lines stimulated real estate activity in Edgewood and the railway owners profitted both from railway ridership on their lines and from property sales in their subdivisions. Map 8 shows the real estate interests of the land companies and the location of the various streetcar lines in Edgewood.

The Union Square Land Company, chartered in 1892, was the first real estate company in Edgewood to operate on a large scale. Earlier land speculation appears to have occurred through sales of estates and large farm or "villa" lots. Speculators would buy and sell large parcels without subdividing or improving the property. Capel McLendon,



Atlanta Suburban Land Company Property

Metropolitan Street Railroad Line

Union Square Land Company Property

Atlanta City Street Railway Line

Map 8. Edgewood Streetcar Lines and Real Estate Interests

Base Map Source: O. F. Kauffman, Map of the City of Atlanta (Atlanta: O. F. Kauffman, 1909), Atlanta Historical Society, Atlanta.

Edward W. Brooks, and W. R. Foote were among the largest land-owners and speculators of the 1860s and 1870s.[14] Both the Brooks and Foote families played a large part in the later nineteenth-century development of the area that became Edgewood. The W. R. Foote estate occupied a large portion of Land Lot 210, south of the Georgia Railroad. Foote sold 10 acres 1882 to the Atlanta Cotton Seed Oil Company, and Foote's heirs subdivided the remaining acreage after his death. Descendants of W. R. Foote formed the Edgewood Trading Company in 1906 and remained active in local construction and commercial ventures.[15] Edward W. Brooks sold large parcels of property in Land Lots 210, 239, and 240 to James R. Mell, Fannie J. Mayson, the Epworth Methodist Church, W. I. Zachry, Lula B. Mell, and over 150 acres to the Union Square Land Company, between 1888 and 1909.[16] These individuals and institutions all figure prominently in Edgewood's later development. Lula Brooks, the daughter of Edward W. Brooks, married James R. Mell, a retail and wholesale merchant who entered the real estate business in 1891 at age 35 (perhaps influenced by his father-in-law). John B. Mell, James's brother, was a prominent Edgewood merchant whose store served as the town voting place.[17] Property developers in Edgewood and elsewhere in Atlanta appear to have been eager to affix their names to their subdivisions; the street names of Brooks, Mell, Mayson, and McLendon illustrate the role these families played in Edgewood's earliest real estate development.

Other than the large-scale land subdivisions carried on by Brooks, Mell, Haas, Zachry, and Foote, most Edgewood real estate operations appear to have been small syndicates of local investors who would subdivide estates and parcels of twenty acres or less (see example of

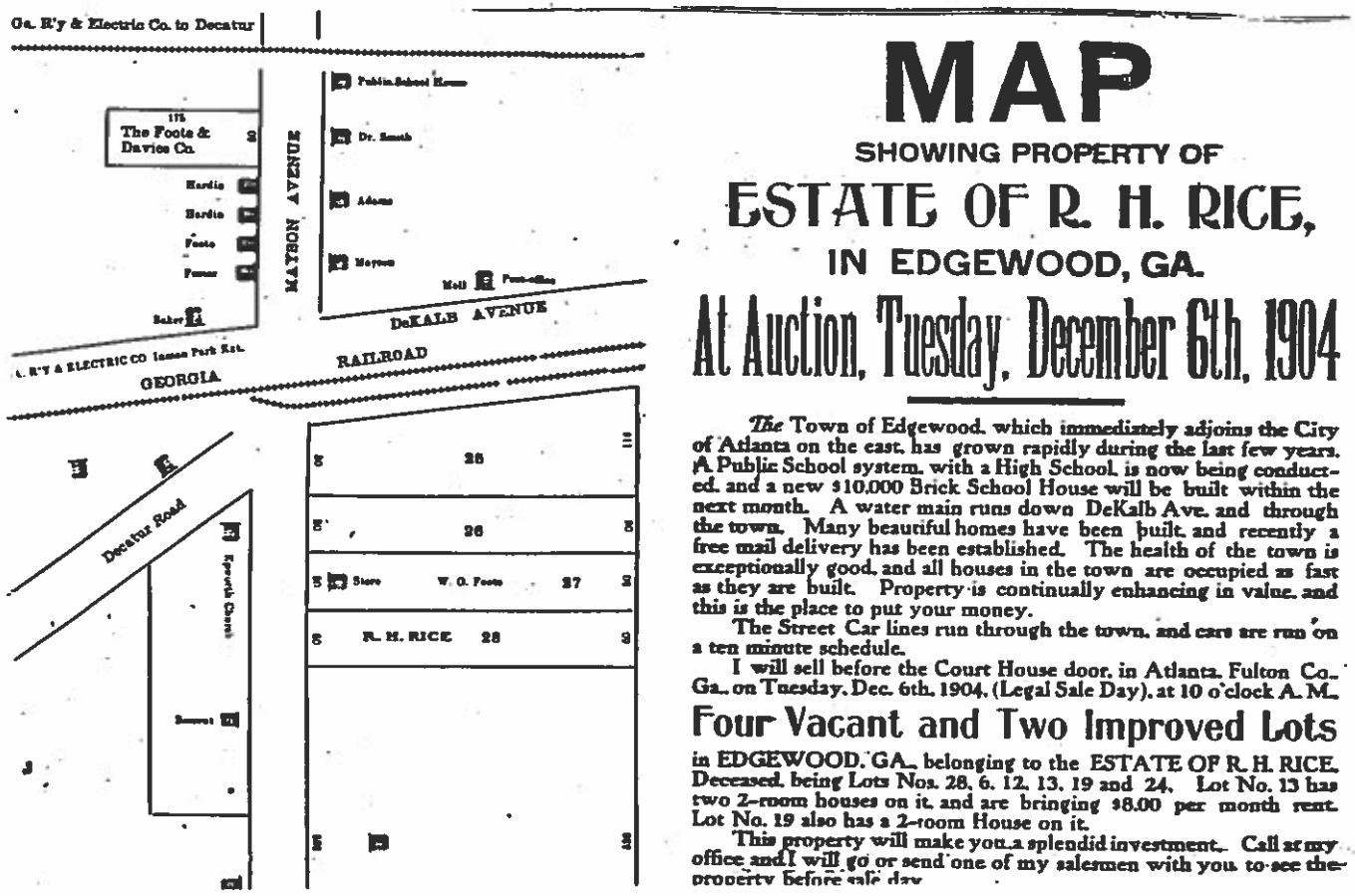


Figure 8. Real Estate Advertisement for Edgewood Property, 1904

Source: Adair Realty Company Plat, Book 13, p. 18, Atlanta Historical Society, Atlanta.

advertisement in Figure 8). These small operations seem to have been ultimately more successful than the large Union Square Land Company. Land Lot 239, "Union Square," stood east and north of the main core of Edgewood. Though subdivided into lots and platted several times, the Union Square property stood largely vacant into the 1920s. Conversely, the smaller subdivisions, scattered throughout the developed portions of Edgewood, sold and were built upon much more readily.

Other real estate companies, active in Land Lots 209 and 210, included Foote's Edgewood Trading Company, which recorded 43 property sales in Land Lot 210 prior to 1921; the Edgewood Land Company, with Charles Whitefoord Smith as president, which sold 53 properties in Land Lot 209 between the 1890s and 1920; and the Edgewood Investment Company, which recorded 53 transactions in Land Lot 210 prior to 1921.[18] Chartered in 1900, the Edgewood Investment Company included 24 investors, among them most of the previously-mentioned prominent citizens of Edgewood.[19] John M. Miller and James G. Thrower, members of the Edgewood Investment Company, also formed a general contracting and construction company in 1900.[20]

One reason for the retarded sales in the Union Square area may have been the late arrival and sporadic operations of the North Decatur streetcar line that ran down McLendon Avenue. After inaugurating service from downtown Atlanta to Decatur in 1893, the operators went bankrupt and sold the company into receivership in 1895. Acquired by Hurt's consortium of streetcar companies in 1900, the North Decatur line ended service to Decatur the next year, terminating the line at Clifton Road with the opening of the new Main Decatur line.[21]

Edgewood's pattern of growth during the nineteenth century had

spread fairly evenly along either side of the railroad as far as Mayson Avenue. East of Edgewood lay Kirkwood, named for its developer, J. C. Kirkpatrick. Kirkwood's town center and primary residential area lay south of the Georgia Railroad, as the estate of Confederate General and former Georgia governor John B. Gordon occupied a large area on the north side, just beyond Edgewood. Until the Gordon estate was subdivided early in the twentieth century, development on the north side of the railroad remained sparse east of the main Edgewood settlement. The Union Square property, at the end of the streetcar line, stood removed from the main residential and commercial centers of both Edgewood and Kirkwood, and perhaps for this reason did not appeal to prospective buyers. No doubt other considerations intervened as well, such as quality of roads and utilities, asking prices for lots, the presence of the black residential area along Mayson Avenue, etc. At any rate, the Union Square Land Company recorded only 22 property transactions prior to 1910.[22]

Later developers of the Union Square property encountered a similar resistance to lot sales in this area. In 1907 ten investors formed the Edgewood Park Land Company, whose membership included M. L. Thrower and Charles M. Morris of Edgewood and Charles T. Page of Chicago.[23] The company's sole transactions appear to have been the transfer of property in Land Lot 239 to the Edgewood Park Realty Company between 1907 and 1928.[24] The Edgewood Park Realty Company incorporated in 1909, its two principals being Charles T. Page (of the Edgewood Park Land Company) and Eugene T. Hardendorf, of Chicago. The following article appeared in the Atlanta Journal early in 1909:

> Eugene B. Hardendorf, of Chicago, and Charles T. Page of Atlanta, have bought of the Edgewood Park Land Co., and others, 150

> acres in the Druid Hill section, and on the Inman Park to Clifton car line. The purchasers withhold the price, but say their property is easily worth $250,000.
>
> The owners propose to subdivide the property into 750 lots, and open up a new residence section. The land is all in Greater Atlanta.
>
> The property is bounded on the east by Druid Hills, on the north by the same, on the south by McLendon avenue and on the west by Mason's avenue. The car line runs through the heart of the property.
>
> The property is five minutes from Inman Park and twenty minutes' ride from the city. There are several houses on it, but the owners announce that they will move them.[25]

Charles T. Page moved to Atlanta about 1906 from Chicago, where he had been part-owner of the Chicago Cubs baseball team and a successful banker. Page lived in a modest bungalow at 512 Clifton Road, within the Edgewood Park subdivision, until his death in 1921.[26] Streets within the subdivision bear the names of Page, Hardendorf, and Page's wife, Lula. The Edgewood Park Realty Company proved more successful in the Union Square area than its two predecessors, recording 153 property transactions (see advertisement, Figure 9).[27] In 1917 Page withdrew from the company, selling the remaining lots in the subdivision to Asa G. Candler for approximately $60,000.[28] Candler enjoyed the greatest success in this area, transacting 170 more sales between 1921 and 1928, and also influencing the present appearance of this area to a large degree.[29] (Candler's role will be discussed later in this chapter.)

Advertisements for the sale of lots in Edgewood between 1880 and 1910 stressed the area's growth and its proximity to streetcar lines and to the elite residential suburbs of Inman Park and Druid Hills. The following are examples of advertisements for Edgewood tracts:

> This Park was, until recently, known as "The Judge Hopkins Property." Almost half a year ago a syndicate purchased it, opened and graded streets, sodded and levelled the lots, and it is now an attractive residence park, only a short distance beyond "Inman Park" and Edgewood Avenue is the main central street of Edgewood Park as it is in Inman Park, and it is believed that the Electric

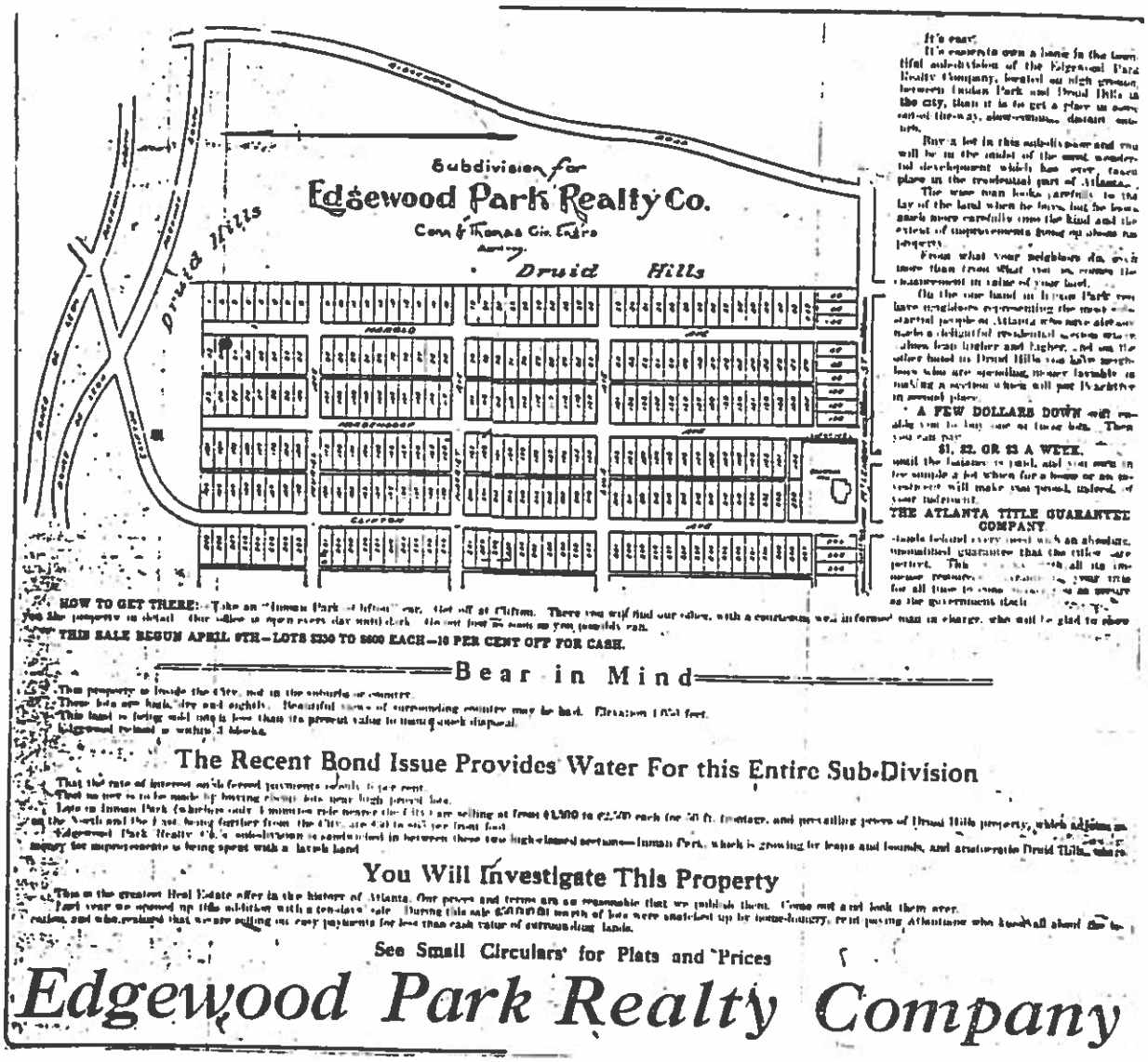


Figure 9. Advertisement for Edgewood Park Realty Company Property, 1910

Source: Atlanta Journal, 10 April 1910, p. 12-H.

> Car Line will be extended from its present terminus on, centrally through Edgewood Park to Clifton and ultimately to Decatur. . . . Inman Park lots, just this side of Edgewood Park, sell at a rate of from $5000 to $8000 per acre, and it will be but a little while before Edgewood Park lots are as valuable.[30]
>
> Euclid Avenue is paved; sewer, water, gas, and tile walk in front of these houses are down and paid for. Just in front of these houses is a block which last July contained only two houses--the Governor Colquitt home and the residence of Judge H. E. W. Palmer. In less than twelve months twenty residences have been erected in this block, and they are as attractive as any in the city. Street car facilities are unexcelled. . . .
>
> These lots lie directly on the route to Druid Hill, where property is enhancing rapidly. The last auction sale in this section was held not a year ago and every lot sold then has advanced from 50 to 75 per cent in value.[31]

The suburban residential park made its debut in Atlanta with Joel Hurt's Inman Park. Ansley Park and Druid Hills, two other large suburban developments, soon followed. All three areas attempted to attract wealthy buyers by providing visual and utilitarian amenities and by placing deed restrictions regarding single-family occupancy, minimum setbacks, and building costs. The developers followed many of the guidelines for residential planning set forth by Frederick Law Olmsted, America's preeminent landscape architect of the late nineteenth century. Olmsted, who actually laid out the park and parkway system for the Druid Hills subdivision, emphasized three elements for successful suburban planning: construction of good walks and roads; laying of water, sewer, and gas lines; and supplying of sufficiently cheap, rapid, and comfortable conveyances to town centers.

The developers of Inman Park, Ansley Park, and Druid Hills relied heavily on Olmsted's suburban residential designs, as can be seen in their gracefully curved streets, generous spaces, and pleasant outlooks. Hurt conceived Inman Park as part of the larger urban system and included within his plan a means of rapid transportation to downtown

Atlanta, modelling his design after Olmsted's Riverside, a Chicago suburb designed with a rail link to the city. Edwin P. Ansley and the Druid Hills Land Company concentrated on street layout, landscaping, parks, vistas, and property improvements to a much greater extent than on the suburbs' links with the rest of the city. The concept of design determinism, in which "the quality and maintenance of a suburb's design bear the primary responsibility for attracting investment in land and housing," prevailed in the design of all three suburbs. Ansley Park and Druid Hills, however, were ultimately more successful in the execution of the ideal. Hurt was forced for financial reasons to sacrifice some design principles while still hoping to attract the elite class of Atlantans who had always migrated northward along Peachtree Street, and who were not inclined in the 1890s to diverge eastward to Hurt's new development. Ansley Park and Druid Hills, twentieth-century suburbs, were not as dependent as Inman Park on the streetcar for transportation to and from the center city. The advent of the automobile and the amount of money invested in property improvements assured the success of Druid Hills and Ansley Park over Inman Park.[32]

The suburban phenomenon occurred partially as a result of the greater freedom and ease of transportation provided by the streetcar. As physical mobility was increasing, due to the streetcar, the number of people with the means and desire to live beyond the central city was also increasing. The objective behind suburban development, as voiced by Olmsted, was to create a residential environment that would encourage unity and community among families. Sam Bass Warner cites the "rural ideal" in his study of Boston's streetcar suburbs, in which a small community of detached single-family homes in open country surroundings

away from the noise, smoke, and dirt of the inner city provided a beneficent lifestyle and setting for family life. This ideal was, for middle-income workers, a modest version of the spacious, parklike country estates of the wealthy. Electrification of the streetcars, allowing suburban expansion to extend about six miles from downtown, provided middle-class citizens an even wider choice of residential locations.[33]

Atlanta's sustained population growth during the 1880s and into the twentieth century expressed itself in the mushrooming of residential suburbs and in the proliferation of streetcar lines directed by syndicates of real estate investors. Such expansion reinforced the boasts of the nineteenth-century city boosters and made necessary the annexations that enlarged the city limits to include the suburbs of Inman Park, Ansley Park, West End, Edgewood, Kirkwood, and others. Areas not served by the streetcars continued to develop slowly through the first decade of the twentieth century.

Warner's "rural ideal" can be linked to Olmsted's suburban planning principles that created the models for the elite garden suburbs of Inman Park, Druid Hills, and Ansley Park, with their curvilinear streets, parklike environments, landscaped grounds, and romanticized names.[34] Less affluent subdivisions attempted to capitalize on the suburban movement by replicating the names but not the amenities. In Edgewood we find Edgewood Park, Colquitt Hill, Glendale Park, and Terrace Heights; throughout Atlanta similar developments were platted. Whereas the developers of the elite suburbs could afford to attract the wealthy buyer by means of costly land improvements, in middle-class suburbs such as Edgewood, Olmsted's suburban planning concepts were translated into

straight streets, narrow lots, and an occasional open space or park, thus providing a less costly version of the "residential park" to the moderate-income buyer. The Colquitt Hill developers succeeded better at imitating the ideal than other Edgewood developers, locating their subdivision on a small rise, with a system of curving street named for various states. The houses are small, however, situated close to one another, and are indistinguishable from other frame bungalows found on the adjacent streets. An 1890s plat of the Union Square Realty Company property showing curving streets, a lake, and several parks may have been an effort to emulate Hurt's Inman Park.[35] The realty company lacked the resources to accomplish such a development, however, and Union Square did not attract settlement by affluent citizens or construction of elegant residences.

In its pattern of development Edgewood bears a resemblance to the middle-class Boston streetcar suburbs for which Warner describes the various steps that took place between land subdivision and residential occupancy. The speculator divided the land into house lots, began construction of streets, obtained utility connections, and sought purchasers for the properties. Auction was the quickest and easiest method for disposing of the lots. Speculators looked for three types of buyers: builders, who would purchase the lots and build on them; realtors, who would find builders and buyers; and individuals who wished to speculate or buy their own home lot. Housing was generally constructed by middle-class builders who lived in the neighborhood. Since there were few architect-designed middle-class houses, builders usually followed stock plans found in pattern books and builder's manuals. Due to capital limitations, builders constructed rows of

front-facing detached houses centered on narrow lots in a gridded street pattern, following the traditional and popular styles. These building practices minimized financial risk and were reinforced by the middle-class consensus of attitude that caused families to build houses like their neighbors', to locate in an area with families of similar income, and to seek a suburban environment emphasizing the pleasures of a private family life, the security of a small community setting, and enjoyments of increased contact with nature.[36]

These practices can be seen in the Edgewood community, where groups of local investors subdivided and platted property, and auctioned the lots for purchase either by other speculators or individuals, who in turn held the lot for later sale or built upon it for their own use. An example of this pattern occurred along a block of McLendon Avenue (1569-1589) where building contractor W. B. Sheppard subdivided the tract between Sheppard Place and Glendale Avenue on the south side of McLendon in the early 1920s. He constructed several homes along McLendon Avenue, retaining one as his own residence, and may have built all of the houses in the tract for sale to individuals.[37] Most of the houses in Edgewood/Candler Park appear to be constructed from stock building plans of various periods, varying little in architectural detail or floorplan for each style. The neighborhood's heterogeneity arises from the community's scattered pattern of development and the juxtaposition of residences of a number of periods and styles, from rambling Victorians through Colonial Revival foursquares and Craftsman-inspired bungalows (see Figures 10-13).

While the streetcar had broken through the boundaries of the old walking city, opening up large tracts to residential subdivision and

Figure 10. Streetscape, West Side of Mell Avenue

Source: Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Section, Atlanta, Candler Park Historic District National Register nomination, James Lockhart, photographer.

Figure 11. Streetscape, West Side of Oakdale Road

Source: National Register nomination photograph.

Figure 12. House, 337 Mell Avenue

Figure 13. Streetscape, East Side of Candler Park Drive

changing the course of the city's development, it was the automobile that catalyzed Atlanta's suburban revolution. Between 1880 and 1910 streetcar-related expansion transformed Atlanta's pattern of growth, altering the older concentric pattern to a star-shaped configuration that arose from the population clusters lining the street railway lines.[38]

Between 1910 and 1930 there arose a demand for housing in the less congested areas inside and outside Atlanta's corporate boundaries, spurred by office development and increased commercialization in the downtown area, the growing population, and the postwar housing shortage. Relaxed credit requirements and lower interest rates made the purchase of a suburban lot and construction of a house possible for a greater number of people. The impetus for this wave of suburbanization was the increased availability of the automobile. With the automobile's gain in popularity, real estate developers no longer had to depend on the availability of street railway service to attract prospective buyers to new subdivisions.

Atlanta's auto craze began about 1909 when such notables as Henry Ford, Ransom E. Olds, John N. Willys, and Charles E. Duryea attended the region's first automobile exposition in Atlanta. The availability and popularity of the automobile opened up incredible business and real estate opportunities in the city. By providing a means of transportation not tied to the time schedules and fixed routes of the streetcars, the automobile allowed residents an almost unlimited choice of residential locations and created a new range of occupations in auto sales and service. Between 1909 and 1920 the number of auto accessory stores and related enterprises in Atlanta jumped from 9 to 236.

Meanwhile the number of veterinarians, carriagemakers, and blacksmiths declined.[39] The automobile made possible an expansion far beyond the previous streetcar-defined boundaries.

Druid Hills and Ansley Park exemplify 1910s luxury developments that were designed independently of the streetcar routes. At the same time, bungalow neighborhoods such as North Boulevard Park, Sylvan Hills, and Virginia-Highland were being settled by citizens of moderate means. Suburban shopping centers and service stations sprang up as downtown Atlanta became congested with automobile, streetcar, and trucking traffic. The commercial shift from downtown to the suburbs occurred markedly during the 1920s and paralleled the residential shifts. The Buckhead business area developed to the north among several of the elite neighborhoods, and the Little Five Points business district sprang up to the east to serve Inman Park and Edgewood/Candler Park residents. Two commercial intersections on McLendon Avenue, storefront rows and adjacent service stations built during the 1920s, illustrate Candler Park's commercial growth (see Figures 14-16). These commercial strips housed small groceries, drug stores, cleaners, shoe repair and dry goods shops, and the like.[40]

Atlanta initiated its annual home exposition in 1922. Here the "own-your-home" theme was promulgated by homebuilders who advertised inexpensive and quickly-constructed bungalow plans, and companies demonstrated decorating ideas, appliances, and other conveniences for the suburban housewife. Real estate developers flourished between 1910 and 1930; vacant tracts were quickly surveyed and subdivided, then auctioned to individuals, builders, and speculators. Land auctions were frequently the occasion for bands, picnics, and a party atmosphere.

Figure 14. Streetscape, Northeast Corner of McLendon Avenue and Oakdale Road

Source: National Register nomination photograph.

Figure 15. Commercial Buildings, Northwest Corner of Oakdale Road and McLendon Avenue

Source: National Register nomination photograph.

Figure 16. Commercial Buildings, Looking West Down McLendon Avenue from Clifton Road

Source: National Register nomination photograph.

Figure 17. Candler Park Baptist Church, 344 Candler Park Drive

Source: National Register nomination photograph.

The Union Square property in Land Lot 239 was finally developed during this period as brick and frame bungalows appeared along Terrace Avenue, Page Avenue, Clifton Road, and Hardendorf Avenue throughout the 1920s. This previously unpopulated area evidenced few vacant lots by 1930 (see Figures 18-19). Most of this building activity took place following Asa Candler's purchase of the Edgewood Park Realty Company property. As Candler held one of the principal interests in the Druid Hills Land Company immediately north, he no doubt was anxious for the Edgewood area to prosper.

In May 1922 Asa Candler presented the city of Atlanta 53 acres of the Edgewood Park Property for use as a public park (see Figures 20 and 21). The city named the park after Asa Candler to recognize his generous gift, and on the north half of the park laid out a golf course, which Candler dedicated in April 1926.[41] The area around the park soon became known as the Candler Park neighborhood, eventually comprising that area of the old Edgewood town limits north of the railroad tracks. The area south of the Georgia Railroad continued to be referred to as Edgewood.

By 1930 most of the Edgewood Park subdivision had been built up with the ubiquitous bungalow. This form of housing, co structed in both brick and frame, provided quick, affordable housing for families, and proliferated in middle-class 1920s and 1930s neighborhoods all over the United States. Several Atlanta companies specialized in bungalow fabrication, offering prospective owners a choice of floorplans, interior features, and exterior details.

The rapid residential development and influx of population created a need for larger institutions within the Edgewood/Candler Park

Figure 18. Streetscape, East Side of Page Avenue

Source: National Register nomination photograph.

Figure 19. Streetscape, East Side of Terrace Avenue

Source: National Register nomination photograph.

Figure 20. South Entrance to Candler Park

Source: National Register nomination photograph.

Figure 21. Candler Park, Looking Northeast

Source: National Register nomination photograph.

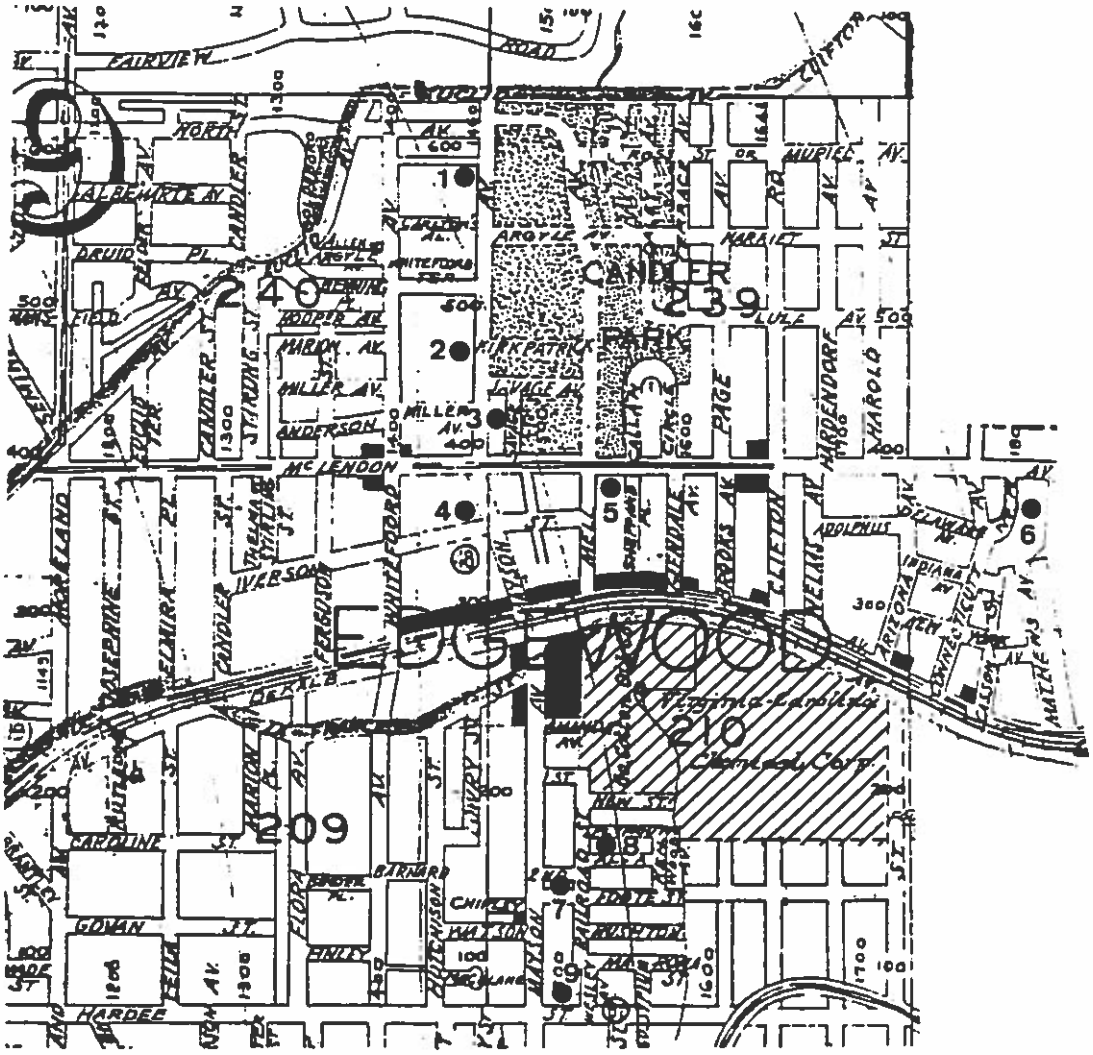
community. A new elementary school was constructed in 1927 on Mayson Avenue, facing the golf course clubhouse (see Figure 22). The school was named the Mary Lin School in honor of a teacher who had dedicated herself to her students at the old Edgewood School, besides teaching Sunday School and being an active member of the Epworth Methodist Church. Wesley Avenue School, for black children, was constructed in 1930 on Wesley Avenue, south of the railroad. The Epworth Church built a new sanctuary and education building on property facing Candler Park in 1928 (see Figure 23). The Edgewood Baptist Church, formed in 1903, built on Mayson Avenue at Iverson Street in 1912 (see Figure 17).[42] The black Antioch Baptist congregation constructed a new stone church on Mayson Avenue in the mid-1910s. It is evident from Map 9 that the major institutional, residential, recreational, and commercial activities were all concentrated on the north side of the railroad by the end of the 1920s. The industries, the black school, several small black churches, and a large residential area remained south of the Georgia Railroad.

The shift of activity away from the factories, railroad line, and DeKalb Avenue (the former Decatur wagon road) was particularly evident in Edgewood/Candler Park by the 1920s. With major residential growth occurring in the northeast quadrant of old Edgewood, a large new city park, the new commercial strips along McLendon Avenue, and transportation needs no longer dependent on the accommodation trains or streetcar lines, development was refocussed away from the railroad to the area north of the railroad.

Older Edgewood/Candler Park residents resented the location of the new Mary Lin School, believing its placement was designed to serve Druid Hills residents and the new residential area east of Candler Park, where

Figure 22. Mary Lin School, 586 Candler Park Drive

Figure 23. Epworth United Methodist Church, 1561 McLendon Avenue



Commercial
Industrial
Park

1 Mary Lin School
2 Antioch Baptist Church
3 Evening Star Lodge
4 Candler Park Baptist Church
5 Epworth Methodist Church
6 Clifton Presbyterian Church
7 Smith Chapel A.M.E. Church
8 Wesley Avenue School
9 Beulah Baptist Church

Map 9. Edgewood/Candler Park, ca 1930

Base Map Source: I. U. Kauffman, Kauffman's Map of the Borough of Atlanta and Adjacent Territory (Atlanta: I. U. Kauffman, 1934), Surveyor General's Office, Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta.

the local board of education member lived. In addition, construction of the new school displaced many black families who were then moved to the "Barnesville" section, south of the railroad.[43]

The aspirations of the Edgewood Park developers, the financial and philanthropic involvement of Asa G. Candler in the neighborhood, and attendance of Druid Hills children at Mary Lin School, all acted to tie the area known as Candler Park more closely to its northern neighbors in Druid Hills than to the industrial section and the black residential area on the south side of the tracks. While the railroad had served as a community bond in the nineteenth century, twentieth-century developments transformed it into a physical boundary, with Mary Lin School, Candler Park, and the Edgewood Park subdivision all acting as symbolic and physical linkages to the elite white community of Druid Hills.

The differential pattern of progress on either side of the railroad that took place during the early twentieth century manifested itself in the 1960s in the polarization of the area into two separate communities, one black, one white, divided by the hundred-year-old Georgia Railroad line.

Notes

[1] U.S. census statistics cited in Elizabeth A. Lyon, "Frederick Law Olmsted and Joel Hurt: Planning for Atlanta," in Olmsted South: Old South Critic/New South Planner, ed. Dana F. White and Victor A. Kramer (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979), p. 168.

[2] Karen Luehrs and Timothy J. Crimmins, "In the Mind's Eye: The Downtown as Visual Metaphor for the Metropolis," Atlanta Historical Journal 26 (Summer-Fall 1982): 185.

[3] Don L. Klima, "Land Barons Ride the Rails: Real Estate Speculators and Street Railways in Late Nineteenth Century Atlanta" (M.A. thesis, Georgia State University, 1977), pp. 21-27, 36.

[4] Klima, pp. 12, 14.

[5] Sam Bass Warner, Jr., Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press and the M.I.T. Press, 1962), pp. 34, 40, 143.

[6] David L. Williams, "The Development and Consolidation of Atlanta's Street Railways, 1866-1891" (M.A. thesis, Georgia State University, 1975), p. 47.

[7] Klima, pp. 66-67.

[8] Jean Martin, Mule to Marta, 2 vols. (Atlanta: Atlanta Historical Society, 1975), 1:22, 30-34; 2:1.

[9] O. E. Carson, The Trolley Titans (Glendale, California: Interurban Press, 1981), pp. 11, 32, 50, 55.

[10] Williams, pp. 86, 101, 113.

[11] DeKalb County Deed Record, Book MM, pp. 196-97, recorded 19 May 1896, DeKalb County Courthouse, Decatur; Newspaper article dated 30 October 1923, in Atlanta Obituaries, 1923-1932, comp. Franklin M. Garrett, scrapbook on microfilm at Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta; "Georgia Power Company," Atlanta Historical Bulletin 3 (July 1938): 195-217; Carson, p. 32.

[12] Georgia, Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, 1906 (Atlanta: State Printer, 1906), pp. 731-36.

[13] Fulton County Index to Charters, Fulton County Courthouse, Atlanta; DeKalb County Deed Records, 1880-1910; DeKalb County Abstracts of Title, Land Lots 208, 209, 210, 238, 239, 240, TS, n.d., DeKalb Historical Society, Decatur.

[14] DeKalb County Deed Record, Book W, p. 768, recorded 13 December 1882; DeKalb County Record of Charters, Book 1, pp. 148-49, filed 3 July 1906, DeKalb County Courthouse, Decatur.

[15] Williams, pp. 64, 156; Martin, Mule to Marta, 1:30-34.

[16] DeKalb County Abstracts of Title, Land Lots 209, 210, 239, 240; DeKalb County Deed Records, Grantor Index, through 1910.

[17] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Twelfth Census of Population, 1900, Georgia, Vol. XX, microfilm copy at Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta; Newspaper article dated 30 October 1923, in Garrett, Obituaries.

[18] DeKalb County Deed Records, Grantor Indexes, through 1928.

[19] DeKalb County Record of Charters, Book 1, p. 74, filed 19 January 1900.

[20] DeKalb County Record of Charters, Book 1, p. 72, filed 19 January 1900.

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CHAPTER 4

The "Black Side" of Edgewood/Candler Park

The present population composition of the Edgewood and Candler Park neighborhoods owes its configuration to Atlanta's racial sorting-out process of the 1950s and 1960s. During this period large numbers of white families left the inner city neighborhoods for newer suburbs on the outskirts of the city, and black families expanded into the formerly white-occupied areas, a phenomenon that was occurring throughout the United States. The roots of segregation and racial imbalance in Edgewood, Atlanta, and the South extend back to the plantation era of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Race relations have played a major role throughout Southern history. The antebellum social order revolved around maintaining the premise of white supremacy, which justified the institution of slavery. The chaotic quarter-century following the Civil War saw Southerners struggling to create a new society wherein whites maintained their superior social status while allowing blacks a measure of legal equality. The region was attempting at the same time to cast off its rural image, diversify agriculture, and catch up to the rest of the nation in industrialization. The New South creed of Henry W. Grady and others proposed a radical departure from Old South social, political, and economic attitudes. The principles of harmonious reconciliation of sectional differences, racial peace, and a new economic and social order that would be based on industry and scientific, diversified agriculture represented Northern values with little foundation in the antebellum

South.[1]

The last four decades of the nineteenth century also witnessed large-scale urbanization in the South. City-dwellers faced a whole set of urban concerns, such as sanitation, education, disease epidemics, and inadequate infrastructure, while at the same time coping with the changes brought about by the politics of Reconstruction and Redemption. Many rural blacks migrated to the cities after the war, their presence causing consternation to whites as they saw blacks beginning to wield political and economic influence. Between 1860 and 1880 Atlanta's black population doubled proportionately from 20 percent to 45 percent of the total population.[2]

Efforts to control the black population within a new social order resulted in the creation of a dual society. To exclude blacks from equal participation in the white world, they were segregated into separate institutions, residential districts, and commercial establishments. In 1892 passage of an Atlanta ordinance segregating the streetcars legalized the custom of social segregation, while the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896 sanctioned the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities for blacks and whites with Plessy v. Ferguson.[3] Segregation practices often anticipated and exceeded the laws on the books. Laws enforcing segregation in railroad cars, chain gangs, cemeteries, marriage, restaurants, barbershops, and parks soon followed Atlanta's streetcar ordinance.[4] Similar legislation was being passed in other Southern cities at the end of the nineteenth century, reinforcing the existing informal social pattern.

During the years of Radical Reconstruction, Southern blacks had gained a tentative foothold on the political scene, even holding office

in some states. Possessing the constitutional right to vote, the black population was soon recognized and manipulated as a large bloc of voting power by the various political factions. Black votes played a decisive role in Atlanta during the 1880s in the issue of prohibition. Whites and blacks took a cooperative stand, preaching prohibition respectively as reform and as a means to uplift the race, until it became obvious that while all of the black drinking establishments were closed down, whites remained able to obtain and sell liquor through loopholes in the law.[6] Such experiences led black voters to become politically apathetic while white progressives strove to limit the power of dissident factions by limiting black political participation. Efforts to control black political involvement culminated in the establishment of the white primary in Georgia in 1898. Disfranchisement of black voters followed in 1908 with the imposition of property or literacy qualifications and poll taxes.[7]

The years between 1880 and 1892 saw rapid advances for blacks in acquisition of liberty and property. White progressives reacted to black gains by initiating the succession of Jim Crow laws, disfranchising the black voter, and increased violence. The issue of prohibition, reappearing in the first decade of the twentieth century, whipped whites into a frenzy against black vice, vagrancy, drinking, and immoral behavior. The early years of the twentieth century witnessed less sympathy, tolerance, and understanding toward blacks, and tales of black crime, ignorance, filth, and aggression abounded. Such attitudes resulted in Atlanta's first race riot in 1906, during which mobs of white men attacked black establishments, killing several black citizens, injuring many others, and sending most into hiding.[8] This conflict

intensified the separation of the races and demonstrated the whites' unbounded desire to "keep blacks in their place."

Contributing to the establishment of a "dual society," Atlanta's blacks had begun to form their own commercial establishments and institutions well before the end of the nineteenth century. In his dissertation describing the evolution of Atlanta's "black side," Michael Porter states:

> Long before the legalization of social segregation in Atlanta, Black Atlantans had begun a socio-economic foundation. The earliest attempts to adequately serve the social and economic needs of Black Atlantans were performed through such social agencies as churches, benevolent, and fraternal societies, and schools and universities, and such economic organizations as an insurance company, banks, laundries, barbershops, restaurants, newspapers, dry goods stores, grocery stores, and building contracting firms.[5]

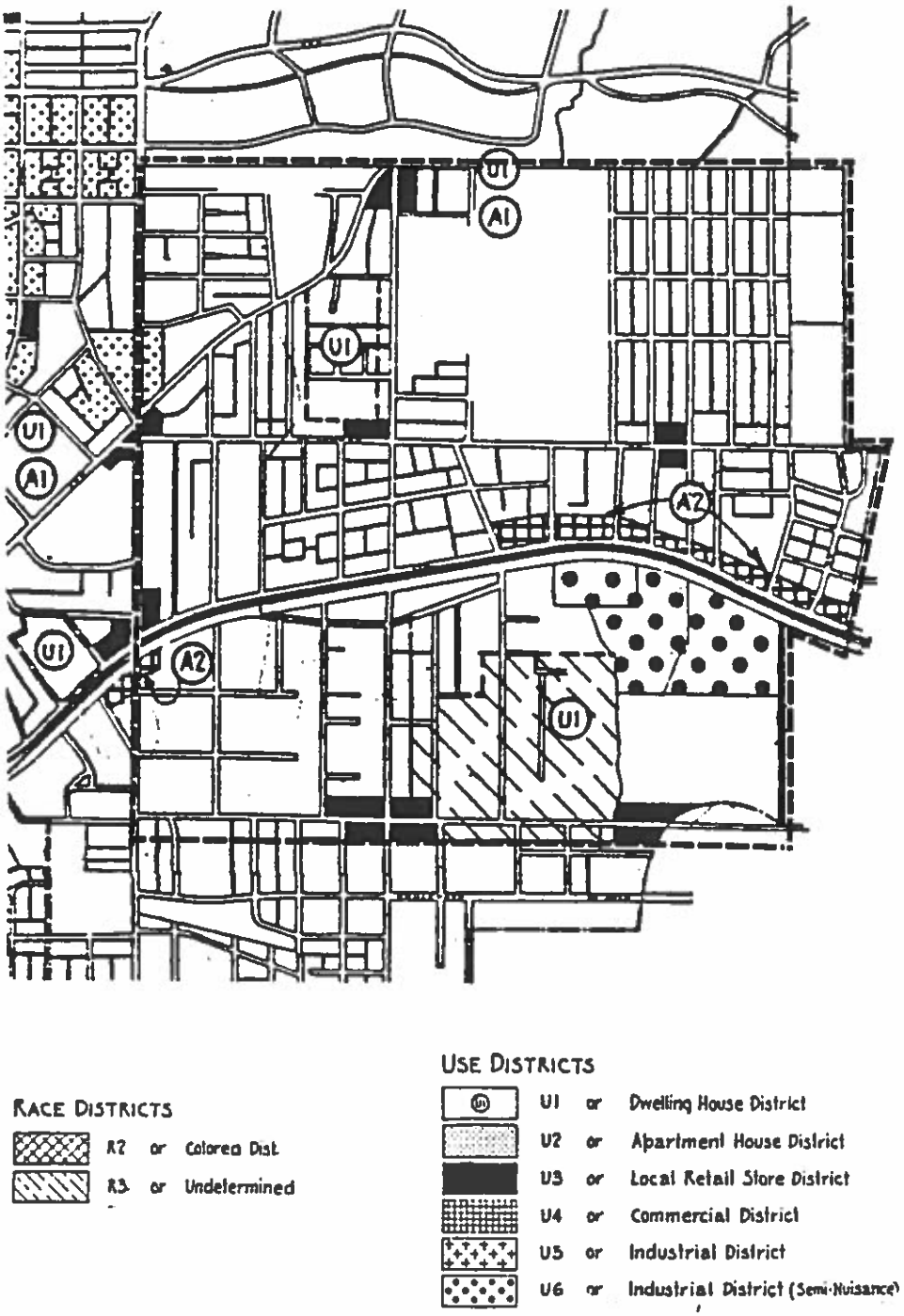
Black population clusters, schools, churches, and universities were scattered on the east, west, and south sides of the city, while blacks maintained businesses in downtown Atlanta. Following the 1906 race riot, black businessmen rapidly exited the center city and created a black commercial district slightly to the east along Auburn Avenue. This area encompassed the major black businesses, institutions, and professional offices, including lodges and fraternal societies, hotels, restaurants, services, purveyors of goods of every type from ice cream to furniture, churches, banks, entertainment halls, funeral parlors, and an insurance company. With its surrounding residential neighborhood, this district offered Atlanta's blacks almost all that was available to the white population, without restrictions. Prior to the Depression, the Auburn Avenue area contained such a wealth and variety of black enterprise that it was hailed as the richest black business area in the South, earning it the nickname of "Sweet Auburn."

While annexation preserved a white majority within the city limits,

an increasing black population, which quadrupled between 1880 and 1910, began to experience housing shortages and the need to expand black residential areas. The whites' desire to protect their interests from black encroachment led to the passage of housing segregation ordinances in Atlanta in 1913 and 1917. Both ordinances proved unconstitutional following a 1917 U.S. Supreme Court ruling in a Louisville, Kentucky, case that disallowed the establishment of all-black or all-white residential areas.[9] Nevertheless, the head of Atlanta's real estate board, following a major fire in 1917 that destroyed a large portion of the Auburn Avenue black residential area, urged the establishment of a planning commission, "mainly for the purpose of taking steps toward converting a portion of the fire swept area into an esplanade to separate the two races and give park facilities to that section of the city."[10]

Although this proposal earned little support, in 1922 Atlanta enacted its first zoning ordinance, which created separate black and white use districts (see Map 10). The concept of zoning had existed since the beginning of the century, its purpose to preserve the land use functions of the various districts, protect property values, insure adequate land for industrial and commercial use, and maintain separation of the races.[11] Atlanta's zoning ordinance, though unconstitutional, contained a provision prohibiting black families from occupying dwellings within white districts (with the exception of servants quarters) and white families from residing in any black district.[12]

Although Edgewood contained no zoned black residential districts, the community mirrored Atlanta's stratified society with its segregated population clusters, institutions, and organizations, and its



Map 10. 1922 Zoning Plan

Source: Atlanta City Planning Commission, Tentative Zone Plan, Atlanta, Georgia (N.p.: n.d.), Atlanta Historical Society, Atlanta.

occupational differentiation. Twentieth-century Edgewood, beginning about 1915, exhibited more residential separation of the races than at any time in its past. Although the nineteenth-century black population south of the Georgia Railroad was contained in and around an area located south of the Georgia Cotton Seed Oil Mill and east of Whitefoord Avenue, on the north side of the railroad black residential clusters were interspersed with whites' along Mayson and Whitefoord Avenues north of McLendon Avenue, and in other scattered locations.[13]

A wide occupational disparity is quite apparent in Edgewood, as an examination of the 1900 census shows. Black occupations mentioned include those of truck hand, washerwoman, pressman in oil mill, brickmason, day laborer in guano factory, mixer in fertilizer factory, gardener, well digger, blacksmith, and rock grinder in fertilizer factory. Higher status positions, such as those of printer, bookkeeper, lumber dealer, teacher, electrician, superintendent in cotton oil mill, railway postal clerk, insurance agent, and merchant were reserved for whites. A similar pattern can be seen in the city of Atlanta of 1900, as well as in other urban areas of the South; whites tended to hold white-collar positions, while blacks concentrated in the labor and service occupations. This pattern helped shape a physical as well as social separation of the races, with the black populace remaining in a subordinate role.

The 1900 census reveals a total Edgewood population of nearly 1,300 citizens, in which blacks outnumbered whites by more than 200. From the discussion of the Edgewood town government in Chapter 2, however, it is obvious that the whites maintained total control of town leadership. That the black populace was not allowed a voice in town affairs is

evident from these 1898 newspaper excerpts concerning town meetings held to decide upon Edgewood's incorporation:

> A large element of the negro population of the section was present and the local negro preacher was the spokesman for the delegation. They were in the greater number of cases opposed to the incorporation and insisted upon voting when they were not legally registered voters of the county.[14]

> At the last meeting there were a large number of negroes as many of them own property within the limits prescribed in the proposed charter. They wish to have a voice in the framing of it.[15]

Edgewood's 1899 town charter provided for a school system with separate facilities for black and white children. Charles Whitefoord Smith and John S. Candler each served as president of Edgewood's board of education during its ten-year existence. During this time the white school moved from a $500 building with 100 pupils to a $20,000 property with 280 pupils. In contrast, the black school grew from a shanty with 30 pupils to a "substantial building" with 120 pupils.[16] This is a wide disparity, considering that the 1900 census shows a greater number of black children than white children in the town population, and demonstrates the lack of emphasis placed on black education by white public officials. The Atlanta city educational system displayed a similar gap: "With every five or six new white schools only one Negro school would be opened, usually in an old white building or equivalent surroundings."[17] Because they consistently received a greater share of the state's education funds, white schools always had better facilities, more and better-educated teachers, more grades, and more supplies than the black schools. Atlanta's first black high school was not built until 1922, after blacks had helped pass a city bond referendum that designated funds for black education. (A black construction company built Booker T. Washington High School on land sold to the city by a

black entrepreneur.)[18]

Pay for teachers and principals of black schools was corresponding lower than that of whites. In 1902 the Edgewood town council appropriated the following salaries for school employees:

	White school	Black school
Principal	$70/month	$25/month
Teachers	$40/month	$15/month[19]

Historical inequities in Georgia's education system are evident in the relative numbers of black and white teachers, the number of schools, salaries of teachers, and dollars spent per pupil. For the state as a whole, a black teacher's salary averaged half that of a white teacher's through 1945.[20]

Black commercial activity in Edgewood appears to have been limited. Long-time black residents of the area recall shopping at white-owned stores along Whitefoord and Mayson Avenues in the 1930s and 1940s (see Figure 24). There was one black-run store on Wesley Avenue--a small building attached to the front of the owners's house (see Figure 25)--and several lunchrooms operated in the neighborhood. Dr. Douthard, the community's black doctor, lived and practiced at the corner of Mayson Avenue and Boulevard Drive (see Figure 26), and ran a small pharmacy at the corner of Mayson and Watson. The Douthard's residence was the only black home facing Boulevard until the population shifts of the 1950s. The family still owns the property, and the son of the original Dr. Douthard also practices medicine.[21]

A number of black churches existed in the town of Edgewood in addition to the two white congregations. The only black church on the north side of the Georgia Railroad was the previously-mentioned Antioch

Figure 24. Commercial Buildings, Mayson Avenue at Watson Street

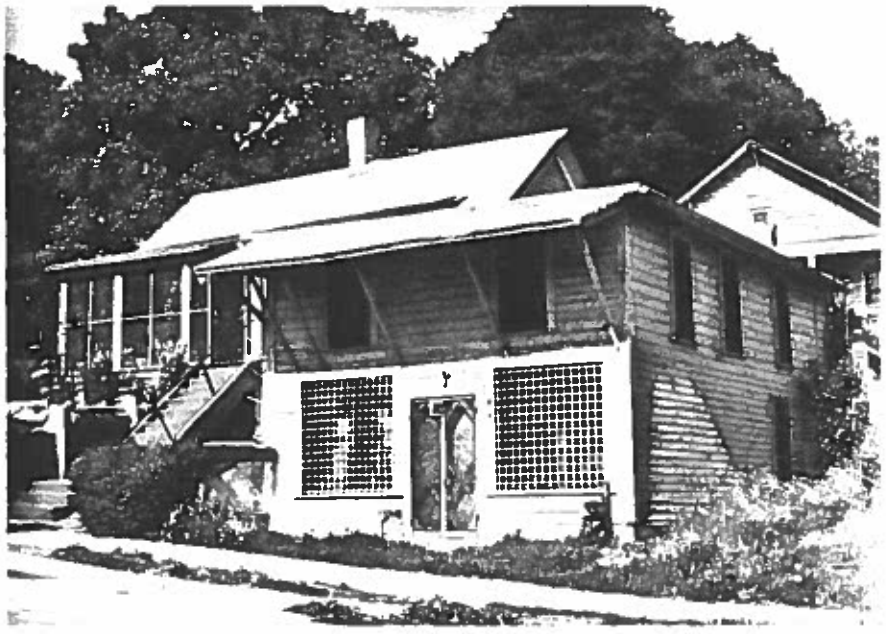


Figure 25. Scruggs' Store, 94 Wesley Avenue

Figure 26. Douthard Residence, 1500 Boulevard

Figure 27. Former Antioch (East) Baptist Church, 470 Candler Park Drive

Baptist Church. Located on Whitefoord Avenue, just north of McLendon in a predominantly white area, the congregation moved to a new stone building on Mayson Avenue facing Candler Park when their first building burned about 1915 (see Figure 27). The congregation constructed their new building in a black residential area of small frame houses continuing north up Mayson Avenue, several of which still stand (see Figure 28). Another nearby cluster of black residences stood in the southwest corner of Candler Park on Savage Street until the early 1940s, facing the Thrower and Miller homes.[22] On the south side of the railroad were the Beulah Baptist Church, organized in 1896 and the major black Baptist church in the area (see Figure 29); Smith Chapel A.M.E. Church, the major Methodist congregation; and Traveller's Rest Baptist Church. Smith Chapel has since relocated to newer buildings on Mayson Avenue, while the Traveller's Rest and Beulah congregations have left the community. Other congregations now occupy the older buildings, and a number of additional churches have located in the Edgewood neighborhood.[23]

Church functions formed a primary social outlet for black Edgewood citizens. Activities for adults and children included revivals, holiday programs, circles, scouting, choirs, and mission work. The other significant black social organization was the lodge. Many black families belonged to the Odd Fellows, the Court of Calanthe, and a variety of other social and fraternal societies. Each lodge had its special regalia and rites, and each summer the black lodges in Atlanta all convened at the Municipal Auditorium for a joint turn-out. Black lodges served a practical as well as social purpose, as m embers' dues went to pay death benefits to their families.[24] Churches and lodges

Figure 28. Shotgun Residences, West Side of Candler Park Drive

Figure 29. Former Beulah Baptist Church, Hardee Street at Wesley Avenue

were the only forms of insurance available to blacks until an Auburn Avenue entrepreneur organized the Atlanta Life Insurance Company. Edgewood claimed at least one lodge--the Evening Star Lodge, located within the black enclave on Savage Street in Candler Park.[25] Seven applicants filed the charter for Evening Star Lodge No. 1 in 1892, "associated for the purpose of social and moral improvement" and for charity purposes.[26]

The wave of construction that swept Edgewood and Candler Park during the 1910s and 1920s, a result of Atlanta's growth as an office center and the new mobility afforded by the automobile, altered the distribution of the population north of the Georgia Railroad. Black homes at the north end of Mayson Avenue were demolished for the construction of Mary Lin School in 1926. Some residents believed that the new school site was chosen deliberately to remove the black population from the area. Savage Street was claimed in the early 1940s for park purposes, leaving the only significant black population north of the Georgia Railroad living on and around Hooper Street in a section known as "Hoopersville" (after the Hooper family who lived at the corner of Hooper Street and Whitefoord Avenue).[27] Although black residents still inhabit this street, many of the formerly black areas of the Candler Park neighborhood now contain houses or apartment buildings of 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s vintage (see Figure 30). Map 11 illustrates Edgewood and Candler Park's population distribution by race as it existed from the nineteenth century until the shifts of the 1950s.

Real estate practices of the 1910s and 1920s actively sought to prevent blacks from moving into newly-built subdivisions. After the 1917 Buchanan v. Warley Supreme Court decision, which disallowed the

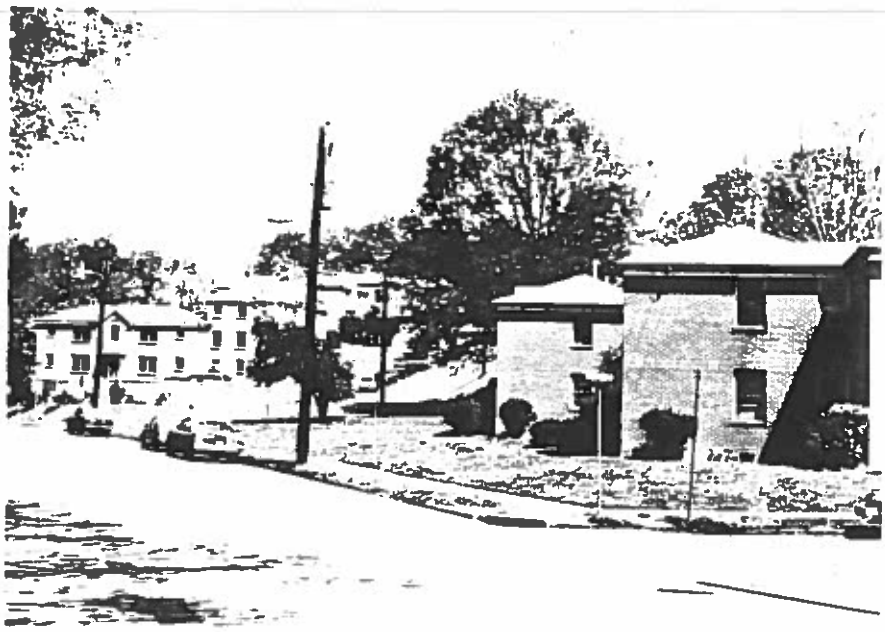
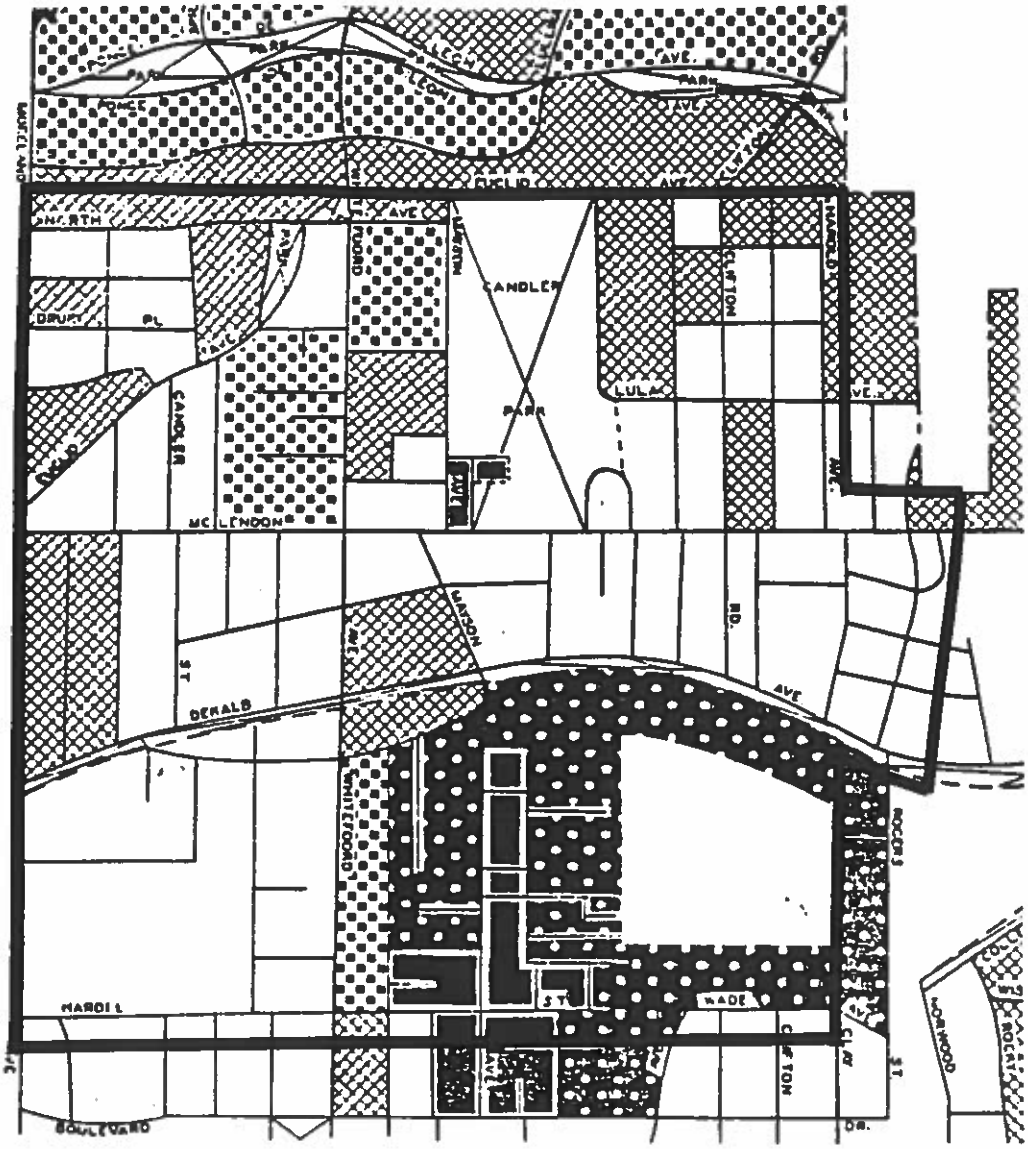


Figure 30. Modern Apartment Buildings, Benning Place

Figure 31. Present Antioch East Baptist Church, Hardee Street



Map 11. Population Distribution by Race, Edgewood/Candler Park

Source: Works Project Administration, Federal Works Agency, Real Property Survey of Metropolitan Atlanta, Part II. (N.p.: 1940), Map 87.

concept of racial zoning, realtors and public officials resorted to other methods to maintain segregated residential districts. A common practice was the use of restrictive covenants, which were deed restrictions prohibiting non-whites from purchasing property or inhabiting residences built on the property.[28] Advertising circulars for elite suburbs such as Druid Hills and Ansley Park promoted them as white communities; here racial deed covenants generally proved unnecessary, as the lot prices and building restrictions were prohibitive enough in themselves to discourage middle-income black and white buyers.

Increased mortgage credit provided to black borrowers by black financial institutions created a new class of middle-income black property owners in the 1920s.[29] Homes in middle-class bungalow neighborhoods became affordable for many black families, so that deed restrictions followed the zoning ordinance as the principal means of preventing blacks from "encroaching" into new white neighborhoods. Evidence of this practice is found in deeds to property within the Edgewood/Candler Park community. The Edgewood Park Realty Company, active during the 1910s and 1920s, sold parcels to white buyers subject to the following condition:

> No lot in this subdivision shall be sold, conveyed, leased, rented, or transferred to any person of the negro race, nor shall any part of this property be used exclusively by negroes or for negro purposes, except for servants' quarters, and these only of size sufficient for such purposes, and all servants' houses must be placed on the rear of the lots.[30]

This covenant appeared in the earliest deeds of sale of Edgewood Park property and conditioned later sales of property until such racial restrictions were declared illegal in 1948.[31]

The greatest transformation in the racial composition of the neighborhoods on both sides of the Georgia Railroad took place in the 1950s and 1960s. Prior to this time Atlanta's growing black population had expanded into undeveloped portions of the city. By 1950, however, vacant land was at a premium, and blacks, requiring homes in close proximity to downtown and public transportation, were forced to expand into adjacent white neighborhoods.[32]

At the same time, the automobile and increased highway construction intensified the trend toward urban decentralization and suburban sprawl. In Atlanta, as in the South and the nation as a whole, families were leaving congested central cities for new suburbs on the fringes. "Numerous middle class white southerners who sought to evade social unrest, integrated schools, and heavy municipal taxes moved from the central cities to the rapidly expanding suburban areas."[33]

Census data reflect the population shift that took place between 1950 and 1960 in the portion of old Edgewood south of the Georgia Railroad. In 1950 the population was divided at Whitefoord and Mayson Avenues with blacks to the east and whites to the west; by 1960 the previously white section had become approximately 50 percent black, and by 1970 the entire area south of the railroad was nearly 100 percent black.[34]

Bombings, telephone threats, and cross-burnings were all used to maintain racial boundaries as blacks expanded into formerly white areas. When the first black Edgewood resident to cross the color line moved into a house on an all-white street adjacent to the black section, the Ku Klux Klan marched through the neighborhood and left a coffin on the doorstep. Other residents remember explosives being planted near

newly-purchased fringe area homes in Edgewood during the 1950s.[35] Pressures exerted by whites in Candler Park forced the Antioch Baptist congregation to sell its stone building on Mayson Avenue in the early 1950s, most of the nearby black housing having been cleared during the previous thirty years. The congregation relocated south of the Georgia Railroad and later bought a former white church on Hardee Street, where it worships today (see Figure 31).[36]

The racial transition south of the railroad was complete by the early 1960s. Simultaneous neighborhood transformations were occurring in the adjacent Kirkwood and Reynoldstown areas, as well as on the west side of Atlanta. The Georgia Railroad formed Atlanta's longest racial barrier by the 1960s, separating white Inman Park from black Reynoldstown, white Candler Park from black Edgewood, and white Lake Claire from black Kirkwood.[37] In 1960 Candler Park residents seeking to retain their neighborhood identity followed the example of other white Atlantans by petitioning the Atlanta board of aldermen for street name changes in order to prevent Edgewood blacks from having street addresses similar to Candler Park whites. On August 15, 1960, by city ordinance, Mayson Avenue north of the railroad became Candler Park Drive, Whitefoord Avenue north of the railroad became Oakdale Road (extending south from Druid Hills), and Whitefoord Terrace became Benning Place.[38] It is ironic that Whitefoord and Mayson Avenues, named for and passing by the homes of prominent Edgewood founding fathers, were rejected by later residents of the same area.

Thus the Georgia Railroad, which had played such a crucial role in the formation and development of the Edgewood community, experienced a reversal of roles by 1960. For the past twenty-five years the railroad

has separated the two halves of the historic community, representing a barrier to black expansion northward. The railroad acts as a physical and symbolic separation, identifying Edgewood as part of the large body of black neighborhoods south of the tracks and Candler Park with white neighborhoods north of the tracks. The Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA) rail system, paralleling the Georgia Railroad tracks eastward from central Atlanta, has served to reinforce the physical barrier during the past ten years. The Edgewood/Candler Park station and parking lots replaced the earlier commercial area at the intersection of Mayson and Whitefoord Avenues and the railroad, and the fenced MARTA rails prevent unrestricted crossing of the tracks except at the Whitefoord Avenue/Oakdale Road underpass.

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[21] Personal interview with Gladys Jackson, Atlanta, November 1983.

[22] Atlanta City Directories, 1910-1980 (publishers vary), Atlanta Historical Society, Atlanta; Personal interview with Peyton Todd, Jr., Sarah Todd, and Rex Edmondson, Atlanta, March 1983; U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and City of Atlanta Mapping Division, City of Atlanta Topographic Maps, (n.p., surveyed 1928), City of Atlanta Zoning Office, Atlanta, Sheet 13.

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[24] Personal interview with Ruby Johnson, Atlanta, September 1983.

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CHAPTER 5

Edgewood and Candler Park: Intown Atlanta Neighborhoods

In examining the development of Edgewood within the larger contexts of Atlanta, the South, and the nation, it is apparent that Edgewood's history, while unique unto itself, is representative of the process of suburbanization within the urban structure of Atlanta. The systems approach, which has been applied to the study of many of Atlanta's sub-areas, and which examines the transportation networks, population distribution, building patterns, and numerous other facets of urban development, illuminates the similarities and differences among Edgewood and other Atlanta neighborhoods. The urban structure research design that has been used to study the development of the elite planned suburbs of Ansley Park, Inman Park, and Druid Hills, is equally valid for less visually impressive neighborhoods such as Edgewood and Candler Park. While this middle-class area, with its racially mixed populace and streets of small cottages and bungalows, differed in most respects from the all-white luxury suburbs with their architect-designed homes and park-like settings, it shares a common history with other middle-class Atlanta neighborhoods. Many of these communities began as independent entities whose growth and continued existence were due to the establishment of Atlanta as the regional city of the Southeast. Atlanta's own metropolitan expansion eventually spread to these satellite communities, drawing them within her direct sphere of influence through the process of annexation, and thus enveloping those entities she had initially helped create.

Oakland City and West End are two Atlanta neighborhoods whose development shows marked similarity to that of Edgewood. All three areas were once independent incorporated towns whose growth was stimulated by the railroad, then the streetcar, and later the automobile. As the earliest focus of streetcar activity, West End, in 1894, was the first of the three communities to be annexed to the city of Atlanta. Oakland City and Edgewood experienced almost parallel development, their annexation occurring in 1910 and most of their residential expansion taking place in the early twentieth century. All three areas underwent a shift in the racial balance of their populations, Oakland City and West End now containing a nearly 100 percent black population. West End and Edgewood/Candler Park have both become the foci of neighborhood revitalization efforts during the past fifteen years, reversing the trend of decline that began with the Depression and accelerated during the 1950s and 1960s with the migration of families to the newer suburbs on the fringes of the metropolitan area. All three areas now form segments of Atlanta's new rapid-rail system.[1]

The history of Edgewood and similar residential areas close to the center of Atlanta illustrates the undirected and unplanned growth of the city through the nineteenth and well into the twentieth centuries. Until the advent of the streetcar, persons of all socio-economic strata had resided in close proximity to each other and to the businesses, factories, and institutions of downtown Atlanta. Beginning in the 1880s, the population dispersed itself outward along the streetcar lines while the downtown district began to differentiate into various commercial and industrial sectors. The city's expansion during this era

was subtly directed by streetcar barons who profitted on car fares and property sales by constructing streetcar lines to areas where they owned real estate interests. Atlanta supported no central planning authority until the 1920s, relying on segregation ordinances to maintain racial separation and on private initiative for real estate development.

The late nineteenth century saw Henry W. Grady and other city boosters travelling the country to extol the potential of Atlanta and the South. The Southeastern states held numerous industrial expositions to attract outside industry and capital, while Atlanta's city government spent large sums on infrastructure improvements. At the same time, the city made no deliberate effort to control the direction and character of its growth. City officials and businessmen targetted the Northern cities of New York and Chicago as models for urbanization and exerted themselves mightily to attract Northern investment to Atlanta, yet these same men made no attempt to channel commercial, industrial, or residential growth, or to provide the public amenities that characterized these great nineteenth-century metropolises. Atlanta's nineteenth-century expansion occurred largely as a result of private investment on the part of local entrepreneurs in streetcars, real estate, industry, and power. The changes that took place seldom stemmed from conscious efforts at urban planning.

Joel Hurt was one of the first Atlantans to apply Northern planning concepts in the city. His design for Inman Park, modelled after that of an exclusive Chicago suburb, provided a total package that linked place of residence and place of business by the best prevailing mode of transportation. Hurt's electrified Edgewood Avenue streetcar line connected the elite Victorian suburb to Hurt's own downtown office high-

rise.

It was also Hurt who introduced to Atlanta the concept of landscape planning by bringing the renowned Frederick Law Olmsted to the city to initiate designs for another planned suburb, Druid Hills. Olmsted's principles were also executed in the later Ansley Park development, whose design was directed by Solomon Z. Ruff, engineer of the Druid Hills subdivision. Although the city consulted with the Olmsted firm concerning landscaping for the Cotton States and International Exposition, and later for Piedmont Park, public officials were reluctant to commit funds to provide public parks and recreational areas in the city. No open green spaces existed downtown until the 1940s, and there was no easy route to Grant Park, the large public park south of the central city, until the twentieth century.[2]

Besides the lack of public investment in parks and recreation areas, the desire to maintain separation of the races retarded the development of public open spaces. Atlanta's few nineteenth-century parklands were found in cemeteries, beginning with Oakland Cemetery and followed by the later segregated cemeteries of Westview (white) and Southview (black). Due to the city's lack of park facilities, these pastoral Victorian cemeteries designed in the Romantic tradition often served passive recreational purposes.

Piedmont Park, site of the 1895 Cotton States Exposition and landscaped in 1910 by the Olmsted brothers, became Atlanta's first city park in the tradition of New York's Central Park.[3] Without a centralized public authority to direct the planning and construction of urban amenities, private endeavors provided most of Atlanta's public green spaces in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as

demonstrated by the donations of Candler Park and Grant Park, the Druid Hills parkway system, and planned open spaces within the Ansley Park and Inman Park subdivisions.[4]

Atlanta's first city planners were unpaid civic groups appointed by the Chamber of Commerce beginning in 1909. Mayor James L. Key designated the first City Planning Commission in 1920 to "recommend or make suggestions regarding laying out of streets, sidewalks and boulevards; relief of traffic conditions; development of housing and sanitary conditions; establishment of zones or districts for industrial and residential sections, and use, height, area, and bulk of buildings."[5] The six-member planning commission, which included Joel Hurt, divided their responsibilities into five areas: 1) zoning (which resulted in the 1922 segregated zoning plan); 2) control of land subdivisions to establish uniform building practices, streets, and facilities; 3) a major street plan; 4) parks and recreation; and 5) a street railway plan.[6]

The Progressive era of the 1920s ushered in a renewed spirit of urban development and boosterism in the South. Influenced by the technological progress and increased outside contacts resulting from World War I, the themes of the new era were expansion and efficiency.[7] Chambers of Commerce advocated more efficient forms of government and comprehensive planning and applied themselves to solving local problems. Southern urban historian Blaine A. Brownell refers to the leaders of this era as the "commercial-civic elite" and defines them as

> larger merchants, real estate agents, insurance brokers, bankers, contractors, and a variety of other people--attorneys, journalists, doctors, teachers, clergymen, and city officials--who were associated directly or indirectly with the business middle-class. The social and economic interests of this elite were wide ranging, but were concentrated primarily in the local area and specifically

> in the downtown business district. Their influence was expressed in a variety of ways, and manifested in an array of voluntary civic clubs and organizations that proliferated during the early twentieth century.[8]

With the North as their urban-industrial model, these spokesmen called for expanded public services, increased industrial development, and reliance upon trained experts and experienced leaders in government and business.[9] Municipal reform in Atlanta during the Progressive era occurred politically, through removal of city departments from board politics and placement under qualified administrators, charter revisions, and attempts to weed corruption and favoritism out of government; socially, through improvement of conditions affecting the general populace, such as food inspection and public health; and morally, through prohibition and removal of red light districts.[10]

The progressive spirit heralded itself through the "Forward Atlanta" campaign initiated in 1925 by the Chamber of Commerce. The campaign "encouraged the relocation of businesses from outside of the region to this area, promoted the expansion of local firms, lobbied for improved education, and supported a number of projects for civic improvement."[11]

It is not surprising that this civic activism of the 1920s coincided with Atlanta's greatest period of expansion. The use of the automobile after 1910 brought not only urban and suburban growth, but a host of urban problems requiring organized and efficient local government solutions. Downtown congestion caused by automobiles, streetcars, trains, and carriages all occupying the same thoroughfares, streets deteriorating rapidly from increased traffic loads, proliferation of suburban real estate developments, construction activity, property speculation, demands for municipal utilities, and a

multitude of similar concerns all necessitated a system of comprehensive city planning, municipal codes, and government action.

Planning on a community level during the 1920s echoed the city's comprehensive planning efforts of the same period. Many Atlanta neighborhoods formed civic associations to deal with residents' concerns and to oversee community improvements. In the Edgewood area a group of residents formed the Candler Park Civic Association (sometimes referred to as the Candler Park Men's Civic Club) in 1929. The organization, which included both men and women, sponsored family events and activities for young people and carried out programs for improving the neighborhood's appearance. The civic association purchased the Antioch Baptist Church building on Mayson Avenue in the early 1950s when the black congregation moved to the Edgewood neighborhood. When association membership declined, about 1970, the group disbanded and sold the church building, dividing the real estate profit on the sale among the Candler Park Baptist, Epworth Methodist, and Clifton Presbyterian churches.[12]

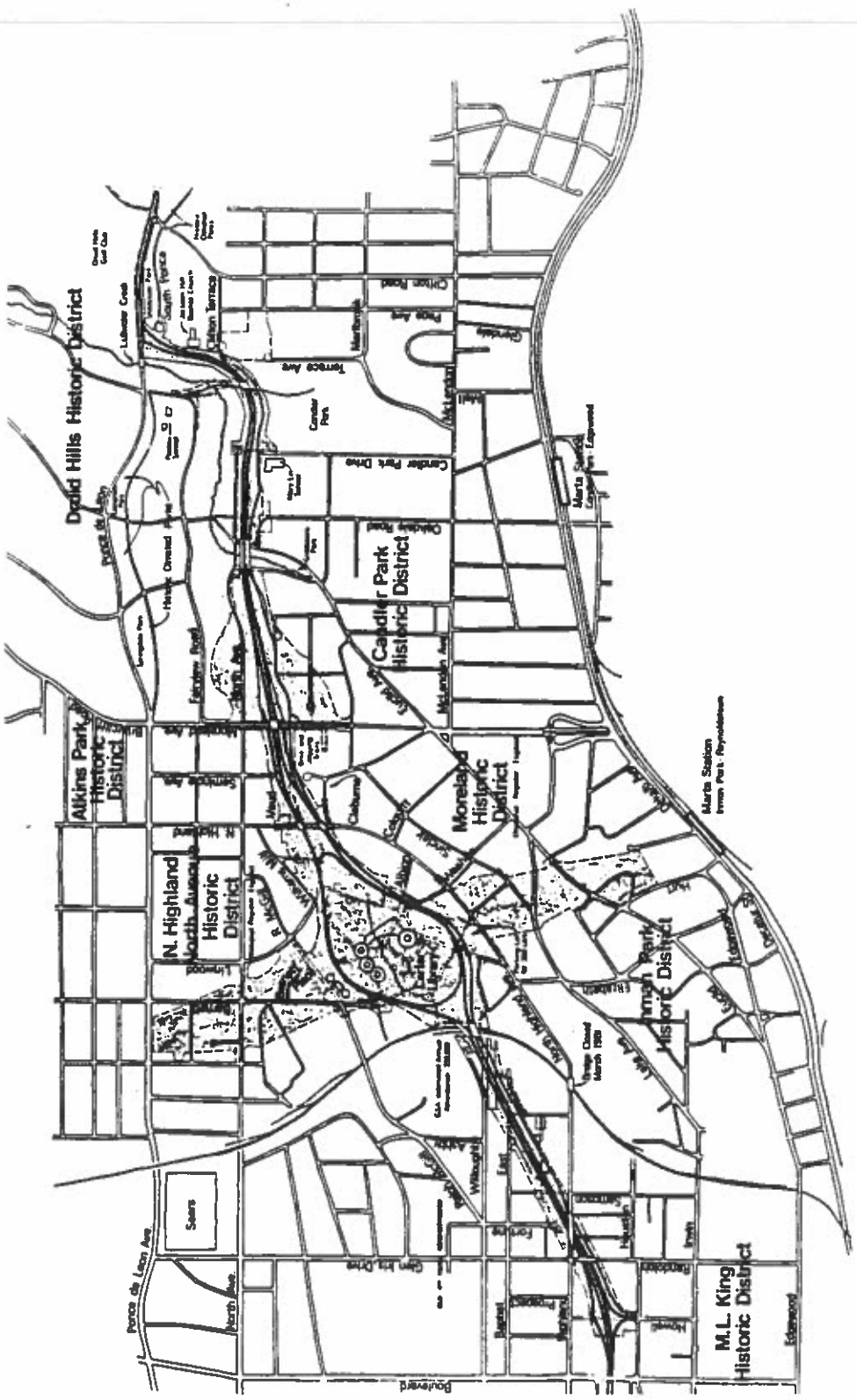
New construction and development in the Edgewood and Candler Park neighborhoods slackened with the Depression. Both areas probably remained fairly stable in the number and character of their populations during the 1930s and 1940s, but experienced a rapid decline during the 1950s and 1960s with the general shift in population from within the city limits to the newer suburbs on the fringes of the metropolitan area.

Both the Candler Park and Edgewood neighborhoods lost a substantial amount of their original housing stock during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. As older Candler Park families died out or moved away, many of the large estates were subdivided and sold. The Thrower, Miller, Smith,

Morris, and other elegant residences were torn down. In these vacant areas, new single-family homes or, more frequently, apartment buildings sprang up. Postwar apartment complexes now cover part of the Benning acreage, the area surrounding Goldsboro Park, and the former sites of the Miller, Thrower, and Smith houses. In addition, a state highway project in the early 1970s resulted in the condemnation and clearance of a large area of early residential development located in the proposed right-of-way. This corridor of still-vacant land separates the Druid Hills subdivision to the north from the Candler Park neighborhood, cutting a wide swath through the western side of the neighborhood and narrowing into Candler Park (see Map 12).

Much of the Edgewood neighborhood's original housing stock has also disappeared, particularly on the east side of the neighborhood, formerly known as Barnesville. These cheaply-constructed and poorly-maintained houses, one of Edgewood's earliest black residential areas, were demolished as part of a city-sponsored low-income neighborhood improvement effort of the 1970s and 1980s. Several apartment complexes, a school, and some medium-density replacement housing now occupy this area. The western portion of Edgewood remains somewhat intact, although industrial development along Moreland Avenue has intruded into the neighborhood and many residences lack routine maintenance and major repairs. Three large housing complexes were contructed in 1949 and 1950 on the fringes of the neighborhood to house returning World War II veterans.

Industrial development along the Georgia Railroad line has also taken its toll on the early industrial, commercial, and residential structures once found lining its tracks (see Figure 32). Modern



Map 12. Proposed Highway Corridor

Source: Proposed Freeway thru Historic Districts (Atlanta: CAUTION, Inc., 1984).

industries such as the Edwards Pie factory and the Colonial Baking Company have replaced the fertilizer and chemical factories and have caused the demolition of residences in the area. Several houses scattered along DeKalb Avenue are the only reminders of this thoroughfare's earlier appearance. Warehouses, industries, and large commercial establishments now line the north side of the street. In addition, the east line of the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority's (MARTA) rail system, which opened in 1979, follows the railroad right-of-way along DeKalb Avenue, with a rail station located at the intersection of Whitefoord Avenue and Oakdale Road (see Figure 33). Public condemnation proceedings during the 1970s destroyed a portion of the residential and commercial development on both sides of the tracks to provide for the station and parking areas. Map 13 illustrates the present appearance of Edgewood/Candler Park.

Although the Candler Park neighborhood underwent a period of decline during the 1950s and 1960s, it did not deteriorate so severely as Edgewood, and the neighborhood has been able to regenerate itself during the past fifteen years. The wholesale population shifts of the Edgewood neighborhood did not extend north of the Georgia Railroad, thus providing some degree of stability within the Candler Park community.

The presence of one or more civic organizations within the Candler Park neighborhood since 1929 no doubt helps to account for a measure of continuity that prevented further decline. In 1953 the Candler Park Improvement Corporation was chartered as a real estate business. At least one of the three officers of the firm had been very active in the earlier civic association.[13] A five-neighborhood organization known as BOND (Bass Organization for Neighborhood Development) formed in 1968 to

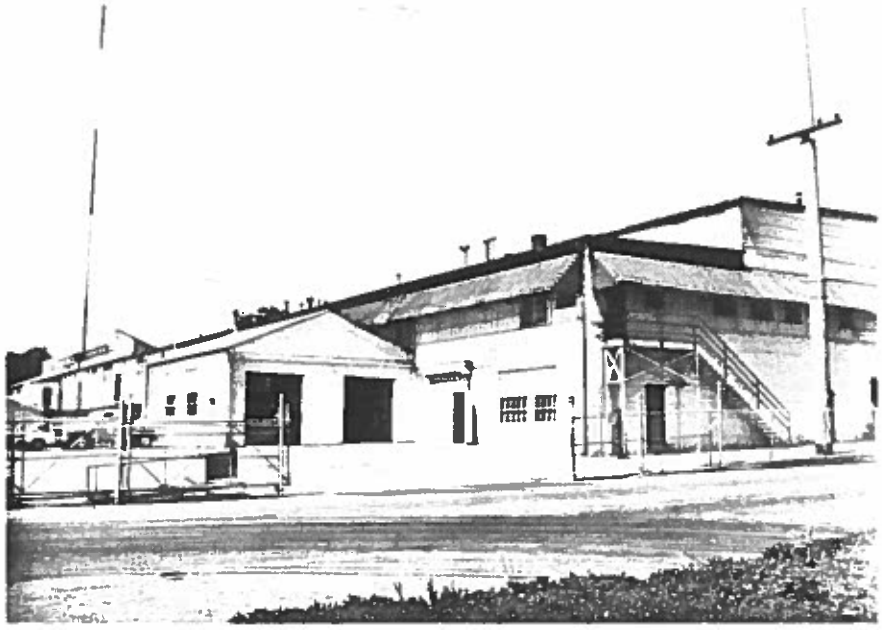
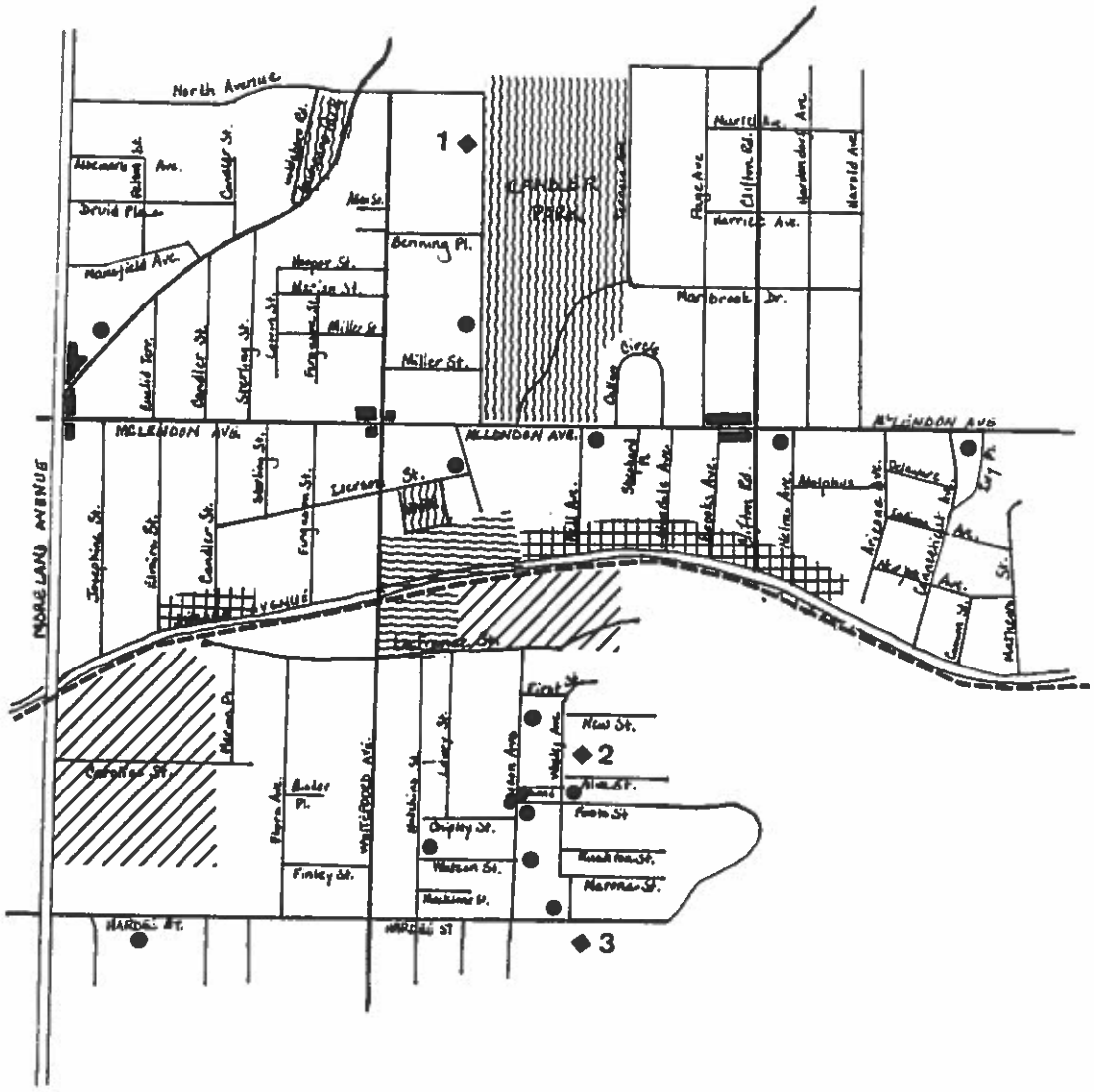


Figure 32. Industrial Buildings, South Side of Georgia Railroad

Figure 33. Edgewood/Candler Park MARTA Rail Station



- ● Churches
- ◆ Schools
- 1 Mary Lin Elementary School
- 2 Wesley Avenue Elementary School
- 3 Sammye E. Coan Middle School

- ■ Commercial
- ▦ Commercial/Industrial
- ⫽ Industrial
- ||||| Park
- ≡ MARTA Station

Map 13. Edgewood/Candler Park, 1980

consider methods of dealing with creeping blight, loss of community leadership, financial means and institutions, deterioration of homes, sub-standard housing, decline in city services, and cultural and material deprivation. BOND, composed of five predominantly white neighborhoods with similar community concerns, has taken a very active role in community affairs, operates a credit union, and publishes a local newspaper called the Community Star. BOND spent its early years developing a local land-use plan, which the Atlanta board of aldermen published and approved in 1973. The BOND plan stressed the rehabilitation of existing housing stock, most of which was over forty years of age, and reversion to lower-density dwellings. The BOND plan also emphasized education and commercial revitalization. The Little Five Points business district, located near the center of the BOND community, has undergone a transformation through the efforts of local merchants and the use of community development funds. Some of the small commercial strips along McLendon Avenue have received recent facelifts and vacant shops are nearly nonexistent. Many of the BOND leaders are active Candler Park residents, including the past city planning director, a former BOND vice-president.[14]

The Edgewood community, though less unified, also supported neighborhood organizations. Within the black community, the church historically acted as the major social force, providing moral standards, political guidance, and even death benefits; most neighborhood activities for both children and adults revolved around the church. Residents of Edgewood organized the Edgewood Civic League during the 1950s. This group sponsored political candidates and was quite effective in lobbying the city for neighborhood improvements such as

paving, street lighting, street signs and the like.[15]

By 1972 each of BOND's member neighborhoods had created its own neighborhood organization. Several circumstances influenced the increase in neighborhood organizations and community participation at this particular time: the Atlanta City Council was beginning to consider ways to involve neighborhoods in city planning efforts, the threat of the tollway intrusion loomed over the BOND community, and a general "back-to-the-city" trend was beginning to sweep the nation.

The Atlanta City Council undertook charter revisions in 1973 to involve neighborhoods in the planning process, calling for the fullest measure of citizen participation in the preparation of five-, ten-, and fifteen-year plans. The city modelled its citizen participation ordinance after BOND and in 1974 passed the Neighborhood Planning Ordinance, which created twenty-four neighborhood planning units (NPUs) and a neighborhood planning division within the Planning Bureau. The mayoral and city council candidates who ran on the neighborhood planning platform in 1974 won in the city election.[16]

BOND and each of the affected neighborhoods adopted an early stance of opposition to the Stone Mountain tollway, the state transportation department's highway project that would traverse several historic neighborhoods and require the removal of vast amounts of housing. The tollway threat provoked immediate neighborhood reaction in the form of spoken and written protests denouncing the tollway, statements at public hearings, and coalitions to fight the road. The Department of Transportation proceeded with property clearance for the right-of-way, but because of neighborhood opposition and the new rapid rail system in advanced planning stages, Governor Carter blocked further action on the

tollway in 1974. The Department of Transportation has held and maintained the vacant land since that time.

During the 1970s a nationwide "back-to-the-city" movement began to reverse the suburban trend of the 1950s and 1960s. Lower prices on homes in the inner city, the attraction of established neighborhoods, decreased commuting distances, the energy crisis, and resurgence of interest in historic architecture increased the popularity of intown residential areas, especially among couples buying for the first time and willing to invest "sweat equity" in the renovation of an older home.

Inman Park was one of Atlanta's first neighborhoods to be visibly affected by this movement. The reclamation and transformation of this neighborhood of large Victorian residences, many of which had been converted to three, four, five, and six apartments, took place within a time span of ten years. The renewal spirit infused a number of other intown neighborhoods, among them Candler Park. A Mennonite project recruited students in the BOND community in 1970 for improvement and clean-up projects in an effort to instill a sense of community in parents and children. The Candler Park Neighborhood Organization, formed in 1971, has been responsible for organizing citizen pressure on residents, the city council, developers, and others regarding zoning issues, law enforcement, neighborhood maintenance, and other matters. Examples of neighborhood cooperation include a campaign to prevent the city from closing the Candler Park golf course, support of a Little Five Points police precinct, creation of a Neighborhood Watch program, and sponsorship of various festivals and house tours. Revitalization efforts in the community, though not as striking as those of Inman Park, have been steady and visible over the past ten years.

The most recent threat to community enhancement has appeared in the form of a renewed drive by the Department of Transportation to build a four-lane highway in the vacant Stone Mountain tollway corridor. Residents of the affected neighborhoods, many of whom fought the earlier battle against the tollway, have coalesced once more to oppose the intrusion into the physical and social fabric of their communities. The Candler Park neighborhood is one of five historic areas that would feel the impact of the highway, and would probably receive the most ill effects from its construction. The proposed highway would bridge the northern half of Goldsboro Park, pass within feet of Mary Lin School, and traverse a portion of the Candler Park golf course. The highway would create cul-de-sacs on several thoroughfares and would effectively separate the northernmost streets from the rest of the neighborhood.

The Edgewood neighborhood undertook its own renewal efforts in the 1970s and 1980s. The neighborhood, which had maintained a fairly stable population composition throughout the Depression and World War II, had been transformed to a nearly all-black neighborhood by 1970, as shown in Chapter 4.

Between 1970 and 1980 the area east of Whitefoord Avenue lost over fifty percent of its population due to the demolition of substandard housing units. The city and a local neighborhood corporation combined forces to direct city and federal funds toward improving the housing situation. Since 1980 replacement housing in the form of low-income residences, mostly single-family dwellings and duplexes, has reclaimed most of the renewal area. Designated by the city as the Edgewood Neighborhood Strategy Area, this area has received $7.7 million in private funds for development costs, $15 million in community

development funds for site improvements and housing loan and grant assistance, $15.2 million in HUD Section 8 monies for the rehabilitation of 379 housing units, and $650,000 from the city of Atlanta for 68 housing units. Today, 84 percent of the housing stock in the neighborhood strategy area is considered to be in standard condition, as compared with 10 percent in 1978.[17] There is no neighborhood organization, per se, in the Edgewood neighborhood; residents currently participate only in the neighborhood planning committee for NPU-O.

Edgewood and Candler Park, once a unified, self-governing entity, have become segments of a larger planning structure on the neighborhood, citywide, statewide, and higher levels. These neighborhoods, which evolved from a peripheral farming community whose development was spurred by transportation advances and whose composition was shaped by Southern racial conventions, now form part of the complex pattern of metropolitan Atlanta's urban "systems." Local planning on the neighborhood level in Candler Park has proven effective in carrying out the development plans desired by its white middle-class residents. The lower income, black Edgewood community, however, has exhibited less solidarity, and remains dependent on city and state planning agencies and public funds for neighborhood development. The two neighborhoods now share few common characteristics, from their population compositions, occupations, and visual qualities, to street names. The Georgia Railroad, once a unifying community force, now forms a distinct dividing line between the two neighborhoods, reinforced by the chainlink fences of MARTA. The Edgewood neighborhood blends easily into the areas south and east of it, and its city planning commission-delineated boundaries include approximately fifty percent more territory than the

historic town boundaries. The Moreland Avenue thoroughfare forms an effective separation for both Edgewood and Candler Park from the Fulton County neighborhoods to the west, and the vacant tollway corridor accentuates the historic separation of Druid Hills and Candler Park on the north side. Candler Park resembles its eastside neighbor, Lake Claire, however, in housing type and economic level, and much of historic Edgewood lies within the city-demarcated Lake Claire neighborhood boundaries.

Edgewood/Candler Park's evolution from a small settlement on either side of the Georgia Railroad line, into an incorporated suburb, into an integral part of the growing metropolis, and finally into two distinct neighborhoods, illustrates the forces of urbanization that have helped transform not only this community but many other Atlanta sub-areas as well. Although transportation and race are only two of the many influences involved in shaping this transformation, studies of other sub-areas have demonstrated that these were major forces in the development of Atlanta's urban configuration. Edgewood and Candler Park exemplify changes and development that have occurred in countless other metropolitan American neighborhoods, yet they tell a story that is distinctly Southern and uniquely Atlantan.

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