

The Literary Activism of Lillian Smith and Paula Snelling's Little Magazine *South Today*

by

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Abstract

Between 1936 and 1945, white, queer, writer-activists Lillian Eugenia Smith and Paula Snelling co-founded and co-edited a small literary magazine from their home in Clayton, Georgia. Successively titled *Pseudopodia* (1936), *The North Georgia Review* (1937-1941), and *South Today* (1942-1945), the “little” magazine had thousands of readers at its height and was an important site of counter-discourse in the Jim Crow South. This thesis explores the magazine as a literary activist counterpublic that developed distinct but interrelated praxes of social and racial justice through its organizational structure and content, peripheral activisms, and readership. Looking beyond the magazine’s discursive content and editorial contributions, I explore how the counterpublic of *South Today* merged the capacities of the periodical form and its formation of print communities with practical efforts to enact written imaginaries in local and national spaces, as well as how such “on-and-off-the-page” activisms and publics continuously reinforced and advanced each other in co-constitutive ways. I draw on an interdisciplinary methodological framework of close reading, archival research, and data collection and interpretation, as well as the robust theoretical scholarship of periodical studies, public sphere theory, and social and political movement theory, including infrapolitics. Ultimately, this thesis asserts that *South Today* should be read as a literary activist counterpublic that developed an insightful understanding of the generative intersections of print, community, and activism.

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INTRODUCTION

Yes, SOUTH TODAY has frightened a few of the political boys and a few of their business friends and they have tried various ways of causing its editors and even its editors' friends embarrassment and discomfort. They quite probably will continue to devise inquisitorial schemes and some of these will quite likely continue to cause discomfort and embarrassment. But its editors are not easily frightened. Nor are they likely to give up anything they have started until they have finished it, for they both tend to be stubborn. And being women they haven't much sense about 'practical matters' and neither of them has a taste for expediency.... It looks as if SOUTH TODAY will keep right on being written and printed and published.

—Lillian Smith and Paula Snelling, "Yes... we are southern"
South Today, Spring 1943

In January 1943, seven years into the publication of Lillian Smith and Paula Snelling's little magazine, *South Today* was threatened by censorship and state harassment when the local postmistress of Clayton, Georgia, Carrie T. Cannon¹—objecting to the "subversive" content of the Autumn-Winter 1942-1943 issue of *South Today*—contrived to deny the magazine a second-class mailing permit (Smith, "[Letter to Victor W. Rotnem]"; Smith, "[Letter to Jim]").² To

¹ Carrie T. Cannon (1894-1967) worked in the Clayton Post Office with her husband, Walter R. Cannon (1873-1943)—who was postmaster from 1938 to 1943—and took over after he passed away (Barden). As a position appointed by either the Postmaster General or the President in consultation with the U.S. Senate (Records of the Post Office Department), Walter had taken over the position from his father, W. R. Cannon, who had served as postmaster between 1914 and 1938 (United States Congress). This familial legacy is indicative of a system designed to uphold and perpetuate hegemonies of whiteness and political power, and political influence is also evident in Cannon's attempts to obstruct the circulation of *South Today* through the mails. The Clayton Post Office attack on the magazine occurred in 1943, the year Walter passed away and Carrie took charge. Smith has acknowledged the gendered political dynamics of the white South in which accusations of "indecent" against white women could only be made by other white women without risking the inflection of male defense of the woman's honour. ("Memoir"). The Cannons would have had much to object to in *South Today* long before 1943, which leads me to speculate that these events correlated with Carrie's new position, meaning she could safely impugn Smith and Snelling's reputations without risking their male relatives' retaliation.

² This was not Cannon's first attempt. A second-class (or periodical) mailing permit afforded the lowest postage rates (rather than the exorbitantly higher rates of third-class postage, which was directed at merchandising catalogues and advertising circulars) and was therefore important for *South Today* to obtain in order to remain financially viable (Kielbowicz 47). As per the Post Office Act (or Mail Classification Act) of March 3, 1879, to qualify for the second-class permit a periodical had to be published regularly (at least quarterly), have proof of regular subscribers, not exceed a permissible percentage of advertising, and print content for which the "'prevailing characteristic and purpose' was the dissemination of intelligence of passing events" (39). While *South Today* clearly and consistently aligned with these second-class classifications, Smith recalls frequent dealings with Carrie Cannon and her sons (Smith, "[Letter to Victor W. Rotnem]"), who objected to the "subversive" content of the magazine and repeatedly attempted to deny the magazine second-class status by holding up the registering process (Smith, "[Letter to William Haygood]" 67). While the ultimate decision-making process for granting second-class permits was centralized in Washington, D.C. (Kielbowicz 48-9), in practice, the ability to register rested largely in the hands of

counter such postal censorship, Smith and Snelling decided to relocate production to Atlanta in the care of friends James and Betty Tipton—white southerners who worked at the Georgia Tech bookstore and library, respectively—who offered to organize the addressing, wrapping, and mailing of *South Today*. However, shortly after this relocation, James was conscripted by the U.S. military. Smith recounts what followed:

[Betty] knew [*South Today*] was highly controversial but apparently didn't really know. For she got busy, or felt unwell (she was not at all strong) and farmed out the mags to be addressed by a commercial firm.³ She did not investigate them as to their 'liberalism' nor did she tell me what she was doing. We knew the mag was hot stuff; but apparently she was too young to know. So—she gave it to a concern that was closely tied up with the [Ku Klux] Klan and anti-Semitic activities in Atlanta. They read the issue (it was a pretty controversial one!) and the roof blew. They called the police dept. and Chief of Police (nobody was liberal then in Atlanta officialdom) and he blew; he took a copy to Mayor Hartsfield (who later became liberal about race but was not at this time) and he blew and ordered or connived with the Postmaster of Atlanta post-office not to let the mags go through. So the PM [Postmaster] temporarily banned it. ("Memoir" 56)

Then, the Atlanta Chief of Police and mayor, who felt "such subversive and indecent matter could never soil the name and virtue of Atlanta" (Smith, "[Letter to William Haygood]" 68) called Betty's landlord, who interrogated her as to her political beliefs. Betty was evicted from her apartment and subsequently hospitalized after becoming sick from the stress (Smith "Memoir" 56).

the local postmaster or postmistress. The conflict led Smith and Snelling to temporarily relocate production and mailing to Atlanta in 1943.

³ The office of John Barrows, 10 Third Street, Atlanta, GA, in the back of the Woodward Amusement Company building (Smith, "[Letter to Victor W. Rotnem]").

Meanwhile, with the magazine temporarily banned by the Atlanta Post Office and the confiscated copies and mailing lists retained by the commercial wrapping company, the incident escalated further. *South Today* was investigated by the Better Business Bureau (Mitchell, “[Letter to Lillian Smith]”), and various Georgia officials began “urging the governor to have the legislature investigate [Smith] and the magazine ‘for indecency’” (Smith, “[Letter to William Haygood]” 68). While Smith and Snelling had experienced minor run-ins with various local right-wing white supremacist factions before,⁴ *South Today* had been able to operate, for the most part, under the radar of state officials; however, that relative anonymity was shattered as reports of this incident reverberated up the power structure from the KKK and local vigilantes, to the Atlanta Police Department, Atlanta mayor William B. Hartsfield, Georgia Governor Ellis Arnall, Georgia legislature Speaker of the House Roy Harris, the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).⁵ A protracted period of surveillance and investigation into the magazine’s activities and those connected to it followed. As Smith recounts in a letter to William Haygood of the Rosenwald Fund,⁶ “them Klan and Vigilante folks have been tailing us around until we are about wore out. Just about the time it begins to seem real funny to me, another G man or Georgia Bureau of Investigation man pops up and gives me the

⁴ This primarily took the form of letters expressing “disapproval” (Smith and Snelling, “Yes.....we are southern” 41) and social snubbing by locals, in which Smith recalls that she was treated coldly and not served in certain stores (“Memoir” 68). Although probably more a result of the notoriety from *Strange Fruit* than *South Today*, Smith also contended with “threats; some nasty phone calls,” and a stalker while she was in New York City (68).

⁵ The KKK was particularly strong and well-connected in Atlanta, and it was common knowledge that the majority of the Atlanta police force were members of the KKK (Egerton 6).

⁶ The Rosenwald Fund was a philanthropic organization founded in 1917 by Sears, Roebuck, and Company magnate Julius Rosenwald. Directed by Edwin R. Embree, the organization funded the improvement of public schools and health care for African Americans in the rural South (Harter). The Fund also established a fellowship program which primarily funded Black and white activists and researchers pursuing projects relating to the betterment of “race relations” (Harter). Smith and Snelling received a joint fellowship in 1939 and again in 1940, which they used to travel across the South and conduct oral history interviews with a diverse spectrum of southerners. These interviews informed much of the content in *The North Georgia Review* around this period. Smith and Snelling later served on the Rosenwald Scholarship Committee in 1942, 1943, and 1944 (Loveland 30). The Fund expended over \$22 million and was dissolved in 1948 (Harter).

creeps” (67). Will Brantley’s research into released FBI files reveals Smith’s was 134 pages (“The Surveillance” 65). As evidence of the high profile Smith had acquired, the first memo in her file was directed to the attention of FBI director J. Edgar Hoover (65).

The ostensible resolution of these various threats and investigations came about in a few ways. Firstly, Smith wrote to Georgia Governor Ellis Arnall, simultaneously leveraging her white womanhood—emphasizing her heritage and position as a “respected” community member (Smith, “[Letter] to Governor Ellis Arnall”)—while also subtly insinuating that if investigated and called to testify, she would turn the notoriety to political advantage by responding with “straight full answers and unequivocal ones, telling them that I believe in full political, economic, educational, health, and social democratic rights for all peoples of the world including the Georgia Negro” (Smith, “[Letter to Jim]”). As Smith confides in a separate letter to Dorothy and Devereaux McClatchey, “They will be sorry they ever heard my name or the name of *South Today* before it is finished...Governor Arnall’s name will be as dirtied as [Eugene] Talmadge’s before it is over; and Georgia—good old Gawja—will be once more the laughing stock of the world (Smith, “[Letter to Dorothy]”).

Smith’s implicit “threats” seem to have given Arnall pause: he recanted, responding cautiously, “I am not anxious for the General Assembly to create any scene which would reflect discredit on our State and which would accomplish nothing” (Arnall). Smith also credited her “influential friends . . . [who] put pressure in the right places” (Smith, “[Letter to Victor W. Rotnem]”). Those who rallied to protect *South Today* included Dorothy Tilly, Morris Milgram, Benjamin E. Mays, Mary McLeod Bethune, and, most influentially, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who intervened by pressuring Attorney General Francis J. Biddle to suspend the investigation and let the magazine resume publication (Brantley, “The Surveillance” 66-7;

Smith, “[Letter to Mary McLeod Bethune]” 1; Smith, “Memoir” 56).⁷ These collective efforts were evidently successful, for Smith and Snelling managed to retrieve the majority of the censored issue’s copies and mailed them from Clayton with the permission of Washington, D.C.’s Postmaster General.

Despite being a relatively small magazine, the excessive state response mobilized against *South Today* demonstrates its relative power as a threat to the established social order. While never physically harmed for their activism—a privilege that their race, gender, class, and connections largely precluded—Smith and Snelling experienced increased surveillance, as did others involved with the magazine, by local vigilantes, state, and federal governments. Such attempts at censorship, underscored by implicit threats of state-sanctioned violence, reflect the repressive socio-political climate and interconnected white supremacist power structure of the Jim Crow South in the 1930s and 1940s and illustrate what was at stake for activists advocating for social, racial, and economic equality.⁸ However, this event also conveys the importance of a well-connected network of activists able to counter-mobilize against state violence. In this thesis I argue *South Today* is an important historical and cultural text that marks the existence of a *literary activist* print culture active in the American South in the 1930s and 1940s.⁹ *South Today*

⁷ See letters from supporters, “*South Today*: Post Office difficulties and threatened investigation by Georgia legislators, 1943,” Box 24, Folder 15, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. Mary McLeod Bethune was responsible for connecting Smith and Eleanor Roosevelt (Smith, “[Letter to Mary McLeod Bethune]”).

⁸ “Jim Crow” was a series of “comprehensive and repressive” (Alexander 37-8) segregation laws which, although varying between states, had the overall effect of controlling all aspects of Black public life. Jim Crow laws adopted many of the features of the post-Civil War “black codes” and unofficial segregation practices in the North, such as the segregation of public spaces including transit, schools, hospitals, stores, neighbourhoods, churches, and cemeteries (Brown and Webb 192). The Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) constitutionally upheld state segregation legislation under the doctrine of “separate but equal” (193) to produce a “racial order that would protect [the ruling class’s] economic, political, and social interests in a world without slavery” (Alexander 40). Jim Crow also operated through extra-legal forms of racial terror such as lynchings and riots (Egerton 27-8).

⁹ For the purposes of this thesis, the American “South” denotes a socio-politically constructed geo-cultural region broadly referring to the eleven former Confederate states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia; as well as the border states of Delaware, the District of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia (Egerton 19).

challenges the dominant narrative of a homogeneously conservative and reactionary (white) South, by exemplifying one of the many forms of resistance that occurred in the region and offers illuminating insights into the relationship between small literary print economies and activism for racial justice that bear both historical importance and contemporary pertinence. This thesis explores how *South Today* developed as a literary activist counterpublic, through an iterative, community-based, literary and political praxis, that advanced and sustained the magazine's fight for racial justice for nine years.

What Was *South Today*?

Between 1936 and 1945, white, queer, writer-activists Lillian Eugenia Smith and Paula Snelling co-founded and co-edited a small literary magazine from their rural home in the Blue Ridge Mountains of North Georgia, near the town of Clayton. Successively titled *Pseudopodia* (1936), *The North Georgia Review* (1937-1941), and *South Today* (1942-1945),¹⁰ the “little” magazine grew from a quarterly with 27 subscribers to a semi-annual with at least 5,000 and perhaps as many as 10,000.¹¹ Its single-article reprints sold in quantities ranging from the tens to

Although the inclusion of border states is contested, I borrow this specific construction from such defining works in the field as John Egerton's *Speak Now Against the Day* and the designation of the U.S. Census Bureau. While a geographic definition of the South is necessary for my analysis, I also wish to acknowledge the “South” as a highly fraught cultural imaginary. As Jaime Harker observes, “the South” is an “idyllic construction of ... community and honor ... [that] depended on a willful ignorance of the specifics of the real violence, rape, theft, and terrorism inherent in the plantation system, and the transmutation of that system into Jim Crow and the tenant farming system” (4). As such, Harker calls for an expansive and inclusive understanding of the region that highlights its diversity of cultures and experiences and its interconnectedness to other regions and people (4). Along these lines, I hope this thesis will contribute to this reframing of the South, not as a monolithically homogenous and conservative culture based around a mythical southern past, unmarked whiteness, and “traditional” values, but one with a long and varied history of resistance against race-, class-, and gender-based colonial oppression.

¹⁰ Hereafter I will refer to the magazine under its final name, *South Today*, unless I am referring specifically to one of the three eras.

¹¹ There is some discrepancy over the magazine's number of subscribers at the height of its publication. Most sources cite the magazine as having as many as 10,000 subscribers in its later years (Loveland 22; White and Sugg xi), a number which both Smith and Snelling reference in retrospective accounts of the magazine (Smith, “Memoir” 44; Snelling, “Preface” 13). However, this number is contradicted within the magazine itself. In the article “Yes... we are southern,” published in the Spring 1943 issue of *South Today*, Smith and Snelling self-report that “[t]he

hundreds of thousands (White and Sugg xi).¹² Despite *South Today*'s relative success and longevity as an independently-funded little magazine, its contributions to both literary and social history have largely been overlooked within both popular and academic histories of southern print culture and the long civil rights movement.¹³

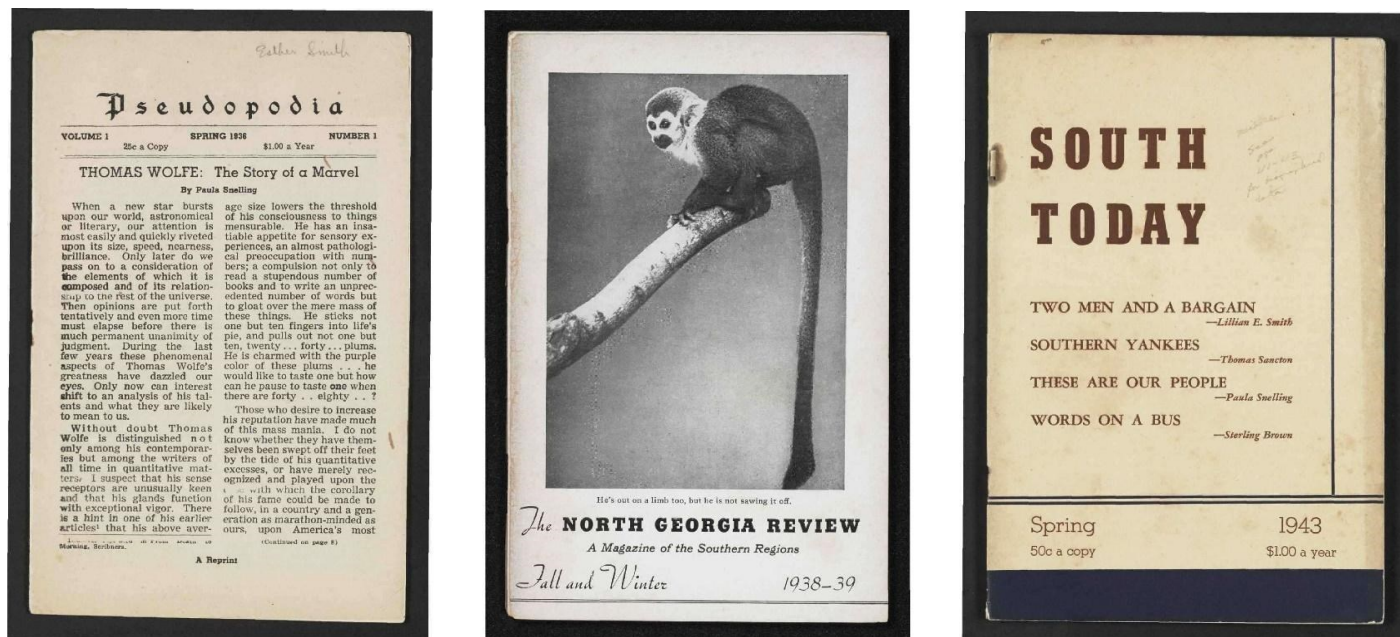


Figure 1. Cover styles *Pseudopodia* (Spring 1936); *The North Georgia Review* (Fall-Winter 1938-1939); *South Today* (Spring 1943). Courtesy of the Lillian E. Smith Center.

circulation is at present 5000” (42-3), which is substantiated by the order of 5,000 copies from the Rich Printing Company (Morse). There are 2,847 subscribers recorded after 1944; when we add the recorded 817 single issue copy sales to this, we get a number approaching 5,000. They go on to write, “[w]e believe at the rate it is now increasing it will reach a circulation of 10,000 by autumn” (43); however, there is no evidence that the magazine ever reached that number, for in the final issue of *South Today* Smith writes in her column “Dope with Lime” that the “subscription list [went] from 26 [sic] to 4500 subscribers” (Winter 1944-1945, 4). Finally, in her unpublished memoir, Smith writes that the magazine had approximately 6,000 regular subscribers and sold 10,000 copies (“Memoir” 44). I would posit that around 5,000 copies per issue of *South Today* printed and sold in its final years, although its total readership, through the circulations of subscribers and library copies, was likely around or exceeding 10,000 (see Chapter 3 for more about readerly circulations).

¹² For example, the pamphlet “There are Things to Do” sold 250,000 copies (White and Sugg xi; “Memoir” 44). See Appendix Table 23 for precise numbers of pamphlet sales in 1945.

¹³ *South Today* is most accurately characterized as a “little” magazine, a designation to which Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich ascribe two key characteristics: “rebellion against traditional modes of expression and the wish to experiment with novel (and sometimes unintelligible) forms; and a desire to overcome the commercial or material difficulties which are caused by the introduction of any writing whose commercial merits have not been proved” (Hoffman, et al. 4-5). However, it is worth noting that Hoffman, et al. characterize *South Today* as a literary little magazine rather than one engaged in socio-political or cultural criticism, noting only allusively its interest in “Southern problems” (335).

Over the course of its nine-year run, the magazine developed as a literary activist publication, with the changes in name signaling changes to its mandate. *Pseudopodia* was principally a magazine interested in challenging oppressive southern narratives and stereotypes through the literature it published; *The North Georgia Review* engaged in a dissenting social critique of those oppressions as they manifested societally; and *South Today* actively engaged in challenging those systems and reimagining alternative futures.

The first version of the magazine, *Pseudopodia*, ran only four issues from Spring 1936 through Winter 1937 and was most closely aligned with the ethos of the “little” literary magazine as a form. It was conceived as a space to promote emerging southern writers who countered a white southern mythology. The magazine was explicitly vocal against Southern Agrarianism¹⁴ and the perpetuation of white supremacy in southern literature, ideologies which dominated the intellectual discourse in the South at the time through such literary journals as the *Southern Review*¹⁵ and the *Kenyon Review*.¹⁶ Describing the Agrarian’s position as “brilliantly untenable”

¹⁴ The Southern Agrarians were a group of twelve white male writers, including John Crowe Ransom, Allen Tate, Donald Davidson, and Robert Penn Warren, who were most known for their essay collection *I’ll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition* (1930). In this manifesto, they critiqued the emerging modernization of the South—namely that of science and industrial capitalism—as antithetical to “traditional” (white) “southern” culture and values. They proposed that a “return” to a free-market planter economy based on “the hardy individualism and self-sufficiency of the agrarian life” would restore a southern social order oriented around values of family, religion, and individualism (Murphy 18, 30). Whiteness constituted the unmarked assumption of agrarianism, with the South’s history of slavery and continued discrimination against and disenfranchisement of Black southerners rarely, if ever, discussed by the group except to argue for its continued enforcement (26). Due to the inconsistencies among members and the impossibility of the Agrarians’ platform as a political reality, the movement quickly dissolved, with many members abandoning their socio-political agenda to instead apply their brand of conservative traditionalism to the study of literature, including the ideology of New Criticism that the Agrarians developed and promoted.

¹⁵ The *Southern Review* was founded at Baton Rouge’s Louisiana State University in 1935 by its president, James Monroe Smith, and was backed by Senator Huey Long, who allotted the journal a \$10,000 annual stipend (Cutrer 49). The quarterly was edited by Charles Pipkin, Cleanth Brooks, and Robert Penn Warren (Beck 8), the latter two of whom were closely affiliated with the Southern Agrarians (Cutrer 41). Although not as programmatic as the Agrarians of *I’ll Take My Stand*, the quarterly was nevertheless heavily influenced by the group (104) and “remained the single most important outlet for Agrarian opinion throughout its run” (113). After the *Southern Review* folded in 1942, its active subscription list of approximately 1,500 and liquidated holdings were turned over to the recently founded *Kenyon Review*, where Brooks and Warren served as advisory editors (Vanderford 14).

¹⁶ The *Kenyon Review* was conceived in 1937 by Kenyon College president Gordon Keith Chalmers, who canvassed former Agrarian John Crowe Ransom as founding editor in 1939. The quarterly was funded both by large individual

(Smith, “Dope With Lime” Spring 1936, 7), Smith and Snelling declared in their opening editorial: “We are not interested in perpetuating that sterile fetishism of the Old South which has so long gripped our section” (“Editorial” Spring 1936, 6). This included a condemnation of the southern Lost Cause mythology¹⁷ as manifested in contemporary southern fiction and perhaps best epitomized by Margaret Mitchell’s 1936 bestselling novel *Gone With the Wind*, which Smith caustically reviewed in Fall 1936 as “One More Sigh for the Good Old South.” The magazine modeled its ideological opposition through its assertion that literature could be employed to critique, challenge, and reimagine oppressive systems—something it attempted to enact by promoting texts and publishing contributors committed to a politics of racial and economic justice. Yet the magazine quickly evolved to encompass more radical perspectives. As Smith recalls, “We began things from a literary point of view. Or we thought we did. But we felt strongly that the old southern point of view was wrong, the traditional ‘white man’s’ point of view; and we also thought the Agrarians had a foolish answer; and so, it was not long before we were becoming rather revolutionary” (“Memoir” 50). This shift in focus began in earnest with *The North Georgia Review* in the spring of 1937.

The North Georgia Review (NGR) ran for fourteen issues from Spring 1937 through Winter 1941. A broadening concern with the South as a socio-political and geo-cultural space

donations from Kenyon College trustees totaling over \$5,000 annually (Janssen 26) and by \$7,500 from the Rockefeller Foundation (103). The *Kenyon Review* achieved a subscriber base of between 2,000 to 3,000 subscribers by 1946 (26-7). Like the *Southern Review*, the *Kenyon Review* was heavily influenced by Agrarian thought, although Ransom would increasingly distance himself from the movement and instead make the magazine a key proponent of New Criticism. One aspect of this doctrine was the focus “on the aesthetics of literature and art and not social or political representations” (Dominy, “Reviewing the South: Competing Canons” 5)—an obvious reaction against an era often hailed as the renaissance of “protest literature” (Johnson and Johnson 151). Both of these Agrarian-inspired literary quarterlies marked the nascent rise of the critical theory journal in the academy (Williams 32-3).

¹⁷ In *How the Word is Passed*, Clint Smith explains “[t]he Lost Cause is a movement that gained traction in the late nineteenth century that attempted to recast the Confederacy as something predicated on family, honor, and heritage rather than what it was, a traitorous effort to extend and expand the bondage of Black people” (140). In short, “it attempted to rewrite US history” (140), principally through “the media, literature, and postwar propaganda” (146).

precipitated the rebranding. Smith and Snelling had developed close connections with the “Chapel Hill Sociologists”¹⁸ and related sociological magazines including *Phylon*,¹⁹ edited by W.E.B. Du Bois and later Ira De A. Reid out of Atlanta University, proximities which likely coincided with the evolving direction of the magazine.²⁰ This era of the *NGR* was defined by an expanding concern with racial and economic justice and the South’s relationship to national and global issues, particularly after the beginning of the Second World War. As Smith reflects, by this time “we were discovering that we knew nothing, really; that the real South . . . we actually did not know. I think the spirit of North Ga. Review and South Today was a spirit of discovery; we didn’t have answers but we had an awful lot of new questions to ask, and some very embarrassing ones at that” (“Memoir” 50).

The magazine began to focus its attention on the lived and material manifestations of these oppressions in the modern South, including access to education, class oppression, and race-

¹⁸ One prominent school of thought which arose in intellectual opposition to the Southern Agrarians were the “Chapel Hill Sociologists” (Egerton 59), also known as the “sociological regionalists” (Cutrer 41). While this group emerged predominantly out of the (white) University of North Carolina, other important sites of this sociological approach included Atlanta University and Fisk University (Du Bois, “Apology” 4). Leading social scientists in this group included Howard W. Odum, Hortense Powdermaker, W.E.B. Du Bois, and Ira De A. Reid. The group exercised a rigorous scholarly analysis of the South’s discriminatory policies and race- and class-based inequalities using empirical sociological evidence (Egerton 61). Indicative of these ideological ties, The University of North Carolina Press was the most frequently read-from and promoted publishing house in *South Today*. See Appendix Table 19.

¹⁹ A quarterly and later semi-annual journal, *Phylon: The Atlanta University Review of Race & Culture* was founded in 1940 by W.E.B. Du Bois, who had returned to Atlanta University in 1933 to head the Sociology Department (Henderson and Sumler-Edmond 1). Between 1940 and 1944, Du Bois worked as editor of *Phylon*, with Ira De A. Reid as managing editor and an editorial board composed of Atlanta University faculty members. Du Bois’s motivation was to interrogate the concept of race in order to more effectively theorize and fight for the liberation of people of colour globally. Despite this global outlook, Du Bois affirmed that *Phylon* would “proceed from the point of view and the experience of the black folk where we live and work” (“Apology” 4).

²⁰ *Phylon* editors W.E.B. Du Bois and Ira De A. Reid both were subscribers and contributors to *South Today*. See: W.E.B. Du Bois, “[Review] *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* by John Dollard,” *NGR* Winter 1937-38, pp. 9-10; Ira De A. Reid and Arthur Raper, “Poor Land and Peasantry,” *NGR* Winter 1939-40, pp. 15-17 & 41-42; Ira De A. Reid “[Review] *Black Workers and the New Unions* by Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell,” *NGR* Winter 1939-40, pp. 35-6. Several of Smith’s articles were printed in *Phylon*. See: Lillian Smith, “The Artist and the Dream,” *Phylon* vol. 9, no. 3, 1948, pp. 232-3; Lillian Smith, “The Right Way is Not the Moderate Way,” *Phylon* vol. 17, no. 4, 1956, pp. 335-41; Lillian Smith, “The Winner Names the Age,” *Phylon* vol. 18, no. 3, 1957, pp. 203-12. Smith’s novel *Strange Fruit* was also reviewed in *Phylon*. See: Nathaniel Tillman, “*Strange Fruit* in Retrospect,” *Phylon* vol. 5, no. 3, 1944, pp. 288-289.

based violence. Calling for submissions of more critical content and socio-economic analyses (Smith, “Dope with Lime” Fall 1937, 2), *NGR* took on the inequalities and underfunding of the South’s education system, the racism of the carceral system (Smith and Snelling, “South of Justice” 66), and the neglect of the medical establishment (Smith, “Paw and the Rest” 40-4), to name a few of the societal issues it engaged with. *NGR* also sought to connect the anti-racist movements gaining momentum in the South, as a result of Black conscription in the war, to a broader network of global liberation movements ongoing at that time. By Winter 1937-38, *NGR* was denouncing western colonialism both in the U.S. and abroad (Smith, “He That is Without Sin” 17, 31), condemning British imperialism in India, China, and South Africa, and U.S. interference in South America and the Caribbean through methods of propaganda, embargoes, exploitative armament industries, and military terror (Snelling, “The Coming Struggle for Latin America” 16).

The third era of the magazine, titled *South Today*, lasted 5 issues and ran from Spring 1942 to Winter 1944-1945 before folding; its last two issues were semi-annual. This iteration of the magazine was concerned with the South’s relation to the world and worked to devise non-discursive ways to challenge oppression and injustice. *South Today* would not just critique, but *imagine* and in some cases *enact* economic, political, and social change. While (re)education had always been a major concern, *South Today* also focused heavily on children and their education as a site of change and futurity as I examine in Chapter 2.

Lillian Smith, Paula Snelling, and the Origins of *South Today*

Lillian Eugenia Smith was born on December 12, 1897 in Jasper, Florida. She was the eighth of ten children born into a wealthy white Methodist family who dealt in lumber and naval

stores (Loveland 4). In 1915, after the failure of the family business, the Smiths relocated to their summer cabin on Old Screamer Mountain near Clayton, Georgia, where they opened the Laurel Falls Hotel in 1920 (Loveland 4) and later converted it to a private summer camp for affluent white girls (Gladney and Hodgens xiv). After teaching briefly in the mountain schools, Smith enrolled in classes at the nearby Piedmont College (1915-1916) before training as a pianist at the Peabody Conservatory of Music in Baltimore (1917, 1919-1922) (xiv). Smith also briefly attended Columbia University, during which time she worked in Harlem as a music teacher. Similar to the mountain schools, Smith's experience teaching in the inner-city schools of Baltimore and New York City exposed her to new levels of class- and race-based poverty and oppression (Loveland 11). Most formative for Smith's developing social consciousness, however, were her years teaching music at a Methodist girls' school in Huzhou, China (1922-25). The experience would open Smith's eyes to the horrors of colonialism and radicalize her in opposing the parallel white-supremacist colonial violence operational in her own society (Brantley, "Lillian Smith" 374).

After her father fell ill in 1925, Smith was obligated to return to Georgia to take over the operation of Laurel Falls Camp. While reluctant to give up her independence in order to undertake familial responsibilities, she purchased the camp in 1928 from her parents and molded it in her own image, developing a radical and experimental pedagogy centred around philosophies of intellectual and creative expression that I explore in Chapter 2 as it relates to the magazine.²¹ It was at Laurel Falls Camp that Smith first met Paula Snelling, who was employed

²¹ For more information about Laurel Falls Camp, see Margaret Rose Gladney, "A Chain Reaction of Dreams: Lillian Smith and Laurel Falls Camp," *Journal of American Culture*, vol. 5, no. 3, Fall 1982; Margaret Rose Gladney, "The Liberating Institution: Lillian Smith and Laurel Falls Camp," paper delivered 6 April 1979 at the Southeast American Studies Association, Special Collections Division, University of Georgia; and Suzanne Niedland & Anberin Pasha, *Miss Lil's Camp*, a BusEye Films Production, 2006.

as a camp counselor (375). The two women fell in love in 1925 and began living together in 1930, a romantic and professional relationship that would last the rest of their lives.²²

In an upbringing comparable to Smith's, Paula Snelling was born on January 1, 1899 in Macon, Georgia to a wealthy white mercantile family (Smith and Snelling, "Yes... we are southern" 42). After graduating from the Tallulah Falls School, Snelling attended post-secondary at Wesleyan Female College (1915-1919), where she received her Bachelor of Arts in teaching (Wesleyan, "Paula Snelling"). Snelling then pursued a Master of Arts at Columbia University (1927-1928), where she majored in psychology and minored in English ("Biographical & Family Material" 22). Upon completing her education, Snelling spent fifteen years teaching mathematics in high schools across Georgia (Sosna 178), while she worked as a counselor at the Laurel Falls Camp in the summers.

In 1936, Smith and Snelling co-founded and co-edited the little magazine, *Pseudopodia*. The idea for the magazine, as Smith recalls, began after both she and Snelling underwent a series

²² Until the research of Margaret Rose Gladney in the 1980s, Smith and Snelling were exclusively described by journalists and scholars as "close friends" or "good friends" (Blackwell and Clay 6; Loveland 16). While Smith and Snelling remained closeted during their lives and intentionally destroyed most of their personal correspondence, a few intimate letters do survive and are collected in *How Am I To Be Heard?* Shortly before she passed away, Snelling disclosed her relationship with Smith, stating, "[w]e shared everything; we loved each other very much, and sometimes we expressed that love physically" ("Personalizing the Political" 99). During that interview, Snelling identified as a lesbian and intimated that Smith may have been bisexual, explaining, "Lil ... could have been happily married, had the right man come along" (99). However, it is important to remember that the term "bisexual" was not used by Snelling, nor was it one Smith ever publicly applied to herself. Nevertheless, Smith alludes to her queer sexuality in her unpublished memoir material, written shortly before her death ("Memoir" 23). Smith also frequently and candidly wrote lesbian and bisexual characters in her novels, *Strange Fruit* and *One Hour*. Smith's manuscript *Julia*, which was not accepted for publication, also openly explored interracial lesbian relationships; as Smith recalls, "[t]he candor I showed in talking about the relationships between women and women and women and girls would shock some today [1965]; in 1934, (remember Henry Miller hadn't even been pub. in this country then) it was hair-raising" ("Memoir" 44). Given the social climate Smith describes, the decision to remain closeted seems to have been made primarily for reasons of safety and to prevent the ostracization of Smith and Snelling's work. As Gladney recalls from an interview with Snelling: "[Snelling] felt Smith hid their relationship, not to deny it but to protect it" ("Personalizing the Political" 100). While it is important to be cognizant of the ethics of retroactively ascribing labels of sexual orientation to deceased persons from another time, Gladney also notes that it is "important to acknowledge sexual expression in historical research," arguing, "[s]omething very liberating can happen when part of a person that has been previously hidden, denied, or demeaned is finally affirmed" (100). On the history of queer sexualities in the South, see John Howard (ed), *Carryin' On in the Lesbian and Gay South*, New York UP, 1997.

of profoundly life-changing events. In the spring of 1935, Smith was obliged to give up the apartment she was sharing with Snelling in Macon to return to Old Screamer Mountain and care for her ill and incapacitated mother (Smith “Memoir” 47). Later that summer, Snelling suffered severe injuries after a nearly fatal horse-back riding incident (44). In the winter of that same year, a former camper whom Smith had mentored committed suicide at age nineteen (47). Smith recalls that it was “in January [1936], I think when I (feeling we both were going to lose ourselves in some desperate fashion) suggested the little magazine” (47). Although the magazine was conceived as an intellectual and creative outlet for the couple, from the outset they treated the magazine as a serious literary endeavor. While Smith had some limited experience in publishing, having edited a small camp newsletter called the *Laurel Leaf*, both editors were largely learning as they went. For the next nine years, Smith and Snelling edited the magazine in the winter months and ran the Laurel Falls girls camp in the summers, the modest profits of which funded the magazine throughout its run.²³ During this period, Smith wrote her famous and controversial debut novel, *Strange Fruit* (1944), which explored interracial romance. Its publication and notoriety would eventually precipitate the discontinuation of both the magazine in 1945 and the camp in 1948.

Smith would go on to write several other novels, memoirs, and activist works including *Killers of the Dream* (1949; revised 1961), *The Journey* (1954), *Now is the Time* (1955), *One Hour* (1959), *Memory of a Large Christmas* (1961), and *Our Faces, Our Words* (1964). She continued to be involved in activism for racial justice throughout the Civil Rights Movement, writing a weekly column for *The Chicago Defender* and guest lecturing. Although Smith is most

²³ Smith and Snelling’s annual income from the camp was less than \$3,000 (“Memoir” 49), or, adjusted for inflation, about \$49,000 USD in 2022. This covered the couple’s general living expenses and the financing of *South Today*. While most of the financial accounts of *South Today* were destroyed in a 1944 fire, magazine expenses for 1945 totaled \$3,924.55 (Receipts \$4,302.37 less Disbursements \$8,226.92) (“Account Book”). See Appendix Table 23.

remembered for her racial justice work, she also wrote about a variety of subjects including gender and womanhood, childhood and pedagogy, disability, and autobiography. However, much of Smith's intellectual and literary work was cut short after she was diagnosed with breast cancer in 1953 (Loveland 177). After a thirteen-year-long battle with cancer, Smith passed away on September 28, 1966 at age 68.

While Smith and Snelling maintained a relatively equal status as co-editors of the magazine, Snelling would increasingly play a supporting role as Smith received literary acclaim following the publication of *Strange Fruit*. While Snelling is primarily remembered for her work in *South Today*, she continued to be active in literary activist circles as an independent writer and critic, contributing articles to periodicals including *The Nation*, *New Leader*, *New Republic*, *The Progressive*, and *Saturday Review of Literature* ("Biographical & Family Material" 4).

Furthermore, Snelling continued to work closely with Smith as her research assistant, copyeditor, and manager of the financial side of Smith's literary career (18), labour which has been greatly undervalued in most analyses of Smith's work. After Smith's death, Snelling worked as a librarian at a Georgia high school (26). She passed away on February 22, 1985 at age 86.

Literature Review, Methodology, and Chapter Overviews

Despite the relative success and longevity of *South Today* as a radical little magazine, it has gone largely unexamined within scholarly histories and literary analyses. While there has been a small but sustained critical interest in Smith's work since her death²⁴ and in more recent decades,²⁵ such scholarship has largely focused on Smith's single-authored books and her later

²⁴ See the work of Joan Titus and Margaret Sullivan, for example.

²⁵ See, for example, the work of Margaret Rose Gladney, Grace Elizabeth Hale, Will Brantley, Nghana Tamu Lewis, Lisa Hodgens, and Tanya Long Bennett.

involvement in the Civil Rights Movement.²⁶ This is also true of the more popular treatments of Smith's work which have recently emerged, including Hal and Henry Jacobs' independent documentary *Lillian Smith: Breaking the Silence* (2019). Consequently, despite this growing scholarly and popular recognition, Smith's early writings and activism remain greatly understudied. Perhaps the most significant of these omissions is *South Today*.

From a literary perspective, *South Today* and similar periodicals do not align neatly with modernist frameworks. Likewise, within histories of the Civil Rights Movement, *South Today* falls outside the conventional framing of the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.²⁷ There are also historical reasons underwriting this critical absence. *South Today* (and Smith's work in general) was heavily censored in the South at the time, encountering both overt and covert forms of suppression throughout its run. In addition to state attempts to "legally" silence the publication, Smith and Snelling's home—including some 13,000 letters and numerous manuscripts—was destroyed by two local "white boys" in a 1955 arson attack (Smith "Memoir" 12).²⁸ Smith also recognized the role of unofficial censorship in the South. These suppressions of radical literature, Smith argued, formed part of a broader culture of white supremacy that she frequently referred to as "the conspiracy of silence," a term which denotes white complacency and complicity in systems of racial violence. Such "silences," Smith argued, also extended to literature and the sharing of "subversive," or liberatory, ideas, as she explained in a 1963 televised interview:

²⁶ For a more comprehensive survey of scholarship on Smith and her work, see Tanya Long Bennett, "Spinning Bridges: An Introduction," *Critical Essays on the Writings of Lillian Smith*, edited by Tanya Long Bennett (Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 2021, pp. 3-20).

²⁷ While this historiographic framework is increasingly shifting to encompass what Jacquelyn Dowd Hall calls the "long civil rights movement," this may in part explain the greater analysis of Smith's later works over *South Today* and the relative lack of scholarship around this and other interracial periodicals.

²⁸ In contrast, the burning of the *South Today* office in 1944 was accidental.

I have been fought, you know, in the South. I have been smothered and censored simply because I was talking about something that was not the collective dream, not the official dream of the [white] South. And I have given my private dreams, and many writers have. And we have been fought. Now, the South is very proud of the fact that it never officially censored any of my books, but it has unofficially censored most of them, often by not reviewing them, by not having them in the stores to sell, by not ever letting a good word appear in the papers about them. Now, that is complete and highly efficient censorship and something you can't get at. ("Miss Smith of Georgia" 18:53)

Another facet of this suppression is the role the literary establishment, including Agrarianism and its literary successor New Criticism, played in canon formation which reflected, then and today, the pervasive influence of white, male, conservative thought in academia. Although *South Today* had a larger subscription base and arguably larger popular impact than its Agrarian/New Critical literary quarterly counterparts, its critique of the white South's dominant ideologies ensured that the literary establishment would see *South Today* fade into obscurity through its deliberate omission in literary histories. Although critical attention is increasingly paid to Smith and to forgotten radical little magazines, the effects of the magazine's censorship reverberate today.

The scholarly attention that has been paid to *South Today* primarily takes the form of bibliographical reference texts and biographical treatments²⁹ that frame the publication within the

²⁹ The first scholarly treatment of the magazine was Letty Morehouse's Master's thesis, "Bio-Bibliographical Study of Miss Lillian Smith" (1956), which surveys the history of *South Today* and compiles Smith's contributions to the magazine. This resource was expanded upon in Margaret Sullivan's *A Bibliography of Lillian Smith & Paula Snelling with an Index to South Today* (1971). Helen White and Redding S. Sugg, Jr.'s primary source counterpart, *From the Mountain* (1972) compiles a selection of significant and representative articles from the magazine's run, contextualizing them within an introductory synopsis of the magazine's production. While these reference texts mark important preliminary treatments of the magazine, they do not provide in-depth analysis. The two biographies on Smith, Louise Blackwell and Frances Clay's *Lillian Smith* (1971) and Anne Loveland's *Lillian Smith: A Southerner Confronting the South* (1986), also contain chapters on *South Today* and its evolution. Most recently and importantly, Jordan J. Dominy has explored *South Today* through the methodologies of periodical studies, yet still underplays the significance of *South Today*'s activist praxis.

context of Smith's literary career, crediting the magazine as the place Smith first sounded her theories about racial segregation and gender in the South. Not only do such works diminish Snelling's role in the formation of the magazine, but through the lens of biography they also obscure the inherently collective nature of the publication. Consequently, Snelling and the hundreds of writers and activists who, in various ways, contributed to and sustained the magazine have gone largely unacknowledged within the scholarship. While Smith's contributions to *South Today* were inarguably sizable, a goal of this thesis is to recognize the spectrum of contributions by contributors, readers, and allies, and to bring to light the invisible labour that sustained the magazine for almost a decade.

The tendency within periodical studies to centre editorial voice and literary content over a collective creation, community, and ephemera informs my methodological approach; specifically, I read the magazine through Ann Ardis' formulation of "print media ecologies" (2), with the broader intention of uncovering the range of individuals who sustained *South Today*, and how the magazine developed in conversation with its reading public and peripheral activism. While I do not wish to minimize the literary values of the magazine, the way in which it transcended purely literary and print spaces and became a site of socio-political dissent both on and off the page, and site of counterpublic has gone largely unconsidered.

Consequently, I explore the magazine as a *literary activist counterpublic*. In each of the three chapters of this thesis, I theorize the distinct but interrelated praxes of *South Today*'s literary activism in terms of its organizational structure and content, peripheral activism, and readership. Chapter 1 argues that *South Today*'s creative and critical content produced a discursive, "on-the-page," literary activism and print community that was attentive to issues of racial justice and accessibility of information through its interracial contributor base and non-

profit driven financial structure. Chapter 2 explores the magazine's "off-the-page" activism, as reflected in Smith and Snelling's interracial house parties, mutual aid-based direct actions, and consciousness-shifting pedagogies of the Laurel Falls Girls Camp, including how each of these praxes existed in an iterative feedback loop with the magazine that continuously challenged and advanced both activism. Chapter 3 explores the counterpublic of *South Today* as not only one rhetorically constructed by its editors, but also co-shaped and sustained by the commitments and visions of the readership itself. In short, I explore both how the counterpublic of *South Today* merged the capacities of the periodical form and its formation of print communities with practical efforts to enact written imaginaries in local and national spaces; specifically, I explore how these concurrent practices continuously reinforced and advanced each other in co-constitutive ways. I draw on an interdisciplinary methodological framework of close reading, archival research, and data collection and interpretation, as well as the robust theoretical scholarship of periodical studies, public sphere theory, and social and political movement theory, including theories of infrapolitics. Ultimately, I contend that *South Today* should be read as a literary activist counterpublic that developed an insightful understanding of the generative intersections of print, community, and activism.

CHAPTER I: THE LITERARY ACTIVISM OF *SOUTH TODAY*

Well, what are we? / Two poor dear girls (an Atlanta columnist says) way up on
a mountain top trying to express ourselves. (Give em a hand, boys—he says.)

— Lillian Smith, “Dope with Lime: A Catechism,”
The North Georgia Review, Winter 1937-1938

In 1941, education in the state of Georgia came under attack in what became known as the Regents’ crisis (Tuck 19).³⁰ Orchestrated by Georgia Governor Eugene Talmadge, the event marked one of the most infamous episodes of political interference in the history of Georgia’s education system, resulting in the firing of several white university professors and the removal of 23 “subversive” texts from Black and white public-school libraries. The implications of Talmadge’s manipulation of Georgia’s Board of Regents and Board of Education was not lost on Lillian Smith and Paula Snelling, who covered the scandal in the final issue of *The North Georgia Review* in Winter 1941. Ultimately, the event helped them articulate some of the primary concerns and objectives of *South Today*’s literary activism, including their commitment to facilitating the sharing of information and educational resources with their reading public in accessible ways. In this chapter I argue that the magazine modeled this ethic in its discursive content and distribution practices.

The 1941 Georgia Book Banning

In June 1941, “Dr. Walter D. Cocking, Dean of the School of Education of the University of Georgia, and Dr. M. S. Pittman, President of South Georgia Teachers’ College, were informed that they were slated by the Governor for dismissal from their respective posts ... based on hastily collected ‘evidence’ from a demoted teacher who charged Dr. Cocking with ‘advocating

³⁰ Also known as the Cocking Affair, or the Cocking-Pittman Controversy.

the co-education of the races'; and more vague evidence collected by the Governor's henchmen who charged Dr. Pittman with 'undue political activity'" (Smith and Snelling "Georgia Folk Lore" 22). After being cleared of the charges, Talmadge took control of the Board of Regents and fired Cocking, Pittman, and nine more professors from Georgia's white universities (22). However, as James F. Cook notes, these firings "marked only the beginning of a crisis in Georgia education which did not end until 1943" (192). This state infringement on academic freedom led to the discreditation of all Georgia's white universities by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools in December 1941. In response, students across Georgia rose up against Talmadge in protests that "kept the state in turmoil for months" (192) and eventually resulted in Ellis Arnall's defeat of Talmadge in the 1942 election.

Little remembered in this whole affair is that, while in control of the Board of Regents, Talmadge also banned 23 texts he dubbed "subversive devil books" (Davenport 73) from the Georgia public school system libraries. As *The United Press* reported, the "purge" originated with the "school superintendent of Lamar County" bringing Marion Cuthbert's *We Sing America*, an illustrated children's book depicting "Negro and white children playing together," to Talmadge's attention (The United Press 1). A reporter for the *Atlanta Constitution* recorded Talmadge vowing, "We are going to get rid of that book and all books of that kind. ... I am going to turn them over to the legislature and ask them to pass a resolution to burn them" (qtd. in Wiegand 93). To that end, Talmadge appointed a sub-committee "to investigate all school textbooks 'subversive in nature and against Southern traditions'" (Smith, "Burning Down Georgia's Back Porch" 70). Over the course of six weeks, the sub-committee compiled a list of 23 books, which the Board of Education unanimously agreed to ban (Harold Henderson 38; The United Press 1). These books "on evolution, sociology, and the problem of adolescence" (1)

were subsequently removed from the shelves of Black and white public-school libraries, which “include[d] almost all public libraries in the state save those in cities and large towns” (Smith and Snelling, “Georgia Folk Lore” 22). In other words, this attack on free and open access to literary resources which challenged the status quo of white supremacy and capitalism primarily targeted an already underfunded rural education system and disenfranchised segment of Georgia’s population.

Talmadge’s book banning—and *NGR*’s coverage of it—is historically and contextually significant for understanding both the climate of the South in this period and the developing form of the magazine’s literary activism. This event exposes another dimension of the interconnected structures of power that governed the Jim Crow South; while the attempted banning of *South Today* in 1943 revealed the mutuality of white supremacist vigilantes, the state, the police, and the “justice” system, Talmadge’s book banning revealed the ways in which the Board of Education and southern library associations were also implicated in a larger project of race- and class-based state oppression. Indeed, while the Metropolitan Library Council of New York “condemned Talmadge for setting a ‘dangerous precedent’ by purging ‘books dealing with the betterment of race relations,’ The American Library Association (which had passed a Library Bill of Rights two years earlier), the Southeastern Library Association, and the segregated Georgia Library Association said nothing” (Wiegand 93).

This “conspiracy of silence” was further upheld by the southern white press.³¹ *NGR* was one of the few southern periodicals to cover the banning and understand its political

³¹ Smith and Snelling argued that white newspapers covered this event largely because Cocking and Pittman fundamentally had no interest in challenging the system of segregation and, therefore, were figures of (white) public sympathy unjustly targeted by Talmadge in a calculated political move which backfired. Smith and Snelling further elaborated that “Prominent Georgians defended Dr. Cocking declaring or implying that of course he was not guilty of promoting anything so heinous as racial co-education in the South or any other ideas ‘contrary to southern traditions.’ As indeed he was not. If the Governor had been able to make a case against Cocking on the race issue

implications.³² As Smith and Snelling wrote, “Little publicity has been given this book banning—for reasons as varied as inertia and ‘strategy,’ although in our opinion, it is a far more grave infringement of American civil liberties and a more radical interference with the function of public education than is the dismissal of the University professors” (“Georgia Folk Lore” 22).³³ As Smith observed of the books targeted, “there seemed a fine logic” in selecting “a little book about the origin of babies ... a book about six million ‘brown Americans’³⁴ ... amoebas ... books about southern poverty” (“Dope With Lime” Winter 1941, 4-5).³⁵ The overarching thread among these banned books, she explained, was “that strange southern trinity: sex, race, Bible—which rests so firmly on the broad base of southern poverty and ignorance” (5). What Smith importantly identifies, and what would become one of the magazine’s central concerns, is the socio-political capabilities of literature and education in furnishing the foundation for social change, a potentiality which the white ruling class was evidently aware of in their calculated suppression of certain texts. “Why ban Odum’s *Southern Regions*?” Smith asked sardonically, “Why not ban it indeed! It is full of dangerous stuff. Of course it is! Facts. If anyone knows

the newspapers would have been about as talkative as a mute and with a few honorable exceptions, so would everybody else in Georgia” (Smith and Snelling, “Georgia Folk Lore” 22-3).

³² Other periodicals to mention the banning included *Survey Graphic* and the *Atlanta Constitution*.

³³ It is unsurprising the university scandal took precedence in the white press; the Cocking-Pittman affair involved two high-profile white university professors and a vocal public outcry by white elites following the loss of accreditation, whereas the book banning largely affected poorer white and Black public-school libraries and their users.

³⁴ In this context, this term refers to biracial Americans.

³⁵ Smith reported in *Common Ground* that the “committee promptly took off the shelves [Howard W.] Odum’s monumental *Southern Regions*, [Edwin R.] Embree’s *Brown America*, [Louis] Adamic’s *From Jovany Lands*; a book about amoebas (amoebas not being mentioned in Genesis); a book concerning the origin of babies—[Karl] de Schweinitz’ *Growing Up* (bees, flowers, and babies); one on children’s behavior titled *Big Problems on Little Shoulders* [by Carl Renz and Mildred Paul Renz]... and seventeen other books” (Smith, “Burning Down Georgia’s Back Porch” 70), which included Frederick Lewis Allen’s *Since Yesterday: The Nineteen-Thirties in America* (1940); M. David Hoffman and Ruth Wagners’ *Leadership in a Changing World: The Socialist Cure for Society* (1935); H. Gordon Garbedian’s *The March of Science, Making Life Longer and Sweeter* (1936); Albert Bushnell Hart’s *American History Told By Contemporaries, V. 5* (1939); Howard W. Odum’s *American Social Problems* (1940); Frederic Arnold Kummer’s *The First Days of Man* (1922); Paul Grabbe’s *We Call It Human Nature* (1939); and Charles A. Elwood’s *Social Problems and Sociology, Chap. 11: The Negro Problem* (1911) (*Survey Graphic* 5).

anything more dangerous to ignorance and bigotry, to hatred and prejudice than scientific facts, we should like to learn of it” (5).

Events such as this would mobilize *South Today*'s editors and contributors to counteract the state's silencing of diverse literary texts by writing and distributing their own counter literature, an act which speaks to the critical importance of establishing unofficial channels, including independent print media, for the circulation of information in the South.

What is Literary Activism?

I argue that *South Today* developed an “on-the-page” *literary activist* practice that mobilized the revolutionary possibilities of literature and print communities for social change, and modeled it throughout the magazine's publication. Here I am broadly defining “literary activism” as the bringing about of social and/or political change through literary activities, including but not limited to the writing, performing, publishing, reviewing, and/or distributing of fiction, nonfiction, poetry, songs, etc., which work—whether as part of a larger movement or not—to critique, protest, empower, educate, or inspire change. Literary activism could also include “off-the-page” actions, whereby literary institutions such as publishing houses and presses, universities, media forms, etc. are critiqued, circumvented, or expropriated.³⁶ There is no definitional consensus of what “literary activism” constitutes, and as Amy King argues, it is important that this concept remains open-ended and pluralistic to accommodate a variety of activisms, both historical and emergent.³⁷

³⁶ For example, Toni Morrison's work during her time as fiction editor at Random House reflects a direct and embodied form of literary activism that produced quantifiable change for Black writers and, consequently, also for reader access to their work (So 1-4).

³⁷ As King writes, “no one person should be the final authority on articulating a set definition or set of rules for what literary activism might entail. In other words, like most activism, literary activism must certainly include a range of ideas and actions and voices, even if some contradict or go against others” (n.p.). For a compilation of definitions by

Cognitive and behavioral scientist, Mark Bracher contends that “literary texts have the potential to ‘transform people’ in socially crucial ways” (ix), arguing that by understanding the “cognitive roots of social injustice, literature emerges as a privileged site for promoting social justice by correcting the faulty cognitive structures that are ultimately responsible for injustice” (xiii). Poet Craig Santos Perez further testifies to this social function of literature, reflecting on how he sees literature as having “the power to raise political awareness, inspire environmental justice, cultivate empathy, protest oppression, empower communities, and advocate for peace” (70). Perez also notes that art “is an essential part of social movements” (70). While it would be simplistic to suggest that literature has the capacity to undo entrenched structural harm, literary activism has an important role to play in educating, raising consciousness, and imagining futures when operating in conjunction with organized movements.

Within this deliberately expansive definition, I propose that periodicals and their circulation among reading publics offer unique affordances in organizing for social change due to their temporal immediacy, opportunities for dialogue, and ability to connect activist circles. There is a long history in the United States and elsewhere of activists mobilizing print media as a tactic in larger socio-political movements, a history which includes abolitionists, suffragists, and the political left, including anarchists and socialists. As part of this legacy, *South Today* understood the role of the press in the movement for racial justice in the South. Like other 1930s and 1940s periodicals on the literary left, *South Today* was a proponent of the social function of

writers and activists that captures the breadth and depth of literary activism, see: Amy King, “What is Literary Activism?” <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/harriet-books/2015/08/what-is-literary-activism>. In the epilogue to *Literary Activism: Perspectives*, Jon Cook likewise concludes “‘literary activism’ quite deliberately eludes any summary definition and, thus, may prove frustrating to those in search of quick answers” (297). Cook asserts, however, that literary activism “is not, in the first instance, a contribution to literary theory or criticism (although it raises questions pertinent to both, about the role and purpose of criticism, for example)” (297). I agree with this position and have excluded criticism from my definition. Finally, I choose to include the concept of distribution, broadly conceived, as a form of literary activism, in acknowledgement of Kristen Hogan’s work on the Feminist Bookstore Movement (38).

literature and employed a range of literary tactics aimed at both critiquing and reimagining southern society. Recognizing the role of literature in shaping culture and socio-political consciousness, the magazine's editors and contributors condemned the racialized tropes and stereotypes that pervaded the southern literary canon, ultimately advancing a counter-literature through its critical and creative content.

There has been much scholarship on how Smith and Snelling published an anti-racist and anti-segregationist literature.³⁸ Most notably, Jordan J. Dominy argues that *South Today* and contemporary New Critical quarterlies constituted “competing canons,” with *South Today*'s literature combating the “political extremism” of the South's racial caste system (“Reviewing the South: Competing Canons” 3-5). While I wholly agree with Dominy's conclusion that Smith and Snelling's editorials “provid[e] an outline” (27) for a southern literary canon “based on democratic values” (4), I suggest we extend this argument to read *South Today* as producing a counter-canon that was enacted both textually *and* through a collective compositional practice attentive to different voices and an equity of distribution.³⁹ This chapter focuses on how *South Today*'s anti-racist southern counter-canon was not published as an end in itself, but as a tool to educate and mobilize readers to participate in the work of social change. Furthermore, while Dominy primarily locates this canon textually in Smith and Snelling's editorials, I suggest we read the formation of *South Today*'s counter-canon as a collective project that emerged and evolved through a variety of genres, methods, and voices, including original contributor content, reviews, book lists, reader essay forums, and quiz contests. Modeling a discursive literary praxis

³⁸ See the work of Loveland, White and Sugg, and Dominy.

³⁹ I draw from the language of counterpublics here, as theorized by public sphere theorists like Nancy Fraser and Michael Warner, to capture the way in which *South Today* could create an alternative canon by presenting its readers with literary texts that countered the region's dominant white supremacy. If counterpublics arise in opposition to dominant publics, then counter-canons also exist in opposition to dominant canons, which in this case would be the Southern Agrarian/New Critical southern literary canon.

that further separates it from the hierarchical and elitist models of the New Critics, *South Today* took an active role in shaping a polyvocal, multi-genre counter-canon, which it leveraged as a radical and political act through its collective composition, educational focus, reader participation, and methods of cheap and widespread distribution. In this chapter I will demonstrate how *South Today* worked to theorize, write, publish, promote, and accessibly distribute a new southern literature and critical discourse that aimed to challenge southern culture through art and education. First, I sketch how *South Today* developed a counter-canon of both critical and creative content to promote a progressive, social-realist literature that rejected and subverted a white supremacist southern mythology. Second, I consider how *South Today* enacted a desegregated, albeit imperfect, print space by publishing and reviewing an interracial cohort of writers. Third, I explore how, in response to state attacks on and economic barriers to information access, Smith and Snelling rejected capitalist logics and sought to make literature and educational resources more widely accessible through reading lists, library copies, “pay it forward” subscription options, and pamphlet literature. Fourth, I explore how an “on-the-page” literary counterpublic developed through the introduction of reader essay forums and quiz contests, which dismantled constructed barriers between readers and writers, affirmed a wider spectrum of knowledges, and established a two-way dialogue between the editors and readers.

South Today's Counter-Canon

Recognizing the role of literature in shaping culture and consciousness, *South Today's* editors and contributors condemned the racialized tropes and stereotypes that pervaded the southern literary canon, ultimately advancing a counter-literature through their critical and creative content. To dismantle the dominant southern literary canon and its underlying

ideologies, Smith and Snelling first sought to understand the landscape of contemporary southern literature and theorize its political and cultural function in society. In Fall 1936, they inquired into how the mainstream southern literary market affected a dominant white southern consciousness and upheld a culture of white supremacy by sending out questionnaires to librarians about “Georgia’s reading habits.” The editors received 80 responses, results which they subsequently shared with their readers (Smith, “Dope With Lime” Winter 1937-1938, 13). The survey revealed that the most popular southern literature was overwhelmingly dominated by white-authored “Lost Cause” narratives which underwrote the “Southern Myth.” For example, as Smith wrote of William Alexander Percy’s bestseller *Lanterns on the Levee*, “Those who enjoy surfaces without looking at substance can read this book without pain; those who wear the aura of racial superiority will acknowledge with satisfaction the halo which the author has woven so delicately around his own head” (“Dope With Lime” Winter 1941, 5-6).⁴⁰ She continued: “A book like this is more disturbing . . . than a Georgia demagogue’s cheap tricks [Talmadge’s banning of “subversive” books]. It is easy for intelligent people to reject violent and vulgar expressions of race chauvinism; it seems more difficult for them to resist the seductive chanting of those same words if modulated and muted to a well-bred softness” (6). In short, Smith is identifying the insidious and harmful effects of a literature underwritten by a casual messaging of racial hierarchy.

South Today also identified literary white supremacy as operative in the perpetuation of oppressive racial stereotypes in “southern literature,” particularly those rooted in anti-Blackness. As Snelling writes, “So firmly established in our ideology and in our fiction are these stereotypes

⁴⁰ For a comparative analysis of William Alexander Percy’s *Lanterns on the Levee* and Lillian Smith’s *Killers of the Dream*, see Justin Mellette, “Ghosts of Our Fathers: Rewriting the South in Lillian Smith’s *Killers of the Dream*,” *Critical Essays on the Writings of Lillian Smith* (Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 2021, pp. 41-66).

that as yet no year passes without new books being published with the same old table of contents” (“Southern Fiction” 4). In her survey of southern fiction, she continues,

[F]or a character in our fiction to be white signifies (unless he is one of the tenant farmers more recently rubber-stamped into our midst) that he is to the manner [sic] born—an aristocrat to be revealed through the glow of romance, his virtues portrayed with the intent of evoking love and admiration, his vices merely to titillate and to be condoned; while to be black connotes that he shall serve as a support and a foil for the hero’s glamour—to be treated, most likely, with tenderness but not with respect. (4)

These books, “based invariably upon titillation of white superiority” (5), were then consumed by the mainstream southern reading public, contributing to the white supremacist project of racialization in the South. Describing this as a “culture of segregation,” Lauren Rebecca Sklaroff observes that “for black Americans in the 1930s and 1940s ... minstrel images, exclusion from historical narratives, and other commercialized distortions of blackness ... needed eliminating in the same way that discrimination in other ways was under attack” (Sklaroff 6).

One way in which the editors of *South Today* advanced a counter-canon was by compiling “recommended reading lists” of recent works of fiction and non-fiction that challenged the status quo (see Figure 2).⁴¹

⁴¹ For example, *NGR* Summer 1940 published “The Editor’s Choice of Books About the South.”

Books Important to Southerners in a World at War

Toward Freedom. The autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru. John Day. 1941. Nowhere among Western political leaders is a man of Nehru's intellectual stature and moral stamina to be found. His autobiography is one of the most important books of the century.

Glances of World History. By Jawaharlal Nehru. John Day. 1942. Letters about the world written behind prison walls by a great man to his daughter. The whole book is fascinating. But perhaps more valuable to us than the facts and interpretations he gives of the East is the perspective in which he enables us to see the West. Do not miss: *Civil War in America, The Invisible Empire of America, India During War Time, Postscript.*

The Negro Caravan. Edited by Sterling Brown, Arthur Davis, Ulysses Lee. Dryden Press. 1942. Expertly and sensitively edited anthology. A copy in every library and every literate southern home, white and black, would be invaluable in bringing about understanding and respect between the races.

The Mind of the South. By W. J. Cash. Knopf 1941. A southerner looks at his people with realism, tenderness, imagination, insight.

Sharecroppers All. By Arthur Raper and Ira Reid. U. of N. C. Press. 1941. Our way of life and where it has led us. Easy to read, difficult to forget.

Deep South, Davis, Gardner & Gardner. (U. of Chicago Press. 1941); *After Freedom,* Hortense

Powdermaker. (Viking, 1939); *Caste and Class in a Southern Town,* John Dollard (Yale Univ. Press, 1937). These three books describe certain southern towns and people with the objectivity and case-history detail usually reserved by our social anthropologists for their studies of South Sea Islanders. Their mirrors are worth our looking in.

Along This Way, James Weldon Johnson (Viking, 1933); *The Dusk of Dawn,* W. E. B. DuBois (Harcourt, Brace, 1940). These two autobiographies of distinguished American citizens will bruise any white heart not already hardened to stone.

Millhands and Preachers. By Liston Pope. Yale Univ. Press. 1942. A detailed study of the part the church played in Gastonia, N. C., before, during and since the notorious 1929 strike. Thoughtful, provocative, uncompromising.

Growing up in the Black Belt. By Charles S. Johnson. American Council on Education. 1941. One of a series of books brought out by the same publishers giving brilliant and authoritative accounts of life as ten million Americans are required to live it.

Battle for Asia and Red Star Over China, Edgar Snow (Random House, 1941, 1938); *Inside Asia,* John Gunther (Harpers, 1942); *India Without Fable,* Kate Mitchell (Knopf, 1942). These books show the East through singularly unprejudiced Western eyes. They are written clearly and interestingly and contain information indispensable to American citizens in war or in peace.

Figure 2. "Books Important to Southerners in a World at War," *South Today*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Autumn-Winter 1942-1943, p. 58. Courtesy of the Lillian E. Smith Center.

Smith and Snelling also sought to produce their own fictional counter-canon by writing, publishing and in one instance, financing a text that directly combatted “Lost Cause” myths and subverted racist tropes.⁴² Examples include Pauli Murray’s “Dark Testament,” an epic poem of Black experience; Sterling Brown’s “Words on a Bus,” a story of Black southern life; and Lillian Smith’s “sketches,” vignettes based on interactions with southerners during the Rosenwald grant interviews that recorded the diversity of southern experience through the “metho[d] of subjective reportage” (White and Sugg 326).⁴³ More often Smith and Snelling published critical essays that analysed conditions in the South as “reflected and deflected by its literature” (“Beginning Its Fifth Year” 42)⁴⁴ and often took on an educational role in their own writing, such as in Smith’s “There Are Things to Do”⁴⁵ which provided a list of action items for white southerners.

Recognizing that such canonical reconstitutions would need to occur on a much larger scale, Smith and Snelling also promoted radical literary projects. For example, Smith argued, at the intersection of canonicity and education, that the lack of literary representation of Black characters and Black experiences was particularly detrimental to children in their educational, social, and psychological development. She contended that,

⁴² While *South Today* did not have the necessary finances to pay contributors and instead remunerated in other ways, including inviting contributors for visits at their mountain home (“[Editorial]” Spring 1936 6), the single known exception to this was financing the completion of Pauli Murray’s “Dark Testament.” Smith and Snelling gave Murray \$100 to cover living costs while the poem was being edited and typed (Murray, “[Letter to Caroline Ware]” 28). While unable to fund all contributors, this act recognizes the economic inequalities that often prevented Black writers from participating in the same capacity as more affluent white writers and sought, on a small scale, to level those barriers.

⁴³ Pauli Murray, “Dark Testament,” *South Today*, Winter 1944-1945, pp. 28-37; Sterling A. Brown, “Words on a Bus,” *South Today*, Spring 1943, pp. 26-8; Lillian Smith, “So You’re Seeing the South,” *NGR*, Winter 1939-1940, pp. 18-22.

⁴⁴ Although “little” magazines are historically more focused on creative works, *South Today* was much more oriented to critical work. With each contribution counted as a discrete entity, critical reviews emerge as the most frequently published type of content across the entire run at 44%. Essays represent the second most frequent type of content at 13%. Creative works—namely plays, poems, and short stories—collectively constitute only 15% of the magazine’s total content. Such a breakdown is comparable to *Phylon*’s between 1940 and 1949, in which critical content collectively constituted 86% of content, whereas creative works collectively constituted only 15% (Jordan 25). See Appendix Table 2 and Appendix Figure 2.

⁴⁵ Lillian Smith, “Addressed to Intelligent White Southerners: There Are Things to Do,” *South Today*, Autumn-Winter 1942-1943, pp. 34-43.

Negro children could be taught more easily to read (even via the old road of recitation) had they books about their own world and their own race, rather than a sole second-hand literary diet of White stories and White heroes.... And were we ever to become so sane as to put in our school-readers for both White and Colored children, stories about White and Negro people, stories of Negro history as well as White history, of African culture as well as European, then many of our race problems would fade away. (“Dope With Lime” Fall-Winter 1938-1939, 37)

To that end, Smith and Snelling championed grassroots initiatives working to counteract oppressive pedagogical materials and encouraged readers to actively reshape their local schools and libraries—a task that would not only benefit children and the quality of their education, but also serve the function of actively challenging state-sanctioned interference in the public education system. Smith reports one such literary project undertaken in Drumright, Oklahoma wherein local educators and students, “finding little Negro material available for the children of the Colored schools, went to work and made readers [textbooks] with the help of the children themselves and a few Negro men and women. The illustrations are of Negroes and many silhouettes of the school children are used” (“Dope With Lime” Autumn 1939, 37-38).⁴⁶ In identifying grassroots initiatives, the magazine importantly provided its reading public with the tools and inspiration to reproduce such work in their own communities.

⁴⁶ These textbooks were published by the white-owned Harlow Publishing Corporation in 1938 as *The Negro American Series*, and were distributed to segregated Black schools throughout the South (Posey). See also Louise S. Robbins, “Publishing Pride: The Jim Crow Series of Harlow Publishing Company,” *Defining Print Culture for Youth: The Cultural Work of Children's Literature*, edited by Anne H. Lundin and Wayne A. Wiegand, Libraries Unlimited, 2003.

Desegregation in Print

South Today's counter-canonical work included its editors' growing attentiveness to whose voices were represented in its pages. Aside from Smith and Snelling, who collectively contributed 48% of the magazine's total content, 198 non-editorial contributors, representing 52% of contributions, were published in *South Today*.⁴⁷ Although a politics of representation developed gradually over *South Today*'s run and had room for improvement, the magazine's attempt to model desegregation in print by publishing and reviewing the works of an interracial cohort of writers is nevertheless unprecedented in white-owned and -edited southern periodicals at that time, and it illustrates how the magazine was challenged to model the ethics of its counter-canon in its very organizational and compositional structure.

While not the "first" white-owned and -edited periodical in the Jim Crow South to feature both white and Black contributors, *South Today*'s interracial publishing practice was extremely rare in the white press.⁴⁸ Like most other aspects of society in the South at the time, the press was largely segregated in its solicitation and publication of contributor material. White-edited southern periodicals such as the *Southern Review* or the *Kenyon Review* exclusively published white contributors and reviewed only white-authored works.⁴⁹ Even in the liberal (white-edited)

⁴⁷ See Appendix Table 3 and Appendix Figure 3. for detailed percentage breakdown of editorial vs. non-editorial contributions over the magazine's run. Snelling primarily contributed essays, editorials, and reviews, while Smith contributed a mixture of creative and critical work, including short stories, plays, reviews, essays, and her recurring column "Dope with Lime." Such a significant editorial contribution was not unusual for literary magazines. As Cutrer writes of the *Southern Review*, "Ransom, Tate, [Andrew] Lytle, and [Donald] Davidson—original Agrarians—[were] among the most frequent contributors" (Cutrer 88). This high percentage of editor content is indicative of the strong editorial visions for the respective magazines.

⁴⁸ *The Double Dealer* of New Orleans, Louisiana, published Jean Toomer's *Cane*; *Contempo* of Chapel Hill, North Carolina published the work of Langston Hughes; and the *Southern Frontier*, an organ of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, out of Atlanta, Georgia was interracial. The far more common print segregation practiced by southern white-edited periodicals did not hold for their northern counterparts. Print segregation was also not practiced by the Black press or Black-edited periodicals, such as *Phylon* or *Challenge/New Challenge*, which published both Black and white contributors and reviewed both Black- and white-authored texts.

⁴⁹ See Dorothy June Vanderford's 1952 thesis, "The *Southern Review*: A History and Appraisal," for a complete list of contributors to the *Southern Review*.

southern newspapers, “southern blacks—and race relations—[were] invisible” (Kneebone xiv). In comparison, Black-owned and -edited southern magazines such as *Phylon* were interracial in terms of their contributors and the books they reviewed, although as W.E.B. Du Bois notes, “PHYLON serves a segregated cultural area; it is published by a University attended by Negro Americans, and is very largely edited by persons of Negro descent” (“Science or Propaganda” 7). Therefore, *South Today* stands apart within the white southern press in that it would consistently discuss race, including whiteness, publish Black contributors, and use honorifics for both white and Black individuals (Loveland 41), and while not groundbreaking, it was nevertheless the first white-owned and -edited publication in the South to openly and consistently develop these critiques as an intrinsic part of its platform.⁵⁰ Furthermore, Black contributors often reviewed white-authored content and vice versa in the magazine, thereby modelling a greater interracial dialogue in *South Today*’s pages.⁵¹

However, despite being an interracial publication, white contributors were still overwhelmingly represented in *South Today*, supplying 84% of the magazine’s content (excluding the editors’ writing). Black contributors supplied 11% of the content, with 5% of contributors’ racializations unknown.⁵² Moreover, the first Black contributors were not published until *NGR* Winter 1937-1938, which points to the magazine’s initial shortcomings in prioritizing

⁵⁰ While one might argue *Contempo: A Review of Books and Personalities* (1931-34)—a literary magazine edited by Milton A. Abernethy and Anthony Buttitta—was the first twentieth century white-edited southern magazine to denounce white supremacy and anti-Black violence through its coverage of the Scottsboro Boys’ Trial, the magazine was subsequently silent on the topic of race, which seems to have been motivated, Suzanne Churchill argues, by Abernethy and Buttitta’s tendency to be “more enterprising than revolutionary, motivated less by a commitment to the Scottsboro cause than by the desire to cause a sensation” (n.p.).

⁵¹ For example, W. E. B. Du Bois reviewed John Dollard’s *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, *NGR*, vol. 2, no. 4, Winter 1937-38, pp. 9-10; Walter R. Chivers reviewed Hortense Powdermaker’s *After Freedom*, *NGR*, vol. 4, no. 1, Spring 1939, pp. 18-9; R. A. Schermerhorn reviewed W. E. B. Du Bois’ *Black Folk Then And Now*, *NGR*, vol. 5, no. 1, Spring 1940, pp. 30-1; George M. Reynolds reviewed Arthur Raper and Ira De A. Reid’s *Sharecroppers All*, *NGR*, vol. 5, nos. 3-4, Winter 1940-41, pp. 44-5, 62.

⁵² See Appendix Table 4 and Appendix Figures 4 and 5.

Black representation within its pages. There was, however, a significant increase in contributions by Black authors across the three eras of *South Today*, rising from 0% to 5% to 30%.⁵³

Therefore, while these figures demonstrate Smith and Snelling's increasing awareness of the importance of publishing diverse voices and their evolving efforts to recalibrate their contributorship, *South Today*'s inclusion of Black voices still falls short of parity.

A similar pattern is reflected for the 1,002 authors whose books were cited, excerpted, mentioned, or reviewed in *South Today*: 76% were white, 13% were Black, 8% were unknown or writing groups not associated with a particular racialization, 2% were co-authors of different racializations, and less than 1% were South Asian or Latin American.⁵⁴ *Phylon*'s mandate, in comparison, prioritized published works by people of colour, and Black authors specifically. And, as Casper LeRoy Jordan calculates, of the 58 biographical essays featured in *Phylon* between 1940 and 1949, 25% were biographies of deceased white people, 0% of living white people, 57% of deceased Black people, and 17% of living Black people (9). A similar pattern of racial representation is found in *Phylon*'s 19 "Profiles," in which 26% of the "profiles" were of deceased white people, 0% of living white people, 53% of deceased Black people, and 21% of living Black people (11). For her part, Snelling was clear that a canon that excluded a diversity of voices was, indeed, problematic. As she writes in a review of Robert Penn Warren's anthology, *A Southern Harvest*,

As the editor of any anthology knows (or soon learns) he is held responsible for sins of omission even by those who approve most of his inclusions. I note there is no Negro writer in the collection. Surely the time has come when such omission does not have to be made arbitrarily and for purposes of expediency; yet surely somewhere among their

⁵³ See Appendix Table 4.

⁵⁴ See Appendix Table 11 and Appendix Figure 10 and 11.

writing can be found a story to equal the average talent on review in *A Southern Harvest*. For their work ranges in appeal from the tall-tales of Zora Neale Hurston to the rare lyric prose of Jean Toomer. (“A Southern Harvest” 22)

Still, while these figures illuminate the overarching patterns of racial representation in *South Today*, Richard Jean So reminds us that simply looking at such statistics in isolation does not always capture the nuanced ways in which these texts were being interacted with—a gap that close reading can help fill in (23). To some extent, the disproportionate percentage of white-authored books featured in *South Today* may be attributed, in part, to its focus of unpacking whiteness as a concept and appealing (often as white southerners) to white southerners to be traitorous to white supremacy, which I discuss in greater detail in Chapter 3. Moreover, many infamously problematic white-authored books were repeatedly employed and critiqued in *South Today* as a way of establishing an opposing reference point to the kinds of literature and ideas the magazine sought to promote.⁵⁵ For example, Margaret Mitchell’s *Gone With the Wind* was mentioned 9 times as a quintessential example of the “sterile fetishism of the Old South” (“Editorial” Spring 1936, 6). The high percentage of white-authored books mentioned and reviewed in *South Today* also reflects the overwhelming whiteness of the publishing industry at the time.⁵⁶ As So calculates in *Redlining Culture*: 97% of the books published by Random House from 1950 to 2000 were written by white authors (2). Although So’s data derives from a single “big” publishing house in the postwar era, the stark racial inequality of the mainstream publishing industry in the 1930s and 1940s was likely comparable to that of the 1950s or exceeded it.⁵⁷ So further traces how this cycle of inequality is perpetuated as the books that get

⁵⁵ See Appendix Table 18 for most frequently mentioned texts in *South Today*.

⁵⁶ See Appendix Figure 18 for graph of publication years. As this graph illustrates, *South Today* was primarily engaged in reviewing contemporary works.

⁵⁷ See Appendix Table 19 for list and frequency of publishing houses whose books were reviewed in *South Today*.

published and promoted by the industry have “a reverberating effect within the larger pipeline of the book market” (11), including which books are then selected for review in the periodical press, become bestsellers, and receive literary recognition. As such, it is important to be critical of *South Today*’s role in replicating the inequalities enacted by the publishing industry through the books it selected to review. However, such preliminary efforts within independent print spaces to publish and review non-white authors is nevertheless a notable attempt to disrupt this cycle of discriminatory publishing.

A slightly different pattern emerges in the gender of *South Today*’s contributors. Very few white-owned and -edited magazines (including the *Southern Review* and the *Kenyon Review*) or Black-owned and -edited magazines (including *Phylon*) at the time consistently featured female contributors. *South Today* was not only one of the handful of southern periodicals with (founding) female editors but also actively sought content by women.⁵⁸ Specifically, women contributed 38% of the content in *South Today*, or 85% if we include Smith and Snelling.⁵⁹ Excluding editors, male authors contributed 59% of the magazine’s content, non-binary authors 1.0%, and writers of genders unknown 2.0%. Again, there are many historical reasons for this under-representation of women contributors. Smith and Snelling often discussed the scarcity of

⁵⁸ Other examples of twentieth-century women editors of southern little magazines are: Virginia Taylor McCormick, *The Lyric* (Norfolk, VA, ed. 1923-29) (Hoffman 262); Jessie Redmon Fauset, *The Crisis* (Baltimore, MD, ed. 1919-26); Emily Tapscott Clark, *The Reviewer* (Richmond, VA, ed. 1921-24); Mary D. Street, *The Reviewer* (Richmond, VA, ed. 1921-23) (Hoffman 263); Minna Krupsky Abernethy *Contempo* (Chapel Hill, NC, ed. 1932-34) (“Contempo”); Lily Lawrence Bow, *Cycle* (Homestead, FL, ed. 1935-43) (Hoffman 329); Etta Josephine Murfey, *Poetry Caravan* (Lakeland, FL, ed. 1936-41); Kathleen Sutton *Poetry Caravan* (Lakeland, FL, n.d.) (Hoffman et al. 335). Although not comprehensive, this list speaks to the relative rarity of women editors of southern “little” magazines. There were more women editors of “little” magazines in the North, including Black women editors such as Dorothy West with *Challenge* (1934-37) and West and Marian Minus with *New Challenge* (1937). Nevertheless, in the South, founding women editors were relatively uncommon. This does not mean that women were not editors of other types of periodicals, nor that they were not involved in other facets of periodical production. As Ellen Gruber Garvey notes, “[w]omen editors were most evident in domestic, children’s, and fashion magazines” (85). Garvey further elucidates that “[t]he prominence of writers, often male, associated with some of the magazines women edited has over-shadowed the women’s work. And the collaborative nature of editorial work itself has made the roles of individuals harder to uncover” (86).

⁵⁹ See Appendix Table 5 and Appendix Figures 6 and 7.

female-authored submissions in comparison to the number of male-authored manuscripts they received. For example, in *NGR* Autumn 1939, Smith and Snelling note that only one-third of the essays submitted to the recent prize contest were written by women (“Symposium on War” 22). To counteract this disparity, they implemented measures to encourage female submissions, including women-only contest categories (Smith and Snelling, “Prize Contest Announcement” 9-10; Smith, “Mr. Lafayette...” 14). To some extent these measures helped, and female contributors rose to over 50% in certain issues,⁶⁰ but ultimately these methods did not measurably increase the representation of women in *South Today* overall. Furthermore, Smith and Snellings’ lack of conception of what Kimberlé Crenshaw and others would later theorize as “intersectionality” caused a sort of single-category thinking in *South Today* that resulted in Black female and non-binary authors only contributing 3 times to the magazine,⁶¹ a major omission in a magazine trying to capture the full spectrum of southern experience and perspective.⁶²

In terms of the genders of those 1,002 authors whose works were cited, excerpted, mentioned, or reviewed in *South Today*, 24% were women, 69% men, 3% co-authors of different genders, and 5% were unknown or writing groups not associated with a particular gender.⁶³ Like the statistics on racial representation, these numbers also reflect, in part, the gendered inequality of the publishing industry at that time. So’s data on Random House authors published during the 1950s reveals female authors constituted approximately 20-40% of those published, whereas male authors comprised approximately 60-80% (So 41). Although these statistics are not a direct

⁶⁰ Namely, *Pseudopodia*, Spring 1936; *P*, Fall 1936; *NGR*, Spring 1937; *NGR*, Winter 1937-38; *NGR*, Spring 1938; *NGR*, Fall-Winter 1938-39; *South Today*, Spring 1943.

⁶¹ Pauli Murray and Henry Babcock, “An Alternative Weapon,” *South Today*, Winter 1942-43, pp. 53-7; Pauli Murray, “Dark Testament,” *South Today*, Winter 1944-45, pp. 28-36; Anna Arnold Hedgeman, “What the Negro Wants [Review],” *South Today*, Winter 1944-45, pp. 64-7. See Appendix Table 6 and Appendix Figure 8.

⁶² I recognize that a fuller analysis of contributors would also include information regarding education level, class, income, marital status, etc.; unfortunately, due to constraints of time, I was not able to locate these additional contributor demographics within U.S. census data as I do for *South Today*’s readers in Chapter 3.

⁶³ See Appendix Table 12 and Appendix Figures 12 and 13.

comparator for the industry in the 1930s and 1940s, they provide an approximate reference point by which to understand *South Today*'s editorial choices. While the gender of reviewed authors does not exist for the *Southern Review*, the *Kenyon Review*, or *Phylon*, Jordan's statistics for the 58 biographical essays featured in *Phylon* between 1940 and 1949 give us some context and reveal that only one woman (deceased and white) was included as a biographical subject (9). *South Today* placed importance on publishing and reviewing female-authored works in this environment, although ultimately women were still under-represented.

While the overwhelming whiteness and maleness of the publishing industry and press may help explain the race and gender disparities in *South Today*, it is also worth exploring the ways in which this is a failure of editorship. Despite Smith and Snelling's attempts to amplify Black-authored and female-authored works, they replicate, to a degree, the same white, male hegemonies present in the publishing industry and society at large. In part, this underrepresentation of Black and female voices may be a consequence of *South Today*'s financial policies. By keeping subscription rates low, *South Today* was able to reach a wider readership; however, this came at the cost of a volunteer-based contributorship, which in turn formed a barrier to participation for those unable to write without monetary compensation. Therefore, although it is difficult to determine the class composition of *South Today*'s contributors, the prevalence of white male authors—often from universities—indicates the intersectional, here class, privileges that allowed certain groups more opportunities to write, submit manuscripts, and be published. *South Today* may have set out to publish new and diverse voices reflective of the “real South” (Smith, “Memoir” 48), but it did not entirely accomplish this. However, the increasing diversity of voices in the magazine over the eras signals the editors

growing attentiveness to representation, no doubt challenged by readers and the growing activist network.

Accessibility and Distribution

A third way *South Today* strived to model literary activism was to stay materially accessible to its reading public. Despite *South Today*'s increase from 12 to as many as 132 pages per issue, annual subscription rates remained constant throughout the magazine's nine-year run. Like *Phylon*, *South Today* maintained an annual subscription rate of \$1 (\$0.25/quarterly issue and \$0.50/semi-annual issue)—a price considered “well within the reach of everyone” (Du Bois, “Apology” 5).⁶⁴ The magazine also distributed issues and pamphlets to schools, reading groups, and libraries across the South at discount prices or free of charge. For example, *NGR* advertised “Reprints of [Do You Know Your South? quiz contest] questions available to college and high school classroom work” and sold them at reduced prices for school and college classrooms (“This is the Final Set of Questions” 42).⁶⁵ They likewise reported of their pamphlet reprints:

Churches and church organizations, South and North, have purchased thousands of these; many colleges and schools have ordered them for classroom use; the CIO [Congress of Industrial Organizations] has used thousands of them; and at certain naval stations the pamphlet *There are things to do* has been used. ... In one city, 2500 were distributed with the approval of the school board to its school teachers as a means of helping the teachers

⁶⁴ Adjusted for inflation, \$1 in 1936 would be about \$21 USD in 2022; and \$1 in 1945 would be about \$16 USD in 2022. In comparison, the *Southern Review* cost \$0.75 per issue or \$3.00 per year (Pipkin ii), while the *Kenyon Review* was originally priced at \$0.50 per issue before matching the *Southern Review*'s rates in Autumn 1942 (Ransom 1, 6).

⁶⁵ Smith and Snelling wrote in the announcement “Reprints of *Do You Know Your South?* Questionnaire” that “Single copies 10c 20 or more, 5c each for college and high school classes, for literary and study clubs” (17).

meet more adequately the needs of the city's school children. (Smith and Snelling, "About South Today" 105)

Pamphlet literature also became organizational tools which the readership worked to distribute. Finding the pamphlet titled "Addressed to Intelligent White Southerners: There are Things to Do" to be both "practical and constructive," activist Eslande Goode Robeson wrote to Smith that she "distributed [20 pamphlets] to strategic places, such as offices where white people often sit" ("[Letter to Lillian Smith]").

Rejecting capitalist logics of profit, the editors also distributed free copies to those unable to afford the subscription fee, and sent unsolicited issues to individuals such as teachers and professors.⁶⁶ Finally, as I will discuss further in Chapter 3, Smith and Snelling also introduced a "pay it forward" subscription program; those whose "incomes and interest permit" had the option to pay \$5.00 annually for "6 subscriptions either to names they indicate or to others we suggest" ("the way things are" 61),⁶⁷ or ask that this sum be put toward purchasing copies in bulk, which would then be distributed to libraries and individuals. Finally, at times, the logistical challenges of distribution also required the active participation of *South Today's* support network. After the confiscated copies of *South Today* Autumn-Winter 1942-1943 were recovered, friends of the magazine stored the issues in their homes while waiting for news on mailing permits and state action—an act of solidarity that put them at considerable personal risk had there been an investigation. In this way, the publication and distribution of *South Today* was a community effort.

⁶⁶ For example, in 1942 the Highland Folk School of Monteagle, Tennessee requested a complimentary subscription as it, relying solely on contributed funds, was unable to afford the fee (Wilson). See Appendix Figure 45 for map of locations where Smith and Snelling distributed unsolicited copies in 1942.

⁶⁷ Readers would occasionally write to the magazine to express appreciation and request copies if financially unable to subscribe.

Addresses from which Inexpensive (In Some Cases Free) Material Relating to the South May Be Obtained:

Associates in Negro Folk Education. P. O. Box 636, Ben Franklin Station, Washington, D. C. A series of authoritative "Bronze Booklets", costing usually 25c each, on the Negro, his accomplishments, his problems. Valuable.

Citizens Fact Finding Movement of Georgia. 411 Forsyth Bldg., Atlanta, Ga. Surveys of various phases of the state's affairs. Good reference material for any student of Georgia. 10c a copy.

Commission on Interracial Cooperation. 710 Standard Bldg., Atlanta, Ga. Much valuable information on interracial problems and accomplishments available here, some of it to be had by sending 10c to cover mailing.

The Woman's Press. 600 Lexington Ave., New York City. Pamphlets on national problems, many of which are most acute in the South. Some are available on request.

Information Office, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tenn. Pamphlets and other material on the work of the TVA.

Association Press. 347 Madison Ave., New York City. Pamphlets on a variety of subjects pertaining to Christianity and world problems. Of particular interest to southerners, Sherwood Eddy's *A Door of Opportunity, an American Adventure in Cooperation with Sharecroppers.*

American Youth Commission, a department of the American Council on Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. Pamphlets on Work Camps and

other recent trends in youth education. 25c each.

National Youth Administration. Social Problems series. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Federal Works Agency. Social Problems series. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

Southern Tenant Farmers Union. P. O. Box 5215, Memphis, Tenn. Publishes a small paper called *The Tenant Farmer.*

Workers Defense League, 112 East 19th St., New York City. Particularly, *Sharecroppers Under Planters Law*, by Howard Kester. 5c.

Farm Security Administration, U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. Pamphlets on Migrants, Health, etc.

Consumers' Cooperative Pamphlets. The cooperative League. 167 West 12th St., New York City.

Pamphlet of the Month Club. *Care Common Sense*, 315 Fourth Ave., New York City.

Information Service, Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York City. Vol. 20, No. 29 (price 10c) contains extensive listing of pamphlets published by various companies, many of which are pertinent to the South.

The Southeastern Cooperative Education Association issues a mimeographed paper from Carrollton, Ga., giving news of cooperatives in this area.

The Institute for Psychoanaly-
(Continued on Inside Back Cover)

Figure 3. "Addresses from which Inexpensive (in Some Cases Free) Material Relating to the South May Be Obtained." *The North Georgia Review*, vol. 6, no. 1-4, Winter 1941, p. outside back cover. Courtesy of the Lillian E. Smith Center.

In response to the state-sanctioned book bannings, Smith and Snelling also shared resources to circumvent the censorship. This took the form of publishing reading lists and mailing addresses with affordable educational resources, as in the list of “Addresses from which Inexpensive (In Some Cases Free) Material Relating to the South May Be Obtained” (see Figure 3). Other resources included recommending trusted scholarly presses, such as the University of North Carolina Press; affordable presses, such as The Modern Age Books, Inc. (Smith and Snelling, “Book Buyers’ Millennium” 21); and independent presses outside of the North, such as The Caxton Printers of Caldwell, Idaho and The Prairie Press of Muscatine, Iowa (Smith and Snelling, “Regional Presses” 10). *South Today* also promoted periodicals with similar political goals, including the *Commonwealth College Fortnightly* published out of Mena, Arkansas, whose column “‘The Southern Scene’ gives information ... of labor-sharecropper activities” (Smith, “Dope With Lime” Spring 1938 2), and Black periodicals, including *Phylon*, *Crisis*, *Opportunity*, the *Atlanta World*, the *Black Dispatch* of Oklahoma City, and *Journal and Guide* of Norfolk, Virginia (Smith, “Addressed to Intelligent White Southerners” 37).

Therefore, while *South Today* deployed literature and literary criticism to challenge oppression and facilitate an imagining of a new world, I suggest that simply publishing and selling copies was not the end-goal. Rather, intrinsic to the magazine’s political objectives was pairing that discursive agenda with the accompanying actions of accessible creation and distribution practices. In response to Talmadge’s book banning and similar attacks on access to information in the South, Smith, Snelling, and *South Today*’s network of supporters developed creative ways of circulating information and literature more freely to the public.

Active Readership and the Formation of a Print Community

South Today's editorial and contributor content was important in challenging an oppressive southern literary canon and its distribution practices were important in lowering material barriers to its information, but also intrinsic to its literary activism was the fostering of an active “on-the-page” print community which further diversified its content and encouraged a community ethic that sustained the magazine. While other newspapers and “little” magazines at the time would publish “Letters to the Editor” and the like,⁶⁸ *South Today* actively sent out calls for “citizen opinion” in its various “symposia.” These forums, I argue, attempted to model democratic inclusivity by publishing excerpts from all reader submissions beginning in Spring 1938 instead of a single “winner” as the magazine had done for the first two years; furthermore, these forums were not exclusive to subscribers or known figures,⁶⁹ and readers of the general public were printed alongside famous writers and activists. The forums reflected a diverse and politically-engaged readership. The magazine also hosted low-stakes quiz contests, which invited readers to test their knowledge of the South while collectively producing an educational document. The effect of these dialogues was the creation of a polyvocal print community of individuals committed, in varying degrees, to bringing about change in the South.

Dialing the South: Reader Forums

In the Fall 1939 issue of the *NGR*, Smith and Snelling introduced reader forums as a recurring feature in the magazine. These forums modeled a democratic, unsegregated, intergenerational, and transregional print space:

⁶⁸ *South Today* also published these types of reader letters in its “They Say About Us” column. I distinguish these letters—which included reviews, praising recommendations, critiques, and general comments about the magazine—from the more focused critical or opinion essays submitted to the forums.

⁶⁹ Readers who accessed or borrowed library copies participated on the same basis as paid subscribers.

Dialing the South is an adventure in exploring citizen-opinion. ... In the old days we were content to know what our neighbor thought, or what the boys gathered about the stove in the old store thought.... Today we are content to know what the radio commentators think or the boys gathered around the air-conditioning vent in a New York office think. The air-ways method. The trouble about the radio is that we need two-way sets, and many more stations. And so N.G.R., though small and of low wattage[,] offers those who tune in the privilege of calling back. (Smith and Snelling, "Dialing the South" 43)

More akin to newspapers, this emphasis on two-way communication is uncharacteristic of literary periodicals. For example, the one-directional *Southern Review* and *Kenyon Review* neither printed letters from readers nor encouraged any form of public engagement. In comparison, *South Today*'s focus on social and political commentary made it well-suited for such forays into reader opinion. For each forum, Smith and Snelling would pose topical questions, usually concerning democracy, war, religion, and social change.⁷⁰ Readers were solicited for their opinions on these subjects and encouraged to offer, in essay form, solutions to contemporary problems or alternative imaginaries, forming an in-the-moment documentary archive. Although *South Today*'s letter to the editor page was printed on the inner front and back covers, the reader essay forums were allocated space within the magazine itself. In placing these forums alongside regular contributions from intellectuals and writers, the editors signaled that

⁷⁰ Some of these forum topics included "On Democracy," which asked readers to imagine what a true democracy might look like (*NGR*, Autumn 1939); "Youth Answers Back," in which southern college students offered a younger generation's perspective on U.S. involvement in WWII (*NGR*, Winter 1940-41); "Winning the World With Democracy," in which readers were challenged to respond to the capitalist and imperialist underpinnings of the war (*South Today*, Spring 1942); and "The Preachers Answer" and "Laymen Answer," in which ministers, rabbis, and others involved in or critical of organized religion, debated its role (if any) in bringing about social change in the South (*South Today*, Winter 1944-45).

readers' opinions were just as important. As such, I read these forums and their placement as intentional acts within a larger discursive praxis.

It is important to recognize that the forum topics, the selection of responses printed in the paper, and even the way in which such letters were excerpted, constitute editorial choices imbued with power. Depending on the number of respondents and space available, these forums ranged from 4 to 51 double-column pages in aggregate. In the interest of including as many responses as possible in the allotted space, some essays were excerpted more than others and consequently ranged from a few sentences to a column in length. Unfortunately, due to the fragmentary nature of the surviving archive, a fuller analysis of these essays and the way in which they were excerpted is not possible. However, it is clear that although the forums reflect a more diverse spectrum of individuals and experiences—and collectively form a unique composition of opinion—we should be cognizant of how the editorial selection process mediates the reader responses they represent. Despite the democratic ideals underwriting the reader forums in *South Today*, the editor function itself and the space constraints of the periodical made those ideals somewhat difficult to actualize.

In some forums respondents' initials were employed to obscure identities, thereby making a tracing of these individuals more difficult; yet the reader responses nevertheless provide a sense of who was reading the magazine and the range of knowledges they possessed. Of the 343 respondents printed in 15 forums across 10 issues, 49% were male, 20% female, and 31% unknown gender; and 49% white, 8% Black, 0.3% Indo-American, and 43% unknown racialization.⁷¹ Or, if we calculate based on the 237 respondents (69% data availability rate) for

⁷¹ See Appendix Tables 20 and 21 and Appendix Figures 19, 20, 21, and 22. For intersectional percentages see Appendix Table 22 and Figure 23. The high percentages of undeterminable races and genders is due to the frequent use of initials, which made the locating of many individuals within census data impossible.

whom gender could be determined, 71% were male and 29% were female. Likewise, of the 196 respondents (57% data availability rate) whose racialization could be determined, 86% were white, 14% Black, 0.5% Indo-American. The group was also intergenerational, with a 54-year age difference between the oldest and the youngest forum respondents.

Having established that women constituted the majority of subscribers to *South Today* (57%) and that Black subscribers constituted a significant percentage (29%),⁷² I must point out that these forum numbers do not proportionally reflect the magazine's documented subscribership, which I discuss in greater detail in Chapter 3. This is partly explained by the fact that the forums would often focus on the opinions of a single demographic, such as students, soldiers, or religious leaders—all of which we know would be highly male demographics at this time. Such editorial choices explain why men are overrepresented among respondents. Furthermore, gender, racialization, education level, and class also figure greatly into who had the time and resources to contribute to the magazine, making it unlikely that responses published in these forums would directly reflect the magazine's readership.

Still, 343 readers participated in these forums—three times the number of non-editorial contributors to the magazine, which was an important way for readers to contribute discursively to the magazine. Although more attention could have been paid to which voices were being selected for publication and the structural inequalities that led certain groups of people to participate in a greater capacity than others, these forums nevertheless enacted several of the magazine's core ethics, including lowering barriers to participation, creating a non-hierarchical and unsegregated print space, and fostering a sense of community and dialogue. Most importantly, forums offered readers the chance to actively engage with the work of *South Today*,

⁷² See Appendix Tables 28 and 29 and Appendix Figures 28 and 29.

to connect to its broader network of readers and activists, and to contribute to its discursive objectives. Arguably, these recurring forums also blurred separations constructed between the categories of contributor and reader, teacher and learner, creator and consumer, reducing in abstract the hierarchies and “segregations” that *South Today* aspired to dismantle societally.

Do You Know Your South?

To build on this project of fostering community on the page, *South Today* also hosted a series of quiz contests called “Do You Know Your South?” First announced in *NGR* Autumn 1939, the editors explained, “Our most ‘careful reader’ will be rewarded not only with \$250.00 in cash (or \$300.00 worth of books) but with we hope, a clearer, more ample knowledge and understanding of the land which we all love, defend so hotly and, most of us, know so little about” (Smith and Snelling, “Do You Know...” Autumn 1939, 64). While the contest was principally “for ... fun,” the editors also promised that whether or not you win, “you will know your South much better than you did before” (Smith and Snelling, “[Contest Announcement]”). The contest fulfilled several purposes: namely, active reader participation, community-building, and the development of accessible educational resources.

DO YOU KNOW YOUR SOUTH?

A CONTEST

Conducted by THE NORTH GEORGIA REVIEW

Judged by

Tarleton Collier, journalist

John Temple Graves II, journalist

*Arthur Raper, author of Preface to Peasantry, Tragedy of
Lynching, Sharecroppers All*

*Rupert Vance, author of Human Geography of the South,
sociologist at University of North Carolina.*

\$250.00 cash prize offered for most complete and accurate set of answers to questions below, and to questions in Sets 1, 2, 3. These sets may be obtained from editors by requesting them. The answers to the first three sets of questions (20 questions each) may be found by reading the Summer-Autumn 1939, Winter 1939-40, and Spring 1940 issues of THE NORTH GEORGIA REVIEW.

Contest closes on November 15, 1940. Answers must be postmarked not later than that date to be eligible for contest.

Address: Editors of *The North Georgia Review*, Clayton, Ga., if Sets 1, 2, 3 of the contest questions are desired. If issues of the magazine are not available to you, copies may be secured from the editors for 25 cents per copy.

The Editors would like to stress that while this is a contest, and there is a cash prize for the winner, there are no "catch" questions. The Editors, being human, naturally hope that the contest will bring to the magazine a few more friends, but their primary reason for conducting it is to stimulate interest in the South and a better understanding of its problems and its rich potentialities for the good life.

Contestant: Do not forget to print plainly

Your Name:

Address:

Figure 4. "Do You Know Your South – A Contest." *The North Georgia Review*, vol. 5, no. 2, Summer 1940, p. 13. Courtesy of the Lillian E. Smith Center.

The contest consisted of four sets of questions. The first two mimeo'd sets were mailed to subscribers and any readers who requested them ("Do You Know..." Summer 1940, 13), while the final two sets of questions were printed in *NGR* Spring 1940 and Summer 1940. Smith and Snelling's efforts to lower barriers to access and participation is evident in the practice of not requiring one to be a subscriber in order to participate in the contest and in making the question sets available for free. However, since the first three sets of questions were answered "Somewhere within the pages of the four issues of the *North Georgia Review*" ("Do You Know..." Autumn 1939, 64), the editors noted that participants "will have to buy or borrow or go to the library and read these issues if you do not already subscribe" (Smith and Snelling, "Contest Announcement"). The fourth and final set, printed in *NGR* Summer 1940, drew on more general local knowledge and research, although it recommended helpful (though by no means required) books and articles by a diverse range of Black and white, male and female authors concerning the various social, cultural, and economic conditions of the South.⁷³ As the list in the footnote illustrates, there was a significant focus on sharing emerging resources about the South that centred studies of Black material conditions and cultural forms as well as the experiences of women.

⁷³ These included: Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions* (1936); Rupert Vance, *Human Geography of the South* (1932); Jonathan W. Daniels, *A Southerner Discovers the South* (1938); Charles S. Johnson, Edwin Embree, W. W. Alexander, *Collapse of Cotton Tenancy* (1935); Herman Clarence Nixon, *Forty Acres and a Mule* (1938); Sterling Brown, *The Negro in American Fiction* (1937); Paula Snelling, "Southern Fiction and Chronic Suicide" (*North Georgia Review*, Summer 1938); W.E.B. DuBois, *Souls of Black Folk* (1903); Buell G. Gallagher, *American Caste and the Negro College* (1938); Arthur Raper, *Preface to Peasantry* (1936) and *Tragedy of Lynching* (1933); Pamphlets of the Georgia Fact-Finding Committee; Horace R. Cayton and George S. Mitchell, *Black Workers and the New Unions* (1939); Margaret Hagood, *Mothers of the South* (1939); Guy Johnson, *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island* (1930); E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (1939); Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom* (1939); Pamphlets of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation; Vernon Louis Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (1927); Herbert Agar, *Pursuit of Happiness* (1938); *A Southern Bibliography of Fiction* (Louisiana State University); Willson Whitman's *God's Valley* (1939) (Smith and Snelling, "Contest Announcement").

The contests covered a variety of topics concerning the South, including southern culture, southern literacy and education, southern health care, religion in the South, the southern economy, the “South of justice” system, and southern geography, including agriculture, cities, and cemeteries (see Figure 5). The question format ranged from True or False, to multiple choice, fill-in-the-blank, short answer, and ranking questions. Although the questions were designed to be skill-testing, there were no “‘catch’ questions” (Smith and Snelling, “Do You Know Your South—A Contest” 13); and while the answers could be discovered, for the most part, in the magazine, responses required careful and thoughtful reading or lived experience.

ACROSS THE SOUTH TODAY	
I. DO YOU KNOW YOUR SOUTH?	36. Juvenile Judges
1. TVA	37. Rural Education
2. Large Libraries	38. County Library
3. Collection of Books on the Negro	39. Negro Daily Newspaper
4. New Churches	40. Slums
5. Old Churches	41a. City Market
6a. Negro Painters	41b. Interesting Cities
6b. Composers	42. Jalopie Heaven
7. Handicraft Centers	43a. Grave Yards
8. President of King Cotton	43b. When Negroes Play—and Where
9. Liberal Newspapers	44. Mill Villages
10a. Dramatist	45. Scientific Laboratories
10b. Novelists	46a. Little Towns of Dixie
11. Folk Schools	46b. Negro Health—and White
12. Color Line and Colleges	47a. Oldest Woman's College
13. Cotton Acres	47b. Most Distinguished University
14. Schools in a Shanty Culture	47c. Best University Press
15. Mental Health in Dixie	48. Hotel for Negroes
16. Richest Land and Poorest People	49. Southern Sub-regions
17. Farm Experiments	50a. Youth Camps
18. Settling Up	50b. Work Camps
19. Southern Cooking	50c. Army Camps
20. “I've Known Rivers”	50d. Unions Now
21. National Park	51-80 (omitted because the answers to these questions are obvious)
22. Housing in Dixie	81-85. Old Time Religion—and the New
23a. Gardens	86-90. Juke Joint Recreation
23b. Flowers	91-95. Southern Rural Folkways
24. South of Justice?	96-100a. Southern Eating
25. Big Swamp	96-100b. Southern Gifts
26. Up to de Big House	II. IS IT TRUE OR FALSE?
27. Chain Gang	IIIA. 100 INFLUENTIAL SOUTHERNERS
28. Art Collections	IIIB. TWO DECADES OF SOUTHERN LITERATURE
29. Music	IV. SING ONE SONG
31. Best Beach	V. THE WAY WE SAY IT
32. Modern Architecture	
33. Democracy Working: Cooperatives in the South	
34. Educating Adults	
35. Training Young Southerners	

Figure 5. “Across the South Today.” *The North Georgia Review: Special Number*, vol. 6, no. 1-4, Winter 1941, p. 45. Courtesy of the Lillian E. Smith Center.

THIS IS THE FINAL SET OF QUESTIONS—SET 4. 12

(The first three sets are very brief and may be secured 13
from editors on request.)

Part I of Set 4. (Part I is rated as 30% of the score for 14
Set 4.)

Guiding a Friendly Stranger Through the South: On the 15
assumption that you have offered to guide a traveler who has
a sincere and friendly desire to understand the land he is vis-
iting, where would you take him if he wished:

(The South herein mentioned consists of 13 states from
Virginia to Texas)

1. To visit the South's most significant experiment in re- 16
gional planning.....
2. To visit the South's largest library.....
3. To see the South's largest collection of books on the
Negro.....
4. To see one of the most beautiful new churches in the
South..... 17
5. To see one of the most interesting old churches.....
6. To interview (a) one of the South's leading Negro paint- 18
ers.....; (b) one of the South's fore-
most music composers.....
7. To visit three handcraft centers..... 19
8. To meet the president of the South's largest textile com-
pany..... 20
9. To interview the owner of the South's finest example of
a liberal newspaper.....
10. To meet (a) the South's leading playwright..... 21
.....; (b) two of the South's best
novelists..... 22
11. To visit two southern folk schools.....

Figure 6. "This is the Final Set of Questions – Set 4." *The North Georgia Review*, vol. 5, no. 2, Summer 1940, p. 14. Courtesy of the Lillian E. Smith Center.

Given Smith and Snelling's awareness of most southerners' constrained access to information, I read this last provision—lived experience as a form of knowledge—as an attempt at levelling. The contest's extended focus on the experiences of Black southerners, women, and poor and working-class southerners also serves a few purposes in terms of engaging different participant groups: on one hand, these questions asked those closest to the centres of power to do the work required to learn about different experiences of oppression, while those groups listed above with perhaps less access to written resources could have drawn answers from lived experiences and had what Donna Haraway calls "situated knowledges" (581) affirmed. For Black readers, for example, many of these questions—such as naming where Black southern hotels, libraries, playgrounds, schools, etc. were located—would have been easy to answer and, therefore, have validated their experiences navigating the segregated South, while white readers (Smith and Snelling included!) likely would have needed to research the answers to questions they had perhaps never considered. Therefore, there is a dual undertaking here to challenge racist, sexist, and classist assumptions around who holds knowledge and what knowledge is legitimate, to educate those with greater privilege, and to affirm the knowledge of marginalized people's lived experiences.

As per Smith and Snelling's commitment to developing educational resources, the "answers" to the questions were published in *NGR* Winter 1941, across 84 pages. As they reported in this issue,

A year ago we asked the southern public, 'Do you know your South?' We were challenged to answer our own questions. We hope in choosing this way to answer that we have succeeded in raising other and more relevant questions. For beneath the facts, the chilling and warming layers of sad, funny, beautiful, tragic, ugly southern facts which our

social scientists have been urging us all to look at these last few years, are the people who made those facts and are being made by them. It is these people that we need to get acquainted with. We find ourselves now wanting to ask, ‘Do we southerners know ourselves?’ (“Across the South Today” 46-7)

To respond to these questions, the editors conducted extensive original research, writing to universities, libraries, hospitals, prisons, and other institutions across the South.⁷⁴ The document emerging from editorial research and reader responses served as a compendious resource to the social, political, cultural, and geographic landscape of the South. After receiving requests from educators, Smith reported that reprints of the contest questions would be made “available [for] college and high school classroom work” (“This is the Final Set of Questions” 42), indicating that the contest also reached a broader layer of the southern public.

Although there are no surviving records detailing who or how many participated in the quiz contests, the magazine reported that the winners who tied for first prize were two white women: Mrs. Meriwether Furlow of Albany, GA and Eunice Thompson of Macon, GA (“Winners” 44).⁷⁵ This result suggests a few things: 1) that white women may have been more likely to participate in the less public spaces of the contests as opposed to the forums, and 2) that despite efforts to level access to the contest through open participation and experience-affirming questions, there perhaps was still a gap between intention and material reality. While Smith and Snelling worked to devise ways of levelling opportunities for participation, ultimately those

⁷⁴ See: Lillian Smith Papers, Series 2: The South Today - Correspondence and Records, Box 24, Folder 7, “Do You Know Your South—Source and Promotional Materials, 1941.” Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

⁷⁵ Michelle Cutliff Furlow (née Ticknor) (1887-1973), Gender: female; Racialization: white; Marital status: married (“Michelle Furlow”). Mrs. Meriwether Furlow does not appear in the surviving *South Today* 1944-45 subscriber records. Eunice Thompson/Thomson (1904-1978?), Gender: female; Racialization: white; Marital status: Single; Occupation: Assistant Secretary at a Girls’ College (Wesleyan College); (“Eunice Thompson”). Eunice Thompson does not appear in the surviving *South Today* 1944-45 subscriber records.

living in cities and, consequently, with greater access to libraries appear to have had an advantage. Indeed, Michelle Furlow's husband was a bookkeeper, and Eunice Thompson worked as an assistant secretary at Wesleyan College⁷⁶ in Macon, Georgia—Snelling's alma mater. Still, we could argue that the contest was successful in its goal of educating a middle-class white readership in quite profound ways. Furthermore, what these forums and contests reveal is an active effort on the part of Smith and Snelling to create a polyvocal space where readers could engage with the content of the magazine and contribute to the overall project.

While the literary activism of *South Today* was not always perfectly realized and was a process more than a fully-formed practice, the ways in which the magazine attempted to create a desegregated counter-canon and print space, and worked to level access to participation through an on-the-page print community and accessible distribution practice, were significant inroads to a more equitable and diverse southern literary culture in the 1930s and 1940s. The ways in which the magazine worked to develop these praxes and improve signals growth and commitment to literary activist politics. Furthermore, we cannot overstate how these forms of outreach and mobilization fostered a print-based community that sustained the wider social and political project. As I will discuss in the next chapter, the sense of community that developed through the magazine would subsequently translate into more direct and interpersonal organizing efforts between the magazine's editors, contributors, readers, and subscribers.

⁷⁶ Although Eunice Thompson did not have a subscription to the *North Georgia Review*, the Candler Memorial Library at Wesleyan College did.

CHAPTER II: BEYOND THE MAGAZINE: *SOUTH TODAY'S* LITERARY ACTIVIST PRAXIS

Always there are whispers before the shouts are heard.

—Lillian Smith, *Memoir*

As important as *South Today's* “on-the-page” literary activism was, in this chapter I move beyond the discursive to consider the ways in which Lillian Smith, Paula Snelling, and a network of contributors and readers developed and sustained an “off-the-page” literary activism, a mutually constitutive practice that worked to realize the magazine’s aims of social, cultural, and political change. Specifically, I explore how the magazine facilitated a literary activist praxis that moved fluidly between discursive and “on-the-ground” activisms. Heeding Ann Ardis’ call to attend to “print media ecologies” (2) by paying more “scrupulous attention to both the materiality of print and its intermedial relationships with other communication technologies” (1), I argue we should be attentive to how the theories and imaginaries articulated throughout *South Today* transcended the page and were enacted in society by a print community organizing in ways adjacent to the magazine.

This expanded paradigm of literary activism exemplified through praxis offers unique insights into the relationship between literary periodical print economies and activism often overlooked in purely literary or discursive analyses of periodical texts. Specifically, I contend that Smith and Snelling’s development of a literary activist praxis 1) demonstrates their awareness of the political affordances of working across modes, scales, and demographics for social change; 2) illustrates the importance of a continuously iterative feedback loop between the theory and practice; and 3) affirms the aggregate significance of seemingly small and often un(der)-documented acts of refusal and resistance. As such, the applications of *South Today's* theories in the real world not only advanced the discourse of the magazine as a whole, but also

served to refine and reaffirm the viability of its stated political project. This chapter focuses on three examples of “on-the-ground” and “off-the-page” activisms working in connection with *South Today*: Smith and Snelling’s interracial “house parties,” local direct-action projects of mutual aid, and the educational experiment of the Laurel Falls Girls’ Camp.

Each of these case studies contribute to our broadening understanding that *South Today*’s activism did not end at the text or publication, but that its liberatory vision was enacted through various community-based, material, and educational means. These examples offer further insight into how the editors and contributors of the magazine were working across modes, scales, and demographics to combat the problems of the South from multiple angles: from intimate grassroots coalitions, to localized communities composed of various layers of southern society, to a broader readerly counterpublic. Ultimately, by paying attention to the way the activities in connection to *South Today* transcended traditional print spaces to mobilize knowledge and community in forms of direct action, I argue we expand our conception of the magazine as an active, community-based medium with unique political capabilities.

Off-the-Page Community: Smith and Snelling’s Interracial House Parties

Through editing *South Today*, Smith and Snelling encountered a diverse community of writers and activists across the United States with “a deep concern for a new and different South” (Smith “Memoir” 51). Leveraging the magazine as mediator, they took an active role in fostering relationships with readers and activists. Many times, correspondence arose when readers would reach out to *South Today*; other times such correspondence was initiated with Smith or Snelling sending a complimentary copy of the magazine to individuals whose work they admired. These expressions of affirmation and solidarity lend insights into the formation of activist networks, including how relationships were developed and the labours involved in sustaining them. Smith

and Snelling's archives reveal the couple maintained long correspondences with their expanding network and invited such individuals to visit their mountain home. Smith recalls that shortly after *Pseudopodia* was published in 1936, "We began having house parties, drawing together people in the South who especially interested us" ("Memoir" 50). Generally, the parties were designed to bring together disparate groups of people "who were changing the South" yet did not often have opportunities to meet each other (50). Inviting a diversity of guests was one of the ways in which Smith and Snelling worked to build strong coalitional networks across racial and regional lines. The domestic setting and context of these parties, reflects a form of interracial, coalitional organizing usually invisible in the historical record.

For the most part, our understandings of interracial organizing during this period are confined to well-documented organizations like the Commission on Interracial Cooperation (CIC), later succeeded by the Southern Regional Council (SRC), and the Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW).⁷⁷ Lasting over a decade, SCHW was a prominent site of interracial activism in the South. It was also a typical example of the middle-class and reform-based organizing in the 1930s and 1940s, which relied, as Linda Reed notes, on a tradition of "the extensive use of conferences, literature campaigns, speaking engagements, and legislative lobbying" (xii), as opposed to the direct-action approaches that would characterize the long Civil

⁷⁷ The CIC published the newsletter *The Southern Frontier* out of Atlanta, Georgia from 1940-1945 (Committee on Interracial Cooperation). The Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW) was an interracial organization of liberal and radical southerners pursuing New Deal-type reforms in the South. Its prominent members included Louise O. Charlton, Commissioner in Birmingham; James A. Dombrowski of the Highlander Folk School; Virginia Durr; Charlotte Hawkins Brown; and Mary McLeod Bethune (Reed xx-xxii). SCHW held four conferences in 1938, 1940, 1942, and 1946 (Reed). After Lillian Smith suggested SCHW form a "publications committee," it began publishing a newsletter called the *Southern Patriot* from 1942-1948, which was edited by James A. Dombrowski (Reed 29). The organization was active from 1938 to 1948, at which point it disbanded and was succeeded by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), which continued until the early 1970s.

Rights Movement. *South Today* was loosely affiliated with organizations such as SCHW, whose activities were occasionally reported in the magazine.⁷⁸

Smith's reports on the SCHW conferences indicate her disillusionment with the organization. One such critique of the second conference in 1940 concerned its formal structure and lack of opportunities for deep conversation. As Smith writes,

[W]hen nearly eight hundred southerners meet together in [a] profoundly earnest mood to discuss the problems of the South and to search together for ways of meeting the South's needs, they should be given a decent chance of doing so. Neither chautauqua, nor washroom gossip, nor mezzanine politics seems a fitting substitute for actual participation by the mass of delegates in real discussions, in small group round-table talk, and on committees where they feel they are contributing more than a dollar and their presence. And this conference did appear to me to be a kind of hybrid of all three of the above-mentioned substitutes. ("Southern Conference?" 24-5)

In drawing together a disparate group of moderates and radicals, a group which often held diverging views on segregation, the conference took on a more reserved formalism. Yet as Smith identifies, an additional problem had simply to do with structure.

Therefore, responding to the need for alternative interracial organizing spaces that would allow for greater dialogue, Smith and Snelling hosted "house parties" at their home at the Laurel Falls Camp just outside of Clayton. Anne C. Loveland has described these events in rural Georgia as akin to literary "salons" (42), while Monica Miller reads Laurel Falls as operating as

⁷⁸ Report for the first conference in Birmingham, Alabama in 1938: Lucy Randolph Mason, "Southerners Look at the South," *The North Georgia Review*, vol. 3, no. 3-4, Winter 1938-39; Report for the second biennial conference in Chattanooga, Tennessee in 1940: Lillian Smith, "Southern Conference? [Editorial]," *The North Georgia Review*, vol. 5, no. 1, Spring 1940; Report for the third biennial conference in Nashville, Tennessee in 1942: Lillian Smith, "Crossing Over Jordan into Democracy," *South Today*, vol. 7, no. 1, Spring 1942.

a “safe space” within the hostile climate of the segregated South (00:24:19). I read the parties as sites of community-building that were deeply political. Indeed, Will Brantley describes these interracial gatherings as “unprecedented” in “rigidly segregated Georgia” (“Letter-Writing” 10). Regardless of what political actions were discussed, the very event was a direct challenge to Jim Crow; therefore, while the parties were often ostensibly social gatherings, their violation of Georgia’s segregation laws made them inherently political.

While these home gatherings afforded a degree of privacy and conviviality, the potential danger of these gatherings was not lost on Smith and Snelling nor their guests. Although lamenting the “profoundly tragic” need to “‘organize’ the little venture” of an interracial party, Smith assured invitees in coded language that their home was “remote” and “quiet and serene—a place where one does not expect intrusions or interruptions” (Smith, “Dear Mrs. . . .”). Still, transportation required careful planning and only white guests with “courage,” “good judgment,” and “tact” were invited so as to minimize risk (Smith, “Letter to Vandie Haygood” 76).⁷⁹ One invitee, Lucy Randolph Mason, affirmed “I will regard your admonition and tell no one” (Mason). And, as Smith put it to her sister and brother-in-law Bertha “Bird” and Eugene Barnett after the all-female party in 1943, “I lost five pounds during the two days. . . . as I felt that I was doing a gay little tap dance over a barrel of TNT. The northern Negroes did not realize the danger; the southern Negroes did” (Smith qtd. in Gladney, *How Am I To Be Heard?* 75).

⁷⁹ While the remoteness of the camp afforded relative safety, transportation posed a logistical challenge; to get to Laurel Falls guests would first have to travel through the small town of Clayton, where it would be easy to attract unwanted attention. As a result, the transportation was handled “carefully, shrewdly so as not to antagonize our neighbors” (“Memoir” 50). For white guests, such as Dorothy Tilly, discretion was required; she had to make covert arrangements to travel to the mountain without her relatives in Clayton finding out (Tilly). For Black guests, the risks of travel were far more serious and often resulted in invitees coordinating co-transportation by train or bus to Clayton, where Smith would meet them with a car for transport to the mountain. Fortunately, there were never any incidents. But as Smith later recalled: “We were all a little scared—why not admit it?—and we watched our steps; we kept casual visitors away and we were discrete in every possible way” (“Memoir” 52).

Perhaps the most well-documented of all the gatherings occurred on September 28th and 29th, 1943 and included a group of at least 11 Black women and 8 white women activists.⁸⁰ The group represented women from a variety of organizations and backgrounds in the North and South and was intergenerational: with a 52-year age difference, Esther Smith was the youngest known attendee at 28 years of age, and Black clubwoman and anti-lynching activist Mary Church Terrell was the oldest at 80 years of age. As such, the party offered a unique opportunity to talk not only across racial difference, but also across organizational, regional, and generational differences.

Smith felt it was important to create informal meeting spaces outside of churches, formal organizations, and academic institutions for Black and white women to get to know each other and organize (“Memoir” 52). As she writes in a draft of one invitation: “You know without my going into the unhappy details, just how difficult it is to make such [interracial] friendships. We can go to conventions and conferences and make speeches to each other, but the warm, personal comradeship that is necessary to the developing of any friendship is not easy to feel at a conference or convention” (“Dear Mrs....”). Smith hoped that projects for coalitional organizing might naturally arise from developing close friendships and mutual trust, but she prioritized the formation of interracial connection as a value in and of itself:

Perhaps while we are together we shall as ... women of intelligence and ability and good will, work out with one another some interesting plans and projects that may be valuable to both races. I should like to think that out of this little gathering something very fine and beautiful would come. But it seems to me the finest thing that could happen would be for us as discriminating individuals to form with each other really warm and personal

⁸⁰ Records relating to this party indicate different numbers of attendees. Therefore, the list in Appendix Table 42 is only an approximate reconstruction.

friendships. All the movements in the world, all the laws, the drives, the edicts will never do what personal relationships can do—and must do. (“Dear Mrs....”)

This invitation is striking for the emphasis Smith puts on friendship and community as a political act.

Smith’s proposal was warmly received, even by those unable to attend. For example, Mary McLeod Bethune, President and founder of The National Council of Negro Women, affirmed her enthusiasm for the party, responding “it is a wonderful chance for us to think through and put into action, a more pliable [sic] program of racial understanding. I too think that this problem confronting us is going to be largely solved by the women of America and the world” (qtd. in Welch). Likewise, Martha Dawn, who was also unable to attend, lamented, “I only wish I could share in the fun and friendship making! It is an opportunity for action that I hate to pass up” (Dawn). The frequent references to a combined practice of action and friendship are noticeable in the respondent’s letters, indicating the evident importance of building relationships of common understanding and trust as the foundation for interracial activism.

These dual goals are also evident in reports of the party. Smith recalls that after the initial stress of transportation, the women relaxed and had fun: “we went swimming, we played tennis, we talked our heads off, some just roamed around on the mountain; we had as usual marvelous food” (“Memoir” 52). Smith recalls that the group also engaged in difficult conversations: “The talk was very candid, and we had sudden arguments, sudden antagonisms rose to the surface and were then laughed away; it was a matter of raw nerves meeting raw nerves” (“Memoir” 52). Smith elaborated on these charged conversations: “It was purely ‘social’; we simply had fun together and got to know each other as human beings. Of course ‘race’ was discussed and it was most illuminating to hear the Negro women talk” (Smith qtd. in Gladney, *How Am I To Be*

Heard? 75). Ultimately, we see in these “candid” conversations how a group of Black and white women confronted lived differences. Therefore, apart from the event itself being an “action,” the practices of listening, conversing, and establishing frank relationships also constitute embodiments of a politics that transcended a superficial sociality.

This particular party did not result in any definable “plans and projects.” Yet Eslanda Goode Robeson’s biographer Barbara Ransby identifies the house party as a pivotal turning point in Goode Robeson’s own activism. With Paul Robeson involved with *Othello* on Broadway and Paul, Jr. leaving home to attend Cornell University, 1943 was a transitional period for Goode Robeson as her life diverged from that of her husband and son. Ransby argues, “Although Essie had been engaged in intellectual and political explorations independent of Paul for some time, her activities would soon crystallize into a serious career as an anti-colonial crusader and a peace and freedom activist and journalist” (143). Specifically, Ransby writes that “The event at Lillian Smith’s country house may not have been as transformative in the ways that Smith had hoped it would be, but for Essie, the women there became part of her growing network of friends and allies” (143), and “bolstered Essie and set the stage for a more defined public role of her own” (142).

I read these intimate gatherings within the supposedly “unpoliticized” private sphere as underacknowledged but nevertheless foundational forms of political resistance, somewhat adjacent to James C. Scott’s concept of “infrapolitics,” which he characterizes as “an unobtrusive realm of political struggle” (“The Infrapolitics of Subordinate Groups” 183). The term was originally coined by Scott in specific reference to the political resistance of an oppressed and subordinate class of Malaysian peasantry, and has since been relevantly applied by Robin Kelley

to the Black working class.⁸¹ Although it is, therefore, not directly applicable to the largely middle-class group at the 1943 party, many of whom (i.e. the white guests) occupied positions of extreme privilege, the attention infrapolitics draws to small, unrecorded, everyday political acts of resistance and change is nevertheless valuable in theorizing the significance of Smith and Snelling's gatherings. Resonant in Scott's concept of the "hidden transcript," infrapolitical resistance has gone undocumented and is not necessarily quantifiable in terms of political impact; however, as Scott suggests, "the aggregation of thousands upon thousands of such 'petty' acts of resistance have dramatic economic and political effects" (192). This awareness of accumulated, direct, and seemingly small resistant acts was very much on Smith and Snelling's mind throughout their work with *South Today* and is aptly realized in the logics of periodical publishing.

If we take a longer view of the outcomes of these parties, we can read them as pursuing an infrapolitics that built long-standing activist coalitions. Apart from the maintenance of correspondences, invitees reciprocated the hospitality they received by extending invitations for Smith and Snelling to visit their homes as guests and participate in their respective organizations. The parties also seeded subsequent coalitions that formed to fight for the abolition of the white primary, poll tax, and segregation throughout the 1940s ("Memoir" 66). We can also track greater exchange and collaboration between attendees' respective organizations as an outcome of these gatherings; for example, Smith was invited by Beulah Whitby to speak at the Detroit Office of Civilian Defense (Whitby). Ultimately, rather than coalitions of the moment, the parties and the correspondence that resulted from them together reflect strong interpersonal commitments that continued long after the magazine ceased publication, commitments that often endured over

⁸¹ See Robin D. G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class*, Free Press, 1994.

the course of lifetimes.⁸² As Smith reflects, the parties “affected us personally and affected the magazine” (“Memoir” 52), indicating an intrinsically connected relationship between “off-the-page” and “on-the-page” activisms.

Local Direct Action: The Rabun County Maternity Home

Smith and Snelling’s coalition building also formed the foundations for “off-the-page” direct action mutual aid projects, including the establishment of a desegregated public library in Clayton and a bookmobile for rural library access, the continuation of the Works Progress Administration’s (WPA) hot lunch programs in county schools, and the creation of the Rabun County Maternity Home in Clayton, Georgia (Brewer 12). I focus on the maternity centre as addressing material inequalities at the intersection of gender, racialization, and class in southern Appalachia. *South Today*’s journalism, alongside conversations with local nurses, doctors, and community members concerning local need, precipitated the establishment of a free and desegregated public maternity centre in the county.

In 1939 and 1940, *NGR* had run the contest “Do You Know Your South?” One question raised in the contest concerned the class- and racialization-based inequalities of rural maternity care. Smith and Snelling later reported their findings of these stark differences in material access to medical care to their readers:

⁸² Smith and/or Snelling corresponded with: Dr. Belle Boone Beard until 1972 (UGA, ms1283a); with Mary McLeod Bethune until 1954 (UGA, ms1283); with Helen Bullard until 1962 (UGA, ms1283/a); with Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman until 1964 (UGA, ms1283); with Sallie Lou MacKinnon until 1958 (UGA, ms1283); with Sadie Gray Mays until 1960 and her husband Benjamin E. Mays until 1969 (UGA, ms1283a); with Dorothy McClatchey until 1965 and Devereaux McClatchey until 1976 (UGA, ms1283a); with Pauli Murray until 1978 (UGA, ms1283a); and with Rebecca Reid until 1958 (UGA, ms1283). Please note this is a partial list based on surviving archival correspondence in Lillian Smith’s papers coupled with information collected in finding aids. I did not look into the invitees’ respective fonds.

While only about 3 per cent of white American women now use midwives to officiate at the birth of their children (the percentage is much higher in remote southern rural sections and mountain regions), about 56 per cent of colored women are delivered of their children by untrained grannies. In the rural South 80 per cent of all Negro births are attended by midwives. Negro mothers die in child-birth at twice the rate of white mothers. Of Negro babies born alive, almost 10 per cent die during the first year, a rate 60 per cent higher than for white babies. (“Negro Health – and white” 89)

Realizing the local county’s dire need of free and accessible maternity care, Lillian and her brother Frank Adams Smith joined forces with a local midwife and doctor and broader local contingent, to establish a community centre that would address this problem. The centre was established over the course of 1941 and 1942 by a group including Josephine “Jo” Kinman Brewer, R.N., Certified Nurse Midwife; Dr. James Allen Green, M.D.; Lillian Smith, chairman of the Rabun Health Council; her brother Frank Adams Smith, Ordinary of Rabun County; Miss Lula Smith; Vassie Powell Lyon; and a broader community of supporters within the county (Brewer).⁸³

From the outset, the centre was a community-based direct action. Although eventually sponsored by the Georgia State Board of Health, the project was initially funded through community donations and only later secured \$100 per month of county funds for continued operation (Brewer 5). Names of donors to the maternity centre were listed in the local *Clayton Tribune* newspaper; some of these donors, such as James Tipton, were subscribers to *South*

⁸³ The Judge of the Court of Ordinary was chief executive of the county and included the positions of probate judge and commissioner (Smith and Groening 295). Frank Adams Smith held the position in Rabun County from 1937 to 1951 (118). The power inherent in Smith’s high position in county government and his overseeing of various community projects perhaps explains Clayton activists’ success in establishing desegregated public services. A 106-page digitized scrapbook of the Rabun County Maternity Home can be found through the Georgia Public Library Service: <https://georgialibraries.org/digitized-scrapbook-tells-the-story-of-early-maternal-care-in-georgia/#>.

Today who did not live in Rabun County. During this period the group secured a building, sourced equipment, and hired staff. People across the county also donated furnishings such as rugs, sheets, and curtains from their own homes. They also sustained the centre by providing vegetables from their gardens and canned preserves (Brewer 5). In this way, even those unable to contribute financially were able to support the project in critical ways.

The centre opened on November 20, 1942 and “was the first of its kind in Georgia, providing around the clock pre- and postnatal care to pregnant women, regardless of race or ability to pay” (Georgia Public Library Service). Smith reported the success of the centre in a letter to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) activist and head Walter White: “Negro mothers are admitted to have their babies on exactly the same basis as white mothers. One Negro mother has already been there. There was no riot. There was a little chatter, a few raised eyebrows. But not any grave import” (Smith, “[Letter to Walter White]” 64). Perhaps indicative of its circulation among a broader audience, a pamphlet for the centre instead highlighted the home’s role in serving rural women: “During the first eight months there were 68 babies born at the Center. Of these, 43 of the mothers came from remote rural areas to which doctors—if they had been called at all—would have had to travel fifteen or twenty miles. Thirty of the 68 mothers were clinic patients who would ordinarily have had no doctor for the delivery” (Brewer 19). Although the pamphlet does not foreground its patients’ class- and racialization-based positionalities explicitly—instead attributing women’s lack of access to medical care to geography and not poverty or segregation—the centre was primarily serving communities of poor Black and white women. This is evident in the forms of payment which the doctors and midwives received, such as eggs, vegetables, or small services such as sewing or repair jobs (Brewer 5, 24). Regardless of how the centre was framed to the larger community, its

opening greatly reduced maternal deaths, newborn deaths during delivery, and neonatal deaths in the county. The centre oversaw the birthing of over two thousand babies by 1952, at which point it merged with the first hospital built in Clayton.

I read the Rabun County Maternity Home as a form of mutual aid based in direct action. Dean Spade defines mutual aid as a participatory project that “work[s] to meet survival needs,” to “mobilize people, expand solidarity, and build movements ... through collective action” (15). Although not solely mutual aid due to its leveraging of the Rabun County Health Board and procurement of county funds, in all other respects the Maternity Home was wholly organized and sustained by the community. As Spade continues, “Mutual aid projects mobilize lots of people rather than a few experts; resist the use of eligibility criteria that cut out more stigmatized people; are an integrated part of our lives rather than a pet cause; and cultivate a shared analysis of the root causes of the problem and connect people to social movements that can address these causes” (23). The centre’s policy to admit anyone regardless of race or ability to pay remains an unprecedented and radical refusal of white supremacist and capitalist systems. The project also accomplished more than the service it provided and I read it as enabling further outcomes of mutual aid that Spade notes: “Mutual aid gives people a way to plug into movements based on their immediate concerns, and it produces social spaces where people grow new solidarities. At its best, mutual aid actually produces new ways of living where people get to create systems of care and generosity that address harm and foster well-being” (9). Reporting on the collective community effort to establish and run the centre to a broader audience in her “Dope with Lime” column, Smith writes:

So we county people went to work and made for ourselves a Maternity Center—a cheerful steam-heated home where every mother in the county may come and have her

baby in comfort and security and cleanliness, regardless of her ability to pay. There is a nurse trained in obstetrics and midwifery; there is a housekeeper to give nourishing meals; there are the doctors with needed equipment close at hand. And there are all the rest of us waiting for each baby to be born, to hear ‘all about it’. ... [T]here was never a project in this county of projects which made everyone feel so warm and kindly toward each other and himself. (Autumn-Winter 1942-1943, 4)

This report also reflects one of Smith’s recurring strategies; namely, using print media to provide readers with the inspiration and practical tools to implement similar projects in their own communities. The sharing of best practices is a feature of mutual aid that rejects capitalist business models of “secrecy” and competition (Spade 29). Although describing this local mutual aid initiative as a “little drop in the bucket” of change, Smith leveraged the capacities of *South Today* to encourage others to replicate the project. Smith believed that a mass approach to local change would effect a “chain reaction” (qtd. in Gladney, “A Chain Reaction” 54). It appears this approach was successful, since the Rabun County Maternity Home ultimately laid the groundwork for similar models and “inspire[d] the creation of maternity hospitals across the state” (Georgia Public Library Service). Interestingly, Smith’s report on the Maternity Home appeared in the issue targeted by the attempted banning and investigation of *South Today*, possibly suggesting how threatening this call to desegregate public services through direct action was to those in power.

We see in this example of mutual aid that *South Today* was not only a space to critique systems or imagine new futures, although that certainly was an important aspect of its work, but it translated such visions into tangible acts of change. While Smith and other contributors to *South Today* were involved in state-wide initiatives to abolish discriminatory systems such as the

white primary, for example, the magazine's articulated approach was interestingly less concerned with challenging policy in name in the courts, and instead about community efforts to realize material change through direct action. Such local activism, connected as it was to the broader outreach of *South Today*, speaks to Smith and Snelling's attention to different theatres of activism across local, state, regional, national, and international scales, and how they saw them reinforcing each other.

Laurel Falls Camp

While building activist networks and engaging in direct action such as mutual aid were two ways *South Today's* editors and contributors put the magazine's vision for social justice into practice "off-the-page," a third project continuous throughout the magazine's run concerned what I consider to be another form of direct action: (re)education. To further illustrate the interplay between the magazine and "on-the-ground" pedagogies, I raise the work of the Laurel Falls Camp (LFC). The LFC was a summer camp for white southern girls located on the ridge of Screamer Mountain and operated by Lillian Smith and Paula Snelling from 1925 to 1948. Although scholars including Sally Stanhope, Anne C. Loveland and, most notably, Margaret Rose Gladney have researched LFC extensively, with Gladney interviewing over fifty former campers and counselors to understand the camp's lasting impact on their lives ("Personalizing the Political" 95),⁸⁴ there has as yet been no study of the camp's relationship to *South Today* nor of how the two projects were intertwined. In this section, I suggest that we read the pedagogies of LFC as a praxis in line with the values of *South Today*. Specifically, I contend LFC operated as an iterative pedagogical experiment that was both informed by theories of child development

⁸⁴ "Laurel Falls Campers - Response to Questions," Margaret Gladney Papers (ms3513), Box 4, Folder 4, Special Collections Libraries, Hargrett Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

and anti-racism published in *South Today* and, in turn, grounded and refined the pedagogical theories of the magazine.

In reporting the camp's pedagogical successes and failures within *South Today*, Smith and Snelling offered readers a model to adapt to their own homes and schools. Considering that a significant number of *South Today*'s 1944-1945 subscribers were parents (41%) and that the most common profession among subscribers was teacher (21%), the potential impact of this pedagogy offered to this readership becomes significant.⁸⁵ As such, although LFC was a localized experiment that affected a relatively small number of children, when we read the camp as operating in connection with *South Today* and posit the home as an additional site of pedagogy, we encounter yet another tactic in Smith and Snelling's practice of mobilizing the magazine across modes, demographics, and scales to bring about social change.

To understand the unconventionality of LFC's pedagogy, it is helpful to place it within the context of the summer camp as a phenomenon. Children's summer camps emerged in the northeastern United States in the late nineteenth century as both an "outgrowth of the cultural creation of 'childhood'"—which had recently emerged into social consciousness through new child labour and education laws—and as a response to anxieties about the effects of "industrial urbanization" on children's health and development (Spensley n.p.). Although originally designed exclusively for boys, summer camps for girls emerged in the South in the late 1910s and grew in popularity between the 1920s and 1950s, where they created seasonal employment and were an important part of rural and mountain community economies (Stanhope 44). Sally Stanhope has uncovered at least 141 girls' summer camps operating in the South before 1949. They catered primarily to middle- and upper-class white southerners (44), although camps for

⁸⁵ See Appendix Tables 33 and 38.

Black southern girls did exist, such as Camp Founder Girls/Camp Elvira, founded and operated by Mattie Landry from 1924 to the 1960s in Boerne, Texas serving the San Antonio Eastside community (“[Her]story”). Summer camps were generally segregated in the North until the 1940s,⁸⁶ and in the South until the 1960s (Stanhope 45). Furthermore, with the exception of the Highlander Folk School in Monteagle, Tennessee (Glen 57), the South did not have the North’s “welfare camps” run by the YWCA, Girl Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls for working-class families, and largely restricted summer camps to the elite (Stanhope 45).

As Stanhope and Gladney have pointed out, white southern girls’ camps were somewhat contradictory spaces. Groomed for the roles of (white) “southern womanhood,” namely, marriage and motherhood, southern daughters were reluctantly permitted by their wary parents to participate in the “masculiniz[ing]” activities of camps (47). Over time, however, parents came to view summer camps as wholesome, socializing spaces where girls could nurture various skills, form female friendships, and simply be kept out of trouble. Furthermore, due to the homogeneity of campers’ racialization and class, southern camps upheld cultures of segregation and elitism. Yet despite their overall conservatism, camps nevertheless offered girls relative freedom from gendered societal conventions and “stood at the center of the Southern progressive education movement after World War I” (47), with camp directors and counselors often being highly educated single or queer women living lives opposed to the traditional codes and finding freedom and intellectual stimulation in these all-female communities (49-50). For these reasons, Gladney calls girls’ camps, for both campers and counselors, paradoxically “liberating institutions” (“The Liberating Institution” 33).

⁸⁶ There were a few exceptions. Labour unions and the U.S. Communist Party ran integrated summer camps in upstate New York throughout the 1930s to 1950s (Spensley n.p.).

Many of these characteristics were also true of LFC. Smith's father's ailing health left her, as the unmarried daughter, to assume the role of running LFC. Despite Smith's initial feelings of confinement, she soon transformed the camp into a site of liberating expression, where she could explore her interests in art, psychology, and education. Not only did the camp provide Smith with a means of economic independence, but after buying the camp from her parents in 1928, she assumed complete pedagogical control.⁸⁷ Although LFC was originally modelled on the conventional girls' summer camp, with a focus on athleticism and competition, Smith set about transforming the camp into a place for fostering artistic and creative expression, which would develop the mind and spirit as well as the body.

While the camp was an iterative and experimental project that sought to educate the campers in community-building, developing individual means of expression, questioning social conventions, and interrogating their own privilege, LFC would also contribute to the socio-political education of Smith, Snelling, and their counselors and, since some of those counselors contributed to *South Today*, the camp would also shape the direction of the magazine.⁸⁸ As Gladney argues, "through her work with the camp . . . Smith first began systematically to examine and then confront her society's concepts of race and gender . . . [and] came close to creating the world she wanted to live in, a world where every child could experience esteem, where individual creativity could be encouraged by a supportive community, where old ideas were questioned and new ones explored, and where differences could be appreciated" (Gladney, *How Am I To Be Heard?* xvi).

⁸⁷ Smith and Snelling were both experienced teachers; Smith had taught in Harlem, the rural mountain schools of Georgia, and in Chinese boarding schools, while Snelling taught mathematics in Macon public schools.

⁸⁸ LFC counselors Carolyn Gerber (dance counselor) and Frances "Teddy" Bear (art counselor) contributed to *South Today*.

“The talks” at camp became one way in which this mutual education was achieved. Smith would visit each cabin on a rotating schedule and host weekly, at-large camp socials in the library to tell stories and discuss topics generally not covered in school curriculums. As Smith recalls,

I had weekly talks in each cabin about life as girls live it: [...] we talked about the body and its functions and went into sex [...]; we talked about our hopes and dreams, [...] We talked about scape goat etc. etc. about arrogance etc. etc. and we went out into the world beyond our mountain and talked about war and peace, racial problems, poverty, class snobbery, conformity etc. etc., acceptance of differences, etc. (“Memoir” 27)

Rather than Smith or the counselors lecturing the girls, the conversations were based on an exploratory co-creation of knowledge. As Smith describes, “the talks did move on, slowly, with no sense of hurry, for we were not covering a textbook, or doing a unit of study or trying to pass an examination. They were talks that became in themselves creative experiments, as new insights were gained, as sudden expressions of pent-up feelings stirred our imaginations, our sense of the drama of growing” (Smith, “Growing Plays” 33). This circuitous approach of navigating the girls’ complex questions and allowing them to collectively discuss and arrive at conclusions, Smith believed, was the most effective way for the girls to begin to truly question and reject the codes of the society they had internalized. As Smith recalls, “this kind of communication broke down barriers, made for a mutual respect and an affection and concern that I’ve never seen anywhere else. [...] The kids were ‘with it’ and we adults were ‘with it’ and we really met each other on levels of mind, heart, past, future, imagination, etc.” (“Memoir” 27).

Of course, for Smith these “talks” were not merely informational sessions but a strategy towards a larger objective: the girls’ (re)education. As I noted in Chapter 1, *South Today*’s

contributors frequently discussed the roots of racism in the South and how to combat it, generally acknowledging the need for radical economic levelling and political reorganization. Yet Smith and Snelling recognized that education toward a mass change in social consciousness would also be required and that one of its most critical sites would be the (re)education of (white) children exposed to a “severe color-conditioning” (Smith and Snelling, “The World” 15). As they wrote in *South Today*, “Of these cultural blockings, none is harder for the growing personality to push through than the mystical concept of whiteness, the deep-rooted prejudice based on skin color. This is an obstacle that the modern age has rolled across childhood’s path” (15). To combat this “color-conditioning,” Smith and Snelling devised methods within LFC of challenging the girls’ privileged upbringings. As Stanhope argues in her survey of white southern girls’ camps, while most white southern camps continued to uphold cultures of white supremacy, LFC was the exception in challenging these systems as part of its curriculum (44).

Growing Plays

Perhaps one of the most interesting pedagogical experiments at LFC for both campers and counselors alike were the theatrical productions. Written, directed, choreographed, and performed by the girls themselves over the course of the summer, these so-called “growing plays” constituted the enactment of a radical pedagogical praxis (Smith, “Growing Plays” 34).

As Smith explains:

Each summer at camp we grow a play out of our experiences together. Usually it develops out of something we have talked about, done together, or something in the outside world that we are trying to understand. One summer we grew a play about the 300 years the Negro has spent in America; another year, it was concerned with the war and peace; one summer we grew a play about America. (“Growing Plays” 34)

I argue that the plays were an extension of the types of open and iterative conversations encouraged at the camp and provided the girls with the creative means to explore complex topics typically repressed within mainstream southern education and societal discourse, such as racialization, gender, sexuality, and systems of power. Eschewing traditional theatrical conventions, these amateur productions were largely experimental, merging song, dance, verse, choral speech, and the visual arts. As such, the plays served as an outlet for the girls to openly investigate their beliefs, emotions, anxieties, and privileges, and introduced them to the practical skills required in collectively imagining and building new worlds. Such experiential knowledge learned in practice at LFC was fed back into *South Today*'s pages, where two of these plays, *Behind the Drums* and *The Girl*, were subsequently published with accompanying prefaces in which Smith contextualized the concerns out of which they developed and theorized the possibilities of collective composition as a radical pedagogy.⁸⁹

In the South in the 1930s and 1940s, experimental or experiential drama was not part of school curriculums and as George W. Chilcoat and Jerry A. Ligon note, theatre in general was “sentimentalized, trivialized and associated with play rather than recognized as contributing to serious pedagogical practice” (540). In part they suggest that this marginalization of dramatic pedagogy within state curriculums resulted from the vaguely threatening political skills drama fostered, including “developing active group participation; fostering creative expression of personal experiences for building self-confidence and collective confidence; improving academic learning; developing skills to enable students to voice the concerns of the disenfranchised; and promoting direct community action” (534). It is telling that this practice of collective dramatic composition occurred only at such progressive schools as the Highlander Folk School in

⁸⁹ *Behind the Drums* was published in *NGR* Autumn 1939, pp. 12-21 and reprinted in the children's issue of *South Today*, Spring-Summer 1944, pp. 50-60. *The Girl* was published in *South Today*, Spring-Summer 1944, pp. 32-49.

Monteagle, Tennessee, and later again in 1964 as part of the curriculum of the Mississippi Freedom Schools (515, 520).⁹⁰

In many ways, these plays were more like “process drama” than “product drama,”⁹¹ in the sense that they were composed through continuous and unfolding group sessions which involved “questioning and negotiation beforehand and reflection both inside and outside the drama” (O’Neill 3). For example, to disentangle the roots of the girls’ own racial prejudice, *Behind the Drums* (1939) traced the history of slavery in America and its contemporary legacy in Jim Crow. While serving as a history lesson about the continuity of both racial oppression and Black struggle—histories that most of these white middle- and upper-class girls would not have encountered before in state textbooks—the multi-modal vocabularies of experimental theatre also afforded an opportunity to actively imagine experiences “across the colour line.” However, rather than the play following a traditional plot-driven narrative forms or the girls’ role-playing Black characters, which would be inappropriate in its approximation to minstrel shows and therefore have a very adverse effect, *Behind the Drums* approached this history of slavery from

⁹⁰ The Highlander Folk School (HFS), co-founded by Myles Horton, Don West, and James A. Dombrowski in 1932, and including such teachers as Elizabeth “Zilla” Hawes Daniel, Dorothy Thompson, Claudia Lewis, and Mary Lawrance, was an adult (re)education center serving working-class Appalachians in Grundy County by hosting workshops and training sessions for southern labour organizers and fighting segregation in the labour movement. As John M. Glen documents, to teach public speaking and organizing skills teachers had students write “short plays on the struggles of organized labor” (30). However, under the instruction of Spanish-Indigenous musician and teacher Zilphia Mae Johnson Horton (34-6), a tradition of workers’ theatre emerged at the school in which students were encouraged to “identif[y] certain problems affecting their unions and ac[t] them out in a spontaneous improvisation” (55) or to write and “share songs out of their own experiences . . . and to lead groups in singing them” (37). In short, the school explored “how drama could be used to educate union members” (55) while also affirming an “emphasis on learning from experience” (54). There was significant cross-pollination between HFS and *South Today*, which potentially explains the shared features of the dramatics programs at HFS and LFC. HFS was also a subscriber to *South Today* in which it was also profiled as an exemplar of anti-racism education. See “Across the South Today,” *North Georgia Review*, vol. 6, no. 1-4, Winter 1941; and Leon Wilson, “Scenic Highway, South,” *South Today*, vol. 7, no. 1, Spring 1942, pp. 25-8. Smith also corresponded with James Dombrowski.

⁹¹ Gustave J. Weltsek-Medina explains that product drama is generally scripted and performed before an audience, while process drama is improvisational, exploratory, and based on “participants experiencing personal growth through an exploration of their understanding of the issues within dramatic experience” (n.p.).

the emotive, merging music, movement, and choral speech. As Dorothy Heathcote explains, in “educational drama” “attitudes, not characters, are the chief concern” (qtd. in O’Neill 3).

This attempt on Smith’s part to encourage the girls to question the narratives they had been raised with through theatrical composition sometimes had transformative results. For example, in the preface to *Behind the Drums* Smith reports how composing the play forced girls to question prevailing racial stereotypes and the assumptions of their own positionalities by “stepping into another’s shoes.” Playing “Teacher in Role,” Smith reports guiding the girls through the following exercise:

Then we discussed the slavery scene. What kind of set should it be? Asked this question, quickly fifty hands were raised, fifty young white voices cried ‘a big house—white columns—mammy—pickaninnies—somebody singing old songs—’ ‘But remember—you are not white girls talking, you are now Negroes. Think a minute. If you were a slave, what in slavery would hurt you most, would mean most to you? Remember, only a few slaves were house-servants, some perhaps never saw the big house... what would mean most to you... what would stay on your mind the most...’ Little girls, big girls gravely pondered, sitting there on the floor, some of them bewildered, a little puzzled by these words. And then a fourteen-year-old spoke. ‘It would be the separation’ she said. ‘That fear never leaving you of being separated from your family, from your husband or your lover, or your children. Afraid tomorrow they’d sell you or those you love.’ The room was quiet. And there followed grave talk of this fear, of the importance which the mother held in the Negro family, how she came to symbolize the only security it had, how later after legal slavery, she still symbolized this security... how she lost her

children.... You're crying,' one girl whispered to another, 'and I am, too,' she sniffled and tried to laugh. ("Behind the Drums" 14)

This trauma of separation became one of the central themes of the play, as these white girls, imagining themselves in an alternative lived experience, began to newly consider what slavery and the continued practice of Jim Crow meant for both historical and contemporary Black communities.

Here Smith outlines one of the key strategies of process drama called "Living Through," a term coined by Gavin M. Bolton to describe "an experience that may occur in any dramatic exercise where the participant has a moment of existential growth. In essence, the participant has allowed her or his own understanding of reality to be used within the drama, and that understanding has changed as a result of the dramatic experience" (Weltsek-Medina). In many ways, it may be more useful to conceptualize these plays as affective rather than dramatic experiments. As Erin Hurley and Sara Warner acknowledge, "For performance, [the affective turn] elevates aesthetics of experience over those based in representation," and "signals a renewed interest in embodiment and sensorial experience," making "some conceptual space for aspects of human motivation and behavior that are not tethered to consciousness, cognitive processes, and rationality, to validate physical and social dynamics that are inchoate and unpredictable, and to explore impulses and responses that social conventions shape but do not circumscribe" (99-100). In essence, Smith and Snelling were trying to accomplish something akin to Brian Massumi's concept of microperceptions, or "perception of a quantitatively different kind. . . . something that is felt without registering consciously," or registered "only in its effects" (53). As Massumi continues, "Affective politics is inductive. Bodies can be inducted into, or attuned to, certain regions of tendency, futurity and potential, they can be induced into

inhabiting the same affective environment, even if there is no assurance they will act alike in that environment” (56-7). Therefore, the exercise of encouraging white southern girls to recast their mental images of slavery, as these plays did, reflects a small chipping away at conditioning white southern myths.

There is also an emerging scholarship on the potential for teaching embodied empathy through imaginative theatre. However, as Alison O’Grady cautions, for this pedagogy to be beneficial, it “requires ‘a shift in perspective away from oneself, to an acknowledgment of the other person’s different experience’” (4). This seemed to be operative in the girls’ rejection of dominant white myths of southern history, represented in Smith’s account of “the big house,” and in their exploration of slavery’s legacy through the trauma of forced separation. Still, while such exercises were well-intentioned, it is important to also consider the unintended consequences of such a pedagogy. The danger of an empathy-based pedagogy is that it both centers the feelings of empathizer and, so, is difficult to mobilize into further action. Although I think there are significant limits to exercises of projecting oneself into the positions and knowledges of others, at the time *South Today* published these plays it was unconventional to interrogate hegemonic (white) narratives through such imaginative methodologies, and doing so reaffirmed the possibilities of embodied creativities and art as a mode of education.

Specifically, through this ongoing process of composition, the girls developed the skills of communication, collaboration, and creativity—in essence, the skills required to collectively imagine alternative societies. Consequently, I read these activities as teaching the girls skills that could be purposefully adapted to real-world collective organizing. I also contend that in publishing such plays in *South Today* alongside the thinking of activists and educators, Smith and Snelling were affirming the validity of children’s contributions to the collective

conversation, suggesting that widespread (re)education could be a viable avenue for social change, and offering children's imaginations as possible inspiration for activists.

Besides these frank discussions of whiteness, which encouraged the girls to question prevailing racial ideologies, there were also opportunities for the building of interracial relationships at the camp. In connection with Smith and Snelling's house parties, Black guests often visited the camp and talked with the girls. For example, Smith recalls inviting Black writer and professor Sterling A. Brown to lunch with the campers and counselors (Smith, "[Letter to Edwin R. Embree]" 60). Furthermore, the campers often hosted interracial tea parties and invited local Black mothers and their children (Stanhope 55). This interpersonal approach was based on a theory articulated in *South Today*: "We can give our children opportunities to play and work with other children on terms of equality" (Smith and Snelling, "The World" 19). Hosting Black guests and local Black residents, and playing with local Black children was, therefore, another way in which Smith and Snelling sought to break down the girls' racial prejudice.

Many of the campers found their experiences at LFC to be deeply formative. Its impact on individual campers has been well documented by such scholars as Gladney, whose collection of campers' testimonies were overwhelmingly affirmative in their memories of LFC as a "supportive community that revolutionized the way they defined themselves" (Stanhope 47).⁹² Anne Ingram, who went on to become a professor of dance and feminist activist, reflected on the influence of her time at camp in a letter to Smith twenty years later: "I wasn't able to follow my friends in marrying the old high school beau and finally settling down to life in the South as typified by their ardent support of the Goldwater way of life. The distant drum that I followed

⁹² For more testimonies from campers see "Laurel Falls Campers - Response to Questions," Margaret Gladney Papers (ms3513), Box 4, Folder 4, Special Collections Libraries, Hargrett Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia. See also the documentary *Miss Lil's Camp* by Buss Eye Films.

has been [the] melody that you [Smith] were the first I heard playing” (qtd. in Gladney, “The Liberating Institution” 39). Renouncing the life course that was expected of her as a white woman from a wealthy southern family, Ingram’s choice reflects a politics of refusal.

Of course, refusal can take many forms; Carole McGranahan notes that “Refusal is often a part of political action, of movements for decolonization and self-determination, for rights and recognition, for rejecting specific structures and systems. Or refusal can be of politics itself, [with] refusal as both troubled conscience and rejection of status quo conditions and apologies” (320). Certainly, not all campers were able to follow that “distant drum” or refuse the status quo in the same ways. This is evident even in the ways many struggled to reconcile what they lived at camp with their life outside of it. As an unknown camper accused Smith: “You have unfitted us for the South” (Smith, *Killers of the Dream* 54). Smith does not divulge the identity of this speaker and there is no way to trace the course her life took after the camp; however, based on her statements, we can assume she likely returned to “the Goldwater way of life.” Still, her summation of her camp experience as being “unfitted” nevertheless demonstrates a recognition on some level of her altered consciousness, which precipitated a newfound anxiety upon her return to white southern society. Therefore, we might speculate that such camp experiences potentially manifested in infrapolitical acts of refusal (rather than open resistance) enacted privately.⁹³ We should not necessarily discount the possibility that even if many campers did not openly denounce their upbringings and relinquish their societal privileges in the same ways or to

⁹³ One of McGranahan’s four theses on refusal is: “Refusal is not another word for resistance” (323). While the terms are linked, McGranahan positions “refusal [as] a critique” between “formal and everyday relations, including between claimed equals, in ways that redirect levels of engagement” (320). Therefore, like “infrapolitics” refusal in McGranahan’s conceptualization redirects the focus away from overt, state-centric concepts of politics, to smaller acts between sometimes more lateral relations.

the same degrees, the profusion of camper testimonies citing their changed attitudes toward the South indicate fissures within the foundations of white southern ideology.

Admittedly the camp's small yearly cohort of 65 girls from elite white southern families meant LFC had a relatively limited impact on the (re)education of white southerners as a whole. However, in *South Today* Smith frequently emphasized the potential for radical societal change if pursued widely at the grassroots level, reiterating that while such acts are small, if "done by tens of thousands of southern individuals they would change the South" (Smith, "Addressed to Intelligent White Southerners" 39). James C. Scott affirms the viability of such a strategy, one that we could call infrapolitical, observing that a politics composed of "thousands of small acts [is] potentially of enormous aggregate consequence in the world" ("Infrapolitics and Mobilizations" 113). Smith and Snelling particularly reiterated the importance of educational work and its relatively low barrier to participation, pointing out that "the citizens of tomorrow's world are the children in our homes and schools today" (Smith and Snelling, "Today's Children" 10). To that end, the editors called for readers to take up such work in their own communities. In a direct address to *South Today's* readership Smith and Snelling ask, "What are we doing about tomorrow's world? What are **we, the American educators and parents**, doing about the children who must build their world out of the resources we are giving them now? [...] What are our schools doing to make of themselves reservoirs of life?" (12). As I noted earlier, given that 41% of *South Today's* subscribers were parents and the most common profession among subscribers at 21% was teaching, it is conceivable that some of these pedagogical approaches articulated in the magazine were subsequently employed by readers in their own homes and classes.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ See Appendix Tables 33 and 38.

Indeed, within the “They Say About Us” reader letter columns, educators frequently reported they were influenced by what Smith and Snelling shared. An unknown nursery school teacher from Chicago wrote: “As a pre-school teacher working daily with little children I have a keen, deep understanding of what segregation is doing to develop warped personalities. For quite some time I’ve thought and felt too, the things you speak of in this edition of *South Today*” (Teacher in nursery school). Other teachers actively used the magazine as a basis for their classes. Josephine Hamilton, a high school teacher in Chattanooga, Tennessee wrote, “My particular interest in [*NGR*] is that I’m planning to introduce a course in our high school here which we shall call ‘Southern Problems’” (Josephine Hamilton), while Raymond Morgan, a professor at the white liberal arts Atlantic Christian College (now Barton College) in Wilson, North Carolina shared: “I am teaching a class here in Social Problems of the South—dealing with the topics you discuss so well in your paper” (Morgan). S. A. Martin, a professor at Bessie Tift College, a white women’s college in Forsyth, Georgia (Martin) and Ulysses G. Lee, a professor in the English Department of Lincoln University, a Black public university in Pennsylvania (Lee) likewise spoke to applying the magazine’s ideas in their pedagogies. Finally, even those readers not actively involved in the school system participated by purchasing copies of the magazine to distribute within schools and churches. As M.S. from Ohio writes, “I enclose a dollar for two more copies of *South Today*. I want to give them to friends who work with children’s programs in our churches” (M.S.).

Even this small sampling of educators’ testimonials printed in the magazine reveals the broad application of *South Today*’s pedagogical content across educational levels (from pre-school to post-secondary), socio-economic spheres (public and private schools), educational settings (school, college and university courses, Sunday school), geographic regions (North,

South, Mid-West), gendered contexts (women's colleges and co-ed), and racial contexts (Black and white segregated schools). Therefore, while LFC worked with a specific demographic of white, upper-class girls, many of its pedagogies as theorized in *South Today* seem to have been taken up by its readership and implemented amongst a diverse group of children. Similar to Smith's advocacy for direct action at the local level on a mass scale, then, we can read the camp and its relationship to *South Today* as constituting a key praxis in line with (re)education as a main goal of *South Today*.

While periodicals are often studied as discursive and material objects, I argue in this chapter that to understand the work of activist "little" literary magazines like *South Today* we need to also look beyond the page. As I argue was operative in each of the three case studies outlined, the project of *South Today* and such accompanying "off-the-page" actions were mutually constitutive and existed within a feedback loop. Feedback loops are defined as "the path by which some of the output of a circuit, system, or device is returned to the input" ("Feedback Loop"). While the magazine provided the opportunity for Smith and Snelling to meet other racial justice activists, their conversations across difference at interracial house parties and the successive collaborations that resulted from these relationships were deeply influential in advancing the discourse of the magazine and creating activist networks. Likewise, by reporting on material inequities in the South, Smith and Snelling, along with a group of local activists and supporters mobilized in direct actions designed to materially address such conditions, including the Rabun County Maternity Centre, Rabun County Hot Lunch Program, and desegregated public library and bookmobile. Conversely, as Smith made clear, putting these visions into practice and learning through doing greatly informed the theories of the magazine and allowed them to share such projects with their readership in the hope they might also adapt these direct

actions to their own communities. Finally, in the case of the camp, the results of its experimental pedagogies in the form of the girls' plays created a circuitous exchange of pedagogical knowledge between the two projects. As such there are distinct feedback loops between *South Today* and related direct actions, the camp, and the magazine's active readership. Rather than these practices being separate from each other, I suggest we read the sites of print media, education, and direct action as mutually reinforcing.

Not only do each of these "direct actions," within which I include infrapolitical and educational forms, reaffirm *South Today's* commitment to the imaginaries it proposed discursively, but these acts also illustrated how desegregation, material redistributions of wealth and access, and (re)education are all achievable and replicable. Indeed, the second important point here is that these actions did not end with these specific projects; rather, through their description in the magazine, they were made reproduceable to *South Today's* readership on a significantly larger scale. Smith and Snelling theorized this approach of small actions on a mass scale in the magazine, a theorization I will explore in Chapter 3 as further mobilized in their address and actionable hailing of their readership.

CHAPTER III: IMAGINED COMMUNITIES, COUNTERPUBLICS, AND THE READERS OF *SOUTH TODAY*

And as they read, new possibilities opened before them.
—Lillian Smith, *Killers of the Dream*

In previous chapters I explored how *South Today* developed a practice of community-based literary activism through Lillian Smith and Paula Snelling's attempts to connect the work of the magazine, both on and off the page, to their readership. In this chapter I consider the role that *South Today*'s readership played in *shaping the activism* of the magazine. Scholarly research on *South Today* has largely focused on the literary content and editorial production of the magazine, with little attention to the role of the reader in this literary circuit. Moreover, scholars such as Margaret Beetham and Gemma Outen have identified the relative lack of scholarship on periodical readerships more generally, which usually results from a lack of surviving subscription records. Invoking Ann Ardis' concept of "print media ecologies" (2), a formulation which is attentive to the networked interdependencies of media creation, I assert that *South Today*, unlike contemporary southern literary journals such as the *Southern Review* or *Kenyon Review*, was not only the product of its editors and contributors but was also shaped and sustained by the varying commitments of its readers in the form of critiques and economies of circulation.⁹⁵

In this chapter I ask: Who were the readers of *South Today*? To what extent did readers imagine themselves as part of a counterpublic, and how did that motivate them to participate in

⁹⁵ Here I position the roles of editors and contributors as distinct from readers, whom I primarily define as those people who read or subscribed, but did not necessarily contribute any written content to *South Today*. However, these categories are significantly more blurred and permeable than this formulation allows. Contributors were themselves readers and would occasionally participate in the overtly reader spaces of the magazine, such as the essay forums or "They Say About Us" pages. Likewise, many readers also contributed to the magazine in reader sections and through correspondence. In its participatory reader focus, *South Today* was structured more like a newspaper than a literary magazine.

the work of the magazine and outside of it in their own political praxes and pedagogies? Did the imagined communities of the magazine's readers differ from that of the editors and contributors, and what did that mean for *South Today*'s activism? How did the participation of readers continuously challenge and advance the magazine's activism? In short, I am navigating questions regarding *South Today*'s readership along two planes—what Outen helpfully distinguishes as “implied” (i.e. imagined) and “historical” (i.e. “real”) readership—and considering how these two senses of readership may intersect to tell us something about the magazine's readers and their influence on its activism. Drawing on a combination of subscriber records, reader testimonies, and instances of direct address in *South Today*, I explore how the editors, contributors, and readers variously imagined the counterpublic(s) of *South Today*; to what extent the editors' and contributors' rhetorical address—which projected an imagined readerly community—reflected what we know as the “real” readership; and how these constructions aligned or misaligned with the discursive and non-discursive forms of *South Today*'s literary activism. Likewise, to my argument that *South Today* and its readership were co-constitutive, I explore how readers' sense of belonging to the readerly community existed beyond the magazine's address and was enacted in many other forms of participation, including a grassroots circulation of the magazine.

Imagined Communities, Publics, and Counterpublics

To explore these questions, I first need to establish to what extent we can conceptualize readerships—both implied and historical—as communities. To do so, I draw on Benedict Anderson's concept of “imagined community” (7). His theories concerning the formation of large, geographically distributed, non-face-to-face forms of community as constructed imaginaries have proven helpful in describing the characteristics of media publics and

counterpublics. We can put Anderson in conversation with Michael Warner, who asserts that despite also having a “real” component (i.e. writers and readers), print media publics “exist only by virtue of their *imagining*” (8; emphasis added). Anderson attributes the rise of nationalistic imagined communities largely to the printing press and, more specifically, the newspaper, which he argues replaced religion as a unifying ritual and allowed for “rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways” (36). As Gemma Blok, Vincent Kuitenbrouwer, and Claire Weeda affirm, media has the ability to create both a “horizontal dimension of simultaneity” (18), via a shared temporality, and a “vertical dimension of collective history” (18), via a shared experience of seriality. As such, they conclude that “media use ... is a very potent emotional practice” that helps produce affective imaginaries of kinship (18). Scholars in periodical studies have argued this phenomenon is comparable to the workings of the periodical as a media form and to periodical readerships, who are connected by reading the same text in (perhaps) a shared temporal context.⁹⁶ In the case of *South Today*, there is the additional sense of community that arises from sharing a general political affiliation that counters mainstream discourse, and from the highly participatory quality of the magazine in terms of reader contributions and a word-of-mouth circulation. Therefore, I think it is helpful to explore the counterpublic of *South Today* as an imagined community that was enacted in both discursive and non-discursive ways.

In what has become a foundational understanding of counterpublics, Nancy Fraser argues they “emerge in response to exclusions within dominant publics” and “stand in a contestatory relationship” to them (67, 70). We can reasonably assert that *South Today* formed a

⁹⁶ See Laurel Brake, *Print in Transition, 1850-1910: Studies in Media and Book History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Margaret Beetham, “Time: Periodicals and the Time of the Now,” *Victorian Periodicals*, vol. 48, no. 3, 2015, pp. 323-42; Elizabeth M. Sheehan, “To Exist Serially: Black Radical Magazines and Beauty Culture, 1917-1919,” *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, vol. 9, no. 1, 2018, pp. 30-52.

counterpublic in its “discursive contestation” of a dominant (white) southern culture as I examined in Chapter 1 and through its role as what Michael Warner calls an “organizing ... body” (68). But what *kind* of counterpublic did *South Today* form? The most familiar formulation is the “subaltern counterpublic,” which Fraser defines as “parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs” (67). While *South Today* meets with aspects of this definition, it also diverges from it in that not all individuals associated with the magazine were members of “subordinated social groups” nor were they, as members of a counterpublic, organized principally around the basis of a *shared* oppression or experience. Rather, *South Today*’s subscribers represented a variety of racialization, class, gender, age, regional, educational, and to some extent, political demographics, with the various intersectional positionalities subscribers held complicating an identity-based characterization of *South Today*’s subscribership even further. Additionally, rather than being “subaltern” many subscribers held positions of extreme privilege, particularly along intersecting axes of whiteness and class.⁹⁷ If there was one underlying organizing principle of *South Today*’s counterpublic, one might argue it was “southern-ness,” although even that characterization is not entirely accurate as 1) the magazine was concerned with justice in and outside of the South; 2) its treatment of southern identity was never “nationalistic” and, in fact, the magazine was far more internationalist in orientation; and 3) a significant percentage of *South Today*’s contributors and readers lived outside of the South. Since *South Today* was principally concerned with dismantling oppressive systems of power, its themes resonated beyond the borders of the region. Consequently, although Fraser explores how counterpublics

⁹⁷ See Appendix Tables 35, 37, 39, 40, and 41 and Appendix Figures 36, 38, 39, 40, and 41.

coalesce around the counter discourse of defined social groups, I read *South Today* as forming a political counterpublic that exceeded any identity-based formation of social grouping and, indeed, sought to disrupt those formations that were foundational to race-, class-, and gender-based hierarchies.

Reconstructing the Historical Readership of *South Today*

Who were the readers of *South Today*? Outen observes that for the most part, reconstructing a “profile” of a periodical’s readership has been elusive for periodical studies due to a lack of surviving mailing lists or reader correspondence (544-46). With *South Today* we are fortunate to have access to partial yet extensive subscription records. While the magazine provides some editor-mediated insights into its readership through its reader essay forums and “They Say About Us” letters to the editors pages, I base my reconstruction of its readership largely on the 1944-1945 subscriber records held in the Lillian Eugenia Smith papers at the University of Georgia archives. Granted, the subscription records I draw from do not offer a complete picture of *South Today*’s “historical” readership in that the 2,847 surviving address cards document a year’s worth of subscribers, for the most part, when Smith and Snelling were rebuilding their records following an office fire (see Figure 7). In the final years of *South Today*’s run Smith and Snelling reported the subscription base to be 5,000 (“Yes... we are southern” 42-3), which is substantiated as a consistent subscription base by the number of copies ordered from the Rich Printing Company for this particular issue (Morse). Although single-issue purchases could explain the disparity between 2,847 extant subscription cards and this reported base of 5,000, the extent of this disparity suggests we may be missing subscriber data for 1944-1945, further qualifying my conclusions about *South Today*’s subscribers as illustrative rather

than fully representative. Strangely, there are no “M’s” in the preserved subscription index cards, further suggesting this is not a complete list of 1944-1945 subscribers.

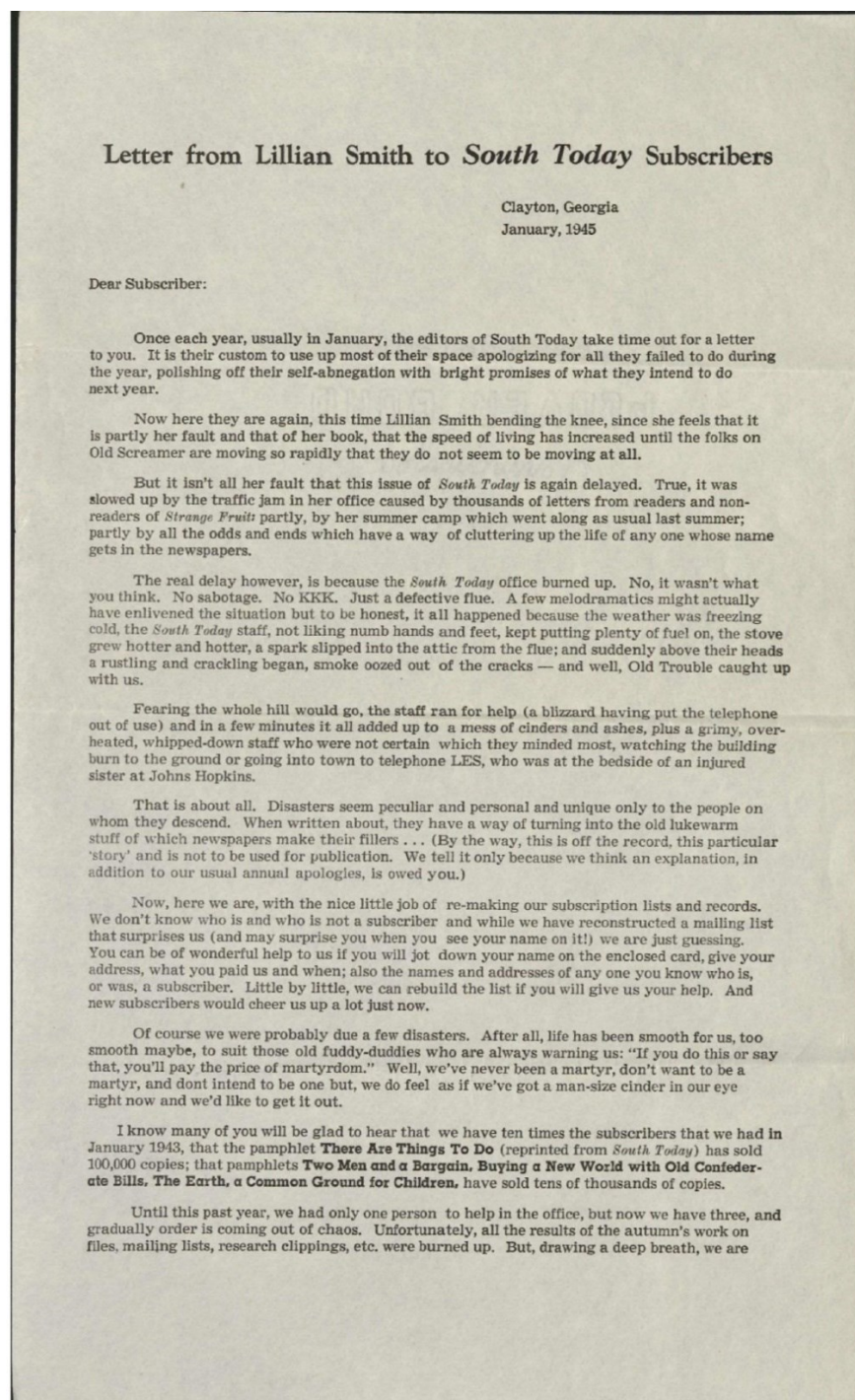


Figure 7. “Letter from Lillian Smith to *South Today* Subscribers.” Lillian Smith Papers, Box 24, Folder 10, “Promotional Materials.” Courtesy of the Literary Manuscripts Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida.

The second limitation regarding the data set I have built is that my work to cross reference subscriber names and addresses with census data, military records, street directories, and death certificates, confirmed only 58% (1,428 of the 2,480) of individuals with a high degree of certainty (schools, libraries, organizations, etc. excluded). Changed addresses, PO boxes, common names, initials, and differences in country' and state' record-keeping practices were further challenges I encountered that made tracing some individuals impossible.

Furthermore, subscribers are themselves only a portion of a periodical's total readership. While the subscription cards list only the person that took out the subscription, many individual subscribers lived with partners, family, roommates, and boarders, who also possibly read the magazine, a phenomenon Isabelle Lehuu formulates as a "reading household" (81n21). By adding up the number of people living in the households of 1,428 of *South Today's* known subscribers at the time of the 1940 census, we learn that these subscriptions yielded reading households that created a total (excluding subscribers) of 4,951 more people potentially reading the magazine.⁹⁸ Based on this data, we can extrapolate that *South Today's* potential reading household was 3.5 times larger than its documented subscribership.⁹⁹ Moreover, subscribers also testified to sharing their copies with friends, work colleagues, acquaintances, and relatives *outside* their households, which would increase the potential readership represented by individual subscriptions even further. Finally, subscriptions account neither for those who read library copies nor for those who purchased single issues, exclusions which could potentially reveal different demographics than those I can reconstruct from individual subscribers' cards.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ I base this household count on the 1940 census, as the closest year to 1944.

⁹⁹ See Appendix Figure 35.

¹⁰⁰ Such information could perhaps be reconstructed, to an extent, by looking for the single or "one-time" reader in subscription correspondence or the subscribing libraries' records on borrowers if they have been preserved, but such research exceeds the capacities of this project.

Thousands of pamphlets, re-prints, and single issues—not to mention at least 367 subscriptions—were also purchased by camps, churches, a city, companies, publications, libraries, schools, and organizations such as the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) and the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA); these copies possibly saw hundreds to thousands of readers. These networks that go beyond the single subscriber are perhaps why some scholars estimate that *South Today*’s circulation was at least 10,000 (Loveland 22; White and Sugg xi). Despite these limitations in reconstructing a “real” readership, the data set I have built from the 1944-1945 subscriber records nevertheless yields illuminating insights regarding who was reading *South Today* regularly and to what extent that readership aligned with who the editors, contributors, and published readers imagined as *South Today*’s community.

Firstly, of the 2,847 subscribers in 1944-1945, 87% were individuals, 8% libraries and schools, 2% organizations, 1% publications, and the remaining 2% were Civilian Public Service camps, churches, cities, and companies.¹⁰¹ In terms of the 2,480 individual subscribers, the following demographics emerged: of the 2,425 or 98% of subscribers for whom gender could be determined, 56% were women, 40% men, and 4% co-subscribers of different genders.¹⁰² This is not surprising, as periodicals were known to attract more women readers, leading to the rise of advertising directed to them, women’s pages, and “ladies’ magazines” as early as the nineteenth century.¹⁰³ Furthermore, of the 1,390 or 56% of individual subscribers for whom racialization could be determined, 70% were white, 29% Black, and the remaining 1% were readers of

¹⁰¹ See Appendix Table 27.

¹⁰² Gender was determined by a combination of honorifics, where applicable, and census data. See Appendix Table 28 and Appendix Figure 28.

¹⁰³ Alexis Easley, et al. *Women, Periodicals, and Print Culture in Britain, 1830s-1900s: The Victorian Period* (Edinburgh UP, 2019); Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman. *Victorian Women’s Magazines: An Anthology* (Manchester UP, 2001); Rachel Alexander, *Imagining Gender, Nation and Consumerism in Magazines of the 1920s* (Anthem Press, 2022); Nancy A. Walker, *Women’s Magazines, 1940-1960: Gender Roles and the Popular Press* (Bedford/St. Martin’s, 1998).

colour.¹⁰⁴ Intersectionally, white women emerged as the most common subscriber group at 45%, white men at 23%, Black men at 18%, and Black women 11%.¹⁰⁵ The readership was also intergenerational: the average age of subscribers in 1944 was 47, and there was a 73-year age difference between the oldest and youngest subscriber.¹⁰⁶ Of 1,334 subscribers or 54% for whom marital status could be determined, 61% were married, 34% not married, 4% widowed, and 1% divorced.¹⁰⁷ Unmarried white women were the most frequently occurring group, followed by married white women; in all other positionalities, there were more married than unmarried people.¹⁰⁸ Of those 1,332 individuals or 54% for whom 1940 census records could be found, 41% of subscribers had children living at home with them, suggesting the pedagogical focus of *South Today* may have appealed to them as parents.¹⁰⁹ In terms of the 1,172 or 47% of 1944-1945 subscribers who recorded their highest education level in the 1940 census, 0.6% had no formal education, 7% had an elementary school education (Grade 1 to 8), 19% had a high school education (Grade 9 to 12), and 73% attended post-secondary (of these individuals 28% worked at the graduate level).¹¹⁰ In the 1930s, only half of southern children under 18 were enrolled in school (the rest were often engaged in farm or factory labour), and of those approximately four million students, only a fraction would graduate high school (Egerton 25). Likewise, only one in

¹⁰⁴ Racialization was determined according to census data. See metadata description for breakdown and use of categories. Of the 1%, 0.4% were Asian American, 0.4% biracial/multiracial, 0.07% Indigenous, 0.07% Latin American, 0.2% Latino/a, and 0.07% Middle Eastern American. See Appendix Table 29 and Appendix Figure 29.

¹⁰⁵ See Appendix Table 30 and Figure 30.

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix Figure 31.

¹⁰⁷ See Appendix Table 31 and Appendix Figure 32.

¹⁰⁸ See Appendix Table 32 and Appendix Figure 33.

¹⁰⁹ The U.S. census is taken every 10 years, with respective data published 72 years after each census; I selected the 1940 census as it was the closest to the subscriber data. This number is likely under-representative as I counted only those subscribers with children living at home at the time of the 1940 census rather than those who I could determine had children who had since left home. Due to time constraints, I also did not capture those subscribers who had children after 1940 and were parents in 1944-1945, by cross-referencing with the 1950 census. See Appendix Tables 33 and 34 and Appendix Figure 34.

¹¹⁰ Highest education level was determined through the 1940 census. See Appendix Tables 36 and 37 and Appendix Figures 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41.

every thousand southerners attended post-secondary at this time (Egerton 26), indicating that *South Today* had a predominantly well-educated readership. Professions of 1,389 or 56% of subscribers were wide-ranging, but 21% worked in education (teachers, principals, professors, etc.), 7% in organized religion (minister, nun, rabbi, etc.), 5% in healthcare (doctors, nurses, etc.), and 3% in domestic labour.¹¹¹ The mode for subscribers' incomes was \$5,000; however, the average household income was only \$738, indicating a wide range of class positions for the readership.¹¹² Considering the poverty line in 1940 was \$1,408 annually for a family of four (Stern 525), the average household income level is surprisingly low based on what I could determine of subscribers' education level, although not all subscribers were supporting a family of four on such an income. This figure may also reflect systemic income inequalities, wherein women were paid less than men and Black people paid less than white for the same work.¹¹³ As Smith observed in the Winter 1941 issue, "Mississippi spends annually \$38.96 per white school child and \$4.97 per black school child" and "pays its white teachers an average of \$750; its Negro teachers an average of \$237 per year" ("Paw and the Rest of Us" 43). Finally, in terms of location, the Northeast, South, and Midwest had the most subscribers, with the states of New York, California, Georgia, and Illinois ranking highest.¹¹⁴ While this result is not entirely surprising, I expected a greater density of subscribers in the South; my data set, therefore, raises new possibilities about *South Today* readers including a southern diaspora, particularly since Chicago and New York were popular destinations for migrating Black southerners. Having established a general picture of *South Today*'s documented readership from my 1944-1945 data

¹¹¹ See Appendix Tables 38 and 39.

¹¹² This average income does not include the 339 subscribers who reported household incomes of \$0, which would bring this average down further to \$518. This \$0 income could be due to subscribers being underaged dependents, students, unemployed, wives, retired, or involved in professions, such as religion-based positions, which might have been remunerated in different ways or required a vow of poverty. See Appendix Tables 40 and 41 Figure 42.

¹¹³ See Appendix Tables 40 and 41.

¹¹⁴ See Appendix Figure 43 and Map 3 for interactive map of subscriber locations: <https://arcr.is/1PSXiG0>.

set, I now explore to what extent this group aligns with the implied readership as articulated by editors, contributors, and readers respectively in the mid-1940s.

The Imagined Communities of *South Today*

Based on Warner's assertion that a public "exists *by virtue of being addressed*" (67), I propose to rhetorically analyse how *South Today*'s editors and contributors imagined the magazine's counterpublic through their address and to what extent this reflected what I call the documented readership. Occasionally, Smith and Snelling addressed their "real" readership directly as "you," as illustrated in their yearly newsletters (i.e. "Dear Readers") or within *South Today* itself. Examples include their appeals for readers to circulate and financially support the magazine ("Yes... We are southern," 44), or alternatively, their confrontation in the question in the column, "Do YOU Know Your South?" More often they invoked an imagined "we." This address, like "you," is helpfully read through Warner's notion of a public and Anderson's of imagined community, in that the rhetorical gesture is not meant to hail a total or precise subscribership or readership, but rather to mobilize an affective imaginary that invites one to identify (or not want to identify) as part of that community. As Warner clarifies, "publics are different from persons, . . . the address of public rhetoric is never going to be the same as address to actual persons, and . . . our partial nonidentity with the object of address in public speech seems to be part of what it means to regard something as public speech" (78). Therefore, he argues that "even as a subaltern counterpublic, this subordinate status does not simply reflect identities formed elsewhere; participation in such a public is one of the ways by which its members' identities are formed and transformed" (57). As Margaret Beetham elaborates,

periodical[s] . . . offer [their] readers models of identity which they can readily recognise and indeed occupy and which they are prepared to pay for again and again. These

identities may be aspirational as much as actual. . . . I may choose a newspaper whose views chime with my political and class position, but in doing so my identity . . . is strengthened or confirmed by my reading. Alternatively, I may choose a magazine which offers me an identity I aspire to but do not yet possess. (95)

Therefore, while I am analysing the rhetorical projections of the editors' direct address, I will also pay heed to the ways in which they interpellate readers, through their participation, to identify or disidentify with various communities and how that level of identification is subject to continuous reconstitution. Indeed, I would like to problematize one of Anderson's main assumptions: that everyone in a "nation" (or community) imagines their shared community in the same way and that these imaginaries are stable.

How different, then, were the imaginaries of community as held and articulated by *South Today's* editors, contributors, and readers? Of course, Smith and Snelling, as administrative editors who managed subscription correspondence, would have the most information regarding "real" reader demographics in terms of gendered prefixes, geographic location, and to some extent racialization if readers self-identified in their subscription correspondence, as sometimes occurred. While their knowledge of readers was no doubt limited in terms of age, profession, education level, racialization, and even sometimes gender, and lacking for those undocumented readers of library or otherwise borrowed copies, this general picture of the readership potentially informed their readerly address, making their decisions in this regard significant. For readers (and many contributors), knowledge of who their fellow readers were would have been more elusive. Interestingly, this was not something that readers seemed particularly concerned with; more often, readers were interested in knowing who *South Today's* editors and contributors were. Beginning in the second issue (Summer 1936) and continuing throughout the duration of

the run, short biographies accompanied the work of *South Today*'s contributors, likely as the magazine's early literary focus was to publish new and aspiring writers and, therefore, bios were an important component of authorial recognition. Still, with the influx of new readers in later years not connected personally with the editors or contributors, Smith and Snelling reported receiving hundreds of letters inquiring of them, "Are you southern? who are you? how do you finance the magazine? why do you think the way you think? are you really southern?" ("Yes... we are southern" 41). This curiosity prompted Smith and Snelling to address these questions in Spring 1943 and again with short bios in Spring-Summer 1944 (see Figure 8). This interest on the part of new readers to know who was "behind" the magazine indicates, by extension, an attempt to understand the community of *South Today*. Likewise, the editors' response reflects an effort to be more transparent about their role.



Photo by Skvirsky.

The editors of *SOUTH TODAY* were both born and reared in small Deep South towns. LILLIAN SMITH attended Piedmont College for a year, Peabody Conservatory in Baltimore four years, spent a year at Columbia University, taught music in a mission school in Huchow China for three years, has lived ever since in Florida and Georgia. She directs an educational institution patronized by prominent southern families.

In answer to many questions

PAULA SNELLING grew up in a small middle Georgia town where her family still lives. She went to Wesleyan College and Columbia University; taught mathematics in the Macon schools for ten years, until Lillian Smith and she began the magazine in 1936.



Photo by Wallace.

Figure 8. "In answer to many questions," *South Today*, vol. 8, no. 2, Spring-Summer 1944, p. 7. Courtesy of the Lillian E. Smith Center.

The North Georgia Review (*formerly Pseudopodia*) begins its third year

It is annual stock-taking season. Arithmetic suggests that we are still in the red. To balance our books, we dubiously resort to the legerdemain of weighing intangible assets against tangible liabilities. We publicize, below, selections from these intangibles. Not vaingloriously (for we know that only the kindness of certain of our friends, the indifference of potential 'enemies', have prevented an influx of comments which would have to be listed on the other side of the ledger) but for the high moral purpose of lifting from your pocket in the least reprehensible manner we can think of, the necessary dollar. If you are already a subscriber, won't you pass the sheet on to someone else whom we may interest?

H. L. Mencken (of the *Baltimore Sun*): "I am always delighted to see the *North Georgia Review*. Keep it going, by all means. Sooner or later its effects will begin to be manifest."

Lewis Gannett (of the *New York Herald Tribune*): "A lot of little magazines come to my desk and most are stale before they are born. You've got me interested. Here's my dollar.—And who are you, anyway?"

Bernard DeVoto, in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, editorial November 28th, 1936: "Meanwhile in Clayton, Georgia, two women, apparently young women, have published three numbers of a small sixteen-page quarterly significantly called *Pseudopodia*. It has issued no manifesto, has no program or platform, and is not consciously regional at all. But everything it has published has been worth anyone's time, and most of it has been well informed, to the point, and highly intelligent. It is the most interesting little magazine that comes to this desk, and easily the most competent. Its editors do not write as Southerners but as intelligent and educated people with a lively interest in the subjects they are discussing; nevertheless what they have to say is colored by the experience and culture of their part of the South. The best promise of regionalism is likely to be fulfilled in just that way: by the development of a literature that is thoroughly of its region, since its writers are, but is so quite un-selfconsciously and without dedication."

Louis Adamic (author of *The Native's Return*): "Thank you for sending me Volume 1 Number 1. I find it interesting and here is a year's subscription. May I suggest that you send sample copies of the Spring issue to the following—if you like with the notation that you are doing so on my suggestion."

Evelyn Scott (author of *Escapade, The Wave, Eva Gay*): "Please believe I make a gravely circumspect statement when I say that, to me, it is actually thrilling to realize what you two are doing. I childishly wish the 'discovery' of your periodical was something for which I could claim independent credit, for such fundamental assessments of writers and criticism so directly and clearly put in a vocabulary of orientated meanings is appearing nowhere else. What you are doing would be important anwhere, at any time."

Fielding Burke (author of *Call Home the Heart; A Stone Came Rolling*): "Your *Harris Childrens Town* gave me the creeps. I couldn't for hours shake off the feeling that I was back there. Can all your book be as good as this sample?"

John Spencer (J. D. S. of the *Macon Telegraph*): "The idea of your magazine appeals to me very much. It is quite the smartest thing I have seen . . . I am asking that you put me on your mailing list."

Ross B. Wills (Reader's department, M-G-M Studios): "The *Thomas Wolfe* is respectable literary criticism in any man's, or woman's, league; frankly the best brief account of the man as writer that I have seen, by far."

James Still (author of *Hounds on the Mountain*): "It is a joy to find this amazing publication coming out of the North Georgia hills. I shall speak a good word for it whenever I can."

Cameron Shipp (of the *Charlotte News*): "You are doing an enormously swell piece of work with your small magazine. I'm glad to hear that it has attracted the attention it deserves and hope it will go on to greater successes. God knows, literacy is not too noticeable in our Confederacy, and those few who try to promote sound thinking and reading and writing should have their hands upheld."

Aron Mathieu (of the *Writer's Digest*): "Who is Lillian E. Smith? The lady can write. . . Also, how in God's own green world do you happen to be in Clayton?"

Stella S. Center (director New York University's reading clinic): "I know of no one who is making a more substantial contribution to the development of southern literature than you are making."

The Montgomery Advertiser, editorial, November 10th, 1936: "*Pseudopodia* is modest in size . . . which is a tribute to the editors . . . They have included nothing which could not be read with interest by what the editors refer to as 'literate southerners.'"

W. J. Cash in the *Charlotte News* July 19, 1936: "I trust the infant lives and thrives, for if the present number is a fair sample, it promises to be pleasant and sensible reading."

Clarke W. Walton (collector of *Omarana*): "Here's the dollar you said it would take. I put it on the two-year-old, because it is high-stepping and looking to the races."

James Weldon Johnson (author of *Negro Americans, What Now and God's Trombones*): "I am very much impressed with the *Review* and I sincerely hope that it is going to have permanent success."

L. G. Booth (of New York City): "I like your magazine and the idea back of it. I think every section of the country should have just this sort of magazine, and that it should be read by people in every other section of the country. It would give us all more understanding and enjoyment."

Mr. and Mrs. Reuben Davis (author of *Butcher Bird*): ". . . we both think your magazine is swell. I've never read so much really penetrating and meaty literature in any magazine of many times its size. . . The condensed novel . . . is done with an economy of words and a restraint that are admirable . . . It is very stimulating to know that someone is trying to do what you are doing, and I enclose a dollar for a year's subscription."

Carroll D. Coleman (*The Prairie Press, Muscatine, Iowa*): ". . . the modest format hardly prepared me for the literate and extremely readable contents. Perhaps I have become accustomed to seeing inferior writing disguised by large pages, wide margins, and all the artifices of the printer, and trying to be made to seem what it is not. Yours is the wiser course. May you be rewarded with due patronage."

Walter Paschall (of the *Atlanta Journal*): "I am enclosing a check for \$2.00 for a two-year subscription to your *North Georgia Review*, not only because I think the current issue is provocative but because all the others have been too and I think your courageous venture into the shell-torn literary field deserves every commendation and support."

Walter White (Secretary N. A. A. C. P.): "I don't know when I have enjoyed reading a magazine so much as I did the spring issue of the *North Georgia Review*. Frankly, I see a good many 'little' magazines and most of them are so pompous I am bored to tears by them. I picked up the *North Georgia Review* certain that I was in for another experience of this sort. To my delight I found myself reading it with high excitement."

Josephine Hamilton (instructor, *Chattanooga, Tennessee, High School*): "I am very much interested in your venture and wish it much success. I have passed the *Review* around among my friends and I hope that I am thus finding more friends for you. My particular interest in it is that I'm planning to introduce a course in our high school here which we shall call 'Southern Problems.'"

(The *North Georgia Review* is published quarterly at Clayton, Georgia. Subscription rate, \$1.00 a year. Lillian E. Smith and Paula Snelling, editors.)

Figure 9. First "They Say About Us" page, *The North Georgia Review*, vol. 4, no. 1, Spring 1939, p. 1. Courtesy of the Lillian E. Smith Center.

They Say . . .

"I want to congratulate you upon the excellence of your Children's issue. From your point of view and mine it is never possible to have a lasting peace among nations unless our children can be somehow educated to believe that the entire earth is the home of mankind to be used cooperatively to bring about the abundant life for all races and nations, large and small, dark and light."—**a Georgian, now teaching in a northern college.**

"As a pre-school teacher working daily with little children I have a keen, deep understanding of what segregation is doing to develop warped personalities. For quite some time I've thought and felt too, the things you speak of in this edition of *South Today*."—**teacher in nursery school, Chicago.**

"It is impossible adequately to put into words what it has meant to us to read your brilliant, courageous, **core-reaching** analysis of the problem! What hope for the future there is in the fact that out of the South itself can come such clear thinking and fearless words, not mere name-calling but with constructive plans based obviously on deep thought, long study, and wide personal experience!

"Many times while reading your words I have felt the unique thrill that comes when one finds wonderfully expressed by a writer some of one's own deepest feelings and convictions. While my personal gratification is unimportant, it is evidence of your ability to reach the good thoughts and feelings innermost in people; and this talent should be—**is being**, I am sure—a powerful force in awakening more and more southern whites (there are of course, plenty of northern whites who need the same treatment)."—**a Wisconsin woman, now living in N. C.**

"I am delighted with your fine Christian approach to the race problem. Certainly I bid you God speed in your fine work."—**former minister from Va.**

"I have just gotten hold of the spring-summer issue of *South Today* . . . you are doing splendid and courageous work and, by your example, are putting a little of that courage and determination into the hearts of many previously content to be 'sideline sitters'."—**a soldier in Italy.**

"The issue on children is excellent. I like especially your emphasis on psychiatric factors and also on the much neglected phase of the problem: its distorting effect on those of us who lack melanin in our skins."—**M. A. S. (Calif.)**

"The sample copy of *South Today* was a revelation to me. I had no idea there was such a courageous publication in all the United States."—**from an Illinois publisher's office.**

" . . . there is something so different and so important in your magazine that I certainly want to add it to my periodicals."—**a New York educator.**

Figure 10. Final "They Say About Us," *South Today*, vol. 8, no. 2, Winter 1944-45, p. 2. Courtesy of the Lillian E. Smith Center.

While the “They Say About Us” pages on the inner and outer covers beginning in Spring 1939 provided readers with some insight about their fellow readers, these curated selections of letters offered a highly mediated image of the readership which perhaps hints more at the type of counterpublic Smith and Snelling wanted to project. Often highlighting the diversity of the readership, the letters selected and excerpted generally praised or provocatively critiqued the magazine. Interestingly, there is a noticeable shift between the early “They Say” pages, which almost exclusively collect the testimonies of prominent writers and activists, and those of later issues, which feature almost exclusively the testimonies of ordinary readers anonymized through initials (Spring-Summer 1944) or identity descriptors such as “A teacher in Mississippi” or “A soldier in Italy” (“They Say” Winter 1944-45). This decisive shift arguably speaks to Smith and Snelling’s evolving awareness of the kind of counterpublic they wanted to (re)present. The list of high-profile testimonies in the first three issues (see Figure 9) appears to be an early strategy to attach some authority and import to the fledgling magazine. By Spring 1940 letters from non-public figures increasingly appeared, and by Spring-Summer 1944 and Winter 1944-1945 almost all letters were from non-public figures, signaling an effort to create a more inclusive and approachable magazine, an ethic Smith and Snelling were increasingly aware of even as they were also enacting it through their decision to incorporate reader essay forums and quiz contests in *South Today* (see Figure 10). Smith and Snelling’s developing attunement to their readers and to staging that readership’s contours in the magazine’s pages ultimately illustrates the continuous forming and reconstituting of imagined communities. This continuous process is particularly important in a magazine like *South Today*, which works to model equitable and democratic relations. If we think of counterpublics as microcosms that imagine and enact alternative societies on a small scale, then they need to be adaptable, reflexive, and iterative in their praxis

of building a future that works for all. Therefore, a key question here is not only how Smith and Snelling imagined the counterpublic of *South Today*, but how responsive they were to the critiques and imaginaries of their readers and how the counterpublic evolved through a practice of collaborative co-construction.

The “We” of *South Today*?

To that end, I will first analyse the various ways Smith and Snelling rendered a readerly counterpublic through direct address, constructing a discursive counterpublic in their editorials and non-fiction articles written in the first-person. While they occasionally employed an editorial “we” to refer to their personal perspectives and decisions, I am interested in those instances of “we” that project a larger imaginary counterpublic that overlapped (or did not) with *South Today*’s “real” readership. At times these two “we’s” can overlap in ways that are difficult to disentangle. For example, as Smith and Snelling write in their first editorial: “We are not interested in perpetuating that sterile fetishism of the Old South which has so long gripped our section” (“Editorial” Spring 1936, 6). While on one level this “we” refers simply to the editors, who are identifying their personal political and literary position, as a manifesto, this “we” also operates as an expression of a counterpublic in agreement. Therefore, in making this distinction between an editorial “we” and counterpublic “we,” I also want to acknowledge a degree of ambiguity that the readers themselves would have had to parse out, deciding if they identified themselves within it or not. In other instances, the “we” is followed by more specific identity-descriptions and, as I will argue, speaks to authorial assumptions about a readership as much as it projects an imaginary counterpublic. Consequently, my analysis is complicated somewhat by the fact that the “we” of *South Today* is not stable and shifts—even sometimes from sentence to

sentence—depending on the context. To trace these shifting valences, I will separate my analysis first into the “we” of an imagined counterpublic as articulated by the editors, and second, the more specific positionality-based invocations of “we” designed to hail particular groups of readers in ways that often unsettle, confront, or call to action.

To track and analyze the projected “we” of an imagined counterpublic provides unique insight into how the editors of *South Today* imagined the magazine’s politics as it related to their readership. While there are many instances of this rhetorical move, I will focus on examples in a popular article written by Smith, first published in the infamous banned issue of Winter 1942-1943 and later reprinted and widely distributed as a pamphlet, titled “Buying a New World with Old Confederate Bills.” In this article, Smith shifts registers to offer a progressively more explicit vision for the counterpublic of *South Today*, based on resistance to the interconnected systems of capitalism, imperialism, and white supremacy. Smith opens:

In all human history there have never been so many people over the face of the earth who wanted so badly to buy a new world. We are tired of the world we have. We are heartsick and exhausted with its greed and its prejudice, its hatred and its bigotry, its wanton waste, its starving poverty spread from end to end of it. We know that under that poverty, beyond that waste, is abundance for all. We know there are machines and men to produce all that mankind can ever need or use. We know there can be a world where men can be free and without hunger, where there can be dignity and compassion and intelligence and gayety. (“Buying a New World” 8)

Here Smith addresses a general and non-specific “we” that is formed out of the refusal of an exclusionary world structured through myths of scarcity and the imagination of a world of equality and abundance. Through the repeated invocations of “we are” and “we know,” she

imagines a shared awareness of systems of power and invites readerly identification with the desire for change. Smith's construction of a counterpublic is also not phrased as exclusive to readers of the magazine but rather imagines a much broader collective, indeed a global collective, already in existence. Rather than isolating the counterpublic of *South Today*, Smith connects its vision to a broader resistance to white supremacy and capitalism.

Through first articulating a general “bread and roses” program for social change, Smith invites readers to align with the collective “we.” Subtly, she then shifts to a more specific counterpublic “we” as those who “cannot believe in this heathen worship of whiteness, who are decent and human and too sane to longer endure this frustrated way of violence, must find the strength, the intelligence, the courage, the wisdom, the urgent desire, to *lift the pressures from all of us*, black and white, and make a free people” (“Buying a New World” 29). Recognizing and naming the deep roots of white supremacy, her articulations are partly aspirational—these are goals to build towards both within the existing readership and beyond—rather than addressed to an existing counterpublic. Akin to Beetham's formulation, Smith recognizes the power of evolving identification.

Smith further demarcates this imaginary counterpublic by invoking a general and non-specific “they” in opposition:

And yet, there are still people, powerful leaders and ordinary people too, in America and England who are trying to play the old sharp game—shuffling in the spurious currency of white supremacy . . . imperialism . . . profit-as-usual, with the genuine currency of democracy, as a part of the purchase price of freedom. Hoping to get by. Until every one concerned has become confused—not knowing now what they have bought—or what they have sold. (“Buying a New World” 9)

Here Smith is gesturing to a (white) public usually, although not always, occupying the centres of economic and political power. Elsewhere in the article Smith narrows down on this “they” as “rich and poor planters . . . the industrialists, northern and southern . . . certain A. F. L. leaders . . . the financial groups . . . [and] the political demagogue” (17). By juxtaposing this “we” and “they,” Smith encourages both identification and disidentification respectively.

From there, Smith goes on to outline what at the time would have been considered a radical political vision for racial and economic justice; namely, desegregation and labour action.¹¹⁵ While opening with this program might have alienated certain readers of *South Today*—some of whom were middle class—by hailing readers with a general “we” and then moving into an explicit and uncompromising political program for a total social transformation that rejected outright the “gradualism” of the southern moderates for a “swift and non-violent change” of “total economic-race revolution” (“Addressed to Intelligent White Southerners” 43), Smith creates a preliminary basis for identification that simultaneously “meets people where they are” and further challenges them. She does so by articulating a general need for change and explaining why such a sea change was already happening (42), while also pushing political consciousness and community identification to evolve by explaining why such change should not be resisted but rather encouraged. Therefore, Smith’s shifting invocations of “we” prefigure the shifts she is calling for in readers’ identifications within the counterpublic, almost as though she

¹¹⁵ In terms of desegregation, Smith imagined a combination of both de jure and de facto forms. While she felt “Constitutional amendment, new laws, and Presidential war decrees” (“Addressed to Intelligent White Southerners” 43) were important in reinforcing change, she also recognized that a total social desegregation would first need to happen on the ground amongst southern people themselves (42-43). Not only were Smith and many other people involved in *South Today* responsible for successfully opening a desegregated public library and Maternity Centre in Clayton and hosting interracial parties at the Laurel Falls Camp (see Chapter 2), but Smith and Snelling also advocated for school desegregation (“The World” 18-19) and labour unions (“Buying a New World” 18), which they saw as two of the most important places for desegregation to happen in order to break the generational cycles of racial prejudice and economic divisions sown along racial lines. In terms of labour action, Smith often referred to the importance of integrated unions and “labour union pressure” (“Addressed to Intelligent White Southerners” 43), although she never elaborated on what forms such pressure should take.

is congratulating her readers for achieving the change she is calling them to make. And indeed, the success of this tactic bears out in many of the reader's letters. For example, as M. J. M., "a southern white soldier now in Alaska," wrote in Spring 1943:

After reading the winter *South Today*, I feel rather contrite for having said what I did in my last letter to you, about pressing the race issue too hard. You make it sound so valid, so vital that I am almost convinced against my judgment. You have such damnable courage. That alone, if nothing more, would hold me to the end to hear what you have to say, regardless of whether I stormed and raged, disputed or cried foul!, or heartily agreed with you. (M. J. M. 46)

As Smith writes "we know that minds are different and minds can change" ("Buying a New World" 16), and it is therefore interesting that in addition to her focus on (re)education, she also sees shifting identification as necessary.

But what happens when the address is more specific than "Dear Readers" or a general "we" that calls readers into a counterpublic of resistance? What is the effect of addressing specific social groups in a periodical with a heterogeneous and intersectional readership?¹¹⁶ What does a group-specific address mean for the politics of a magazine avowedly committed to inclusivity and coalitional work? How might such a use of specific address exclude some readers to the point that they feel alienated and disidentify with the magazine?

Specifically, I am interested in exploring the effects of Smith and Snelling's invocation of "we" as a direct address to white readers that calls for them to be traitorous to white supremacy as their role in the struggle for racial justice. I see the address to a white audience as generally

¹¹⁶ The magazine invoked many such specific subject-based addresses, including "we Southerners" ("Buying a New World" 10) and "we Americans" (10), despite the magazine's readership far exceeding the South, and to a lesser degree, the United States.

mobilized by *South Today*'s editors in two different and related ways: as a call-out of white complicity in systems of racial violence and as a call to action. These two modes of address are perhaps best illustrated in Smith's articles "Buying a New World with Old Confederate Bills" and "Addressed to Intelligent White Southerners: There Are Things To Do," both of which featured, perhaps unsurprisingly, in the infamous banned issue of Autumn-Winter 1942-1943. Certainly, in such an address Smith was speaking from the positionality she occupied as a white southern woman of economic privilege, a position which perhaps gave her more ability to so forcefully address "we white folks" since such an address also included herself. Yet while there were strategic reasons for this address, it is nevertheless important to interrogate its effects on the magazine's activism, imagined counterpublic, and "real" readership.

In the first type of address, Smith invokes "we white southerners" as a call-out of white complicity in white supremacy. As philosophy of race and whiteness scholar George Yancy propounds, "I see Lillian Smith vis-à-vis whiteness as a gadfly, one who was courageous to mark whiteness, to name whiteness, to call whiteness out, to un-conceal whiteness, to lay bare whiteness, to force white people to look into the *lie* that is whiteness, *their whiteness*" (1). Drawing on the language of psychoanalysis, Smith argues "it seems not irrelevant for us to analyze our own white group here, briefly" ("Buying A New World" 19):

we white southerners have made of our own frustrated image, a God; and have learned to bow down and worship it. ... And like mad men, to keep from losing this God we have made of our whiteness, to keep from losing our faith in the image we have created out of our emptiness, we waste our wealth until we are stripped down to poverty, building high barriers to shut out men of other color; we waste our good soil in a desperate digging of chasms to shut them out; we destroy our present, we mortgage our future; we lynch and

murder, we hate and fear;—consuming the Negro’s and our own bodies and minds and spirits in our terrible and jealous self-worship. (29)

This repeated recitation of “we” forces white readers to confront their investment in whiteness and its violence. As Yancy explains, “When I say that she understood the *lie* of whiteness, I mean that she understood the deep psychological and habitual, but always deeply unethical ways that white people projected their lies onto others, in this case, Black people. She especially understood the devastating impact of this *lie* on the psyches of white people” (1). Here we could consider Smith’s language in “Buying a New World” as quite deliberate in its identification of whiteness as empty, fearful, and defensive, to the point that white people will waste, destroy, and mortgage both the present and future to their consuming hate and fear. Furthermore, what is significant about this specific and yet general hailing of “we white southerners” is perhaps best articulated by Yancy, who observes, “Lillian Smith wasn’t just talking to the kkk, but she was talking to ... the so-called good whites” (4). Her reference to “our own white group” hails all white readers of *South Today*, leaving them no room to escape the implications of that address without first confronting their identification with it.

While Smith sought to expose the myth of whiteness psychologically, she was also interested in unpacking the material investments underwriting “our unconscious desires, our indirect gains from these more ruthless activities of the ‘powers,’ and our identification with white supremacy” (“Addressed to Intelligent White Southerners” 34). Here Smith again uses a highly direct “we” to confront white desires for proximity to economic and social power:

It is not hard to understand the dynamics of the ideology cherished by these economic powers; the reasons for their shrewd, persistent, if furtive, propaganda: their never-ceasing attempts to keep White Supremacy on its southern pedestal. The hard thing to see

is why the rest of us white folks have so eagerly or so docilely followed the planter-industrialist-banker-demagogue line. What is there in it for us? For the laborers, merchants, white collar workers, scientists, professional men, teachers, college presidents, ne-er-do-wells, preachers? Why do we, the majority of the region, demonstrate stronger allegiance to the few economic and political power-groups among us than to our own interest and our own ideals? ... Why do we seek to maintain a low wage system when the vast majority of us would directly profit from higher wages? Why do we fight organized labor when strong democratic unions are a most potent lever by which to lift the burden of southern poverty? Why does organized white labor fight the Negro when only by combining forces can either be strong enough to win bread and meat and a decent way of working and living?" (18)

These rhetorical questions asked of a white Southern "we" expose white complicity in upholding systems of white supremacy and capitalism, particularly in the ways whiteness is used to uphold class hierarchies that, in fact, do not serve the interests of the majority. Smith's invocation of a white readership in this way is a subversion of the typical address used by mainstream white-owned and -edited magazines in the South at this time (Kneebone xiv)—to the extent that race or whiteness were even acknowledged in journals such as the *Southern Review* or the *Kenyon Review* (Murphy 26)—for rather than invoking an unmarked whiteness that hails readers to identify with the myth, Smith does the inverse. By hailing white readers and mobilizing their *disidentification* with whiteness, Smith attempts to "break the spell we have put upon ourselves" ("Addressed to Intelligent White Southerners" 34) in order to call white audiences to action.

The second type of address in which the editors used their collectivizing "we" is a call to action. This is most evident in the article, later widely-circulated as a pamphlet which sold a

quarter of a million copies, “Addressed to Intelligent White Southerners: There Are Things To Do.” As evident in the title, the direct address is more than a general public hailing; it singles out a specific group and offers a series of action items outlining how white people can contribute to the dismantling of whiteness and show solidarity with African Americans fighting for racial justice. Like the former call out of complicity, this address is designed to confront white readers about their passivity in perhaps uncomfortable ways. Yet rather than mobilizing a disidentification, here Smith encourages white readers to see themselves in this counter-group by adding the word “Intelligent” to the address.

Recognizing the spectrum of her white readers’ political consciousness, Smith divides the article into levels of actions ranging from those “unrequiring of courage” to those “exacting more imagination and bravery” (“Addressed to Intelligent White Southerners” 35), all of which leave no excuses for inactivity. The easiest of these tasks, “none of which,” Smith states, “[are] too difficult for the average white southerner to undertake” (38), included reading books and newspapers by African Americans, writing to newspapers, speaking with friends and co-workers, rejecting and speaking out against derogatory language, and contributing financially to interracial organizations. The second grouping of possible actions included educational work, curriculum reform, and direct-action work. The third and final grouping of tasks “for the few” included the integration and organization of labour unions, and the desegregation of local public and private spaces in practice if not in law, as Smith and local activists did with the Clayton public library and Rabun County Maternity Home.

In part, I suspect Smith and Snelling employed this “we, white southerners”—which included themselves—as a way of leveraging their lived “authority” on the need for racial and economic justice in the South. Employing the language of “we white southerners” is stronger

than simply speaking about “white southerners” from an authorial distance. Many readers wrote to say that they appreciated Smith and Snellings’ ability to speak openly as white southern women against white southern culture. Author of *Native Son*, Richard Wright, seemed to value the political work of Smith’s tactic, writing: “Lillian Smith is one who sees this quite clearly and addresses her work to her own class. White writers should combat white chauvinism while Negro writers combat Negro nationalism” (qtd. in Rolo 70). Here he acknowledges the specific function a magazine like *South Today*, in encouraging actions of white dissent, fulfills in the struggle to dismantle white supremacy. Therefore, while this address may seem dissonant with the avowed politics of *South Today* in the way it appears to “segregate” the readership and centre white experiences in counterproductive ways, Wright signals the strategic importance of attacking whiteness from within as a counterpart to the Black struggle. Smith and Snelling recognized the importance of African American leadership in the struggle, but also the necessity of exploiting the fissures in the foundation of white southern society.

Still, this collectivized address toward a white audience had serious limitations, including that Smith and Snelling never developed a way to address their Black readership. For a white-edited literary magazine in the South, a 29% Black readership was significant. Although this readership clearly indicates forms of hailing operating distinct from address (perhaps including solidarity and support), Smith and Snelling’s silence when it came to addressing a Black readership is a strange oversight. On one hand, as white editors, it would not have been appropriate for them to speak on behalf of a Black readership in the same way they were able to for a white readership, and as they mention, contemporary Black-owned and -edited magazines and newspapers directly addressed that readership.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ Smith and Snelling also urged their white readers to read these publications (“Addressed to Intelligent White Southerners” 35).

Nevertheless, more deliberate efforts to address *South Today*'s Black readership, while respecting this was not the "we" Smith, Snelling, and their white readership counted themselves amongst, should have been a greater priority for them because they were also pursuing an interracial ethic through *South Today*. Likewise, this could have been easily actualized by publishing more Black contributors speaking to their lived experiences. *South Today*'s interracial focus is evident in the ways Black contributors reviewed white authors and vice versa, and reviews were one site where a white tendency to not see African Americans as authorities on their lived experiences was critiqued by Black contributors. For example, in Spring 1939 Black sociologist Walter R. Chivers reviewed white female anthropologist Hortense Powdermaker's book *After Freedom*, which explored "white-Negro relations in a Mississippi Delta community" (Chivers 18). Chivers reviews the book from the perspective of a Black man, concluding that although Powdermaker "as a white person, ... evidences an unusual ability for boring into the 'protective mechanisms' of a minority racial group" (18) and was "more successful than most of her contemporaries" (19), she was nevertheless limited as all white researchers and authors were: "the reviewer has yet to read the real story of Negro attitudes toward white people penned by a white person" (19). Chivers nonetheless concludes that the book "will be revealing to both Negro and white for inter-racial debate" (18), using this review as an opportunity to simultaneously speak to the Black experience while also fostering interracial dialogue by engaging with the work of his white colleague.

Similarly, the interracial address used by Black contributions in *South Today* was, I argue, also doing slightly different work than the address employed in Black-owned and -edited magazines; this is evident in Pauli Murray and Henry Babcock's article "An Alternative Weapon." Like Smith, Murray and Babcock's address oscillates between a general "we" who

must “weed out those characteristics in our own land which send us into the world arena with dirty hands” (Murray and Babcock 57) juxtaposed against a “they” who “support race supremacy [and] belong with Hitler’s hordes” (55). However, unlike Smith’s collectivized “we,” Murray and Babcock’s main mode of address is the invocation of “he,” an “everyman” character of the “American Negro pacifist” (54), who is grappling with his conscientious objection to service in imperialist wars while also developing the “alternative weapons of non-violence and non-cooperation” as tools in the struggle for racial justice in the U.S. Had this article been published in a Black-owned and -edited magazine, would “he” have been replaced with “we”? Likewise, what is the effect of Murray and Babcock writing “The Negro has suffered so brutally from hypocrisy...” (54) instead of “We Negroes have suffered so brutally from hypocrisy...”? Does this shift in pronoun indicate their awareness of speaking to an interracial, but still white majority audience? While the authors are in many ways speaking directly—although not exclusively—to a Black audience, does the slightly more distant character of “he” as opposed to “we” have the effect of inviting white youth, for example, to also identify with this pacifist approach? These are difficult questions to answer and speak to the complexity of address employed by Black contributors in *South Today*.

Indeed, had Smith and Snelling sought out more Black contributors to write for *South Today* and explicitly addressed a Black audience, would the magazine have increased its Black readership? Under the title of *South Today* (issues Spring 1942 to Winter 1944-1945)—which is roughly the period from which the subscriber data I share is drawn—the magazine’s non-editorial content was, on average, 64% white-authored and 30% Black-authored.¹¹⁸ This closely aligns with the racial demographics of *South Today*’s subscribers I have noted, and we may be

¹¹⁸ See Appendix Table 4 and Appendix Figures 4 and 5. Note also that 6% of contributors’ racialization could not be determined.

tempted to ask: is there a correlation between the positionalities of contributors and readers? While likely coincidental, comparisons of the contributor and subscriber data sets do raise the question of how much either may have determined the specificity and resonance of Smith and Snelling's address of their readers.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, did the demographics of contributors have the effect of constructing the South in the magazine's pages along the binary of "Black and white" to the erasure of their Asian American¹²⁰ and Indigenous readers who collectively represented less than 1% of *South Today's* subscribers? Does that Black-white binary uphold the logics of white supremacy by occluding forms of political affiliation and solidarity beyond it? While we can only speculate as to the relationship between address and readership, the prevalent addressing of a white readership as "we" to the exclusion of addressing a readership of Black people and people of color was nevertheless inconsistent with the magazine's purported aims to be a desegregated space committed to racial justice.

Ultimately, these formulations of address provide insights into the editors' imaginary construction of *South Today* as a counterpublic. But what happens when a counterpublic talks back? Need the address that brings a counterpublic into being and shapes its contours be one-directional? To this point I have largely accepted Warner's assertion that "Publics do not exist apart from the discourse that addresses them" (72). While this is true in the sense that through its content, publication, and circulation *South Today* created discursive space for a specific public that otherwise would not have existed, this understanding of publics does not account for those readers who were never directly addressed but who nevertheless subscribed out of solidarity with

¹¹⁹ Note the correlation is less for gender, wherein the content produced in this same period (excluding Smith and Snelling's work) was 58% male-authored and 42% female-authored; in contrast, men comprised 39% of the magazine's subscribers, women 57%, and households 4%.

¹²⁰ This group of readers is not insignificant, for this occurred during the time that many Japanese-Americans were imprisoned in Internment Camps. These "Relocation Centers" were addressed in Pauli Murray and Henry Babcock's pacifist article "An Alternative Weapon" (Autumn-Winter 1942-1943, 57) and by Lillian Smith in "The World: Our Children's Home" (Spring-Summer 1944, 15).

the magazine's politics or interest in its content.¹²¹ Nor does it account for the way in which *South Today's* reading public shaped that address, grew and sustained the counterpublic the magazine sought to bring into being, or actualized itself into communities off-the-page. In Chapter 2, I explored how *South Today's* editors and contributors encouraged readers to contribute to the magazine and engage in direct action work; but readers also had input into the discursive and non-discursive formations of *South Today's* counterpublic through those contributions. The multiple tactics Smith and Snelling used raise the question: need counterpublic formation be one-directional as foundational public sphere theory such as Warner's suggests, or might we need a more expansive understanding of counterpublic formation as co-constitutive?

Reader-Editor Co-Constitution of Counterpublic

At the opening of this chapter I asked: To what extent did *South Today's* readers imagine themselves as part of a counterpublic, and how did that motivate them to participate in the work of the magazine and outside of it? Specifically, how did such reader participation challenge and advance the magazine's activism? Despite the impact of Smith and Snelling's address-based counterpublic formation, readers too would have had an image in their minds of *South Today's* readership and varying levels of identification with and commitment to the magazine's activism and to their fellow readers. In this final section, I explore how readers of *South Today* shaped the magazine in both discursive and non-discursive ways contrary to the top-down model assumed in the typical production and circulation of periodicals.

¹²¹ It seems that solidarity was a frequent reason many Black readers subscribed, as illustrated in the following letter from S. G. M. of Atlanta, Georgia, who wrote in Spring 1943: "A few Negro women who want to say to you that we want *South Today* to continue its significant work feel that our subscriptions are our best method of expressing interest Enclosed are our checks. . . . Thank you for all you mean to us" (S. G. M., 52).

One way to assess the extent to which readers felt themselves part of the counterpublic being called into existence by Smith and Snelling is to consider reader testimonies as recorded in letters to the editors.¹²² *South Today*'s readers were highly active correspondents. As Smith reported in the Spring 1943 issue, "The readers of SOUTH TODAY have responded in an amazing way to the last issue by encouraging letters, subscriptions, gifts" ("Yes... We are southern" 43). For example, "A Wisconsin woman, now living in N.C." was quoted in the Winter 1944-1945 issue: "Many times while reading your words I have felt the unique thrill that comes when one finds wonderfully expressed by a writer some of *one's own* deepest feelings and convictions" (A Wisconsin woman; emphasis added). Likewise, Carolyn Gerber—later a camp dance instructor at Laurel Falls Camp—wrote in Spring 1942, "The magazine has the power of revitalizing *my own* courage and determination to work for what I believe in. ... And people who follow their ideas to their conclusion in action are rare too" (Gerber; emphasis added). These testimonies reflect readers' support for the activism of the magazine, including how it affirmed and allowed them to act upon their personal convictions.¹²³

In these examples, which I find to be representative of reader responses, a shared politics with the editors' and contributors' words and actions appears as primary, rather than perceived kinship with other readers; in other words, these testimonies focus more on the personal than the

¹²² While letters to the editors are highly mediated, they nevertheless offer some insights into readers' perspectives. Another way to assess readers' sense of the counterpublic and input into the evolving directions of the magazine would be to analyse reader correspondence directly. The University of Florida Archives holds 11 boxes of *South Today*'s reader correspondence, the majority of which covers the years 1944-1945 (i.e. the years after the office fire). While working with this correspondence was outside the scope of this project, the quantity of correspondence in these two years suggests a high level of reader engagement.

¹²³ Despite most letters being written to Smith and Snelling in this spirit, not all readers wanted to be associated with the magazine's counterpublic. For example, the publisher Alfred A. Knopf wrote in Autumn-Winter 1942-1943, "I think you deserve great credit for what you are doing and find your magazine stimulating even when I may not agree with it" (Knopf). Here Knopf aligns himself with the literary aspect of *South Today* and distances himself from the political. Therefore, there is a distinction between a reading public and a counterpublic that I want to be mindful not to conflate.

collective. In part, this may speak to the general political isolation many sympathetic readers likely experienced in a South and nation so entrenched in white supremacy. And although readers would occasionally respond to other readers' letters as published in the "They Say" pages, I find readers' sense of this counterpublic was largely mediated through the magazine rather than through a perceived "deep, horizontal comradeship" with other readers (Anderson 7).¹²⁴ While Anderson's formulation is probably true on some level in the case of *South Today*, this was not something readers explicitly articulated and may reflect that Smith and Snelling did not profile readers nor offer much opportunity for inter-reader communication. The "They Say" pages were introduced in Spring 1939 and did not regularly feature readers who were not public figures until the final few years the magazine was in publication; likewise, the reader essay forums were organized as responses to a topic, rather than as more organic back-and-forth conversations *between* readers.

While most reader letters expressed support for the magazine, Smith and Snelling did occasionally receive reader criticism, which, to their credit, they often published in the "They Say" pages. These critiques were different from "hate mail," the lack of which they attributed to the "indifference of potential 'enemies'" ("*The North Georgia Review Begins its Third Year*") and are all the more interesting and worthy of analysis as they were written by individuals who had a level of commitment to the magazine and wished to improve it. For example, one subscriber, Fred Shaw, from the English Department of New Mexico State College, criticized *South Today* for often being too theoretical, suggesting the magazine's political points were not reaching its readers: "there are occasional suggestions that there are all sorts of cloudy and

¹²⁴ Moreover, until the last few issues in which Smith and Snelling disclosed the magazine's circulation numbers, most readers did not know the extent of their fellow readership. As one reader, Lenore G. Marshall, wrote in the Summer 1940 issue "[the magazine] ought to be read by thousands of people—I hope they are" (Marshall), indicating an uncertainty about the scope of *South Today*'s readership.

mysterious mumbo jumbo going on under the surface of life that only you and Freud and a couple of Tar Heel sociologists are wise to” (Shaw). Despite the choice of language, this statement might be read as a critique of the elitism inherent in assuming a reader’s familiarity with psychoanalysis and sociology. Indicative of the impact of these criticisms, Smith addressed this charge later in the issue in the article “Buying A New World With Old Confederate Bills,” writing in an aside: “(We suggest this [psychoanalytic] explanation with hesitancy, knowing it will be distasteful and puzzling to many readers who either are not familiar with the literature of psychoanalysis, which sheds such illuminating light on our childhood loves and hates, or else reject it as being too crude and base for human beings to have traffic with. But since we are having traffic today with mass killings and lynchings and race hate, perhaps it is relevant to seek out the roots of some of these flowerings of our times)” (Smith, “Buying a New World” 26-7). Therefore, while Smith and others continued to apply these theories, she addressed Fred Shaw’s concern by justifying psychoanalysis’ relevance to analyses of the South and by using contextualizing footnotes in the article to make such theories more accessible to the general reader. In this way, readers were able to shape and refine editor and contributor content so that *South Today* was more accessible to its readership.¹²⁵

Readers were also actively involved in shaping *South Today*’s community imaginaries, as illustrated by sociologist Guy B. Johnson’s suggestion in the Winter 1939-1940 issue that the magazine’s name, *The North Georgia Review*, was too narrowly regional and did not accurately reflect the magazine’s wide interests and readership. Johnson writes, “I’ve been enjoying the NGR and want to see it go. Some day why not bring up the question of giving it an All-South

¹²⁵ I only analyse some of the reader critiques printed in the magazine, however, a fuller analysis might include reading the subscriber correspondence which was not published for other reader suggestions and the extent to which they were ignored or adopted.

name of some sort and try to make it the long-awaited Southern Journal?” (Guy B. Johnson). In Spring 1942 this suggestion was adopted, and the magazine became *South Today*. This comment also offers insights into how the magazine’s readers and editors understood the relationship between imagined and “real” communities—namely, that the two are closely interrelated and exist in a sort of feedback loop. Johnson projected a more inclusive imagined community through a proposed change in the magazine’s name, one that better captured the work of the periodical and who he imagined to be its readership was, and one that could potentially reflect, solicit, and achieve a broader readership in turn.

This multi-directional formation of imagined community is often too insistently conceptualized in periodical studies as one-directional and driven by editors. Rather, I suggest that community-based periodicals like *South Today* and their counterpublic(s) are co-constitutive; this is evident in how the magazine developed over the years, in large part due to direct reader suggestions and an evolving sense of who the readership was and what they wanted out of the magazine. Therefore, while readership arises and is retained through the publication and adaptability of a periodical, as Warner suggests and as the unnamed “Wisconsin woman” and Gerber’s comments substantiate, little magazines like *South Today* also benefit from the sustaining contributions and construction of their readership, whether affirmative or critical.

While thus far I have explored how readers shaped the magazine through discursive means and co-constituted the magazine’s imagined community or counterpublic, I now turn to the actions of readers in co-constructing *South Today*’s actual readership. Although I previously discounted the presence of a “deep, horizontal comradeship” expressed discursively between readers of *South Today* unknown to each other (Anderson 7), I do see this operating to an extent in readers securing potential subscribers. *South Today*’s editors actively worked to increase

circulation by reprinting articles in pamphlets, allowing reprints in other magazines, sending out complimentary copies to activists and teachers,¹²⁶ and reaching out to bookstores to sell single issues.¹²⁷ My research also suggests that the magazine's readership played an important, if not primary, role in increasing circulation. According to my subscription data set, at least 24% of *South Today's* subscribers in 1944-1945 were gifted a subscription by another reader (see Figures 11 and 12).¹²⁸ Readers clearly felt an active desire to share and promote the magazine in their circles and amongst people they likely felt would align with the politics of the magazine's counterpublic. This growth in circulation through gift subscriptions is also likely higher, as these post-1944 records do not document those subscribers who had previously received gift subscriptions and, therefore, do not reveal which subscribers began reading the magazine in this way and ultimately renewed their subscription or bought gift subscriptions for others in turn.

¹²⁶ See Appendix Table 43 and Appendix Figure 45.

¹²⁷ In 1944, Betty Tipton wrote on behalf of *South Today's* editors to all the bookstores selling *Strange Fruit*, as listed in the *New York Herald Tribune* of May 1944, to offer that *South Today* also be sold on consignment and the bookstores receive 40% of the sales (Tipton). It is unclear if any bookstores took them up on the proposition. Therefore, while this form of outreach may have allowed the magazine to reach new readers, for the most part subscribers' recommendations and gift subscriptions seem to have been the greatest source of expansion. See Appendix Table 23.

¹²⁸ On 691 of the subscription cards a name in brackets follows the mailing address. I do not believe this is a forwarding address, as that is consistently marked as "C/O X" in the mailing address. This leads me to conclude that the bracketed name notes the individual who recommended the magazine to the subscriber or gifted the mailing recipient a subscription. My supposition is substantiated by a random sampling of the gift subscription cards held in the Lillian Smith Papers at the University of Florida archives.

D.B. 4.00
Sent 8/1
Ask. Note [unclear]
Ent. 9-16-44

South Today
Clayton, Ga.

I enclose \$ 4.00

Please send the **South Today** for one year. I would like:

regular subscription \$1.00 Active subscription \$5.00
 Sustaining subscription \$10.00 - \$25.00

(**South Today** is very understaffed. Please do not ask us to bill you.)
- 35513085

Name: Cpl. Abe Vinik, Co E, 3rd E. Civ. Aff. Regt

Address: Det. D7E3 APO 658 7/8 PM, New York, N.Y.

CLAYTON, GA. SEP 13 1944

Figure 11. “Cpl. Abe Vinik” [subscription card – front side]. Lillian Smith Papers, Box 18, Folder 3, “1944 [no date].” Courtesy of the Literary Manuscripts Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida.

Please send gift subscriptions at \$1.00 each to the following, giving my name as donor.

1. Name: Nellie Gustafson, Box 479, Charlotte
Address: Amalie, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands

2. Name: Pfc. Edward Ryerson - 36746094, Co H, 809th
Address: ST.R., Camp Crowder, Mo.

3. Name: Clara Spidell
Address: 802 Lexington Ave, New York 21, N.Y.

I enclose \$4.00

Signed: [Signature]

Figure 12. “Cpl. Abe Vinik” [subscription card – reverse side]. Lillian Smith Papers, Box 18, Folder 3, “1944 [no date].” Courtesy of the Literary Manuscripts Collection, Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida.

There are also those undocumented instances of readerly circulation in which readers shared the magazine within their networks, a practice that is substantiated by *South Today* subscriber correspondence wherein subscribers often remark on who first introduced them to the magazine and how they, too, have subsequently circulated it amongst their friends, family, and coworkers. As T. L. of New York wrote in Spring 1943, “A week ago a co-worker gave me a copy of *South Today* to read... This letter is a result of the impression it made upon me. I, along with four of my friends, hereby subscribe to your publication. It may interest you to know that the five of us are Negroes, interested in bringing about a better understanding between the races in an intelligent manner. We appreciate and support your effort” (T. L. 52). Likewise, Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton of Atlanta, Georgia wrote, “It gives me great satisfaction to be able to introduce *South Today* to people, in other parts of the country, who want to know ‘what can be done’ and who need to catch a glimpse of Southern convictions clearly and courageously stated” (Grace T. Hamilton n.p.).

Purchasing a subscription—whether regular, active, sustaining, or gift—signals both a symbolic and material commitment or “membership” to the *South Today* counterpublic. Certainly, there are likely to be a variety of reasons people subscribed that did not necessarily signal political solidarity (including surveillance); conversely, many regretted being unable to subscribe, usually for financial reasons, as in the case of C. H. of New Orleans, who wrote in Spring 1943, “I have read the winter *South Today* with great interest. I would like to subscribe, but as I have passed the 71st milestone of life and am jobless at present, it is impossible for me to do so” (C. H. 47-8). But for the most part, subscribing does indicate some level of investment in

this counterpublic, and in some cases a financially difficult investment they made nonetheless.¹²⁹ The gift subscription, included as a perforated card in the magazine's pages to be completed and mailed in, was one avenue for creating both a discursive and real counterpublic simultaneously. Therefore, despite Smith and Snelling occasionally sending complimentary copies to teachers and activists,¹³⁰ for the most part, the magazine appears to have been sustained and grown through word-of-mouth recommendations to friends, family members, and coworkers. These grassroots methods of circulation perhaps help explain the wide geography of *South Today's* subscribers.¹³¹

Therefore, while purchasing a subscription signals one level of readerly commitment, sharing the magazine with others or purchasing gift subscriptions indicates readers were actively constructing *South Today's* readership and circulation. In this way, the counterpublic of *South Today* went beyond the discursive to be actualized in parallel localized spaces. It is difficult to know to what extent these localized communities were mobilized into the forms of direct action advocated and taught by the magazine, which I discussed in Chapter 2. However, it is conceivable that these mini-counterpublics, perhaps akin to Gary Alan Fine's theory of "tiny publics," formed the foundation for reading groups and direct-action work wherein readers advanced their own pedagogies and praxes.¹³² Indeed, K. B. S. of Jamestown, Tennessee reported reading part of "Buying A New World With Old Confederate Bills" to her Women's Missionary Society group in Spring 1943 (K. B. S. 51). Likewise, C. T. of Alabama wrote that "We have just been attempting to start in our own small town of 2,000 an informal group

¹²⁹ For those subscribers with incomes below the poverty line (income less than \$1,408 annually for a family of 4 [Stern 525]), the decision to purchase a \$1 annual subscription to *South Today* is notable and speaks to the importance of this "membership" for many people.

¹³⁰ See Appendix Table 43 and Appendix Figure 45.

¹³¹ See Appendix Figure 43 and Appendix Map 3.

¹³² These questions could likely be explored through the 11 boxes of subscriber correspondence held at the University of Florida; however, this task was outside of the scope of this project.

meeting on Sunday afternoons to discuss what can be done in the way of improving white-Negro relationships” (C. T. 51). Even more revealing of how *South Today* mobilized readers is the testimony of B. R. of Sacramento, California, who wrote to Smith and Snelling:

The article *There are things to do* was what I needed at this time because of my fear of ‘doing harm.’ Through this article I gained much courage and I hope you will give me more. . . . I was born in West Tennessee of a woman who never passed the fourth grade in book education but she tried to teach me to love people. I have seen and felt the horrors of poverty and ignorance as well as social brands. I am a white woman forty-two years of age with no home, relatives, intimate friends, or material resources to hinder me and I want to take advantage of the situation. It has brought me to the point of thinking that I have everything to gain and nothing to lose by dedicating my life to the work of helping free the South. I am aware that such work means freedom to me. (B. R. 47)

B. R.’s letter speaks to the resonance of Smith and Snelling’s address and how her identification with that particular article’s work propelled her to action.

At the opening of this chapter, I asked to what extent we can understand *South Today*’s readership as shaping its literary activism. I suggest we can conclude that contrary to an exclusively top-down, address-based model of counterpublic formation, readers of *South Today* played a significant role both in shaping the imagined community and activism of the magazine through their participation and critiques, and in creating a “real” counterpublic through grassroots circulation of the magazine and adjacent “on-the-ground” activism responding to the magazine’s calls. Smith and Snelling certainly had a political vision for the magazine’s counterpublic and a general idea of their “real” readership—as articulated in the magazine through the rhetoric of “we” or specific forms of direct address and as documented in their

subscriber files as well as letters from readers—and they also mediated what we can glean of readers' political views from *South Today's* pages. Yet we can nonetheless see that readers also developed various levels of understanding and identification with the magazine and their fellow readers which translated into both discursive and non-discursive forms of participation. By reading a counterpublic as a co-constitutive process, we begin to understand not only how the magazine was created but how it evolved. Therefore, by comparing “real” and imagined community in the counterpublic of *South Today's* readers, we gain new insights into the dynamics of small, literary periodical economies and the labour and ideas that sustain them. In this case, readers were central to the magazine's “off-the-page” activism and actively shaped both what those were and how they were represented back to other readers in *South Today's* pages.

CONCLUSION

To believe in something not yet proved and to underwrite it with our lives: it is the only way we can leave the future open.

—Lillian Smith, *The Journey*

In September 1945 it was announced that *South Today* would cease publication.¹³³

Despite increases in readership and sustained community support, the magazine had been struggling financially for years, and after Lillian Smith's newfound notoriety with *Strange Fruit* the editors decided it was time to focus on other projects. While there were intentions to revive the magazine at a later date under new managing editorship, these plans never came to fruition (Smith and Snelling, "Dear Subscriber" 2). As Smith and Snelling expressed to their subscribers in a final newsletter:

We are grateful to you for the part you have had in making the magazine a creative and cooperative project. We hope that you will continue bringing South Today pamphlets to the attention of those organizations and individuals who would find them stimulating.

And that you will not stop writing us of significant happenings in your community and in your mind.

Most sincerely,

THE EDITORS.

(Smith and Snelling, "Dear Subscriber" 2)

Despite the ending of what the editors had come to see as a community project, their invitation to continue the conversations and activism of the magazine in different forms speaks to the relationships they had built with their readership. For nine years *South Today* provided an

¹³³ Subscribers were asked to write indicating whether they wished to keep their account open should the magazine resume or have their subscription balance paid out in pamphlets/reprints or refunds. See Appendix Tables 24, 25, and 26, and Appendix Figure 27.

important counter-discourse in the South that some members of the magazine's counterpublic mobilized through a variety of direct actions that worked to address oppressions and material inequities in the South. There is much we continue to learn from this publication, not only in terms of periodical cultures but also its various approaches to community-based literary activism.

South Today's work is all too relevant today. Mirroring the 1941 Georgia book banning led by Governor Eugene Talmadge (see Chapter 1), on July 1, 2022 the Georgia Legislature passed Senate Bill 226, forbidding the "Sale or Distribution of Harmful Materials to Minors" within school libraries (Georgia General Assembly). While complaints about "obscene" books were previously reviewed by a trained board of librarians, teachers, and parents, this bill expedites the process by placing the decision in the hands of principals and School Boards and implementing a quicker timeline for removal of censored books from school libraries (Jensen; Tagami). Patterning itself on numerous other recent book censorship laws in the U.S., SB 226 primarily targets books about the LGBTQIA2S+ community, sex education and reproductive rights, and books by or about people of colour, specifically Black people (McAuliffe). Literature and access to information continues to be highly politicized in Georgia; and while students, librarians, and activists are already mobilizing against these repressive laws (McAuliffe), we would do well to remember the grassroots methods and praxes that activists like Smith, Snelling, and their allies used in 1941 to circumvent such bans of "subversive devil books" (Davenport 73). For *South Today*, these methods included establishing independent community libraries and bookmobiles, and organizing alternative distribution networks through pamphlet literature and grassroots circulation methods.

In this thesis I have proposed we read *South Today* as a literary activist counterpublic that both mobilized and transcended the printed page, developing a series of discursive and non-

discursive praxes that offer new insights at the intersection of activism, serial print, and community. In Chapter 1, I explored *South Today*'s discursive, "on-the-page" literary activism by tracing how the editors, contributors, and readers wrote and distributed a counter-canon that challenged white supremacy and racism in literature. Part of this project also included modelling these politics in the organizational structure of the magazine itself. This took several forms, including the fostering of an interracial contributor base; hosting forums and quiz contests as spaces for reader participation, dialogue, and knowledge sharing; and implementing a non-profit driven financial model that worked to distribute the magazine cheaply and accessibly. These acts collectively worked to develop an "on-the-page" print community that I see as foundational to both the magazine's work and adjacent activism.

In Chapter 2, I built on this analysis of the magazine's community-based print praxis by exploring how *South Today*'s literary activism was enacted "off-the-page" in three rather different examples: Smith and Snelling's interracial house parties and the building of infrapolitical activist networks; the establishment of the free, desegregated Rabun County Maternity Home as mutual aid and direct action working toward the material redistribution of access to resources; and the consciousness-shifting pedagogies of the Laurel Falls Girls' Camp as challenging white supremacy from within. Not only did these projects demonstrate the editors' and contributors' commitment to enacting the ideas they proposed discursively, but in actualizing these imaginaries in practice, they reaffirmed the viability of the written project. Furthermore, by enacting the calls of the magazine and theorizing the results, a feedback loop developed that was co-constitutive. These praxes illustrate how the community of *South Today* was involved in various theatres of activism that leveraged different modes and worked across different scales to tackle societal problems. And although these were somewhat localized actions,

by sharing their strategies and lessons in the magazine, Smith and Snelling hoped to inspire their readership to take up such work in their own communities, for they believed that these “small” acts of refusal and resistance enacted by many people and thereby on a large scale would change the South.

In Chapter 3, I expanded on these ideas of “on-and-off-the-page” community to consider the role of *South Today*’s readership in advancing the work of the magazine. Arguing that *South Today* formed a political counterpublic, I explored how the community was imagined by the editors, contributors, and readers. Tracing instances of editorial direct address, I considered how Smith and Snelling mobilized identification to hail a counterpublic. I also examined the implications of their specific address to a white audience as strategies of simultaneously calling out and calling to action, but also the effects of such an address on the magazine’s “historical” or “real” readership to the extent I have been able to reconstruct it. Finally, I argued that readers were also part of a feedback loop with the editors and contributors that was co-constitutional by way of reader critiques and reader-based circulation networks, indicating again that it is generative to read *South Today* as a literary activist counterpublic.

A key takeaway that has emerged from my research is that we need to pay greater attention to the peripheries of “little” literary magazines in order to understand how they work; such attention may, in turn, tell us about why we continue to be drawn to them as objects of study. While editors certainly play an important role in shaping a magazine—as is true of Smith and Snelling—centring editorial content or discounting other voices due to editorial mediation can have the unintended limitation of suggesting that external contributions are not representative or worthwhile of analysis. While we should still be cognizant of the power dynamics of editorial mediation, as I explore in the case of the reader forums and construction of

South Today's counterpublic, disregarding such non-editorial content can have the problematic effect of obscuring the role of readerships and peripheral supporters, which I see as foundational to the magazine's project and its activism. Certainly not all magazines were as community-focused or as involved in activism as *South Today* was, but I think these peripheries are deserving of greater consideration by periodical scholars in general.

Furthermore, as my findings illustrate, it is also rewarding to look beyond the page and a solely content-based analysis to understand periodicals as part of a much larger media and social ecology. Throughout the thesis I explored how *South Today* was combatting white supremacy through a variety of methods: literature, desegregated print spaces, (re)education and consciousness raising work, direct action, transregional and interracial coalitions, etc. My findings suggest that it is valuable to extend Ann Ardis' "print media ecologies" (2) to a larger "off-the-page" ecology. Rather than thinking about periodicals as published within a print-based vacuum, I argue we need to understand them within their socio-political context and as in communication with non-print spaces and activism.

I was in the fortunate position of having access to extensive archival records that helped me understand that "off-the-page" ecology in ways that are relatively unique in periodical studies, and I hope this work opens up more interest in the interdisciplinary possibilities of using empirical methods in conjunction with textual analyses as a method of reading periodicals, particularly in its ability to expose patterns, scope, and scale. While I began collecting contributor, author, reader forum respondent, and subscriber metadata first as a personal method of "reading" the magazine and secondly as a benchmark from which to evaluate the editors' efforts to achieve greater degrees of representation and inclusivity, the process also afforded me insights into the range of contributions made to *South Today* by those outside the editorial offices

and led me to ask more specific questions about the roles of these groups that I could not have anticipated otherwise.¹³⁴ Furthermore, I hope, to return to Ardis' call, that as more people take up this kind of work, there will be further opportunities to compare contributors and readerships between concurrently published periodicals and trace where overlaps occur within this print ecology. While I was not able to conduct a comparative analysis of this sort between *South Today* and other contemporary periodicals, this standalone data nevertheless offers helpful insights into how *South Today* operated and its societal reach and impact as a counterpublic of literary activism. Ultimately, *South Today* has much to teach us about the interrelation between print, community, and activism, which speaks to both its historical significance and contemporary relevance.

¹³⁴ For example, the high percentage of educators amongst the magazine's readership made me question the pedagogical function of *South Today* in new ways, which I explored in conjunction with the Laurel Falls Camp. Likewise, I had to revise assumptions I had made when I learned that such a high percentage of readers lived outside the South, raising new questions about a southern diaspora and the transregional resonance of the issues raised in the magazine.

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Arrendale Library, Piedmont University, Demorest, Georgia
Lillian E. Smith Collection

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Northeast Georgia Regional Library System

Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, Georgia
Betty Kaufman Camp Laurel Falls Papers (ms1794)
Joan Titus Collection (ms3757)
Lillian Eugenia Smith Papers (ms1283)
Lillian Eugenia Smith Papers (ms1283a)
Margaret Gladney Papers (ms3513)

Rabun County Historical Society, Clayton, Georgia

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Data Methodology

The following tables and figures are original works. Broadly, they present my findings regarding *South Today*'s format, genres, and finances, as well as the demographics of its contributors, reviewed authors, forum respondents, and subscribers. I collected the contributor, reviewed author, and forum respondent metadata from the 23 issues of *South Today* across its three titles, and I collected the subscriber metadata from archival subscription records. While I took care to correctly identify individuals through extensive biographical research and census data, any errors are my own.

I undertook this data collection as a method of ascertaining who was involved in *South Today* and to what extent the editors were attentive to presenting a diversity of voices in both the contributors and readers they published and the authors they reviewed. I was also interested in tracing a fuller demographics of *South Today*'s subscribers (including gender, racialization, age, marital status, parental status, education level, profession, income, number in household, and location) to better understand the magazine's audience and reach. I am also able to illustrate through these findings the various ways in which *South Today* was a community-based project. While I concede that the resultant data and my representation of it tells a partial story—which I nuance through other forms of literary and historical analysis—quantitative methods can capture scale, overarching patterns, and changes over time that are not always evident through close reading.

Indeed, there is an increasing scholarly interest in reconstructing historical authorships and readerships through empirical methods. Richard Jean So's *Redlining Culture* exposes the overwhelming whiteness of fiction books published by Random House between 1950 and 2000. Likewise, Gemma Outen studies the readership of *Wings*, the journal of The Women's Total

Abstinence Union, through its membership records. As both scholars point out, while labour-intensive to produce, the absence of such data in favour of textual analyses can lead to inaccurate assumptions about published authors and periodical readerships, respectively. Specifically, So argues that the lack of data about the publishing industry reinforces hegemonies of unmarked whiteness, and hopes that in exposing this inequality, more efforts will be made to recalibrate what books are being published and whose voices represented. Similarly, Outen argues that basing assertions about historical readerships on editorial projections erases the diversity and complexity of those groups; in the case of *Wings*, she argues that its readers' specific lived experiences complicated the magazine's conservative and middle-class ideologies (555). In the case of *South Today*, I argue that an in-depth reconstruction of its contributorship, reviewed authorship, and readership is important in challenging the assumed whiteness of the white southern press, while also initiating a more complex analysis of the magazine's successes and shortcomings.

Still, while empirical data can be useful, it is also important to address the implications of quantification as a method of analysis. Given historical and contemporary (mis)uses of both the collection and classification of information about individuals, I grappled with the ethics of identity-based data collection. As So explains, "Historically, we understand empirical methods as typically creating racial stratifications and hierarchies, often supporting white-supremacist ideologies and denigrating nonwhite subjects as inferior. . . . [S]uch methods all too often have been mobilized to support or intensify prevailing racial ideologies" (16). Moreover, quantitative methods have often been privileged as more rigorous and objective than other forms of knowledge (Bode 11-2). For these valid reasons, there is some skepticism about empirical methods within the humanities. But as So points out, whether data is oppressive or liberatory all

depends on “how we use [it]” (18). To that end, So calls for a data collection¹³⁵ and interpretation that can be employed against the grain of its colonial intentions and be used to expose and challenge systemic inequities rather than reinforce them as natural or innate.

To mitigate against the problems of data collection, part of my methodology is to detail why and how I am collecting certain metadata and what questions I am hoping to answer in doing so. I remind readers that the categories I use are often social constructs and that data is not neutral or conclusive, and while I have tried to be transparent about the processes behind my thinking and choices, there are no doubt assumptions I have made that reveal the particular ways in which I have been socialized as an educated, working-class white woman. Therefore, as part of my praxis, I have made these data sets publicly available in order to be transparent about my work and data sources. With each data set I include a summary of the categories I use, how I define them, and where such data derived from, which I reproduce below. In this section I reflect more generally on this process and some of the main methodological decisions I made.

Firstly, I found that rather than reifying race, gender, and even to some extent, regional identity, as stable and innate, the process of collecting metadata from *South Today* and its records revealed the inherent instability of such categories and the borders constructed between them. As I engaged with the biographies of individuals, the one-dimensionality of these socially constructed categories proved limiting in capturing the rich complexities and multiplicities of people’s lives and experiences. As such, it is important to reemphasize that the racialization¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Specifically, So describes how two researchers independently researched authors’ positionalities, and compared results; if agreement could not be reached, that category was left unmarked (So 194n53). While I did not have a second person to compare results against, and recognize the inconsistencies of intra-observer variance, I also decided to create an “unknown” category which would mitigate against mis-categorization while still allowing individuals’ contributions to be recognized. Therefore, I only recorded information in my data set for which there was a high degree of certainty based on my research.

¹³⁶ I use the term “racialization” instead of “race” to signal that this is a process and construction, rather than innate or biological.

and gender classifications I employ in this project are social constructs that have significant limitations in meaning and, therefore, must be understood as only a partial indicator of the general demographics of those involved with *South Today* as contributors, authors, or readers. Strategies I used to mitigate against such reductions were to pair these quantitative findings with analysis of quotations from these people's own voices, to generate intersectional data, and to compile a collage of subscribers' portraits, both as reminders that there were real individuals who led complex, intersectional lives and cannot be reduced to such singular social categories.¹³⁷

Secondly, how to define these categories and what language to use were also questions I grappled with. Social categories in the 1930s and 1940s were generally comprised of, and operated to resecure, highly essentialized binaries, as evident in the vocabulary of white/Black, male/female, and North/South. On one hand, I felt it important to acknowledge these constructs as people would have understood and been conditioned to live them at that time, and in the process of data collection such binaries were often unavoidable as these categories constituted the only options available in regulated surveys like the census, for example. However, being cognizant of historical anachronisms, I also felt it was important to balance my use of these imposed social categories with a recognition that many people in the 1930s and 1940s were also refusing these constructs, and, therefore, when available, I defer to self-identification and sometimes contemporary terms¹³⁸ which better capture some experiences. For example, I apply the term non-binary to Pauli Murray to acknowledge their well-documented gender fluidity, and biracial to Jean Toomer, to recognize his resistance to the Black/white binary. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to know how people—particularly those who have not left a written record—

¹³⁷ See Appendix Figure 44.

¹³⁸ In some cases, however, I have updated language. For example, while the term “Negro” was employed at the time and in *South Today* to refer to African Americans, I use “Black.” Likewise, while “Mulatto/a” was used up until the 1920 U.S. census, I use “Biracial/Multiracial.”

identified, and in those cases I fall back on sources like the census with the recognition that it uses a controlled vocabulary.¹³⁹

Thirdly, in terms of assigning social categories and the sources I drew from, while I was often able to locate biographies and personal expressions of identity for the more public-facing contributors and authors—sources which often added more nuance and complexity to how I might understand an individual’s identity and represent it in my data set—for the reader forum respondents I relied mostly on self-identification within their essays, and for subscribers I relied heavily on sources such the census, military records, and (segregated) school yearbooks.

Regarding the extent to which census data was a form of self-identification, in 1940 census enumerators went door-to-door to ask questions of household members and fill out a “schedule” which would be mailed back to the Census Bureau for processing. Enumerators were instructed to talk with the head of the household or a “responsible adult member,” and in the case of boarders/lodgers, to speak to each individually instead of only the boardinghouse keeper (Bureau of the Census 31-2). Therefore, such information was, for the most part, reported by the individuals concerned and, in that sense, reflects a form of self-identification. However, gender and racialization categories were strictly controlled according to binaries and the “one-drop-rule” respectively, which meant that it was not possible to record more complex identities.

Furthermore, women’s occupations often went unreported if they were not the “head” of the household. There was also a clause in the 1940 handbook that allowed for enumerators to revise

¹³⁹ For example, in terms of gender the 1940 census only allowed “Male” and “Female,” and in terms of racialization, only allowed “White (including Mexican),” “Negro,” “Indian,” “Chinese,” “Japanese,” “Filipino,” “Hindu,” and “Korean” (Bureau of the Census 43). The “one-drop” rule was in full effect, with the 1940 census enumerator handbook stipulating that “Any mixture of white and nonwhite should be reported according to the nonwhite parent” (43). As such, multiracial heritages were not recognized. So uses the finite racial vocabulary of “white,” “black,” and “nonblack racial minority or person of color” (194n53). I have chosen to draw from a slightly broader vocabulary that separates out distinct ethnic and cultural identities instead of combining them under “People of Colour.”

any answer that they “believe[d] to be false” and “enter upon the schedule the correct answer as nearly as [they could] ascertain it” (4). Consequently, there would have been opportunities for enumerator bias and inaccuracies of which we need to be cognizant. I reference this data, then, with the recognition that such categories were sometimes ascribed regardless of personal identification and are deeply implicated in larger projects of socialization and, specifically, racialization.¹⁴⁰

Ultimately, despite these limitations, I find these data sets offer important insights into how periodicals are composed and evolve in terms of mandate and representation over time and how we might develop a sense of the complexities and involvement of their reading publics. Specifically, they provide a helpful starting point in reconstructing who was in *South Today*'s orbit beyond its editors, and in offering new insights into what about the magazine might have appealed to readers and potentially encouraged them to participate discursively or non-discursively.

¹⁴⁰ See Paul Schor, *Counting Americans: How the US Census Classified the Nation*, Oxford UP, 2017; Margo J. Anderson, *The American Census: A Social History*, Second Edition, Yale UP, 2015.

Data Sets

The following four data sets are available here: <https://doi.org/10.5683/SP3/BIH0ST>

General Metadata Collection Rules

Data Set 1: Contributors to *South Today*

- I define contributors as individuals who contributed original content, not originally published elsewhere, to the magazine. I have decided to exclude published excerpts of book chapters and essays which were reprinted in *South Today* from this category. However, I decided to keep Smith's four "excerpts of a novel" in it as these short stories, which would eventually be reworked and published as *Strange Fruit*, were not yet published and differ from the final version of the novel.
- Contributions are counted per discrete contribution: e.g. essays, articles, poems, short stories, reviews, editorials, etc. A contributor may have contributed more than once in the same issue; each contribution is counted.
- Excluded from this category are advertisements, prize contest announcements, book lists, and editorial introductions or comments. Also excluded are excerpted reader essay forum respondents, whom I include in a separate data set.

Data Set 2: Authors and Published Texts Cited, Excerpted, Mentioned, or Reviewed in *South Today*

- This data set records the authors of any published works featured in *South Today*, including citations of books, excerpts of published books reproduced in the magazine, mentions (however brief), and reviews. This includes texts mentioned in the "Do You Know Your South?" contest in the Summer 1940 and Winter 1941 issues.
- Texts are counted per unique entity; however, texts may be included more than once per issue if they are mentioned in more than one distinct entity (i.e. included in the book list and separately reviewed).
- I decided to omit passing mentions of texts within single-book reviews, as they do not capture the texts *South Today* sought to discuss or promote. I also decided to omit books mentioned as part of contributors'/readers' biographical information.
- Regarding the book metadata, I included, whenever possible, the original publisher and publication date of the American first editions.

Data Set 3: Reader Essay Forum Respondents in *South Today*

- This data set captures the demographics of those readers whose forum essay submissions were published in *South Today*. I count each individual submission as a distinct entity.
- I relied heavily on reader self-identification for demographic metadata, and when possible, searched for respondents in census records to augment that metadata. However,

the frequent use of anonymizing initials and descriptors meant I could not locate a high percentage of respondents.

Data Set 4: 1944-1945 Subscribers to *South Today*

- This data was primarily collected from the 2,847 subscriber address cards held in the Lillian Eugenia Smith Papers (ms1283a, Box 95-97) at the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, The University of Georgia Libraries. This research was made possible by the Intersections of Gender Thesis Grant, which graciously funded the reproduction of these cards and for which I am deeply appreciative.
- I located additional demographic information for individual subscribers in the following sources, in this order: Census data, military records, yearbooks, and street directories. I also used obituaries and death records to determine accurate birth and death dates. For the most part, I tried to use the 1940 U.S. census (or equivalent for other countries) as this was the closest census to the 1944-1945 subscriber records and contains unique information including highest education level, profession, and income. However, if this census was unavailable, I then drew from the 1930 or 1950 census (newly available as of April 1, 2022 after the mandatory 72-year wait period) as available, depending on the age of the subscriber. If no census data was available, I would look for military records and consult yearbooks and street directories, although the latter is only useful for learning a person's profession or spouse's name, which can then be used to help identify a person on the census if their address had changed. I recognize the limits and inaccuracies of census data, for as Gemma Outen acknowledges, census data only captures the situation of a household at one particular moment of the day and, therefore, often obscures the presence of non "live-in" domestic help or children who have moved out (545-6). Likewise, Outen observes how females who were not the "head" of a household (i.e. wives or daughters) often did not have their work recorded by census takers, leading to possible misrepresentation in terms of profession and income for females in my data set. To acknowledge this gap in the data, I mark such a lack of recorded occupations as "not-listed." While the 1940 census was ostensibly self-reported, such examples signal the ways in which such data was nevertheless impacted by census takers' assumptions and biases and remind us that we need to think critically about what metadata categories are included or excluded for different individuals and what that tells us about the systems of power operative at this socio-political moment.

Glossary of Terms

Southern: To be “southern” a person must have been born in or must have lived in one of the following states: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia. While controversial, I include in this definition the 11 former confederate states as well as the border states.¹⁴¹ In determining location and regional identity I primarily employed the biographies provided within *South Today* as well as secondary research including census data and birth/death records to determine if those living outside the South were born or had lived in the South at any time throughout their lives. I chose to employ this inclusive definition of “southern” in order to capture migration and wartime stationing or displacement, rather than simply where one was located at a particular time.

Unknown: When the racialization, gender, regional identity, location, etc. of an individual is undeterminable or of some doubt, they are marked as unknown to avoid misidentification.

Not Applicable (N/A): This category refers to institutional groups and organizations that are not associated with one individual/particular person, and which do not have a gender, racialization, regional identity, etc. associated with them. E.g. The Federal Writers’ Group. The exceptions to this rule are groups associated with one specific region, such as the Tennessee Writers’ Group or the Citizen’s Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia, which I categorize as southern.

¹⁴¹ I recognize that what constitutes the American “South” is highly contested. I chose, for the purposes of data collection, to use the broadly inclusive definition of the “South,” as often employed by southern historians such as John Egerton, to capture a geo-cultural region not necessarily confined to socio-politically constructed state borders or confederate historical contexts (19).

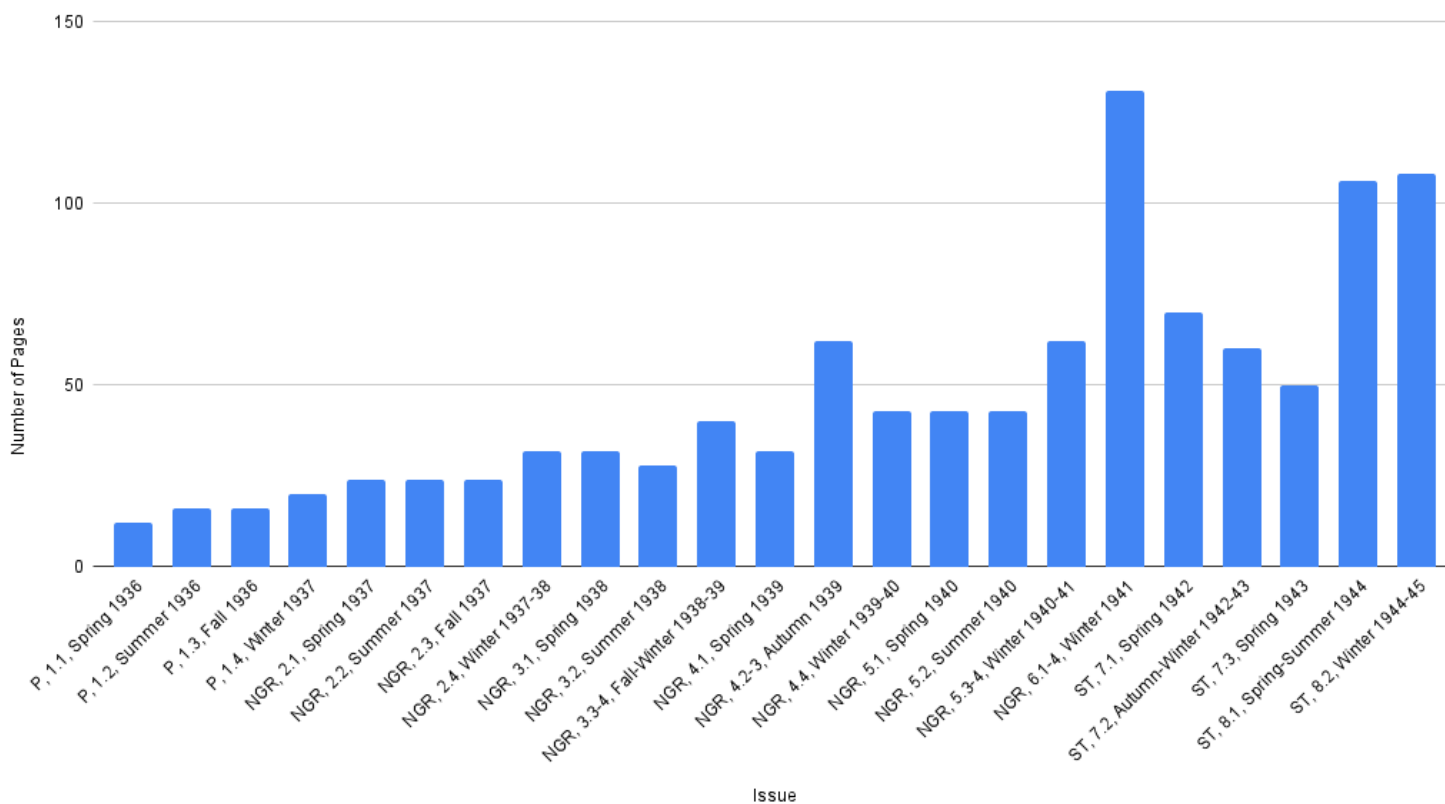
Table 1. Features and Formatting by Issue

	Issue No.	Date Published	Editors	Frequency of Publication	Price	Wrapper Cover Style (if applicable)	Table of Contents	Advertisements*	Images (excluding cover)	"They Say" Reviews	Number of Pages
Pseudopodia (1936-1937)	Vol. 1 No. 1	Spring 1936	Paula Snelling, editor Lillian E. Smith, associate editor	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	None	No	No	No	No	12
	Vol. 1 No. 2	Summer 1936	Paula Snelling, Lillian E. Smith, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	None	No	No	No	No	16
	Vol. 1 No. 3	Fall 1936	Paula Snelling, Lillian E. Smith, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	None	No	No	No	No	16
	Vol. 1 No. 4	Winter 1937	Paula Snelling, Lillian E. Smith, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	None	No	No	No	No	20
The North Georgia Review (1937-1941)	Vol. 2 No. 1	Spring 1937	Paula Snelling, Lillian E. Smith, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	B&W photograph	No	No	No	No	24
	Vol. 2 No. 2	Summer 1937	Paula Snelling, Lillian E. Smith, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	B&W photograph	No	No	No	No	24
	Vol. 2 No. 3	Fall 1937	Paula Snelling, Lillian E. Smith, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	B&W photograph	No	No	No	No	24
	Vol. 2 No. 4	Winter 1937-38	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	B&W drawing	No	No	No	No	32
	Vol. 3 No. 1	Spring 1938	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	B&W photograph	No	No	No	No	32
	Vol. 3 No. 2	Summer 1938	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	B&W photograph	No	No	No	No	28
	Vol. 3 No. 3-4	Fall-Winter 1938-39	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	B&W photograph	No	No	No	No	40
	Vol. 4 No. 1	Spring 1939	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	Stylized colour wrapper	Yes	No	No	Yes	32
	Vol. 4 No. 2-3	Autumn 1939	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	Stylized colour wrapper	Yes	No	No	Yes	62
	Vol. 4 No. 4	Winter 1939-40	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	Stylized colour wrapper	Yes	Yes (2)	No	Yes	42
	Vol. 5 No. 1	Spring 1940	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	Stylized colour wrapper	Yes	Yes (2)	No	Yes	42
	Vol. 5 No. 2	Summer 1940	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	Stylized colour wrapper	Yes	No	No	Yes	42
	Vol. 5 No. 3-4	Winter 1940-41	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Quarterly	25¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	Stylized colour wrapper	Yes	No	No	Yes	62
	Vol. 6 No. 1-4	Winter 1941	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Quarterly	Special Number \$1.00	Stylized colour wrapper	Yes	No	No	Yes	131

South Today (1942-1945)	Vol. 7 No. 1	Spring 1942	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Quarterly	50¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	Stylized colour wrapper	Yes	No	Yes B&W	Yes	70
	Vol. 7 No. 2	Autumn-Winter 1942-43	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Quarterly	50¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	Stylized colour wrapper	Yes	Yes (2)	No	Yes	60
	Vol. 7 No. 3	Spring 1943	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Quarterly	50¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	Stylized colour wrapper	Yes	Yes (1)	No	Yes	50
	Vol. 8 No. 1	Spring-Summer 1944	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Semi-annually	50¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	Stylized colour wrapper	Yes	Yes (1)	Yes B&W	Yes	106
	Vol. 8 No. 2	Winter 1944-45	Lillian E. Smith, Paula Snelling, editors	Semi-annually	50¢/ copy \$1.00/ year	Stylized colour wrapper	Yes	No	No	Yes	108

*Complete list of advertisements featured in *South Today*: NGR, Winter 1939-1940 (Old Screamer Estates; Kimsey's Book Shop); NGR, Spring 1940 (Old Screamer Estates; Kimsey's Book Shop); *South Today*, Autumn-Winter 1942-1943 (*The Crisis*; *The New Republic*); *South Today*, Spring 1943 (*The New Republic*), *South Today*, Spring-Summer 1944 (*Strange Fruit*). These advertisements were generally a half-page to a full-page in length.

Figure 1. Number of Pages by Issue



Note: P = *Pseudopodia*; NGR = *The North Georgia Review*; and ST = *South Today*

Table 2. Content Genres by Issue

Issue		Column	Drawing	Editorial	Essay	Excerpted Chapter	Forum	Painting	Photograph	Play	Poem	Quiz	Quotation List	Reading List	Report	Reprint	Review	Short Story	Total
Pseudopodia (1936-1937)	Vol. 1 No. 1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
	Vol. 1 No. 2	1	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	12
	Vol. 1 No. 3	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	11
	Vol. 1 No. 4	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	12
The North Georgia Review (1937-1941)	Vol. 2 No. 1	1	0	1	2	1	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	1	1	0	4	1	16
	Vol. 2 No. 2	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	12	1	22
	Vol. 2 No. 3	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	16
	Vol. 2 No. 4	1	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	8	1	15
	Vol. 3 No. 1	1	0	1	4	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	7	2	20
	Vol. 3 No. 2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	8	1	13
	Vol. 3 No. 3-4	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	0	0	14	1	25
	Vol. 4 No. 1	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	18
	Vol. 4 No. 2-3	2	0	1	3	0	3	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	21
	Vol. 4 No. 4	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	3	15
	Vol. 5 No. 1	2	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	10	0	19
	Vol. 5 No. 2	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	9
	Vol. 5 No. 3-4	1	0	1	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	16	1	24
	Vol. 6 No. 1-4	1	0	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	17	0	26
South Today (1942-1945)	Vol. 7 No. 1	1	0	1	1	0	1	3	0	1	3	1	1	0	1	0	8	2	24
	Vol. 7 No. 2	1	0	3	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	11
	Vol. 7 No. 3	1	1	1	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	7	0	18	
	Vol. 8 No. 1	1	5	1	6	2	0	0	7	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	7	2	35
	Vol. 8. No. 2	1	0	0	6	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	22
Total	Number	26	7	21	52	12	14	3	11	3	42	5	3	9	3	3	179	18	411
	Percent	6.3%	1.7%	5.1%	12.7%	2.9%	3.4%	0.7%	2.7%	0.7%	10.2%	1.2%	0.7%	2.2%	0.7%	0.7%	43.6%	4.4%	100%

Advertisements and “They Say About Us” promotional excerpts excluded from “contributor” content classification. Editorial and reader contributions included. All genres counted by discrete individual contributions with the exception of “Forum” (excerpted reader letters and essays), “Quotations,” and “Reading List” which are counted as units rather than by the number of individuals excerpted or books listed. “Quotations” refers to the editors’ excerpts of quotes or published texts, often written by contemporary activists.

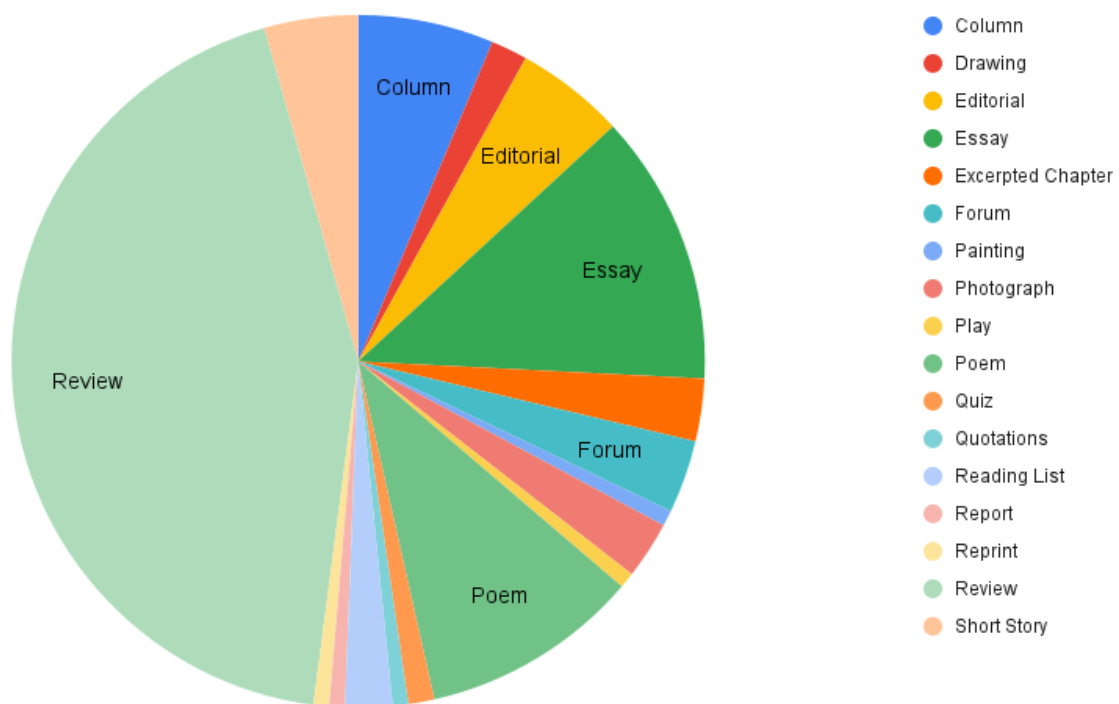
Figure 2. Content Genres

Table 3. Editorial and Non-Editorial Contributions by Issue

		Contributors									
	Issue	Lillian Smith		Paula Snelling		Smith &/or Snelling*		Non-Editorial Contributors		Total	
Pseudopodia (1936-1937)	Vol. 1 No. 1	2	28.6%	1	14.3%	1	14.3%	3	42.9%	7	
	Vol. 1 No. 2	2	18.2%	4	36.4%	1	9.1%	4	36.4%	11	
	Vol. 1 No. 3	4	40.0%	2	20.0%	1	10.0%	3	30.0%	10	
	Vol. 1 No. 4	3	27.3%	1	9.1%	2	18.2%	5	45.5%	11	
Pseudopodia Total		11	28.2%	8	20.5%	5	12.8%	15	38.5%	39	
The North Georgia Review (1937-1941)	Vol. 2 No. 1	3	21.4%	2	14.3%	1	7.1%	8	57.1%	14	
	Vol. 2 No. 2	3	13.6%	5	22.7%	1	4.5%	13	59.1%	22	
	Vol. 2 No. 3	3	17.6%	4	23.5%	1	5.9%	9	52.9%	17	
	Vol. 2 No. 4	4	28.6%	3	21.4%	1	7.1%	6	42.9%	14	
	Vol. 3 No. 1	3	15.8%	4	21.1%	0	0%	12	63.2%	19	
	Vol. 3 No. 2	2	15.4%	2	15.4%	0	0%	9	69.2%	13	
	Vol. 3 No. 3-4	5	20.8%	7	29.2%	0	0%	12	50.0%	24	
	Vol. 4 No. 1	3	17.6%	4	23.5%	0	0%	10	58.8%	17	
	Vol. 4 No. 2-3	3	15.8%	4	21.1%	1	5.3%	11	57.9%	19	
	Vol. 4 No. 4	2	14.3%	2	14.3%	0	0%	10	71.4%	14	
	Vol. 5 No. 1	3	16.7%	3	16.7%	1	5.6%	11	61.1%	18	
	Vol. 5 No. 2	3	42.9%	0	0%	1	14.3%	3	42.9%	7	
	Vol. 5 No. 3-4	2	9.1%	7	31.8%	2	9.1%	11	50.0%	22	
	Vol. 6 No. 1-4	2	8.3%	9	37.5%	5	20.8%	8	33.3%	24	
	North Georgia Review Total		41	16.8%	56	23.0%	14	5.7%	133	54.5%	244
	South Today (1942- 1945)	Vol. 7 No. 1	3	13.6%	3	13.6%	2	9.1%	14	63.6%	22
Vol. 7 No. 2		4	36.4%	0	0%	4	36.4%	3	27.3%	11	
Vol. 7 No. 3		3	20.0%	1	6.7%	1	6.7%	10	66.7%	15	
Vol. 8 No. 1		6	18.8%	6	18.8%	3	9.4%	17	53.1%	32	
Vol. 8. No. 2		3	15.8%	10	52.6%	0	0%	6	31.6%	19	
South Today Total		19	19.2%	20	20.2%	10	10.1%	50	50.5%	99	
Total	Number	71		84		29		198		382	
	Percent	18.6%		22.0%		7.6%		51.8%		100%	

Including unattributed editorials, announcements, etc.

Figure 3. Editorial and Non-Editorial Contributors by Era

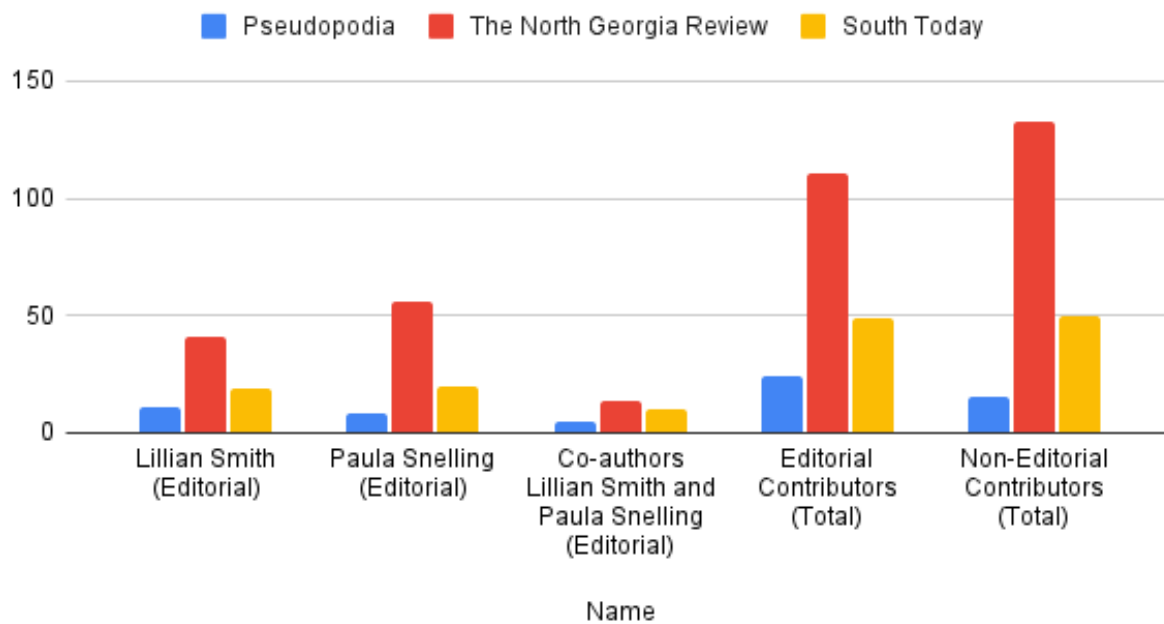


Table 4. Racialization of Non-Editorial Contributor by Issue

		Racialization						
	Issue		White	Black	Unknown	Total		
Pseudopodia (1936-1937)	Vol. 1 No. 1	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	3
	Vol. 1 No. 2	3	75.5%	0	0%	1	25.5%	4
	Vol. 1 No. 3	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	3
	Vol. 1 No. 4	5	100%	0	0%	0	0%	5
	Pseudopodia Total	14	93.3%	0	0%	1	6.7%	15
The North Georgia Review (1937-1941)	Vol. 2 No. 1	8	100%	0	0%	0	0%	8
	Vol. 2 No. 2	12	92.3%	0	0%	1	7.7%	13
	Vol. 2 No. 3	7	77.8%	0	0%	2	22.2%	9
	Vol. 2 No. 4	4	66.7%	2	33.3%	0	0%	6
	Vol. 3 No. 1	12	100%	0	0%	0	0%	12
	Vol. 3 No. 2	7	77.8%	1	11.1%	1	11.1%	9
	Vol. 3 No. 3-4	12	100%	0	0%	0	0%	12
	Vol. 4 No. 1	9	90.0%	1	10.0%	0	0%	10
	Vol. 4 No. 2-3	11	100%	0	0%	0	0%	11
	Vol. 4 No. 4	9	90.0%	1	10.0%	0	0%	10
	Vol. 5 No. 1	9	81.8%	1	9.1%	1	9.1%	11
	Vol. 5 No. 2	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	3
	Vol. 5 No. 3-4	10	90.1%	1	9.1%	0	0%	11
	Vol. 6 No. 1-4	8	100%	0	0%	0	0%	8
	North Georgia Review Total	121	91.0%	7	5.3%	5	3.8%	133
	South Today (1942- 1945)	Vol. 7 No. 1	10	71.4%	4	28.6%	0	0%
Vol. 7 No. 2		0	0%	2	66.7%	1	33.3%	3
Vol. 7 No. 3		10	100%	0	0%	0	0%	10
Vol. 8 No. 1		9	52.9%	7	41.2%	1	5.9%	17
Vol. 8. No. 2		3	50.0%	2	33.3%	1	16.7%	6
South Today Total	32	64.0%	15	30.0%	3	6.0%	50	
Total	Number		167	22		9		198
	Percent		84.3%	11.1%		4.5%		100%

Figure 4. Racialization of Non-Editorial Contributor by Issue

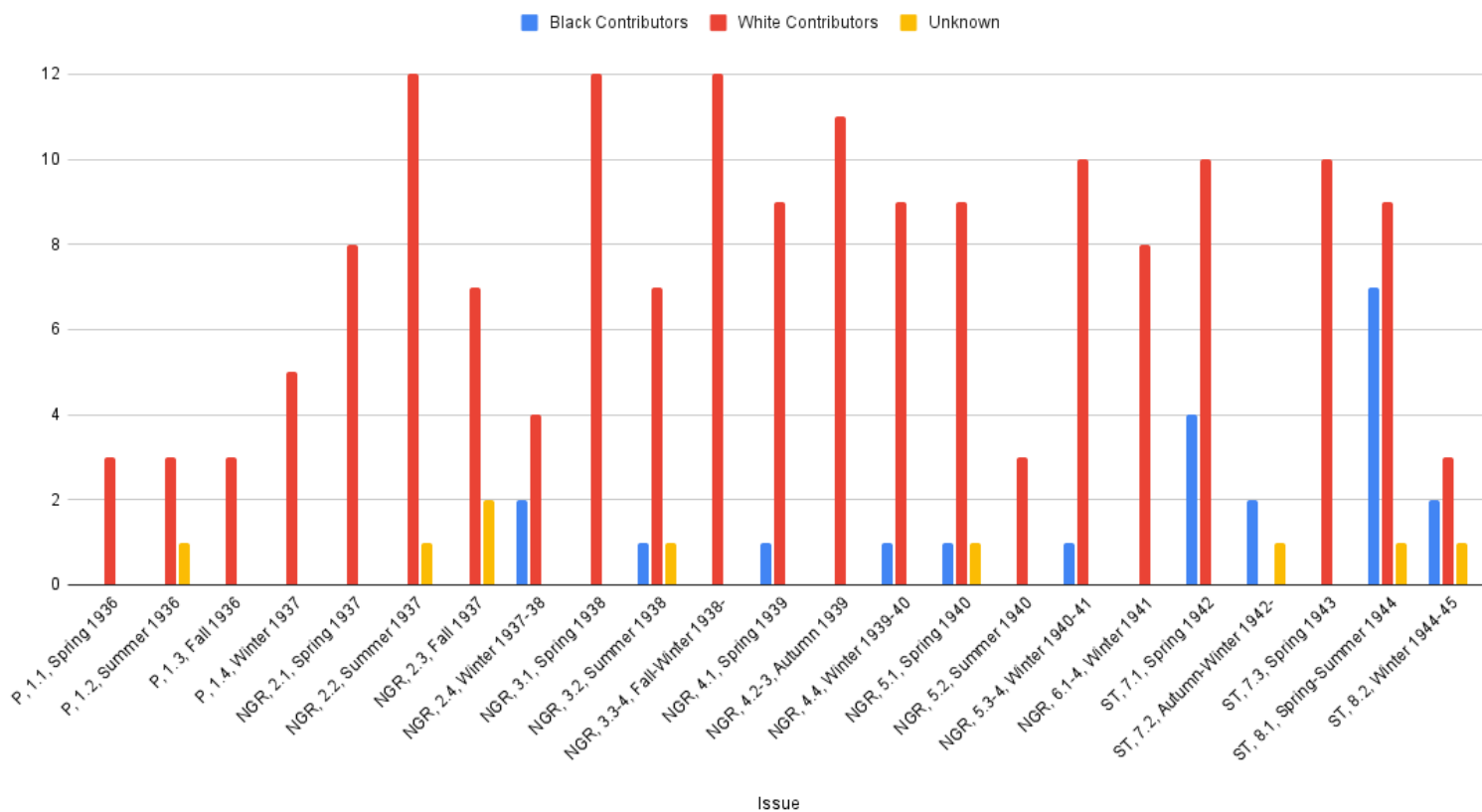


Figure 5. Racialization of Non-Editorial Contributors (Total)

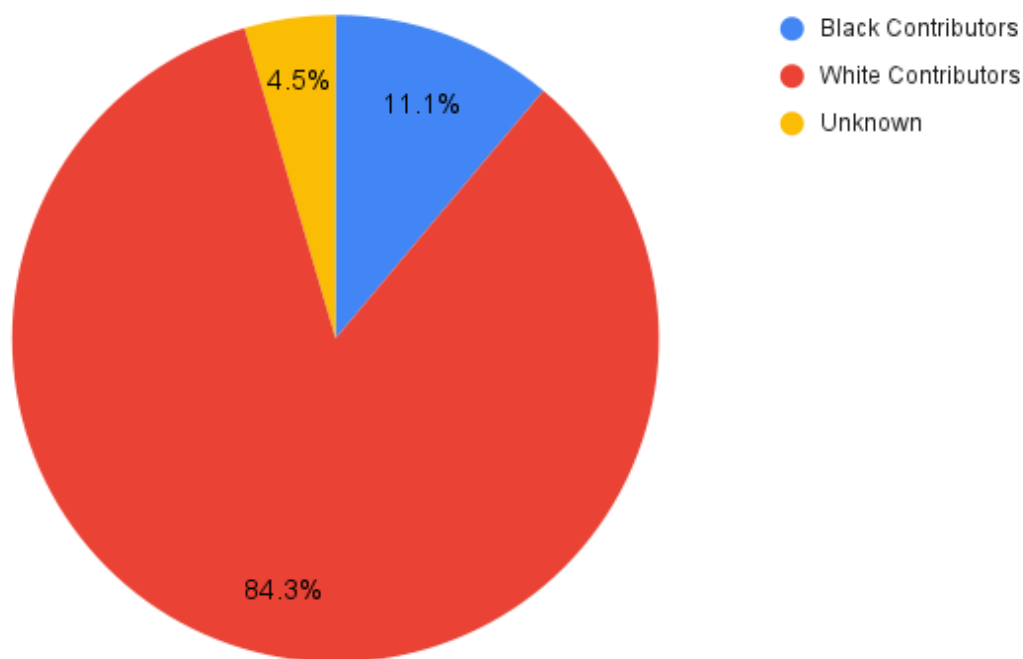


Table 5. Gender of Non-Editorial Contributor by Issue

		Gender								
Issue		Male	Female	Non-Binary	Unknown	Total				
Pseudopodia (1936-1937)	Vol. 1 No. 1	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0%	0	0%	3
	Vol. 1 No. 2	2	50.0%	1	25.0%	0	0%	1	25.0%	4
	Vol. 1 No. 3	1	33.3%	2	66.7%	0	0%	0	0%	3
	Vol. 1 No. 4	4	80.0%	1	20.0%	0	0%	0	0%	5
	Pseudopodia Total	8	53.3%	6	40.0%	0	0%	1	6.7%	15
The North Georgia Review (1937-1941)	Vol. 2 No. 1	3	37.5%	5	62.5%	0	0%	0	0%	8
	Vol. 2 No. 2	7	53.8%	5	38.5%	0	0%	1	7.7%	13
	Vol. 2 No. 3	5	55.6%	3	33.3%	0	0%	1	11.1%	9
	Vol. 2 No. 4	3	50.0%	3	50.0%	0	0%	0	0%	6
	Vol. 3 No. 1	5	41.7%	7	58.3%	0	0%	0	0%	12
	Vol. 3 No. 2	5	55.6%	3	33.3%	0	0%	1	11.1%	9
	Vol. 3 No. 3-4	5	41.7%	7	58.3%	0	0%	0	0%	12
	Vol. 4 No. 1	7	70.0%	3	30.0%	0	0%	0	0%	10
	Vol. 4 No. 2-3	7	63.6%	4	36.4%	0	0%	0	0%	11
	Vol. 4 No. 4	7	70.0%	3	30.0%	0	0%	0	0%	10
	Vol. 5 No. 1	8	72.7%	3	27.3%	0	0%	0	0%	11
	Vol. 5 No. 2	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	3
	Vol. 5 No. 3-4	9	81.8%	2	18.2%	0	0%	0	0%	11
	Vol. 6 No. 1-4	6	75.0%	2	25.0%	0	0%	0	0%	8
	North Georgia Review Total	80	60.2%	50	37.6%	0	0%	3	2.3%	133
South Today (1942- 1945)	Vol. 7 No. 1	10	71.4%	4	28.6%	0	0%	0	0%	14
	Vol. 7 No. 2	2	66.7%	0	0%	1	33.3%	0	0%	3
	Vol. 7 No. 3	4	40.0%	6	60.0%	0	0%	0	0%	10
	Vol. 8 No. 1	9	52.9%	8	41.1%	0	0%	0	0%	17
	Vol. 8. No. 2	4	66.7%	1	16.7%	1	16.7%	0	0%	6
South Today Total	29	58.0%	19	38.0%	2	4.0%	0	0%	50	
Total	Number	117		75		2		4		198
	Percent	59.1%		37.9%		1.0%		2.0%		100%

Figure 6. Gender of Non-Editorial Contributor by Issue

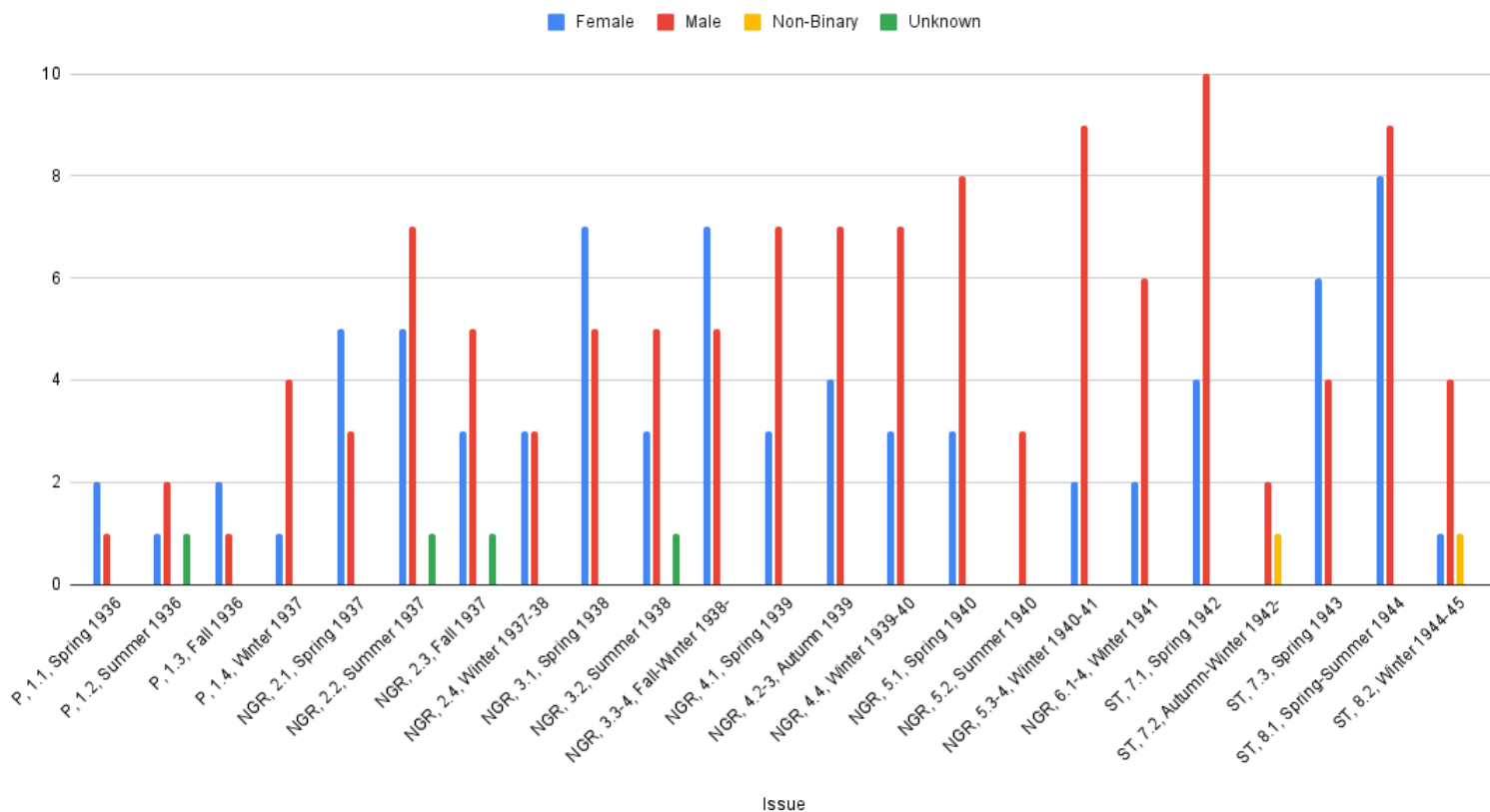


Figure 7. Gender of Non-Editorial Contributor (Total)

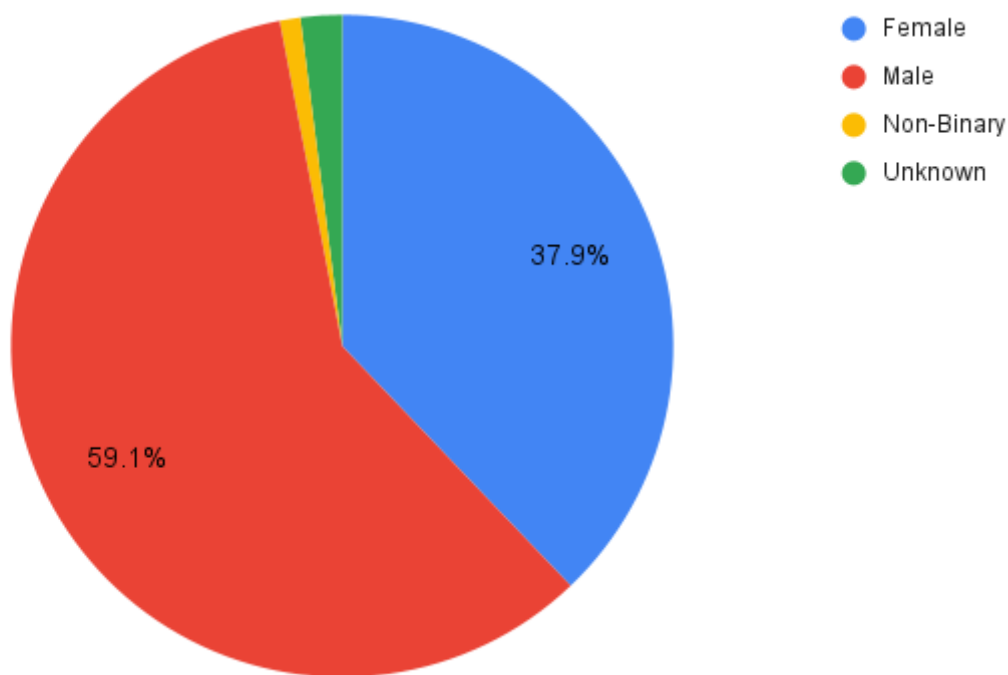


Table 6. Intersection of Gender and Racialization of Non-Editorial Contributor

	Female		Male		Non-Binary	
Black	1	0.5%	19	10.1%	2	1.1%
White	73	38.6%	94	49.7%	0	0%

This table captures 189 out of 198 non-editorial contributors (95.5%) for whom both gender and racialization are known.

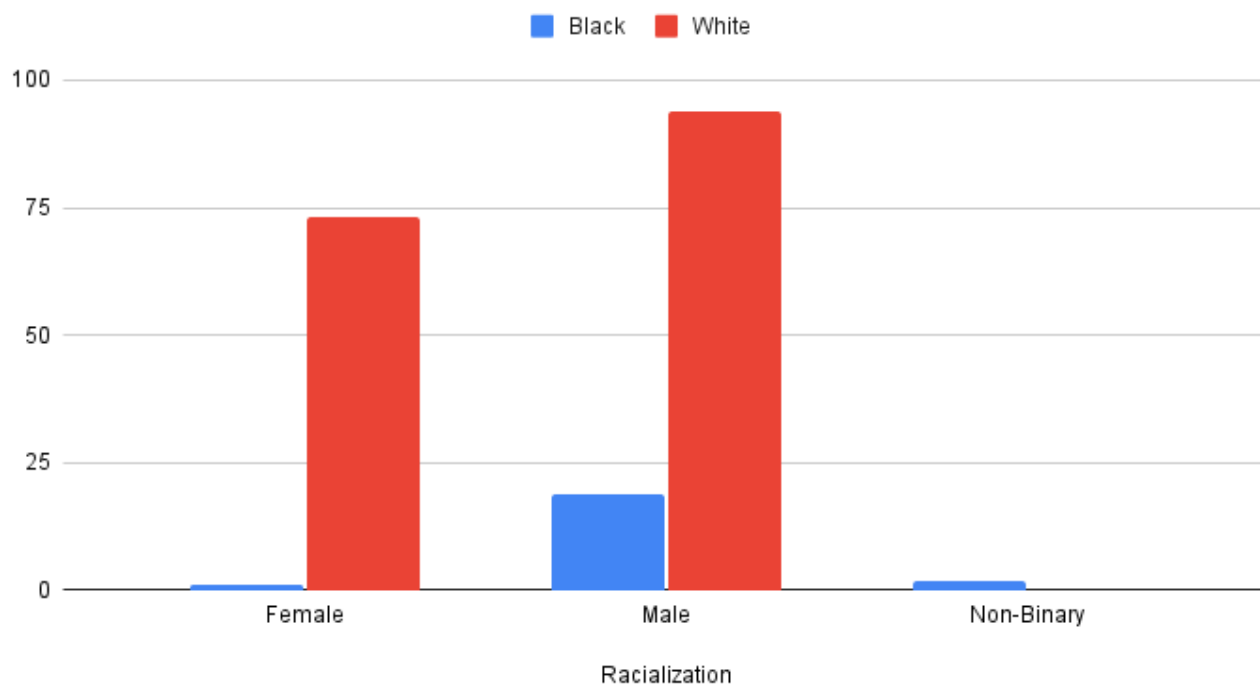
Figure 8. Intersection of Gender and Racialization of Non-Editorial Contributor

Table 7. Location of Non-Editorial Contributor at Time of Publication by City

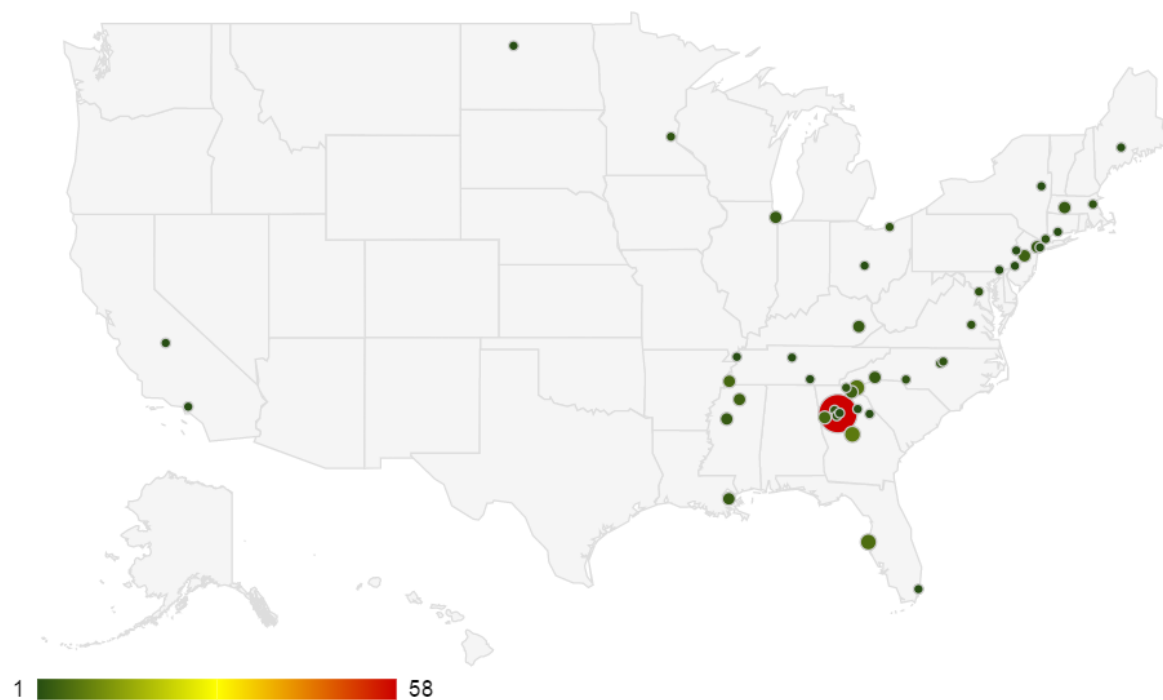
Contributor Location at Time of Writing	Number of Contributions		
Americus, GA	1	Oxford, MS	4
Athens, GA	1	Oxford, PA	1
Atlanta, GA	58	Philadelphia, PA	1
Blairsville, GA	2	Princeton, NJ	4
California	1	Richmond, VA	2
Carrollton, GA	5	Saratoga Springs, NY	1
Caruthersville, MO	1	Somerville, MA	2
Chapel Hill, NC	2	South Hadley, MA	3
Charlotte, NC	2	St. Paul, MN	2
Chicago, IL	3	Washington, DC	2
Clayhole, KY	3	Washington, GA	1
Clayton, GA	7	Waterville, ME	1
Clearwater, FL	6	Woodhaven, NY	1
Cleveland, OH	2	Unknown	33
Cobb County, GA	2	Total	198
College Park, GA	2		
Columbus, OH	1		
Decatur, GA	1		
Durham, NC	2		
Greenwood, MS	3		
Hendersonville, NC	3		
Los Angeles, CA	1		
Macon, GA	8		
Memphis, TN	5		
Miami, FL	1		
Milford, NJ	1		
Minot, ND	1		
Monteagle, TN	1		
Nacoochee Valley, GA	4		
Nashville, TN	1		
New Haven, CT	1		
New Orleans, LA	3		
New York City, NY	3		
Old Greenwich, CT	2		

Table 8. Location of Non-Editorial Contributor at Time of Publication by State

Contributor Location at Time of Writing	Number of Contributions
California	2
Connecticut	3
*District of Columbia	2
*Florida	7
*Georgia	93
Illinois	3
*Kentucky	3
*Louisiana	3
Maine	1
Massachusetts	5
Minnesota	2
*Mississippi	7
Missouri	1
New Jersey	5
New York	5
*North Carolina	9
North Dakota	1
Ohio	2
Pennsylvania	2
*Tennessee	7
*Virginia	2
Unknown	33
Total	198

* Southern and border states, representing 67.2% of contributions.

Figure 9. Location of Non-Editorial Contributor at Time of Publication



Note: Of the 198 contributors (excluding Smith and Snelling), 33 (16.6%) of the locations are unknown and not represented on the map. This data was collected from contributor biographies provided within the magazine and secondary research.

Map 1. Non-Editorial Contributor Location at Time of Publication (Interactive)

See ArcGIS Online map: <https://arcg.is/0uCSu40>

Table 9. Regional Location of Non-Editorial Contributor by Issue

		Region						
	Issue		Southern	Not Southern		Unknown	Total	
Pseudopodia (1936-1937)	Vol. 1 No. 1	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	3
	Vol. 1 No. 2	3	75.0%	0	0%	1	25.0%	4
	Vol. 1 No. 3	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	3
	Vol. 1 No. 4	5	100%	0	0%	0	0%	5
	Pseudopodia Total	14	93.3%	0	0%	1	6.7%	15
The North Georgia Review (1937-1941)	Vol. 2 No. 1	8	100%	0	0%	0	0%	8
	Vol. 2 No. 2	8	61.5%	2	15.4%	3	23.1%	13
	Vol. 2 No. 3	6	66.7%	2	22.2%	1	11.1%	9
	Vol. 2 No. 4	6	100%	0	0%	0	0%	6
	Vol. 3 No. 1	8	66.7%	2	16.7%	2	16.7%	12
	Vol. 3 No. 2	9	100%	0	0%	0	0%	9
	Vol. 3 No. 3-4	11	91.7%	1	8.3%	0	0%	12
	Vol. 4 No. 1	8	80.0%	2	20.0%	0	0%	10
	Vol. 4 No. 2-3	6	54.5%	5	45.5%	0	0%	11
	Vol. 4 No. 4	6	60.0%	4	40.0%	0	0%	10
	Vol. 5 No. 1	8	72.7%	2	18.2%	1	9.1%	11
	Vol. 5 No. 2	2	66.7%	0	0%	1	33.3%	3
	Vol. 5 No. 3-4	8	72.7%	2	18.2%	1	9.1%	11
	Vol. 6 No. 1-4	5	62.5%	2	25.0%	1	12.5%	8
	North Georgia Review Total	99	74.4%	24	18.0%	10	7.5%	133
	South Today (1942- 1945)	Vol. 7 No. 1	7	50.0%	7	50.0%	0	0%
Vol. 7 No. 2		1	33.3%	0	0%	2	66.7%	3
Vol. 7 No. 3		8	80.0%	1	10.0%	1	10.0%	10
Vol. 8 No. 1		8	47.1%	3	17.6%	6	35.3%	17
Vol. 8. No. 2		1	16.7%	0	0%	5	83.3%	6
South Today Total	25	50.0%	11	22.0%	14	28.0%	50	
Total	Number		138		35		25	198
	Percent		69.7%		17.7%		12.6%	100%

Table 10. List and Frequency of Non-Editorial Contributors

List of Contributors	Total Number of Contributions	Issues (vol.no)
Abernathy, Chess, Jr. (1912-1969)	2	4.2-3
Adamic, Louis (1898-1951)	1	4.2-3
Akin, Sally M.	2	2.1; 2.3
Allen, John D.	3	1.2; 3.1; 4.4
Anderson, Margaret (1886-1973)	1	7.3
Babcock, Henry	1	7.2
Bastone, Mary	1	7.1
Bear, Frances Virginia	4	8.1
Benét, Laura (1884-1979)	1	3.1
Bent, Silas (1882-1945)	2	2.1; 2.2
Browder, N. C.	1	5.1
Brown, Harper	1	3.1
Brown, Sterling A. (1901-1989)	1	5.1
Bunzel, Joseph H. (1907-)	1	7.1
Burr, Nina (pseudonym)	1	1.2
Cash, W. J. (1900-1941)	1	5.1
Chivers, Walter R. (1896-1969)	1	4.1
Cogswell, Elaine Ward	1	7.1
Colladay, Morrison	1	2.2
Collier, Tarleton (1888/9-1970)	2	3.1; 3.3-4
Cottrell, Ann (1917-?)	2	2.1
Davis, Griffith J. (1923-1993)	7	8.1
Davis, Helen Dick (?-1992?)	3	2.2; 2.4; 5.3-4
Davis, Lois Bennett	3	2.2; 3.1; 3.3-4
De Leon, Margery	3	1.3; 3.2; 3.3-4
Du Bois, W. E. B. (1868-1963)	1	2.4
Dykes, Hawkins (1910-1955)	2	4.1; 5.2
Edmonston, Donald B. (1910-?)	1	4.2-3
Edwards, R. F.	1	2.2
Ehrman, Jules (1911-?)	1	4.2-3
Ellis, Martha Hodgson (1905-2007)	6	1.1; 1.4; 3.1; 7.1
Everett, Mary	2	2.2; 2.3
Ficklen, Edward B.	2	2.3; 5.1
Foreman, Clark (1902-1977)	1	8.2
Gerber, Carolyn	3	8.1
Green, Fletcher M. (1895-1978)	1	7.1

Harris, Hugh	1	8.2
Hart, Robert (1907-?)	2	2.3; 3.1
Hedgeman, Anna Arnold (1899-1990)	1	8.2
Henderson, Eleanor Mandeville (1880-1956)	11	3.3-4; 4.1; 4.2-3; 4.4; 5.1; 5.3-4; 7.3
Ireland, Virginia Rice	6	3.3-4; 4.2-3; 4.4; 5.1; 6.1-4
Johnson, James Weldon (1871-1938)	1	2.4
Jones, Lewis	1	7.2
Kimsey, Edgar	1	4.1
Lane, Wye	1	3.2
Lawrence, Jacob (1917-2000)	3	7.1
Lee, Ulysses	2	5.3-4; 7.1
Levin, Alvin (1914-1981)	1	4.4
Logan, Rayford Whittingham (1897-1982)	1	3.2
Mankin, Helen Douglas	1	2.2
Mason, Lucy Randolph (1882-1959)	1	3.3-4
Mayes, Judith (191?-?)	1	4.4
McClatchey, D. F., Jr. (1906-1993)	1	1.4
McEwen, Homer Clyde (1913-1985)	1	8.2
Michaux, M. J.	6	5.3-4; 6.1-4; 7.1
Moravsky, Maria (1889-1947)	1	3.3-4
Murray, Pauli (1910-1985)	2	7.2; 8.2
Nicolai, Gregory	1	4.2-3
O'Brien, William Jennings [William McCleery] (1911-2000)	1	8.1
Pach, Walter (1883-1958)	1	8.2
Parks, Ed Winfield	1	2.3
Parks, J. H. (1907-1969?)	1	4.4
Parrot, D. C.	1	2.3
Paschall, Walter (1910-1959)	6	1.4; 2.2; 4.4; 5.3-4; 6.1-4
Pergament, Lola (1913/4-2006?)	6	1.2; 1.3; 2.2; 2.4; 3.2; 3.3-4
Phillips, Wendell Brooks	5	1.2; 1.4; 3.2; 6.1-4; 7.1
Powdermaker, Hortense (1900-1970)	1	3.1
Rainey, Glenn W. (1907-1989)	8	1.1; 1.3; 2.1; 2.2; 3.2; 3.3-4; 5.3-4;
Raper, Arthur (1899-1979)	1	3.3-4
Reece, Byron Herbert (1917-1958)	2	3.3-4; 5.2
Reid, Ira De A. (1901-1968)	1	4.4
Reynolds, George M. (1900-1987)	1	5.3-4
Sancton, Thomas (1915-2012)	2	7.3
Schermerhorn, R. A. (1903-1991)	3	2.4; 3.2; 5.1

Scott, Evelyn (1893-1963)	4	2.4; 3.2; 4.1; 4.2-3
Shaw, Fred (1881-1951)	2	6.1-4; 7.3
Shipp, Cameron (1903-1961)	1	2.1
Sister Benediction	1	8.1
Smith, Frank	7	2.3; 3.1; 4.4; 5.1; 5.3-4;
Smith, Frank Adams	3	4.1; 5.1; 7.3
Smith, George Smedley	4	2.2; 4.1
Smith, Wallace	3	2.3; 3.3-4; 4.1
Still, James (1906-2001)	3	2.2; 5.2; 5.3-4
Suddeth, Ruth Elgin (1893-?)	3	4.2-3; 7.3
Tipton, James H.	2	8.1
Tipton, Samuel R.	1	4.4
Upshaw, Jacques H. (1912-1999)	2	3.1; 3.2
Ward, Mabel	1	2.3
Wilder, Charlotte (1898-1980)	1	3.1
Willet, Julia B. (1900-1984)	2	2.1; 3.1
Wilson, Leon	1	7.1
Wootten, Bayard (1876-1959)	1	2.1

Table 11. Racialization of Author Cited, Excerpted, Mentioned, or Reviewed in Magazine by Issue

		Racialization																		
Issue		Biracial		Black		East Asian		Latin American		South Asian		White		Multiple authors*		Not Applicable †		Unknown		Total
Pseudopodia (1936-1937)	Vol. 1 No. 1	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	15	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	15
	Vol. 1 No. 2	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	29	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	29
	Vol. 1 No. 3	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	22	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	22
	Vol. 1 No. 4	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	44	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	44
Pseudopodia Total		0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	110	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	110
The North Georgia Review (1937-1941)	Vol. 2 No. 1	1	1.4%	23	32.4%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	46	64.8%	0	0%	0	0%	1	1.4%	71
	Vol. 2 No. 2	0	0%	4	16.7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	19	79.2%	0	0%	0	0%	1	4.2%	24
	Vol. 2 No. 3	0	0%	4	9.3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	37	86.0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	4.7%	43
	Vol. 2 No. 4	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	22	100%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	22
	Vol. 3 No. 1	0	0%	3	12.5%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	20	83.3%	0	0%	0	0%	1	4.2%	24
	Vol. 3 No. 2	0	0%	2	7.1%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	24	85.7%	0	0%	0	0%	2	7.1%	28
	Vol. 3 No. 3-4	0	0%	5	11.9%	1	2.4%	0	0%	0	0%	32	76.2%	0	0%	0	0%	4	9.5%	42
	Vol. 4 No. 1	0	0%	1	2.3%	0	0%	2	4.7%	0	0%	36	83.7%	0	0%	2	4.7%	2	4.7%	43
	Vol. 4 No. 2-3	0	0%	2	6.7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	24	80.0%	0	0%	1	3.3%	3	10.0%	30
	Vol. 4 No. 4	0	0%	11	25.0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	27	61.4%	1	2.3%	2	4.5%	3	6.8%	44
	Vol. 5 No. 1	0	0%	8	14.3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	42	75.0%	0	0%	3	5.4%	3	5.4%	56
	Vol. 5 No. 2	2	1.7%	20	16.9%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	82	69.5%	4	3.4%	5	4.2%	5	4.2%	118
	Vol. 5 No. 3-4	0	0%	4	7.0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	46	80.7%	3	5.3%	2	3.5%	2	3.5%	57
	Vol. 6 No. 1-4	1	1.0%	14	13.9%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	71	70.3%	5	5.0%	4	4.0%	6	5.9%	101
North Georgia Review Total		4	0.6%	101	14.4%	1	0.1%	2	0.3%	0	0%	528	75.1%	13	1.8%	19	2.7%	35	5.0%	703
South Today (1942-1945)	Vol. 7 No. 1	0	0%	3	14.3%	0	0%	0	0%	1	4.8%	15	71.4%	0	0%	0	0%	2	9.5%	21
	Vol. 7 No. 2	0	0%	15	29.4%	0	0%	0	0%	4	7.8%	28	54.9%	3	5.9%	0	0%	1	2.0%	51
	Vol. 7 No. 3	0	0%	2	10.0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	14	70.0%	0	0%	0	0%	4	20.0%	20
	Vol. 8 No. 1	0	0%	4	4.9%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	57	69.5%	0	0%	4	4.9%	17	20.7%	82
	Vol. 8 No. 2	0	0%	1	6.7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	12	80.0%	0	0%	0	0%	2	13.3%	15
South Today Total		0	0%	25	13.2%	0	0%	0	0%	5	2.6%	126	66.7%	3	1.6%	4	2.1%	26	13.8%	189
Total	Number	4		126		1		2		5		764		16		23		61		1,002
	Percent	0.4%		12.6%		0.1%		0.2%		0.5%		76.2%		1.6%		2.3%		6.1%		100%

* Co-authors of different racializations. E.g. Arthur Raper and Ira De A. Reid, *Sharecroppers All*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941.

† Including institutional staff and writing groups, e.g. Federal Writers' Project.

Figure 10. Racialization of Author Cited, Excerpted, Mentioned, or Reviewed in Magazine by Issue



Figure 10. Continued...

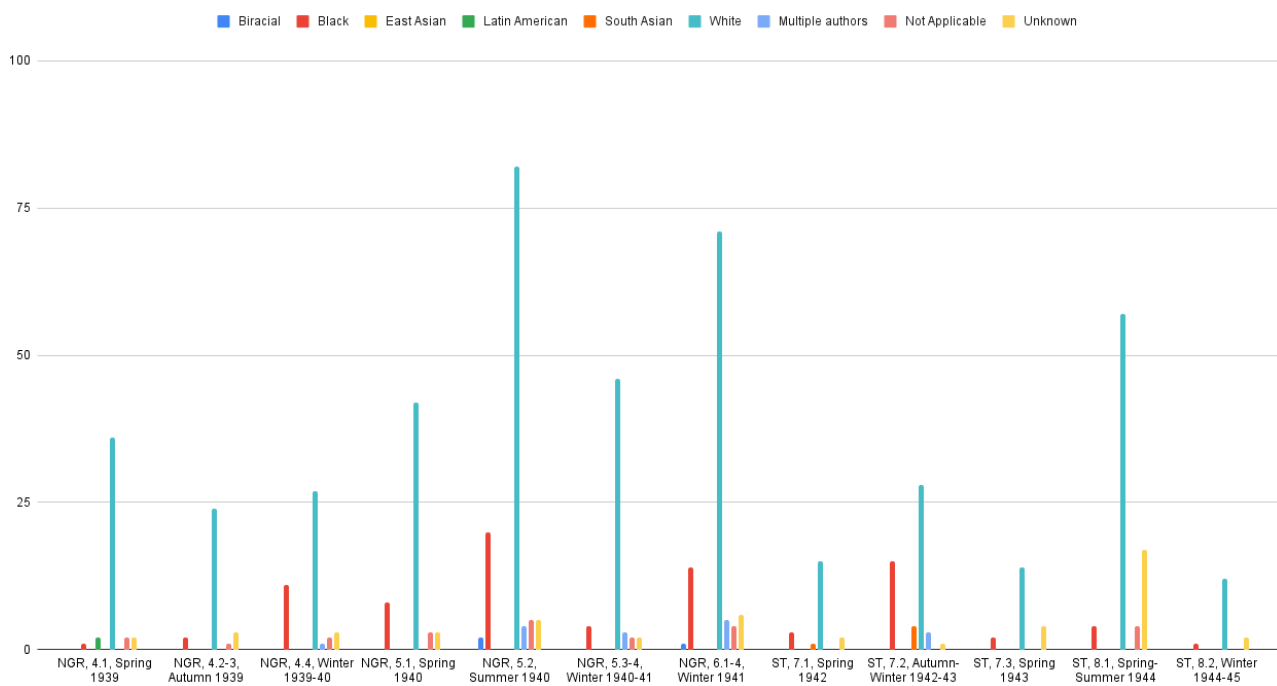


Figure 11. Racialization of Author Cited, Excerpted, Mentioned, or Reviewed in Magazine (Total)

● Biracial ● Black ● East Asian ● Latin American ● South Asian ● White
● Multiple authors of different racializations ● Not Applicable ● Unknown

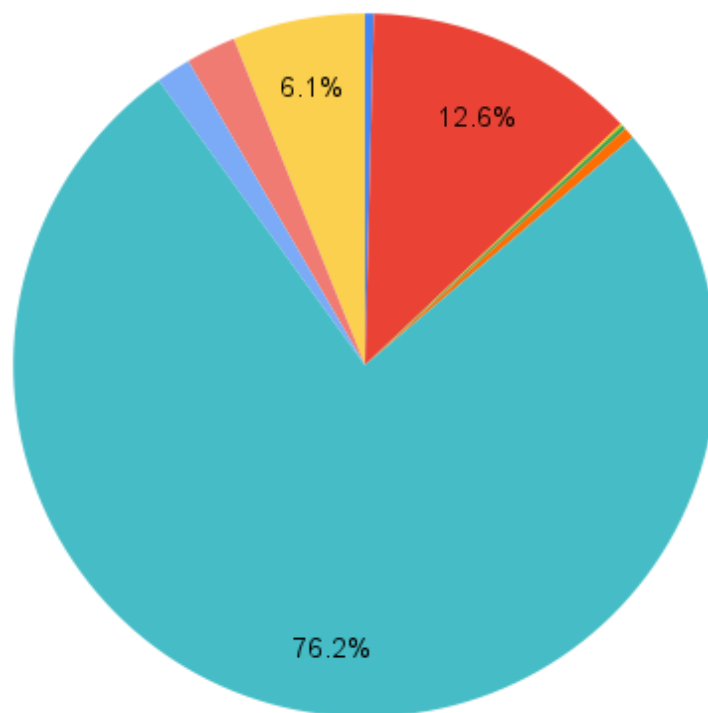


Table 12. Gender of Author Cited, Excerpted, Mentioned, or Reviewed in Magazine by Issue

	Issue	Gender										
		Female	Male	Multiple authors*		Not Applicable †		Unknown	Total			
Pseudopodia (1936-1937)	Vol. 1 No. 1	2	13.3%	13	86.7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	15
	Vol. 1 No. 2	6	20.7%	23	79.3%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	29
	Vol. 1 No. 3	8	36.4%	14	63.6%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	22
	Vol. 1 No. 4	12	27.3%	31	70.5%	1	2.3%	0	0%	0	0%	44
Pseudopodia Total	28	25.5%	81	73.6%	1	0.9%	0	0%	0	0%	110	
The North Georgia Review (1937-1941)	Vol. 2 No. 1	18	25.4%	52	73.2%	1	1.4%	0	0%	0	0%	71
	Vol. 2 No. 2	8	33.3%	16	66.7%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	24
	Vol. 2 No. 3	7	16.3%	35	81.4%	1	2.3%	0	0%	0	0%	43
	Vol. 2 No. 4	15	68.2%	6	27.3%	1	4.5%	0	0%	0	0%	22
	Vol. 3 No. 1	4	16.7%	19	79.2%	1	4.2%	0	0%	0	0%	24
	Vol. 3 No. 2	10	35.7%	17	60.7%	0	0%	0	0%	1	3.6%	28
	Vol. 3 No. 3-4	13	31.0%	27	64.3%	0	0%	0	0%	2	4.8%	42
	Vol. 4 No. 1	10	23.3%	30	69.8%	1	2.3%	2	4.7%	0	0%	43
	Vol. 4 No. 2-3	6	20.0%	20	66.7%	2	6.7%	1	3.3%	1	3.3%	30
	Vol. 4 No. 4	10	22.7%	29	65.9%	3	6.8%	2	4.5%	0	0%	44
	Vol. 5 No. 1	15	26.8%	36	64.3%	1	1.8%	3	5.4%	1	1.8%	56
	Vol. 5 No. 2	19	16.1%	85	72.0%	4	3.4%	5	4.2%	5	4.2%	118
	Vol. 5 No. 3-4	14	24.6%	41	71.9%	0	0%	2	3.5%	0	0%	57
	Vol. 6 No. 1-4	18	17.8%	73	72.3%	4	4.0%	4	4.0%	2	2.0%	101
North Georgia Review Total	167	23.8%	486	69.1%	19	2.7%	19	2.7%	12	1.7%	703	
South Today (1942- 1945)	Vol. 7 No. 1	5	23.8%	16	76.2%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	21
	Vol. 7 No. 2	4	7.8%	43	84.3%	3	5.9%	1	2.0%	0	0%	51
	Vol. 7 No. 3	6	30.0%	13	65.0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	5.0%	20
	Vol. 8 No. 1	23	28.0%	44	53.7%	4	4.9%	4	4.9%	7	8.5%	82
	Vol. 8. No. 2	2	13.3%	12	80.0%	0	0%	0	0%	1	6.7%	15
South Today Total	40	21.2%	128	67.7%	7	3.7%	5	2.6%	9	4.8%	189	
Total	Number	235		695		27		24		21		1,002
	Percent		23.5%		69.4%		2.7%		2.4%		2.1%	100%

* Co-authors of different genders. E.g. Erskine Caldwell (1903-1987) and Margaret Bourke-White (1904-1971), *Have You Seen Their Faces*, New York City: Modern Age Books Inc., 1937.

† Including institutional staff and writing groups, i.e. Federal Writers' Project.

Figure 12. Gender of Author Cited, Excerpted, Mentioned, or Reviewed in Magazine by Issue

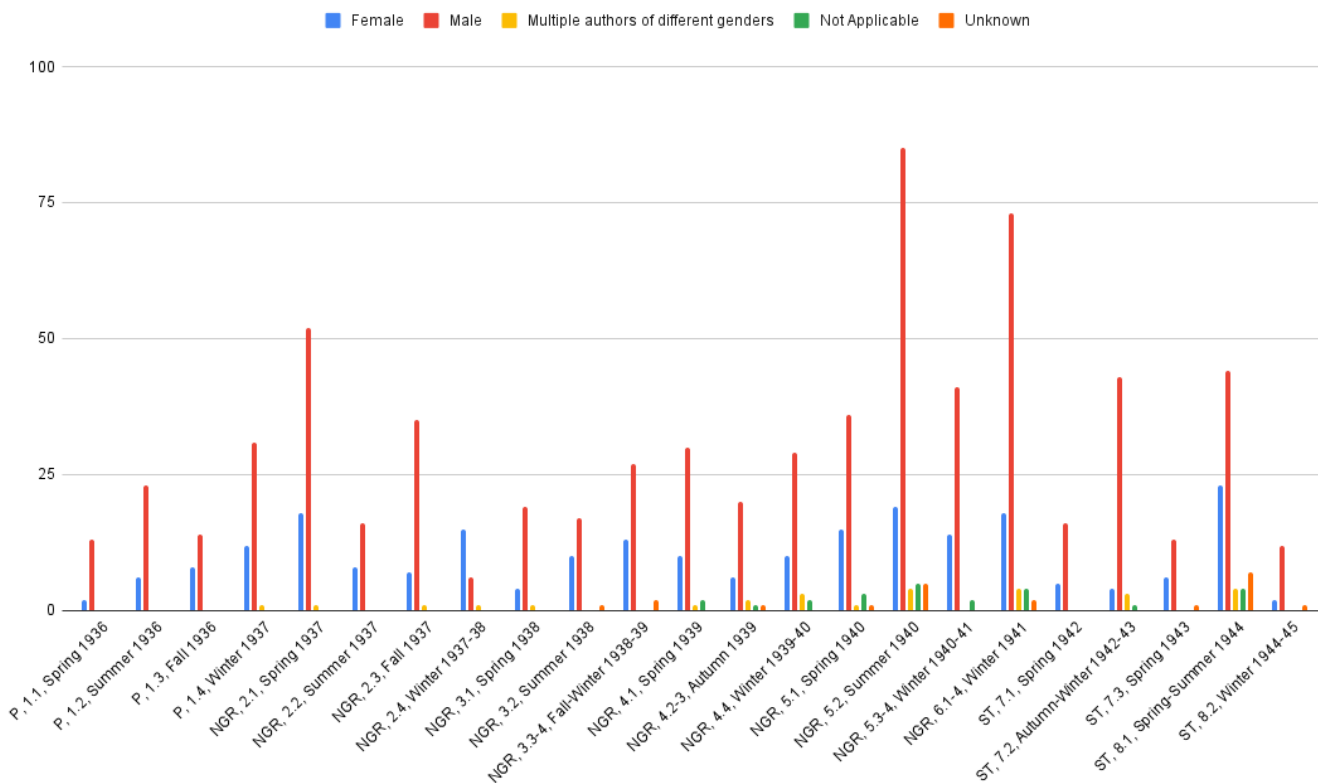


Figure 13. Gender of Author Cited, Excerpted, Mentioned, or Reviewed in Magazine (Total)

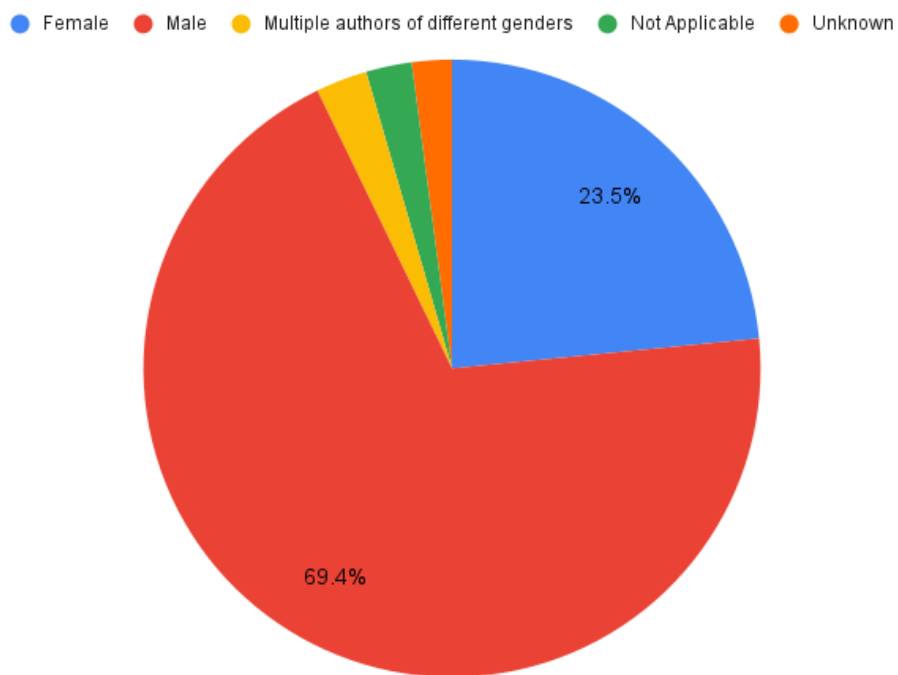


Table 13. Intersection of Gender and Racialization for Author Cited, Excerpted, Mentioned, or Reviewed in Magazine

	Female		Male		Co-authors of different genders	
Biracial/Multiracial	0	0%	4	0.4%	0	0%
Black	6	0.7%	117	12.8%	2	0.2%
East Asian	0	0%	1	0.1%	0	0%
Latin American	0	0%	2	0.2%	0	0%
South Asian	0	0%	5	0.5%	0	0%
White	212	23.1%	531	57.9%	21	2.3%
Co-authors of different racializations	0	0%	14	1.5%	2	0.2%

This table captures 917 out of 1,002 authors (91.5%) for whom both gender and racialization are known; excludes “not applicable” and “unknown” categories.

Figure 14. Intersection of Gender and Racialization for Author Cited, Excerpted, Mentioned, or Reviewed in Magazine

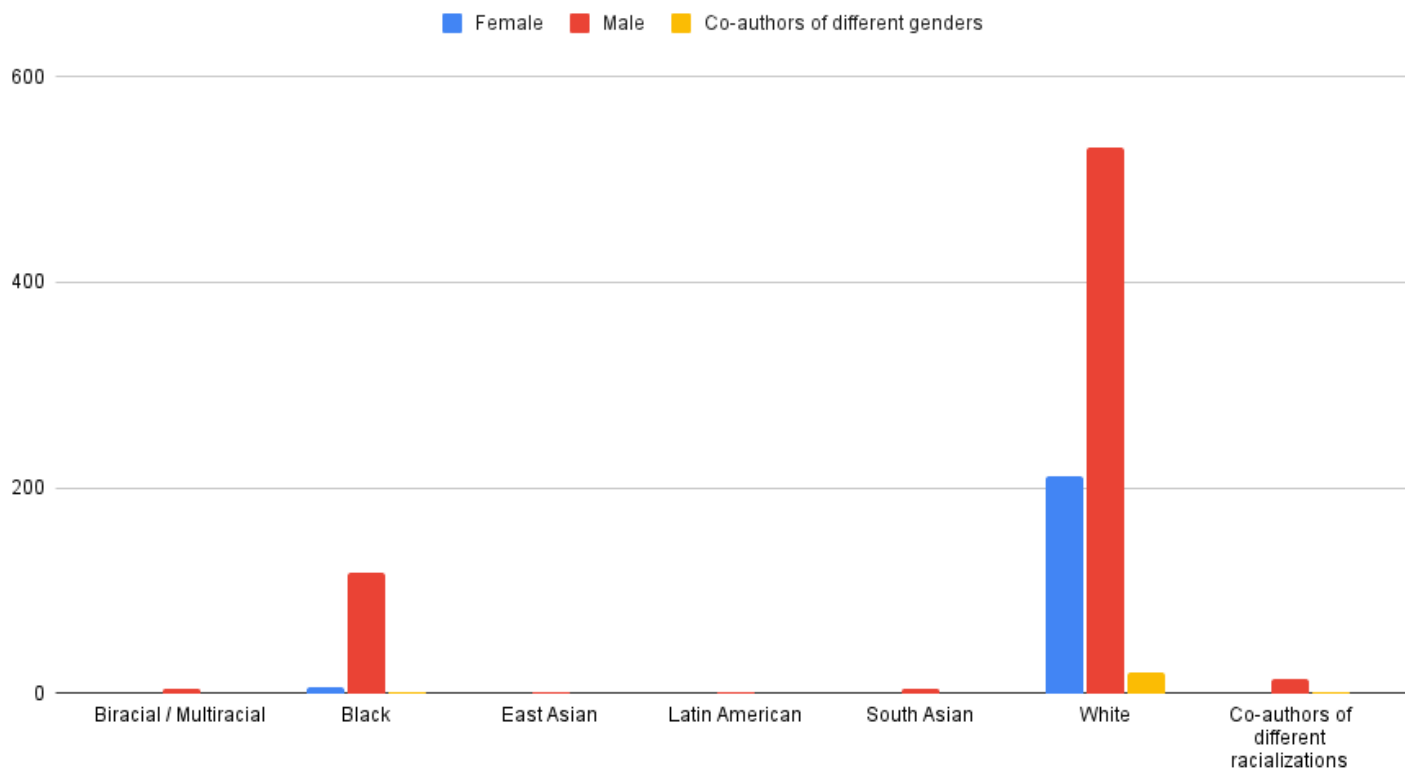


Table 14. Regional Identity of Author Cited, Excerpted, Mentioned, or Reviewed in Magazine by Issue

		Regional Identity of Author(s)								
Issue		Southern	Not Southern	Not Applicable		Unknown		Total		
Pseudopodia (1936-1937)	Vol. 1 No. 1	12	80.0%	3	20.0%	0	0%	0	0%	15
	Vol. 1 No. 2	25	86.2%	0	0%	0	0%	4	13.8%	29
	Vol. 1 No. 3	16	72.7%	5	22.7%	0	0%	1	4.5%	22
	Vol. 1 No. 4	23	52.3%	15	34.1%	5	11.4%	1	2.3%	44
Pseudopodia Total	76	69.1%	23	20.9%	5	4.5%	6	5.5%	110	
The North Georgia Review (1937-1941)	Vol. 2 No. 1	40	56.3%	25	35.2%	1	1.4%	5	7.0%	71
	Vol. 2 No. 2	13	54.2%	8	33.3%	1	4.2%	2	8.3%	24
	Vol. 2 No. 3	22	51.2%	10	23.3%	4	9.3%	7	16.3%	43
	Vol. 2 No. 4	18	81.8%	3	13.6%	1	4.5%	0	0%	22
	Vol. 3 No. 1	19	79.2%	4	16.7%	0	0%	1	4.2%	24
	Vol. 3 No. 2	21	75.0%	3	10.7%	0	0%	4	14.3%	28
	Vol. 3 No. 3-4	29	69.0%	6	14.3%	2	4.8%	5	11.9%	42
	Vol. 4 No. 1	17	39.5%	13	30.2%	8	18.6%	5	11.6%	43
	Vol. 4 No. 2-3	16	53.3%	8	26.7%	2	6.7%	4	13.3%	30
	Vol. 4 No. 4	31	70.5%	7	15.9%	2	4.5%	4	9.1%	44
	Vol. 5 No. 1	39	69.6%	9	16.1%	3	5.4%	5	8.9%	56
	Vol. 5 No. 2	87	73.7%	15	12.7%	6	5.1%	10	8.5%	118
	Vol. 5 No. 3-4	44	77.2%	3	5.3%	8	14.0%	2	3.5%	57
	Vol. 6 No. 1-4	75	74.3%	12	11.9%	7	6.9%	7	6.9%	101
North Georgia Review Total	471	67.0%	126	17.9%	45	6.4%	61	8.7%	703	
South Today (1942- 1945)	Vol. 7 No. 1	8	38.1%	7	33.3%	2	9.5%	4	19.0%	21
	Vol. 7 No. 2	20	39.2%	16	31.4%	10	19.6%	5	9.8%	51
	Vol. 7 No. 3	8	40.0%	7	35.0%	1	5.0%	4	20.0%	20
	Vol. 8 No. 1	21	25.6%	27	32.9%	11	13.4%	23	28.0%	82
	Vol. 8. No. 2	4	26.7%	7	46.7%	1	6.7%	3	20.0%	15
South Today Total	61	32.3%	64	33.3%	25	13.2%	39	20.6%	189	
Total	Number	608		213		75		106		1,002
	Percent	60.7%		21.3%		7.5%		10.6%		100%

Not Applicable in this context refers to authors from outside the U.S. and writing groups not associated with a region.

Unknown refers to American authors for whom more specific regional information could not be ascertained.

Table 15. Racialization of Author Categorized by Type of Reference

	Citation		Excerpt		Mention		Review		Total
Biracial	2	0.6%	0	0%	2	0.5%	0	0%	4
Black	37	12.2%	2	6.9%	59	14.2%	28	11.0%	126
East Asian	0	0%	0	0%	1	0.2%	0	0%	1
Latin American	0	0%	0	0%	2	0.5%	0	0%	2
South Asian	2	0.6%	0	0%	3	0.7%	0	0%	5
White	221	72.9%	19	65.5%	318	76.6%	206	80.8%	764
Multiple authors	10	3.3%	1	3.4%	4	1.0%	1	0.4%	16
N/A	9	3.0%	2	6.9%	10	2.4%	2	0.8%	23
Unknown	22	7.3%	5	17.2%	16	3.9%	18	7.1%	61
Total	303		29		415		255		1,002

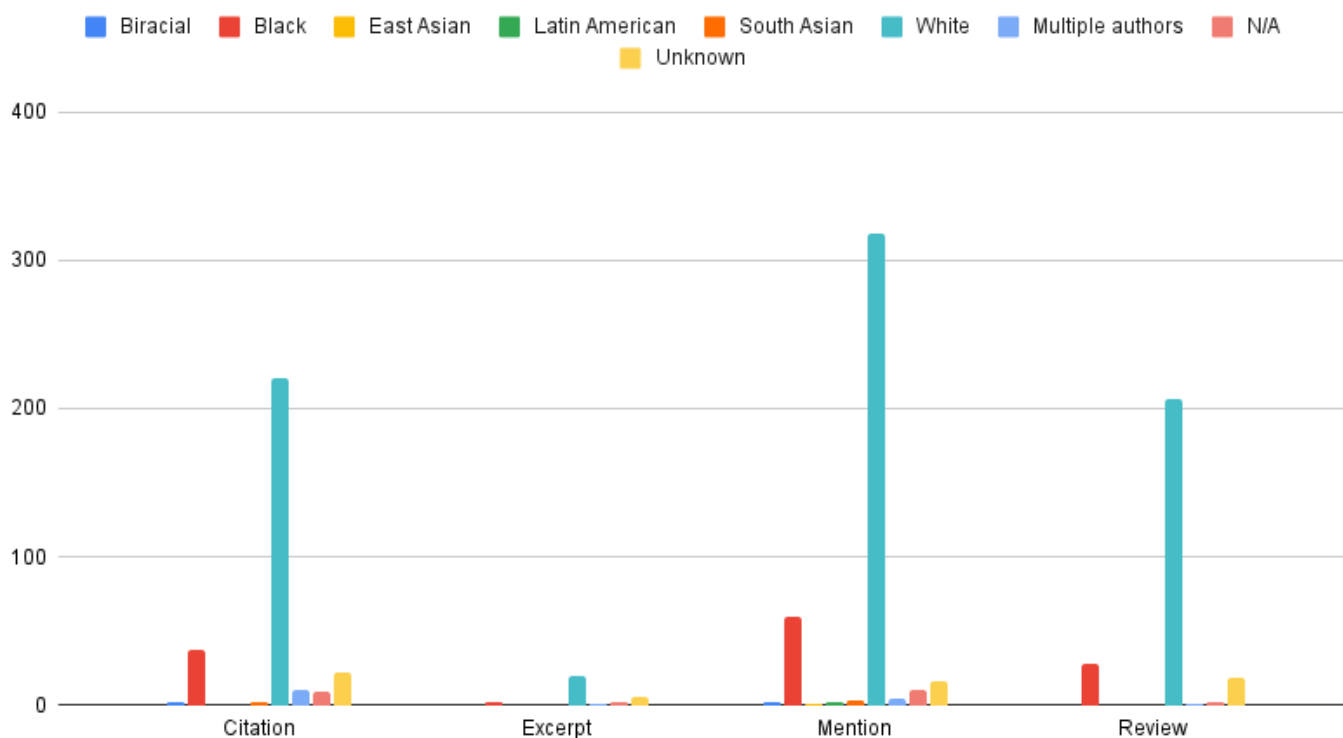
Figure 15. Racialization of Author Categorized by Type of Reference

Table 16. Gender of Author Categorized by Type of Reference

	Citation		Excerpt		Mention		Review		Total
Female	72	23.8%	7	24.1%	83	20.0%	73	28.6%	235
Male	199	65.7%	19	65.5%	304	73.3%	173	67.8%	695
Multiple authors	12	4.0%	0	0%	11	2.7%	4	1.6%	27
N/A	9	3.0%	2	6.9%	11	2.7%	2	0.7%	24
Unknown	11	3.6%	1	3.4%	6	1.4%	3	1.2%	21
Total	303		29		415		255		1,002

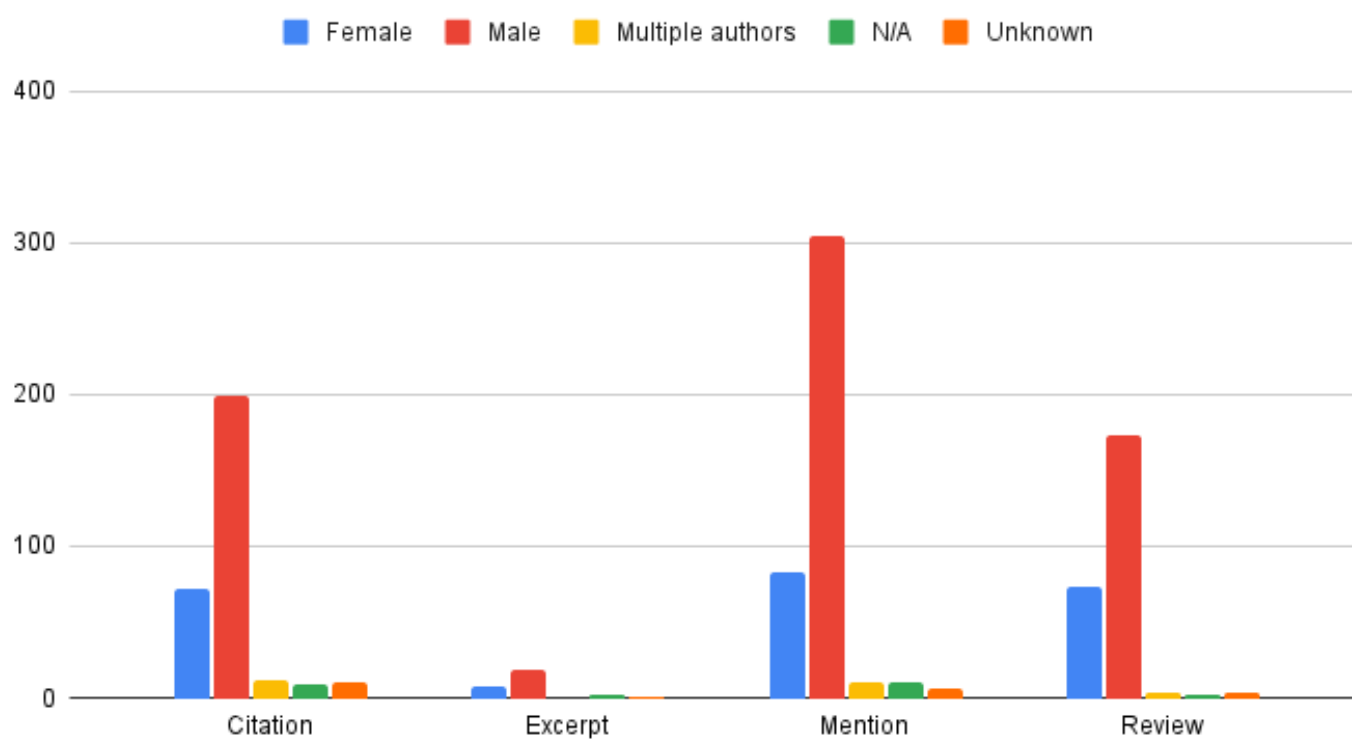
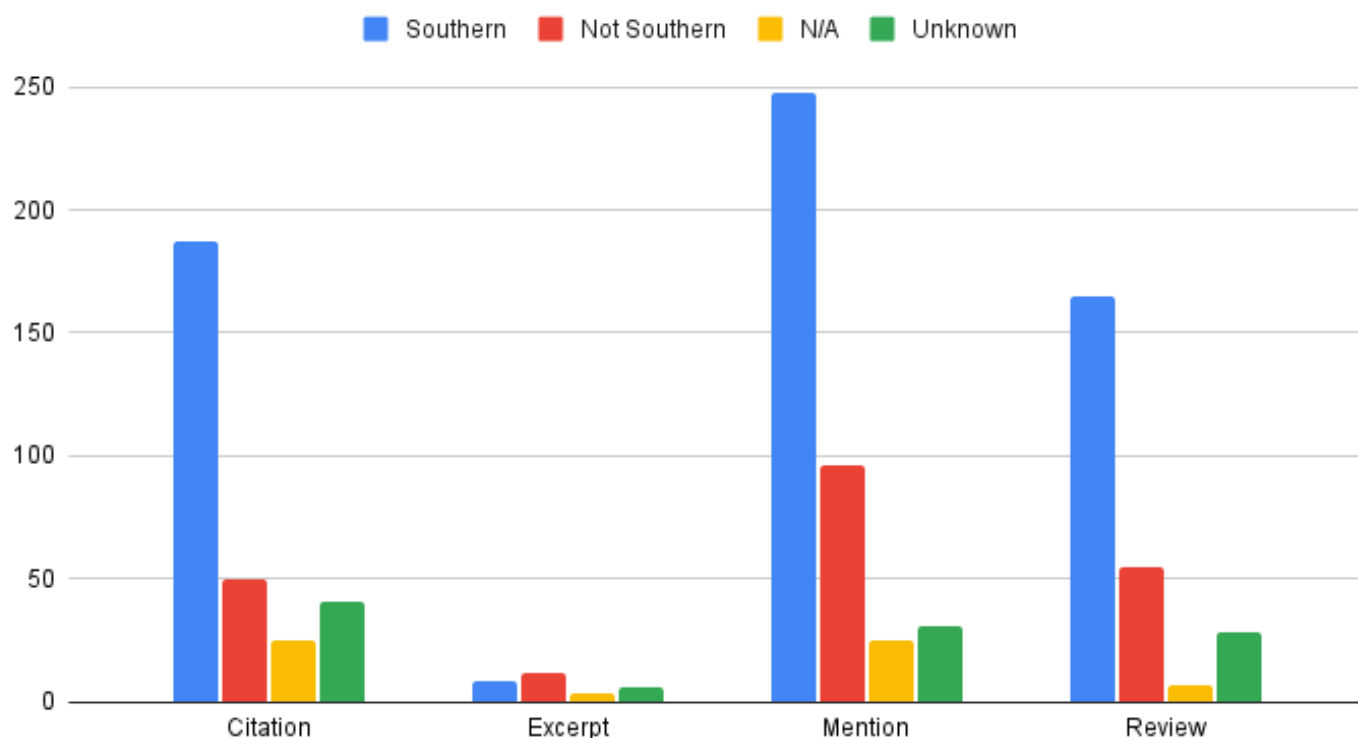
Figure 16. Gender of Author Categorized by Type of Reference

Table 17. Regional Identity of Author Categorized by Type of Reference

	Citation		Excerpt		Mention		Review		Total	
Southern	187	61.7%	8	27.6%	248	59.8%	165	64.7%	608	60.5%
Not Southern	50	16.5%	12	41.4%	96	23.1%	55	21.6%	213	21.3%
N/A	25	8.3%	3	10.3%	25	6.0%	7	2.7%	75	7.5%
Unknown	41	13.5%	6	20.7%	31	7.5%	28	11.0%	106	10.6%
Total	303		29		415		255		1,002	

Note: Of the 890 American-authored and American co-authored texts (88.8%), 60.5% of those were born or had lived in the South.

Figure 17. Regional Identity of Author Categorized by Type of Reference

Note on the differences between these four categories:

- ❖ **Citations (30.2%)** primarily include citational references to books in reading lists (i.e. recommended books, new releases, etc.).
- ❖ **Excerpts (2.9%)** refer to chapters and articles reprinted in *South Today* (i.e. not original contributions to the magazine).
- ❖ **Mentions (41.4%)** refer to any mention of a text, however brief, that is not a citation or review. Mentions are often found in editorials, essays, and Smith’s “Dope With Lime” column where new releases and upcoming reviews are introduced.
- ❖ **Reviews (25.4%)** (which usually have their own section in the magazine) refer to any critical reflection on a specific text. Reviews can range in length from half-column reviews to multiple pages. As such, they constitute one of the more serious forms of textual engagement in *South Today*.

Table 18. List and Frequency of Texts Most Cited, Excerpted, Mentioned, and Reviewed in Magazine

Text	Author	Frequency
<i>The Mind of the South</i> (1937)	W. J. Cash (1900-1941)	10
<i>Gone With the Wind</i> (1936)	Margaret Mitchell (1900-1949)	9
<i>The Heart is a Lonely Hunter</i> (1940)	Carson McCullers (1917-1967)	9
<i>The Southern Regions of the United States</i> (1936)	Howard W. Odum (1884-1954)	9
<i>Caste and Class in a Southern Town</i> (1937)	John Dollard (1900-1980)	8
<i>Sharecroppers All</i> (1941)	Arthur Raper (1899-1979); Ira De A. Reid (1901-1968)	8
<i>These Are Our Lives</i> (1939)	Federal Writers' Project	8
<i>Dusk of Dawn</i> (1940)	W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963)	7
<i>Native Son</i> (1940)	Richard Wright (1908-1960)	7
<i>After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South</i> (1939)	Hortense Powdermaker (1900-1970)	6
<i>Butcher Bird</i> (1936)	Reuben Davis (1888-1966)	6
<i>Calendar of Sin</i> (1931)	Evelyn Scott (1893-1963)	6
<i>Children of Strangers</i> (1937)	Lyle Saxon (1891-1946)	6
<i>Lamb in His Bosom</i> (1933)	Caroline Pafford Miller (1903-1992)	6
<i>Light in August</i> (1932)	William Faulkner (1897-1962)	6
<i>Look Homeward, Angel</i> (1929)	Thomas Wolfe (1900-1938)	6
<i>River of Earth</i> (1940)	James Still (1906-2001)	6
<i>The Negro in Virginia</i> (1940)	WPA Writers Project	6
<i>Tobacco Road</i> (1932)	Erskine Caldwell (1903-1987)	6
<i>A Southerner Discovers the South</i> (1938)	Jonathan Daniels (1902-1981)	5
<i>Along this Way</i> (1933)	James Weldon Johnson (1871-1938)	5
<i>Courthouse Square</i> (1936)	Hamilton Basso (1904-1964)	5
<i>Forty Acres and Steel Mules</i> (1938)	Herman Clarence Nixon (1886-1967)	5
<i>Human Geography of the South</i> (1932)	Rupert B. Vance (1899-1967)	5
<i>Souls of Black Folk</i> (1903)	W. E. B. Du Bois (1869-1963)	5
<i>The Negro Family in the United States</i> (1939)	E. Franklin Frazier (1894-1962)	5
<i>The New Republic</i> (1914-present)	Bruce Bliven (1916-2002), editor	5
<i>You Have Seen Their Faces</i> (1937)	Erskine Caldwell (1903-1987); Margaret Bourke-White (1904-1971)	5

Note: This table records texts mentioned five or more times in *South Today*.

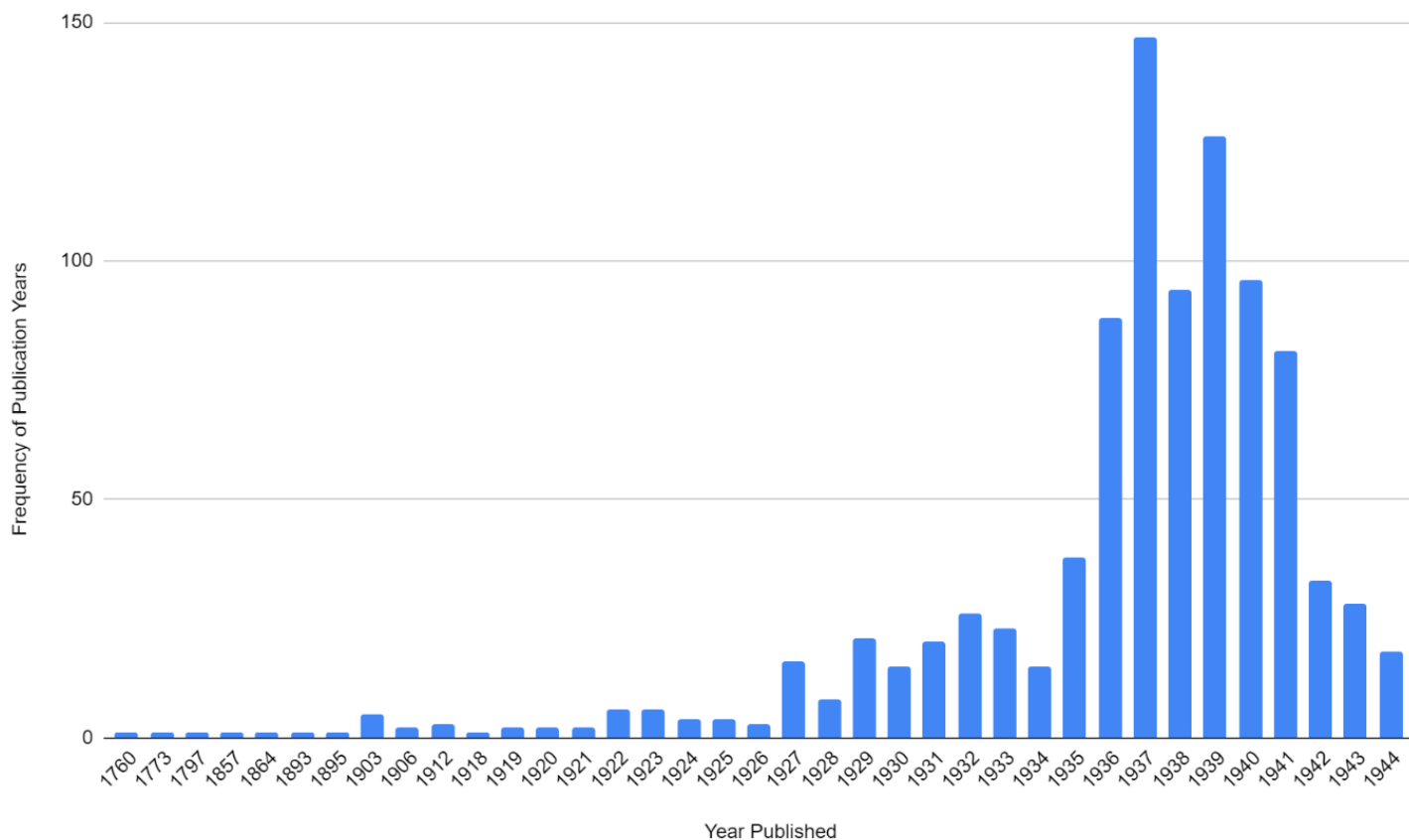
Table 19. List and Frequency of Publishing Houses for Texts Cited, Excerpted, Mentioned, and Reviewed in Magazine

Publishing House	Frequency
Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press	105
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons	65
Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company	61
New York: Viking Press	58
New York: Macmillan Publishing Company	54
New York: Harper and Brothers	46
New York: Harcourt Brace and Company	37
New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc.	26
Boston: Little Brown and Company	22
Harlow: Longmans Green and Co.	18
New York: Farrar & Rinehart	18
New York: Boni & Liveright	17
New York: Doubleday Doran & Company	17
New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith	17
New Haven: Yale University Press	16
New York: Appleton-Century Co.	16
New York: Random House	16
Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company	14
Boston: E.P. Dutton & Co.	12
New York: Henry Holt & Company	11
New York: Reynal & Hitchcock	11
New York: Modern Age Books Inc.	10
New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co.	10
New York: William Morrow and Company	10
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press	9
New York: Harrison Smith & Robert Haas	9
New York: The John Day Company	9
New York: Duell Sloan and Pearce	8
New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons	8
New York: Julian Messner Inc.	8
New York: Robert M. McBride & Company	7
New York: Simon and Schuster	7
New York: W. W. Norton & Company	7
Oxford: Oxford University Press	6
Chicago: A. G. McClurg	5
New York: Covici-Friede	5

New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company	5
Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company	5
Hoboken: Prentice Hall	4
Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press	4
New York: Lee Furman Inc.	4
Caldwell: The Caxton Printers Ltd.	3
Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books	3
New York: Arno Press	3
New York: Columbia University Press	3
New York: International Publishers	3
New York: Literary Guild of America	3
New York: Robert Speller & Sons Publishers	3
New York: Thomas Seltzer Inc.	3
The Annals	3
Washington DC: American Council on Education	3
Washington: Associates in Negro Folk Education	3
Washington: The Associated Publishers Inc.	3
Boston: Sherman French & Co.	2
British Foster Parent's Plan for War Children	2
Chicago: Willett Clark & Co.	2
London: Constable & Co.	2
London: Institute of Human Relations by the Yale University Press	2
New York: Dial Press	2
New York: P. F. Collier and Son	2
Petersburg: The Dietz Press	2
Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press	2
St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby Co.	2
Washington: Associates in Negro Folk Education	2

This table records publishing houses mentioned two or more times in *South Today*.

Figure 18. Frequency of Publication Years for Books Cited, Excerpted, Mentioned, or Reviewed in the Magazine (Excluding Periodicals and Unknowns)



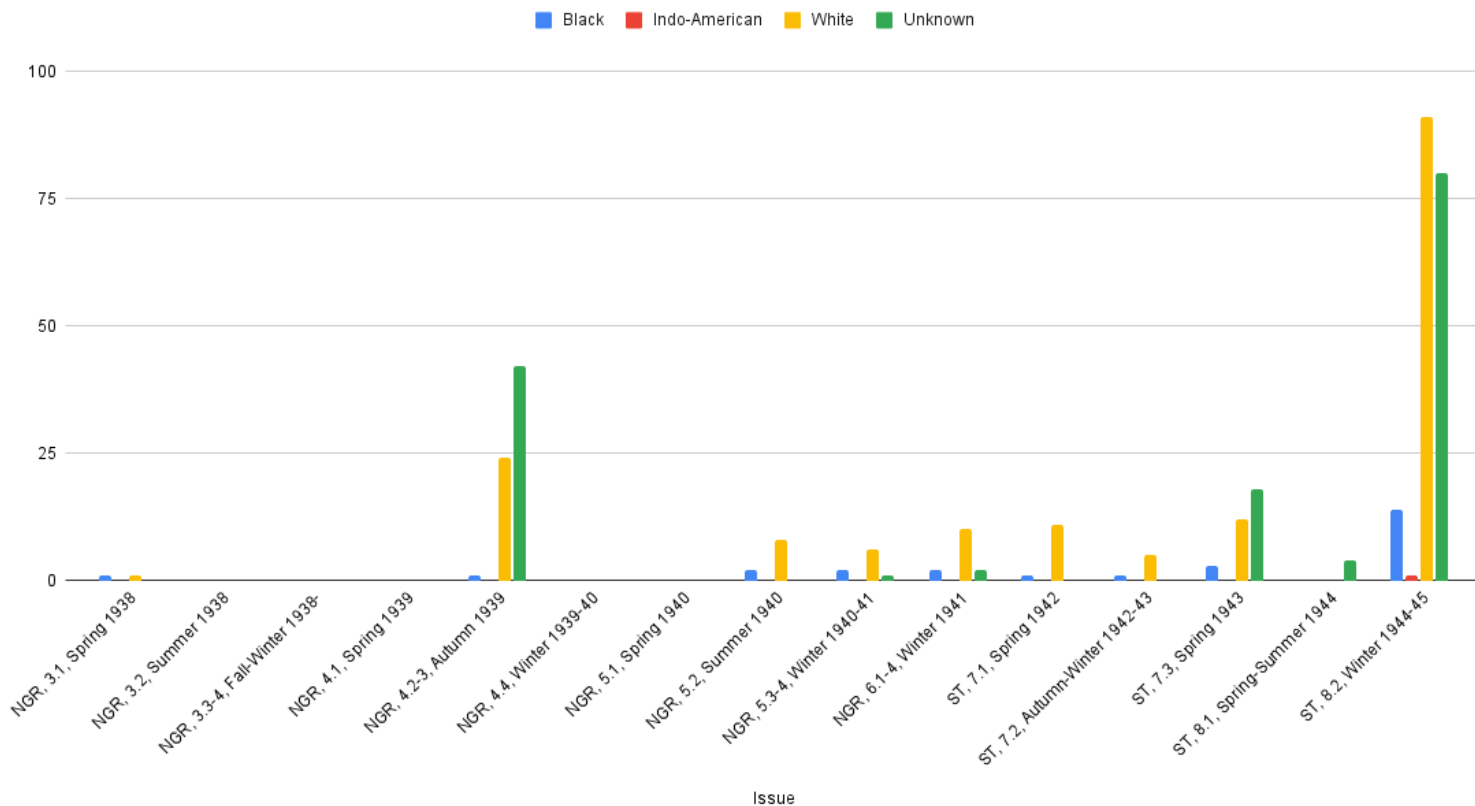
This graph illustrates that the books cited, excerpted, mentioned, or reviewed in *South Today* were largely contemporary and new releases.

This graph excludes the 31 periodicals (which span multiple years) mentioned in *South Today* and 31 unknown dates. The remaining total of 940 books are represented in this graph.

Table 20. Racialization of Forum Respondents Published in Magazine by Issue

		Racialization								
	Issue No.	White		Black		Indo-American		Unknown	Total	
Pseudopodia (1936-1937)	Vol. 1 No. 1									
	Vol. 1 No. 2									
	Vol. 1 No. 3									
	Vol. 1 No. 4									
Pseudopodia Total										
The North Georgia Review (1937-1941)	Vol. 2 No. 1									
	Vol. 2 No. 2									
	Vol. 2 No. 3									
	Vol. 2 No. 4									
	Vol. 3 No. 1	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	0	0%	0	0%	2
	Vol. 3 No. 2									
	Vol. 3 No. 3-4									
	Vol. 4 No. 1									
	Vol. 4 No. 2-3	24	35.8%	1	1.5%	0	0%	42	62.7%	67
	Vol. 4 No. 4									
	Vol. 5 No. 1									
	Vol. 5 No. 2	8	80.0%	2	20.0%	0	0%	0	0%	10
	Vol. 5 No. 3-4	6	66.7%	2	22.2%	0	0%	1	11.1%	9
	Vol. 6 No. 1-4	10	71.4%	2	14.3%	0	0%	2	14.3%	14
North Georgia Review Total	49	48.0%	8	7.8%	0	0%	45	44.1%	102	
South Today (1942- 1945)	Vol. 7 No. 1	11	91.7%	1	8.3%	0	0%	0	0%	12
	Vol. 7 No. 2	5	83.3%	1	16.7%	0	0%	0	0%	6
	Vol. 7 No. 3	12	36.4%	3	9.1%	0	0%	18	54.5%	33
	Vol. 8 No. 1	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	4	100%	4
	Vol. 8. No. 2	91	48.9%	14	7.5%	1	0.5%	80	43.0%	186
South Today Total	119	49.4%	19	7.9%	1	0.4%	102	42.3%	241	
Total	Number	168		27		1		147	343	
	Percent	49.0%		7.9%		0.3%		42.9%	100%	

Figure 19. Racialization of Forum Respondents Published in Magazine by Issue



This graph begins at Spring 1938 when the first forum was published.

Figure 20. Racialization of Forum Respondents Published in Magazine (Total)

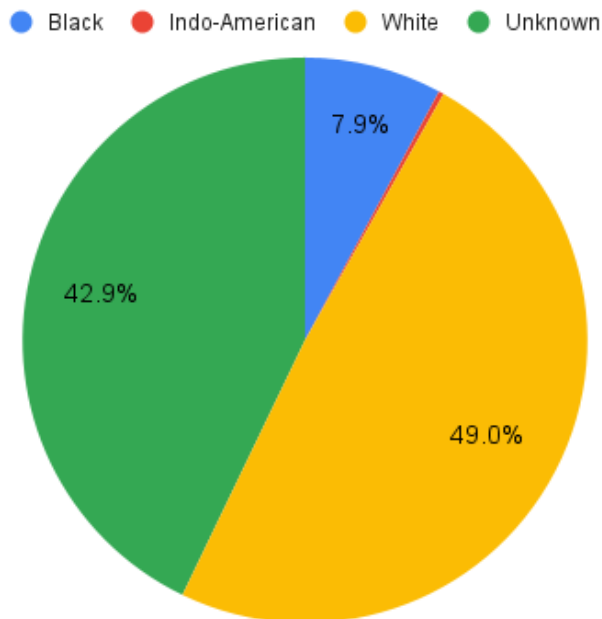
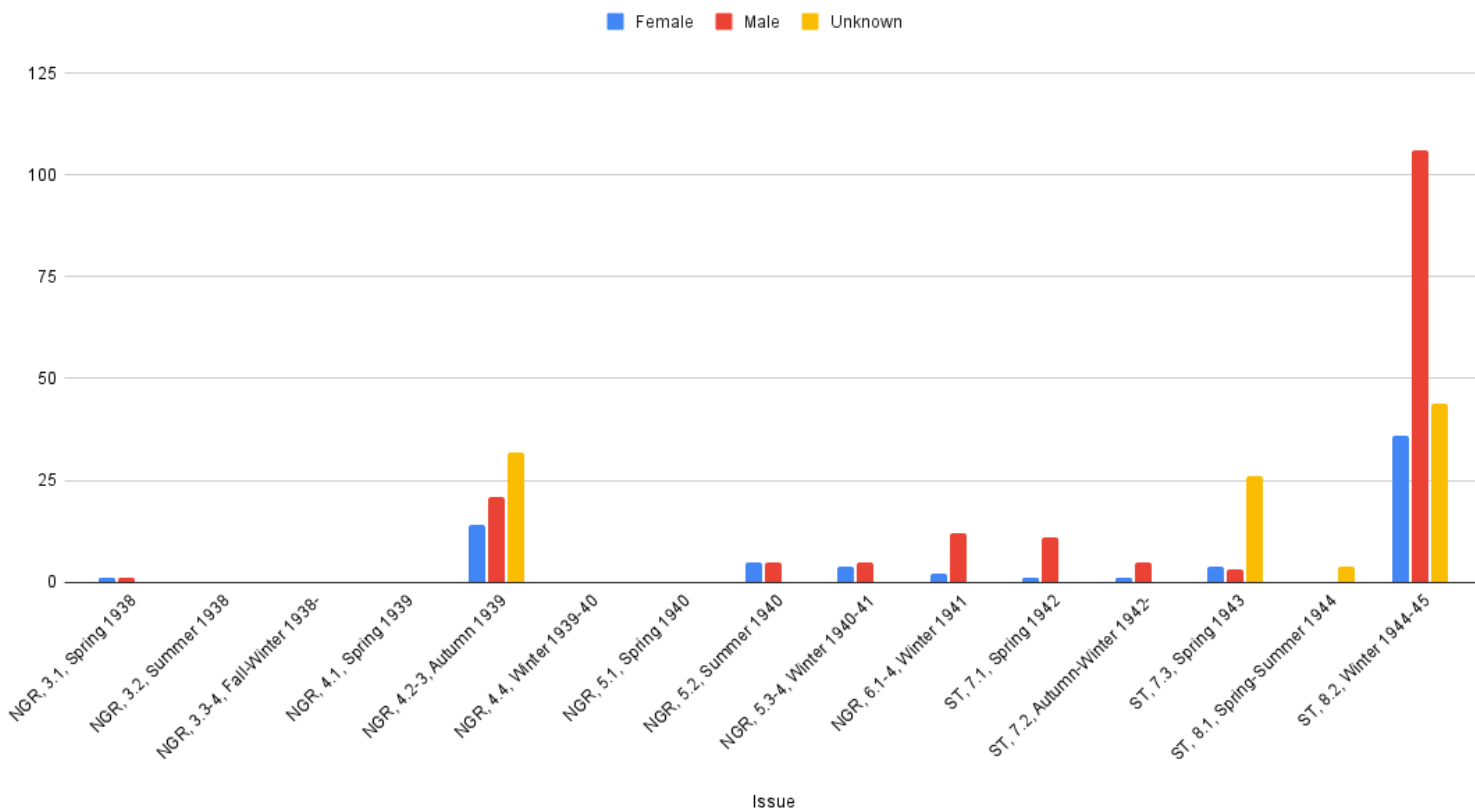


Table 21. Gender of Forum Respondents Published in Magazine by Issue

		Genders of Readers						
	Issue No.	Female		Male		Unknown*	Total	
Pseudopodia (1936-1937)	Vol. 1 No. 1							
	Vol. 1 No. 2							
	Vol. 1 No. 3							
	Vol. 1 No. 4							
Pseudopodia Total								
The North Georgia Review (1937-1941)	Vol. 2 No. 1							
	Vol. 2 No. 2							
	Vol. 2 No. 3							
	Vol. 2 No. 4							
	Vol. 3 No. 1	1	50.0%	1	50.0%	0	0%	2
	Vol. 3 No. 2							
	Vol. 3 No. 3-4							
	Vol. 4 No. 1							
	Vol. 4 No. 2-3	14	20.9%	21	31.3%	32	47.8%	67
	Vol. 4 No. 4							
	Vol. 4 No. 5							
	Vol. 5 No. 1	5	50.0%	5	50.0%	0	0%	10
	Vol. 5 No. 2	4	44.4%	5	55.5%	0	0%	9
	Vol. 5 No. 3-4							
	Vol. 6 No. 1-4	2	14.3%	12	85.7%	0	0%	14
	North Georgia Review Total	26	25.5%	44	43.1%	32	31.4%	102
South Today (1942- 1945)	Vol. 7 No. 1	1	8.3%	11	91.7%	0	0%	12
	Vol. 7 No. 2	1	16.7%	5	83.3%	0	0%	6
	Vol. 7 No. 3	4	12.1%	3	9.1%	26	78.8%	33
	Vol. 8 No. 1	0	0%	0	0%	4	100%	4
	Vol. 8. No. 2	36	19.4%	106	57.0%	44	23.7%	186
South Today Total	42	17.4%	125	51.9%	74	30.7%	241	
Total	Number	68		169		106	343	
	Percent	19.8%		49.3%		30.9%	100%	

* The high percentage of unknowns are due to the use of respondents' initials.

Figure 21. Gender of Forum Respondents Published in Magazine by Issue



This graph begins at Spring 1938 when the first forum was published.

Figure 22. Gender of Forum Respondents Published in Magazine (Total)

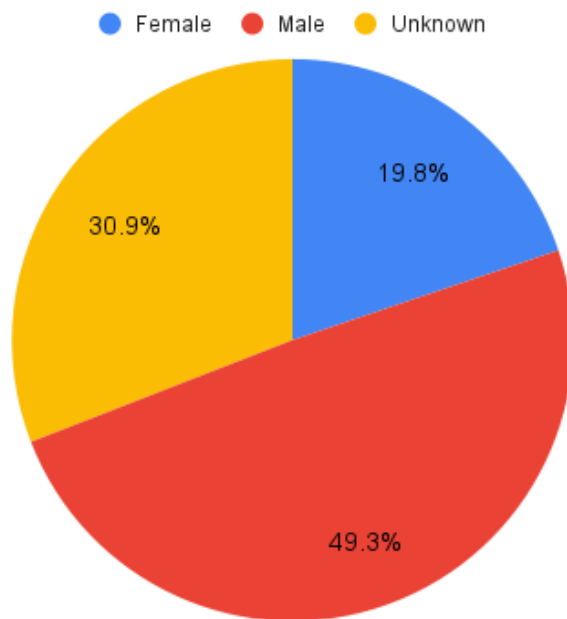


Table 22. Intersection of Gender and Racialization for Forum Respondents

	Female		Male	
Black	6	3.3%	15	8.3%
Indo-American	0	0%	1	0.6%
White	38	21.1%	120	66.7%

This table captures 180 out of 343 forum respondents (52.5%) for whom both gender and racialization are known.

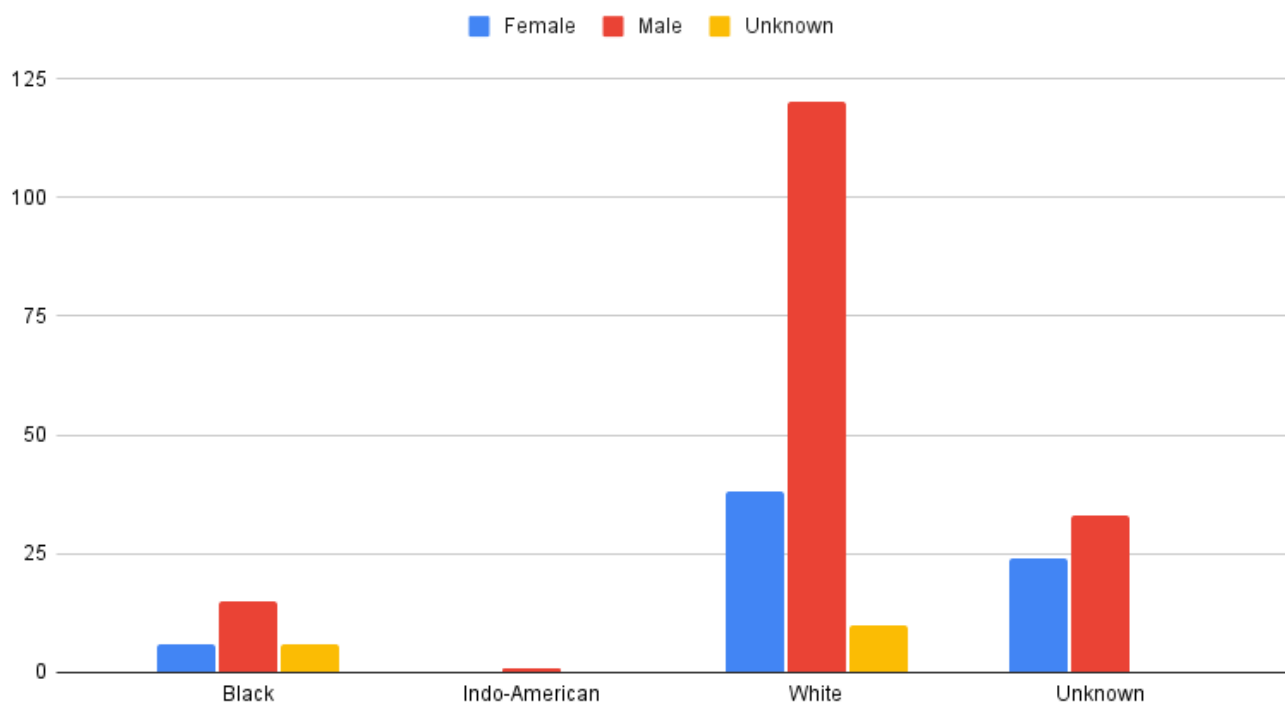
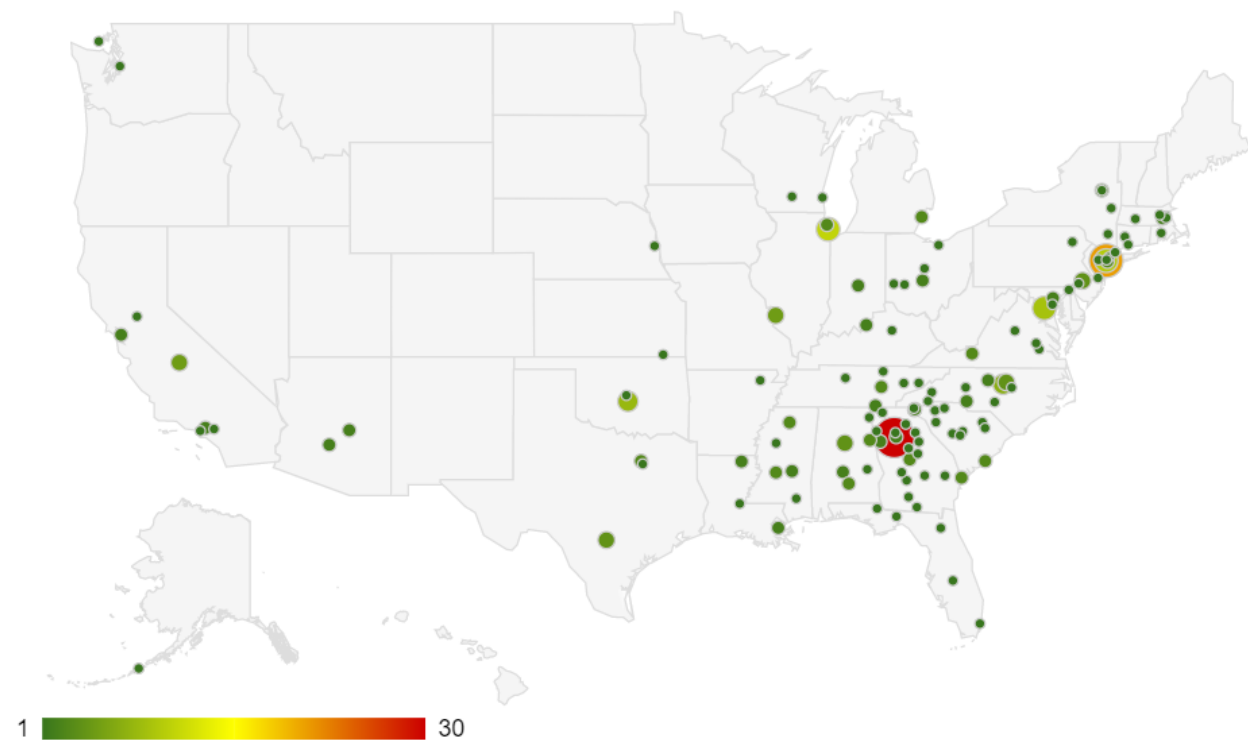
Figure 23. Intersection of Gender and Racialization for Forum Respondents

Figure 24. Location of Forum Respondents



Note: Please note this map of forum participants' locations in the U.S. does not reflect the following readers: Rhoda Levett from Victoria, British Columbia, Canada; "An American citizen now living in South America" in Brazil; or C.R.S., "Lieutenant U. S. Navy, somewhere in the Pacific," or "A soldier in the Pacific," who were stationed in the Pacific.

Map 2. Locations of Forum Respondents (Interactive)

See ArcGIS Online map: <https://arcg.is/19CP1T0>.

Table 23. Subscription and Pamphlet Sales, December 1944 - December 1945

Date	Regular subscriptions	Active & Sustaining subscriptions	Gift subscriptions	Total Subs Purchased	Single Copy Orders (50 cents)	Back Issues (50 cents)	There are Things To Do (Pamphlet - 5 cents)	There Are Things To Say (Pamphlet - 5 cents)	Buying a New World With Old Confederate Bills (Pamphlet - 10 cents)	Two Men and A Bargain (Pamphlet - 10 cents)	The Earth: A Common Ground (Pamphlet - 10 cents)	Humans in Bondage (Pamphlet - 10 cents)	White Christian and His Conscience (Pamphlet - 10 cents)	Assorted Pamphlets	Total Single Copies/Pamphlets Purchased	Total Receipts	Total Disbursements
1944-12	36	1	32	69	12		315		209	5					541		
1945-01	214.5	22	101	337.5	18		1,649	692	36	56	28	10			2,489	\$589.39	
1945-02	242	24	116	382	298		1,168	1,029	25	2,024	123	2			4,669	\$878.27	
1945-03	227	27	115	369	246		2,514	219	142	90	34	12			3,257	\$807.62	
1945-04	185	7	28	220	31		1,525	26	229	37	8	11			1,867	\$351.91	
1945-05	185	8	25	218	20		482	21	3	3,004	2				3,532	\$486.03	
1945-06	49.5	4	7	60.5			1,782	58	15	34	5				1,894	\$181.03	
1945-07	48		7	55	114		887	49	17	43	32		951		2,093	\$213.66	
1945-08	49	4	10	63	11		1,958	20	12	20	30		1,479		3,530	\$280.77	
1945-09	5			5	16		373	2	208	213	8		1,623		2,443	\$150.61	
1945-10	20			20	21		266	17	12	211	2		2,206	112	2,847	\$175.84	
1945-11	11			11	17	8	514		100	50	50		461	99	1,299	\$125.64	
1945-12					13		788	1		3			50		855	\$67.50	
Total	1,272	97	441	1,810	817	8	14,221	2,134	1,008	5,790	322	35	6,770	211	31,316	\$4,308.27	\$8,226.92

Data collected from "Account Book," Box 94, Folder 13, Lillian Eugenia Smith Papers, ms1283a, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, The University of Georgia Libraries.

Table 24. Active, Sustaining, Regular, and Continuing/Advance Subscription Purchases

Issue	Active	Sustaining	Regular	1 1/2 Years	2 Years	2 1/2 Years	3 Years	3 1/2 Years	Total
Vol 7 No 1	4	1	5	0	0	0	1	0	11
Vol 7 No 2	1	1	6	0	0	0	1	0	9
Vol 7 No 3	6	0	32	0	0	0	1	1	40
Vol 8 No 1	30	9	658	1	30	0	1	0	729
Vol 8 No 2	30	5	1,099	5	34	0	5	0	1,178
Vol 9 No 1 & 2 (never published)	45	16	561	3	24	1	3	0	653
Vol 10 No 1 & 2 (never published)	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	9
Total	116	32	2,370	9	88	1	12	1	2,629

Subscriptions purchased prior to Vol. 8 No. 1 (Spring-Summer 1944) are vastly incomplete due to most records being lost in a November 1944 fire. However, subscriptions purchased after that point indicate that subscription sales were on the rise and that most subscribers renewed, despite *South Today* being discontinued before vol. 9 no. 1 was published.

All subscription data derives from the 1944-1945 "Address cards," Box 95-97, Lillian Eugenia Smith Papers (ms1283a). Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, The University of Georgia Libraries.

Terms:

- ❖ **Active:** "Active subscribers pay \$5.00 annually and are allowed 6 subscriptions either to names they indicate or to others we suggest" (Smith and Snelling, "The Way Things Are" 61).
- ❖ **Sustaining:** "Sustaining subscribers pay from \$10.00 to \$25.00 to \$100.00 as their incomes and interest permit. They are allowed subscriptions if they wish them; many indicate their wish that the money be used where it is needed most" (Smith and Snelling, "The Way Things Are" 61)
- ❖ **Regular:** \$1 for 4 quarterly issues (25 cents each) or two semi-annual issues (50 cents each)
- ❖ **1 ½ Years, 2 Years, 2 ½ Years, 3 Years, 3 ½ Years:** Copies purchased in advance of subscription year.

Figure 25. Active, Sustaining, Regular, and Continuing/Advance Subscription Purchases

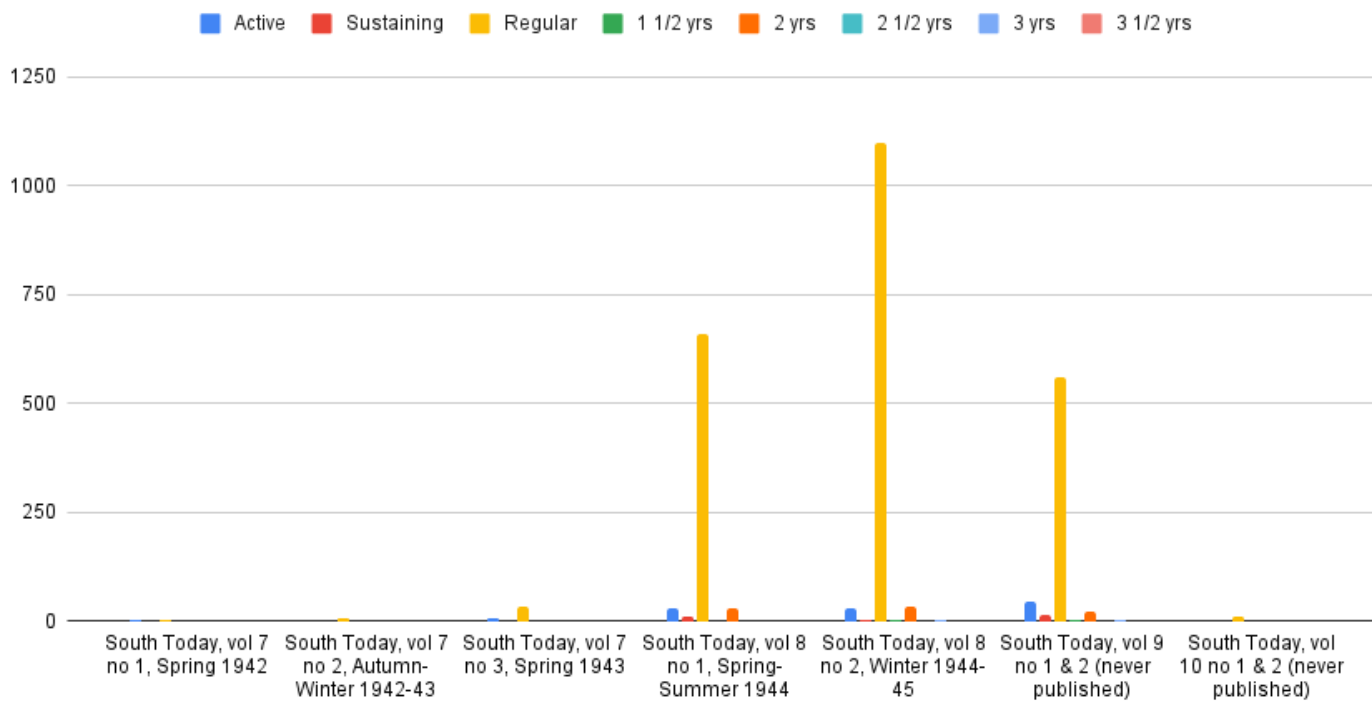
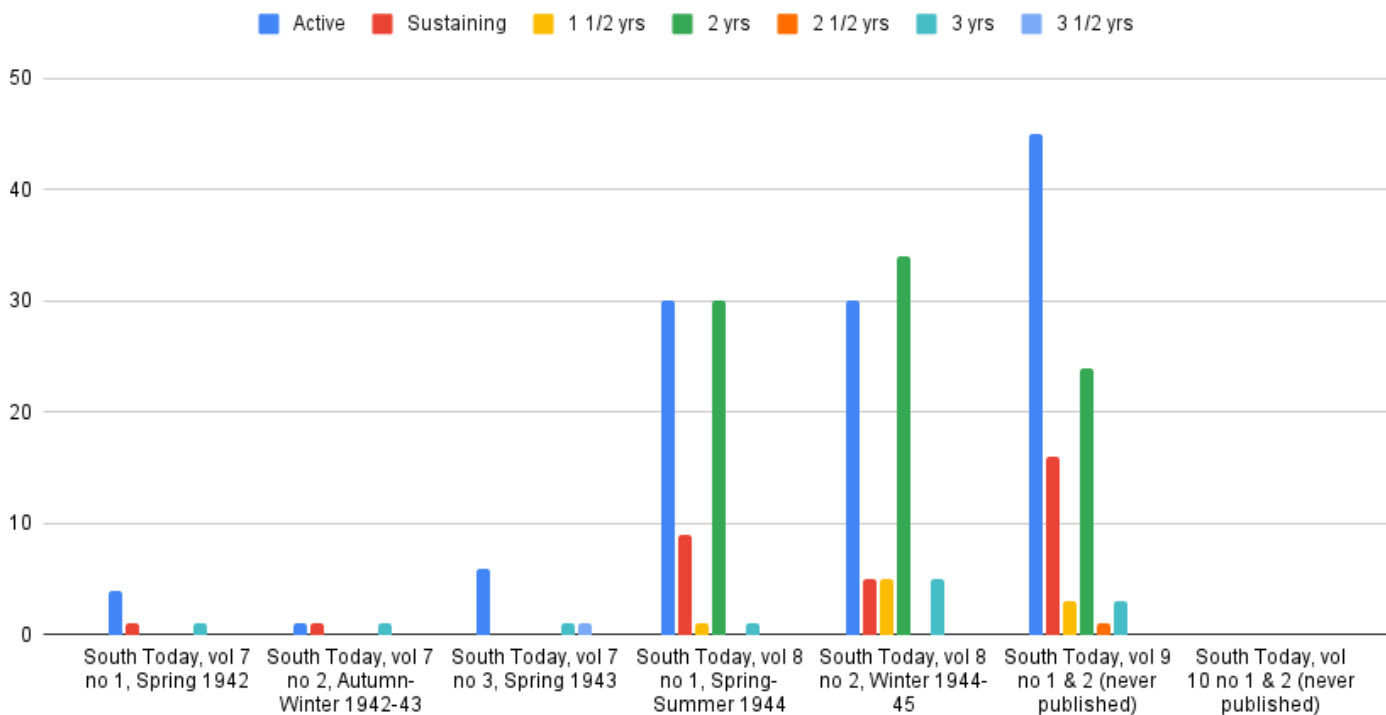


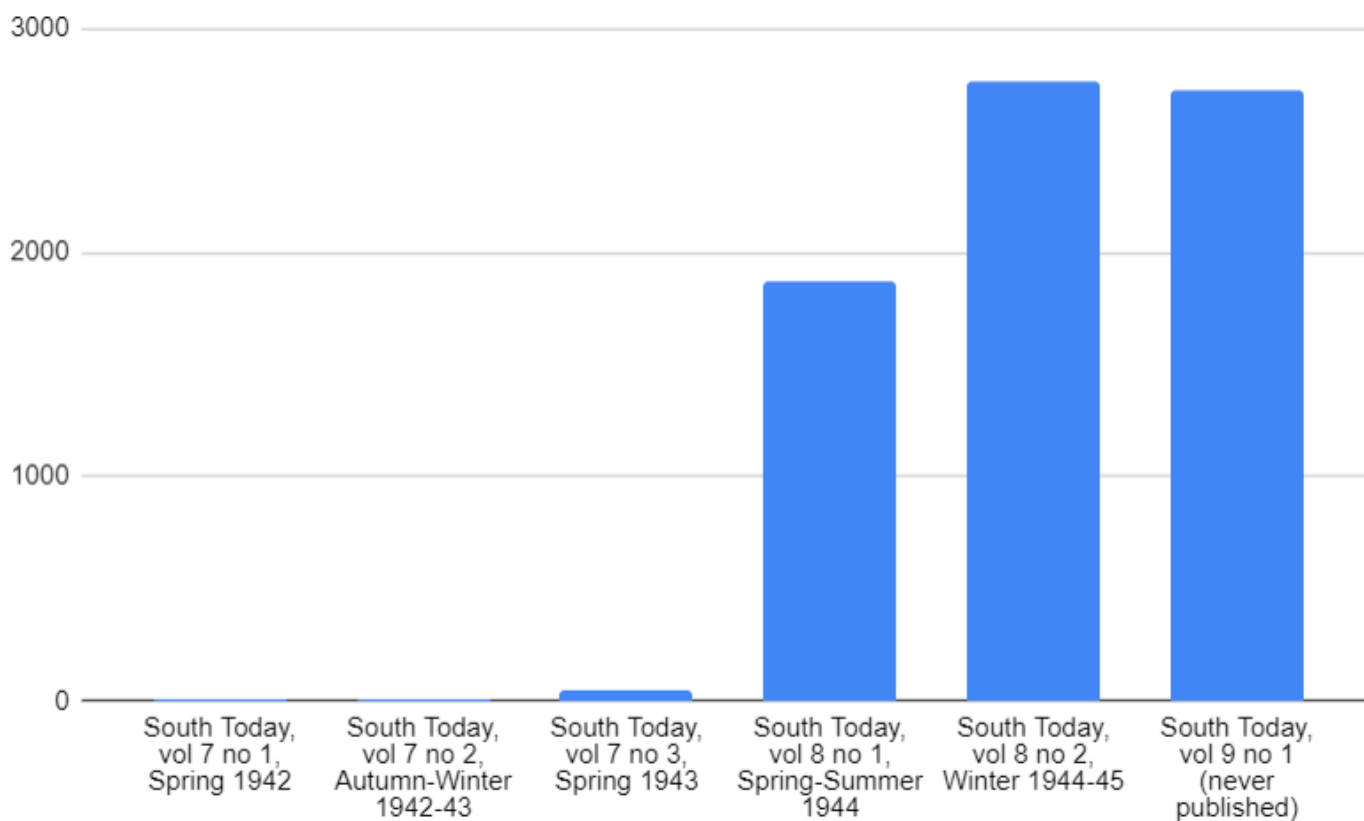
Figure 26. Active, Sustaining, and Continuing/Advance Subscription Purchases (excluding Regular)



Close-up of Appendix Figure 23 excluding regular subscriptions.

Table 25. Total Subscribers Per Issue

Pamphlet/Issue Title	Number	Percent
<i>South Today</i> , vol 7 no 1, Spring 1942	8	0.1%
<i>South Today</i> , vol 7 no 2, Autumn-Winter 1942-43	12	0.2%
<i>South Today</i> , vol 7 no 3, Spring 1943	52	0.7%
<i>South Today</i> , vol 8 no 1, Spring-Summer 1944	1,867	25.2%
<i>South Today</i> , vol 8 no 2, Winter 1944-45	2,760	37.2%
<i>South Today</i> , vol 9 no 1 (never published)	2,722	36.7%
Total	7,421	100%

Figure 27. Total Subscribers Per Issue

Subscription data before 1944 is vastly incomplete due to records being lost in a fire.

Table 26. Pamphlets and Single Issues Purchased by or Paid Out to Subscribers

Pamphlet/Issue Title	Number	Percent
There Are Things to Do – 5 cents	75	18.4%
There Are Things to Say – 5 cents	12	2.9%
Buying A New World with Old Confederate Bills – 10 cents	58	14.3%
Two Men and a Bargain – 10 cents	48	11.8%
The Earth: A Common Ground for Children – 10 cents	76	18.7%
The White Christian and His Conscience – 10 cents	86	21.1%
The Church and Men’s Needs – 10 cents	15	3.7%
<i>South Today</i> , vol. 8 no. 2, Winter 1944-1945 – 50 cents	37	9.1%
Total	407	100%

651 subscribers were noted in subscription records as “Pamphlet Sub.” which I believe means “Pamphlet Subscriber” and refers to people who chose to have their “Magazine Subscription” balance paid out in pamphlets or single issue reprints when the magazine ceased publication (Smith and Snelling, “Dear Subscriber”). It is unclear whether these 407 pamphlets and single issues listed above indicate the settling of subscriptions or were separate purchases by 1944-1945 subscribers. 307 subscribers were marked as on “hold” perhaps meaning they decided to leave their account open in the chance that *South Today* would resume publication. 214 subscriber cards had a red marking, perhaps meaning these subscribers decided to close their account and accept a refund, although refunds were usually marked as such. The 1944-1945 “Account Book” lists 69 refunds and there were 213 subscriber cards with red marks.

Table 27. Type of Subscriber

Type	Number	Percent
Camp	13	0.5%
Church	7	0.2%
City	1	0.04%
Company	3	0.1%
Individual	2,480	87.1%
Library	236	8.3%
Organization	68	2.4%
Publication	28	1.0%
School	11	0.4%
Total	2,847	100%

Table 28. Gender of Subscriber

Gender	Number	Percent
Female	1,365	56.4%
Male	956	39.5%
Co-Subscribers of Different Genders	98	4.1%
Total	2,419	100%

The gender of 2,419 out of 2,480 individuals (97.5%) could be determined.

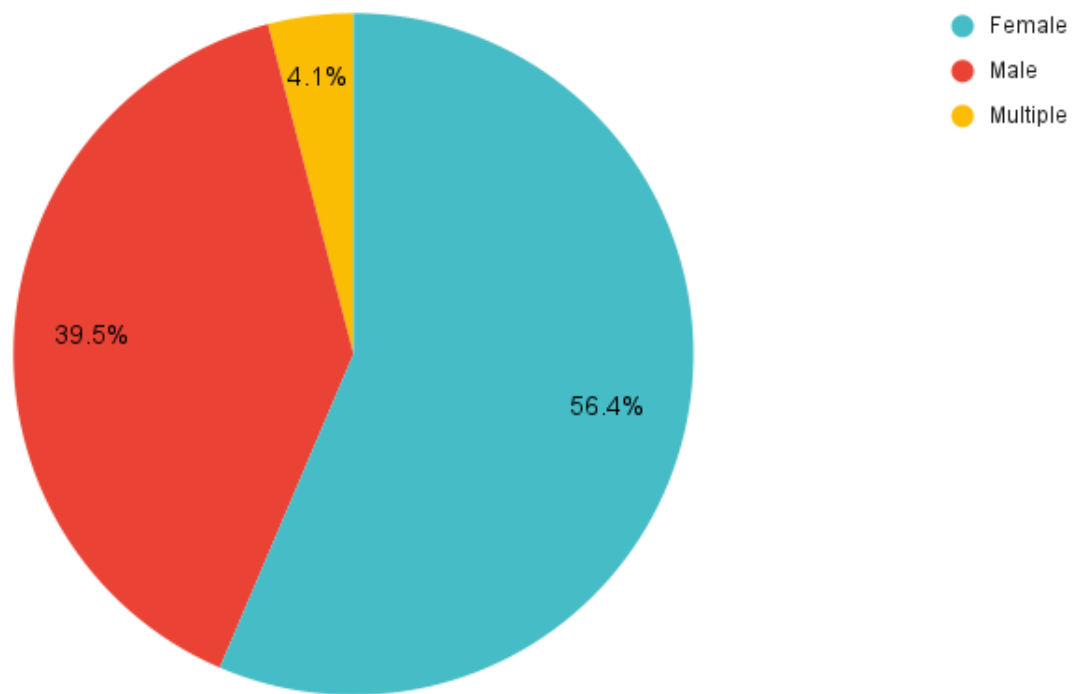
Figure 28. Gender of Subscriber

Table 29. Racialization of Subscriber

Racialization	Number	Percent
Asian American	6	0.4%
Biracial / Multiracial	5	0.4%
Black	401	28.9%
Indigenous	1	0.07%
Latin American	1	0.07%
Latino/a	3	0.2%
Middle Eastern American	1	0.07%
White	971	69.9%
Total	1,389	100%

The racialization of 1,389 out of 2,480 individuals (56.0%) could be determined.

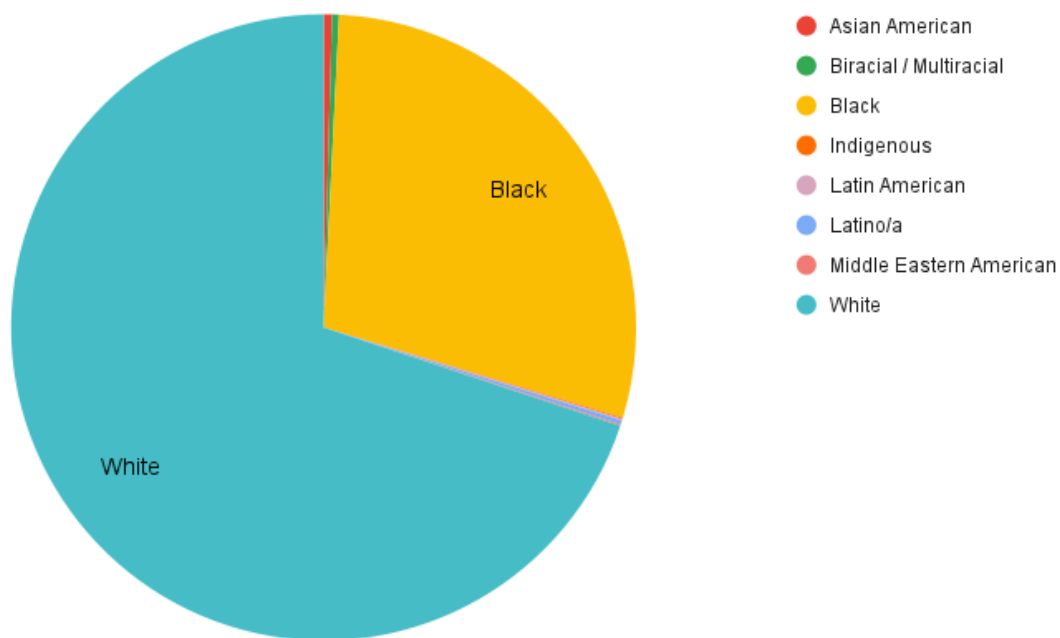
Figure 29. Racialization of Subscriber

Table 30. Intersection of Gender and Racialization of Subscriber

	Female		Male		Co-subscribers of different genders	
Asian American	3	0.2%	3	0.2%	0	0%
Biracial / Multiracial	2	0.1%	3	0.2%	0	0%
Black	146	10.5%	246	17.8%	7	0.5%
Indigenous	1	0.07%	0	0%	0	0%
Latin American	0	0%	1	0.07%	0	0%
Latino/a	2	0.1%	1	0.07%	0	0%
Middle Eastern American	1	0.07%	0	0%	0	0%
White	619	44.7%	315	22.8%	34	2.5%

This table captures 1,384 out of 2,480 individuals (55.8%) for whom both racialization and gender are known.

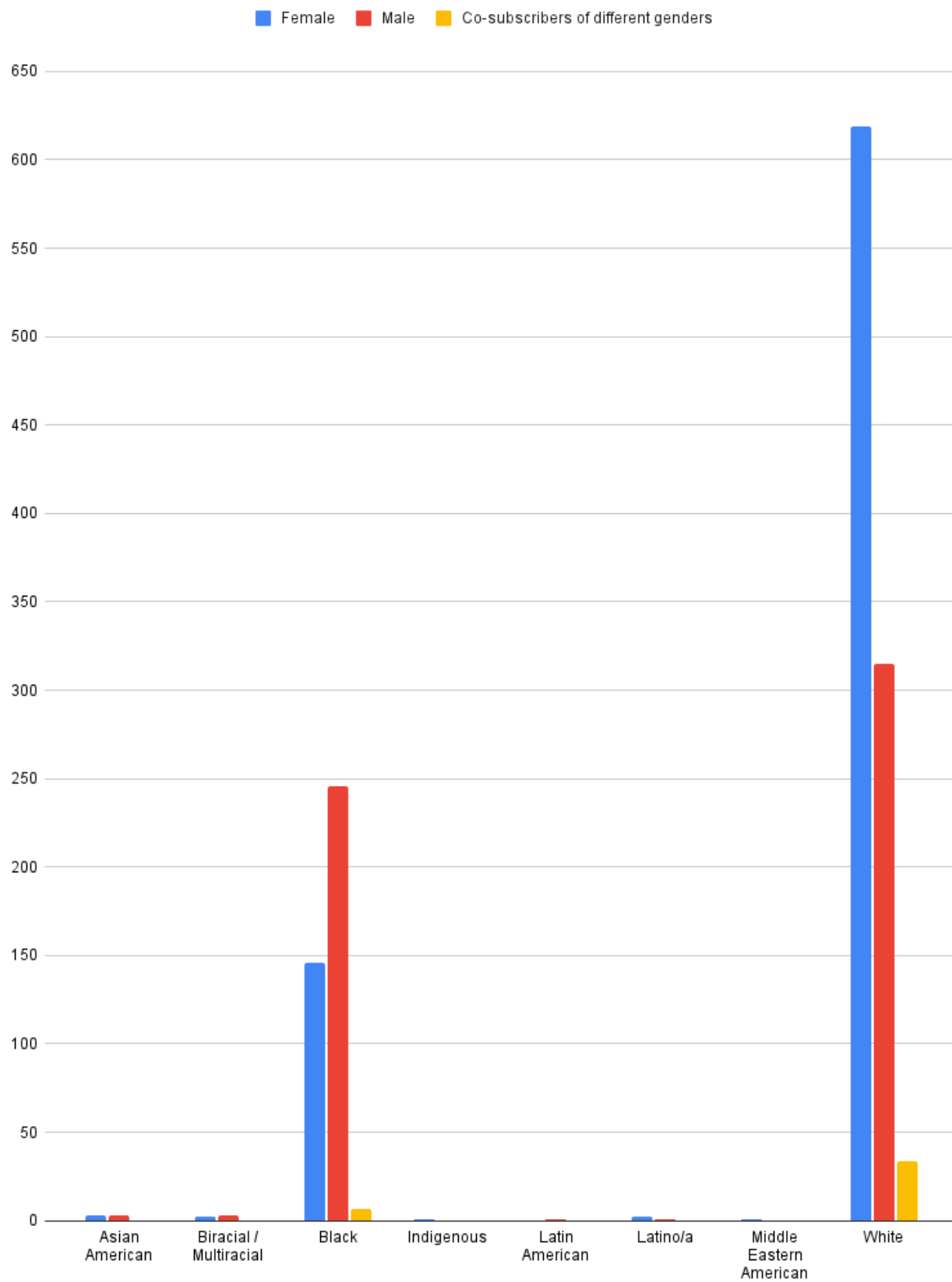
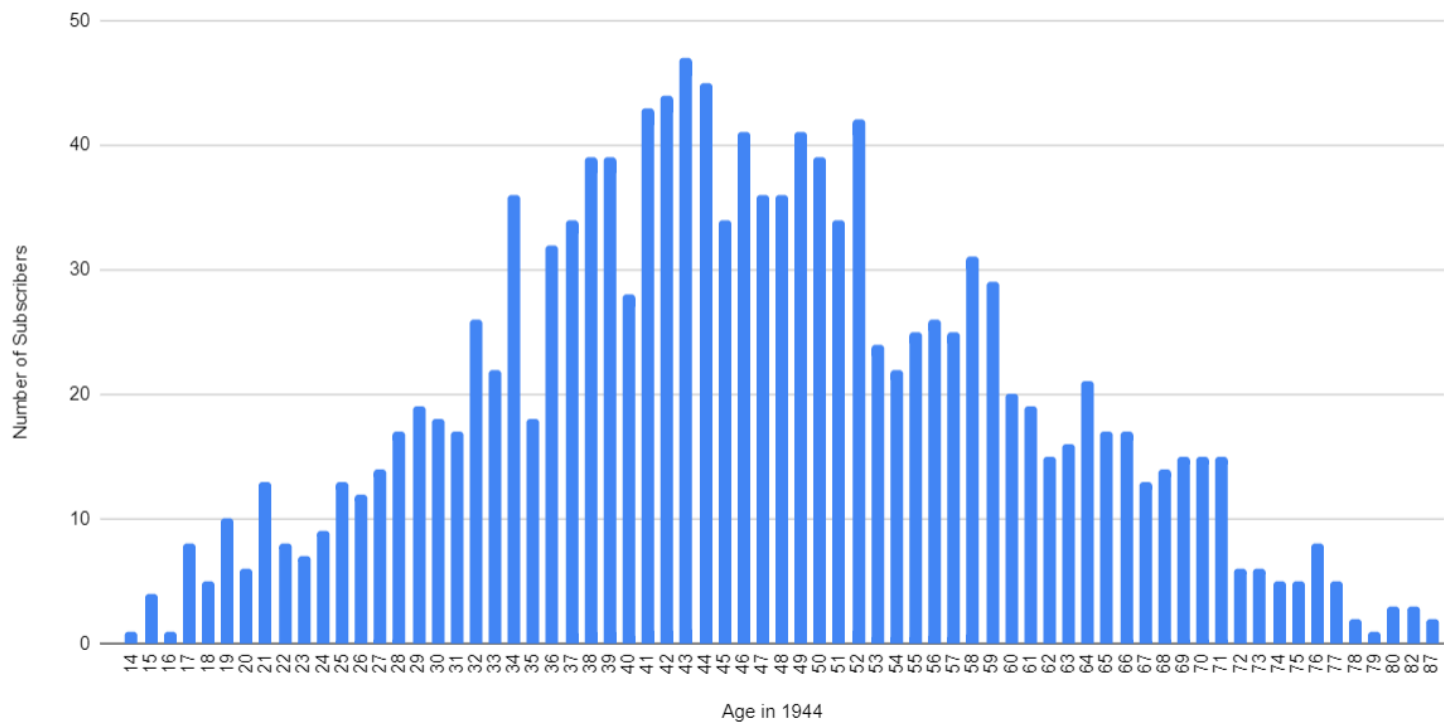
Figure 30. Intersection of Gender and Racialization of Subscriber

Figure 31. Age of Subscribers in 1944

The ages of 1,363 out of 2,480 individuals (55.0%) could be determined.

Table 31. Marital Status of Subscriber

Marital Status	Number	Percent
Divorced	19	1.4%
Married	810	60.7%
Not Married	449	33.7%
Widowed	56	4.2%
Total	1,334	100%

The marital status of 1,334 out of 2,480 individuals (53.8%) could be determined.

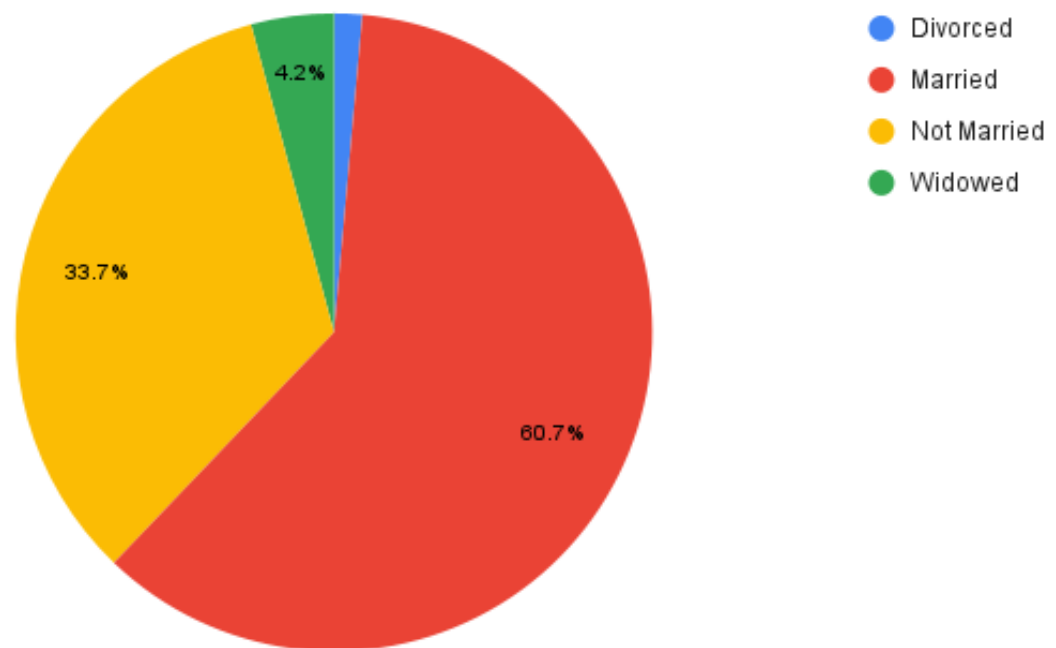
Figure 32. Marital Status of Subscribers

Table 32. Intersection of Gender, Racialization, and Marital Status of Subscriber

	Divorced	Married	Not Married	Widowed	Unknown
Asian American Female	0	1	1	0	1
Asian American Male	0	1	2	0	0
Biracial / Multiracial Female	0	0	2	0	0
Biracial / Multiracial Male	0	3	0	0	0
Black Female	5	90	37	10	4
Black Male	3	170	55	7	11
Indigenous Female	0	0	1	0	0
Latin American Male	0	0	0	0	1
Latina Female	0	1	0	1	0
Latino Male	0	0	0	0	1
Middle Eastern American Female	0	0	1	0	0
White Female	11	270	278	36	24
White Male	0	236	61	2	16

This table captures 1,285 out of 2,480 individuals (51.8%) for whom racialization, gender, and marital status are all known. Not included are the 3.0% of co-subscribers who had different intersectional identities along the axis of gender as captured in Appendix Table 30 and Figure 27; however, many of those co-subscribers were married. Not married white women are the most frequently occurring positionality by a narrow margin, followed by married white women. This is also one of the few instances wherein “not married” outstrips “married” as a category (Biracial / Multiracial Female and Indigenous Female being the other two, although sample size is too small to be indicative).

Figure 33. Intersection of Gender, Racialization, and Marital Status of Subscriber

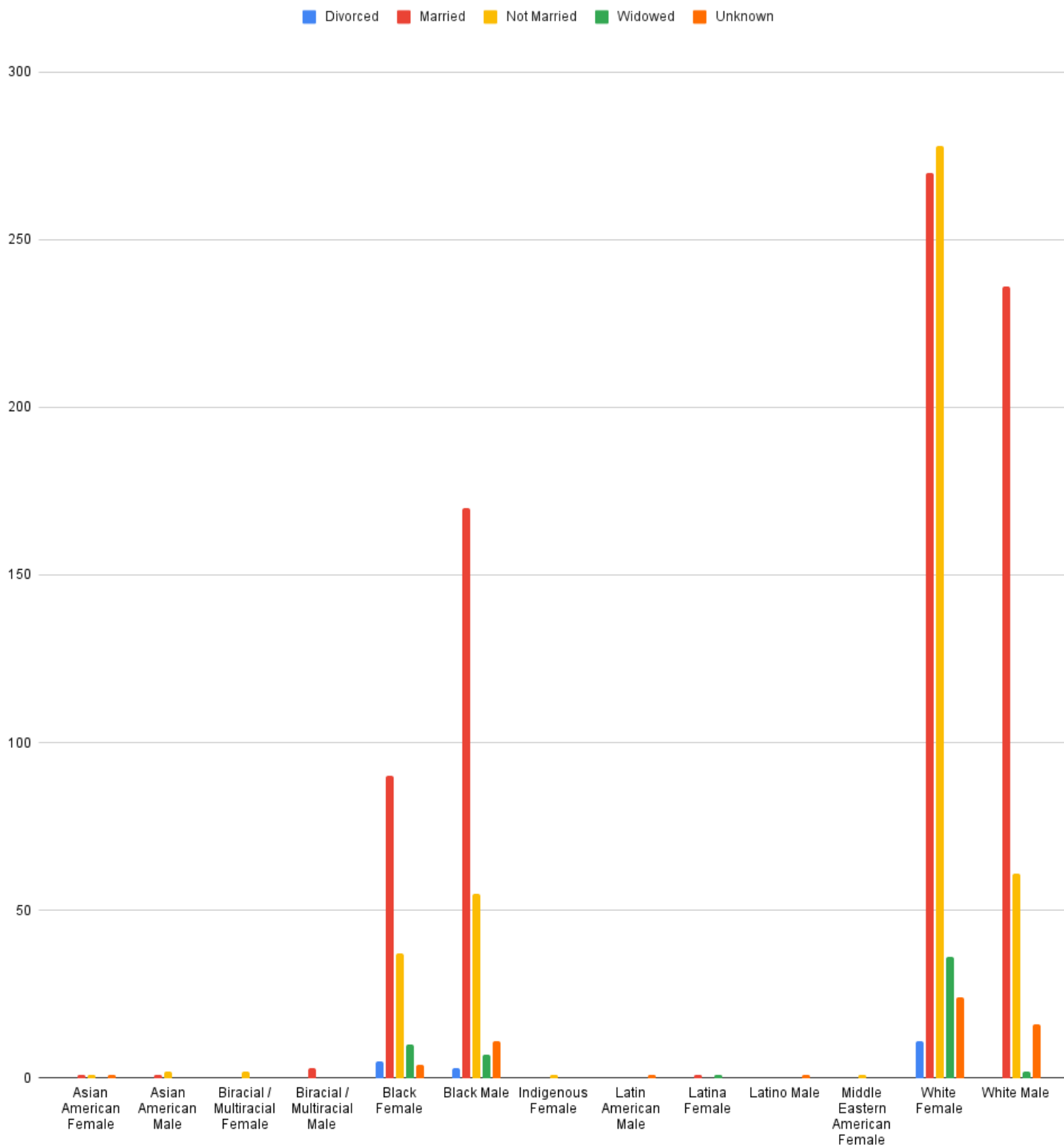


Table 33. Parental Status of Subscriber

Parental Status	Number	Percent
With Children	552	41.4%
Without Children	780	58.6%
Total	1,332	100%

The parental status of 1,332 out of 2,480 individuals (53.7%) could be determined. This data refers to those subscribers with children living with them in 1940, as recorded in the U.S. Census (i.e. the closest census year to 1944). While this gives an indication of the number of subscribers who were parents, it is under representative in that many subscribers were parents with children not living with them at that particular moment, or would be parents at some point in their lives.

Table 34. Intersection of Gender, Racialization, and Parental Status of Subscriber

	Without Children	With Children
Asian American Female	3	0
Asian American Male	2	1
Biracial / Multiracial Female	2	0
Biracial / Multiracial Male	2	1
Black Female	86	56
Black Male	139	95
Indigenous Female	1	0
Latin American Male	0	0
Latina Female	0	2
Latino Male	0	0
Middle Eastern American Female	1	0
White Female	393	204
White Male	130	168

This table captures 1,286 out of 2,480 individuals (51.9%) for whom racialization, gender, and parental status are all known. Not included are the 3.0% of co-subscribers who had different intersectional identities along the axis of gender as captured in Appendix Table 30 and Figure 27.

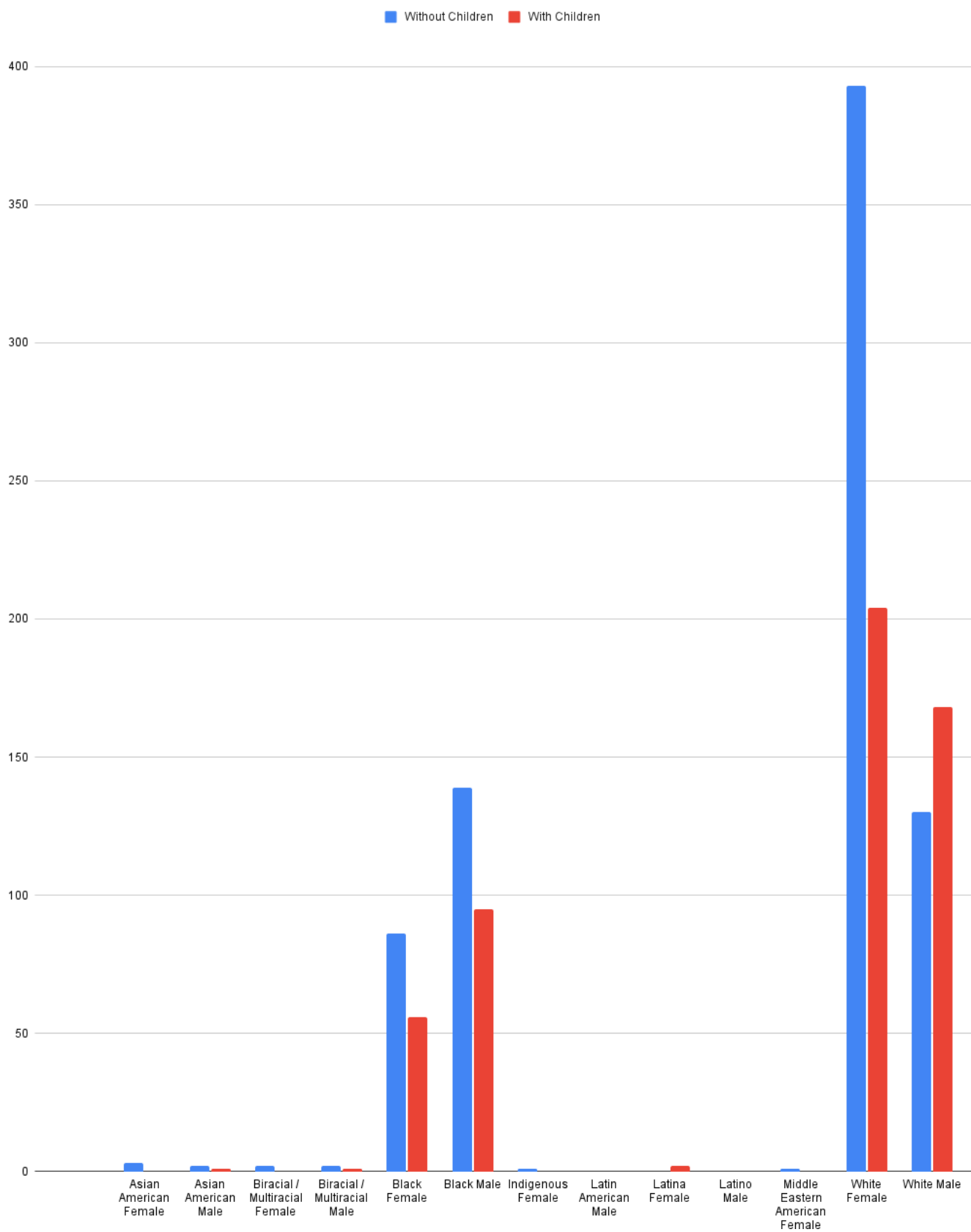
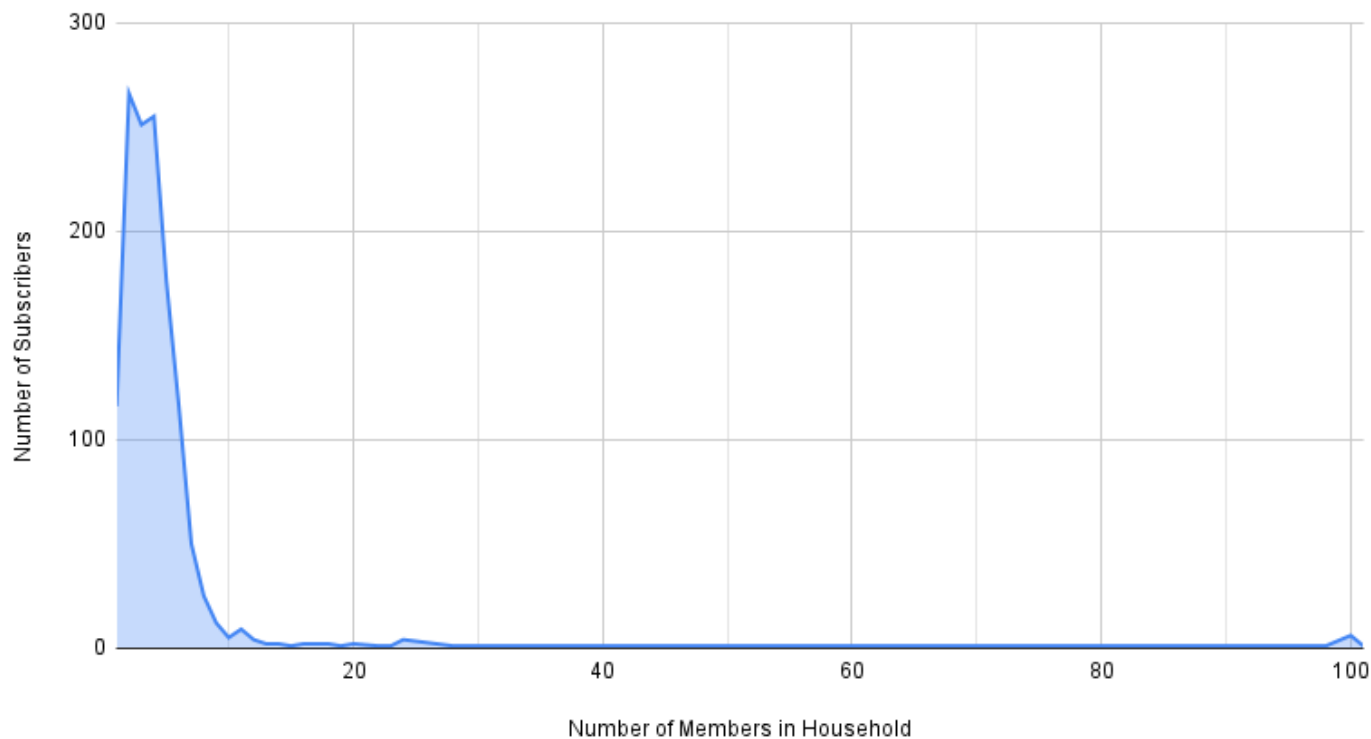
Figure 34. Intersection of Gender, Racialization, and Parental Status of Subscriber

Figure 35. Number of Members in Subscriber's Household, ca. 1940



The household sizes of 1,319 out of 2,480 individuals (53.2%) could be determined.

The 1940 Census Enumerator handbook defines a household as a lodging “with only one set of cooking facilities or housekeeping arrangements” (Bureau of the Census 37).

This graph indicates that most of these subscribers (1,273 or 96.5%) lived in households of 10 or fewer people; 116 (8.8%) lived alone. The larger households generally indicate subscribers living in boarding schools or boarding houses.

Table 35. Intersection of Gender, Racialization, and Live-In Domestic Workers

	Number
Asian American Female	0
Asian American Male	0
Biracial / Multiracial Female	0
Biracial / Multiracial Male	0
Black Female	5
Black Male	3
Indigenous Female	0
Latin American Male	0
Latina Female	0
Latino Male	0
Middle Eastern American Female	0
White Female	94
White Male	29

This table captures 131 out of 2,480 individuals (5.3%) for whom racialization, gender, and the presence of live-in domestic workers are all known. Not included are the 3.0% of co-subscribers who had different intersectional identities along the axis of gender as captured in Appendix Table 30 and Figure 27. Categories of domestic workers reported in the 1940 U.S. Census include: Butler, Caretaker, Chauffeur, Cook, Domestic, Gardener, Helper, Housekeeper, Housemaid, Houseman, Maid, Nurse, Servant, Yardman.

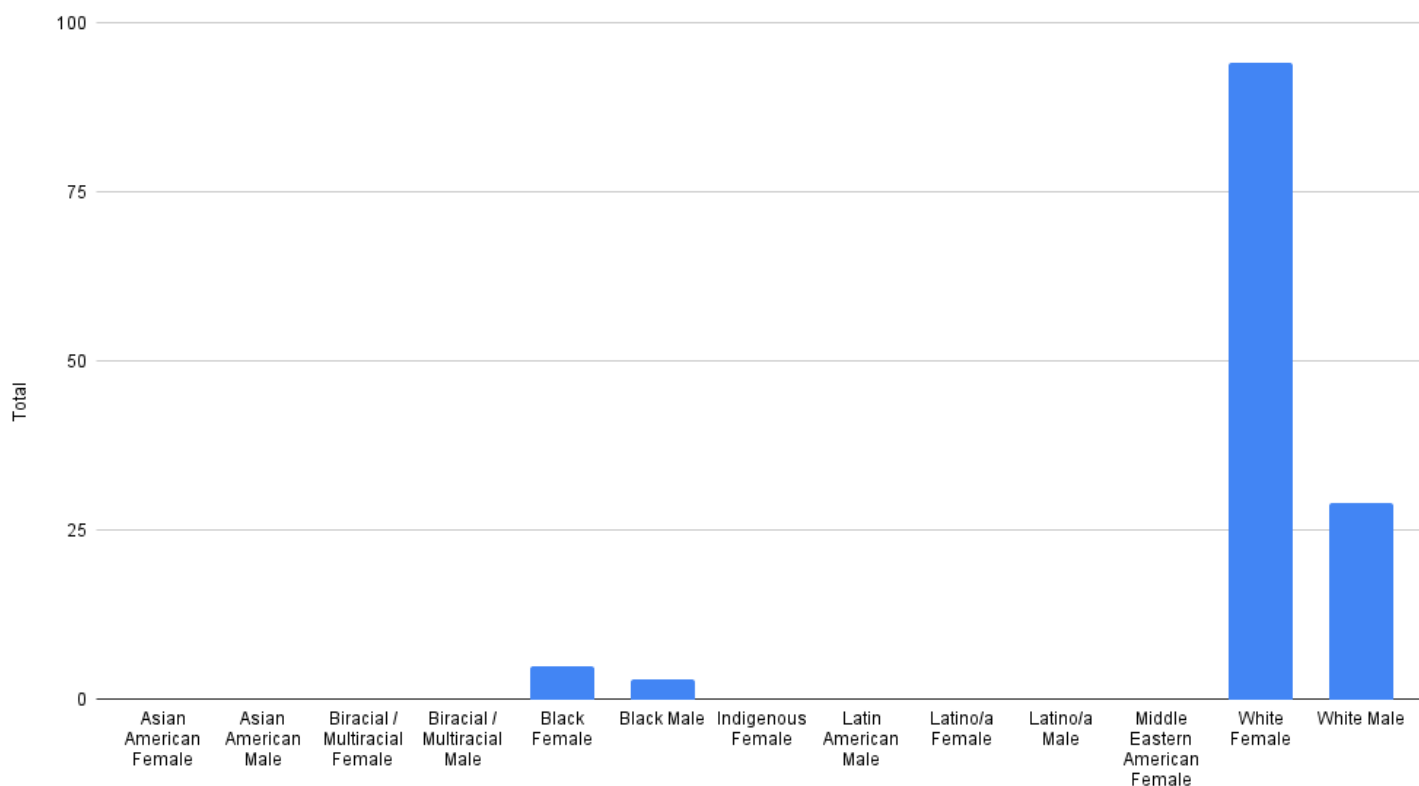
Figure 36. Intersection of Gender, Racialization, and Live-In Domestic Workers

Table 36. Highest Education Level of Subscriber

Highest Education Level	Number	Percent
No formal education	7	0.6%
Elementary school, 1st to 8th grade	1	0.08%
Elementary school, 1st grade	3	0.3%
Elementary school, 2nd grade	2	0.2%
Elementary school, 3rd grade	3	0.3%
Elementary school, 4th grade	6	0.5%
Elementary school, 5th grade	5	0.4%
Elementary school, 6th grade	13	1.1%
Elementary school, 7th grade	11	0.9%
Elementary school, 8th grade	36	3.1%
High School, 1st to 4th year	6	0.5%
High School, 1st year	23	2.0%
High School, 2nd year	30	2.6%
High School, 3rd year	23	2.0%
High School, 4th year	144	12.3%
College, 1st to 4th year	7	0.6%
College, 1st year	44	3.8%
College, 2nd year	91	7.8%
College, 3rd year	42	3.6%
College, 4th year	349	29.8%
College, 5th or subsequent year	326	27.8%
Total	1,172	100%

The highest educational level of 1,172 out of 2,480 individuals (47.3%) could be determined.

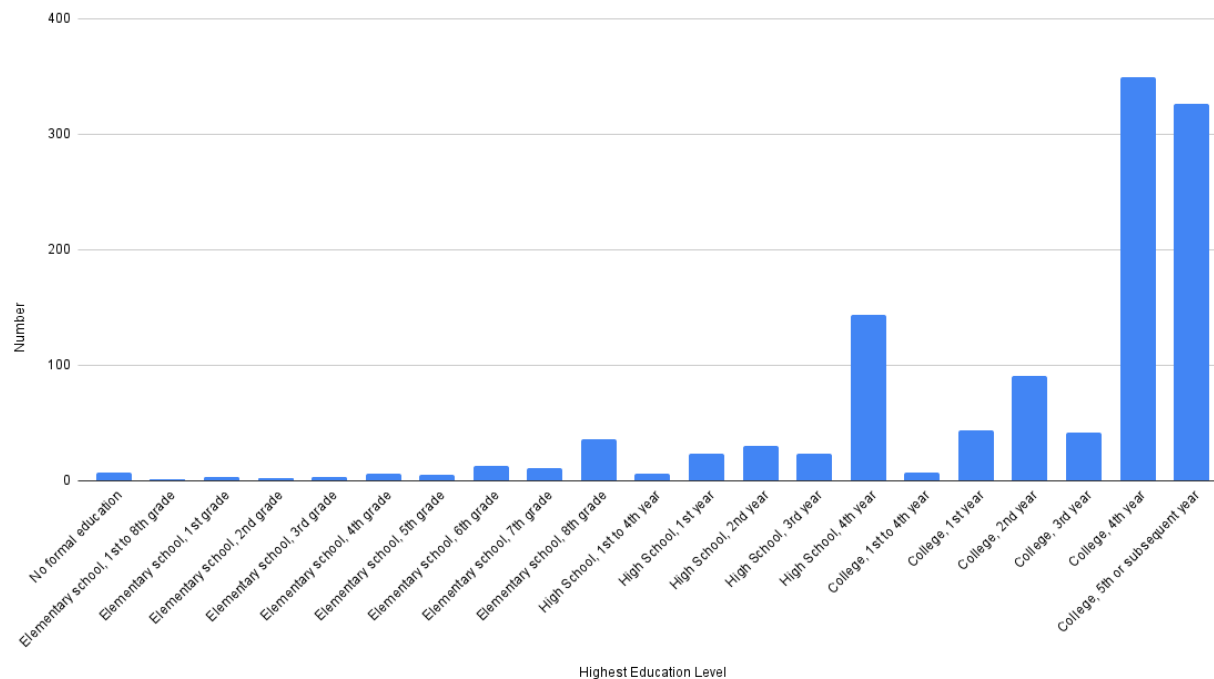
Figure 37. Highest Education Level of Subscriber

Table 37. Intersection of Gender, Racialization, and Highest Education Level of Subscriber

Highest Education Level	Asian American Female	Asian American Male	Biracial / Multiracial Female	Biracial / Multiracial Male	Black Female	Black Male	Indigenous Female	Latin American Male	Latina Female	Latino Male	Middle Eastern American Female	White Female	White Male
No formal education					1	2						2	2
Elementary school, 1st to 8th grade												1	
Elementary school, 1st grade												1	
Elementary school, 2nd grade												1	
Elementary school, 3rd grade					2	1							
Elementary school, 4th grade					1	3						2	
Elementary school, 5th grade							2					2	1
Elementary school, 6th grade					3	3						4	2
Elementary school, 7th grade					3	3						3	2
Elementary school, 8th grade		1			6	6						16	7
High School, 1st to 4th year					1	1						1	3
High School, 1st year					4	10						7	2
High School, 2nd year		1			5	6						8	10
High School, 3rd year					3	5						11	4
High School, 4th year					19	20						85	16
College, 1st to 4th year					1	2						2	2
College, 1st year					3	7						22	9
College, 2nd year	1		1		12	11	1					51	12
College, 3rd year					4	5			1			22	10
College, 4th year			1		36	48					1	177	75
College, 5th or subsequent year					16	61						124	111
Total Number	1	3	1	-	120	199	1	-	1	-	1	542	268
Total Percent	0.09	0.3	0.09		10.6	17.2	0.09		0.09		0.09	47.7	23.6
	%	%	%		%	%	%		%		%	%	%

This table captures 1,136 out of 2,480 individuals (45.8%) for whom racialization, gender, and highest educational level are all known. Not included are the 3.0% of co-subscribers who had different intersectional identities along the axis of gender as captured in Appendix Table 30 and Figure 27. Based on the total percent, we see that this data is within a few percentages of the positionality totals in Table 30 and Figure 27 and therefore this is a fairly proportional representation of education level across known positionalities.

Figure 38. Intersection of Gender, Racialization, and Highest Education Level of Subscriber (Elementary School)

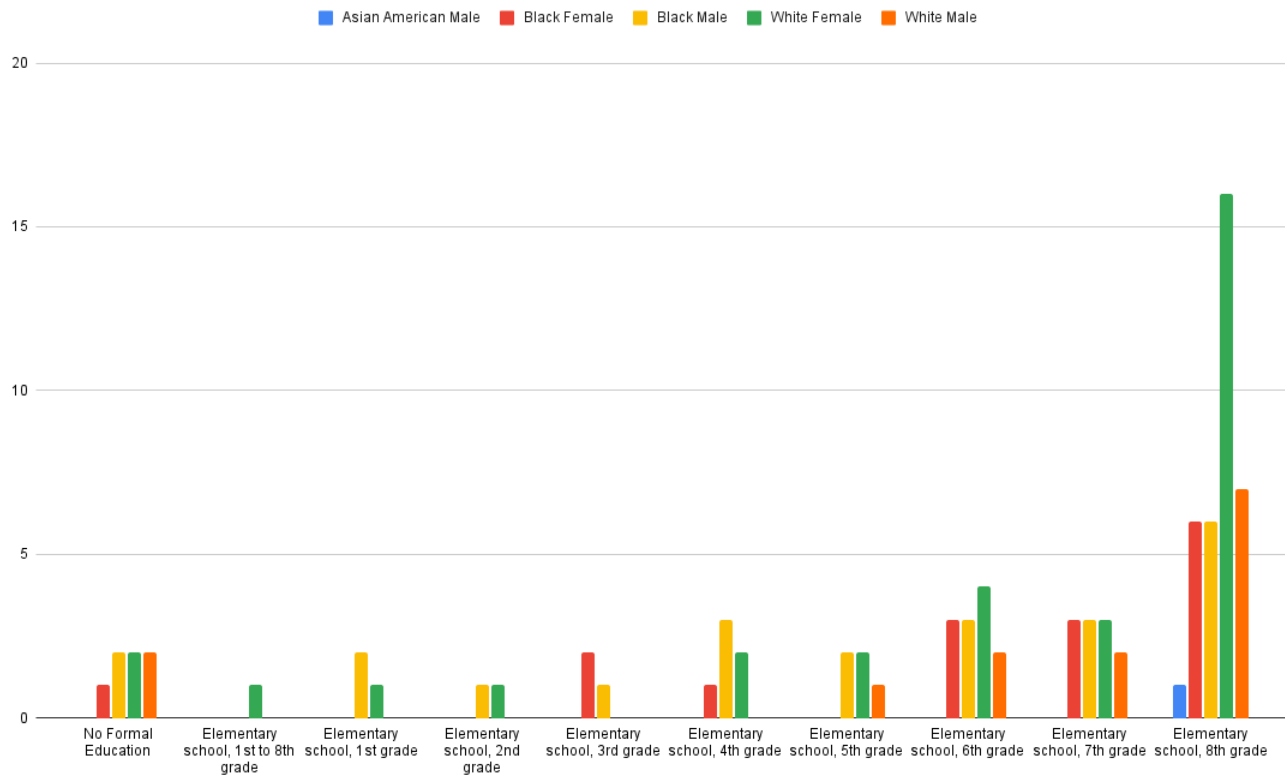


Figure 39. Intersection of Gender, Racialization, and Highest Education Level of Subscriber (High School)

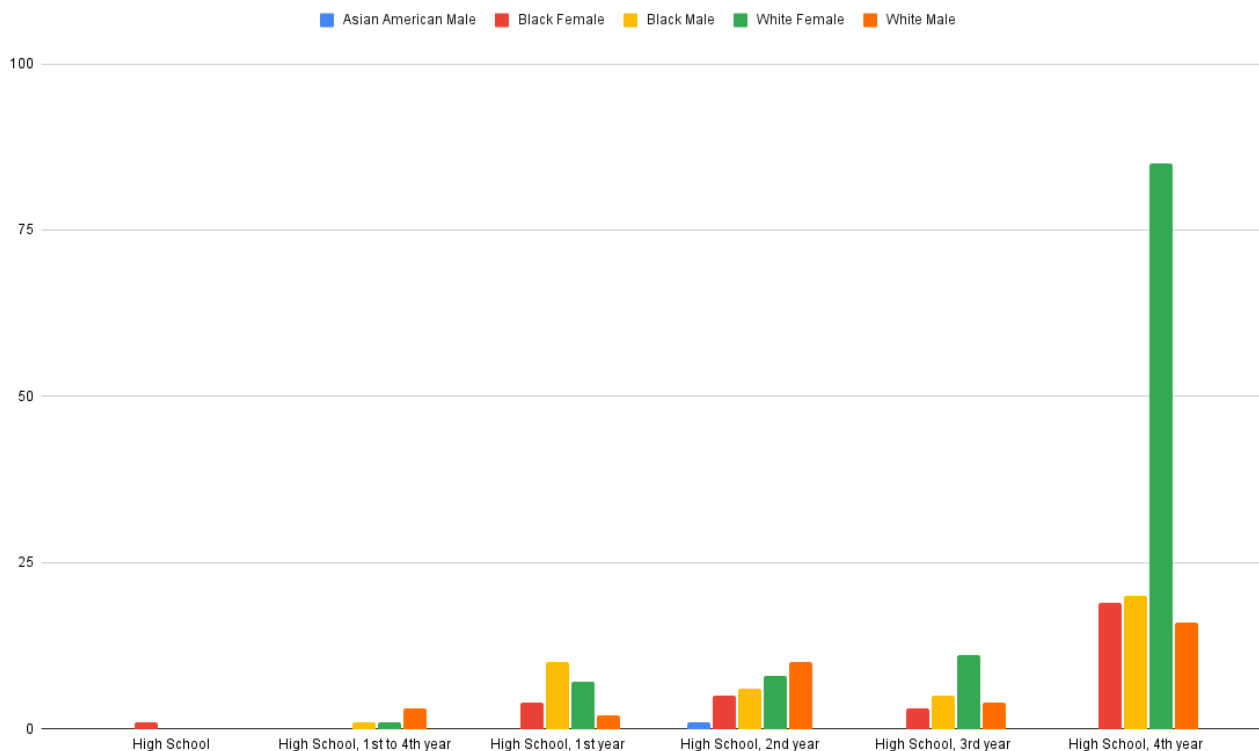
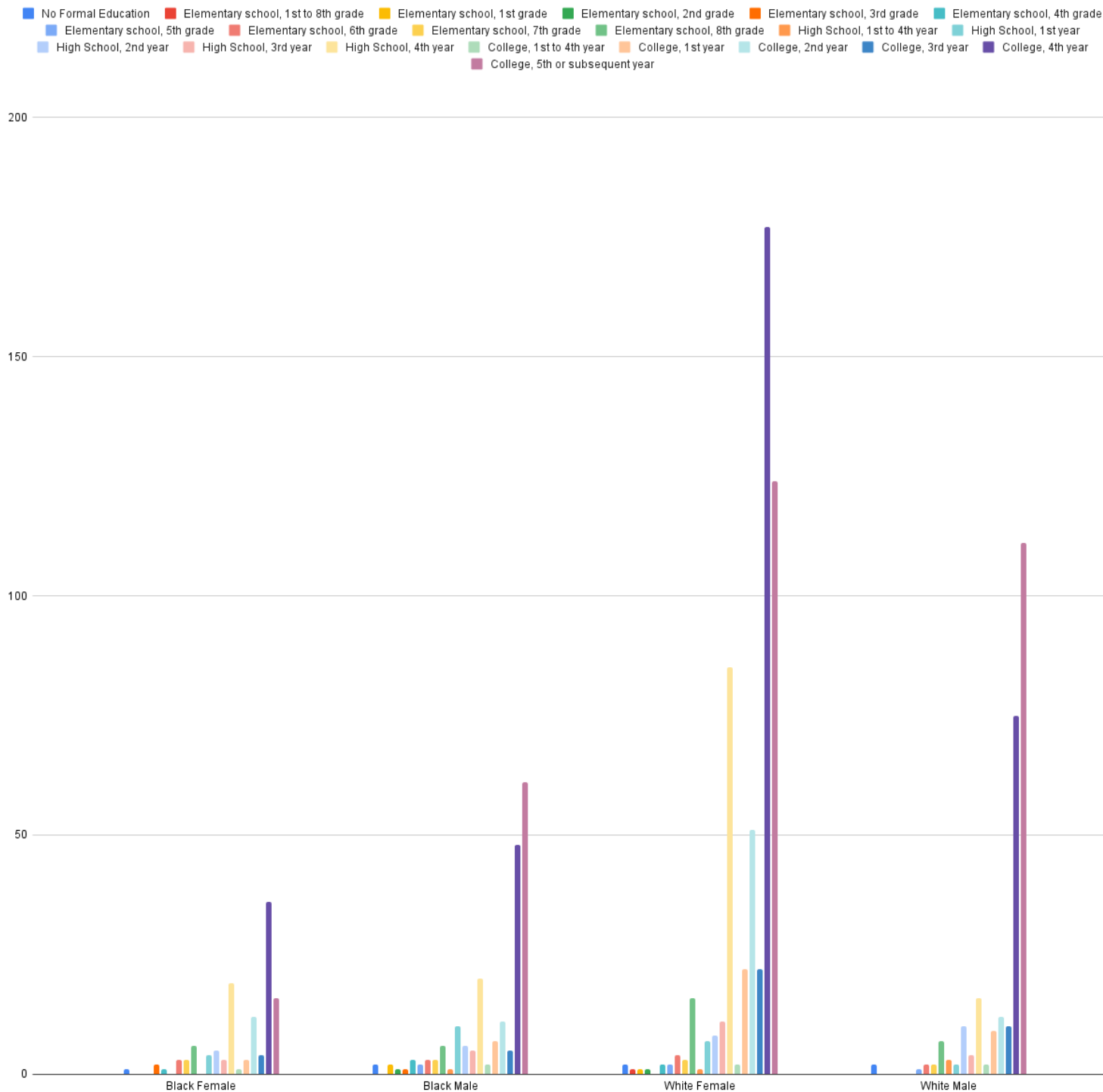


Figure 41. Intersection of Gender, Racialization, and Education Level for Subscriber (Close-Up of Black Female, Black Male, White Female, White Male)



Close-up of highest education level for categories with the most data. Proportionally, Black women subscribers and white women subscribers had similar education levels, with most completing a 5-year college degree. Proportionally, Black men and white men also had similar education levels, with both groups completing graduate studies, and second most, a 5-year college degree.

Table 38. Profession of Subscriber

Profession	Number		
Accountant	1	Cabinet Maker	1
Activist	1	Camp Director	1
Actress	1	Car Salesman	1
Adjuster	1	Car Saleswoman	1
Administrative Assistant	1	Car Washer	1
Administrator	1	Caretaker	2
Adv-Writer	1	Case Worker	1
Advertising Manager	1	Casker	1
Agent	2	Cement Finisher	1
Analyst	2	Chaplain	1
Apprentice	1	Chauffeur	1
Architect	1	Chemical Engineer	1
Artist	2	Chemist	1
Assistant Agency Director	1	Chief Superintendent	1
Assistant City Coach	1	Child Caretaker	1
Assistant Superintendent	1	Chiropodist	1
Assistant Supervisor	1	Chiropractor	1
Attendant	1	City Clerk	1
Attorney	8	City Editor	1
Author	2	Civil Engineer	2
Bacteriologist	1	Clergyman	17
Bandmaster	1	Clerical	1
Bank Clerk	1	Clerk	19
Barber	1	Coal Dealer	1
Barter Helper	1	Coast Guard	1
Boarding House Keeper	2	College President	4
Book Publisher	1	Composer	1
Bookkeeper	4	Connector	1
Bookseller	1	Contractor	1
Box Maker	1	Control Chemist	1
Boy Scout	1	Cook	3
Brick Mason	1	Copy Editor	1
Bricklayer	1	Cotton Syndicate Owner	1
Broker	2	Counselor	1
Bus Driver	1	Dealer	1
Business Owner	1	Dean	2
Cabin Operator	1	Dentist	9
		Department Head	1
		Director	9
		Director of Instruction	1
		Division of Trimming	1
		Doctor	25
		Domestic	1
		Dressmaker	1
		Editor	10
		Education Director	1
		Educator	2
		Electric Engineer	1
		Electrician	1
		Elevator Operator	2
		Employer	1
		Engineer	3
		Errand Boy	1
		Executive	7
		Executive Officer	1
		Farmer	2
		Fellowship Student	1
		Field Representative	1
		Field Secretary	1
		Fire Fighter	1
		Fisherman	1
		Free Lance Author	1
		Gardener	1
		Geographer	1
		Gift Shop Clerk	1
		Grocer	1
		Group worker	1
		Hairdresser	2
		Helper	2
		House cleaner	1
		House Mother	1
		House Salesman	1
		Housekeeper	9
		Housemaid	1
		Housewife	17
		Housework	4

Industrial	1
Inspector	1
Instructor	7
Insurance Agent	1
Insurance Officer	1
Insurance Salesman	1
Investigator	1
Janitor	1
Jeweller	1
Journalist	6
Judge	1
Justice of Peace	1
Kitchen Helper	1
Kitchen Waitress	1
Laboratory Technician	2
Labour Organizer	1
Labourer	11
Laundress	1
Laundry Checker	1
Lawyer	17
Librarian	24
Life Insurance Agent	1
Line Man	1
Literary Editor	1
Machinist	2
Maid	5
Mail Carrier	1
Mail Clerk	2
Manager	15
Manager Adv. Dept	1
Massage Operator	1
Matron	1
Meat Inspector	2
Mechanical Engineer	1
Medical Doctor	1
Merchant	1
Messenger	1
Minister	65
Missionary	2
Music Composer	1
Music Teacher	1
Newspaper Reporter	1

Newspaper Writer	1
Night Ship Working Foreman	1
Not listed	341
Nun	1
Nurse	11
Office Clerk	1
Office Manager	1
Office Secretary	1
Office Worker	1
Operator	1
Optometrist	1
Ordinary	1
Osteopathic Physician	1
Owner	1
Painter	1
Parole Officer	1
Pastor	10
Personal Manager	1
Personal Staff	1
Pharmacist	3
Phone Operator	1
Physician	14
Pin Setter	1
Plant Engineer	1
Plumber	1
Poet	1
Porter	4
Post Office Clerk	2
Postal Clerk	8
Postman	1
Postmaster	1
Preacher	3
President	8
President Factory	1
Principal	22
Professor	61
Proprietor	7
Psychologist	3
Public Relations	1
Publisher	3
Rabbi	1
Radio Writer	1

Real Estate Agent	2
Receptionist	1
Registrar	3
Reporter	3
Representative	1
Research Associate	1
Researcher	1
Retired	1
Retired Teacher	1
Reverend	3
Sales Clerk	3
Saleslady	1
Salesman	11
Sargent	1
Sculptor	1
Seam Cleaner	1
Seamstress	1
Secretary	43
Senator	1
Servant	3
Service Director	1
Shipper	1
Signal Electric Operator	1
Social Clergy	1
Social Worker	28
Sociologist	1
Soldier	2
Song Writer	1
Statistician	1
Stenographer	12
Stock Girl	3
Student	19
Superintendent	2
Supervisor	6
Supervisor Case Work	1
Supply Office	1
Surgeon	2
Teacher	203
Tech Sergeant	1
Telephone Operator	1
Teller	1
Theatre Director	1

Travelling Salesman	1	Unpaid family worker	3	Welfare Worker	1
Travels	1	Veterinarian	1	Worker	2
Treasurer	2	Vice Principal	1	WPA Researcher	1
Truck Driver	2	Waiter	4	Writer	12
Typist	1	Waitress	3	Total	1,389
Undertaker	2	Warper	1		
University President	1	Weaver	1		

The professions of 1,389 out of 2,480 individuals (56.0%) could be determined.

I list all professions here to illustrate the spectrum of subscribers' occupations. The three most common professions are: "Not listed," teacher, and minister. Combining like professions, education, health care, organized religion, and domestic work emerge as the most common occupation types.

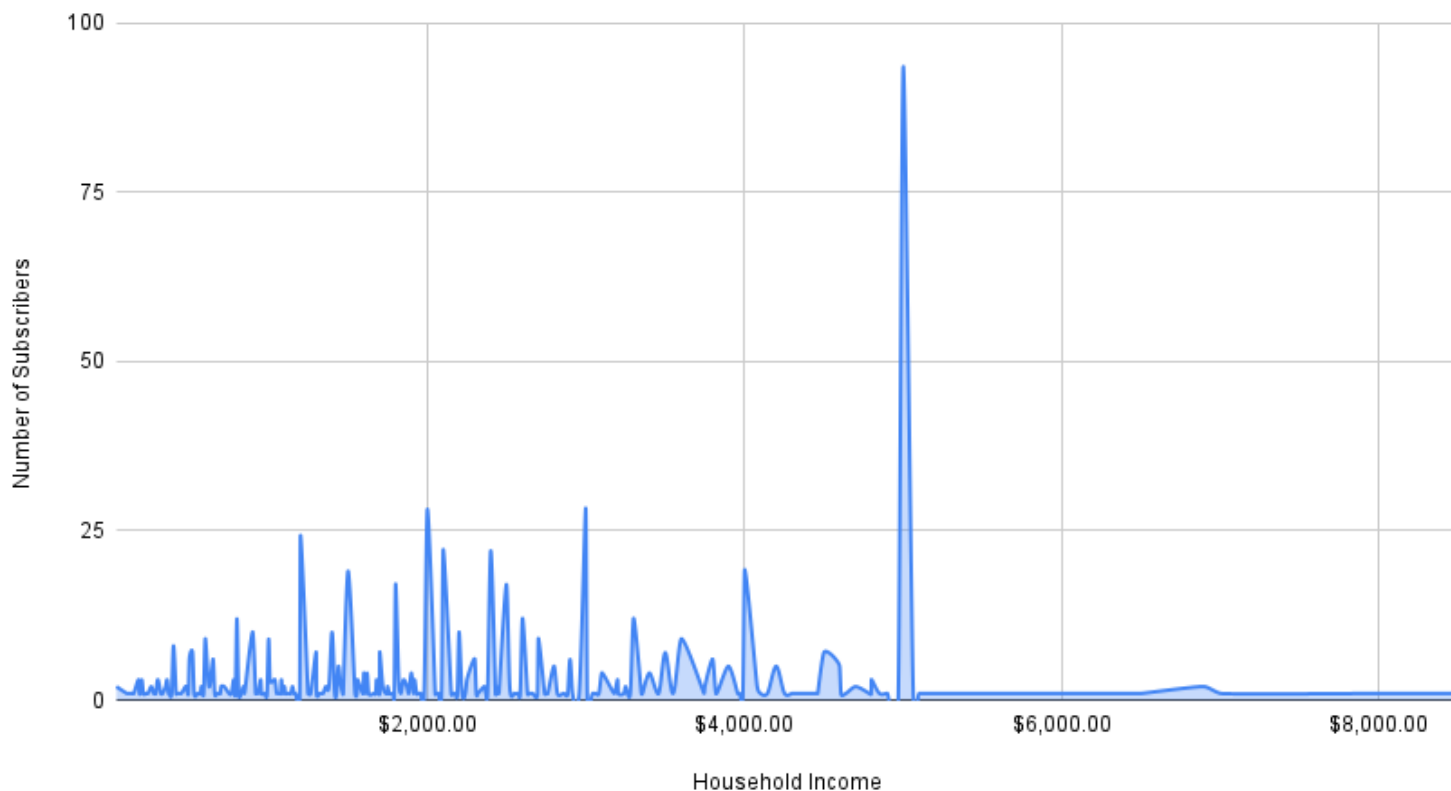
I include "not listed" as a category to recognize the significant presence of people who either were underaged dependents, unemployed, retired, or housewives that did not have a "profession" as such recorded on the 1940 census.

Table 39. Intersection of Gender, Racialization, and Profession for Subscriber

	Total with Employment	Education	Organized Religion	Health Care	Domestic Work	Not listed
Asian American Female	3					
Asian American Male	3		1			
Biracial / Multiracial Female	2	1				
Biracial / Multiracial Male	3			1		
Black Female	99	41		5	17	42
Black Male	222	42	21	26	8	19
Indigenous Female	1	1				
Latin American Male	1					
Latina Female	2					
Latino Male	1					
Middle Eastern American Female	0					1
White Female	353	132	3	16	10	251
White Male	280	67	71	13	1	25
Total	970	284	96	61	36	338

There are 1,308 out of 2,480 individuals (52.7%) for whom racialization, gender, and profession are all known. Not included here are the 3.0% of co-subscribers who had different intersectional identities along the axis of gender as captured in Appendix Table 30 and Figure 27. This table depicts a sampling of this data based on some of the most common groupings listed above in Table 38, including the total number with listed employment and those without listed employment.

Figure 42. Household Income of Subscriber



The combined household incomes of 1,138 out of 2,480 individuals (45.9%) could be determined. This chart does not reflect the 339 individuals who reported household incomes of \$0. The average annual household income was \$738 excluding reported incomes of \$0, or \$518 if including incomes of \$0. The mode for subscribers' incomes was \$5,000.

Table 40. Intersection of Gender, Racialization, and Household Incomes less than \$1,408 Annually

	Number	Percent
Asian American Female	1	0.4%
Asian American Male	-	-
Biracial / Multiracial Female	-	-
Biracial / Multiracial Male	-	-
Black Female	44	19.2%
Black Male	52	22.7%
Indigenous Female	-	-
Latin American Male	-	-
Latina Female	-	-
Latino Male	-	-
Middle Eastern American Female	-	-
White Female	94	41.0%
White Male	38	16.6%

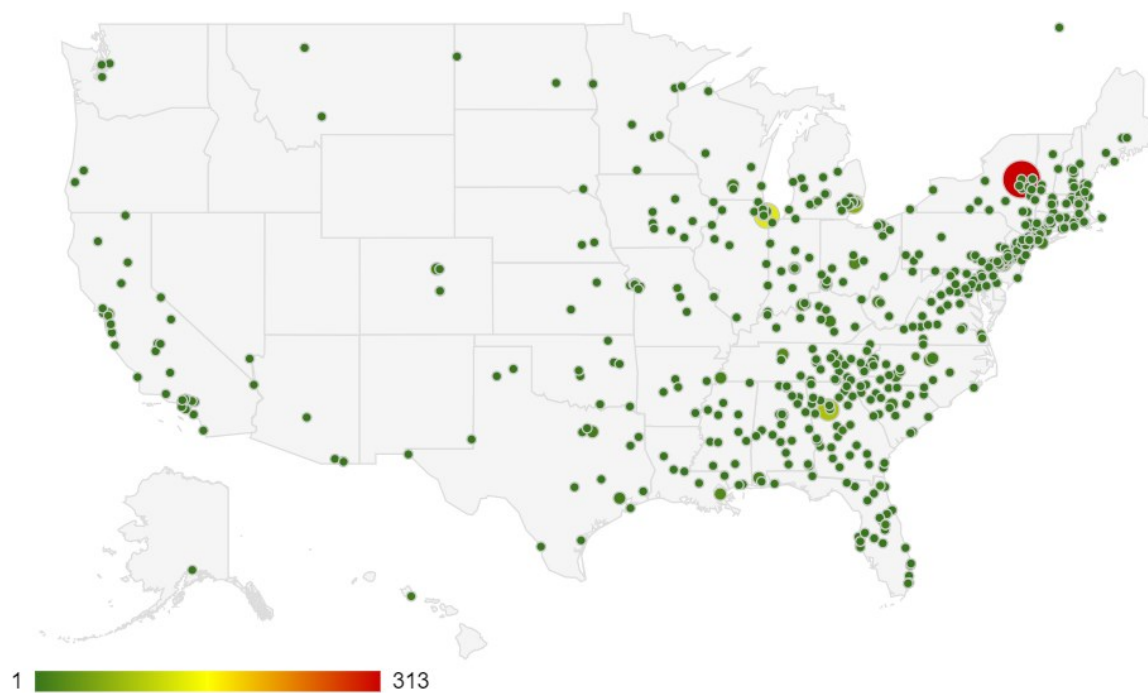
This table depicts the 229 individuals whose household incomes were less than \$1,408 (the poverty line in 1940 for a family of four) out of 654 individuals (35%) for whom racialization, gender, and household income level are all known. Not included here are the 3.0% of co-subscribers who had different intersectional identities along the axis of gender as captured in Appendix Table 30 and Figure 27. While not a perfect comparison to the numbers represented in Table 30 and Figure 27, Black women are over-represented in this category by 8.7% and Black men by 4.9%, while white women are under-represented by 3.7% and white men by 6.2%. This indicates a pay inequality along the intersecting axes of gender and racialization; however, this income discrepancy between gender and racialization is likely counteracted some by the high education levels (and corresponding professions) of subscribers as opposed to the general population at this time.

Table 41. Intersection of Gender, Racialization, and Household Incomes greater than \$5,000 Annually

	Number	Percent
Asian American Female	-	-
Asian American Male	-	-
Biracial / Multiracial Female	-	-
Biracial / Multiracial Male	-	-
Black Female	4	3.8%
Black Male	6	5.7%
Indigenous Female	-	-
Latin American Male	-	-
Latina Female	-	-
Latino Male	-	-
Middle Eastern American Female	-	-
White Female	54	50.9%
White Male	42	39.6%

This table depicts the 106 individuals whose household incomes were greater than \$5,000, out of 654 individuals (16.2%) for whom racialization, gender, and household income level are all known. Not included here are the 3.0% of co-subscribers who had different intersectional identities along the axis of gender as captured in Appendix Table 30 and Figure 27. While not a perfect comparison to the numbers represented in Table 30 and Figure 27, Black women are under-represented in this category by 6.7% and Black men by 12.1%, while white women are over-represented by 6.2% and white men by 16.8%. This indicates a pay inequality along the intersecting axes of gender and racialization.

Figure 43. Location of Subscriber by City



Map 3. Locations of Subscribers (Interactive)

See ArcGIS Online map: <https://arcg.is/1PSXiG0>.

Figure 44. Photograph Collage of Some of *South Today's* Subscribers





From left to right: [Olcott Abbott](#), [Irving Abrahamson](#), [Robert Dana Walden Adams](#), [James Appleby](#), [Essie Viola Arey](#), [Cyril Atkins](#), [Rufus B. Atwood](#), [O. E. Baker](#), [Vera Barger](#), [Frances Bear](#), [Robert Edward Lee Bearden](#), [Sylvia Beitscher](#), [Florence Bethell](#), [Mildred Biddick](#), [Raemond Bingham Wilson](#), [Foster Bittinger](#), [Gordon Blackwell](#), [Phillips Bradley](#), [Aaron Breidenstine](#), [Lavinia Bright](#), [James W. Bristah](#), [Myrtle Brooke](#), [Horace R. Cayton](#), [William Childress](#), [Rufus E. Clement](#), [Isabella Conkling](#), [Francis C. Cook](#), [Mary Emily Cottingham](#), [Doris V. Craddock](#), [Dorothy Crosland](#), [Alice Currie](#), [Muriel Curtis](#), [Malcolm Boyd Dana](#), [J. Herman Daves](#), [Edna Davis](#), [John Alvin Decker](#), [Alice E. Dickinson](#), [David Witherspoon Dodge](#), [Sheila Edelman](#), [Allen D. Edwards](#), [Mary Ela](#), [Ralph Epstein](#), [Robert Langdon Foreman](#), [H. Thornton Fowler](#), [Dorothy Brownell Franklin](#), [Cola Mae Franzen](#), [Lois Freeman](#), [Ruth S. Freeman](#), [Milton David Friedenber](#), [Jane Frances Friedlander](#), [Gardener Fuller](#), [John Merriman Gaus](#), [Ruth Gaver](#), [Anne Brenner Gellman](#), [Betty Gray Gibson](#), [James Richard Golden](#), [Eliot Boyd Graves](#), [Fletcher M. Green](#), [Joseph Grider](#), [Maribelle Guin](#), [Richard Hairston](#), [Frances Louise Hall](#), [Cecil D. Halliburton](#), [Frank Austin Hamilton](#), [Genevieve Karr Hamlin](#), [Elizabeth Harris](#), [George Bartow Harris](#), [Malcolm H. Harris](#), [Dorothy Harvey](#), [Myrtle Hawkins](#), [Camilla Hewson](#), [Lydia Treasure Hicks](#), [Shirley Hyman](#), [Constance Hyslop](#), [Marjorie Ilgenfritz](#), [Lucia Mae Ingerson](#), [Evalene P. Jackson](#), [Frank Dudley Jones](#), [Susie W. Jones](#), [Sister Gerard Joseph](#), [Valarie Justiss](#), [Mineo Katagiri](#), [Nellie Kelleher](#), [Helen Perry Kelly](#), [Stanley Kepner](#), [Edwin Silas Wells Kerr](#), [Boris Killgrew](#), [Morton B. King](#), [Boze H. Kitchens](#), [James Jefferson Lever](#), [Roscoe Edwin Lewis](#), [Walton A. Lewis](#), [Eugenia Wilson Newlin](#), [Victoria Newton](#), [Rosalie Oakes](#), [Delos O'Brian](#), [Howard W. Odum](#), [Catherine Olson](#), [Doris Olson](#), [Lemora Orr](#), [Anthony Lewis Oswald](#), [Gloria Pears](#), [Ware Holliday Pendleton](#), [Irvin Poley](#), [Addie](#)

[Cruikshank Pollard](#), [Wiley Gordon Poole](#), [Buford Posey](#), [Charles McCrady Pratt](#), [Rosa Clare Pryse](#), [Fred Ptashne](#), [Vera Quarles](#), [Dorothy Rainey](#), [Glenn Rainey](#), [Robert Rayburn](#), [Geraldine Recknagel](#), [Herman Reissig](#), [Marcella Ricks](#), [Wilfred Roach](#), [Roberta Robinson](#), [Lynn Rohrbough](#), [Wilmina Rowland](#), [Lester Rumble](#), [Charles Phillips Russell](#), [Bayard Rustin](#), [Jane Rutland](#), [J. Olcott Sanders](#), [Guy Walter Sarvis](#), [Helen Schnase Baum](#), [Hyman Schoenfeldt](#), [Roslyn Segal](#), [Betty Seidel](#), [Mary Shadow](#), [John Simpson](#), [Katherine Sisson](#), [Harriet Skinner](#), [Olivia Smenner](#), [Robert Metcalfe Smith](#), [Warren Staebler](#), [Algernon Odell Steele](#), [Ingeborg Stephen](#), [Marjorie Stetten](#), [Michael Stuhlsatz](#), [Ina Sugihara](#), [Carolyn Surratt](#), [Edward C. Sylvester](#), [Mary Elizabeth Talmadge](#), [Togo Tanaka](#), [Drusilla Tandy](#), [Marion Elizabeth Tanner](#), [Paul S. Taylor](#), [Kathryn Teach](#), [Marion Terry](#), [Annette Vanoush Terzian](#), [Louise Tippen](#), [Aubrey Clayton Todd](#), [Dorothy M. Toness](#), [Henry Johnston Toombs](#), [Jessie Cambron Treichler](#), [William J. Trent](#), [Euncie True](#), [Marion H. Tuteur](#), [Willis O. Tyler](#), [Emory M. Underwood](#), [Ray Utterback](#), [Louise Veatch](#), [Louisa E. Wagoner](#), [Bernice Warshaw](#), [Phyllis W. Waters](#), [Edgar Watkins Jr.](#), [Goodwin Watson](#), [Helen Webster](#), [Henry Curtis Webster](#), [Carter Wesley](#), [Forrest Oran Wiggins](#), [Virginia Wilcox](#), [Roy Wilkins](#), [Aubrey Willis Williams](#), [Nathalia Wright](#), [George Baskerville Zehmer](#), [Carol J. Zillman](#).

These photographs represent only a sampling of *South Today*'s 1944-1945 subscribers who could be located in digitized yearbooks. The subscribers featured are primarily those who attended a post-secondary institution. All photographs located on *Ancestry*; citation links require *Ancestry* membership.

Table 42. List of Attendees at the September 28-29, 1943 House Party

Name	DOB	DOD	Racialization	Affiliation	Location
Dr. Belle Boone Beard	1898	1984	White	Sweet Briar College	Sweet Briar, VA
Helen Bullard			White		Atlanta, GA
Ann Cook					
Mrs. Mary Tobias Dean	1913		Black		Atlanta, GA
June Sampson Gallagher [Mrs. Buell G. Gallagher]	1903	1980	White		Talladega, AL
Viola “Vandi” Van Der Horck Haygood [Mrs. William Haygood]	1915	1955	White	Julius Rosenwald Fund	Chicago, IL
Dr. Anna Arnold Hedgeman	1899	1990	Black		
Marie Antoinette Johnson [Mrs. Charles Johnson]	1891	1965	Black		
Thomasina W. Johnson	1908	2002	Black	National Non-Partisan Council on Public Affairs	Washington, DC
Leola Kelsey [Mrs. George Kelsey]	1910	1984	Black	Morehouse College	Atlanta, GA
Sadie Gray Mays [Mrs. Benjamin Mays]	1900	1969	Black	Morehouse College	Atlanta, GA
Dorothy McClatchey [Mrs. Devereaux McClatchey]	1907	2009	White		Atlanta, GA
Rebecca Reid	1911?		White	Converse College	Spartanburg, SC
Eslande Goode Robeson [Mrs. Paul Robeson]	1895	1965	Black	Hartford Seminary Foundation	Enfield, CT
Constance Rumbough	1894		White	The Fellowship of Reconciliation	Nashville, TN
Esther Smith [Mrs. John R. Smith]	1915		Black		Atlanta, GA
Mary Church Terrell	1863	1954	Black		Washington, DC
Mrs. R. E. Thomas					
Mrs. Sue Bailey Thurdman	1903	1996	Black		
Dorothy Tilly	1883	1970	White	Woman’s Society of Christian Service	Atlanta, GA
Beulah Whitby	1897	1990	Black	Detroit Office of Civilian Defense	Detroit, MI

The affiliation information was drawn from correspondence letterhead. The blanks do not indicate a lack of occupation, but reflect these individuals did not correspond with Smith and Snelling regarding this party using organizational or institutional stationary.

Other invitees who were unable to attend included: Mrs. Sidney Anderson; Mary McLeod Bethune; Norma E. Boyd; Edna M. Colson; Mrs. Malcolm Dana; Ethel M. Davis [Mrs. John W. Davis]; Mrs. Jonathan Day; Martha Dawn; Mary Foreman [Mrs. Robert L. Foreman]; Helen Alzada Hayes [Mrs. Roland Hayes]; Mrs. Henderson; Constance Ridley Heslip; Daisy E. Lampkin; Sallie Lou MacKinnon; Lucy Randolph Mason; Arline Barnett Moore [Mrs. James Dolphin Moore, Jr.]; Pauli Murray; Augusta Roberts; Bonita Valien; Gladys White [Mrs. Walter White]; Mrs. Yeomans; and Louise Young.

Table 43. Locations of Unsolicited Copies of Spring 1942 Issue Sent by Editors

City, State	Number	Affiliations
Aiken, SC	1	
Alabama City, AL	1	YMCA
Asheville, NC	1	
Athens, GA	2	University of Georgia
Atlanta, GA	13	<i>Atlanta World</i> ; Emory University; Morehouse College
Auburn, AL	1	
Augusta, GA	1	
Austin, TX	3	University of Texas
Baltimore, MD	2	<i>Afro-American</i> ; <i>Baltimore Sun</i>
Banksville, KY	1	University College
Baton Rouge, LA	17	Louisiana State University
Bennettsville, SC	1	Woman's Field Workers
Berea, KY	1	Berea College
Birmingham, AL	5	<i>Age Herald</i> ; Birmingham-Smithers College; United Mine Workers
Boston, MA	1	
Bowling Green, KY	2	Western State Teacher's College
Brooklyn, NY	1	<i>PM</i>
Camp Shelby, MS	1	
Chapel Hill, NC	17	University of North Carolina
Charleston, SC	3	Charleston Medical College
Charlotte, NC	1	J.C. Smith University
Chattanooga, TN	1	University of Chattanooga
Chicago, IL	14	<i>Chicago Daily News</i> ; <i>Christian County</i> ; Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS); Hull House; Julius Rosenwald Fund; University of Chicago
Clemson, SC	1	Clemson College
College Park, MD	2	University of Maryland
Collins, MS	1	
Columbia, SC	20	Adult Education WPA; Agriculture Extension; Farm Credit Administration; South Carolina Education Center; State Board of Health; State Dept. of Education; University of South Carolina;
Comox, BC, Canada	1	
Coral Gables, FL	1	University of Miami
Davidson, NC	1	Davidson College
DeLand, FL	1	
Denver, CO	1	
Durham, NC	5	Duke University
Eastover, SC	1	

Fayetteville, AR	2	University of Arkansas
Florida	1	
Florence, SC	1	
Fort Valley, GA	1	Fort Valley State College
Gaffney, SC	2	Limestone College
Gainesville, FL	2	University of Florida
Greenbelt, MD	1	
Greensboro, NC	3	Guilford College; Woman's College
Greenville, SC	11	Furman University; Maternity Shelter; Parker School District; South Carolina Hospital Association; South Carolina Society Mental Hygiene; Tusculum College
Greenwood, SC	1	Lander College
Hammond, LA	1	Southern Louisiana College
Harbert, MI	1	
Harrogate, TN	1	Lincoln Memorial University
Hartsville, SC	1	Coker Pedigreed Seed Co.
Highland Park, IL	1	
Homewood, AL	1	
Huntsville, AL	1	Alabama College
Jacksonville, FL	3	
Jenkintown, PA	1	
Kent, OH	1	Kent State University
Knoxville, TN	5	Knoxville College; University of Tennessee
LaGrange, GA	1	LaGrange College
Lexington, KY	8	Agricultural Experiment State; Transylvania College; University of Kentucky
Little Rock, AR	1	Philander Smith College
Los Angeles, CA	1	LA State University
Louisville, KY	4	Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; University of Louisville
Macon, GA	1	Wesleyan College
Madison, WI	1	
Maryville, TN	1	Maryville College
Minneapolis, MO	1	
Mobile, AL	1	
Monroe, LA	1	
Montgomery, AL	1	State Teachers College
Morehead, KY	1	Morehead State Teachers College
Murfreesboro, TN	1	
Nashville, TN	3	Fisk University; George Peabody College for Teachers; Vanderbilt University
North Carolina	1	

New Haven, CT	1	YMCA, Yale University
New Orleans, LA	6	Dillard University; Tulane University; Xavier University
New York City, NY	20	<i>Amsterdam News</i> ; <i>Daily News</i> ; <i>Herald Tribune</i> ; <i>New York Herald</i> ; <i>Saturday Review of Literature</i> ; <i>The Nation</i> ; <i>The New Republic</i> ; <i>Time Magazine</i> ; American Missionary Association; Carnegie Corporation; Workers Defense League
Newberry, SC	2	Newberry College
Norfolk, VA	1	<i>Journal and Guide</i>
Oakland, CA	1	
Oklahoma City, OK	1	<i>Black Dispatch</i>
Orangeburg, SC	1	South Carolina Medical Association
Oxford, MS	2	University of Mississippi
Palatha, FL	1	
Pittsburgh, PA	1	<i>Pittsburgh Courier</i>
Plymouth, WI	1	Mission House College
Raleigh, NC	4	North Carolina State College; St. Augustine's College
Richmond, VA	1	Virginia Union Seminary
Rock Hill, SC	4	Home Economics Association; Winthrop College
Rolling Fork, MS	1	Delta Council
Rome, GA	1	Shorter University
Salisbury, NC	1	Catawba College
Scotlandville, LA	1	Southern University A & M College
Seattle, WA	1	
Spartanburg, SC	1	Wofford College
St. Bernard, AL	1	St. Bernard Jr. College;
St. Louis, MO	1	Washington University
Starkville, MS	2	Mississippi Experimental Station State College; Mississippi State College
State College, VA	1	West Virginia State College
Stillwater, OK	1	Oklahoma Agricultural & Mechanical College
Stoneville, MS	1	
Talladega, AL	1	Talladega College;
Tallahassee, FL	7	Florida A & M College; Florida State College for Women
Tampa, FL	1	
Tougaloo, MS	1	Tougaloo College
Tuscaloosa, AL	5	University of Alabama
Tuskegee, AL	1	
Washington, DC	15	Children's Bureau; Education Foundation; Federal Loan Agency, Export-Import Bank; Southern Education Foundation; YMCA
Winter Park, FL	1	Rollins College
Yankton, SD	1	Yankton College

This data was assembled from "Mailing Lists, Spring Issue 1942, Vol. 7, No. 1." Lillian Smith Papers, Series 2: The South Today - Correspondence and Records, Box 24, Folder 9, "Mailing Lists." Special and Area Studies Collections, George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida.

Figure 45. Locations of Unsolicited Copies of Spring 1942 Issue Sent by Editors

