

# Slavery and Freedom in Athens, Georgia, 1860-1866

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SLAVERY was a harsh-sounding word; but in Athens, Georgia, servitude was not as harsh as the word sounded, and, indeed, in Georgia as a whole, this lot of the colored man varied from hard labor to virtual freedom from it. Some of the laws relating to slavery were severe on their face; others guaranteed the slave protection against cruel punishment. In either case, the law might often, and did, operate as a dead letter, depending for enforcement on the attitude of the master or the sentiment in the community.

The slave, though a person, was still property, and being such, he could not own property. Anything the slave possessed belonged to his master; even a gift to a slave became the property of his master. A slave should not be taught to read or to write or to act as a clerk, whereby he might learn to do so. Nor could he work in a printing office in any capacity where reading and writing were necessary; but he might turn the crank on a printing press. It was against the law to sell to a slave writing paper or ink or any other writing materials for his own use. No white person might play cards or otherwise gamble with a slave. A slave might not work in a liquor shop where he would have access to strong drink; and no one might sell or give to a slave any spirituous liquors, except that a master might furnish his slave such beverages whenever he thought it would be to the benefit of the slave.<sup>1</sup>

Frequent references in the various laws relating to slavery (often referred to as the slave code) indicated how lightly slavery rested on some classes of Negroes, and in some cases, on all Negroes. There were such expressions as these: "each negro or person of color nominally a slave," "nominal slave," and "nominal slaves, or slaves who have purchased themselves."<sup>2</sup> Now and then a slave might hire himself out to a person not his master, until he

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was legally prohibited from doing so without a permit from his master. And in 1850 a law was passed prohibiting a master from allowing his slaves to run around hunting someone to whom he might hire himself, unless he paid a fee of \$100 for such a privilege.<sup>3</sup>

According to Georgia law the normal condition of a Negro was slavery, and, therefore, any Negro claiming to be a free person of color (often abbreviated fpc) must be able to prove himself to be so; and a Negro was defined as anyone with one-eighth Negro blood. This fact, of course, placed a severe handicap on such Negroes, and led unscrupulous white men to seize and sell such people as being slaves. A law passed in 1835 declared that since free persons of color were "liable to be taken and held fraudulently and illegally in a state of slavery, by wicked white men, and be secretly removed whenever an effort may be made to redress their grievances, so that due inquiry cannot be made into the circumstances of their detention and their right to freedom," it would now be the right and duty for the Justices of the Inferior Courts to take jurisdiction in such cases and make proper inquiry into the true facts.<sup>4</sup> And it became the duty of the Ordinary in every county to appoint guardians for all free persons of color who might reside in the county. As there was actually little distinction between a slave and a free person of color, except as to enforced labor, most laws relating to slaves applied also to the latter. Frequently the expression, "free persons of color" would appear in the slave laws, and where not, it was to be assumed that the application was there unless by the nature of the law it would not be logical.<sup>5</sup>

In 1860 there were in Clarke County (Athens being the principal town, though not the county seat) 11,218 inhabitants. Of these, 5,539 were white, 5,660 were slaves, and 19 were free persons of color. Of the last-named Negroes, thirteen were black and six were mulattoes. More than a third of the people in Clarke County lived in Athens, which had a total population of 3,848. Of these, 1,955 were white, 1,892 were slaves, and only one free person of color.<sup>6</sup> But these numbers were to be greatly changed during the war years, for there was a considerable increase of

the slave population by planters allowing their servants to come to Athens, and very likely a majority of the free persons of color moved into Athens. Thus, it appears that in 1860, Clarke County as a whole had more slaves than white people, but that Athens had a slight majority of whites.

Before the Civil War broke out, Athens had developed the reputation of being a sort of "nigger heaven," for the slave seemed to have had little hindrance from running around over town as he pleased, and war conditions were to greatly intensify this situation. Sometimes Athens slaves were referred to as "Free Slaves," as was the heading to a protest written by "Justice" for the Athens *Southern Watchman* (one of the two town newspapers), and published two years before the war. Said "Justice" "there are more free negroes manufactured and made virtually free in the town of Athens in two months, than there are bona fide free negroes in Clarke and any ten of the surrounding counties." And all of this came about by the very best citizens of the town hiring to their slaves their time and letting them run loose seeking employment—all against the state law and the ordinances of the town. But the Negro thus set free "in nine cases out of ten, idles away half his time, or gambles away what he does make, and then relies upon his ingenuity in stealing to meet the demands pay day inevitably brings forth, and this is the way in which our towns are converted into dens of rogues and thieves." If the laws could not be enforced, then, this indignant correspondent advocated their repeal "and let every one who suffers from the deprivations from these drones upon the honest portion of the community, be prepared at all times, to free himself from their encroachments by a judicious use of powder and lead."<sup>7</sup>

The election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States in November, 1860 threw a chill of fear into the hearts of Athenians and of Georgians throughout the state. Negroes knew something about the meaning of Lincoln's election, and white people now felt that their slave population was ripe for abolition emissaries to stir up a servile insurrection. A week after the election, a mass meeting was called in Athens, which resolved that an efficient police force be organized to patrol the town and that

in addition there be organized volunteer policemen to patrol every ward in the town. It resolved also that the patrol system in the county, which had largely fallen into disuse, be brought to life and that its activities be stepped up beyond what had been the custom when the system first had been inaugurated throughout Georgia. The most practical work of this mass meeting, extra-legal to say the least, was to set up a detective force, called a vigilance committee "to examine into all alleged attempts at insurrection among the slaves."<sup>8</sup>

As expressed by John H. Christy, the editor of the *Southern Watchman*, "Our object is not to spread needless alarm—far from it; but with the lights before us, we should be recreant to duty if we failed to warn the people everywhere to be on their guard."

"It is needless—indeed would be imprudent—to publish the facts on which we base our opinions; but they are of such a nature as to demand the exercise of prudent foresight in the prevention of any attempts at insubordination." Christy wanted it to be understood that the work of vigilance committees was not to terrorize the slave population, but on the contrary, "Humanity to the slaves, no less than the safety of the whites, demands the utmost vigilance."<sup>9</sup>

The constituted authorities were not asleep to the supposed dangers. The Grand Jury of Clarke County, in its presentments in 1861, recognized that there had been much "delinquency" in the patrols, and it warned them "to use great vigilance and care," to keep an eye on all strangers, and to watch over the movements of slaves.<sup>10</sup> The next year the Grand Jury observed that Justices of the Inferior Courts, Justices of the Peace, "and others charged with the duty of trying slaves for misdemeanors and crimes" had been too lax in the performance of their tasks, and it recommended the appointment of "Patrol Commissioners" in the several militia districts, apparently either to engage in patrolling or to direct the work of those who already had been appointed.<sup>11</sup>

Athens had been incorporated as a town in 1806 and it was to be governed by three Commissioners;<sup>12</sup> in 1815 the number was increased to five;<sup>13</sup> and seven years later two more were added.<sup>14</sup> In 1847 the government of the town was completely changed.

Now an Intendant (mayor) and Wardens (councilmen) should rule over Athens. There were to be three divisions, called wards, with two Wardens elected from each, except for Ward Number One, which should elect three. The Intendant was elected by a city-wide vote.<sup>15</sup> The other town officials were a marshal, a deputy marshal, and a clerk for the City Council, which had the right to pass ordinances not in conflict with state laws and the constitution. On the touchy subject of slave control, the Commissioners back in 1831 had been given the right to pass all ordinances and rules "necessary for the government of slaves and free persons of color."<sup>16</sup> Under the rule of the Intendant and Council the Intendant was given the power to try all cases involving the city ordinances and the "good order and peace" of the city.<sup>17</sup>

As the town grew larger, more wards were added, and on special occasions additional marshals or policemen were provided. Starting out with modest boundaries, Athens in 1842 was extended two miles in every direction from Point Zero, which was the Chapel on the campus of the State University.<sup>18</sup> (The University had been founded in 1801 and the town had grown up around it.) The Town Hall was the seat of government. It was a two-story building, with the city market on the first floor, flanked by the calaboose, and on the second floor were the town hall and offices.<sup>19</sup>

The services provided by the city were elementary, but sufficient for that day and generation and the attitude of mind of its citizens, who believed that the Lord helped those who helped themselves. The streets were lighted by gas lamps; and to take care of them there was a lamplighter appointed by the Council, which generally awarded him a salary of \$75 a year.<sup>20</sup> The streets were unpaved, of course, muddy in wet weather, and dusty in dry. To keep them in a passable condition, the city owned a mule, a cart, and a few necessary tools. To operate this establishment the Council hired annually a slave from some citizen slaveowner, at a cost of \$130—more, nearer the end of the war, when Confederate money became less valuable. In 1862 the Council hired General Thomas R. R. Cobb's boy Joe "to work the streets,

drive and take care of the town mule—he, the said Cobb, is to board and clothe said boy, and pay all physician's bills, if any."<sup>21</sup> Cob was killed in December, 1862, at the Battle of Fredericksburg, but this boy Joe continued to work the streets in 1863, at least for a short time; but for most of this year a boy Lige was in charge of the mule and the streets. Boy Lige in January, 1865, was voted by the Council a reward of \$50 "for his general faithfulness."<sup>22</sup> (It was customary to call any Negro, "boy," who was not old enough and respectable enough to be dubbed affectionately "uncle.") As the city did not own a stable, it rented one for the mule, generally paying \$12 annually.<sup>23</sup>

To protect the city against fires, there was a voluntary fire department ("Hook and Ladder" company), to which the city made some small appropriations. There being no water works during the war years, the city depended on cisterns privately owned and several which apparently the city owned—one being under Broad Street opposite the University Campus. In those halcyon days of economy and simplicity, the total cost of the city government did not reach \$5,000. The cost for the year 1863 was \$4,200.<sup>24</sup>

Since there were few industries in Athens in which slaves might be employed, it was a problem for owners to find work for their slaves, and for the guardians of free persons of color to be responsible for their welfare. This was indeed, a problem, when it is remembered that there were almost 2,000 slaves in Athens in 1860. Of course, the great majority of them were used as household servants, yard boys, gardeners, carriage drivers, and in other capacities in keeping with city dwellers. For instance the Hull family, prominent in Athens from the beginning, subsisted four slave families on their lot. From these families the Hulls recruited a cook, a laundress, a nurse, a seamstress, a housemaid, a carriage driver, a gardener, and a few general utility hands. They had a plantation nearby, which could absorb some of their city slaves.<sup>25</sup>

To take care of some of the surplus Athens slaves, the City Council every year, in violation of their own ordinances and of state law according to the critics, allowed Athens slaveowners to pay a certain fee (generally referred to as a tax) and thereby

let their slaves live away from the owners' lots. This dispensation also was allowed to the guardians of free persons of color. But any slave or free person of color who did not live on the lot of his owner or guardian and for whom the fee was not paid was required immediately to move beyond the city limits. It was the intention of the law that such persons must live on the lots of those who employed them, but evasions seem never to have been widely punished. Also it was possible for the employer to pay the fee instead of the owner or guardian. Naturally the guardian expected to be repaid, and so did the owner.

The fee varied with the individual slave or free person of color, depending on whether man or woman, on the ability of the person to perform labor (and hence on age), and with the progression of the war years. In 1861 Dr. Alonzo Church, former president of the University of Georgia, paid \$10 each for his women slaves Caroline and Ann to live off his lot; and the Council (or Board as it generally denominated itself) tolled off at its February meeting in addition the following "free persons of color, and also . . . the slaves living separate and apart from their owner's, employer's or guardian's lot . . . Isaac Walker, free person of color, \$25; Willis Parks, free person of color, \$25; T M Daniel's girl, Caroline, \$10; Billy Nance, free boy of color, \$25; Milledge Nance, free boy of color, \$20; T F Cooper's girl, Arra, \$25; D H Alexander's girl Matilda, \$25; Jonas Cochran, free boy of color, \$25; Dr H C Billups' old woman, Dalla, \$5; J I Carlton's man Caesar and wife, \$10; R D B Taylor's old woman, Venis, \$5; M E McWhorter's boy Jim and Wife, each, \$15; M J Claney's girl, Julia, \$10; J M Barnell's girl, Eve, \$10; Athens Manufacturing Co.'s slaves, \$50 [made cotton goods]; Wm M Morton's woman Dolla, \$10; do do boy Jim, \$20; George Morton, free boy of color, \$25; L C Matthews' woman, \$10."<sup>26</sup> Thus, it is seen that the fees ran from \$5 to \$25. During the year a few other slaves and free persons of color were allowed to live off the lots of their owners or guardians,<sup>27</sup> making about thirty or forty, all told.

The next year the fees per person were doubled;<sup>28</sup> for the year 1863 the fees for free persons of color amounted to \$1,000,<sup>29</sup> in

1864 at least fifty-six slaves and free persons of color were allowed to live apart from owners and guardians, and the fees ran as high as \$100 each.<sup>30</sup> During 1865 as long as the war lasted, the dispensation was still going on and the fees ranged as high as \$500 per person.<sup>31</sup>

As this licensing system worked itself out, it set free to roam around over town with little hindrance from thirty to fifty or sixty slaves and free persons of color, looking for something to do for wages or to steal enough to pay their owners or guardians the license fees. Editor Christy made opposition to this system the recurring theme for editorials from the beginning of the war to its end. It was the cause of widespread thievery: "No man's property is secure so long as such numbers of lazy, rascally buck negroes are permitted to live off their master's premises.

"We venture the opinion that there is not another community of the same extent in the Confederacy where there is so much petty thieving as in Athens. No wonder a member of the Legislature from this place said a few years ago that this town had been converted by the negroes into a 'den of thieves.'"<sup>32</sup>

From every standpoint the system was bad. It was not only against the law, but also it had a bad effect on the other slave population which did not enjoy this liberty. "Everybody knows," he declared, "that negroes who are nominally slaves, but really free, will not work so long as they can find any thing to steal, and the dens established by the license system of the Council afford the best hiding places imaginable. The negroes are obliged to have something to eat—their inherent love of idleness prevents them from working, and stealing becomes a necessity." During the first half of the year 1864 Christy had lost through theft 100 pounds of bacon, beef worth \$600, and two hogs worth \$500 each—all because the City Council allowed "a lot of worthless negroes the glorious liberty of violating the laws." It was high time that a stop be put to granting these indulgences.<sup>33</sup>

Christy would grant this much: "We do not say that these pets do all the stealing—but we do say that the whole system tends to encourage theft, insubordination and other crimes among our negroes—and everybody knows this to be true."<sup>34</sup>



As the year 1865 came in, the Council again sold for a fee the right of Negroes to live off the lots of their owners, guardians, and employers; and Christy again attacked this group of law-makers for violating their own laws and the laws of the state. As a final resort he offered this advice: "Let us petition for a repeal of the Town charter—let Athens become simply '216th District G. M.'—let the patrol laws of the state be enforced, and then let us see if buck negroes cannot be whipped back to their owner's or their hirer's lots." The Council seemed to have been prevailed upon year after year in granting these indulgences, by Athens slaveowners who found some of their slaves a nuisance on their own lots and by slaveowners out in the county, who found that they could make more out of their slaves by sending them into Athens than they could by leaving them on their plantations. White men could not violate a law of Athens with impunity, said Christy, yet a "gentleman or lady of 'de African scent' can buy an indulgence to violate it openly three hundred and sixty five days in succession at from ten to fifty dollars hitherto." At this time Christy explained it cost a little more because of inflation.<sup>35</sup>

Besides stealing what other occupations were slaves and free persons of color engaging in? By now the "Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse" were appearing over the horizon of Athens—certainly at least three of them, before the end of the first year of the war—the variety that was to be a plague for the next four years, Speculation, Inflation, Scarcity. And slaves and free persons of color were to have places in the picture. Before the end of 1861 Editor Christy raised the spectre: "It seems that the people have determined to destroy one another. Everybody is raising the price of everything, because salt, coffee, and a few other articles happen to be high! We fear the end of all this will be terrible! These exorbitant prices are already doing greater damage to the country than old Abe's army can ever do. Our people are ruining the country. We have no fear of the Federalists. Their armies may be driven from the field; but the greedy, rapacious bloodsuckers in our midst, shielding themselves behind the letter of the laws which they daily violate in spirit, are determined to pursue a course which leads to inevitable ruin. Can nothing arrest them? Public

opinion cannot, because the great mass of our people being guilty of some sort of extortion, are ready to tolerate it in others.”<sup>36</sup>

These off-the-lot Negroes found ready employment in buying and selling foods and other products of farms and gardens. P. E. Moore, one of the Wardens in a Board meeting, raised the cry against this evil as well as others besetting the town: “The general demoralization of the town, from the unrestrained excesses of youth, and the night brawls of riotous adults, having increased to such a degree as to be a subject of general remark, and the stealing, trading and trafficking between negroes and trifling white people have become such an intolerable burthen upon the middle classes in town, and the surrounding farmers, that it is the emperative duty of this Council, to use every lawful means in their power to put a stop to it.” He recommended that two policemen be employed to assist the marshal and his deputy in preserving order.<sup>37</sup>

In fact in November, 1861 the Council had sought to curb this trafficking by Negroes, declaring that no slave or free person of color might purchase or sell within the town or outside any flour, meal, corn, oats, butter, lard, chickens, turkeys, ducks “or any other fowls,” eggs, apples (dried or green), sweet potatoes, or yams. Anyone found guilty after a trial before the Intendant should be fined \$20 “or whipped or imprisoned.” The fine should be paid by the owner or guardian, regardless of whether such person had given permission for such trafficking.<sup>38</sup> Later the Council amended this ordinance by adding “peas, beef, pork, bacon, cotton yarn, wool, jeans, cloth, or any other article or thing, except such articles as are usually made by slaves and vended for their own use only.” The fine was now raised to as much as \$100, and anyone informing on such trafficking should be allowed one half of the fine.<sup>39</sup>

Since much of the trafficking was being carried on at the instance of white traders and merchants, the Council about this time made it a fine of from \$10 to \$300 for any such person to send slaves or free persons of color out into the town to drum up any kind of country produce; and the marshal was directed to “whip all such slaves, or free persons of color, found drumming

in violation of this Ordinance."<sup>40</sup> If a Negro might not drum for a merchant or other trader, then might he not set up a little business of his own? Apparently some were doing that, for near the end of 1863 the Council forbade any "slave, nominal slave or free person of color" to keep any store or grocery or to act as a clerk in any such establishment belonging to his master, his guardian or to anyone else. Any white person permitting this activity should be fined from \$20 to \$100; slaves should be whipped, and free persons of color and nominal slaves might be imprisoned for not more than one month.<sup>41</sup> Also the Council declared "that any white man engaged in buying or selling with a slave or free person of color, directly or indirectly, any beef, mutton, lamb, or any other article, at the market or in the town of Athens, be fined in a sum of not less than fifty dollars, to be collected as other fines."<sup>42</sup> This ordinance must not have been interpreted as forbidding free persons of color (at least) to buy from the keeper of the market or from merchants in the town; otherwise it is difficult to see how a free person of color could keep from starving to death, unless he lived by stealing.

Despite the very essence of the slave code that property could not own property, and, therefore, that a slave could not own anything, yet it seems that slaves acquired in some way vehicles and draught animals; and by so doing they came into competition with the white draymen of the town. At this time the Georgia Railroad (the only railroad reaching Athens) stopped on the east side of the Oconee River, not desiring to go to the expense of building a bridge and come closer to the heart of town. Therefore, quite a business grew up in hauling freight and passengers to and from the depot. To keep slaves and free persons of color from engaging in this activity, the Council enacted an ordinance stating that any such person operating for his own use or account a dray drawn by one and not more than two mules, horses "or other animals" should be fined \$50 and given twenty lashes, unless permission had been granted by the Intendant. If the dray were drawn by three or more animals the fine should be \$100 and thirty lashes.<sup>43</sup> This ordinance did not forbid Negroes from engaging in other transportation activities; but to discourage any

hauling of freight or passengers in Athens, the Council in January, 1865, declared that any slave or free person of color "owning horses, mules, wagons, hacks, buggies or any other vehicles" should be taxed \$100 each for every animal, \$50 each for every two-horse wagon and buggy, and \$100 each for hacks and carriages.<sup>44</sup>

The many rules and town ordinances would make it appear that the Negro population was well controlled, but seeping through all these regulations was the fact that the Negroes largely had their own way, for there were few policemen to enforce the rules. After nine o'clock at night no Negro was allowed on the streets unless he carried a pass; nevertheless, Negroes frequently might be found wandering around at almost any time of night. And, of course, Editor Christy, who carried the burden of complaining about conditions had something to say on this subject, using this headline, "Are the juvenile 'Buck Niggers' to govern Athens?" He answered in this wise: "As a voter and tax-payer, we want the question settled whether the respectable law-abiding tax-payers or the irresponsible juvenile negroes are to govern this town.

"These little miscreants gather in bands at the street corners and elsewhere on Sundays, and by their loud laughing, singing and boisterous talking, annoy quiet citizens. We have laid this matter before the proper authorities—an attempt has been made to abate this nuisance—but the police force is so small and the territory so large, that while these sable juvenile riots are being suppressed in one locality, they are in full blast in another! Nor do these imps of Satan confine themselves to noisy demonstrations in the street. They throw stones at hogs, cows and dogs, and even into the enclosures of quiet citizens, endangering the lives of their children.

"Now, this nuisance can be very readily abated, without the interference of the police, if the owners of these juvenile savages will see that they don't leave their lots on Sunday, except to attend church or Sunday-school. Will not our good citizens try the experiment?"<sup>45</sup>

Instead of complaining to the Council as Christy often did in his editorials, Athenians soon began to take their woes to Christy.

When the war was far along and most of the eligible citizens were in the Confederate army, Christy noted: "A very respectable lady asked us the other day if the few white men left here had determined to permit the negroes to do as they pleased in the streets—remarking, that she had been frequently compelled to walk around crowds of these odorous gentry on the street corners, who showed no disposition to make way for her."<sup>46</sup>

Christmas times were especially vociferous occasions for the Negroes; a few extra policemen might be hired, and on other occasions as many as seven helped to patrol the town.<sup>47</sup> The Christmas of 1862 passed off quietly, but the "servile descendants of Ham' were, however, rather numerous for a day or two. It rained all day Saturday and this was a damper on the spirits of Sambo and Dinah."<sup>48</sup>

Negroes, like white boys, went swimming in the Oconee River; but neither blacks nor whites were allowed to swim in daytime in the river where it flowed through the main part of town (this being in the pre-bathing-suit era) nor in Trail Creek, a small water flowing into the Oconee in the middle of town. Violation of this ordinance carried a fine of \$10 for whites and the penalty for Negroes was twenty lashes.<sup>49</sup>

Negroes on Sundays were not permitted to hire any horse, buggy, carriage, hack or other vehicle or to drive vehicles other than their owners' or guardians'; and any Negro so bold as to do otherwise would subject himself to thirty-nine lashes and imprisonment in the guard house until called for by his owner or guardian. Any white person hiring a horse or vehicle to "or driving any slave or free person of color" on Sunday should be fined not less than \$50.<sup>50</sup>

But to make up for the prohibition against enjoying themselves riding around on Sundays, the Negroes seem to have taken advantage on weekdays of the opportunity of riding down to the depot to see the Georgia Railroad train come in and to ride back up the hill. Christy was indignant at this situation: "We are told that idle boys and buck negroes ride in vehicles from the depot, while wounded soldiers who have lost their limbs fighting for their country have to hobble over on crutches. We mention

this thing thus plainly, not to offend any one, but simply to call attention to an evil which can be easily cured, and which, moreover, is a reproach to our town."<sup>51</sup>

Most of the Negroes in Athens were either Methodists or Baptists with some Episcopalians (and all worshipping in their special ways). They had their own churches, with the exception of the Episcopalians, who used the Town Hall on "Sunday evenings" (probably meaning afternoons), conducted by white members.<sup>52</sup> The meeting nights for the Negroes were originally on Wednesdays; but in 1863 the Council changed the time to Thursday nights.<sup>53</sup>

Negroes were allowed other forms of entertainment besides going to their funeral and burial exercises. In 1864 the Negro musician prodigy Blind Tom was brought by his master to Athens to give performances. After playing the piano to white audiences, in which, of course, no colored people were allowed, on his last appearance he performed "exclusively for servants"—no white people being allowed to attend.<sup>54</sup>

There were two serious disturbances in Athens in 1862 in which Negroes were the centers: one was a large gathering of them which might easily have led to a riot and the other was a lynching. In January a group, estimated at 50 to 100, gathered and showed their great joy at the defeat of one of the candidates for the marshalship "by throwing up their caps and hurraing at the very top of their lungs." Even without this demonstration their assembling was against the town ordinances and was "outrageous; but we further give it as our opinion [said Christy], for negroes to be suffered to assemble by hundreds to make a public demonstration of their approval or disapproval of the election of an officer, is not only wrong in itself, conducive to insolence and insurrection, but that they should be permitted to do so in behalf of an officer elected especially to control them is insufferable." And added to all this criticism, he said, was the fact that "liquor was bought by white men, upon the occasion, and freely dispensed to the assembled negroes upon public streets."<sup>55</sup> It was strictly against town ordinances and state laws to allow Negroes to have liquors, and the Grand Jury of Clarke County

had called attention to the fact that many persons had "been Trading & furnishing slaves with Spirituous Liquors and that too by a class of persons who exercise no salutary moral influence in the community, but on the contrary, corrupt and ruin our slave property and undermine the structure of all moral law."<sup>56</sup>

The Council ordered an investigation, but no report ever was submitted; or if it was it was not recorded in the minutes. Christy in his *Watchman*, however, called attention to the fact that about this time a group of slave musicians had given a concert in the town for the benefit of the Athens volunteers going to the Confederate army, and he could not refrain from throwing out the question, "What do the invaders of our soil think of this?"<sup>57</sup>

The lynching took place about a mile from town. A slave was brought into Athens from a nearby plantation to be tried for an assault on the wife of the overseer. Justice of the Peace Kirkpatrick held a preliminary hearing and announced the verdict sentencing him to jail to await trial in the Superior Court. An enraged mob immediately seized the Negro and placing a rope around his neck, led him down Broad Street and hanged him to a pine tree near the Georgia Railroad track. It was ascertained that the mob had feared that the owner of the slave might rescue him and sell him to someone where the crime was not known (the owner receiving no recompense for executed slave property) or that the court might delay the trial and make possible his escape. Christy, who had no prejudices favorable to Negroes, was prejudiced decidedly in favor of law and order, and admitting that "a negro guilty of the most revolting crime known to the law," as this one was, still should be tried and executed according to law. "There is no doubt about the justice of his punishment"; said Christy, "but we are utterly opposed to the *manner* of his execution. There can be no rational liberty which is not regulated by law. A deep and abiding respect for, and a rigid enforcement of the laws of the land, are, therefore, the greatest safeguard of freedom."<sup>58</sup>

Athens was not alone in Negroes seeming to take charge, for what happened in Athens was somewhat characteristic of many of the towns and cities of the Confederacy. Conditions in Rich-

mond, the capital of the Confederacy, were worse than they were in Athens.

Negroes in Athens were not the only ones to create disturbances; white "Juvenile Depravity" burst forth now and then, as chronicled by Christy, the watchdog of Athens decorum: "One day last week, some half dozen small boys, from ten to fourteen years of age, were committed to the calaboose for petty thieving and perhaps other misdemeanors. We are not surprised at this. Our only surprise is, that the number did not reach fifty! So long as parents permit little boys to spend their time in idleness, and more especially in the streets—so long as they teach them that taking fruit, watermelons, &c., is not stealing—so long as they permit them to pelt hogs, dogs and cows with rocks—to throw rocks and bricks into other people's enclosures—to pull down young shade trees along the sidewalks—to tear down hand-bills and pull pailings off fences—and the thousand and one acts of villiany they are in the daily habit of perpetrating, it need not be wondered at that occasionally half-a-dozen of them are bagged for stealing! We can furnish a list of from fifty to a hundred boys in this place [who] will go to the penitentiary within the next twenty years unless they are hanged sooner, or (what is not likely) unless their parents cause them to amend their ways."<sup>59</sup>

The conscience of the City Council finally led to action. In July, 1863, it passed an ordinance declaring that any white boy throwing rocks or any other missiles "[through mischief or pastime] . . . at any other boy, negro or other thing" in the public streets should be fined from \$1 to \$10. And if the parent or guardian did not pay the fine the boy should be lodged in the calaboose. Any Negro boy guilty of this offense should be whipped by the marshal "without being tried . . . not exceeding twenty stripes."<sup>60</sup>

The peace of Athens was to continue undisturbed throughout the war except for its local disorders. No enemy troops ever came nearer than a half dozen miles, except as prisoners of war. In 1864 outriders of some of Sherman's cavalry brushed with Confederate troops in the vicinity and were badly crippled and some hundreds captured. They were brought through Athens on their way to the



Andersonville prison and quartered on the University Campus, near Phi Kappa Hall, and guarded by the "Thunderbolts." The main group of prisoners numbered about 200, and for some days thereafter small groups of stragglers were brought through.<sup>61</sup>

Prisoners of war were not the only evidence that a war was going on, apart from high prices, scarcities, and local disorders. From the very beginning Athens had been a collecting point for volunteers throughout the surrounding country as well as providing all of her own able-bodied men. During the first two years of the war it was a familiar sight to see companies marching through the streets, off for the war. Later the casualty lists came in to be published in the local newspapers and many families were thrown into mourning. By 1864 one lady had lost her husband and three sons and a fourth was at home near death from the ravages of disease brought on by the vigors of army life.<sup>62</sup>

Refugees poured into Athens from invaded regions as far away as Mississippi, taking up all spare rooms in town and occupying the University dormitories, except for space allotted as a "Wayside Home," for soldiers passing through town. The University Chapel was used for hospital purposes.<sup>63</sup>

Even so, Athens after three years of war, had its dull spells, when no Negro boys were "whooping it up" on the streets and no white boys were throwing rocks at anything which moved, whether dog or hog or Negro boy. No one on horseback galloped headlong down any streets, for it had now been made illegal by the City Council for anyone to do so unless he were a physician or going for one. Violation by a white person led to a fine of \$15 and if by a Negro a whipping was in store for him.<sup>64</sup>

Editor Christy in early 1864 found nothing to complain about, and in a woebegone spirit wrote: "Every thing has been so completely dried up by the war that we have not a syllable of local news—not a single incident worthy of a paragraph—this week. What is the matter? Will nothing happen to break the dull monotony? The boys have even abandoned their ancient amusement of running 'stray dogs' down Broadway with tin-kettles appended to their caudal extremities. 'Cat Alley' has dried up!—Cat Alley, which once could boast half-a-dozen *rows* per day.

Even Cat Alley is quiet! Nothing disturbs the 'solemn stillness' except now and then a rickety ox-cart whose unlubricated axels make melancholy music! Our great thoroughfare which once was crowded with country wagons laden with the rich products of a generous soil, is now bare and desolate—its stores closed—the noise of trade hushed—nothing to break the stillness, save now and then the voice of some descendants of Abraham 'jewing' a country-woman, whose butter and eggs he considers too high at \$3 per pound and \$1.25 per dozen!"<sup>65</sup>

The war was dragging out a slow course to its inevitable end—the destruction of the Confederacy. Ever since Gettysburg and Vicksburg, the two great tragedies for the Confederacy, both coming within the week of July 4, 1863, more and more people were realizing that the war was lost. But with some—and more than one might suspect—"the-hope-springs-eternal" attitude of mind still dominated to the very last. The South could not lose, for Robert E. Lee was at the head of the Confederate armies. Despite the fact that news hardly could have been worse for the past six months, when it reached Athens on April 26, 1865, that Lee had surrendered two weeks earlier (April 9th), it was considered incredible. But it was true, and Christy wrote, "Not a hero in that immortal band which composed the remnant of LEE'S forces will ever be ashamed to acknowledge that he belonged to the 'Army of Northern Virginia.'"<sup>66</sup> Even a week later Christy had not regained his composure: "The writer is free to confess, that after an experience of twenty-five years in the newspaper business, he has never before been so completely silenced—stunned—paralyzed—by rapidly-occurring events. He knows not *what* to say." But he could say this: "Rumors are as plentiful as blackberries in July. Our exchanges are filled with rumors. The passengers on the cars bring hundreds of rumors. It is rumor! rumor! everywhere!"<sup>67</sup>

Very soon there was something more than rumors; the people of Athens would be confronted with some hard facts, now that the war was over. Returning soldiers passing through and some equally needy whites and Negroes of the town, seized the small Confederate commissary here and ransacked it.<sup>68</sup> Why should they

not do so, rather than wait for invading Yankees to do it? And the waiting would not have been long, for by May 4th Brevet Brigadier-General William J. Palmer swept down out of the mountains of East Tennessee and Western North Carolina, with the Fifteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry and other troops, trying to cut off and capture Jefferson Davis in his flight southward. He marched down Milledge Avenue and took possession of the town. While he was asking Brevet Major-General Emory Upton at Augusta what he should do with the Athens armory, with its 250 workmen "(mustered into the Confederate service and having their arms concealed)," and also what to do "with a large number of Confederate officers here, including several generals,"<sup>69</sup> his men were out over town pillaging homes and robbing the citizens. One soldier saw Patrick H. Mell, one of the University professors, sitting on his porch. Spying Mell's watch chain he asked him to come out, that he wanted to speak to him. When Mell appeared, the soldier pointing his gun at the Professor's breast, demanded his watch. Mell in a firm and quiet manner replied: "You may shoot me, sir, but you shall never have any of my property if I can help it. I am defenseless so far as weapons are concerned, but I will not yield one inch to you, even though you murder me." The soldier suddenly grabbed Mell's watch and made off with it. Mell was able to recover it before Palmer left, by going to him and protesting.<sup>70</sup> The General being more of a gentleman than his men, marched away a few days later, without destroying the armory or interfering with the workmen or with any officers he found in town.

Palmer and his men had come "in suddenly and unexpectedly as if they had dropped from the clouds," and they "passed away gradually until not one" remained. But even before Palmer had come and after he had left, there was excitement enough. Many paroled Confederate troops came through, including Basil Duke's Kentuckians and Tennesseans. "Fightin' Joe" Wheeler was not so fortunate; he came through as a prisoner. General William J. Hardee with his wagon train was in town for a day or two and Admiral Raphael Semmes was seen riding down the street on horseback—but probably not as good a horseman as a sea-fighter.<sup>71</sup>

Most Athenians did not know that an important part of the Confederate Archives had been kept in one of the classrooms of the University for a time, and that in the middle of June they were turned over to Brevet Major-General James H. Wilson, in command at Macon. These manuscripts were the journals and other records of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, which were in the keeping of Howell Cobb, who had been the Permanent President of that body. They were sent to Georgia where copies were being made (since they were not to be printed), and they were in Atlanta when Sherman was on his invasion of the state. To keep them from being captured they were sent to various places, including points in Alabama and South Carolina. They were finally brought to Athens, where they must have been stored previously, for Howell Cobb's home was in this town. Whether for the purpose of being used in the trial of Jefferson Davis, who was now in prison, or for their preservation as important historical records, Cobb wisely turned them over to General Wilson, who sent them with other Confederate archives which had been gathered up, to Washington in forty boxes.<sup>72</sup>

With deep regrets that the war had been lost and with the hard facts before them, there was nothing left for Athenians to do but submit with as much grace and sincerity as was possible. Christy in his *Watchman* advised all to become reconciled and to obey the laws, adding, "We are aware that it is very difficult for human nature to forgive and forget such wrongs as have been inflicted upon us during this cruel war—it requires time to forget such things."<sup>73</sup> And a little later there was a mass meeting of citizens of the town and of Clarke and the surrounding counties, which might be considered their formal surrender. They recognized that the war was over and they now submitted to the laws of the United States and its constitution "in good faith, as loyal and orderly citizens."<sup>74</sup>

Troops had been marching in and out of Athens since Lee's Surrender, but no permanent occupying garrison had come until May 29th when Captain Alfred B. Cree of the 22nd Iowa Volunteers set up a Provost Marshal government, making his headquarters in Phi Kappa Hall, on the University Campus, and in-

stituting his "Watch on the Oconee."<sup>75</sup> Athens had been getting along governed by its Intendant and Council, with the last meeting of the Council on June 3rd until it met again on September 3rd.<sup>76</sup> There had been no term of the Superior Court from the upset days of August, 1864, until February, 1866.<sup>77</sup> Whatever little civil authority there was left did not clash with Cree's Provost Marshalship, for he was well received, since he had "urbane manners and polite and gentlemanly bearing."<sup>78</sup>

His duties were specifically to parole soldiers, to administer oaths of allegiance, to assist the civil government (but to be the final authority), to preserve order, and to set up whatever rules he deemed desirable. One of his first decrees was to order all paroled Confederate officers and soldiers not residents of the town to leave within twenty-four hours. Also anyone who was found wearing the Confederate uniform of an officer would be arrested and tried in the Provost Court; but anyone who could not procure civilian clothes might continue in his uniform if "all military buttons, trimmings or insignia of rank" were removed. Anyone having "fire-arms, powder and ammunition" was required to turn them over to the Provost Marshal.<sup>79</sup>

Captain Cree's urbanity caused him not to be looked upon with fear and trembling by the ordinary citizen or anyone else, and when he and his Iowans evacuated the town on June 19th, there were those who were loathe to see him go. He was succeeded by Major Euen and his command of the 156th New York Regiment.<sup>80</sup> By this time Athenians were becoming used to Yankee soldiers and seem not to have stood in awe of them or their officers. As a case in point, one day Major Euen drove up Broad Street in his buggy (which might seem unmilitary) and stopped for a moment to enter a store. Finding no hitching post, he remarked to a bystander, "Watch my horse until I come out." A moment later a mischievous person clucked at the horse and started him off. When the Major came out and did not see his horse and buggy he chided the man for not "watching his horse," and he got this answer in a slow drawl: "I-did-watch-him-until-he-went-around the corner, and-I-couldn't-see-him-anymore-then."<sup>81</sup>

In October the guard again was changed in Athens. As Major

Euen and his troops departed for the Georgia Railroad depot to entrain, they "presented a fine martial appearance marching down Broad Street, as they left."<sup>82</sup> Captain Beckwith with a part of the 13th Battalion of Connecticut Volunteers now took over the "Watch on the Oconee." Some of these troops endeared themselves to the Athenians by assisting in saving the Town Hall from burning, and to show its appreciation the Council made a gift of \$5 each to some of the soldiers and \$2.50 to others.<sup>83</sup>

The military occupation of Athens, as such, came to an end before the year was out, when Lieutenant-Colonel H. B. Sprague of this Battalion on December 4th was appointed agent for the Freedmen's Bureau at this place.<sup>84</sup> Federal troops in Athens had not been considered a very great burden and there was little friction between them and the townsmen, though on one occasion there was some shooting but no one was killed.<sup>85</sup> Still, when the military authorities asked the Athenians to participate in the celebration of the "Glorious Fourth," it was decided that it would be "inexpedient, in view of our recent humiliation, our great losses of property, and more especially of men, to attempt a celebration this year."<sup>86</sup>

Yet Athenians were not sorry to see Yankee troops march away, and the University was more than glad to get rid of the burden it had had to bear, for the troops had been quartered in the buildings on the Campus, including the Chapel, which was used for various purposes and was left in shambles, with the seats removed, rubbish scattered everywhere, and the columns in front chipped by bayonet jabs and the bullets from rifle practice.<sup>87</sup> On account of this occupation and for other reasons, perhaps, the University did not re-open after the war until January 3, 1866.

How had the Negroes worked into this picture of the war's ending and the military occupation; how had the white population come to regard slavery; and, indeed, how had the Negro himself come to regard it? As the war approached its end it was pretty evident to all people who would stop to think, that slavery was on its way out—it was only a matter of how abruptly it would end. Some whistled in the dark like the man passing through the graveyard; others like the ostrich buried their heads in the sands.

Lincoln's Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation of September 22, 1862, and his final one of January 1, 1863, created a furor among high Confederate officials in Richmond, but the man on the streets paid little attention to it, and most slaves who heard about it did not get much excited. In Athens there was not a ripple. Yet some editors of Georgia newspapers by 1865 had begun to slant their thinking toward emancipation, which led unterrified Christy of the *Watchman* to say, "Five years ago the editor in Georgia who would have admitted into his columns an article squinting toward the abolition of slavery, however remotely, would have been hung with a grapevine, or at the least 'tarred and feathered.'"<sup>88</sup> And after Lee's Surrender he did not believe "that the Government or the people of the United States will attempt to reduce the 'rebellious states' to a colonial condition, or to force upon them the immediate emancipation of their slaves."<sup>89</sup> Disregarding entirely as of no effect Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, the City Council even after the war had ended continued to charge a fee to Athenians for allowing their slaves to live off their lots.<sup>90</sup> They would wait to see whether the amendment then before the country, which would free the slaves, would be ratified. But General Q. A. Gilmore, with headquarters at Hilton Head, South Carolina, whose Department embraced South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, did not wait for the ratification of this amendment; for on May 15th he announced "that the people of the black race are free citizens of the United States."<sup>91</sup> This was the first attempt to give effect in Athens to Lincoln's Proclamation. In November (1865) Georgia wrote a new constitution for the state and in it she abolished slavery. The next month the amendment (the Thirteenth) was declared ratified and to be a part of the United States Constitution, which legally put an end to slavery throughout the country.

Freeing the slave did not automatically make him equal to the white man either in intelligence or in his ability to assume all the obligations of citizenship. Of this fact, Christy was very certain: "The different races of man, like different coins at a mint, were stamped at their true value by the Almighty in the beginning. No contact with each other—no amount of legislation

or education—can convert the negro into a white man. Until that can be done—until you can take the kinks out of his wool and make his skull thinner—until all these things and abundantly more have been done, the negro cannot claim equality with the white race.”<sup>92</sup> And if there was to be a meeting of the two races, it would have to be made in this fashion: “Although a negro cannot elevate himself to the white man’s standards, a white man may very well lower himself to the negro level!”<sup>93</sup>

The slaves as they entered into their freedom were being given some good advice by all who wished to help them. General Gilmore in announcing that slaves were free throughout his Department advised them to go to work and avoid idleness, and he firmly declared that neither “idleness nor vagrancy will be tolerated, and the government will not extend pecuniary aid to any persons, whether white or black, who are unwilling to help themselves.”<sup>94</sup> And Christy in his *Watchman* seconded this program: “Those who are able to work will now find it necessary to establish good characters for industry, sobriety, honesty and fidelity. When detected in his frequent delinquencies, Sambo will now have no ‘maussa’ to step in between him and danger. The time has arrived when he must ‘tote his own skillet.’ This will be rather hard upon him at first, but when he gets used to it the thing may work better than most persons suppose. . . . Under the new system the planter will hire only such as are willing and able to work—and when we say work, we mean work in earnest, and not the half play and half work to which many of the slaves have been accustomed. That has ‘played out’—they will now have to work like white men.”<sup>95</sup>

Many Athens freedmen found work with their former masters, but some despite all advice were determined to see if their freedom did not include freedom from work—and especially was this so for many who flocked into town from the surrounding country. When someone remarked to the cook in one of the Athens families, “Aunt Betty, don’t you know you are free?” she quickly replied, “Mas’ Henry ain’t told me so yit.” And Aunt Betty continued to cook for the family as long as she lived.<sup>96</sup>

Back in early May, when General Palmer had marched into



Athens to stay for a few days, the country freedmen flocked into town in great numbers; but "as their reception was not altogether such as they had expected," they soon drifted back.<sup>97</sup> When a period of permanent occupation came with Captain Cree arriving with his troops, there was another hegira of freedmen from the country to town. The Captain took advantage of the situation to address the Negroes, in which he told them that loafing and idling around would do them no good, that they should go to work, and it would be best for them to work for their former masters, who knew best how to sympathize with them and their problems. If they did not work they should not draw rations from the government. According to the *Watchman*, "This address had a salutary effect. Country negroes have been very scarce here since its delivery. We understand they were very much disappointed, and think their freedom don't amount to much. The negro idea of freedom at present is, immunity from labor, plenty to eat and wear, and a good hot fire!"<sup>98</sup>

It was too much to expect all Athens Negroes to take the advice that was being so freely offered to them. Almost daily threats were "uttered by negroes who, as slaves, were vile, worthless and unruly, and now, as 'freedmen,' have added largely to their former stock of impudence." The better class of Negroes was receiving the respect and sympathy of Athenians.<sup>99</sup> The juveniles who had given so much trouble during slave times were no better now. These "juvenile 'American citizens of de African scent' frequently amuse themselves in our most public thoroughfares by an indulgence in the most abominable, loud mouthed profanity"; so it was reported.<sup>100</sup>

Thievery was now as rampant, if not more so, than during the war: "Every thing—fruits and vegetables, cereals and livestock, money and provisions, all kinds of property, everything of value—is stolen from day to day."<sup>101</sup> During one week in early June, from 50 to 100 Negro thieves had been reported to Captain Cree, and it was estimated that from 100 to 500 had not been reported. Cree's Provost Marshal government was doing all it could to stop thievery; and during one week 150 thieves were arrested for this crime.<sup>102</sup>

Captain Cree came and went, but thievery stayed for his successors to deal with. Various methods were used by the military authorities to contain it, but whipping as a remnant of slavery, was not allowed. Maybe Negro thieves could be shamed out of their crimes. At least it was tried. Two Negro thieves were drummed out of town "for some *slight irregularities* in their behavior—both of them having taken a fancy to other people's horses." They suffered one side of their head to be clean shaven, "the wool on the other side left intact." They were then encased in barrels, with sleeve holes cut out for their arms, with these placards attached, "I am a horse-thief." A drum and fife corps led them down the street, playing the "rogue's march," accompanied by a detachment of soldiers, and "a hundred or so juvenile freedmen following constituted the 'guard of honor.'" <sup>103</sup> Another Negro who was caught stealing was escorted out of town by a drum and bayonet corps, with both sides of his head shaved clean "so as to leave a ridge of wool about an inch in width, extending from the *os frontis* to the *os occipitus*, and presenting the most ludicrous aspect." <sup>104</sup>

On rare occasions Negroes engaged in threats which might have led to bloody encounters with the law. In the summer of 1865 the military authorities in Athens gave the county sheriff permission to raise a posse to prevent a gang of Negroes from proceeding across a bridge at Princeton with a large supply of meat which they had got from slaughtering stolen animals. A clash took place in which thirty of the gang were arrested and the meat seized, but the thieves assisted by other Negroes broke loose and re-seized the meat. <sup>105</sup> Around Christmas time there was a big demand among the Negroes for firearms, which led to this question: "What do they want with them?" <sup>106</sup> To foil any incipient uprising, the City Council authorized the employment of twenty extra policemen. <sup>107</sup>

Christmas time about the end of the year 1865 was an anxious time for white people, because of rumors that had been going the rounds that the Negroes were to divide up among themselves the property of their former masters about the end of the year. By mid-summer rumors were being spread among the Negroes

in Athens and the surrounding country that there was to be a free barbecue in town, that a great speech was to be made to them telling them about things, that there was to be a free distribution of land and other property; and their minds were being abused with other fantastic tales. As a remedy, it was suggested that the "scamps who get up such 'cock and bull stories' ought to be tied up by their thumbs a few days."<sup>108</sup> So it was that now and then Athens overflowed with country Negroes, which led to this observation: "Can any body tell where so many idle negroes come from? Like the frogs of Egypt, they seem to be every where and in every body's way."<sup>109</sup>

For the very laudable purposes of taking care of the destitute, the United States had set up the Freedmen's Bureau following the war. Brigadier-General Davis Tilson, Assistant Commissioner, with headquarters at Augusta, in an order issued on October 3rd, warned Negroes that they must get jobs unless they were unable to do so or unable to work. He disabused their minds that there would be a distribution of land at Christmas or at any other time. Country Negroes flocking to towns would not be allowed to stay unless they could support themselves by work or other honorable means. The Bureau was acting as a labor agency, listing all jobs available and taking the names of Negroes looking for work. Contracts between employers and their Negro workmen would be in writing, and all were expected to obey the terms of employment. General Tilson declared in his order that all should remember "that it is the chief object of the Bureau to do simple justice to all persons, white or black—to aid to the utmost in securing to the employer permanent and reliable labor; and in restoring the state to its former condition of peace and prosperity."<sup>110</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Sprague, having being appointed the local Bureau agent for Athens two months later, re-enforced General Tilson's order by announcing that all able-bodied freedmen "having no visible means of support" would not be allowed to go about in idleness, much less would they "be allowed to live by thieving." The Bureau always stood ready to find jobs for them.<sup>111</sup>

It took the Negroes a long time to learn what their freedom meant. Some of them never learned, but continued in a way of

life that could have been in reality less satisfactory than the life they had led in servitude. True freedom was something which could not be given to them by law and decree! after all, it had to be earned. But for some generations thereafter, designing men for their own ends and idealists to bring pleasure to themselves in thinking that they were doing good, were by their actions and advice indicating that responsibility and respectability need not be earned.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup>R. H. Clark, T. R. R. Cobb, and D. Irwin, *The Code of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1861), 319, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881.

<sup>2</sup>*Acts of the State of Georgia, 1849-50* (Milledgeville, 1850), 377; Athens (Ga.) *Southern Watchman*, July 6 (3, 3); December 6 (3, 4), 1864. The first number in the parentheses indicates the page, subsequent numbers indicate the columns.

<sup>3</sup>*Georgia Acts, 1849-50*, p. 377; Clark, et al., *Code of Georgia*, 878.

<sup>4</sup>*Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia . . . November and December, 1835* (Milledgeville, 1836), 101-103; Clark, et al., *Code of Georgia*, 319.

<sup>5</sup>Clark, et al., *Code of Georgia*, 321, 322.

<sup>6</sup>*Population of the United States in 1860; . . . Eighth Census* (Washington, 1864), 58-59, 62-63, 66-67, 74.

<sup>7</sup>*Southern Watchman*, April 28 (2, 5), 1859.

<sup>8</sup>Athens (Ga.) *Southern Banner*, November 15 (3, 3), 1860.

<sup>9</sup>*Southern Watchman*, June 26 (2, 3), 1861.

<sup>10</sup>Minutes of the Superior Court August 1860, pp. 132-33. Manuscript ledger in Office of the Clerk of the Court, Athens, Clarke County.

<sup>11</sup>*Southern Watchman*, February 19 (3, 5), 1862.

<sup>12</sup>Augustin Smith Clayton, *A Compilation of the Laws of the State of Georgia, . . . 1800, to the Year 1810, Inclusive, . . .* (Augusta, 1812), 329-30.

<sup>13</sup>Lucius Q. C. Lamar, *A Compilation of the Laws of the State of Georgia, . . . Since the year 1810 to . . . 1819, Inclusive, . . .* (Augusta, 1821), 1006-07.

<sup>14</sup>William C. Dawson, *A Compilation of the Laws of the State of Georgia, . . . Since the Year 1819 to the Year 1829, Inclusive, . . .* (Milledgeville, 1831), 442.

<sup>15</sup>*Acts of the State of Georgia, 1847* (Milledgeville, 1848), 26-28.

<sup>16</sup>*Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, . . . November and December, 1831* (Milledgeville, 1832), 243.

<sup>17</sup>*Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, . . . November, December, January, February & March, 1855-56* (Milledgeville, 1856), 400-401.

<sup>18</sup>*Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, . . . November and December, 1842* (Milledgeville, 1843), 96-97.

<sup>19</sup>Augustus Longstreet Hull, *Annals of Athens, Georgia, 1801-1901 . . .* (Athens, 1906), 127.

<sup>20</sup>*Southern Watchman*, January 23 (3, 5), 1861; January 22 (3, 3), 1862.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, January 22 (3, 3), 1862.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, January 11 (3, 3), 1865. See also *ibid.*, January 14 (3, 3), 1863; January 5 (3, 3), 1864.

<sup>23</sup>*Ibid.*, January 22 (3, 3), 1862.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, December 4 (3, 4), 1861; January 13 (3, 3), 1864.

<sup>25</sup>Hull, *Annals of Athens*, 283-84.

<sup>26</sup>*Southern Watchman*, February 27 (3, 3), 1861; March 19 (3, 5), 1862; *Southern Banner*, September 18 (3, 4), 1861; Proceedings of City Council,

- II, 57. These minutes of the City Council are in the City Hall in Athens. Since these minutes were published in the two Athens newspapers, the newspaper source has been used in most cases as being much more accessible. Also there is a microfilm of the minutes in the University of Georgia Library.
- <sup>27</sup>*Southern Watchman*, March 13 (3, 5); April 17 (3, 5); July 17 (3, 6), 1861.
- <sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, January 22 (3, 4), 1862. See also *ibid.*, February 5 (3, 3); April 2 (3, 4), 1862.
- <sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, January 13 (3, 3), 1864. See also *Southern Banner*, February 18 (3, 5), 1863.
- <sup>30</sup>*Southern Watchman*, January 13 (3, 4); January 15 (3, 5); March 15 (3, 3), 1864.
- <sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, January 25 (3, 4); February 8 (3, 4); April 12 (3, 4), 1865.
- <sup>32</sup>*Ibid.*, January 13 (2, 1), 1864.
- <sup>33</sup>*Ibid.*, June 15 (3, 1), 1864. Christy said that Negroes could "be seen perambulating your streets all hours of the day. There are crowds of them idle, or doing such work as might be easily dispensed with." He said there were 500 to 1,000 who could be spared for a year or so. *Ibid.*, November 4 (2, 2), 1863.
- <sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, March 8 (2, 3), 1865. <sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, January 18 (2, 1-2), 1865.
- <sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, December 11 (2, 5), 1861. <sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, January 22 (3, 3), 1862.
- <sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, November 6 (3, 4), 1861. <sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, April 8 (3, 3), 1863.
- <sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, April 2 (3, 4), 1862. <sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, October 7 (3, 4), 1863.
- <sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, September 16 (3, 3), 1863. <sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, March 15 (3, 3), 1864.
- <sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, January 25 (3, 4), 1865. <sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, June 5 (2, 1), 1861.
- <sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, June 16 (3, 1), 1864.
- <sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, February 11 (3, 4), 1863; April 6 (3, 4), 1864.
- <sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, December 31 (2, 5), 1862. <sup>49</sup>*Ibid.*, June 15 (3, 5), 1864.
- <sup>50</sup>*Ibid.*, September 16 (3, 3), 1863. <sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, June 1 (2, 3), 1864.
- <sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, January 14 (3, 3), 1863; Hull, *Annals of Athens*, 286.
- <sup>53</sup>*Southern Watchman*, March 18 (3, 4), 1863.
- <sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, April 13 (2, 1), 1864; *Southern Banner*, April 20 (3, 5), 1864.
- <sup>55</sup>*Southern Watchman*, February 5 (3, 3), 1862.
- <sup>56</sup>Minutes of Superior Court August 1860, p. 51.
- <sup>57</sup>*Southern Watchman*, January 22 (3, 3), 1862. See also *ibid.*, January 8 (2, 4), 1862.
- <sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, July 23 (2, 5), 1862; *Southern Banner*, July 23 (3, 1), 1862; Hull *Annals of Athens*, 255-56.
- <sup>59</sup>*Southern Watchman*, April 1 (3, 4), 1863.
- <sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, July 8 (3, 4), 1863.
- <sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, July-August, *passim*, September 14 (2, 1), 1864; Mary Ann Cobb, Athens, Ga., August 4, 1864, to Col. Wm. M. Browne (MS Letter in possession of present writer). The "Thunderbolts" were a home guard of old and infirm men, who facetiously gave themselves this name.
- <sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, May 18 (2, 1), 1864.
- <sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, July 6 (2, 3); October 26 (2, 2), 1864; Hull *Annals of Athens*, 295.
- <sup>64</sup>*Southern Watchman*, August 24 (3, 5), 1864.
- <sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, January 27 (2, 1), 1864.
- <sup>66</sup>*Ibid.*, April 26 (2, 1), 1865; Hull, *Annals of Athens*, 297-98.
- <sup>67</sup>*Southern Watchman*, May 3 (2, 2), 1865. <sup>68</sup>Hull, *Annals of Athens*, 298; *Athens Weekly Banner-Watchman*, August 3 (1, 3), 1886.
- <sup>69</sup>*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (127 books and index. Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XLIX, Part II, 615, 630; Hull, *Annals of Athens*, 299.
- <sup>70</sup>P. M. Mell, Jr., *Life of Patrick Hues Mell by his Son* (Louisville, Ky., 1895), 145-46.
- <sup>71</sup>*Southern Watchman*, May 17 (1, 1-2), 1865.
- <sup>72</sup>*Official Records of Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. II, 998, 999-1000, 1032-33; Dallas D. Irvine, "The Fate of Confederate Ar-

- chieves." in *The American Historical Review* (New York, N. Y.), XLIV (1938-1939), 838-39; Hull, *Annals of Athens*, 307.
- <sup>73</sup>*Southern Watchman*, May 17 (1, 2), 1865. <sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, June 28 (1, 4), 1865.
- <sup>75</sup>*Ibid.*, May 31 (1, 1); (2, 4), 1865.
- <sup>76</sup>*Ibid.*, September 13 (1, 3-4); November 8 (3, 1), 1865.
- <sup>77</sup>Minutes of Superior Court, 1864-1868, pp. 22-26.
- <sup>78</sup>*Southern Watchman*, June 7 (1, 3), 1865.
- <sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, May 31 (2, 4), 1865. See also *ibid.* (1, 1), 1865.
- <sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, June 21 (1, 1); 28 (1, 3), 1865. <sup>81</sup>Hull, *Annals of Athens*, 305-306.
- <sup>82</sup>*Southern Watchman*, October 25 (2, 1), 1865.
- <sup>83</sup>Proceedings of City Council, II, 232.
- <sup>84</sup>*Southern Watchman*, December 13 (3, 2), 1865.
- <sup>85</sup>Hull, *Annals of Athens*, 306. <sup>86</sup>*Southern Watchman*, July 5 (1, 2), 1865.
- <sup>87</sup>Hull, *Annals of Athens*, 302. <sup>88</sup>*Southern Watchman*, February (2, 5; 3; 1), 1865.
- <sup>89</sup>*Southern Watchman*, May 3 (2, 2), 1865.
- <sup>90</sup>*Ibid.*, May 24 (1, 2), 1865; Proceedings of City Council, II, 222.
- <sup>91</sup>*Southern Watchman*, May 31 (1, 3), 1865. <sup>92</sup>*Ibid.*, June 14 (1, 2), 1865.
- <sup>93</sup>*Ibid.*, June 21 (1, 1), 1865. <sup>94</sup>*Ibid.*, May 31 (1, 3), 1865.
- <sup>95</sup>*Ibid.*, May 31 (1, 2), 1865. <sup>96</sup>Hull, *Annals of Athens*, 292.
- <sup>97</sup>*Southern Watchman*, May 17 (1, 1), 1865. <sup>98</sup>*Ibid.*, June 7 (1, 3), 1865.
- <sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*, June 21 (1, 1), 1865. <sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*, June 5 (1, 1), 1865.
- <sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*, October 4 (2, 2), 1865.
- <sup>102</sup>*Ibid.*, June 14 (1, 1), 1865; Hull, *Annals of Athens*, 303.
- <sup>103</sup>*Southern Watchman*, August 30 (1, 1), 1865. <sup>104</sup>*Ibid.*, October 4 (2, 2), 1865.
- <sup>105</sup>*Ibid.*, July 12 (1, 1-2), 1865. <sup>106</sup>*Ibid.*, December 20 (2, 4), 1865.
- <sup>107</sup>*Ibid.*, December 20 (3, 1), 1865.
- <sup>108</sup>*Ibid.*, August 9 (1, 1); September 20 (1, 3), 1865.
- <sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*, July 26 (1, 1), 1865. <sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*, October 18 (2, 2-3), 1865.
- <sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*, December 13 (3, 2), 1865.