Published in 1974, Antebellum Athens and Clarke County, Georgia is a chronicle of sixty years of change in Clarke County and the city of Athens. In 1801, Clarke County, newly created from Jackson County, was virtually all Georgia farmland, and Athens was a portion of land set aside for the establishment of a state university. In those first years of the century, the university began with thirty or forty students. They received instruction from Josiah Meigs—president and faculty of the university—in a twenty-by-twenty-foot log cabin.

By 1846, the population of the county was over four thousand, and the area prospered. Cotton mills dotted the banks of the Oconee River, the Georgia Railroad connected Athens with Augusta, numerous schools and churches had been established, and newspapers, banks, and small businesses were all part of the Athens scene.

Antebellum Athens and Clarke County, Georgia is rich with detail. This historical narrative recalls not only the growth of industry, government, and education within Clarke County, but also contains many anecdotes of the early people who lived there. The chronology of dates and events and the comprehensive listing of public officials, professional men, planters, and businessmen found in the appendices of Antebellum Athens and Clarke County, Georgia add to the value of this work of local history.

“Substantially researched and abundantly illustrated with historic photographs, prints, and drawings, this book is lively reading”—Journal of Southern History

Ernest C. Hynds is emeritus professor of journalism and mass communication and former head of the Department of Journalism in the Grady College of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Georgia. Dr. Hynds has been recognized both for his work as a scholar-educator at the university for more than forty years and as an editorial writer for the Athens Banner-Herald where he worked part-time for more than thirty-five years. The Athens Historical Society cited him in 1999 for his contributions to Athens history, which now include Antebellum Athens and Clarke County, Georgia; a history nearing completion of the First Baptist Church, Athens; and other works.

The University of Georgia Press
Athens, Georgia 30602
www.ugapress.org
ANTEBELLUM ATHENS AND CLARKE COUNTY
GEORGIA
ANTEBELLUM ATHENS
AND
CLARKE COUNTY
GEORGIA

Ernest C. Hynds

UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA PRESS
ATHENS
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Preface

This book seeks to provide a general history of antebellum Athens and Clarke County together with specific data about various aspects of life in the county. The first chapter describes the founding of the city and county and their early development. The second deals with the rapid growth fostered by the development of business, manufacturing, and transportation in the late 1820s, the 1830s, and early 1840s. The third covers the continued maturation and growth of the county, and especially Athens, during the fifteen years immediately preceding the Civil War. Particular attention is given in these chapters to government and politics. Succeeding chapters discuss in greater detail the overall antebellum development of education, communications, religion, and cultural affairs. Important dates and events are cited in the chronology (Appendix A). Detailed lists of public officials, professional men, planters, and businesses are included in the appendices.

The author wishes to thank all who have been helpful in the preparation of this work. He is particularly grateful to Mrs. Susan F. Tate, special collections librarian at the University of Georgia, and Dr. Kenneth Coleman, professor of history at the University. Mrs. Tate suggested the topic and inspired the author's first interest in it. Both she and John W. Bonner, associate professor of library science and head of the special collections division of the University library, gave generously of their time in helping the author locate and use various materials. Dr. Coleman was also most generous of his time in reading the manuscript and making suggestions.

Several county and city officials and employees were of great assistance in locating and using public records. In particular, the author would like to thank King Crawford, Broadus Coile, Mrs. Ruby Hartman, Mrs. W. R. Bedgood, and A. G. Smith.

Special appreciation is also expressed to several other colleagues at the University who read all or parts of the manuscript in various stages of its development and made helpful comments. These are
Drs. E. Merton Coulter, Horace Montgomery, and Joseph H. Parks, professors (emeritus) of the History Department; Professor (emeritus) John Talmadge of the English Department; Dr. Albert Saye of the Political Science Department; and Dean (emeritus) John E. Drewry and Dr. Charles B. Kopp of the School of Journalism. The careful efforts of Mrs. Barbara Harper and Mrs. Betsy Preston in typing the final manuscript are also greatly appreciated.

Above all the author is grateful to his wife, Mary Ann, without whose patience and assistance the completion of the manuscript would not have been possible. To her; to his mother, Mrs. Ernest C. Hynds, Sr., who first inspired his interest in history and literature; to his sons, Jeff and Mark, who he hopes will show a similar interest; and to the people of Athens and Clarke County, past, present, and future, this history is respectfully dedicated.

E.C.H.
CHAPTER I

The Early Years

Clarke County's official history began in December 1801 when the county was carved out of Jackson County and named for Revolutionary War general Elijah Clarke. But the land area of which Clarke County is a part is millions of years old and has been inhabited for at least eight to nine thousand years. Archaeological collections gathered in the area represent prehistory beginning with the Early Archaic or Paleo-Indian occupation. Most of these early items are projectile points and cutting tools, although some are larger hafted stone axes and celts. Quartz tools from the Middle Archaic period, larger, stemmed "dart points" from the late Archaic period, and pottery of the Early Pottery or Woodland period also have been found.

Information about these early residents is limited, but much is known about the two Indian tribes that inhabited the area in the period immediately preceding the arrival of the white man. The Cherokees were located on the Tennessee River, and their hunting grounds extended along what were then the frontiers of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. The Creeks were located primarily along the waters of the Alabama River (Upper Creeks) and the Apalachicola River (Lower Creeks), and their claims extended into northeast Georgia. The unofficial border between the two was along an east-west line running between what are now Athens and Watkinsville.

Removing the Indians from these lands was a long, tedious, and dangerous task for the whites who sought to expand inland in the late eighteenth century. Because the Indians and Georgians disagreed on the validity of several treaties, it is difficult to say exactly when all the land that has been included in Clarke County at various times actually was ceded to the whites. Seven different treaties, two with the Cherokees, four with the Creeks, and one jointly with both tribes, were initiated by various whites before the issue finally was settled. The first of the treaties, in 1773, was concluded with both tribes by the British superintendent in
the area. The last, in 1790, was concluded with the Creeks by the United States. In between various representations of the two Indian tribes, Georgia and the United States sought to reach agreements with varying degrees of success. Some of the Indians objected to these agreements, saying they were not represented. The Continental Congress objected to Georgia's acting unilaterally in the matter.

Right or wrong, the land-hungry Georgians did not wait for the legal arguments to be resolved before settling the land. After completing treaties with representations of both tribes at Augusta in 1783, the Georgians created Franklin County in 1784. This county encompassed much of northeast Georgia including the land that later became Clarke County. Settlement began immediately as veterans of the Revolutionary War and others sought to establish new homes in their new country. Many were of the hardy Scotch-Irish stock that helped settle the Appalachian valleys from Pennsylvania to Georgia. Often they were impatient, even with their own legal processes. In May 1784, for example, when a land court was not able to get warrants ready for promised delivery, about 1,500 to 2,000 persons burst into the land office and took what they wanted. Once their anger had subsided, many of these settlers returned the documents. The state had to take steps to invalidate others.

Fortunately, the same act in 1784 that provided for the settlement of Franklin County in North Georgia and Washington County in Middle Georgia also laid the foundations for an educational and cultural oasis in the wilderness. At the urging of Governor Lyman Hall the legislature provided in this act that 40,000 acres of land be laid out in 5,000-acre tracts for the endowment of "a college or seminary of learning." The act provided that 20,000 acres should be in each of the new counties and that these lands should be exempt from taxation. The legislators followed through on this action in January 1785 by becoming the first such body to charter a state university. This charter provided for a senatus academicus to run the new institution, but since no funds were available no action was taken to select a site or provide for a faculty. Abraham Baldwin, who with John Milledge and Nathan Brownson is credited with drawing up the charter, was named the first president. He served from 1785 until 1801, the year in which the institution actually began classes.
Many persons settled in Northeast Georgia in the late 1780s and early 1790s, and in February 1796 Jackson County was created out of Franklin County. The act of creation provided that courts and elections be held at the home of Daniel W. Easley, one of the commissioners, until a courthouse could be erected. Easley was the man who later sold John Milledge the land on which the University of Georgia was established. Creation of the new county led to the establishment of roads, taverns, and other marks of emerging civilization. Several of these roads made transportation easier for persons living near Cedar Shoals where Athens was later founded. Rustic accommodations were available to travelers in the taverns for ten cents a day; breakfast and supper could be purchased for an additional twenty-five cents each, and dinner could be obtained for the same price cold or thirty-seven cents warm. Stable space was provided for an additional fee to house the horses, which served as the primary means of transportation.

Expanding settlement in Jackson County helped make it a likely location for the university when the time came in 1801 for that institution's permanent site to be chosen. The senatus academicus actually had awarded the prize to Greene County in November 1800. But it rescinded the action in June 1801 and after much discussion selected Jackson County. At this June 1801 meeting Baldwin resigned because his duties as United States senator prevented him from assuming the role of an active president. Josiah Meigs, who previously had been employed as a professor of mathematics, was named president.

The senatus academicus selected a committee composed of Abraham Baldwin, John Milledge, John Twiggs, Hugh Lawson, and Judge George Walton to locate an appropriate site and contract for the construction of a building to house one hundred scholars. This committee was authorized either to select a site on university land or to purchase or receive as a gift such other land as they might think more suitable. They met in the latter part of June or early July, examined sites, and finally chose a tract belonging to Daniel Easley at the Cedar Shoals on the north fork of the Oconee River. Milledge purchased 633 acres from Easley, gave it to the trustees for the university, “and it was called Athens.”

Why the committee chose this site when the university already owned a 5,000-acre tract nearby is not certain. The business
acumen of Easley, the generosity of Milledge, and the natural beauty of the Cedar Shoals area were probably factors. In any case, the choice drew almost immediate praise from the newspapers.\footnote{23}

The Oconee River at Athens was about 150 feet wide, its waters were rapid in descent, and there were no low grounds. The university site was on the south side of the river about a half-mile distant. One side of university grounds was woodland; the other was cleared and contained apple and peach orchards. There was “a copious spring of excellent water” about two hundred yards from the site and at least three hundred feet above the river’s level, and several other springs were located between the university and the river.\footnote{24}

President Meigs reported that the area was open to every wind of heaven, that calm was seldom known, and that “the breezes, particularly from the western semicircle of the horizon, are extremely pleasant. . . .” The site had an extended horizon on all sides except the north which was up-river and bounded by ascending hills. On a clear evening the stars and celestial bodies were as brilliant as in the cold climates. “If there is a healthy and beautiful spot in Georgia this is one.”\footnote{25}

The soil in the Athens vicinity and between the north and middle forks of the river was described as gray and “very fit for farming, and the raising of stock.” The wheat produced there was not excelled and made fine bread. Grain could be processed at a site nearby where Easley had “an excellent merchant-flour mill, a saw and common grist mill.” Besides the lesser fresh water fish, shad in season were plentiful; and the staple food supply was reported as abundant. Beef, pork, and mutton were “of the best kind.”\footnote{26}

A university square soon was surveyed and the development of Athens begun. Its growth together with the general progress of the area probably prompted the legislature to create the new county of Clarke.\footnote{27} The act establishing Clarke County was approved December 5, 1801. It provided that Bedford Brown should lay out its boundaries as follows:

The line dividing the said county of Clarke, from the county of Jackson, shall begin on the Appalachee River, at the mouth of Marbury’s Creek, thence a direct line to Richard Easley’s Mill, on the middle fork of the Oconee River, from thence a direct line to
where the Oglethorpe Line crosses the north fork of Brush Creek, thence down the Oglethorpe Line to the Oconee river, thence along the Greene line to the Appalachee River, thence up the said River to the beginning.  

It was later estimated that the new county included some 250 square miles, about twice its present land area. The major reduction came after the Civil War when Oconee County was carved out of Clarke County. Watkinsville was made county seat of the new county and Athens became county seat of Clarke County.  

In addition to establishing boundaries, the creation act named William Hopkins, William Strong, Daniel Bankston, John Hart, and John Cobb commissioners to fix the site and contract for the erection of a courthouse and jail. Until those facilities were available, the county was authorized to hold courts and elections at the house of Isaac Hill. A resolution approved on December 5, 1801, provided that the first election be December 24. Clarke County was assigned to the Third Brigade of the Third Division of the state militia, and justices of the peace and militia officers who had been appointed for Jackson County but who now lived in Clarke County were confirmed.  

The commissioners appointed to choose a site for the public buildings viewed various proposals and chose land belonging to John Cobb on the south side of Call Creek above Cobb’s plantation. They reported their decision January 1, 1802, noting “the place above alluded to is known by the name of the big Spring and the town we have named Watkinsville.” Cobb agreed to give up “a certain proportion of land for a town for the use of the public or county including eight lots, six of which are to front the public square, and two back lots, and one acre for building the courthouse and jail and five or six acres for a common.” The commissioners advertised the letting of the courthouse and jail, and Micajah Benge received the contract for both. He agreed to build the courthouse for $489.99 and the jail for $517.79.  

On January 25, 1802, the county’s principal governing body held its first meeting at the home of Isaac Hill. This agency in Clarke County as in other Georgia counties at the time was called the inferior court. Its members or justices were appointed by the legislature and commissioned by the governor. They held their commissions during good behavior as long as they lived in the county and could be removed only by impeachment. The inferior
court had executive as well as legislative duties and in that sense may be compared with today's county commission government. Justices Absalom Ramey, Micajah Benge, William Strong, John Hunton, and Henry Trent were present for the first meeting; but since there were no juries and no suits or other major business, they adjourned until the fourth Monday in February. At that meeting the justices elected John Smith clerk of the court of ordinary and appointed several justices of the peace. The inferior court met again in August, established tax levies, and ordered the opening of new roads. A sum equal to one-sixth of the general state tax was designated for the support of the county, and a sum equal to one-sixteenth of the general tax was designated for the care of the poor. Thomas Hill and Daniel Bankson were named overseers of the poor. Subsequently, it was determined that the justices should meet on the fourth Monday in January and June to carry out their various functions.\(^{34}\)

The superior court also played a vital role in county affairs. It had exclusive and final jurisdiction in all criminal cases and in civil cases respecting land titles, and concurrent jurisdiction in all other civil cases. In addition, its grand juries were authorized to make recommendations regarding both legislative and executive actions. Clarke County's first superior court session was held on March 22, 1802, with Judge Peter Carnes presiding, but only the appearance docket was called. The first grand jury was convened at the second session, September 27, 1802. It investigated Judge Carnes's contention that roads throughout the area were in poor condition and concluded that everything possible was being done for the roads. Judge Carnes urged the first grand jurors to set an example by pursuing energetic measures in upholding the law, which they apparently were trying to do. In their presentments, the jurors censured three men for profanity and a fourth for living in adultery.\(^{35}\)

Clarke County's other governing officials included the sheriff, justices of the peace, and constables. Under Georgia law sheriffs were chosen by the people for two-year terms and could not succeed themselves. The sheriff's job was to execute writs, warrants, precepts, and processes for the judges of the inferior and superior courts and to hold monthly sales of lands received in execution of property.\(^{36}\) Clarke County's first sheriff was Abner Bankston, who was elected to serve from 1801 to 1803.
The early years

Justices of the peace were nominated by the inferior courts and commissioned by the governor. There were to be two in each captain's militia district in the county, and either or both were authorized to meet monthly and try civil cases involving amounts of less than thirty dollars. Constables were appointed for one-year terms by the inferior court justices at their first meeting each year. No more than two were to be appointed for each captain's district. Their duties were to handle and return summonses, warrants, precepts, and executions and to sell some types of property.

Since migration into the area had begun by the 1790s, perhaps even earlier, Clarke County began its official life with several thousand inhabitants. A total of 863 persons filed returns in the first tax digest in 1802; some of these undoubtedly were single, but many were heads of families that included wives and perhaps several children. The digest also listed 1,143 slaves. Only five persons in the 1802 digest reported as many as twenty slaves, the number sometimes used to designate planters; four of the five reported owning between twenty and twenty-seven slaves, and one planter claimed seventy-one.

Most of Clarke County's early residents were engaged in farming. They raised corn, small grain, and livestock such as hogs and cattle, along with the usual vegetables for home consumption. Only one doctor, one lawyer, and a handful of merchants are listed in the first tax digest. The three largest merchants reported stock holdings of between two thousand and thirty-two hundred dollars; all apparently operated general stores and supplied a variety of needs for county residents nearby. Social travel was probably limited since only three persons filed returns on carriages.

The new county grew at a steady if not spectacular rate. In 1805 a total of 1,108 persons filed tax returns on property that included 1,699 slaves. The number of merchants increased, but the amounts on which they paid taxes remained about the same. The most significant growth was, of course, in the county's two embryo towns, Athens and Watkinsville. Athens developed in conjunction with the University of Georgia on the land originally purchased by John Milledge for the development of that institution. At least two wooden structures, including a dwelling place for President Josiah Meigs, were constructed on the university campus.
during the first year or so, and in 1803 work was begun on a more permanent three-story brick building. This structure, later known as Old College, took the contractor John Billups about three years to complete. Labor was not reliable, and building materials were expensive and hard to obtain; clay suitable for bricks was located more than two miles from Athens, and cost $7.50 a thousand and an additional $4.00 a thousand to have them laid. "Lime cost $10.00 a cask and nails were proportionately high. Both had to be hauled in wagons from Augusta." Daniel Easley built the president's house and one or more wooden structures, including a grammar school authorized by the university trustees in 1803 and completed in 1804 at a cost of $1,043. The grammar school was deemed necessary because Georgia had only eight academies in 1800, and many of the university's first students came unprepared for college level study.41

President Meigs began recruiting students in the summer of 1801 immediately after his appointment. He taught his first class that fall in his own house or when the weather was suitable in the shade of nearby oaks. A log cabin twenty feet square and a story and a half high was soon constructed for classes, and students boarded nearby. Since the university had no library and little equipment, there were many difficulties. But the thirty or forty scholars did not seem to mind, and about a dozen were ready for the first commencement in May of 1804.42

Although a few houses were already in the area, the town of Athens developed on lots laid out and leased or sold by the university beginning in 1803. These early lots usually contained an acre or two and sold for one hundred to two hundred dollars, sometimes less. At first lots were sold on Front Street (now Broad) adjacent to the university square. Then in 1804 the trustees requested President Meigs and an associate to survey and stake off the town. The development thus suggested apparently came in a parallelogram bounded by Foundry, Front (Broad), and Hull Streets, and Hancock Avenue. A legislative act in 1803 which authorized the sale of lots and lands in Athens provided that thirty-seven acres be reserved for the college yard.43

In November 1803 President Meigs reported that three dwelling houses, three stores, and a number of other valuable buildings had been erected on the Front Street lots, and that several others had been contracted and numerous applications had been received for
lots on a street contemplated north of and parallel to Front Street. At least two general stores, a blacksmith shop, and a tailor shop were among the early structures. By February 1806 the town had grown to an estimated seventeen families, and there were ten framed dwelling houses standing and four stores in addition to the rapidly developing university and grammar school. The university enrollment had reached seventy by then, and the newly completed college building was said to have accommodations for students as fine as could be found anywhere in the United States.\(^{44}\)

This progress evidently continued in the summer and fall of 1806, for in December of that year the town was incorporated by the legislature. A commission form of government was instituted, and William Malone, Stevens (spelled Stephens in some records) Thomas, and Hope Hull (who was named secretary) were appointed commissioners to serve until the first election should be held on the first Monday in January 1808. The incorporation act provided that future commissioners were to be elected annually and could succeed themselves in office. They were authorized to do what “in their judgment shall be conducive to the good order and government of the said town of Athens.”\(^{45}\)

Watkinsville also was incorporated in December 1806 and assigned a commission form of government. Bedford Brown, Edward Bond, and Robert Echols were named to serve as commissioners until the first election on the first Monday in January 1808. As in the case of Athens, the incorporation law provided that Watkinsville’s commissioners be elected annually and be eligible to succeed themselves. They were authorized to pass laws to take care of the streets and the public spring and empowered to levy a poll tax of not more than one dollar a year. The Watkinsville commissioners were specifically restricted from imposing corporal punishment except in the case of Negroes.\(^{46}\)

Although farming existed in the area before Watkinsville was laid out in 1802 as the county seat, the town itself developed around its government activity. The first courthouse was completed by early 1803, and it soon proved insufficient to the needs. In December 1806 the county was authorized to levy a tax not to exceed one-third of the general state tax for three years to rebuild or enlarge the courthouse. The first jail was not ready until 1804, and it too was renovated or replaced in a few years. Stocks may have been used for a time. In March 1803 the Superior Court
ordered that since there was "no place in or near the court where disorderly persons can be confined—either for contemptuous behaviour in court or for rioting in the courtyard," the sheriff should provide stocks large enough for containing at least three persons. The stocks apparently were built because they were paid for but the extent of their use is not known.\textsuperscript{47}

Stocks might have been deemed appropriate for some offenses cited by early grand juries. In September 1803 a man was presented for "profane swearing, and saying that he would let the sheriff's guts out, and saying that all the people in the courtyard could not take him." Although profanity appears to have been a frequent offense among the hardy pioneers of the day, there were others of a more serious nature. Horse stealing, larceny, bastardy, assault, adultery, perjury, and even murder were reported by various early grand juries. Concern was expressed at times about liquor, gambling, and disorderly houses.\textsuperscript{48}

The dominant themes of life in early Clarke County seem, however, to have been positive, not negative. President Meigs reported in February 1806 that only one white person had died in Athens in the past seven years, and that there had not been a serious sickness nor a sickly season. He credited the good drinking water provided by springs and wells in the area and the favorable climate for this good fortune. Meigs said that the mean temperature for the previous year had been 62.90°F. He said his coldest recording had been 6°F. above on January 22 at sunrise and his hottest had been 100°F. at noon on July 7. The latest spring frost that year was April 28 and the earliest autumn frost was on October 3. Meigs said further that during the previous three years he had recorded 688 clear days as compared with only 166 cloudy days, 169 rainy days, 71 days when thunder was recorded, and one day on which snow fell.\textsuperscript{49}

Life was relatively simple. Most persons kept busy with their farms. Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians all had churches in the county, although none were located in Athens. There were a few stores, a tavern, several grist and saw mills, and at least one school in addition to the university and its grammar school. A Mrs. Allan, formerly of London, announced in July 1803 the opening of a seminary for young ladies in Athens. The ladies could be boarded there for instruction in French, English, geo-
graphy, writing, arithmetic, "and all kinds of fashionable needle work—at one hundred dollars per annum."50

Clarke County continued its steady progress in the two or three years after the incorporation of its first two towns in 1806. The number of merchants increased along with the population, and several small-scale industries were begun. Work was started on the university's first chapel in 1807 and completed in 1808. An effort in 1807 to start a religious and literary weekly in Athens failed. But the equipment from this venture was used to start the town's first weekly newspaper, the *Georgia Express*, in 1808. A saddling business was opened in Athens in late 1808 or early 1809, and at least two tanneries were in operation in the vicinity by 1810. A dancing academy was opened in Athens in late May of 1809, and a singing school was begun there the next month. In 1810 an enterprising Athenian received the university trustees' permission to open a bathhouse below the college spring. He charged only six and a quarter cents for a shower or plunging bath of cold water and twelve and a half cents for a tepid bath. Still it appears that the competition of the Oconee River was too much for his business. By 1810 Watkinsville had its first book store, and at least two men were engaged in the tailoring business.51

The willingness of one county businessman to accept pork, corn, and fodder in payment, though he would "give preference to cash," indicates that Athens, like other southern communities, did not have much cash.52 Still the amounts on which some county businessmen paid taxes did increase, and some merchants apparently prospered. John Floyd, Charles A. Redd, Robert Martin, Bedford Brown, William Robertson, and Stevens Thomas all filed tax returns on stock valued at $2500 or more in 1807.53 Thomas came to the county about 1802 and for many years operated its principal general store. He combined planting with merchandizing and was active in many community projects. John Cary was another prominent businessman of the early years. He opened Athens' first hotel sometime before or during 1803 on Broad Street. It had "two rooms with a passage between and a shed with two or three bedrooms on the first floor, as many on the second, and a piazza in front." Cary operated it until 1812 when he sold it to a Major McKigney and built a fashionable three-story boarding house on Thomas Street near Clayton and
Market Streets. The Eagle Hotel at Watkinsville may have been the first hotel in the county; it was said to have existed on the road that ran near Big Spring, later Watkinsville, before the University of Georgia, Athens, and Clarke County were founded. The Eagle and Cary's hotel were certainly among the best known.54

Despite progress in business and related ventures, agriculture continued to dominate life in Clarke County throughout the first decade of the nineteenth century. The number of slaves increased steadily; by 1810 there were 2,500 among the county's estimated 7,628 inhabitants. Even in Athens where the university was the dominant enterprise, there were 134 slaves out of a total population of 273. The number of planters, persons with twenty or more slaves, doubled between 1802 and 1810, although the total of ten was still comparatively small.55

Land values varied considerably with location, soil fertility, and other factors. In January 1802 one piece of property near Barber's Creek containing one hundred acres sold for five hundred dollars while another piece near the same creek containing three hundred acres sold for only one hundred dollars more. In February of the same year 224.5 acres near the same creek brought one thousand dollars. Most but not all of the landowners were white. In July 1809 Charles Whaley sold one hundred acres for one hundred dollars to the Negro man Denny (or Dennis) of George Evans. Evans then appointed John Dorman as Denny's guardian to see that the land was not unjustly or unlawfully taken from him.56 One farmer offered to sell 134 acres in September 1810 because he said the grand jury was preventing him from making money on his investment. This farmer wanted the jurors to make a neighbor pay for one of his cattle that the neighbor had destroyed, but the jurors upheld the neighbor who said he had killed one of the farmer's cattle because several cows from the herd had gotten into his field and destroyed 120 barrels of corn.57

Grand juries usually got action on indictments, but their presentments of grievances about the poor condition of roads and other general county problems were not always heeded. It is hard to say, therefore, whether the March 1809 grand jury was speaking out of frustration or general satisfaction with county developments when it wrote: "We the grand jury for the present term find that presentments have been so frequently made and so generally
neglected, that we think it unnecessary to make any, as there is nothing very material comes within our knowledge."  

Clarke County's impressive growth and development slowed perceptibly during the years when the nation was involved in the War of 1812. The general economic problems occasioned by this second struggle with England undoubtedly contributed to the problem. The difficulties and near failure of the University of Georgia also curtailed progress, especially in Athens. In 1810 the county tax revenues reached $1,555.33, and in 1811 rose to $1,646.10; but in 1812 they dropped to $1,499.98, and returned to only $1,554.81 in 1813 and $1,555.76 in 1814. The digests for the next few years are missing, but other factors such as the slow death of the county's only newspaper indicate that full recovery and a new burst of growth did not come until the late teens.

The university's problems apparently began as early as 1808 when the number of students in the college fell from forty to twenty-five and the number in the grammar school from thirty to fifteen. The institution was caught in some of the political squabbles of the day, and the trustees lost interest. Some blamed Meigs for the problems, and he resigned as president in 1810 but remained as professor of natural philosophy, mathematics, and chemistry. After a brief suspension of classes in the summer of 1811, a new president and two new faculty members were appointed and the prospects brightened. Desired improvements did not develop as expected, however, and the university and the town languished until 1815 when the legislature provided funds to stimulate recovery and growth. Again the high expectations were not immediately realized, and it was not until about 1819 that a full recovery was achieved and a new era of growth begun.

Clarke County residents, like those in counties throughout the land, became very much concerned about and involved in the War of 1812. The economic effects touched everyone. The military aspects touched many, although the county itself was not the scene of any fighting. The county's patriotic response was immediate and enthusiastic when a call for volunteers was issued at the beginning of the conflict. Males between eighteen and forty-five who could bear arms assembled in Watkinsville, where they were stimulated by speeches and music. Then Captain James Merriwether called for volunteers to join a rifle company. "The men could
scarcely stand still until the music passed," and they sprang "into line with a leap as joyful as if joining a marriage festival." The quota was quickly filled, and soon a second company was formed. Both entered the fray and served well. Merriwether was a logical choice for leader since he was the son of General David Merriwether, an officer in the Revolutionary War, as well as a University of Georgia graduate, a lawyer, and a farmer. Jett Thomas, a carpenter who helped construct the university's first buildings, proved that common men could also distinguish themselves. He served as captain of an artillery company and was cited for his efforts at Autossee and Camp Defiance.61

Many other Clarke County citizens too old or otherwise exempt from national service showed their patriotism by forming home guard companies. One group called "The Company of Forty-Fives" had seventy members with Bedford Brown as captain and former General Merriwether as lieutenant. A second group, which also included a considerable number, was headed by Abiel M. Ramsey as captain, F. P. Carnes as lieutenant, and William Mitchell as ensign.62

Although the home guards did not see action, they were available for Athens' one scare during the war. This incident developed in part because the town had taken no steps to prepare a defense. None seemed necessary since the British were far away and the nearest Indians, the Cherokees, always had been friendly. But about a year after the war began, a rumor spread through the town that one hundred savages had crossed the Appalachee, killed members of one family, and were headed toward Athens. Some of the leading citizens investigated and determined that perhaps five or six Indians had attacked some whites but undoubtedly had gone back home. The fears of the women were not easily allayed, however, and they and the children spent a night in the main university building under the protection of volunteers and students. Since it had been his suggestion, Dr. William Green, professor of mathematics and a brave Irishman, was put in charge. Nothing happened, but the women were reassured that their menfolk were prepared to deal with trouble should it come. All gained a good story to share with their grandchildren.63 By 1819 the Indian boundary had been moved from fifteen to fifty miles away and there were no more night alerts. The Indians did continue visiting Athens, however, to trade and to shoot arrows for
the students until about 1835 when other developments caused their removal from the Southeast.64

Clarke County's economic and cultural development did not come to a complete standstill during the war years. Two schools for girls were opened in Athens during 1814, and a grammar school was opened on the road from Watkinsville to Lexington in 1815. Solomon Betton Begs also advertised in August 1814 that he had taken over the house and lot formerly occupied by Captain Cary in Athens as a private boarding house. He said he intended to provide "entertainment for visitors wishing to spend the sickly season in this Town, for travelling Gentlemen, and students of [the] College to whom every attention will be paid, and exertions made, to give entire satisfaction."65

Governmental changes were made in both Athens and Watkinsville in 1815 and 1816. In 1815 the number of commissioners in Athens was increased to five, and their powers were indicated more specifically. The Athens commissioners were authorized to (1) pass laws regulating the construction of streets and roads within a radius of one mile from the college chapel, (2) maintain the public spring, which had to be southeast of the Oconee River, and (3) levy a poll tax of not more than one dollar a year. Thomas P. Carnes, John Brown, Augustin S. Clayton, Samuel Brown, and Francis Farrar were appointed to serve until the first Saturday in January 1817. They were further authorized to meet within forty days at the chapel and appoint a town constable, clerk, and other officers as they were needed. As in 1806 the law provided that commissioners be elected annually and be eligible for re-election.66

Besides the powers spelled out, the commissioners presumably retained the authority suggested in the town's incorporation act to deal with matters of general concern. One major concern was the increasing number of slaves in the community, and an ordinance was passed in January 1816 to regulate their activities. This ordinance provided a fine of five dollars for a first offense and ten dollars thereafter for anyone giving or selling spirituous liquors to a slave without the written permission of the slave's master, overseer, or employer. It authorized the town constable to disperse gatherings of five or more slaves or persons of color outside the lot, yard, or premises of their master, owner, overseer, or employer. The constable could take into custody anyone who failed to respond to his order and give him up to ten lashes. He
was to be paid twenty-five cents for each chastisement of a slave. Finally the ordinance provided that no slave or person of color could sell anything in town without the written permission of his master, owner, overseer, guardian, or employer specifying the object to be sold. A fine of five dollars was to be levied against both buyer and seller, and if the colored persons could not pay they were subject to as many as ten lashes. 67

While the existence of slavery undoubtedly posed special problems and potential dangers, the whole county appears to have been fairly free of crime in late 1815. The September grand jurors that year congratulated their fellow citizens, noting that “perhaps at no former period since the organization of the county has their attention been less called to indictments or other branches generating discord and destruction of harmony than at the present time.” 68

Acts designed to change operation of government in Watkinsville also were passed in 1815 and 1816. The 1815 act is very similar to the 1806 act which incorporated the town and may have been the result of some local political squabble. It provided for three commissioners as before and named George W. Moore, Ira E. Paschal, and George Rockford to serve until the first Monday in January 1817. The 1816 act authorized the commissioners to levy a tax of ten dollars a day on gambling operations. 69

The most significant county development in the middle teens, however, may not have been at either Athens or Watkinsville. It more likely was in Salem, the smallest of Clarke County’s three principal towns and the last to be incorporated. Salem was located about ten or eleven miles south southwest of Watkinsville, six miles west southwest of Scull Shoals and three miles east of Floyd’s Bridge on the Appalachee River. It was essentially a farming community but one that was increasingly interested in education. Just when Salem was founded is not certain, but it had grown sufficiently to be incorporated in November 1818. The act of incorporation provided a commission form of government with the three commissioners to be elected annually. John Floyd, Hope Tigner, and James Knott were named to serve until the first Monday in January 1820. 70

Continued activity at Salem and Watkinsville and the resurgence of the University of Georgia at Athens helped bring Clarke County into a new era of progress and prosperity in the 1820s.
The growth is reflected in the tax revenues which increased steadily from $2,105.57 in 1819 to $3,211.62 in 1829. The total for 1819 itself shows an increase over the $1,500 to $1,600 being collected in the early teens. In 1819 ten men in the county owned stock in trade valued at more than $1,000 and John Floyd, the veteran storekeeper, paid taxes on $5,000. In 1829 there were seven persons in the $2,000 range and Andrew Graham in Athens paid taxes on $10,000. The total in that year was more than $50,000.\footnote{71}

Despite the rise in business interests, especially in Athens, agriculture continued to be the dominant activity, and the number of slaves continued to rise disproportionately to the number of whites. In 1820 there were 2,756 white persons engaged in agriculture as compared with 134 in manufacturing and only 36 in commerce.\footnote{72} These figures may have been altered somewhat in the 1820s, and they definitely were in the 1830s; but as late as 1840 eighty percent of the county's whites over fifteen years of age were engaged in agriculture.\footnote{73} The trend toward slavery increased even faster in the 1820s than it had in the previous decade. Approximately four-fifths of the 1,000 persons added to the population between 1810 and 1820 were slaves. More than five-sixths of 1,400 persons added between 1820 and 1830 were slaves. In the 1830 census, the county reported 5,467 free persons, virtually all white, and 4,709 slaves for a total of 10,176.\footnote{74}

The rising slave population presented a continual concern, and slave activity was a frequent subject of the grand jury's attention. In September 1819 the grand jury charged that if strong laws were strictly enforced, Negroes in large numbers would not be playing marbles and other games in Watkinsville on the Sabbath. And in October 1825 the grand jury expressed concern over the increasing number of permissions granted slaves to hire out their time and leave the county or neighborhood. Too often, the jury said, these slaves were a nuisance in the places where they went and their conduct tended to corrupt other slaves.\footnote{75}

Most slaves who violated the laws were whipped rather than imprisoned because slaves in jail could not work for their owners. What may have been a typical case occurred in February 1818 when a slave named Elijah was found guilty of stealing clothes, a knife, sixty dollars in bank bills, a pair of boots, and eighty-one cents in silver, all valued at about eighty-five dollars. He was sentenced to have an "R" placed on his thumb and to receive thirty
lashes on each of three days at the whipping post in Watkinsville. Although it is likely that the whipplings were painful, it is unlikely that they were too severe; injured men were of no more immediate value to an owner than those in jail.

The grand juries spoke out at times against those who abused slaves. In August 1826 the grand jury asked for an indictment against a man who had killed a Negro boy. The jury presented as a grievance, "the too frequent prostration of the laws of humanity by abusing those unfortunate beings which we are compelled by the laws of humanity to protect—we mean slaves." As might be expected, the number of planters increased with the number of slaves. The total rose from ten in 1810 to twenty in 1820 and to more than sixty in the early 1830s. Still this involved a very small percentage of the total number of persons in the county.

Unquestionably, the rapid growth of Athens was the most significant development in the county during the 1820s. This change was stimulated by the revival of the University of Georgia under the direction of Moses Waddel who became its president in 1819. Waddel's ability and enthusiasm together with renewed interest in education on the part of the legislature gave the university new life. The university's awakening aided in a revitalization of the town. Economic conditions improved, and a number of new stores along with several new schools were opened. The town got its first churches, its first financially strong newspaper, the *Athenian*, and an increase in population to about fourteen hundred by 1830.

Andrew Graham and Elizur L. Newton joined long-time businessman Stevens Thomas in the forefront of Athens business developments in the 1820s. Graham came to town in the early part of the decade, erected what was then the town's largest store, and became Thomas's first serious rival for public patronage. He was a fat, amiable old bachelor, and "The piazza in front of his store became the City Exchange where all classes of citizens assembled to discuss the affairs of the nation, state, town and college or talk politics, religion, philosophy and farming." Graham's was the place to meet. He prospered in business but died in 1830 of apoplexy, perhaps brought on by his obesity. Newton had a fairly small store in the 1820s, but he expanded it by economy and small profits. He always collected his debts, "he was never tempted
to spend five cents just because he had it, and he never did spend it except for something he needed.”

The Presbyterians under the guidance of University President Waddel, who was himself a minister, inaugurated Athens's first church in 1820. They met in homes, in the University chapel and in various other buildings there until they could erect a church of their own in 1828. The Methodists organized a local church and constructed the town’s first church building in 1825, and the Baptists began their first church in the town in 1830. All had been active in the county including areas near Athens before that time.

Athens’s continuing development resulted in additional changes in its governing powers. In December 1822 the number of town commissioners was increased from five to seven, two new taxing powers were granted, and voting requirements were specified. The new amending act provided that commissioners be elected annually as before by persons who had returned their property and who were entitled to vote for members of the legislature. The new taxing powers included (1) the levying of a town tax equal to one-fourth of the amount of the general state tax, and (2) the setting of a license fee equal to the general tax on all retailers of spirituous liquors. The one-dollar poll tax was continued. In December 1831 the Athens laws were amended again to provide for a levy of a one-dollar poll tax on white males twenty-one and over and a property tax not to exceed twelve and a half cents on each hundred dollars in value. At this time the commissioners were also authorized to build a market house, but such action was not taken until the late 1840s.

Watkinsville's governing powers also were changed in the 1820s to accommodate new growth and development. In 1822 an act extended the town limits to one-half mile in all directions from the courthouse and provided for the annual election of five commissioners on the first Saturday in January. The commissioners were authorized to levy a poll tax up to one dollar and a property tax up to twelve and a half cents on each hundred dollars of taxable property. They also were authorized to tax retailers of spirituous liquors and shows and exhibitions five dollars. Persons violating town ordinances could be fined up to five dollars for each offense. Any punishment of slaves was not to affect “life, limb, or members.”

The construction and upkeep of public buildings continued to
be a major concern in Watkinsville. A clerk's office house, eighteen by twenty-two feet with a piazza on one side, was completed in 1823 to supplement the courthouse. It was brick and cost the county about two thousand dollars. But the two apparently were not adequate, and a new courthouse was constructed in 1827. Counting the work on the courthouse square, this new facility cost the county about three thousand dollars, but it was a good investment. Although repaired extensively, it served the county throughout the rest of the antebellum period. The former clerk's office was sold in 1831.

Maintaining adequate jail facilities was a problem, too. By 1821 the brick jail completed in 1814 at a cost of about $1,000 was termed insecure by the grand jury. A new jail, Clarke's third, apparently was built about 1825 since the old one was auctioned for $250 in February 1826. Various fees paid to guards, sheriffs, and executioners added to maintenance costs. Citizens hired to guard prisoners were paid from 75 cents to $1.50 a day for their services. Sheriffs were reimbursed for money spent to buy blankets and other necessities, and executioners were paid for their labor and materials. In 1821 the county paid one man $10 for an execution and 37 cents for the rope used in carrying out the sentence.

Watkinsville's continuing development in the 1820s undoubt edly depended in large measure on the presence of the government activities, but there were other interests and a number of prominent farmers lived in the area. As of 1827 the town had a courthouse, jail, academy, clerk's office, twenty houses, and four stores. It drew added significance from the fact that the roads to Athens from Greensboro and from Madison in Morgan County converged there.

Salem continued to grow in the 1820s also and for a time at least challenged Watkinsville as the county's second most populous community. In May 1821 an act was passed defining the town's limits, and in December 1830 another act was passed to amend and explain its basic laws. The town limits extended from the center of town for one-half mile in all directions. The governing body included five commissioners chosen annually on the first Saturday in January. Named in 1830 to serve until the voters should choose their successors in January 1832 were John W. Birch, James C. Anderson, Thomas Thompson, James C. Branch, and James Nott [Knott]. In 1827 Salem had twenty-one houses, two
stores, three offices, seven shops, a male and female academy, a Methodist meeting house, and a tannery. The tannery was an extensive operation which reportedly supplied much of the area with leather.\textsuperscript{90}

Salem also was the scene of the county’s most interesting murder case. When this mysterious incident was finally unfolded, a dead man had provided the evidence to convict his alleged murderer. The case occurred in 1820 and involved two of Salem’s most prominent citizens, Thomas Wells and Peter Perry. The two were supposed to be good friends, but Wells was very jealous of his beautiful wife and apparently believed she might be having an affair with Perry. Wells was not suspected, however, when Perry was mysteriously murdered in August 1820. In fact there were no suspects until Perry’s will was read the next month. In his will Perry noted that he and Wells had exchanged several abusive letters and that Wells had attempted to instigate a fight with him. Perry said that he had not had an affair with Wells’s wife and that he prayed Wells would soon realize this. But he indicated that should he be killed by Wells he wanted his friends to prosecute him with utmost vigor. At the same time, Perry asked that should Wells be convicted and condemned to death, he be given as much time as possible to repent. In October the grand jury found a true bill against Wells and the trial jury returned a verdict of guilty. The judge sentenced Wells to be hanged later that same month, and the sentence presumably was carried out.\textsuperscript{91}

Certainly, the first few decades of Clarke County’s history provided unusual as well as predictable events. There also were many challenges for those who sought to develop the wilderness and especially for those who sought to create a cultural and educational center there. Progress was slow in some respects. Transportation in the 1820s was still limited and difficult because of poor roads. There were no banks and little capital available for investment. The public buildings often required attention. But on the whole the county had come far in a short time, and important towns had developed at Athens, Watkinsville, and Salem. The economic progress of the 1820s was impressive, especially in Athens, and the foundation was laid for the development of industry and the expansion of other fields in the 1830s and 1840s.
CHAPTER II

The Middle Years, 1829-1845

By the late 1820s Athens had established a position of leadership in Clarke County and had begun to widen its sphere of influence. The rejuvenation of the University of Georgia under President Moses Waddel, 1819-1829, was a major factor in the town's healthy development. The university's graduates became leaders in state affairs and often returned to the campus to debate the issues of the day. The university's progress helped stimulate the economic growth of Athens during the decade of the 1830s, when Athenians pioneered in the development of cotton manufacturing and initiated action that led to the construction of the state's first successful railway, the Georgia Railroad. These developments in turn acted to stimulate local and county growth in business, government, and agriculture. Athens extended its town limits and adjusted its laws to accommodate a rising population and increasing prosperity. The county's development complemented that of Athens, and some of its government services were expanded. Political interests awakened within the county, and local leaders took an increasing role in state government affairs.

Before 1828 manufacturing in Clarke County included flour milling, saw milling, grist milling, cotton ginning, cotton pressing, furniture making, blacksmithing, tailoring, milliner and mantua making, tanning, and saddle, bridle, and harness making. Most were small operations, although by 1810 the county did rank tenth among the state's thirty-eight counties in the dollar value of family-made cotton goods. After 1828 emphasis was placed on the manufacture of cotton cloth, perhaps because of the high federal tariff approved in that year. Many Southerners believed that this tariff served the interests of northern manufacturers at the expense of southern farmers. Although Athenians joined Southerners in urging that the tariff be repealed, some chose to meet the challenge by constructing their own manufacturing plants. Their success was so great that some called Athens the Manchester of the South.

Three cotton factories were begun along the banks of the
Oconee River between 1829 and 1833. The first to open was the Athens Manufacturing Company, later called the Georgia Factory; its developers were William Dearing, John Nisbet, Major Abraham Walker, Judge Augustin S. Clayton, and Captain John Johnson of Massachusetts. This plant was founded, according to the Athenian, because “The agricultural character of the South has been compelled, by a very unwise policy of the General Government, to partake of that manufacturing spirit which seems to have been forced down upon the nation at the expense of every other interest.” The factory was located at Thomas Moore’s Mills, about four miles from Athens, was designed to contain one thousand spindles and thirty looms, and was to be fifty-six feet long, forty-four feet wide, and several stories high. Judge Clayton broke ground for the project March 26, 1829, and it was reported in operation by February 1830. The plant’s name was changed to Georgia Factory sometime before 1833 when John White became plant superintendent. White later acquired the property, and he and his family continued the operation with some success throughout the antebellum period.

Clarke County’s second cotton manufactory, the Athens Factory, was founded soon after the first by William Dearing and John Nisbet, two of the entrepreneurs who organized the first one. It was located on the north fork of the Oconee near Athens. By February 1830 John Johnson, its agent, advertised that it was selling yarn and expected to have plain white cloth soon; goods could be purchased from Johnson or from Seaborn J. Mays in Athens. When in 1831 the price of cotton declined, the Athens Factory adjusted the prices of its yarns and homespun and developed a plan by which large buyers could purchase manufactured goods cheaper from it than from northern producers. Prospects looked bright in September 1833 when the company announced that it had 150 wood spindles and a forty-eight inch double carding engine with tube condensers unlike any in Georgia.

Disaster struck the next year, however, and several times afterward. A fire in 1834 burned the factory building and destroyed everything of value; the loss was estimated at forty thousand dollars or more, none of which was covered by insurance. The manufacturers started construction of a new building in 1835, and the Athens Factory was back in operation by 1837, perhaps earlier. But misfortune returned in the spring of 1840 when a considerable
part of the plant was washed away in a flood known as the Har­rison freshet. Again the owners rebuilt, and by 1850 Athens Factory boasted the largest investment of any of the county’s three cotton manufactories. Adversity returned in November 1857 when a fire destroyed the factory proper and caused an estimated sixty thousand to seventy-five thousand dollars worth of damage not covered by insurance. But the undaunted owners had the factory running again in just over a year. Plant superintendent John S. Linton was given much of the credit for getting the factory reorganized in a relatively short time.\(^5\)

The third cotton factory founded in Clarke County during the antebellum period was located several miles from Athens on the middle fork of the Oconee River. The necessary land was purchased and the company incorporated in 1833. At first called Camak Manufacturing Company, it became Princeton Factory in 1834. By late 1835 company president William Williams announced that the factory was making cotton yarns of all sizes, and in three years the factory advertised that it made nankeens as good as those of the North and cheaper because they were using Georgia cotton. Williams said he believed Camak could supply most of Georgia’s needs for this product, and he also offered to sell cotton yarn, oznaburges, and wool. The factory was sold to Dr. James S. Hamilton in 1845, and it was eventually purchased by Captain James White.\(^6\)

James Silk Buckingham, the noted English traveler who visited Athens in the summer of 1839, reported extensively on local factory conditions. He noted that the factories were “all worked by water-power, and used for spinning yarn, and weaving cloth of coarse qualities for local consumption only.” Each, he reported, employed from eighty to one hundred persons, about half white and half Negro. In one factory the Negroes were the property of the owner, but in the other two they were rented by their owners. “There is no difficulty among them on account of colour,” he said, “the white girls working in the same room and at the same loom with the black girls; and the boys of each colour, as well as men and women, working together without apparent repugnance or objection.” The Englishman cited this as one of the many proofs that color prejudice was less in the South than in the North. “Here, it is not at all uncommon to see the black slaves of both sexes, shake hands with white people when they
meet, and interchange friendly personal inquiries; but at the North
I do not remember to have witnessed this once. . . .” Buckingham
observed that the Negroes learned spinning and weaving about
as easily as the whites, but that their labor was dearer because they
received the same wages, seven dollars a month, and the mill owner
had to feed them. An opponent of the factory system, he charged
that the whites were suffering greatly from working in the mills.
His bias was perhaps in evidence when he wrote, “The whites
looked miserably pale and unhealthy; and they are said to be very
short-lived, the first symptoms of fevers and dysenteries in the
autumn appearing chiefly among them at the factories, and sweep­
ing numbers of them off by death.”

By 1840 the three cotton manufactories employed 220 persons,
and Clarke County ranked second only to Chatham County in the
amount of capital invested in manufactures. Of the $285,841 in­
vested in Clarke County, some $200,000 was invested in the three
cotton plants. Together they had 5,630 spindles and two dyeing
and printing establishments and manufactured articles valued at
$120,000 a year. While the smaller industries trailed well behind
the cotton plants in investment, several apparently did well. In
1840 the firms making carriages and wagons employed thirty-one
persons, had a capital investment of $8,400 and an output valued
at $36,000 a year. The three tanneries in the county had a capital
investment of $6,611 and produced articles valued at $6,150. They
employed fifteen men and produced 1,600 sides of sole leather and
2,300 sides of upper leather. The county in 1840 also had five flour
mills, thirteen grist mills, and fifteen saw mills. Together they em­
ployed thirty-five persons, had a total investment of $44,400, and
produced goods valued at $23,500. Ninety-one men were employed
to build six brick and stone houses and forty-eight wooden houses
valued at $37,090. Nine men were employed in making silk, but
only twelve pounds valued at fifty-eight dollars were produced.
The seven persons employed in the county’s seven distilleries turned
out 4,380 gallons of liquor.

Development of the three cotton factories stimulated growth
in many fields, especially transportation. Due to the slowness of
heavy wagons rolling over poor roads, it took freight a week to
get to Athens from Augusta in good weather. Sometimes it took
longer, although the case of a Green County teamster who re­
ported to Athens several weeks late is probably not typical. He
explained his tardiness by saying that on passing by his home “he found his crop so grassey that he was obliged to stop and plow it over.” Freight shipment was not cheap either. The charge for carrying twenty-five hundred to three thousand pounds by four-horse team was never less than one dollar a hundred pounds, and in the hard winter of 1817-1818 it had gone as high as four dollars a hundred pounds. The need for something better was generally recognized by the 1820s, and it became more pressing with the expanded manufacturing activity of the 1830s. Athenians associated with the Princeton Factory became acutely aware of the transport problems when wagons carrying their machinery were mired down by spring rains near what is now Union Point and the opening of their plant was delayed for weeks. They and others in the community decided to explore railroads as a possible solution.

An article appeared in an Athens newspaper, the *Southern Banner*, in June 1833 urging that a railroad be built between Augusta and Athens. This article contended that all Athens needed to be a great commercial center was a connecting link with a town at the head of a navigable river. Interested Athenians studied the question and concluded that such a railroad was practicable and that it would be advantageous both to the undertakers and to the community. They resolved (1) that the legislature be petitioned for a charter of incorporation, (2) that a committee check with other railroads to determine the best way of constructing the road, and (3) that a committee be formed to urge other communities to hold public meetings and build up interest.

During the ensuing weeks many railroad meetings were held in various communities, including Augusta, Lexington, Eatonton, Greensboro, Crawfordsville, and Madison. Committees were appointed to study the proposed road and determine how to proceed. One of the early decisions was to merge the efforts of those at Athens and Eatonton, where a group already had sought incorporation of a road to Augusta and was selling subscriptions. The *Augusta Chronicle* expressed concern that Augusta could be hurt by the road if shippers by-passed that city and sent their goods on to Charleston via the recently completed Charleston and Hamburg Railroad. Some in Lexington opposed the road for a time because of the noise such a project would inflict on the community. But in general the reaction was favorable and enthusiasm continued to mount.
At an October meeting in Greensboro attended by A. B. Linton, William Williams, and others from Clarke County, it was decided to seek incorporation of the Georgia Railroad Company. The company was incorporated with powers to build a railroad from Augusta westward to some point from which it could be connected with Athens, Madison, and Eatonton. The Athens branch was to be extended on to the Tennessee River at the discretion of the company. The Augusta-to-Eatonton road, which had been chartered in 1831, was incorporated into the new enterprise. In February of the next year stock subscriptions were opened for twenty-five hundred shares at a hundred dollars each. Within a week half of the proposed shares had been taken, and within two weeks upwards of five thousand shares had been purchased.

Athens’s prominent role in the project was obvious at the first board election meeting. Athenian James Camak was named president. Athenian William Williams was elected secretary and treasurer, and a dozen Athenians were named to the board of directors. Besides Williams, these included William Dearing, Dr. A. B. Linton, Rev. James Shannon, Colonel J. A. Cobb, E. L. Newton, John Cunningham, R. B. Thompson, Absalom Janes, John Nisbet, Wilson Lumpkin, and William R. Cunningham. Furthermore, the company established its home office in Athens, where it remained until 1841. Shortly after their election, Camak, Williams, and Shannon embarked on a trip to area counties to develop interest and sell more stock. At a meeting on July 5 Camak and Williams were authorized to procure rights-of-way, and Williams was authorized to go north to get an engineer and check other roads. Routes were surveyed during 1834, and construction was under way by early 1835.

During the fall of 1834 the question of a possible Cincinnati-to-Charleston railroad was raised, and the Georgia Railroad sought and received banking privileges so that it would be in a better position to become part of such a road if it materialized. The legislature authorized the company to issue two million dollars of stock, one-half of which might be used for banking until the road to Athens was complete, and one half had to be paid in before the company could open its banking business. The principal office remained in Athens, and the board of directors was authorized to appoint a cashier and such other banking officers as needed. The act granted banking privileges for twenty-five years but provided
that they should cease unless the Union Road was completed to Greensboro in four years and to Athens in six. The stockholders accepted the act and voted to finish the Greensboro road first, the Athens road second, and then the Greensboro route to Madison.\(^{15}\)

Subscriptions for stock were opened on February 15. A month later it was announced that all stock had been taken and that an election would be held March 26 for a cashier and bookkeeper. The cashier was to be paid $1,500 a year and was to be under $40,000 bond. The bookkeeper was to receive $800 a year and be under $10,000 bond. At this election James Camak was named treasurer; William R. Cunningham, bookkeeper; and William Dearing, Company president.\(^{16}\)

Two months later J. Edgar Thomson, the engineer who had been employed, reported that arrangements had been completed with a Mr. Baldwin in Philadelphia to construct seven locomotive engines. Two were to be ready for use by November of that year and the others by May 1837. At this time the stockholders also voted to send a representative to a proposed railroad meeting in Knoxville on July 4. Considerable interest was shown, and Thomson surveyed a route from Athens to Knoxville, which he estimated would be about 211 miles through the valley of the Little Tennessee River. But Athens was not destined to get this connection. The Western and Atlantic Railroad was chartered by the state in December 1836, connecting Georgia with points in Tennessee.\(^{17}\)

In the meantime, construction on the Georgia Railroad was progressing. A letter to the editor of the *Southern Banner*, published December 30, 1837, reported that the road was then complete for more than fifty miles from Augusta and that more than fifty passengers a day traversed it. The letter said the road probably would be completed to Crawfordville within a month and that cotton already was being shipped. It also noted that Hiram Wilson had four-horse post coaches meeting the train and relaying passengers to Athens and Gainesville via Washington and to Athens via Greensboro, Dr. Poullain's Bridge, and Watkinsville.\(^{18}\)

At the annual meeting in May 1838, measures were adopted to push construction of the road to Madison and Athens and also to extend it as quickly as feasible to meet the Western and Atlantic. By spring 1839 the road was still two hundred yards from Greensboro, but it was reported that grading off of the Athens and
Madison branches was under contract. At this time Engineer Thom­son submitted plans for possible routes across the Oconee River at Athens, but a railroad bridge was not built there for many years.19

Buckingham, the English traveler noted earlier, described the trip from Augusta to Athens in some detail. He said the first leg of the trip was eighty-four miles by railroad from Augusta to Greensboro, and it took about seven hours, including stops for breakfast, firewood, and water. The second leg was about forty miles by stage from Greensboro to Athens, and it required another eight hours. The railroad was approximately twice as fast, and it cost exactly half as much, five cents a mile. The Englishman wrote that one could leave Augusta at 5 A.M. and arrive in Athens sometime after 10 P.M.20

Perhaps as a result of the national financial panic of 1837, the Georgia Railroad discontinued stock dividends during the late 1830s. Business picked up by the turn of the decade, however, and in early 1841 an Augusta newspaper said the Georgia Railroad’s banking business was supplying Augusta and eastern Georgia with most of its currency. Augusta, where opposition had once been expressed to the idea, took increasing interest in the railroad, and the principal offices were moved to that city. At the annual meeting in May 1840 William Dearing was reelected president for the sixth time, but in 1841 the position was voted to Augustan John P. King. The transfer of leadership was followed that fall by legis­lative approval of the transfer of the principal company offices.21

The Athens branch of the road was completed to a point where services could be started in 1841. In December of that year it was reported that only the construction of a depot and turnouts at the end of the road remained to be completed and that this work was under way. For a few years the Athens branch from Union Point was served by horse power; later machines came in the form of three small locomotives, each of which weighed about 3.5 tons.22 Freight and passenger travel benefited from the railroad. By September 1842 freight was being moved between Athens and Augusta two days a week and passengers every day except Sunday. Freight charges were as follows: cotton, square bales, thirty-seven and a half cents for each hundred pounds; cotton, round bales, forty cents for each hundred pounds; bacon, twenty-five cents for each hundred pounds; flour, apples, and potatoes, fifty cents for each barrel; corn in sacks, fifteen cents for each bushel; oats
in sacks ten cents for each bushel, and other articles fifty cents for each hundred pounds. By November 1844 freight was being carried three days a week instead of two, and some reductions were made in the fees. Between March 1842 and March 1843 the road carried 3,000 bales of cotton and 2,200 bushels of corn to Augusta and brought 22,400 bushels of salt to Athens. These and other charges earned the railroad gross receipts of $27,589 that year, more than had been expected. Even in the 1850s the road did not provide all the benefits or services hoped for, but by the middle 1840s it was making an important contribution to the development of Athens and Clarke County.

The establishment of the railroad together with the construction of the three cotton factories in the early 1830s helped stimulate new business interest in Athens and the county. This increased activity led the Bank of the State of Georgia to establish a branch there in February 1834. Asbury Hull was named cashier, and T. Hancock, James Camak, J. A. Cobb, William Dearing, Stevens Thomas, Jacob Phinizy, and John Nesbit were elected directors. By May of that year the bank was in operation and in March 1835 it announced that a banking house would be built in Athens. This facility along with the Georgia Railroad bank begun in 1835 provided Athens the banking services necessary for expansion in various areas.

Many of the stores begun or expanded in Athens during the 1830s and 1840s were general merchandise stores, but some specialty firms also sought patronage. One of the most popular was the confectionary, which offered candies, cakes, cordials, fruit, soda water, and similar delicacies. A pioneer in this field was A. Brydie, who in 1834 advertised one of the biggest cakes ever made in the area. He said it weighed upwards of two hundred pounds and would be cut and sold for fifty cents a pound. Possibly because he loved good food and opposed hard beverages, Brydie opened the Temperance Coffee House in 1842. Here coffee and various confections were vended, including ice cream for ten cents a glass or twenty glasses for one dollar. Ladies were especially welcome and were provided a separate room. Numerous others engaged in this type business in later years, including Hansel Dillard, a free Negro who also operated a delivery system. Dillard used a pony and a small cart to deliver the choice foods he had to sell.

By the 1830s Athens was large enough to support several hotels,
and it always had three or more in operation after that. These establishments often changed names as they changed tenants but some became well-known. The Planter's, Central, Franklin House, Newton House, the Railroad, Mitchell, and Eagle all were advertised during the period. The Planter's was located across from the Methodist Church and was described by Buckingham, the British traveler, as the best available in 1839. He said the only drawback to comfort there “was the incessant and uninterrupted chorus kept up every night by the dogs, cows, and hogs that seemed to divide among them the undisputed possession of the streets at night.”

The Eagle Hotel, opened at an early date, and the Watkinsville Hotel were among the best-known in the county seat. The Village Inn, opened in 1836 as a house of entertainment, may also have provided hotel facilities. Perhaps the most colorful such establishment in the county was opened in 1834 at Helicon Springs about four miles from Athens. People flocked there to enjoy the waters and after 1835 to eat in the spacious eighty-two foot dining room. Proprietor John Jackson instituted a hack service in 1835 which facilitated travel between the hotel and Athens and improved business. Although not as famous as Madison Springs and some other Georgia watering places, Helicon Springs enjoyed considerable popularity in its day. Many boarding houses also were operated in Athens, including one by G. L. Jules D’Autel in the middle 1840s that specialized in French cuisine. For only eight dollars a month boarders could enjoy food prepared by a French chef and learn the French language from their landlord.

Drugstores, barber shops, beauty shops, bookstores, at least one jewelry store, a gun store, and a paint shop were among the many stores in Athens. The drugstores sold a variety of goods, including patent medicines, paints, oils, window glass, and perfumes along with prescriptions. The jewelry stores also offered a variety of goods, including watches, pins, neck chains, walking canes, pipes, teapots, and candlesticks. The bookstores sold stationery, shaving cream, soap, cologne water, games, and other items as well as books.

By 1840 Clarke County had a total of forty-five stores, many of them in Athens. They had a total investment of approximately eighty-eight thousand dollars.

Development of the University of Georgia, manufacturing,
transportation, agriculture, and business encouraged growth throughout the county and especially in Athens. Between 1830 and 1840 the county’s population increased by roughly a thousand from 1,434 to 2,500, and in the next decade another 500 settled there. The increased number of persons located in Athens necessitated the expansion of the town’s physical limits. The university trustees announced the sale of forty town lots in July 1834 and the sale of additional lots and fractions of same in the upper part of Athens in September 1839. In December 1843 they voted to sell sixteen more town lots to open up the vacant side of Front Street in the business district. This action was essential to business development since the other side by then had been entirely developed. In March 1845 the university sold additional lots on the Watkinsville road and east of the president’s house. Meanwhile, John A. Cobb, one of the principal landholders in the west end of town, took steps to promote development there. In August 1834 he offered for sale eighty lots which lay on both sides of the main road to Jefferson. The community that developed there was called Cobbham. Expansion also took place to the east, and in 1840 the town limits were extended across the Oconee River a mile eastward from the University. Athens’s corporate limits were enlarged in 1842 so that they extended for two miles in every direction from the college chapel.

As the town grew its needs and challenges also multiplied. More persons required more services and presented more problems. But, generally speaking, the town did not turn its full attention to meeting these urban needs until the late 1840s and 1850s. Much of the energy expended in the 1830s and early 1840s went into growth itself.

One matter that did cause increasing concern, however, was slavery. The slaves themselves presented some problems, and the increasing agitation for abolition by Northerners suggested even graver troubles. Buckingham reported in 1839 that Athenians frequently complained of immorality and depravity among slaves. Little, he reported, was done about the charges, however, because to take action would reflect adversely on the owners. A police record would make a slave less valuable. The churches looked the other way, Buckingham said, unless “provoked by some peculiar circumstances to make a public declaration on the subject; and then,
it is in palliation of this 'domestic institution,' as it is called, and in denunciation of Abolitionism.”

Fewer than two hundred slaves were added to Clarke County's population in the 1830s as compared with about a thousand in each of the previous decades, and only a few hundred more were added in the 1840s and in the 1850s. But by 1830 the total, 4,709, already was high in comparison with the white population of 5,467, and this ratio remained about the same in the 1830s. Although not many slaves were added in the 1840s, the balance actually shifted to a slight Negro majority by 1850. Such a balance was bound to cause concern.

The large number of slaves perhaps was occasioned by a continued emphasis on agriculture. As late as 1840 some 80 percent of the whites over fifteen years of age were engaged in that endeavor. Still, the majority of these farmers had few, if any, slaves. In 1830 the forty-nine planters owned about one-third (1,600 out of 4,709) of the slaves in the county. In 1840 the seventy-one planters owned more than a half (2,732 out of 4,877) of them. Although a variety of crops were grown, cotton became the chief one; corn was second.

Many programs to improve agriculture were initiated by individuals and groups. As early as July 1834 there was a cattle show held on the lot of Stevens Thomas next to Judge Clayton's residence. Lovers of butter, cheese, cream, and milk were invited to attend the show, which was held on the Tuesday before university commencement. James Camak, a leader in manufacturing and banking activities in the county, was also a major developer of new farm ideas. In September 1835 he announced a successful experiment with Gama grass, reporting that an “acre well set with roots, at two years old, if cut five times a year, will yield 248,000 pounds of green grass.” In 1843 he reported success with a large new grape, known in England as Black Hamburg and Frankendale; and at other times he reported success with other fruits, such as plums. It seems likely that Camak was instrumental in the formation of the county's first agricultural society in July 1845. The organization was formed to collect and diffuse information on agriculture and to encourage and improve farming methods. Quarterly and annual meetings were planned along with an annual fair to exhibit products. Premiums and awards were
given at the fairs to recognize the best acre of corn, wheat, and oats, the best model farm, the best plow to suit the county’s soil, the best animals, and the best home spun for ladies and gentlemen. Carnak was named president of the society. Reverend J. N. Glenn, Major Thomas Mitchell, Colonel Samuel Bailey, John Gordon, and William L. Mitchell were named vice-presidents. Sidney B. Payne was elected secretary and G. B. Haygood, treasurer.

Agriculture and slavery were also major factors in the alignment of political parties in the county, state, and much of the nation during the 1830s. During the early years of the nineteenth century when Clarke County was being developed, Georgia’s parties were based largely on personalities. But issues became more important in the late 1820s and after as the tariff became a major subject of contention. A strong argument on the question took place in Athens after the University of Georgia commencement in 1832. Friends of President Andrew Jackson and the protective system called a meeting. But the nullifiers, who were in great majority in the town, on campus, and among those attending the commencement, met at the same time, stormed the first meeting, and passed resolutions bitterly condemning the tariff. Led by Augustin S. Clayton of Clarke County, William H. Crawford, and John M. Berrien, they urged the people to send delegates to an October meeting at Milledgeville, the state capital, to help nullify the tariff. John Forsyth led a successful campaign against nullification in Georgia, but it was by a narrow margin that this state missed taking the action that South Carolina did take against the hated tariff.

Many Georgians continued to choose their parties on the basis of personalities, but patterns of alignment with the major national parties can be traced. The George M. Troup party which opposed strong nationalism became the State Rights party of Georgia, and some of its members allied themselves with the national Whig party which arose in opposition to President Jackson. The John Clark party members who had opposed nullification adopted the name Union party, and some soon joined the national Democratic party in support of the President.

At the beginning of the 1830s the Troup Party was in the majority in Athens and included among its members such personages as Judge Joseph H. Lumpkin, Asbury and Henry Hull, Dr. Alonzo Church, Letcher Mitchell, Dr. Richard D. Moore,
E. L. Newton, James Camak, Dr. Charles M. Reese, and Dr. James Tinsley. The Clark Party was strong, however, and included Stevens Thomas, the Phinizys, William L. Mitchell, Junius Hillyer, Wilson Lumpkin, Albion Chase, Blanton M. Hill, and Leonidas Franklin. Most Clarke County residents followed the Whig-Democrat realignment. A State Rights association was formed in the county in January 1834 and a Union organization in March of the same year. The former was, of course, strongly anti-nationalistic. The latter declared "that on the union of the states depends, not only the rights of the states, but all other rights that are dear to free men." 38

By the early 1840s the national structure of Whigs and Democrats was generally superimposed on the Georgia parties. There were few local issues and only the bitter personal rivalries remained from the earlier period. The Georgia Whig party was composed mostly of planters, industrialists, and other persons of a conservative outlook. The Georgia Democratic party was composed mostly of small farmers. Although there was a strong two-party rivalry, Clarke County with its planters and manufacturers generally supported the Whigs, and, in later years, their successors. The whole situation was somewhat confused, however, by the shifting within the national parties. Many Whigs tended toward nationalism as well as conservatism while many Democrats came to support state rights. 39

Clarke County was not totally without local issues, however. There were the usual arguments over government services and the taxes to pay for them, and there was a spirited rivalry between Watkinsville and Athens. Roads, bridges, and ferries were continuing concerns. Many county roads were opened in the early years, including a post road between Watkinsville and Athens in 1804, but it was almost impossible to keep them in good repair. Some improvement in Athens-Watkinsville travel was achieved by a new road started in the late 1820s through less rough terrain. But all the roads were dirt and highly susceptible to the weather. The commissioners appointed by the inferior court to help keep the roads in order had limited success. 40

Bridges may have been even more susceptible to the weather. The wooden structures frequently were washed away by the floods which periodically struck the area. Many were constructed after a legislative act in 1817 authorized the inferior court to levy
a special tax for their construction. In Clarke this tax was fifty percent of the state tax until 1826 and twenty-five percent of the state tax after that. The cost of bridges ranged from about seventy-five dollars for building a small one across Barber's Creek on the Athens-Watkinsville road to almost five hundred dollars for one across the Oconee River near Athens. The two which were built in that area by the middle 1820s required considerable attention in the years that followed.

Both the Athens bridges, the one built at Princeton Factory in 1834, and most others in the county were washed away or severely damaged by the Harrison Freshet of May 1840. This flood, named for the presidential candidate, was perhaps the worst of the entire antebellum period. The lower Athens bridge, which connected Front Street with the railroad depot, was replaced by a double track affair, 435 feet long and 24 feet wide. The old upper bridge was replaced by a single track span.41 Ferries served to convey people across water courses before bridges were constructed and during those times when bridges were being repaired or replaced.

Poor roads and washed out bridges had at least an indirect effect on everyone because the mails were transported over them. A post road had connected Athens with Augusta early in the century, but it was not until 1828 that a direct mail route was announced between Athens and Danielsville. That same year studies were made for a post road between Athens and Monroe and an improved link between Athens, Gainesville, and the gold country. By 1831 Athens postmaster, William L. Mitchell, was able to announce the following mail arrangements: (1) Northern—via Augusta, Appling, White Oak, Wrightsboro, Washington, Centerville, Lexington, and Cherokee Corner, twice a week; (2) Milledgeville—via Fairfield, Eatonton, Madison, Salem, Watkinsville, once a week; (3) Tennessee—via Springplace, Carmel, Hightower, Wynn's, Gainesville, Kellogg's Store, Jefferson, once a week; (4) Lawrenceville—via Loughridge's and Pentecost's Mills, once a week; (5) Monroe—via Watkinsville, once a week; and (6) Danielsville, once a week. At that time, the postmaster also announced that there would be no more credit given on postage for letters or newspapers. He said users could open an account by making a deposit and that they would be notified when it ran out. The mails continued to be a problem, however, as a letter
in the *Athenian* in May 1831 indicates. The writer criticized the handling of mail between Athens and northern Alabama, noting that it took a month for a letter to go between places that were "only six or seven days apart." Improvements were made in succeeding years, especially after the railroad was opened, but the service continued to evoke complaints for many years. Newspapers were particularly disturbed by slow mail service because they depended on exchange items from other newspapers and other information received by mail to help fill their pages. At times the Athens papers even had to delay publication when the mails from other sections of the country were late.42

Besides roads and bridges the public buildings probably were the greatest drain on county revenues. Both the jail and the courthouse in Watkinsville required periodic attention. A new jail, Clarke's fourth, was built about 1838. An asylum for the poor also was built in the late 1830s in accordance with a state law passed in 1834; but it apparently had limited use. On the advice of the February 1839 grand jury, the county abandoned the asylum and sold the building. Although concern was expressed for the poor and steps taken to help, the number of persons on the welfare rolls never was large. In June 1826 only five women and one man were included on the poor list, and two of the women apparently died before the year passed. Ten years later in February 1836 the total was only eighteen, including nine women and three children. The number reached twenty before 1840 and apparently leveled off at about thirty in the 1850s. Women with illegitimate children were paid varying amounts, usually fifteen to twenty-five dollars a year, and orphans were bound out to persons who agreed to care for them until they became of age.48 By the 1840s the Young Ladies Benevolent Society and the Athens Benevolent Society were able to lend some assistance to some in need.

The county also took steps to curb crime and promote morality, although there was some disagreement over what was evil and how much of it existed. On one occasion the editor of the *Athenian* challenged a grand jury presentment that gambling in all forms existed in Watkinsville and Athens in direct contravention of the laws and with tacit approval of commissioners and citizens. He said that in Athens it was only the lowest order of persons who were committing such acts and that steps were being taken to
correct the evil. As for Watkinsville he said that while on visits there he never had been challenged to a game of cards but frequently had been asked about his health.\textsuperscript{44}

Grand jurors in 1839 blamed most of the crimes cited during that session on visits to the tippling shops and public lethargy about crime. Jurors lamented the moral courage of those who would not testify against gambling. They exhorted “all who feel interested in the cause of moral reform in the rising generation to shake off their criminal lethargy and at once commence the war long since declared but never yet begun, nor cease their efforts till cards and dice be forever banished from the land.” The people apparently responded favorably, for crime decreased in the middle and late 1840s and did not increase greatly in the 1850s.\textsuperscript{45}

Although concern was expressed about crime, and especially about the increasing numbers of slaves, the general peace and security of the county was not threatened during the 1830s and 1840s. Some Clarke residents did, however, volunteer to assist the national government in various military actions elsewhere. In 1836 a company was organized to fight the Seminole Indians in Florida. Seventy-seven men were sought for this unit, and ninety-eight volunteered. The unit was not called to action in Florida, but an Athenian, General Burwell Pope, did command a Georgia brigade in that mission. The Athens unit was alerted for possible action against hostile Creeks in May 1836; but its services were not required and the men were back home by July.\textsuperscript{46}

Clarke County’s men turned out again in May 1838 to form a company for service in the removal of the Cherokees. Again there were more than enough volunteers to fill the quota. Sheriff Isaac S. Vincent was elected captain and Robert Moore, first lieutenant. It is not known how much, if any, military action was required of this unit, but several of its members did die while in service near New Echota and Cedartown. A meeting was announced in the newspaper in April 1839 to form a cavalry company, but it is not certain whether such a unit was organized.\textsuperscript{47} A cavalry company was formed in the late 1840s with W. E. Dearing as captain and Henry Hill as lieutenant for possible service in the Mexican War. General Edward Hardin also volunteered to raise and command a thousand volunteers for that struggle, if needed. Neither these units nor the already organized Watkinsville Independent Blues were called to active duty. But several local individuals, in-
including Dr. A. S. Hill and a Major Grain, did see service during that war.48

Clarke County's men evidently were willing to do their duty in the event of war, and they probably served as well as anyone else. But the militia muster in the county continued to be a farce for many years. The experience of Pack Wells, keeper of the first livery stable in Athens, may not have been typical but was at least suggestive. Wells fancied himself a military man and was elated when he was elected major of his militia battalion. He did not realize at the time that he was voted in by University of Georgia students who did it either as a prank or as a means to obtain favor. Still, everything ran smoothly until the battalion was called to a parade. Then the students' love of fun overcame their desire to obtain credit, and the citizen soldiery cheerfully joined in. "A strange diversity of opinion prevailed in regard to right and left, and as they were about equally divided on this question, the order to 'face' or 'wheel' resulted in inextricable confusion." The major resigned shortly thereafter, sadder but wiser in the ways of young men.49

Another grotesque exhibition was described by a foreign visitor in 1839: "About a dozen of the whole number had muskets, some with bayonets and some without; and these were carried in as many different ways as there were pieces. The rest of the troop, about one hundred in number, carried sticks, umbrellas, waggoners' whips, and large planks or rails." Their dress was as varied as their arms since some wore cloth coats, others white cotton jackets, and many were in their shirt-sleeves. They wore hats of various kinds, and "in marching, the aim seemed to be to make the line as irregular as possible, and cause every man to step out of time."50

University of Georgia students at times formed their own militia companies and took part in musters, parades, commencements, and celebrations of holidays such as the Fourth of July. They were known as "Franklin Blues," the "College Riflemen," or whatever happened to be the whim of the day. Volunteer student companies were abolished by the university in 1836, however, because of the general uproar caused by them. The students protested loudly at first, but after the Mexican War the urge died out and was not renewed until the years immediately preceding secession.51

By the late 1840s Clarke County had been established as a
major state subdivision and Athens had developed as one of the state’s most influential towns. The groundwork in agriculture, business, manufacturing, and transportation had been laid for a prosperous period in which Athens turned with some success to meet its increasing urban responsibilities and in which the whole area turned with less success to meet the increasing challenges of slavery.
Old Town Hall

Athens in the 1860s

Sketches and photographs courtesy of the University of Georgia Library
ATHENS AND THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA IN THE 1840S
From a contemporary painting by George Cooke in the University of Georgia Library
THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA IN ANTEBELLUM TIMES
Wilson Lumpkin House (Rock House)
Built in 1842

Chancellor’s House
Built in 1848 on the site of the present-day Library
FRANKLIN HOTEL (ATHENS HARDWARE)

LUCY COBB INSTITUTE
Church-Brumby House

Taylor-Grady House
An Era Flourishes and Then Dies, 1845-1861

Business, manufacturing, and transportation developments in the 1830s and 1840s combined with the growing influence of the University of Georgia to make Athens one of the state's most important cities as the antebellum era neared the height of its development. Despite fluctuating support from the state legislature, the university activated a chain reaction of growth in the community which developed on its doorstep. The first two decades were difficult for both university and town, but the expansion of the learning institution in the 1820s stimulated the area's business development and created a base for a more diversified economy. Athens became one of the South's pioneer cotton manufacturers in the 1830s, a factor encouraging the further development of business and banking and leading to railway expansion in the early 1840s. These economic stimulants encouraged progress in agriculture, which remained the occupation of three-fourths of the county's white residents and probably an even greater number of its slaves. The university leavened the area's economic growth with culture and education and helped create in Athens a center for state political activity and discussion. Athens was a satisfying, exciting, and challenging place in which to live as the latter half of the 1840s began. New growth opportunities beckoned in all fields; but there were emerging urban problems to be solved, and the great question of slavery was still to be answered.

Athens's government made significant progress in at least six important areas between 1845 and 1860 which encouraged the growth of business, manufacturing, and other interests. A town hall and market was constructed, a new form of government was instituted, fire protection was greatly improved, the Oconee Hill Cemetery was opened, gas lights were introduced, and local streets were improved and officially named.

By the late 1840s Athens's population was nearing three thousand and the town's limits encompassed everything within two miles of the college chapel. The town government had increasing
responsibilities and needed new and more adequate facilities to meet them. This led the commissioners in October 1845 to authorize the appropriation of one thousand dollars to build a combination town hall and market house as soon as a like sum could be raised by voluntary subscription among the citizens. The funds were obtained without difficulty, and the structure was completed within a year or so. In February 1847 the commissioners met in the new town hall and made plans to open the municipal market the next month.1

The market was opened and despite being the subject of much controversy, provided many services in the years that followed. Periodic objections were raised both to the market's inspection procedures and the fees imposed on those using its services. Basically, these regulations provided that most meats and similar products had to be sold at the market and that poultry, butter, vegetables and similar produce had to be sold in or near the market during the hours that the market was open. All products were to be inspected for anything that might cause disease. Sporadic complaints led to a strong controversy between 1859 and 1861. In May 1859 the council agreed to abolish the fees and allow the market house clerk three deputies to help with his duties and speed up the operations. Some were still not satisfied, and in January 1860 the council abolished all laws and ordinances regulating the market. More persons objected to this approach, however, and in October 1861 most of the former market laws were revived. Some of the old grievances were eased in December of that year by an ordinance which provided for the council to elect a clerk of market to carry out the duties previously performed by the clerk of council.2 Some objected to any regulations, but most apparently were concerned about the need for enough personnel to provide fast and efficient service. The town hall was used for government assemblies and various public meetings as well as for concerts, plays, and other forms of entertainment.

Aside from the town hall and market complex, the only public building erected in Athens during these years was a powder house and magazine. The need for such a structure was discussed as early as March 1847, and a committee was appointed by the town government in February 1849 to contract for its construction. It was completed by August 1850 on the eve of a general business
expansion that included new Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist churches, several new business houses, and a number of residences.

Meanwhile, the town had shifted to a new form of government organization. In August 1847 the town commissioners appointed a committee to prepare a new charter. This group’s work was approved by the legislature in December of that year and put into operation in 1848. The new charter provided that the commission form of government be replaced by an intendant and warden, and it divided the town into three wards. The first ward, which was substantially larger than the others, got three wardens and the others got two each. The charter provided that wardens be elected by the people on the first Saturday in January each year and that they choose one of their number to serve as intendant. The intendant was given the same powers as the chairman of the board of commissioners under the old system.\(^4\)

At the first election under the new plan, Jacob Phinizy, Dr. Edward R. Ware, and W. L. Mitchell were elected from the first ward; William M. Morton and Albon Chase from the second; and Leonidas Franklin and Thomas R. Cobb from the third. The board chose Doctor Ware as the town’s first intendant and named Chase as its first secretary and treasurer. The board then elected William H. Dorsey as marshal “to collect the taxes, attend to the Market, superintend the working of the streets, and the deputies who may be appointed to patrol the streets, and attend to the other duties usually required of such an officer.” He was to be paid $250 a year.\(^5\)

This arrangement was followed until 1854 when an amending law transferred to the people the right to elect the marshal and deputy marshal in the same manner as the intendant and wardens were chosen. These officers could be removed for bad conduct with appeal, however, and their places filled by the town board until the next election. In 1857 another amending law empowered the people to elect the intendant, who thereafter was to receive a salary. This act further provided for the election of a clerk of council to take minutes, collect taxes, and serve as clerk of the market; and it eliminated the marshal’s non-police duties. In 1859 yet another amending act authorized the intendant to call an election to fill vacancies on the board of wardens and authorized him and the wardens to fill the positions of clerk and marshal. To
vote in a town election in 1858 a man had to be twenty-one years old, and a resident of Clarke County for six months and of Athens for ten days; he also had to have paid his town taxes.  

One of the major challenges facing the new government was the lack of adequate fire protection in the city. Few events caused more excitement or concern in antebellum Athens than the fire alarm, yet the town was slow in providing protection. A major fire which consumed the New College building at the University of Georgia in October 1830 caused many citizens to demand action; but none was taken until 1839, and the steps taken then were insufficient. The Independent Hook and Ladder Company was formed, but without an engine or water supply it could not hope to get the job done adequately.  

Even this effort apparently had been abandoned by 1850 when a new discussion led to the formation and incorporation of Athens Fire Company No. 1. City officials were authorized to raise taxes to pay for the expenses of this company, but it also suffered from a lack of equipment and water supply for several years. Finally in 1853 the council decided to build a reservoir on Dougherty Hill and three cisterns, two on Broad Street and one on College Avenue, to provide water. The cisterns were to be twelve feet square, fifteen feet deep, walled with the best hard brick, and plastered on the inside with two coats of hydraulic cement. The door on top was to be of cast iron two feet square. Progress was slow, and it was at least 1857 before the cisterns were completed. In April of that year the council ordered a tax of 2.5 cents on each $100 of property be collected to complete them.  

Completion of the cisterns was a step in the right direction, but something still was needed to throw the water. A committee was appointed in a public meeting in May 1857 to solicit subscriptions for a fire engine, but the effort or the response, or both, was too slow. No engine was available when the most destructive fire in years occurred in late August or early September of 1857. It broke out in the rear of Granite Row near the town spring and did about $11,000 in damages before being brought under control by a bucket brigade. This disaster did, however, stimulate action. In November the council appointed engineers to supervise the organization of fire protection. A. K. Childs was made first or principal engineer; R. L. Bloomfield, first assistant; and Dr.
R. M. Smith, second assistant. A small engine was obtained, and fire ordinances were passed. These ordinances empowered the engineer to impress all able-bodied men to help fight fires and established a fine of from five to twenty dollars for those who refused to assist. Some said that Athens was slow to buy a fire engine because citizens were afraid someone would set a fire just to see it in action. This accusation seems unfair, although a fire did break out in a stable under suspicious circumstances shortly after the first engine was obtained.\(^\text{10}\)

In January 1858, an “uptown” engine company was organized to supplement the Athens Fire Company, or Hope Company, which was located “downtown.” A. A. Franklin Hill was elected captain of the new unit, which was known as the Relief Fire Company. The council offered to equip it with hose if the town would buy the engine. The people reacted favorably, and in March 1858 both the “Hopes” and the “Reliefs” got engines out to answer a fire alarm. Construction of an engine house was ordered by council in April 1858, but it was August before a lot could be found where contiguous owners made no objection. Finally, the council was authorized to build the station on Market Street between the lots of N. L. Barnard and Mrs. E. S. Pope. In the meantime, in June, the Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company No. 1 was organized and its services accepted.\(^\text{11}\)

Athenians had reason to be pleased by the first annual report of the fire engineers in November 1858. At that time the Hope Company had forty-two regular members, the Relief Company had forty-eight members, and the Pioneer Hook and Ladder Company had nineteen members. Although some sections still were entirely unprotected, the business district was well supplied with water, and Dougherty Hill and Cobbham had some cisterns. The engineers’ report noted that all four fires during the year had been contained to the places where they originated.\(^\text{12}\)

The council resolved in April 1859 that the bells of the different churches be considered alarm bells for fires, and it offered one dollar for the first person to ring the bell and one dollar for the first to bring horses to carry the engine to the fire. A five-dollar fine was established for giving a false alarm. Even though the engineers reported in 1861 that two of the town’s four cisterns were not reliable, the installation of fire-fighting equip-
Another major advance was the acquisition of land and the development of the Oconee Hill Cemetery. By 1853 the old burying ground east of the University of Georgia campus was almost full, and the council appointed a committee to investigate possible sites for a new one. The council determined that a section of the Hopping property would be appropriate, but at first Mrs. Hopping did not want to sell. Finally, in 1855, she relinquished seventeen acres, and the council went ahead with plans to have a cemetery laid out. In April 1856 it moved to adopt a proposal by Dr. R. D. Moore, but apparently abandoned it in favor of one suggested by Dr. James Camak. Later Camak was complimented by the council for his taste and service in laying out and ornamenting the new cemetery. It was decided in September to purchase four acres from F. W. Lucas to serve as burial lots for Negroes.

The council divided the cemetery lots into three classes and sold them at the following prices: first class, fifty dollars minimum; second class, twenty-five dollars minimum; and third class, ten dollars minimum. Lots were first offered for public sale on September 30, 1856. The new burial ground was named Oconee Cemetery, and trustees were chosen with Thomas R. R. Cobb as chairman. A sexton was employed to supervise cemetery development, and regulations were adopted for its use. Free spaces were provided for those unable to purchase graves, and a portion was set aside for Negroes. The sexton was directed to do all the burying and the following rates were established: five dollars to prepare and fill a new grave and ten dollars to remove a grave from the old cemetery to the new one. In June 1858 the council decided that no more burials should be allowed in the old Negro cemetery because it was full and there was ample space at Oconee Hill. The trustees of Oconee Hill were incorporated in December 1860.

In many respects the most exciting advance of the later years was the introduction of gas lights. This was a public as well as a private improvement since the community wanted to illuminate the public streets. Grady and Nicholson introduced the first gas works in the early 1850s. The gas they supplied was made of pine wood, however, and provided only slightly more illumination than
was already available. As for the streets, the council investigated the possibilities of lamp posts as early as 1854. In February 1855 it granted C. N. and H. R. Long the privilege of erecting four lamp posts and lamps on Athens streets, provided they would guarantee to keep them lighted from dark to daylight for five years. The Longs were not able to comply, but better lighting was soon a reality. 15

The Athens Gas Light Company was incorporated in March 1856 to make, manufacture, and sell gas composed of coal and resin for use in lighting streets and buildings. One of the first to install the new lights was Asbury Hull, who erected a gasometer with about eighteen fixtures or burners on his premises sometime before March 1857. The cost was about five hundred dollars for gasometer and fixtures. Other orders followed, and in August 1859 the Southern Banner suggested that gas lights might soon replace candles in Athens. 16

In the fall of 1859, the city contracted for eight lamps at twenty-five dollars each for use on College Avenue and Broad Street, and by March 1860 workmen had installed gas in much of the downtown area. At that time they were working on Hancock Street near the intersection of Hull and were preparing to extend gas lines through Cobbham. A night watchman was paid three dollars a month to light the street lamps. Everyone did not immediately switch to gas, however, and as late as February 1861 it had not been installed in the town hall. 17 The economic stresses brought on by the war forced many persons to postpone the acquisition of gas lights until times were better and money more plentiful.

In some respects lighting the town’s streets was easier than keeping them in repair. The upkeep of streets, sidewalks, and bridges was a continual problem and expense. Dirt streets, stone and wood sidewalks, and wooden bridges were frequent victims of bad weather, and even in fair weather there were problems. In the late 1840s the town council levied a ten-dollar fine for moving soil or damaging streets in any other manner, and established various regulations on the use of streets and sidewalks. Persons camping in the streets were subject to a five-dollar fine, and those who enclosed part of a street within a fence were required to pay an annual rent of one dollar. Those convicted of
driving a vehicle on a sidewalk or obstructing streets or sidewalks with boxes and bales were subject to a one-dollar fine. Anyone convicted of riding a horse or mule on a sidewalk was fined fifty cents. Everyone was required to walk horses, carts and other vehicles over the bridges with wheels locked. Negroes convicted of violating this law were subject to a whipping and whites were subject to a one-dollar fine, fifty cents of which went to the informer. ¹⁸

Most young male citizens were required to help maintain the roads or pay for someone to work on the roads for them. In 1849 the council ordered that all men between sixteen and twenty-one subject to road duty under state law be required to work five days upon the public streets or pay one dollar in lieu of that work. Those who could not pay worked, and others, sometimes Negroes, were hired to fill out the numbers needed. ¹⁹

Athens streets were without official names, some without any names, until 1859 when Warden A. A. Franklin Hill moved that a committee be appointed to suggest them. Hill, A. K. Childs, and William G. Delony were named to the committee and their report was adopted in April. It listed forty-six streets, including College Avenue, Broad Street, Foundry Street, Hancock Avenue, Prince Avenue, Oconee Street, Baldwin Street, Milledge Avenue, Clayton Street, Market Street, Dougherty Street, and River Street.

As defined, College Avenue ran north from the college gate for an unnamed distance. Broad Street ran west from Wilkerson’s shop by the college and the botanical garden to Rock-Spring Street. Foundry Street ran from the east end of Broad Street north by the foundry to the river. Hancock Avenue ran from Foundry Street west in front of the Presbyterian church and Lucy Cobb Institute for an unnamed distance. Prince Avenue ran west from Dr. Reese’s corner at the front of Judge Lumpkin’s and Mr. Grant’s on toward Jefferson as far as the town limits. Oconee Street ran from Broad Street over the lower bridge to the railroad depot and on toward Lexington to the town limits. Baldwin Street ran west from the factory in back of the college to Lumpkin. Milledge Avenue ran from Prince in front of Colonel Billups, by Mr. Stovall’s, and in front of Lucy Cobb Institute on toward Watkinsville to the town limits. Lumpkin Street ran from Mr. Hampton’s south by the Methodist church, old Baptist
church, tanyard branch, in front of Governor Lumpkin's to the junction with Milledge Avenue. Clayton Street ran from Foundry Street in front of Mrs. Clayton's to Mr. England's. Market Street ran from Mr. Crane's to Foundry Street. Dougherty Street ran from Prince Avenue at Dr. Orr's by Mrs. Moore's to Foundry Street. River Street ran from Thomas Street at Mr. Barry's over the upper bridge and on toward Danielsville to the town limits.20

Aside from the development, upkeep, and improvement of the streets, buildings, and other public properties, the maintenance of law and order was perhaps the local government's greatest expense. Certainly, it was an increasing concern as the abolition movement grew, although there is little evidence to indicate that major crime or vice plagued the city. Gambling, drinking, and fighting continued to be the most frequent violations. There were arrests for hitching horses on public sidewalks, using firearms within the town limits, engaging in prostitution, and various other offenses. In 1856, local officers were authorized to imprison persons up to five days for violating town ordinances.21

Periodic efforts were made to curb gambling and the use of spirituous liquors, but they achieved little success. In 1832 the license fee for those selling liquor or operating billiard tables was set at five hundred dollars, but by 1835 the fee on liquor had been dropped to thirty dollars and that on billiards to fifty dollars. In 1857 the town raised the fees on liquor to one thousand dollars and those on billiards to five hundred dollars, but again the crusade was short-lived. The town election of 1858 turned on the liquor question, and the “wets” won. The fees on liquor and billiards were lowered to one hundred and fifty dollars each, although liquor establishments were required to close at eleven P.M. and billiard parlors at midnight during the week except Saturday.22

Liquor continued to be a matter of concern for it sometimes caused imbibers to engage in other crimes, particularly fights. In 1851 an ordinance was passed which directed the marshal to arrest anyone who was intoxicated in the streets or who disturbed the peace. The violator was to be locked in the guard house until discharged by the committing officer or the intendant or until he was released in due course of law. Efforts also were made to curb prostitution. In July 1849 the city council ordered the
marshal to consult with attorney Thomas R. R. Cobb about instituting legal proceedings against houses of ill fame.

The town marshal apparently was the total police force until February 1852 when an ordinance was passed to provide for the employment of an irregular police force to assist him with patrols. In 1853 the patrol from Buck Branch was given permission to check the Oconee River bridge within the limits of Athens, and in April 1854 four persons were added to the police force for night duty. Two of these were to serve in the early evening and the other two in the early morning hours.23

These moves may have been occasioned by increasing concern about the potential danger from the slave population. Other ordinances were passed to restrict their activities. By 1850 slaves and free Negroes were prohibited from being away from their homes after 9:15 P.M. without a permit. If one were found and arrested, he was subject to a one-dollar fine or up to twenty lashes. Although some special permits were issued when a responsible white person served as security, most slaves were not permitted to reside in town separated from their owners, employers, or guardians. In January 1860, with tension mounting, the marshal was ordered to whip slaves found outside their master's lots after 9:15 P.M. instead of putting them in jail. Many did not consider Negroes trustworthy, and an 1857 ordinance forbade them from working in a carpenter shop or smith shop after dark where there was a necessity of using fire unless they were under control of a responsible person.

Despite these restrictive laws, there is no indication that Negroes in Athens caused a great deal of actual violence as some did in other Southern communities. Many Negroes were cited for gambling and other such offenses, but many white persons also were arrested for these offenses. Some Negroes such as Hansel Dillard, the free man who operated a bakery shop and delivery service for a number of years, were respected. It appears that the potential danger rather than actual major crimes caused the fears. By 1850 more than half the people in Clarke County were slaves, and the possibilities for destruction were great should they stage an uprising.24

The rapid growth of city government and the services it provided can be clearly seen in a comparison of income and expenses
in the latter years. In the 1840s the town required less than $1,700 to meet its expenses and have a fair balance. By 1855 it required almost $3,000 income to achieve the same balance, and in 1860 the town received $7,000 in income but was almost $600 in debt. Most of the income to provide the various services came from town property taxes. Some came from various licenses, and some from taxes on exhibitions and shows. Some increases in taxes were required, but the 25 percent increase in population, from 3,000 to 4,000 in the 1850s, helped pay the cost of the many services being provided. 25

Athens's rapid population increase in the 1850s after a substantial increase in the 1840s was caused by continuing progress in business, manufacturing, and transportation together with a rising interest in the University of Georgia. Since the county's population total changed little during the 1840s and 1850s, it appears that either county residents moved to Athens or that an immigration of business-minded persons to Athens was accompanied by an emigration of agriculturally minded persons from the county to seek new lands. In any case, Athens had 2,500 of the county's 10,522 residents in 1840, 3,000 of its 11,119 residents in 1850, and almost 4,000 of its 11,218 residents in 1860. 26

Much of the county's impressive business growth during these latter years was in Athens. The county reported forty-five stores and a total investment of $88,000 in 1840, almost sixty stores with an investment of roughly $175,000 in 1850, and more than sixty stores with an investment of more than $430,000 in 1860. Of these stores only about a dozen were located outside of Athens. 27

The Athens branch of the State Bank served as the area's primary banking facility for about fifteen years after the Georgia Railroad Bank was moved to Augusta. Then in February 1856 the Bank of Athens was incorporated by William L. Mitchell, John Billups, Stevens Thomas, John H. Newton, James S. England, and Peter A. Summey (possibly Sumney). Stock ownership was limited to Georgians who were liable in proportion to the amount of stock held. Liabilities were legally limited to three times the amount of stock paid. The bank's limit was set at two hundred and twenty thousand dollars, and it was authorized to open for business when fifty thousand dollars in specie had been paid. The stock was
offered to the people in late April 1856, and the whole amount subscribed in a few days. Since the sixty-six stockholders were reported to be worth at least five million dollars, the bank's future appeared secure. In May Thomas, Billups, Newton, England, and Young L. G. Harris were elected directors, and they named Thomas president. In June A. P. Dearing was named cashier, and in July S. J. Mays was employed as teller. In August the bank opened for business, and by April of the next year it reported profits of $11,904. Its total assets in October 1857 were listed as $324,392. 28

The people's confidence in the new bank was justified during the financial panic of 1857. This national economic crisis was caused by an overspeculation on railroad securities and real estate. Economic problems in the North had a sharp impact on many banks in Georgia and elsewhere, but the Athens banks reacted well. During the fall of 1857 the Southern Banner reported that the notes of the Bank of Athens were the only ones from an interior bank in Georgia or South Carolina which stood upon equal footing with the best in the South. Both the Bank of Athens and the Athens branch of the State Bank suspended specie payments that winter, and business was much slower than usual at Christmas. But both banks and the community survived. In May 1858 the Bank of Athens announced a dividend of two dollars and fifty cents a share, and the newspapers reported that the run of specie since resumption had been the "enormous sum of eleven dollars." 29

The Bank of Athens reported profits and reserved funds amounting to $8,414 in June 1858 and profits and reserved funds of $10,132 in December of the same year. The bank's assets rose to $409,914 in May 1859 and totaled $364,213 in June 1860. Despite this decline the bank's condition was described as good in the summer of 1860, and it declared a dividend of 5 percent payable upon demand the following November. The Athens branch of the State Bank also prospered over the years. By June 1857 it had moved into a new building along with the Southern Mutual Insurance Company on the west corner of Jackson and Broad Streets. Henry Hull, Jr., who had served as cashier for many years, was named president in June 1860. John B. Cobb, R. L. Moss, E. R. Ware, J. R. Matthews, and W. G. Deloney were the directors. 30
At least two loan organizations also helped foster Athens’s business activity. In 1833 William Williams advertised that he had settled permanently in Athens and wished to lend money on terms as favorable as banks to residents of Clarke and adjoining counties. He required two securities of undoubted responsibility and specified that no loan be taken for fewer than twelve months. In 1852 the Athens Building and Loan Association was organized, and in 1854 it was incorporated by John Crawford, Albon Chase, John Swiney, Charles B. Lyle, and Charles S. Oliver. Stockholders had liquidated 446 of the 600 original shares before the last installment necessary was paid in 1860. At that time the owners of the remaining 154 shares divided $506 in cash and debts, and a new association was formed.\(^3\)

Athens also attracted several insurance companies. Perhaps the best-known was the Southern Mutual Insurance Company, which was chartered in Griffin in 1847 and moved to Athens in 1848. Officers during the first year included Asbury Hull, president, and J. N. Parsons, secretary. Albon Chase became secretary within a short time and held the position until his death. Fire, marine, and servants losses necessitated a 20 percent assessment upon premium holders in the summer of 1852, but the company recovered quickly and was able to declare a 10 percent dividend in October 1853. Its condition was reported highly satisfactory in June 1859 when it issued a 50 percent dividend for the previous twenty months of operation.\(^3\)

Southern Mutual’s success possibly encouraged the founding of two additional insurance firms in Athens. The Georgia Equitable Insurance Company was incorporated in 1857. Authorized to begin business when half of its $200,000 stock limit had been subscribed and further authorized to raise its stock limit to $400,000 if business progressed suitably, this company announced that it would offer marine, fire, and life insurance. The Athens Insurance Company was incorporated in 1860 with the same rights, privileges, and immunities as conferred upon the Southern Mutual Insurance Company.\(^3\)

In addition to its banking and insurance operations, Athens had a large number of retail stores and several hotels. The number of stores there doubled between 1840 and 1860 while the number in the rest of the county remained fairly constant. Drugstores,
barber shops, beauty shops, jewelry stores, bookstores, confectionaries, and other specialized firms vended their wares and services along with the general merchandise and grocery stores. Crawford W. and H. R. J. Long were among the best known druggists. The former decided to settle in Athens in the 1850s after having practiced medicine successfully in Jefferson where he pioneered in the use of anesthetics in operations. Bernardo T. Arze, a dark-skinned man who said he was a Mexican, was one of the best-known barbers. He married a Negro woman and apparently was undaunted by the $50 tax he had to pay so his wife could live away from her master's lot. The Franklin House and Newton House were perhaps best known of the seven or eight hotels that operated at various times in the 1840s and 1850s. Other hotels included the Central, Planter's, and Eagle in the 1840s and the Central, Hancock, Lanier, Lumpkin, Athens, and Kerlin's in the 1850s. Three cotton factories continued to dominate the local manufacturing scene in the late 1840s and 1850s, although several other important operations were developed. In 1850 the cotton plants had a total investment of slightly more than $100,000 and in 1860 an investment of $157,000. No other operation had an investment in excess of $15,000 in 1850, but by 1860 the Pioneer Paper Mill, with $40,000 in investments, and the Athens Steam Company, with $15,000, had reached that amount. The county had thirty-six manufacturing plants in that year producing agricultural implements, shoes, clothing, carriages, furniture, lumber, and various other products.

Pioneer Paper Mill was founded in the 1840s by Albon Chase and John S. Linton to manufacture writing, printing, and wrapping paper. It was a two-story wooden structure built on a stone foundation and located about four miles southwest of Athens on Barber's Creek. The plant was built for an estimated $32,000 and reported a 60 percent profit in its first year of operation. By 1849 it was producing from 500 to 600 pounds of paper a day, and in 1850 it was offering as high as three cents a pound for clean cotton and linen rags to use in its operation. Chase, Linton, William P. Talmadge, and Alfred Grant incorporated the plant in February 1852 under the name Pioneer Paper Manufacturing Company. At that time it had a capital stock of
$30,000. The plant's prospects looked bright in July 1854 when it announced that it was prepared to supply wrapping paper of various sizes and a colored wrapping paper in addition to its other products. Apparently it did prosper despite adversity. In 1858 a fire destroyed one section of the mill and caused damages estimated at $18,000 to $20,000 not covered by insurance. Other sections continued to supply some paper while this damage was being repaired, and prospects brightened again. Then in April 1861 another fire caused damages estimated at $16,000 not covered by insurance, and the owners were forced to rebuild a second time.\textsuperscript{37}

The Athens Steam Company was incorporated in 1850 with a capital stock of $5,000 by R. S. Schevenell, Peter A. Summey, R. L. Moss, and John S. Linton. They advertised in October of that year that they would manufacture doors, sashes and blinds, and other wood articles, that they would cast iron and brass, and manufacture machinery and other articles of iron and wood. Preparations progressed rapidly, and by November 1851 the company announced that it was ready to fill orders for all kinds of iron and brass castings, steam engines, boilers, iron fencing, and other items. The plant reportedly was one of the best equipped in the state and annually returned a 12 percent dividend to its owners. In one particularly good year, two 50 percent dividends were paid.\textsuperscript{38}

In February 1853 the uninsured steam company was destroyed by a fire which cost the owners an estimated $5,000. But the owners were determined to rebuild and in February 1854 the company was reincorporated by Linton, Summey, William P. Talmadge and Edward Palmer. It was authorized to sell $15,000 in stock at $100 a share to begin operations and increase the capital to $25,000 without further legislation. The owners soon announced that they had made a horsepower steam engine and urged area consumers to buy from them. They said they could make goods as cheaply as firms in the North and that buyers could get them at lower prices because of the savings on freight.\textsuperscript{39} In June 1854 Ross Crane, agent, and Reuben Nickerson, superintendent, announced that the company was prepared to fill orders for all kinds of iron and brass castings. In July 1856 the company advertised patterns for iron fencing, verandas, and balconies, and
in May 1857 it advertised circular saw mills, steam engines, pumps, gearing, iron fencing, and iron and brass castings. The iron fence erected for the University of Georgia campus in 1857 was furnished by the Athens company.40

Clarke County was a true pioneer among Georgia counties in manufacturing. It ranked second only to Chatham County in capital investment in manufacturing in 1840 and ranked third in the state in 1850. Clarke County did not keep pace with the rapid manufacturing growth of some other counties in the 1850s, but its annual production rose from $345,220 in 1850 to $398,838 in 1860 for a ninth-place ranking among counties in 1860. Although there were several small operations in Watkinsville and at least one plant at Salem, most of the manufacturing activity was in or near Athens.

Athens also continued to develop as a trade and transportation center, despite the failure of the Georgia Railroad to provide the type service for Athens envisioned by its founders. It was 1858 before a schedule was worked out that seemed satisfactory to Athenians. The time of arrival and departure and especially the long layover in Union Point drew criticism. Moreover, when the railroad replaced its Athens depot in 1855, it again built on the eastern side of the Oconee River. This meant that wagons and stages had to transport passengers and freight across the river and into town.41

Between 1841 when the road was completed to Athens and the middle 1850s, Athens developed as an area center for railroad shipments. Farmers and others in the vicinity brought goods into Athens by wagon to be shipped by railroad to Augusta and other points. They picked up goods in Athens from these points and carried them home. Many persons, of course, traded in Athens while there and helped develop the town as a trade center. This favorable arrangement was threatened in the late 1850s, however, as other railroads developed plans for the back-country. Athenians explored additional railroad connections and plank roads as a possible means of improving transportation and maintaining leadership, but little, if anything, was accomplished before the Civil War interrupted these and other activities.

As early as December 1847 Athenians sought railroad connections other than those offered by the Georgia Railroad. Some
of them joined that year in the incorporation of the Clarkesville and Athens Railroad, which had an authorized capital stock of $600,000 divided into shares of $100 each. It was agreed that when half the amount was raised the commissioners would meet, elect nine directors, and take steps to begin operation. William L. Mitchell and William Morton were authorized to subscribe $200,000 of the stock in Athens. The Gainesville Railroad Company was authorized to connect with the Athens and Clarkesville road, but neither got sufficient funds to begin operations immediately.\footnote{42}

The construction of plank roads also was discussed, and two were organized in Clarke County in 1850 after the legislature authorized the incorporation of joint stock companies for that purpose. The Athens and Clarkesville Plank Road Company was established to build a road from Athens to Clarkesville via Danielsville, Madison Spring, and Carnesville. Clarke, Madison, Franklin, and Habersham counties were represented in the company, which was to begin operation as soon as it subscribed enough money at $100 a share. The Athens and Alleghany Plank Road Company was organized about the same time to construct a road from Athens to Gainesville by way of or near Jefferson. It also was given the privilege of building a branch from its road to Clarkesville. The same Clarke investors helped form this company, which also offered stock at $100 a share.\footnote{43} It does not appear, however, that either of these roads was placed into service or that great local interest in plank roads was generated. The Southern Banner in Athens said that plank roads might do for short distances, but opposed their use in place of public roads for longer routes. In the paper’s view, “Few of our market wagons would be willing to pay the requisite toll upon them during the spring, summer, or autumn, when our roads are generally in a passable condition, and frequently very good.”\footnote{44}

Closely associated with the development of railroads and the discussion of plank roads was the development of telegraph and express service. In 1853 a telegraph line was opened between Athens and Union Point, the railroad terminal that tied Athens with Augusta and other points. In May 1855 William L. Mitchell of Athens was elected president of the Augusta, Atlanta, and Nashville Telegraphy Company, and he presumably encouraged
improvements in service in the Athens area. Combs and Company Southern Express Line opened an office in Athens in January 1854 with D. N. Judson as agent. T. M. Lampkin replaced Judson as agent some time before May 1855 and Lampkin became local agent for Adams Express Company of Charleston in September 1856. Lampkin listed the rates for sending packages from Athens to Augusta in December 1858 as follows: small packages, twenty-five cents; package under forty pounds, fifty cents; package from forty to seventy-five pounds, seventy-five cents; heavy freight, seventy-five cents for each one hundred pounds. The Adams company continued to serve Athens at least until the end of the Civil War.45

All these developments added to Athens's impressive growth in the late 1850s and encouraged a movement to locate the county government there. Some said that a new county should be formed with Athens as the county seat. Others argued that the seat of Clarke County should be transferred to Athens. The new county movement was strongly advocated in the spring of 1853 when a committee of twenty-one was appointed at an Athens town meeting to study the question and report on possible boundaries. This committee included Stevens Thomas, John H. Newton, John F. Phinizy, James S. England, J. S. Peterson, and others. Some suggested that the new county should include parts of Clarke, Jackson, Madison, and Oglethorpe Counties. The committee recommended that the people divide Clarke County first, then if persons in other counties wanted to join they could be admitted. William L. Mitchell, William H. Dorsey, and E. L. Newton were asked if they would serve as representatives of a new county should one be formed. They declined and advised the petitioners to seek the removal of the courthouse and other offices from Watkinsville to Athens instead of seeking to start a new county. This the petitioners sought to do without success.

Another attempt to divide the county was made in 1855. It caused much debate but also failed of its main purpose. The Southern Banner asserted that there were more than enough persons in Athens who favored the move to justify it. The Southern Watchman, also an Athens paper, branded the attempt to divide the county as partisan legislation designed to get a few men into office. The county was not divided; but as a result of this
movement, the legislature did in 1856 authorize Clarke County to have a deputy clerk of the Superior Court and Inferior Court reside in Athens. The editor of the Southern Banner was not pleased with this apparent sop and noted, "Such favors upon our little village must make the city of Watkinsville tremble." Providing for a deputy clerk at Athens helped, but even the excitement caused by the impending Civil War did not hush the issue entirely. In February 1861 the editor of the Southern Banner took time from his national political discussions to urge once more that something be done to get the county court moved to Athens. Although the political overtones of this issue may be seen in the division of the Athens newspapers, it seems likely that most persons in Athens believed it should be the seat of either Clarke County or a new county government.

Watkinsville's desire to remain the county seat is likewise understandable. It had fallen far behind Athens in population and in business and industrial development. In 1860 it had but 873 persons as compared with almost 4,000 in Athens. Factories such as the Watkinsville Manufacturing Company for leather goods and the Watkinsville Steam Mills undoubtedly helped stimulate development in the 1850s as did the stores there. But the county offices and the business they generated were the town's most important activity.

The types of county government activity did not change greatly over the years, although the needs and the funds necessary to meet them increased significantly. County buildings had to be repaired periodically and the jail had to be replaced after a fire in 1859. Roads and bridges required periodic attention, courts had to be operated, and, by the 1850s, about thirty to forty persons on the poor rolls had to be cared for. The most significant new expenditure in the latter years was for public education.

The county tax assessments varied somewhat but as services and needs increased the amounts required to fund them increased also. The tax for general county purposes remained one-sixth of the general state tax until the early 1840s when it was increased to one-fourth. It was raised to more than one-third in the middle forties, lowered to about 30 percent in 1850 then raised to 40 percent in 1851. By the 1860s it had reached 50 percent of the general state tax and still may not have been enough. The February
1861 grand jury reported that the county already had a liability of $3,601 and that this amount would be increased by about $6,000 in the next six months when bridges were completed to replace some swept away in recent floods.49

Separate taxes were levied at times for such needs as the care of the poor, education, and jury expenses. The poor tax was one-sixteenth of the general state tax in the early years. It was raised to one-eighth of the state tax by 1820, lowered to one-tenth in the late 1840s after an additional tax was instituted for the education of the poor, and raised back to one-eighth by March 1860. The educational tax rose from 10 percent of the general tax in 1850 to 50 percent in 1861. For a time in the middle years a separate tax was levied for building bridges, and by 1861 a levy of 25 percent of the general tax was added for jury expenses. Jurors were paid one dollar a day for their services, and any money left over was placed in the general fund. Since grand juries periodically urged the inferior court to force tax delinquents to pay up, it appears that at least some persons sought to avoid their responsibilities.50

Aside from maintaining public facilities and promoting education and welfare, the county’s principal activity was maintaining law and order. Major crimes were not frequent, but many problems were created by gambling, drinking, fighting and other misdemeanors. These were especially disturbing when they involved the increasing number of Negroes in the county. In August 1846 the grand jury asserted that many persons habitually violated the laws prohibiting selling goods to Negroes. In February 1856 it charged again that many of the laws pertaining to Negroes, and particularly those concerning the sale of liquor to them, were being violated. The overall crime situation in the county may have improved somewhat in the late 1840s and 1850s. But the fears occasioned by the presence of so many Negroes and the rise of the national abolition movement increased. Several grand juries urged that the patrol laws be more rigidly enforced.51

Probably the greatest failure in Clarke County, as in many other Southern communities, during the antebellum period, was in not more successfully discouraging the development of slavery. The county apparently had fewer than a thousand slaves when it was created in 1800. But the number reached 2,500 in 1810, ap-
proximately 3,300 in 1820, and some 4,700 in 1830. The move-
ment was partially arrested in the 1830s, possibly because of the
cotton factories, but it was resumed in the 1840s and continued
at a reduced rate in the 1850s. By 1850 the number of slaves
slightly surpassed the number of white persons, 5,589 to 5,513,
and the margin increased slightly during the following decade.52

The slave system was bad for the individual slave and it was
bad for the community as a whole. Aside from the moral and
ethical questions, slavery adversely affected the economy by
placing too great emphasis on a single crop, cotton, and on the
plantation system. This system encouraged the collection of wealth
into the hands of a few, discouraged the diversification of crops
and development of other interests such as manufacturing, and
probably accelerated the depletion of land. The seventy planters
who owned more than half of the five thousand slaves in Clarke
County during the latter years had a disproportionate influence
on economic affairs. Their prosperity also suggests a false view of
the county’s basic economic posture. Slavery was not universally
employed. Other slaveholders averaged fewer than four Negroes
each, and nine-tenths of the people did not have slaves at all.
The amount of occupied land in the county decreased by a
third (91,148 acres to 60,544 acres) between 1850 and 1860. It
appears that much of this land was abandoned, at least temporarily,
because it was no longer suitable for growing cotton, the county’s
major crop. Some poor farmers may have abandoned their farms
to seek greater prosperity in the business and manufacturing ac-
tivities in Athens. Some may have moved to new land in other
counties. Production of cotton, corn, oats, rice, sweet potatoes,
butter, and peas and beans was smaller in 1860 than in 1850.
The value of farm lands also declined from $1,124,465 to
$1,094,324.53

These declines came despite efforts by individuals and groups
to encourage the development of agriculture. Many persons in-
terested in fruit culture gathered in Athens on August 6, 1856
and formed a state pomological society. The Right Reverend
Stephen Elliott was named president; Mark A. Cooper, vice-
president; William N. White, secretary; and James Camak,
treasurer. The society met again in Athens in August 1858 and
many persons, including a number of Athenians, exhibited varieties
of fruit. Mrs. Camak showed seventeen varieties of peaches; Mrs. L. Franklin, six varieties of apples; Doctor Easter, peaches, pears, and apples; Doctor Smythe, grapes, pears, plums, and peaches; Mrs. Hull (Doctor Hull's wife) grapes, apples, plums, and peaches; and P. A. Summey, pears and nectarines.\

A second Clarke County Agricultural Society was formed May 3, 1859 at Watkinsville. The first society by that name apparently floundered in the early fifties. John Billups was elected president of the new group, and W. H. Dorsey was named secretary. Dr. C. M. Reese and John Branch were elected vice-presidents and Young L. G. Harris and John Calvin Johnson, secretaries. Dr. James Camak was offered a position but declined. The society set about raising money and by the middle of June had thirty-five hundred dollars to purchase fair grounds and erect buildings. Some time that month, or early in the next, it bought land in Athens which the town council agreed would be tax free as long as it was used as a fair grounds. The first fair in October was declared a success. C. W. Howard of the Southern Cultivator magazine, who addressed those in attendance, praised Athens for its initiative in starting a great system of railroads and for pioneering in the manufacture of cotton. The society was incorporated in December 1859 and authorized to hold annual or semi-annual fairs. It held its second fair in October 1860 and attracted more than five hundred entries.

While the development of agriculture was important to all persons in Clarke County, it was especially so to those in Salem. Athens had its university, business, and manufacturing interests, and Watkinsville had the county government. Salem relied almost entirely on a prosperous farming community for its continued existence. The town had only one or two manufacturing interests, and its several stores were primarily dependent on area farmers for patronage. Salem's population reached one hundred in the 1840s and apparently leveled off at about that number. In 1860 it was referred to as a village of thirty houses.

Although Clarke County did achieve progress in agriculture and other areas, along with the rest of the South it was unable to cope adequately with the slave question evoked by an agricultural economy. With more than half of its own population Negro slaves, the county was inextricably tied to that institution until
some steps could be taken at the state and national level. Un­fortunately, the steps eventually taken at those levels led to a destructive Civil War. Neither the old Democratic and Whig party alliances of the 1830s and 1840s nor the new alliances that replaced them in the 1850s could solve the problem.

Several Clarke citizens were active in the state, sectional, and national politics of the 1850s as the nation struggled for answers, and new alliances were formed to support or oppose them. Athenian Howell Cobb was a leader in the Union movement that helped win acceptance of the Compromise of 1850 in Georgia and in the South. Although most of the Georgia Unionists were former Whigs, they nominated Cobb, a Democrat, as their gubernatorial candidate in 1851 and elected him by an eighteen-thousand-vote majority. The Union ticket scored heavily in Clarke County despite the fact the Southern Whig parted company with most Whig newspapers to oppose it and the Southern Banner, long a Democratic champion, supported it. The Union party died after that election, however, because members of the opposition Southern Rights party decided their best hope to regain stature was to rejoin the national Democrats. Cobb and his colleagues got some of the Unionists to move into the Democratic fold also, but most of the former Whigs could not make the jump. Since they differed with the national Whig party on slavery, they could not go back there either and formed splinter groups.

By 1854 most of the former Whigs in Georgia who had not followed Cobb into the Democratic party aligned themselves with the American or Know-Nothing party. Many of the former Whigs in Clarke County took this step, and the Southern Watch­man, successor to the Southern Whig, gave them editorial encouragement and support. This party did not have great success in state and national affairs, but it did dominate Clarke County for a time as its Whig predecessors had done. When W. G. Deloney was elected state representative for 1859-1860, the Federal Union in Milledgeville remarked that he was the first Democrat the paper could remember from Clarke County.

The American party alienated many in Clarke County and throughout the South by inserting a “squatter sovereignty” plank in its presidential platform in 1856. The Southern Watchman
tried to play this down by suggesting that platforms were not too important, but many including Athenian Asbury Hull disagreed. Hull, who had been prominent in the Whig party, went over to the Democrats and undoubtedly carried a number of other local American party supporters with him. He explained in making this move that recent events had caused him to conclude that the South's best chance for justice lay in that direction. By 1857 when Joseph Brown was elected governor, the Democrats were in complete control of Georgia and had made considerable gains in old Whig strongholds such as Clarke County. The American party carried the county for Millard Fillmore in 1856, but Democratic candidate James Buchanan got many more votes than previous Democrats had been able to get. Editor John Christy of the *Watchman* expressed his displeasure about the Democratic gains in the county, Buchanan's victory in the nation, and the strong showing of Republican candidate John C. Fremont in some sections. Christy said that since the conservatives of the nation and the South had not been able to join forces, the "Black Republicans" could win in 1860 by running a statesman for president.

Buchanan's election paved the way for Athenian Howell Cobb to receive new national recognition and render further national service as secretary of the treasury. Some in the South still opposed Cobb because he had helped win acceptance of the Compromise of 1850. Others including the president recognized him as a man of great ability. James Jackson, another Athenian, was the Democrats' choice to seek Cobb's place as representative from Georgia's Sixth Congressional District, and they elected him along with Governor Brown in 1857. Jackson, a popular lawyer and judge, carried Clarke County in his race, but Brown lost in the old Whig stronghold by more than 175 votes.

Many Georgia Democrats wanted to support Howell Cobb as a presidential candidate at the 1860 convention. But many others voiced strong opposition, and the Georgians went to the convention uncertain as to a preference. The convention could not decide on a candidate either, and subsequently at separate conventions two were named. Northern Democrats nominated Stephen A. Douglas and Herschel V. Johnson, a Georgian. Southern Democrats named John Breckinridge and Joseph Lane. A new Constitutional Union Party made up of former Whigs, Americans, and
independent Democrats nominated John Bell and Edward Everett, and the Republicans named Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin.  

Some of Clarke County's Democrats favored Douglas, but most pledged support to Breckinridge. The *Southern Watchman* and a number of former Whigs and Know-Nothings supported Bell. Nobody in the county wanted Lincoln. A hot battle was waged during August, September, and October between the Breckinridge forces led by the *Southern Banner*, and the Bell forces championed by the *Southern Watchman*. Both advocated Southern rights. The Bell supporters argued that these rights should be obtained within the union through a coalition of Northern and Southern conservatives.

As the election neared and Lincoln gained strength in the North and Midwest, many Clarke County citizens became alarmed. As early as October 15 two hundred thirty-five persons signed a newspaper request to hold a meeting in Athens November 17 to discuss conditions should Lincoln be elected. The signers invited persons from Clarke and surrounding counties without regard to party alliances. An unsigned story in the *Southern Banner* on November 1 falsely reported that Lincoln's running mate was a Negro. The paper attributed the story to a South Carolina source. Another story in the same edition asserted that the election of Lincoln would encourage slave insurrections, saying, "Your sleep at night will be like that of an army in the enemy's country." 

While urging Bell's election as the best course, the *Southern Watchman* tried to calm the hysteria that was building over the possibility of a Lincoln victory. Editor Christy urged that the secession advocated by some was not necessary or proper even if Lincoln were elected. Lincoln could not endanger slavery, Christy said, even if he wanted to because both houses of Congress and the Supreme Court would be against him. "How foolish then to talk about dissolving the Union to protect slavery from destruction. Old Abe, and all the Republicans combined cannot injure it in four years the one-thousandth part as much as Southern agitators have done in the last four weeks." 

When the votes were counted the Constitutional Union Party had won in Clarke County, Breckinridge was ahead in the state, and Lincoln had won the nation. The county gave Bell 695 votes; Breckinridge, 451; and Douglas, 57. Lincoln did not get any.
Athens went for Bell, 383, to Breckinridge, 334, and Douglas, 40. Breckinridge was declared the state winner by the legislature when no one received a majority. 5

Once Lincoln was elected, Clarke County and other Southern communities were faced with the difficult question of whether their states should secede from the union. A town meeting was held in Athens on November 10 to discuss the matter, and those present asserted a willingness to resist Republican rule if the state would authorize them to do so. Those present resolved to strengthen the town guard, and they recommended volunteer policemen for each ward, more thorough patrolling, and greater vigilance by plantation owners to guard against possible trouble. A twenty-man vigilance committee, any twelve of whom could act for the group, was organized to investigate alleged insurrections and punish law breakers. The public meeting previously called for November 17 also was held. Those present resolved that the state should hold a convention to discuss the critical times and that it should take action, if any were deemed necessary, in conjunction with other states. Similar discussions at the local level were held throughout the state, and a general convention was held at Milledgeville to pursue the question further. There it was decided that the counties on January 2, 1861 would elect delegates who would attend a state convention on January 16 to determine what course the state should follow. Howell and Thomas R. R. Cobb and Wilson Lumpkin joined with those who urged that these delegates be secessionists. Editor John Christy and others argued that the delegates should be unionists, that the state should not secede until Lincoln took some overt action against slavery. 6

Those in Clarke County who opposed immediate secession called a meeting for December 13 to examine all honorable and legal means of redress within the union through action of the state convention at Milledgeville on January 16. Deciding that a united county front would be better, they rescheduled their meeting for December 22 and invited all parties to attend. In the meantime, the secessionists held their own meeting on December 19 and elected Thomas R. R. Cobb, Asbury Hull, and Jefferson Jennings, a former unionist, as delegates to run in the January election. The unionists, meeting on the twenty-second, also
nominated Hull, but proposed in place of the others M. S. Durham and Isaac Vincent. The secession ticket was elected by a decided majority. Cobb, Jennings, and Hull each received in excess of 600 votes, Durham, 243, and Vincent, 120.\footnote{\textsuperscript{67}}

Christy blamed the defeat of unionism on "sensation" dispatches from Washington and false rumors from Charleston. He contended that a majority of the people would prefer a peaceful and honorable settlement within the union, and he urged that a national convention be called to deal with the problem. Although many undoubtedly agreed with Christy in theory, most did not think such a settlement possible under Lincoln's government. They agreed with Wilson Lumpkin when he said that while he was for the union, the South could not save it. Lumpkin said the purpose of Lincoln's party was the overthrow and final destruction of slavery, and that with his election, "The Union is already broken, never again to be united."\footnote{\textsuperscript{68}}

Most other Georgians also agreed with Lumpkin and the other secessionists, and on January 19 the Milledgeville convention took Georgia out of the union by a vote of 208 to 89. News of secession was greeted with much enthusiasm in Athens. Even Editor Christy declared, "whatever may have been the differences among her people heretofore, it now becomes the duty of all to cheerfully and loyally sustain the old Commonwealth in her present attitude."\footnote{\textsuperscript{69}} Athenians Howell and Thomas R. R. Cobb subsequently joined with other Southerners in organizing the Confederate States of America. Howell Cobb was named president of the organizational convention, and his brother was the principal author of the Confederate constitution. Thomas Cobb also helped to rewrite the Georgia constitution to coincide with the new national document.\footnote{\textsuperscript{70}}

Meanwhile, the citizens of Athens and Clarke County took steps to prepare for whatever military action might follow the state's fateful decision. By late April, Athens alone had at least five volunteer companies, including the Athens Guards, the Troop Artillery, the Oconee Cavalry, the Lumpkin Law School Cadets, and a Franklin College Company. The local governments also took steps to protect the people at home and help support the families of volunteers.\footnote{\textsuperscript{71}} The antebellum era in Clarke County was soon to be over.
The University of Georgia was the key to the founding, progress, and prosperity of Athens and Clarke County during the ante-bellum period. Clarke County was carved from Jackson County in 1801 because of the university's establishment at Athens. The early fortunes of Athens and to some extent those of the county rose and fell with the fortunes of the university. Business, industrial, and related developments in the later years were at least indirectly stimulated by the university's growth and economic influence. To understand fully what developed in Athens and the county, it is therefore necessary to examine closely the growth and development of the university.

The University of Georgia received its charter in 1785 when Georgia became the first state to take such progressive action. Unfortunately, the educational enthusiasm of the time was not supported financially, and it was June 1801 before the institution could be activated. In that year the university's governing body, known as the senatus academicus, appointed a committee to choose a location and unanimously elected Josiah Meigs to succeed Abraham Baldwin as president. As has been mentioned Baldwin had resigned because his duties in the United States Senate made it impossible for him to assume the role of an active president. The committee chose a suitable location, and John Milledge purchased land there and donated it to the institution. Meigs started recruiting students immediately, and the university opened in the fall even though it had no regular buildings.

Probably because President Meigs was a Yale man, the new school modeled its course of study largely on the classical curriculum of that institution. During his time there was some emphasis on science, however, and the university could be described as scientific rather than clerical, as it was later depicted. Meigs was both president and faculty until May 1802 when he hired
William H. Jones as an assistant teacher. In November Jones was appointed professor of languages at a salary of five hundred dollars a year. In 1804 Jones was replaced by Addin Lewis, another Yale man, who was paid eight hundred dollars a year, and in 1805 Monsieur Petit de Claville, a native Frenchman and graduate of the College of LaFleche, was employed. By 1806 there were seventy students in the college and forty in an academy that was founded to prepare young men for the college.¹

During the early years the university operated under a code of laws prepared by Meigs and adopted by the senatus academicus in November 1803. This code provided for a three-man prudential committee to check on maintenance, audit accounts, and act in a general capacity for the trustees on their orders. In part for convenience this group frequently included Athenians, and the town thus had an additional influence upon the institution. The code established two vacation periods, one of six weeks after commencement and another of six weeks after the first Wednesday in December. Chapel attendance was required, and a student might be expelled for "blasphemy, robbery, fornication, theft, forgery, or any other crime, for which an infamous punishment may be inflicted by the laws of the state." Students could also be dropped for dueling, hitting a professor, or intentionally breaking doors or windows.² At the first commencement, held in 1804, diplomas were awarded to Gibson Clarke, Augustin S. Clayton, Jepthah V. Harris, Thomas and Jared Irwin, William H. Jackson, James W. D. Jackson, Robert Rutherford, and William Williamson. This and other commencements were held outdoors prior to the construction of the university’s first chapel in 1808.

The lack of facilities and equipment was a major problem faced in the early years. In November 1802 the legislature provided for a loan of five thousand dollars to the trustees to erect buildings, but the construction of permanent structures took time. At first the students boarded with townspeople and went to school under the trees, or in President Meigs's house. In 1803 they were able to move classes into a one and a half story, twenty-foot square building constructed for that purpose by Daniel W. Easley for $187.³ The principal college structure, now known as Old College, was not so quickly or easily completed. Lime and nails were expensive and had to be hauled in
wagons from Augusta. The western half of the building was completed by May 1805 and the entire structure by February 1806. It was 120 by 45 feet and three stories high. It had 4 chimneys, 24 fireplaces, 24 principal rooms, 48 bedrooms, 48 closets, and 106 windows. The building faced south, so that in summer the sun scarcely entered the windows during the hottest part of the day. There was a deep, spacious cellar, part of which could be used for a chemistry laboratory when such a professorship could be established.4

In June 1804 it was announced that a philosophical museum had been established at Athens and that specimens of minerals, vegetables, and animals were desired. Books also were requested for a library, and the trustees ordered philosophical equipment from London. A part of that equipment arrived by late March 1805, including a two-foot telescope, a microscope, a pair of eighteen-inch mirrors and a twelve-inch ebony and brass sextant. When the need for a library again was expounded in 1806, the legislature passed an act authorizing the trustees to establish a lottery to raise $3,000 for that purpose.5

Some of the institution's early problems required less money to solve, but many of them involved money. The trustees became upset in 1807 because local citizens were taking university wood without permission to use as fuel. They resolved to sell wood at the rate of eight dollars a year for each fireplace and to prosecute any trespassers. David Allen was appointed agent for the board to enforce this order, for which service he was to get his firewood free. There was also some difficulty with students and with persons who rented university property about paying their bills. In 1809 when Augustin S. Clayton was appointed treasurer and land agent for the trustees, he advised the students to pay up immediately and threatened lessees with suits unless they made good on their debts.6

The university outlook was bright in 1806, but during the next two years troubles developed, and the trustees lost interest. As the university became entangled in the religious and political disputes that confounded the state, enrollment fell to twenty-five students, the language professor was dropped, Claville's salary was cut to $400, and Meigs's salary was lowered to $1,500. Finally, Claville quit in 1810, leaving only Meigs on the faculty.7
Some charged that Meigs was responsible for many of the difficulties that troubled him and the university, and his actions may have been a factor; yet there were others. The upcountry legislators, who were gaining power in the General Assembly, were not too enthusiastic about higher education, especially since it was controlled by men from the coastal areas. The Baptists, growing steadily in influence, were concerned lest the university be run largely by members of another denomination. Meigs attributed some of the trouble to politics and some to the fact that he was a city man among pioneers. As early as February 1805 he wrote to a relative, "My situation here is as pleasant as the nature of the people, rude, uncivilized, proud, jealous, etc, will permit, but I very often sigh for the society and comforts of the society of New York or New Haven or even Middletown." The first official record of the trustees which shows estrangement was in July 1808 when the board expressed regret that the student body had dropped in enrollment. It said then that rumors charging the president with mismanagement were too vague and uncertain for them to form a decided opinion.

Meigs resigned the presidency in August 1810, but remained as professor of mathematics, natural philosophy, and chemistry. With his resignation the trustees turned from scientists to preachers—a course they were to follow for the next hundred years—and asked the Reverend Henry Kollock of Savannah to assume the presidency. His refusal left the university without a president for about a year and with Meigs as the entire faculty. Finally, Meigs was dismissed for outspoken criticism of the trustees. He is supposed to have called all of them but Peter Early a pack of Tories and speculators. Meigs was elected Clarke County representative in the Georgia legislature in 1812; but he resigned and left Athens that same year when offered an appointment as surveyor general with offices in Cincinnati. A letter from Henry Meigs to his father indicates that there may have been some move to invite him back to Athens, possibly as professor of mathematics since that post was vacant in 1817-1819, but he did not return.

Several organizational changes were made in hopes of improving the situation at the university. In December 1808 the legislature established a university board of visitors, including the governor, superior court judges, president of the senate, and
speaker of the house. It also provided that the senatus academicus should meet yearly on the first Monday in August in Athens, and it reduced the number of trustees from thirteen to seven. The reduction was to be achieved by not replacing the men who died. A general improvement in Athens was not forthcoming. By December 1811 it was decided to reduce the trustees to five, three of whom could constitute a board for business. The same act provided that the trustees appoint a secretary and treasurer to live at the university and that the senatus academicus should meet annually in Milledgeville instead of Athens.\(^\text{11}\) While these steps may have been desirable, they did not effect a great improvement.

In the summer of 1811, the university suspended classes and many thought it was through. Then the Reverend John Brown, an Irish preacher, was named president; the governor’s brother, Henry Jackson, and A. M. Grivet and John B. Golding were named as teachers. The trustees hoped to get money to pay them. Their addition “galvanized the College into spasmodic breathing. . . . But the hoped for improvement did not come, and the college and town languished, notwithstanding the election in 1813 of an additional Professor, Dr. William Green.”\(^\text{12}\)

If the legislature had not taken a hand, the university probably would have failed. About all it had left was land, and squatters were on much of that. Finally, in 1815, the legislature agreed to give the university $100,000 in state bank stocks to be paid for from land sales. Since the bank was prosperous, the university received about $8,000 annually in interest and thus gained its first element of permanency. Even so, it was not until 1821 that the legislature decided the university should have an annual income of $8,000 even if the bank stocks failed.\(^\text{13}\)

These developments were to be most helpful over the years, but in the meantime, the university was having other difficulties. It reached a low point in 1816 when salaries were reduced and President Brown resigned. The resignation of other faculty members was demanded a few months later, and only Golding was left. He was put in charge temporarily to show an appearance of life.\(^\text{14}\) The university was reopened in January 1817 with General Peter Early as president pro tempore and Golding and James Camak, a graduate of the University of South Carolina, as faculty.
After being told of the good Athens climate and the certainty that the $1,500 salary would soon be raised to $2,000, the Reverend Robert Finley agreed to take over as president. He was a New Jersey resident and a graduate and trustee of Princeton University. Finley was much discouraged, however, when he reached Athens after a month-long trip, including two weeks and a day to get from Savannah. He found little money and only a few students. Finley worked long and hard to get the university back into operation and obtain more money, but he did not live to achieve his goals. He died of a bilious and typhus affliction in the late summer of 1817.15

After Finley's death, the university was virtually suspended until November 1819 when the Reverend Moses Waddel was induced to give up teaching in academies and take charge. He soon was joined by Henry Jackson, Alonzo Church, and Ebenezer Newton. A contemporary wrote that Golding and these men constituted the best faculty the college had ever had. The town shared in the revitalization, and soon families migrated there to educate their children.16

The Philosophical Hall was completed in 1821, and the foundations were laid for New College in 1822. It was finished the next year. Money for this building program was provided by the legislature in 1821 when it made permanent the university's annual $8,000 income and allocated other monies. It provided $15,000 to be obtained from the sale of university lands and $10,000 from the sale of fractional surveys already made for that purpose.17 The university prospered under Waddel between 1819 and 1829. “From the handful of students he found, the attendance increased to one hundred or more, and for ten years with wise counsel and inflexible discipline he kept the institution ever advancing.” Waddel resigned in 1829 and moved to South Carolina, where he lived for about three years. He then came back to Athens the victim of a lingering disease, and in 1840 died at the house of his son, Professor James P. Waddel.18

In the early 1830s, friends of the university were partially successful in their efforts to assure it more adequate support. The erection of a new chapel, the opening of a botanical garden, the formation of an alumni society, and the general increase in the university's economic prosperity were the most significant achieve-
ments. After many persons pointed out the dangers to human life inherent in the overcrowding of the old chapel, the state provided a new one. It was finished in 1832 at a cost of $15,000. The botanical garden was opened in 1833, and it soon became the greatest attraction in Athens. It was the town's first and only park and was especially enjoyed by the ladies and students. "It was a veritable Garden of Eden with hills and valleys, two sparkling brooks, a lake containing 'a few perch and a harmless alligator,' and over 2,000 plants, shrubs, and trees from every corner of the globe." The alumni society was formed in 1834 in an effort to promote education in general and the University of Georgia in particular. After unsuccessful attempts to start a literary magazine, the society turned toward building the university's library. Many books about the discovery, settlement, and history of the American nation were obtained. The university acquired additional equipment in the 1830s, including a "new and splendid" telescope in 1834 made by Troughton & Simms of London. Phi Kappa Literary Society got a new building, which was dedicated in July 1836. The university did so well for a few years that in January 1841 the editor of the Southern Banner reported that it had achieved great public confidence. He cited particularly the industrious, capable, and faithful faculty and the liberality and foresight of the trustees.

Unfortunately, the legislature proved to be fickle. During the 1830s it assigned the university $6,000 which, together with other funds, gave it an income of about $20,000 a year. But in 1842 the legislature decided such a large outlay for education was unnecessary, and it relegated the university to the status it had in 1801. Salaries had to be lowered, and there was no money left to buy equipment. Matters were so bad by 1844 that there was talk of reorganizing the whole institution. "From this time on, the university struggled with poverty and prejudice, hoping each year for aid, but never again even down to 1875 would the legislature be so foolish as to waste the state's money on such an absurdity as higher education." While Athens and Clarke County residents did not share the feelings of the legislature, there was little they could do to alleviate the university's financial difficulties.

Some money was spent for university buildings in the 1840s, but it was not an outlay of which officials could be especially
proud. Two houses costing $2,000 were constructed between 1843 and 1846 so that professors could live on the campus and keep an eye on recalcitrant and boisterous students. The university dropped natural history from its curriculum in 1842, but sought to keep the botanical garden. The trustees fixed an annual appropriation for it, and graduates were asked for aid. Too few responded, and in the 1850s the garden was sold. The money was used to enclose the college grounds with iron railings and to provide walkways and trees.22 While the university was set back by the legislature’s unwillingness to spend large amounts on education, it did not close its doors. According to the United States Census of 1850, the University of Georgia had nine teachers and 117 pupils, and its annual income was about $15,250.23

Strong traditions were developed in the forty years under Presidents Moses Waddel and Alonzo Church. Many of these were beneficial, but some hindered progress. Younger faculty members who came in the 1840s and 1850s resented the iron hand with which Church sought to rule both faculty and students and the conservative approach he took toward curriculum and university affairs in general. These new men, including John and Joseph LeConte, were not anti-religious; but the religious domination of the university may have been a factor in their disagreement with the president and the trustees. In any event, they and other teachers who might have lifted Georgia to new academic heights moved on to other schools.

The unfortunate academic atmosphere figured in a general decline suffered by the university in the 1850s, and it caused concern among the trustees. By 1854 they believed the situation critical enough to request a study by the faculty and the prudential committee. This study indicated that the decline had come because the state had failed to support the institution, because denominational institutions under vigorous sectarian patronage were forging ahead, and because the University of Georgia was not really a university. An expansion of operations was recommended. Some feet continued to drag, but in 1859 those in charge came to support a radical reorganization.

It was decided to set up a medical college, law school, agricultural school, and school of engineering and applied mathematics, in addition to the college proper. Scholarships and fellowships
were to be provided. The trustees changed the title of the chief executive from president to chancellor, and authorized him an assistant. This assistant was first called president and later vice-chancellor. The vice-chancellor was to look after affairs of the university while the chancellor served as a high-level public relations man. Andrew W. Lipscomb, of Alabama, was named chancellor in 1860, and steps were taken to improve the administration of the university. The legislature agreed to abolish the senatus academicus and leave the operation of the institution to the trustees, who were to report annually. In addition the governor was authorized to appoint fifteen persons to a board of visitors, who could attend examination of classes at commencement and advise him of conditions. The legislature also passed a resolution to establish a joint committee to study the promotion of science, philosophy, and religion on the university level.

Conditions were improved somewhat by 1860. The Lumpkin Law School was founded in September 1859 and incorporated in December of the same year by Judge Joseph Henry Lumpkin, Thomas R. R. Cobb, and William H. Hull. In 1860, it had fifty-three students. The university had 169 students enrolled that year, and they contributed to their own general welfare by erecting a gymnasium. Attendance was normal when the university resumed exercises in January 1861, but it did not remain that way long. The war forestalled the progressive movement, and soon so many students had departed to defend the Southland that exercises had to be restricted.

Student life was different in the early nineteenth century from what it is today, but the students themselves were not too dissimilar from their twentieth century counterparts. John Cary housed a number of students before campus lodgings were made available. The prices he advertised were probably similar to those charged by others. For board and washing he asked eighty dollars a year, twenty dollars to be paid quarterly in advance, and the boarders were to furnish their beds and bedding. After the students were moved to the campus, a college steward was employed. It was thought that this arrangement would be cheaper for the students, and it would also make it easier for the faculty to keep an eye on them. John Cary (probably the boarding-house
keeper) was named steward in July 1808, and he set the charges at seventy-five dollars for the collegiate year of forty weeks, payable quarterly in advance.

William H. Hunt served as steward in 1810-1811. He announced that the following bill of fare as prescribed by the prudential committee would go into effect January 15, 1811:

Breakfast: “A sufficiency of wholesome cold meats with wheat flour biscuit, or light loaf bread, butter, and tea or coffee.”

Dinner: “A course of bacon, or salted beef, with a suitable proportion of corn bread and of fresh meats, such as beef, pork, mutton, or fowls and at least two kinds of vegetables, and at dinner on each Wednesday, to have an after course of pies, puddings or pancakes with suitable sauces.”

Supper: “A plentiful supply of tea or milk with a sufficiency of wheat flour biscuit and butter.”

By then the costs had risen to ninety dollars a collegiate year payable quarterly in advance.²⁷

In 1811, the trustees ruled that students might board anywhere in the Athens vicinity, provided “they board with moral, respectable families, of which the president of [the] college shall judge.” The board also said that “students on Sabbath afternoons must confine their walks to one mile,” and that they must be “executed free from any violation of the laws of the college.” The students were not allowed to go beyond the town limits until 1821, and efforts were made to keep them gainfully occupied.²⁸

Studies undoubtedly took up much of the students’ time. It was not easy to get admitted to the university, and once there the student was required to learn much in many fields. To enter, a prospective student had to be able to read, translate, and parse Cicero, Virgil, and Greek Testament; write true Latin in prose; and know the rules of vulgar arithmetic. He was also to have led a blameless life. The freshmen studied Cicero’s orations, Greek Testament, and elocution. The second class read Homer’s Iliad and Horace, studied algebra, geometry, mensuration of superfices and solids, the ascertaining of heights and distances, conic sections, plain and spherical trigonometry, navigation, surveying, geography, composition, English grammar, and practiced public speaking. The third class studied astronomy, determination of geographic longitudes by observations of eclipses and lunar observations, use
of the celestial globe, natural and experimental philosophy, chemistry, botany, Cicero de oratore, logic, Priestley’s lectures on history, forensic disputations, composition, and public speaking. The fourth class studied rhetoric, law of nature and nations, Constitution of the United States, constitutions of individual states, moral philosophy, forensic disputations, and composition. 29

Literary societies provided both a complement to and diversion from the usual academic routine. In February 1803, the juniors organized a society “for the promotion of extemporizing, or extemporary speaking” known as Demosthenian. This organization, which met once a week, was dedicated to oratory and existed to express reason. Demosthenian society was very active for a time. Discussions were held and the society tried to obtain books for the university library. It later grew somewhat listless, but was inspired to do better by the formation of a rival society in 1820. On Washington’s birthday of that year Phi Kappa literary society was formed under the direction of Joseph Henry Lumpkin. The two organizations vied for the student’s support and attention during the 1820s and after. 30

Although the University of Georgia provided the impetus for much of the growth and prosperity enjoyed by Athens and Clarke County during the antebellum period, its own progress was subject to fluctuation. The university developed sporadically until the 1820s, then reached a high point in the 1830s before suffering a recession in the 1840s and 1850s. It was revived somewhat in the late 1850s and 1860, but secession and the war halted this movement before it was well under way. The university’s major problems were the unwillingness of the legislature to grant funds on a regular basis and the reluctance of President Church to compromise and accept the changes that were needed in the university’s system of operation. Church’s attitude helped chase away men such as Joseph LeConte who could have done much for the university and the state of Georgia. All things considered, however, the university did make significant progress as an educational institution. Certainly, it served as stimulus for the development of Athens and Northeast Georgia.
CHAPTER V

A Leader in General Education

Those persons who founded Athens to institute the University of Georgia also were interested in the development of education at the lower levels. Some in Clarke County undoubtedly shared the general disinterest in education which characterized many Georgians, but enough in Athens and elsewhere were concerned to develop a variety of schools for both boys and girls. Some specialized instruction also was offered to persons of various ages in subjects such as singing, dancing, and painting. Educational development was slow until the university and Athens achieved a measure of stability in the 1820s; then it increased perceptibly, and it remained relatively stable in the 1830s and 1840s. Important advances were made in the late 1850s and in 1860 after the passage of free school legislation in the state. The state had provided some assistance to counties for education prior to that time, but most of the schools had tuition fees which were prohibitive for many persons. Throughout much of the antebellum period, most Georgians were no more willing to spend tax money on public schools than they were to invest in an institution of higher learning.

Various state leaders attempted to develop public education, but they had little success until the late 1850s and their efforts then were cut short by the war. As early as 1817, and again in 1821, efforts were made to provide state assistance. Under the poor school system finally devised, the state allotted money to the various counties according to the number of poor children that they had. The counties in turn paid the tuition of these children to whatever schools were available. A person was declared poor if his state tax was not more than fifty cents a year. His children, eight to eighteen, were entitled to three years of education in reading, writing, and arithmetic. The funds available were not adequate, however, to provide education for everyone, and some apparently were not too interested in education in any case.
The existing private schools and academies did offer a basic education to a limited number of students who could afford the tuition. But the effort to provide an elementary education for all was termed “miserably defective.”

Another major effort to extend education to everyone was made in the late 1830s through creation of a “Free School and Education Fund,” but it also failed. Laws passed in 1837 and 1839 would have combined all school endowments into a common school fund from which income could be distributed to counties according to the number of school children they had between five and fifteen. The laws also authorized counties to supplement this amount by levying a tax not in excess of 50 percent of the general tax rate. Teachers were to be hired, schools built, and districts set up; but the program was abandoned before it was given a chance. The laws did not become effective until 1839, and the legislature rescinded them in 1840. All educational endowments were again earmarked for the Poor School Fund, and the state slipped back into its academic doldrums.

Educators did not give up, however; and in the 1850s another movement was launched for a free school system, adequately supported. In 1858 the reformers finally moved the legislature. That body voted to appropriate $100,000 annually from the income of the Western and Atlantic Railroad and such other funds as needed to establish a system of free schools. Some progress was made in the next few years, but it was not until after the Civil War that public education was able to get a permanent foothold in Georgia.

Clarke County was, of course, a victim of conditions affecting the state, but it did have more grammar schools and academies than most other counties. Many pupils were enrolled before the expanded educational program in 1859. According to United States Census figures, Clarke County had a dozen or more schools in operation most of the time, and more than four hundred students were enrolled in them. In 1850 its income for education, including the university, was $24,703, fourth highest among Georgia’s ninety-five counties. Much of this was invested in the university, but Clarke County was also in the top sixth of the counties in numbers of students and schools. If all the illiterates were counted and reported in the census, Clarke County’s educational
standing was even more impressive. In a white and free Negro population of about five thousand, only slightly more than three hundred illiterates were reported. In 1850 this number included 105 white males, 4 free Negro males, 189 white females, and 3 free Negro females. Virtually all of the county’s five thousand slaves were illiterate.

The number of children attending schools in Clarke County increased significantly after 1858, even though the county did not adopt the free school system exactly as recommended. Clarke County instituted a form of the system in 1859, but repealed it in 1860 in favor of an adaptation of the old poor school fund. The inferior court ordered that money from state and county sources be appropriated to help children six to eighteen who otherwise were financially unable to get an English grammar and geography education. In 1859 the number of pupils was up to more than a thousand. In 1860 it was almost fifteen hundred, and in 1861, it was more than fifteen hundred. The ordinary was authorized to pay teachers for poor students at the same rate the teachers charged paying pupils, provided the cost for each pupil did not exceed eight cents a day. This system was continued in 1861, except that teachers were limited to seven cents a day for each pupil. The estimated cost of an elementary education in the county during 1860 was slightly more than twenty dollars a year. In 1860 the county had twenty-six school houses and twenty-nine teachers, fifteen men and fourteen women. In 1861 it assessed the allowed 50 percent maximum levy on the general tax for school purposes.

There were not enough persons in the county before the 1820s to warrant many schools, but steps were taken to provide opportunities for those there who could afford them. At least one school for boys and one for girls were started before 1806. Several others were opened in the next decade or so, and many were started after Athens became an established community in the late 1820s. Also opened were three or more academies which enjoyed a fairly long though not always prosperous tenure. Some of the private schools remained in operation for years. Others were closed after a short time because teachers decided they could do better elsewhere or because an immediate need was met.

Costs varied greatly over the years, but the curricula remained
somewhat similar. English was a primary study in all the schools. Modern foreign languages, especially French, were taught in a number of them, and those preparing boys for college emphasized Latin and Greek. Spelling, arithmetic, geography, history, science, and similar courses were offered for both sexes. Girls often could get training in needle work, embroidery, and similar skills. Music, painting, and drawing also were included in many of the schools, often for an extra fee. Many of the students boarded at the homes of the teachers, and instruction in morality and virtue frequently were cited as important parts of the overall program.

Probably because university President Meigs asserted that Georgia did not have enough academies to prepare students for college, it was decided at an early date to establish a grammar school in Athens. The university trustees resolved in November 1803 that the prudential committee erect such a school as soon as funds should become available and that the school be under the direction of the university president. In May 1804 the trustees authorized the sale of town lots so that a one-story frame building could be erected for the school. Daniel W. Easley contracted for the job and finished the building toward the end of 1804 at a cost of just over one thousand dollars. In July 1806 the Reverend John Hodge was appointed master of the school at a salary of seven hundred dollars. Tuition varied over the years. In April 1817 Latin and Greek cost nine dollars a quarter and higher English five dollars a quarter. In December 1829 the cost of a five-month session was listed as fifteen dollars. 5

The Athens Grammar School, which apparently succeeded the grammar school operated by the university, was in operation by May 1833 under the direction of J. N. Waddel. The profits of the school were earmarked to the rector in compensation for his duties, but they evidently were not great because the school had five rectors in eight years. Waddel resigned in 1833 and was replaced by S. G. Hillyer, who remained until 1837. Dr. Hugh Neisler served in 1838, the Reverend A. W. Chambless in 1839, and a Mr. Shelton of Yale College was appointed in 1840. Perhaps if tuition had been raised, a more permanent administration might have been established. In May 1833 costs were twenty-five dollars a quarter, and in December 1839 they were only thirty dollars a quarter. 6
An Athens Manual Labor School was operated for a time in the 1830s by the Presbyterian Education Society of Georgia. In December 1833 enough progress had been made for the school’s directors to announce that the first scholastic year had been closed as successfully as anticipated. Time spent on labor had not hurt the students’ academic work, and sufficient corn, fodder, and oats had been stored for the next year. The school could accommodate thirty-two students, exclusive of the benefactors of the society. Tuition, board, washing, lodging, and other costs were sixty-five dollars. Despite this progress, Presbyterians did not keep the school in Athens. In August 1834 the education society announced that it wished to sell the farm where the manual labor school was located and relocate the school in the upcountry. Athens, it seemed, was getting too cosmopolitan for this rural endeavor. In December 1834 the society announced it had decided to locate the school at Midway, one and one-half miles south of Milledgeville.

Miss Emily Witherspoon operated one of the most respected schools in Athens during the 1840s. By December 1842 she was teaching the elementary branches of learning to boys and girls for three dollars a quarter. A quarter lasted eleven weeks, and elementary learning included such subjects as reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, and history. Tuition was raised to $3.50 a quarter by December 1845 and to four dollars by December 1851, but it must have been worth the expense to attend. A contemporary, A. L. Hull, wrote that many of Athens’s prominent citizens “learned their letters at her knee . . . advancing through the blue back speller to the dizzy heights of Bullion’s Latin Grammar.” He noted that she was a woman “full of Christian charity,” and that she was “a daily blessing to many a poor neighbor.”

Two of Athens’s most renowned schools for young men in the 1850s were Center Hill Classical School and Cobbham Academy. As principal of Center Hill, A. M. Scudder sought to prepare boys for college or business. Board and tuition cost $250 a year in 1854. Although the school increased in size, it could not accommodate all the boys who desired admittance. To help remedy this need Williams Rutherford Jr. opened the Cobbham school in 1855. Recitations there were based on a ten-point system, and grades were announced monthly. If a student answered all questions correctly, he received a ten, but if he missed one question, a nine and so on. Thomas Seay succeeded Rutherford as rector in
1857, and he in turn was succeeded by J. S. Galloway, 1858; J. G. White, 1859, and E. C. Kinnebrew, 1861.9

Provision for the education of girls and young women in the Athens area also was made at an early date. In July 1803 a Mrs. Allan, formerly of London, announced that she and her daughter had opened a seminary for young ladies in Athens. There the students were to be "boarded, and grammatically instructed in the French and English languages, the Elements of Geography, writing, Arithmetic, and all kinds of fashionable Needle Work, at one hundred dollars per annum." The young ladies had to supply their beds and bedding, and payments were to be made quarterly, the first quarter in advance. It was announced that "a particular attention will be paid to the Health, Morals and Improvement of the Pupils committed to Mrs. A's care."10 It is not known if the school ran continuously during the first decade of Athens's history, but in May 1810 it was announced that the Allans had moved their school four miles from Athens, where Mr. Allan had erected a big house adequate for all of its needs. The cost then was listed as eighty dollars a year, paid quarterly in advance.11

Various other schools for girls were operated in subsequent decades, including the Athens High School for Young Ladies, which was opened by William C. Richards in October 1842. He said that it would be limited to thirty pupils, none under ten years of age, and that its course of work would embrace all studies taught in the North. Mrs. Richards was named principal, Miss Sarah M. Hatheway and Miss C. A. Richards, assistants. Richards himself lectured on the natural sciences. In 1844 the tuition was fifty dollars a year for the regular course, forty dollars a year for instrumental music, and ten dollars for instruction in drawing. French, Latin, Italian, Spanish, vocal music, and calisthenics were included without an extra charge. The school apparently grew for in the fall of 1845 Mrs. Richards had three assistants, the Misses Sarah M. Hatheway, Elizabeth A. Hatheway, and Ellen J. Richards. A contemporary wrote that the Richards family was a significant addition to the community. William Richards was a poet and musician; his brother T. Addison was an artist, and Mrs. Richards was a school principal.12

Another important school for girls in the 1850s was the Grove Seminary for Young Ladies which was opened by 1850 with the Reverend S. W. Magill as principal. The school offered the ordi-
nary and higher branches of an English education together with Latin, Greek, French, music, drawing, and painting. Samuel E. Scudder, formerly of Greensboro, assumed its direction in July 1851. He announced in December of that year that tuition for the coming year would be $7.50 a quarter for the elementary students and ten dollars a quarter for higher studies. This school was later under the direction of the Reverend William G. Williams and his wife and then under the direction of Mr. and Mrs. Foster Browne. Its annual May Day party came to be an important social event in Athens in the spring.¹³

The most famous girls' school in Clarke County was started in the late 1850s after "a mother" suggested the need for one in a letter to the Southern Banner. This letter asserted that while Athens had many primary schools, it did not have an adequate high school for young ladies, and that no one had tried to start one in recent years. Others rallied to the cause, and by May 1856 the trustees of an Athens Female High School were able to buy eight acres on the Watkinsville Road for a school. They then raised money for a building 135 feet long, 60 feet wide, and 3 stories high.

Completed in 1858, the school was named Lucy Cobb Institute in honor of the memory of the eldest daughter of Thomas R. R. Cobb. From its upper windows one could see not only the town but also the distant North Georgia mountains. Classes opened in January 1859 with seventy-seven scholars, many from a distance. The faculty included R. M. Wright, principal; Misses Emma C. Wray, Eliza H. Ferris, and Lucy Chapin, assistants; F. A. Wurm, professor of music; and Robert Boggs, instructor in drawing and painting. Lucy Cobb Institute was incorporated in December 1859 by Henry Hull Jr., John H. Newton, Henry R. J. Long, Stevens Thomas, and Thomas R. R. Cobb. It had a very short antebellum existence, but in later years became one of the outstanding schools for young women in the nation.¹⁴

The Athens Female Academy was perhaps the best known of the county’s several academies. It was begun in the middle or late 1820s and operated for a time by the Reverend and Mrs. Thomas Stanley "with much credit to themselves and advantage to the community." Tuition there was four dollars a quarter for reading, writing, arithmetic to rule of three, and seven dollars a quarter for other and higher branches. Despite its name, instruction in the school was not limited to girls. In December 1829 the Athenian
reported that it had been numerously attended by polite, intelligent citizens of both sexes, five to fifteen. The academy was incorporated in December 1829, and trustees were named. According to Dr. Henry Hull, an early resident, the lot for the Female Academy was given by the trustees of the university, and the house built by private contribution. The title was transferred to the academy trustees by the legislature.  

In January 1830 Mrs. Walthall was engaged to teach music, and the trustees asked the public for funds to obtain a suitable place for the class. Money must have been available for that and other purposes, for in November 1831 the academy announced that it expected to procure a "tolerable complete apparatus" in natural philosophy, chemistry, and astronomy. In November 1833 the school announced that it was operating three major subdivisions with costs as follows: (1) spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic to vulgar fractions, four dollars a quarter; (2) the above courses plus English, grammar and geography, seven dollars a quarter; (3) rhetoric, history, use of globes, natural philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, Latin, Greek, and mathematics, eight dollars. Instruction could also be obtained in French, music, drawing, and painting.

Under the direction of William H. Hunt the school expanded considerably, and by 1841 several persons were assisting with the instruction. By the 1840s all branches of the English education, Latin, Greek, and French were offered and the school had a teacher-student ratio of not more than twenty to one. Various persons directed the school's activities in subsequent years, but apparently the tuition and program remained about the same. In 1850 the cost was $7.50 a quarter, the same as it had been for some years, plus an extra charge for French, music, and drawing.  

Although Athens was the educational center of Clarke County, several academies and schools were operated outside its environs. By 1836 the Watkinsville Academy was enlarged to accommodate 120 or more students. A Mr. and Mrs. Clarke, who became directors about 1834, guided the program until 1837 when the Reverend Arthur Leet, formerly of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, became rector. Enrollment in 1837 was fifty-six boys and sixty-five girls. Music became a part of the curriculum in the 1830s along with Greek, Latin, and various branches of the English education.

The school experienced difficulties in the early 1840s, but survived. A Mrs. Barnett, who was in charge in January 1842,
announced that since there was no male teacher to administer corporal punishment, she would dismiss rules violators promptly. Colonel Augustus Alden of Madison and his daughter took charge in January 1843 and initiated a drive for students. In their advertisements they said, "Watkinsville is famed for health, a case of fever never having occurred within its limits, its citizens [are] temperate and moral, board [is] cheap and rates of tuition [are] customary." It is not certain how long the Aldens remained, but the school presumably picked up and was continued. 17

The Clarke County Academy was incorporated in November 1823, and its founders bought a one-acre lot near Watkinsville in 1824 for fifty dollars. This lot, purchased from George W. and Mary Moore, was near Kendall Springs and included a right of way to the public road from Watkinsville to Cherokee Corners. 18 The Salem Academy was begun in 1820 under the auspices of the Methodist Church. It was incorporated in 1821, and "although the trustees pledged its permanency, its progress was slow and its patronage limited." 19 The academy was authorized in June 1825 to hold a lottery to raise $3,000 to build an academy edifice, which apparently was accomplished. Students in the late 1820s could get board including washing in town for eight to nine dollars a month. The usual academy subjects were offered, and painting and music also could be taken for a small extra fee. In 1838 the academy had an enrollment of fifty-four students, including thirty males and twenty-four females. 20 A Farmers's Academy was incorporated in 1837, and by 1838 it had an enrollment of sixty-three students. 21 A Pine Grove Academy was founded near Watkinsville in the 1850s and operated for a time by James R. Drake. He suggested that while his academy was near Watkinsville, it was "outside the limits and corrupting influences of village life." 22 Actually Clarke and Jackson Counties were authorized by the state to establish a joint academy as early as 1801, the year in which Clarke County was founded, but it is not known what part Clarke County may have played in any such school that may have been founded in Jackson County. 23

Special instruction also was offered at times in various languages, penmanship, music, fencing, dancing, and other arts and skills. At least a half dozen persons, including a graduate of the Academy of Paris, sought to introduce the community to the mysteries of French, Spanish, Italian, German, Latin, or Greek. Some of these
Instructors became permanent residents, but most were transients. In one instance, thirty-six lessons could be taken over a three-month period for ten dollars. A number of visiting instructors also wished to improve the penmanship of local residents, in most cases for less than fifty cents a lesson. A Mr. Hall offered courses in shorthand writing and double entry bookkeeping in 1838, and a Miss Edmonston, in 1834, and a Miss Frances Land, in 1839, advertised for classes in drawing and painting. A Miss Parker, in 1854, offered instruction in ornamental leather work, embroidery, writing, and a new system of aiding the memory.

Many Clarke County residents became interested in music, and several persons established residence in Athens to offer instruction in instrumental music, vocal music, or both. John F. Goneke and a Mrs. Walthal apparently enjoyed the longest tenures. Goneke began his music instruction by 1827 and was so well received that in August 1830 he decided to make Athens his permanent residence. While using Athens as a base, he also taught in Madison, Greensboro, and Washington. Besides teaching all the instruments and voice, Goneke sold instruments, organized a band, gave concerts, and later built a concert hall opposite the Female Academy. His band furnished instrumental music for college commencements, which previously had been restricted to the singing of odes and hymns. Mrs. Walthal began a music school in 1828 and, like Goneke, continued instruction into the 1840s or later. She was joined in 1835 by her mother, a Mrs. Trouin, who offered to give lessons in French or in drawing and painting either on paper or on velvet. At least a dozen others, including transients, provided music instruction in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s for varying amounts. A Mr. Kemmerer's offer in 1857 of fifteen lessons and a small book for ten dollars was typical.

Dancing also was popular, although Athens apparently was too small for the establishment of permanent schools. Several persons taught dancing there in the 1830s, and many visited Athens for that purpose in the 1840s and 1850s. Some teachers may have stayed for longer periods, but most apparently came for the season and left after completing courses for those who were interested. By the 1840s the younger set was learning various Spanish and Swedish dances in addition to the waltz, cotillion, and more established steps. In 1843 a course of eighteen lessons could be obtained for ten dollars.
Nimble footwork of a somewhat different nature was offered in Athens in 1837. In that year a Mr. Bauge opened a gymnasium on Wall Street to teach fencing. He offered fifty lessons in a course, two to be taken each day. Smoking, chewing, spitting, swearing, and obscene language were forbidden in the gymnasium, and visitors were not allowed to interrupt students while they were taking their lessons.³¹

Development of education at the lower levels in Clarke County was sporadic until about 1830 when Athens became relatively well established. After that it remained stable until the late 1850s when state passage of free school legislation stimulated a more rapid growth for a brief time before the Civil War. Progress was greatest in Athens, but it was not limited to the university city. Schools and academies were also operated in Watkinsville, Salem, and other communities. Something was available throughout the period for those who could afford it. Since comparatively few white illiterates were reported, many persons must have been able to avail themselves of the opportunities offered.

Many special courses in dancing, music, painting, and other arts also contributed to the county’s cultural development. These courses, together with the literary clubs, newspapers, magazines, and schools combined to make Clarke County a leader in education as well as in business and manufacturing.
Partisan Papers and Specialized Periodicals

Word of mouth was the principal means of communicating ideas and information in Clarke County during the early years. As was the case in most frontier areas, the number of potential subscribers and advertisers was too small to make local publications profitable. Few of the inhabitants had time to enjoy what reading material was available. The Augusta Chronicle and Washington Monitor served the area to some extent, and books and magazines could be ordered from Augusta and elsewhere. This complete dependence on outside media did not last long, however, because Athens grew rapidly.

In 1807, a year after the town was incorporated and the first university structure completed, Athens got its first newspaper. The Reverend John Hodge, a many-sided Presbyterian divine, started it with press and type brought from Philadelphia by wagon. Designed to carry religious and literary news, it had a short life. Hodge became ill and was forced to sell to Alexander McDonnell, a printer who had accompanied the press from Philadelphia. McDonnell was joined in business by Elias Harris, and they decided to change the publication from a religious journal to a weekly newspaper. The first issue of the weekly Georgia Express was published March 14, 1808. Its subscription price was three dollars a year. Advertisements were sold at the rate of 52.5 cents a square for the first insertion and 50 cents for each reprinting. In December 1808 business was good enough for the Express to advertise for an apprentice, preferably a lad from fourteen to sixteen years old.

Plans to improve the newspaper were announced in July 1809, and its name was expanded to Foreign Correspondent and Georgia Express. As the title suggested, more foreign news was to be published along with additional political comment, which the editor promised would be impartial. During the early years the Athens newspaper depended primarily upon contributors and exchange items from other publications to fill its news columns. This was the typical practice of early nineteenth century newspapers, which at
times used exchange pieces and extensive literary and political comment by anonymous contributors to the exclusion of local news. Many did this because they believed, and with some justification, that everyone knew what was going on locally long before they could get it into print. Debates in the *Express* were sometimes carried on by contributors. In 1809 and 1810, for example, Eurycides and Americanus debated European problems and whether the United States would become involved in a foreign war. Other contributors, such as "Voter," preferred to write of state and federal politics.³

Often, just getting the newspaper out was an accomplishment in the early days. Newsprint was hard to get, and subscribers and advertisers were not always prompt about paying their bills. At times the *Express* was published on a half sheet instead of the usual page, five columns wide by fifteen inches high, because it did not have a full supply of paper. At least once the newspaper was not printed at all because the supply of newsprint did not arrive on time. The editor could also fall behind schedule if the mails bringing exchange publications did not bring news in time. He often used the columns of his publication to urge subscribers and advertisers to pay up, and on occasion, he offered to take cotton in payment.⁴

Elias Harris dropped out of the newspaper business after a short time, and in about 1811 Xenophon Gaines joined McDonnell as junior editor. Although physically feeble, Gaines was mentally sharp, and he wielded considerable influence during his two-year stay. He was equipped with "caustic wit and bitter satire, and was unsparing of both. He was a small, feeble, ill-favored, as well as ill-tempered man, and his infirmities doubtlessly saved him many a thrashing."⁵ Gaines’s approach apparently was a few decades ahead of his time, but he probably did the newspaper some good and made it more readable.

When Gaines departed in October 1812 McDonnell announced that he was going on alone and that he would get articles from the university. As to policy, he said, "Pure, unadulterated Republicanism shall be rigidly and conscientiously adhered to." This was, of course, Jeffersonian Republicanism. In addition to university news, political discussions, and exchange items, the paper, of course, carried advertising. The advertisements were usually small, primarily informational, and seldom changed from week to week.
In appearance most of them resembled the advertising found on the modern classified advertising page. On July 24, 1812 the Express ran what may have been its first woodcut in conjunction with an advertisement for a combat between an Asiatic tyger (tiger) and a ferocious Georgia bull.  

McDonnell continued the Express through five volumes, then announced that he was entering a new publishing arrangement with former editor John Hodge for a newspaper to be called the Athens Gazette. During the last years of the Express the term Foreign Correspondent was dropped, although the newspaper still may have carried more foreign than local news in its columns. McDonnell and Hodge announced that the new paper would operate under the motto "many shall run to and fro and knowledge shall be increased" and publish the latest news from Northern and Southern newspapers. They planned to devote two or three columns to scientific, moral, and religious instruction and to use local and state literary talent. The editors planned for their new paper to appear weekly on a sheet as large as the Augusta Chronicle, and they proposed to sell it for three dollars a year, to be paid one-half yearly in advance.

The first issue of the Athens Gazette appeared February 17, 1814, when it was announced that the newspaper would be published on Thursdays immediately after the mail arrived. It was not an auspicious time to begin, partly because of the problems hampering the University of Georgia and partly because of the effects of the War of 1812. In August 1814 the editors offered to take good wheat in lieu of money for subscriptions. Printing difficulties also were encountered. The paper on which the Gazette was printed was double thick and very rough. One reader said the ink seemed to be made of lampblack and axle grease. Perhaps it was, or of some similar substance, for in September 1814 the paper apologized for the quality of ink being used: "We have lately been under the necessity of manufacturing our own INK, in which we have not well succeeded, and we sincerely regret the consequent unfavorable appearance which our paper has made for some weeks. This evil shall be remedied as soon as ink of a proper quality can be procured from our own seaports or from the Northward." Although the quality of the ink presumably was improved, the Gazette continued to have financial problems, and in November 1815 McDonnell announced that he was leaving the
paper. Hodge continued to publish it, possibly until June 1817 when the inferior court paid him three dollars for some printing. It is not certain who succeeded him, or when, but by March 1818 Samuel Wright Minor was connected with the newspaper, apparently as publisher. Minor was still publisher in the early 1820s, but he too had problems. It was reported that in his hands "the paper deteriorated until it was issued semi-occasionally on a piece of paper 12x14 inches." Minor was so poor that at one time he and his family cooked, ate, slept, and printed the paper in one room. On one occasion he announced in the paper that he hoped to do better economically in the future because his sow had given birth to nine pigs.\(^8\)

Athens evidently was without a satisfactory newspaper for some years. In December 1817 Clarke County sheriffs were told to advertise their sales in the Milledgeville newspaper, and in November 1818 they were authorized to advertise in any paper in the Western Judicial Circuit. In October 1825 the grand jury ordered its presentments published in the Columbia Sentinel, another indication that there was no satisfactory voice in Athens.\(^9\) One report stated that a Patrick Robinson succeeded Minor and operated the Gazette until another newspaper was started, but this was not confirmed. Certainly, if the paper did continue in the middle 1820s, its existence was a feeble one. Because there are so few copies of the Gazette now available, it is difficult to assess its role in the later years. It appears that the newspaper went downward with the rest of the Athens economy and failed to bounce back when the university was revived and Athens took on new life.

The Athens newspaper situation improved tremendously in 1827 when O. P. Shaw brought out the Athenian. This newspaper assumed modern dress, replaced the "f" with "s," and soon became one of the better literary papers in the state. It sold for three dollars a year in advance, or for four dollars, and was published on Fridays, then Tuesdays, then Fridays again, in accordance with changes in the mail schedules. The Athenian, like its predecessors, carried articles from contributors, and the editor did some writing himself. In June 1829 he wrote an article criticizing the practice of drinking, noting how much it damaged character and domestic felicity. In September 1829 the newspaper announced that a "College Club" had been formed which would contribute articles,
and in January 1830 it announced that it was beginning its fourth volume on a secure base which assured permanency.  

Albon Chase joined O. P. Shaw in the management of the Athenian sometime before January 1832, and shortly thereafter he and A. M. Nisbet bought the paper and changed its name to the Southern Banner. The first issue of this paper, whose eventual descendent, the Banner-Herald, is still in operation, was published March 20, 1832. The Banner was a six-column, four-page newspaper, which was offered for the usual three dollars a year in advance, or four dollars. It first was published on Saturday, but like the Gazette, it changed publication dates several times in accordance with changes in the mail schedules. Although the Southern Banner opposed nullification and supported the Union Party, it was devoted to the rights of the states as well as the union of the states. In their strong support of individuals and causes the newspapers of that day were more interesting than some of the twentieth century. But in other ways they did not measure up so well. O. P. Shaw of the Athenian, when asked why he did not publish more birth and death announcements, said “we have neither the time nor the inclination to be running about town, much less the county, questioning our friends and acquaintances for the names of the parties.” The early newspapers also ran advertisements on the front page, a practice generally frowned upon today.

A. M. Nisbet left the Southern Banner in March 1836, and for a time Chase continued the business alone. Advertising rates were listed April 6, 1839, as follows: letters of citation, $2.75; notice to debtors, creditors (forty days), $3.25; four months notices, $4.00; sale of personal property by executors, administrators, guardians, $3.25; sales of lands or Negroes by executors, administrators, or guardians, $4.75; application of letters of dismission, $4.50; husbands about wives, $5.00; other advertisements, for thirteen lines of small type or equivalent space, $1.00 for the first insertion and 50 cents for each one thereafter. These could also be run for 62.5 cents every other week or seventy cents a month. The message was seldom changed from week to week.

Since many persons in Clarke County and in Athens were not of the same political persuasion as the editors of the Southern Banner, it was only natural that these persons should start their own newspaper. The Southern Whig was launched in 1835 to
give voice to these views. One of its best known early editors was Benjamin Poore, who joined the paper in January 1839 and remained for a few years. Poore reportedly was asked to leave Athens because of his abolitionist tendencies. Although “next heard from as trundling a wheelbarrow from Newburyport to Boston in payment of a lost wager on [Millard] Fillmore’s Election,” he later achieved some fame as librarian to Congress and as a Washington reporter.¹³

In writing of the two Athens newspapers in 1839, Buckingham, the English traveler, summarized:

There are two newspapers in Athens, each published weekly, the “Southern Banner,” democratic, and the “Southern Whig,” conservative. Both are Anti-abolition papers, but the “Banner” especially; indeed here as elsewhere, the Democrats accuse the Whigs of being favourable to Abolition; and take especial merit to themselves, as the champions of liberty, though they are the exclusive advocates and defenders of the institution of domestic slavery!¹⁴

The Southern Banner, known as one of the top Democratic newspapers in the state about 1840, and the Southern Whig vied for support in Athens and Clarke County during the 1840s. Both had energetic editors, kept up a lively political debate, and sought to solve the many problems that beset newspapers of that day. Changing mail schedules upset announced publication days; payment of old bills had to be asked for repeatedly, and various mechanical difficulties hampered printing. The Banner announced in April 1843 that it had decided to go on a cash basis and that it was reducing the cost of subscription to five dollars for two years. The newspaper moved in December 1845 into a three-story wooden building on the corner of Front Street and College Avenue across from the college campus. Editor-publisher Albon Chase had his bookstore downstairs and his printing department upstairs in the new establishment.

Chase was one of the busiest men in Athens and after fourteen and a half years as publisher and more than ten years as sole editor, he decided in September 1846 to retire from the newspaper business. He was succeeded by Hopkins Holsey, a strong Democrat and former congressman. Facing strong opposition from the Whig, Holsey announced in 1847 that the Banner would be enlarged so that it would be as big as any newspaper in the state except the
Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel. He affirmed that it would be a family newspaper devoted to politics, news, literature, agriculture, the arts, and assorted matters. John W. Burke in 1848 and 1849, then Thomas S. Reynolds in 1849 served the Banner as publishers; but apparently their interests were primarily centered in the mechanical department. In January 1851 the Banner moved again, this time to Granite Row above the jewelry store of W. P. Sage.

By spring of 1851 Holsey was one of the best known and, in some quarters, most disliked editors in the state. He played a key role in persuading Georgia to accept Henry Clay’s proposals for compromise on the slavery question, and many were unhappy at the way in which this was done. Holsey helped join the upper Georgia Democrats and Whigs into a Constitutional Union Party, which elected Athenian Howell Cobb as governor and supported the compromise. A woman, known as the “Tugalo woman,” apparently tried to kill Holsey in May 1851 but hit the publisher instead. She was sentenced to two years for her act after she pleaded insanity.

Holsey continued at his post until May 1853 when he announced that after seven years of losing money he must quit the Banner. He said he had enjoyed it very much, but that he simply could not afford to go on. James Sledge, a Union Democrat of the Jackson school, replaced him and continued to work for the Democratic party. In January 1855 Sledge sold half interest in the paper to Dr. A. A. F. Hill, who became junior editor. Hill was one of Athens’s most interesting and energetic personalities. He worked with the fire company and the militia, and he was active in social affairs. “He wore his hair long and parted in the middle and his beard long and pointed; in fact he was distinguished by having the longest beard of any man in town. He was a great beau in society and a very general favorite.”

Anderson W. Reese joined the Banner as an assistant editor in January 1857, and he continued in the business after Hill withdrew in March of the same year. When Reese retired in February 1858 William M. Chase, son of Albon Chase, the former editor, purchased an interest and became co-editor. The paper began using some new type in June 1855 and was lengthened and widened to eight columns in 1860. The political opposition charged that regardless of who was editor the Banner was controlled by Howell Cobb. The opposition termed Sledge a hard working printer who
was expert in setting type, but said his associate (Hill) was "a jonquil-daffodil sort of chap, who perpetrates poetry, without rhyme, meter or sense—who rings loud notes and utters Bombastefurioso strains, about love, war and chivalry." The Athens papers exchanged similar criticisms, and, at times, compliments throughout the 1850s.

Several different newspapers served as foils for the Southern Banner in the political and other debates of the day. The Southern Whig, under Doctor Flint, P. Clayton, T. M. Lampkin, John Christy, and others, served as the opposition during the 1840s. Under Lampkin and Christy the paper was enlarged in 1847 and was considered one of the handsomest sheets in Georgia. It ceased publication after the Whig party's demise in Georgia and was replaced by the Southern Herald about 1850. The Herald apparently lasted until about the middle of 1853, when it too ceased operation, to be replaced in 1854 by the Southern Watchman. The Watchman was operated throughout the remainder of the ante-bellum period by Christy, who offered it for two dollars a year in advance, or three dollars. It was an immediate success, and in May 1855 the editor claimed the largest circulation ever enjoyed by a newspaper in Athens. Christy said in 1855 that his paper supported the American Party but not against the Democrats or Whigs because those parties were, in his words "dead cocks in the pit." He promised, however, to make the Watchman an independent voice in all matters and accused the Banner of being controlled by a Democratic clique in the county.

Both Athens newspapers were affected by the national economic panic of 1857. In November of that year the Watchman offered to take in payment corn, wheat, rye, oats, meal, flour, chickens, turkeys, geese, or indeed anything saleable in the Athens market. Still, this newspaper came out with a new dress in January 1858, and again was redesigned in May 1860. Christy asserted in January 1859 that his was the first and only newspaper in Northeast Georgia printed on a power press. Athens had one other newspaper of note, a campaign paper called the Athens Harrisonian, which was published in 1840. But generally the competition was between the Southern Banner and the Whig, Herald, or Watchman.

Numerous literary, agricultural, and other specialized periodicals were tried at various times in Athens with varying success.
In 1834 the alumni of Franklin College (the University of Georgia) issued a prospectus for the Athenian, a literary magazine which would be issued monthly on fine paper. It was to be sixty-four pages long and was to sell for five dollars a year, payable on delivery of the first issue. Sufficient interest was not generated to begin publication, however, and after several years the idea was dropped. Another publication with the same name was proposed in May 1844 by William H. Royal, but it too failed to appear. Royal's prospectus said his publication would be neutral in politics and devoted to literature, science, the arts, mechanics, education, amusements and the like. It was to be published weekly in Athens for two dollars a year, payable in advance.

These failures were not indicative of what was to come, however, for between 1848 and 1854 Athens became the periodical center of the state. This rise to literary prominence was due in part to the university community and in large measure to the efforts of William Carey Richards, a native of England. Richards, who probably was named for the Baptist missionary to India, was born in London and educated in New York state before coming south to spend about fifteen years in Georgia and South Carolina. Although he was a licensed Baptist preacher and later entered the regular ministry in Rhode Island, Richards's major activities in the South were literary. He came to Athens in the 1840s from Penfield bringing with him his magazine, the Orion, a monthly founded in 1842. The prospectus for the second volume of this publication noted that it was a southern magazine of literature and art, embellished with magnificent colored landscapes, steel plates, and other engravings. For the sum of five dollars a year it provided readers with articles on history, biography, narrative, philosophy, ethics, metaphysics, physical science, fiction, poetry, and fine arts. Many of the embellishments were done by Richards's brother, Thomas A. Richards.

The Orion was suspended for a time in 1843, but apparently was published again, for in September it was announced that the third volume would be issued at a reduced price of three dollars a year. The publication asserted that it was the only illustrated magazine in the South and that William Gilmore Simms was soon to be a regular contributor. It was moved to Charleston in February 1844, and it apparently died there in August of the same year.

In the late 1840s Richards began two other literary periodicals
in Athens and stirred an interest among the inhabitants which probably led to the launching of three others. He began the Southern Literary Gazette in May 1848 to advance the talent of Southern writers, and he founded the Schoolfellow in January 1849 for juvenile readers. Despite his enthusiasm, Richards found that the vicissitudes of an editor were many. Writing letters to the authors of rejected addresses, ransacking old books for choice materials to adorn the eclectic columns, and revising manuscripts, particularly poetry, were especially trying. One of the unpleasant tasks was finding suitable language in which to reject would-be contributors such as Charles, author of “To a young lady whom I saw washing her lily-white hands on the back piazza at sunrise in the morning.” It was necessary since the inscription reminded the editor of some stanzas once published in the Augusta Mirror addressed “To a child reposing in its nurse’s arms under a rosebush in Jasper county.”

The name of the Southern Literary Gazette was changed to Richards’ Weekly Gazette in 1849, and the publication became less devoted to literary matters and more intent on being “A Choice Family Newspaper.” Richards moved the publication to Charleston in 1850 and sold one-half interest in it to Joseph Walker of that city. The name was changed back to Southern Literary Gazette, and it evidently retained that title after 1852 when Richards sold his interest in the publication and moved to New York.

During 1848 while he was still in the midst of organizing the Gazette, Richards developed the idea for the monthly Schoolfellow, which he began in 1849. This publication was the first of its kind in the region. Its aim was to help youngsters with their lessons in history and philosophy as well as to offer them entertainment. The Schoolfellow was at once to be a teacher and a playmate. Richards also took this publication with him to Charleston, and later on to New York, where he continued it until about 1857.

Although Richards did not remain in Athens long, he is credited with stimulating the literary atmosphere there and with influencing men such as Charles L. Wheler, David L. Roath, and possibly John W. and Thomas A. Burke. At no time before or since has Athens enjoyed so great a place on the Georgia literary scene.

Thomas A. Burke and James A. Sledge sought to publish a semi-monthly paper, The Microcosm, in August 1848, but abandoned the idea before the first issue. Their plan was to print short and amusing stories, moral essays, humorous sketches, poetry, anec-
dotes, items of general intelligence, scraps for the ladies, and similar items. It is not recorded why they dropped the idea, but they did recommend to their subscribers a substitute publication, Wheler's Monthly Journal of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge. This journal was begun in October 1848 by Charles L. Wheler and his brother to provide useful information on science and art and entertaining miscellany. It cost only fifty cents a year, but apparently ran only three months. Wheler tried again in 1849 and was somewhat more successful with Wheler's Magazine. It was started in July of that year and continued until sometime in 1850. Wheler gained some special recognition as perhaps the first Georgia editor to pay for literary contributions. Most publications simply offered the writers a subscription.24

Wheler's Magazine also inherited the subscription list of The Mistletoe: A Magazine of the Sons of Temperance. This publication was begun in January 1849 by John W. and Thomas A. Burke as a literary magazine with an emphasis on temperance. It brought out two monthly issues in Athens and a third in Cassville, where John W. Burke was editing the Cassville Standard, and then ceased publication. The subscription lists were turned over to Wheler, who sent the subscribers a copy of his magazine for the remainder of the year. Wheler, in sending out the publication, urged the old subscribers of the Mistletoe to pay their subscription fee. Said Wheler. "We NEED the money, and we ask every Son of Temperance (of whom we are one) to do us JUSTICE, in the name of 'Love, Purity and Fidelity!' . . . Magazine Publishers live on bread and butter, just like other people. The idea that they live on air, chameleon-like, is not founded in fact. Hence we want 'l'argent,' that we may NOT want bread and butter."25 John W. Burke continued to publish the Cassville Standard until 1854 and later served as head of the book and publishing department of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, Publishing House in Macon. His chief literary contribution was his Life of Robert Emmette, the Celebrated Irish Patriot and Martyr. Thomas Burke published a humorous monthly, Horn of Mirth, in Athens in 1849-1850. It achieved a circulation of twelve hundred in a relatively short time but apparently vanished almost as quickly.26

The last of the Athens editors who may have been influenced by Richards was David L. Roath, editor of Roath's Monthly Magazine. It was begun in January 1853 and evidently ceased the
same year. Roath was an innovator in that his monthly was printed in blue ink and did not identify authors—perhaps because he wrote much of the material himself. The longer pieces were generally well done, and there was a spirit of satire running throughout the publication. The demise of Roath’s magazine brought to an end Athens’s attempts to become the center of Georgia periodical literature. A publication called the Georgia Home Gazette reportedly was published by Smythe and Whyte about 1852-1853, but no copies are now available, and it is not known what the frequency of publication was or just what it emphasized. The Georgia University Magazine, affectionately called “G U M,” was first published in 1851. Its aim, according to its editor, was “to convey stores of knowledge to the student, and abundance of humor and wit to the gay, and gems of poetry to the ladies.” It was continued until the war.

Agricultural, industrial, religious, and educational publications also appeared or were proposed during late antebellum times. In August 1839 a prospectus was issued for the Southern Silk Grower, and Agricultural Register, which was to be published monthly at Athens by Albon Chase. This publication was to sell for one dollar a year but was dropped after a silk journal was started in Columbus to do about the same job of boosting that product. Much more successful was the Southern Cultivator, which began its distinguished career in 1842 and had an Athens editor for a time. It started as a bi-monthly at one dollar a year and after two volumes was stepped up to monthly publication. By that time it was being published by J. S. and W. S. Jones of Augusta and had at the head of its editorial department James Camak of Athens. It was published in Athens after the Civil War.

By January 1850 J. S. and T. S. Reynolds were publishing The Sunday School Advocate in Athens. It was devoted to the causes of Sunday School education and cost fifty cents a year. It is not certain whether the Advocate was published after 1850 or whether it was published weekly or monthly. An industrial weekly called the American Mechanic reportedly was published in Athens in 1850, and John Reynolds announced in September 1852 that he would soon begin The American Farmer and Mechanic, a weekly paper devoted to the industrial interests of the South. It is not known whether his publication actually was started. J. H. Christy, of the Southern Watchman, advertised in
December 1858 a prospectus for the *Free School Advocate*, which was to be a monthly periodical devoted to the interests of education. It was to sell for one dollar a year or to clubs of twenty or more for fifteen dollars; but it is not certain whether publication plans were activated after the free school bill passed.  

Although he was not directly associated with a local newspaper or periodical, John Jacobus Flournoy was one of Athens’s most prolific and provocative writers. Flournoy’s influence in Athens probably was limited by his eccentricities and his habit of taking a position opposite to that of the community. But his views apparently received more attention in Augusta and elsewhere on the basis of their own merit. Often these views were controversial. Flournoy was criticized by some for arguing against the absurdities of nullification. His proposal that the slaves be expelled from the South apparently led some to believe he was an abolitionist. His publicly admitted desire to use every opportunity to stir up poor against rich in the interest of helping the poor was misunderstood by others. Perhaps Flournoy’s greatest influence was in demonstrating that until the outbreak of the war at least a Southerner could with some impunity express his mind on just about any subject including slavery.

Some residents of Clarke County undoubtedly subscribed to other American and foreign periodicals in addition to those produced locally. J. J. Richards announced in January 1845 that he was the authorized agent for the American reprint of various British reviews and that he would also take subscriptions for most American periodicals. People had a choice of many publications including *Comic Magazine* and *Doings in London*, the *Foreign Quarterly* and *Westminster Review*, the *Family Minstrel*, and many others. Books also could be purchased locally and frequently were. History was especially popular, and in 1849 one hundred copies of Macaulay’s *History of England* were quickly sold when advertised as the great book of the day. Other books advertised included *Memoris of James Jackson, Six Months in a Convent*, *Webster’s Speeches* (2 vols.), *Newton on the Prophecies*, *Catechism of Phrenology*, *Deerslayer*, *Young Ladies’ Friend*, *Southern Harmony*, *Women of France*, *The Belle of Boston*, *Before the Reformation*, *Fowler on Matrimony*, and Lamartine’s *History of the Girondists*.

Some have called Athens a graveyard of newspapers and
periodicals; but if this be true, it is because so many were attempted. Many enjoyed some success, and some with short lives made significant contributions. Generally, the newspapers reflected the over-all business situation. The difficulties that troubled the Georgia Express and the Athens Gazette in the early days also plagued many other businessmen in Athens. When the town became more prosperous in the late 1820s, a strong newspaper, the Athenian, was started. It was replaced by an even stronger one, the Southern Banner. When local political enthusiasm demanded an opposition paper, the Southern Whig was instituted. The Whig collapsed with the party, but it was succeeded by the Southern Herald and later the Southern Watchman. For most of the latter antebellum period, Athens had opposing papers which gave both sides of major issues.

From the historian's point of view, these newspapers might have been improved by more local news, but it seems likely that they were providing the people with what the populace wanted to read. Although the makeup was dull by modern standards, it was typical of newspapers of that period. Any criticism must also be tempered by the fact that there was little competition at first, and most readers probably read the entire paper. Some changes to improve appearance and readability were made before opposition started and on several occasions after that. All the Athens newspapers doubtlessly were hampered by changing mail schedules, mechanical difficulties, and persons who were lax about paying for their advertisements and their subscriptions. Still, the newspapers did a creditable job of informing the people about important issues, especially those of a political nature.

The numerous periodicals started in Athens did not achieve so much but were not without some success. While William C. Richards was in town, the magazine publishing business flourished, and Athens was a state periodical center. That more of these publications did not survive is unfortunate, but Athens should not be criticized too much. Few Southern cities and fewer towns could boast of as much success as Athens enjoyed. Advertisements indicated that area persons did a great deal of reading, and many local publications were at least attempted. With two good newspapers from about 1835, intermittent literary publications, and access to the best books and magazines, Athenians did not have
too great a reason to complain. Those who wanted to read and were able had something to read. Those who did not like what was offered probably would not have read any more regardless of the offerings.
CHAPTER VII

Religion and the Churches

Although many pioneers knew little and cared less about religion, Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians helped settle the Oconee River area that included Clarke County. Many of the same faith traveled together from Virginia, North Carolina, and elsewhere and settled near each other. The Baptists established homes along Barbour's Creek where the Mars Hill Church was organized at an early date and in the district east of the Oconee River as far down as Barnett's Shoals. Trail Creek Church, which later helped start Athens Baptist Church (now First Baptist Church), was located in this area. Big Creek Church was founded at Barnett's Shoals. Freeman's Creek Baptist Church also was established prior to December 1803. Methodists settled below Watkinsville and in the area between the forks of the Oconee River as far up as Hall County, which at the time was inhabited by Cherokee Indians. Presbyterians under the guidance of two Revolutionary soldiers, James and John Espey, organized a church at Sandy Creek. Settlement in religious groupings was followed because "there was at that time a manifest disinclination on the part of all denominations to interfere with the religious faith of a neighborhood lest they should 'build on another man's foundation.'" 1

The Baptists were the most numerous denomination in Clarke County in the early nineteenth century, and Trail Creek perhaps was their largest church. Its early pastors, the Reverend Isaiah Hale and a Mr. Goss, were well-known throughout the community. Both would occasionally address one of the older members during a sermon to ask his approval of some sentiment or to inquire whether he had experienced a similar feeling that corroborated the pastor's. Members were free to correct the pastor if he misquoted the Scriptures. 2 Although they were strong in the county, the Baptists were slow to realize the missionary potential of Athens, and it was not until 1830 that they established a church in the university community.

Methodists, led by the Reverend Hope Hull, also were active in
the county at an early date. Hull began preaching in the Wilkes County area in the late 1780s and moved to Athens about 1802. "This religious dynamo happened on Athens before it was out of its swaddling clothes and immediately became identified with the University in 1802 as a trustee and remained so until his death in 1818." Hull preached on the University of Georgia campus at times, but primarily he held services near town in a log cabin which was built for that purpose in 1804. This log cabin was said to be the first Methodist meetinghouse west of the Oconee River. It was twenty-two by twenty-four feet and built of small logs covered with pine boards. "There was a door on one side, and opposite to it, a box made of the kind of boards that were used to cover the house, served for a pulpit. The floor was made of split logs smoothed somewhat on one side by a broad ax and laid on the ground; the seats were of the same material set on four legs." The fact that the church did not have a chimney "suggests that Methodism in Athens in those days went into Winter Quarters." The cabin was abandoned in 1810 for a larger log building erected somewhere "in the environs of Athens" and known as Hull's Meeting House. This served until the middle 1820s when the First Methodist Church was erected. Hull has been called the father of Georgia Methodism. He was a close friend of Bishop Francis Asbury and came to Georgia as the Bishop's personal representative. He was an excellent orator and was called "Broadaxe" because of the mighty power that attended his ministry.4

Presbyterians also were on the field early. Moses Waddel, who later became president of the University of Georgia, was one of five ministers assigned to Hopewell Presbytery (Georgia) when it was formed in 1796. These five were to supply fifteen churches and many other "preaching places" over a wide area. Waddel preached in Georgia until about 1801, when he went to Abbeville District, South Carolina, to open a school for boys. He returned to Georgia in 1819 to become president of the University of Georgia, and in 1820 he organized the First Presbyterian Church in Athens.5 The Presbyterians had at least one representative in the Athens area during the intervening years. The Reverend John Hodge, who started the town's first newspaper and who served for a time as master of the University's grammar school, was a Presbyterian. He performed various ministerial services, including speaking engagements and weddings. The Athens Presbyterians, even
though they did not have a church, were active enough for the
Hopewell Presbytery to meet in Athens in 1811. The Presbytery
met in the University's chapel, and those in attendance were the
first, of record anyway, to celebrate the Lord's Supper in Athens.6

The University of Georgia chapel might be considered the
first religious edifice in Athens, although it was used for secular
as well as religious convocations. It was constructed under the
direction of Hope Hull, who offered in 1807 to build it if the
University trustees would give him $100 for the belfry. The
building was designed to be sixty feet by forty feet and eighteen
feet high, connected in the back to a belfry. It was to be open
to all denominations. Hull spent $689 of his own money, which
the trustees later refunded. Several hundred dollars was donated
by other persons to the construction of the building. Major Gen­
eral Twiggs gave $50 and Peter Randolph $200.7 Although the
University was scientifically minded under its first active presi­
dent, Josiah Meigs, a building of worship was recommended by
the trustees as early as November, 1803, and students opened
and closed their day with prayer services.8

Religious observances in the county varied somewhat with the
major denominations. The relationship between Baptist preachers
and their flocks and Methodist preachers and theirs reportedly was
quite different. The Methodist "saw the members of his Church
not oftener than once in several weeks, and only for a short time
at that. His shad-bellied coat, broad-brimmed hat and solemn
visage, impressed the people more or less with awe." The Baptist,
on the other hand, usually was a farmer of the neighborhood
who traded with his members; "this engendered a familiarity which
if it did not 'breed contempt' frequently led to scenes very un-
becoming a church."9 Ministers of both of these faiths and others
in the area undoubtedly were sincere, however, in their efforts
to serve.

Although Athens did not get a full-fledged church until 1820
and there were many county residents who cared little for religion,
the county churches were active. Methodist, Baptist, and Presby­
terian women joined in 1819 to organize a missionary society.
They assembled at Trail Creek July 13 to form the Female Mite
Society of Athens and Vicinity. Each member was required to pay
annual dues of fifty-two cents and the money was turned over
to the Baptist Foreign Mission Board. This first women's missionary
group included Mrs. Martha J. Cobb, afterward Mrs. Henry Jackson, first directress; Mrs. Martha Jones, second directress; Mrs. Sarah Cole, secretary; and Mrs. Lucy Thornton, treasurer. The members included Mrs. Julia Clayton, Mrs. Catherine Newton, Mrs. Lucy Cary, Mrs. Susan Moore, Mrs. Sarah King, Mrs. Elizabeth Espey, Mrs. Eliza Waddel, and a Mrs. Dougherty, who were Methodist and Presbyterians, and Mrs. Catherine Freeman, Mrs. Sarah R. Cobb, and Miss Serena R. Rootes, who were Baptists.¹⁰

As late as 1831 a vast majority of Georgians, possibly nine-tenths of them, did not belong to any church; but many accepted religious teachings and the progress made in places such as Athens and Clarke County was encouraging. The Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians who helped settle the area and started churches about the time the county was founded were joined at an early date by The Disciples of Christ. Presbyterians started the first church in Athens in 1820. Methodists followed with a city church in the middle 1820s, and Baptists organized their first Athens church in 1830. All grew in subsequent decades, stimulated to some extent by protracted meetings, revivals, and camp meetings. Various groups sponsored the camp meetings which usually started in late summer and continued into October. In 1830 there were thirteen of them announced for the region tributary to Athens, including Salem and other county sites.¹¹ Revivals also were frequently held in the fall, and the spirit engendered in one church often spilled over to help build others. A Methodist revival in late 1838 brought some fifty members into that church and caused a number of persons to join the Baptist and Presbyterian churches also. Growth of the Athens churches is also indicated by the fact that both Presbyterians and Methodists served as hosts to their respective state conventions in the 1830s. Growth outside Athens can be seen also in the organization of new churches, especially those of Baptist and Methodist faiths.¹²

Existing churches continued to expand in the 1840s and 1850s, and Emmanuel Episcopal Church was founded in Athens in 1841. It is not certain how many persons affiliated with the churches, but by 1850 Clarke County had twenty-one churches representing five denominations. They could accommodate 7,500 of the county’s 11,000 residents, and their combined church property was valued at $28,000. The Methodists had ten churches with space for 3,700 persons and property valued at $13,700. The Baptists had seven
churches with room for 2,350 persons and church property valued at $4,650. The Presbyterians had two churches with accommodations for 1,050 persons and church property valued at $5,400, and the Episcopalians had one church with space for 300 persons and church property valued at $5,000. The Disciples of Christ had one church with room for 100 persons and church property valued at fifty dollars.\textsuperscript{13}

Religious activities and properties were further expanded during the final antebellum decade. In July 1853 it was reported that the Sabbath schools were flourishing, and the temperance, Odd Fellows, and Masonic societies were contributing to morality. The editor of the \textit{Southern Banner} wrote that Athens was blessed in no ordinary degree, and "if the Redeemer's Kingdom is not advanced, the fault is to be found in the heart and sensibilities of the hearers—not in the unfaithfulness nor inefficiency of the preachers or teachers, or societies for the promotion of virtue and morality."\textsuperscript{14}

A protracted meeting was reported in May 1855, and perhaps the most significant revival of the antebellum period in Athens took place in 1858. It started in the Methodist church in March, spread to the Baptist church in early April, and to the other churches soon thereafter. The meetings continued until early May in the white churches and for several weeks after that in the Methodist Negro church. More than one hundred finally joined the Negro Methodist congregation, and the numbers added to the white churches were impressive. The Methodists added ninety; Presbyterians, fifty; Baptists, forty-one; and Episcopalians, eleven. The moral atmosphere of the town was improved, and both faculty and students at the university were moved to join the churches. A noon prayer meeting, which continued for a year or more, was started in the law office of W. W. Lumpkin. A non-denominational Bible class also was started in the evenings, and continued for some time. The influence of this revival also was seen in the good attendance reported by Sunday School classes in March 1859. The report showed Methodist, 40 teachers and 220 scholars; Presbyterian, 22 teachers and 150 scholars; Baptist, 7 teachers and 45 scholars; Episcopal, 8 teachers and 35 scholars; Union (Negro), 35 teachers and 250 scholars; and the Methodist Negro Church, 12 teachers and 175 scholars. The Episcopalians tried a night school for factory employees for a time; and another revival of some
consequence, particularly in the Presbyterian and Baptist churches, was held in September 1860.\textsuperscript{15}

Rural churches also continued to be active in the 1840s and 1850s, and at least two new ones were organized. Buena Vista Baptist Church was constituted in December 1858. Forty members of the Athens Baptist Church formed the nucleus of this group which was located near Barrett’s Mill and sometimes referred to as Barrett’s Baptist Church. Princeton Factory Baptist Church was organized in March 1859 as a mission of Athens Baptist Church. Seven members of the Athens church were instrumental in its founding.\textsuperscript{16}

Bible societies, temperance societies, and other organizations also helped spread the message of the churches. The Bible Society of the Western Judicial Circuit was perhaps the best known of such groups. It was originated as the Clarke County Society, then expanded to include the wider area in 1839. This group sought to provide every family in the area with a Bible. The Washington Temperance Society of Athens and the Father Mathew Division No. 34 of the Sons of Temperance were local leaders in the fight against “demon rum.” Students at the university as well as townpeople joined the temperance movement, although some suggested that student participation was due more to a spirit of joining than a spirit of abstaining. An Athens branch of the Young Men’s Christian Association was formed in March 1857 with Young L. G. Harris as president.\textsuperscript{17}

Despite their efforts in behalf of spiritual and community improvement, the churches were at times criticized. One observer reported in July 1831 that persons sitting on the edge of the aisle of a church in which he visited made it difficult for persons to reach the inner seats. He also wrote that a half dozen young bucks dressed in their best were sitting in the places reserved for ladies. At that time it was customary for the men to sit on the right and left of the pulpit and the women to sit in the center section.\textsuperscript{18}

**First Presbyterian Church**

Two University of Georgia presidents were responsible for the founding of the first church in Athens, the First Presbyterian Church. When President Robert Finley arrived in 1817, he attracted about a dozen villagers to a Bible class which later became
the first congregation. When he died his university successor Moses Waddel continued his religious as well as his academic activity. Soon this small group of Presbyterians was large enough to require the use of the university chapel for worship services, and on Christmas Day 1820 they organized the First Presbyterian Church of Athens. Waddel served as supply pastor for about ten years. The new church started with twenty-one members, including John Espy, James Espy, James Nisbet, and Moses W. Dobbins, ruling elders. They met in the university chapel, in Apparatus Hall of the university, and in homes until their first edifice was constructed in 1828. The university trustees in 1827 provided land for this structure, which was erected on the site of what is now the north wing of the Academic Building. The church was dedicated in February 1828. Seven trustees were appointed to take care of the affairs of the church, which was incorporated along with the Methodist church in December 1828. Named as incorporators were James Nesbit, A. Walker, James Jackson, E. L. Newton, John Nesbit, L. A. Erwin, and M. W. Dobbins. They were "appointed to receive and hold the deed to the property furnished by the College in order that it might be returned to the donor and not to the Presbytery in event the Church failed." 19

The Presbyterians did not fail, however, although from the beginning they did experience difficulties. The so-called "Pew Controversy," which concerned President Waddel, was one of the most trying. It originated about the time Waddel left the university and continued until after the Civil War. Some charged that he used his position at the university to push his denomination. Others leveled criticism at the local Presbyterian church. For about six months in 1828 the Athenian carried charges and countercharges, "some accusing the Church of selling pews, mixing sexes, copying the North, and excluding members of other denominations who had helped through contributions to build the church." Waddel's reputation seems secure, however, even if he did push his own church. Besides his service to the university and in the Athens church, he helped organize the Presbyterian Education Society of Georgia and a nondenominational Bible society in North Georgia. He "presided at the organization of a Bible Society which was to be auxiliary to the American Bible Society [not Presbyterian] and which was to place a Bible in every home in north Georgia where there was none." 20
Waddel was succeeded in 1830 by the Reverend Nathan Hoyt, a native of New Hampshire who at the time was pastor of the Presbyterian church in Washington, Georgia. He served until July 1866. One of the highlights of his early ministry in Athens was a four-day revival begun May 12, 1831. It engendered such a strong feeling that it was continued until May 29 by the other denominations. They had prayer meetings and preaching, and about seventy persons professed religion, twenty-four of them from the college. The utmost harmony was reported among the denominations. Another major revival in 1848 met both day and night and was well attended. 

As the size of the congregation increased, the need for a new and larger church building also increased. Since money from pew rents and other normal income sources was not sufficient for this purpose, church suppers and possibly other activities were instituted in the late 1840s. Plans were drawn for a structure fifty-eight by fifty-seven feet with brick walls and a fifty by fifty-six foot basement, but for a time members could not agree on a location. Those living in Cobbham wished to see the new church located closer to them. Those living closer to town preferred a central location. Finally, they agreed on the Hancock Street site where First Presbyterian Church now stands, and in late 1854 building proposals were sought. Concerts and parties were given to raise additional money, and in November 1856 the new building was ready to be dedicated. The cost has been variously estimated at between $10,000, the contract price of Ross Crane, and $25,000, the amount raised for building purposes and which the building committee said was not sufficient. 

The organization of the Athens church was similar to that of most Presbyterian churches but with at least one important modification. The church employed ruling elders from the beginning, and it named trustees for temporal affairs in 1830. When it adopted the Presbyterian Book of Church Order in the late 1850s, the church named deacons for temporal matters but kept the trustees to care for deeds to property given the church by the university. The result was that for many years the elders, deacons, and trustees had duties which somewhat overlapped. The Athens church was affiliated with the general assembly of Presbyterian churches until 1861 when it withdrew along with other Southern churches to form the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America.
This group was later known as the Presbyterian Church in the United States. 22

**First Methodist Church**

Although the Methodists held services in Hull's Meeting House near Athens until the Reverend Hull's death in 1818, they did not start a church in the city itself until 1825. Thomas Hancock, who came to Athens from Jefferson County in 1819, helped revitalize the Methodist movement, which almost perished in the Athens area after Hull's death. Hancock and others organized the town's first Methodist church and constructed the first church building of any denomination in 1825. The question of whether Hancock donated the land for this church has been a topic of discussion for Athens Methodists to the present day. Hancock apparently contracted with the university trustees to buy the lot in question, but whether he donated it to the church or turned it back to the trustees who donated it is not known. Tradition is strong, however, that he did provide the lot and that if it ever were used for anything else it would revert to his heirs. Hancock evidently was a leading member of the congregation, for there is a tablet in the vestibule today which reads, "To the glory of God and in memory of Thomas Hancock." 23

The original First Methodist Church was a frame building about forty feet square. It had space for whites in the middle and a gallery on three sides for Negro members. After a short time it was enlarged by twenty feet on the west end, and it remained thus until the building known as "the Brick Church" was constructed in 1852. The Reverend Thomas Stanley, rector of the Female Academy, was temporarily put in charge of the church when it was first opened in 1825. Dr. Lovick Pierce was named pastor by the Conference in 1826. Membership grew at an encouraging rate, but collections were slow in the early days. At the end of 1826 Doctor Pierce reported, "Membership, Whites 107, Colored 70 and a total collection of $9.41 from Athens and Madison." Doctor Pierce commuted to Athens twice a month from his home in Greensboro. 24

James Merriwether, William Lumpkin, Cicero Holt, Asbury Hull, and Right Rogers were named trustees of the church in December 1828. An act of incorporation empowered them "to
hold in trust for the proper use of the church all property, real and personal, which the church owned or might thereafter acquire.” The church has operated under the trustee plan ever since, “even though as judged by a strict interpretation of the Methodist Discipline, the plan was unmethodistic.” The church was accepted in full fellowship at the beginning, however, and through the years it has been recognized as a key church in Georgia Methodism.

Ignatius Few was assigned to the Athens and Lexington churches in the Athens district of the Methodist church in March 1828, and James O. Andrew became preacher in 1830. At first Andrew commuted twice a month from Greensboro, but in 1831 he moved to Athens and remained there until the Conference transferred him in 1832. He later became famous as the bishop around whom the Methodist Church split into Northern and Southern wings. Under the ministry of the Reverend W. J. Parks a revival was held in 1844-1845 which attracted 163 whites and 97 Negroes to join the church. The increase in Negro membership was so great that the Negro members soon asked for a separate church and pastor. The Reverend John M. Bonnell, a white man, was named to the job. The First Methodist Church resolved in July 1844 that southern delegates to the general conference were right in their move to separate the church over the slavery question, and its members approved of a proposed convention in Louisville the next May to consummate the separation and division.

The Methodists erected a “brick church” in 1852 at a cost of $6,500 to accommodate their many new members, but the revival of the late 1850s soon filled it. The editor of the Southern Banner noted in June 1859 that many persons went away from the Methodist church because there were not enough seats. He urged that the church put camp stools in the aisles. Further steps to increase the capacity of the church probably would have been taken if the community had not been caught in the war.

**ATHENS BAPTIST CHURCH**

Athens Baptist Church was constituted in January 1830 in the old Presbyterian church building by members of Trail Creek Baptist Church and others of the Baptist faith living in Athens. Proposals for erecting a Baptist meeting house were advertised in
April 1829 by a committee including John Cobb, Stephen Borders, Thomas Moore, Stevens Thomas, and John F. Hillyer, but the building apparently was not ready for occupancy when the church was constituted. The first building was a small frame structure located in the corner of the University of Georgia campus formed by the intersection of Lumpkin and Broad Streets. It served until 1858 when a more permanent structure was erected on Washington Street.

Since each Baptist church was then as today a separate entity, members had to draw up their own constitution. The first article outlined their principal beliefs as follows: “We believe that a Christian church is a company of saints who having previously given themselves away to Christ by faith and in the ordinance of baptism, then give themselves to each other by the will of God in a covenant, either expressed or implied, that they will walk together in the discharge of all those duties which the New Testament enjoins on them as a church of Christ.” James Shannon was the first pastor, Stephen Borders the first deacon, and Junius Hillyer the first clerk. Charter members, most of whom came from Trail Creek, were Shannon, Borders, Hillyer, Evelina Shannon, Winfred Callaway, Lucy Thornton, Sarah Cobb, Martha Jones, Rebecca Hillyer, Mary Milledge, Mary Borders, John M. Borders, Martha Jackson, Catherine Freeman, and Bennett Harris. Negroes also were admitted as members in the early days, for a note in the 1831 records states that “colored members had seats reserved for them in the right section of the auditorium for the observance of the Lord’s Supper.”

Athens Baptist Church achieved much despite a fairly rapid turnover in ministers. It is likely that this turnover was due in part to the small salaries allocated. Contributions to missions and to the poor were termed liberal, but those for pastor’s salaries were less generous. Since ministers, too, had to eat, they often had to look elsewhere for their livelihoods. Sometimes they could accomplish this end by holding another job in the community. Sometimes they found it necessary to move on. Among those serving the church were S. G. Hillyer, 1835-1837, 1845; Brother Selman, 1839; A. W. Chambliss, 1840-1841; Albert Williams, 1842; William Richards, 1844; Sylvanus Landrum, 1846-1848; W. T. Brantley, 1849-1857; Patrick Hughes Mell, 1858; and L. R. L. Jennings, 1859-1862. Hillyer was recognized in Baptist affairs as
a superior theologian. Adjudged learned and eloquent, yet humble and amiable, he was a lawyer as well as a preacher, and he later taught at Mercer University. In addition to his ministerial duties, Brantley was a professor of belles lettres at the University of Georgia. He left Athens to become pastor of a large church in Philadelphia. He returned south to Atlanta in 1861, but again went north, this time to Baltimore in 1871. Mell was in Athens less than a year before the Civil War but returned for a longer stay after that conflict. Reportedly, he had a vigorous intellect, was a forceful speaker and a brilliant parliamentarian. He taught both at Mercer and at the University of Georgia and held many high offices in the Georgia and Southern Baptist conventions.

Church discipline was stressed by the Baptists, and drinking was not tolerated. One woman was excluded in 1849 for refusing to explain to the church conference conduct considered disorderly and for censuring the church and failing to heed its admonitions. One brother reported another for intoxication, but when the charge proved groundless, they made up their differences.  

Athens Baptist Church expanded steadily, and a new church structure was required in the 1850s. It was started in 1858 and dedicated in March 1860. Doctor Brantley of Philadelphia returned briefly to preach the initial sermon in the new building, which was the first church in Athens to have gas lights. The Negro members of the Presbyterian church used the old Baptist church building on campus until it was burned in October 1860. The loss, estimated at $380, fell upon Thomas R. R. Cobb and William L. Mitchell, who had purchased it and given it to the Presbyterian church. An Athens Baptist book depository was opened in September 1859 in the store of Talmadge, Stark and Heins.  

EMMANUEL EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Athens got its first Episcopal church in the 1840s. The Episcopalians received a lot from the University of Georgia trustees in 1837 and formed a congregation in 1843. Once formed, the church made steady progress and became a major factor in the town’s religious life. Bishop Stephen Elliott, William Bacon Stevens, and Mrs. Elizabeth Stockton Moore have been credited as being the chief moving forces in the church’s organization. Bishop Elliott was made the first bishop of the Georgia diocese when it
was created in 1841, and he gave aid and encouragement to the Athens movement. Stevens was a medical doctor in Savannah and one of the founders of the Georgia Historical Society before moving to Athens. Mrs. Moore was the wife of Dr. Richard Dudley Moore of Athens.

Tradition suggests that Mrs. Moore gave the first impetus to the Athens church. When she came to town in 1835 as a bride, there was no Episcopal church and few Episcopalians. During the 1830s she organized in her home small gatherings interested in that faith, and these persons formed the nucleus of the church when it was founded. The movement was accelerated after Elliott became bishop. He encouraged Stevens to become a minister, and Stevens became interested in Athens while on a visit in 1842. He met with Mrs. Moore at that time, and they enlisted the aid of the bishop in starting a new church. Stevens was ordained a deacon in February 1843 and soon after was appointed a missionary to Athens. The bishop and Stevens held the first Episcopal services in Athens in March 1843 before a general congregation of the Baptist church. The bishop read the service, and Stevens preached his first Athens sermon.

In April 1843 Deacon Stevens began regular services with a congregation of about fifty persons. A parish was soon organized, a building committee appointed, and in June a church edifice was started on the lot given by the University of Georgia (where Citizens and Southern Bank now stands). Some of the early financial problems were alleviated when Stevens was appointed professor of belles lettres, oratory, and moral philosophy at the university. The church was consecrated by Bishop Elliott on November 19, 1843, as the Emmanuel Church, Athens. The wardens and vestry were incorporated by the legislature in an act approved December 27 of that same year. Named were Richard D. Moore, Fielding Bradford, Woodsey Nichols, Philip Clayton, and Howell Cobb.

Doctor Stevens was ordained as a priest in January 1844, and he continued his service both at the church and at the university during most of the 1840s. He was called to St. Andrew's Church in Philadelphia in 1848, and he later became assistant bishop and then bishop of the diocese of Pennsylvania. He is also remembered for his *History of Georgia*, the first volume of which was published in 1847. Doctor Stevens was succeeded as rector by Thompson L.
Smith, who served from 1848 to 1852. He came at a salary of $650 a year, which the church had some difficulty in raising. The pew rents failed to reach $300 in 1848, and the bishop had to supply the difference.32

Since the Episcopal church had only recently been built, the new members it acquired during the 1850s did not necessitate a new church building. The Episcopalians did build a rectory in the fall of 1855, however, from funds donated by Ephraim M. Baynard, a temporary resident from South Carolina, Doctor Moore, Doctor Camak, and others. J. H. Linebaugh, 1853-1855, and Dr. Matthew H. Henderson, 1856-1872, served in the pulpit during the years immediately preceding the Civil War.33

Disciples of Christ

At some time before 1830 the Disciples of Christ established their first church in Clarke County. It was located near Scull Shoals and was called the Republican Church (later Antioch Church). Dr. D. W. Elder, one of the first Disciples in Georgia, was born in the county and served for many years as an elder of the Republican Church before entering the ministry. He received recognition as a man who had read his Bible through “hundreds of times.” The church held a camp meeting revival in 1832 at which “a large number of converts” was immersed. By 1849 there were approximately fifty members in the church at Antioch, and the Disciples had organized churches with eight members each at Bethel and Princeton Factory. Although these numbers may appear small in comparison with those of the larger denominations, they represent important gains. Clarke County’s standing was such that it was selected as the site of the denomination’s state convention in October 1855.34

Unquestionably, religion was an important influence in antebellum Clarke County. By 1850 there were twenty churches in the county and together they could accommodate two-thirds of the county’s residents. More facilities were added in the 1850s when Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists in Athens all constructed new buildings. Church discipline was stricter then than today and many of those on the church rolls probably sought to practice their religious beliefs as they understood them. Church members sponsored Bible societies, contributed to mission work,
waged an intense campaign against "demon rum," and sought in many ways to help those in need. Unfortunately, neither the churches nor the other institutions of society were able to solve the major social and moral challenge presented by slavery. Fortunately, the churches were able to provide a source of strength and consolation for many persons in the difficult days of war and reconstruction.
How the People Lived

Living conditions in antebellum Athens varied greatly with the period of time being considered and the social status of the individuals being discussed. For the first decade or so after it was founded Athens remained much like other upcountry settlements of that period. After the University of Georgia became stabilized in the 1820s and the cotton mills were developed in the 1830s, the village became a town and the number of refinements increased. Athens became a cultural center, and persons of affluence moved there to be part of it and educate their children. Some within the community also achieved affluence through business, manufacturing, farming, or all three. By the 1850s a few at least could enjoy the rich life so often associated with the old South.

Unfortunately, the wealth of the few was at times supported by the slavery of many. By the 1840s a fairly well-defined class system had evolved with a small group of planters and successful businessmen at the top and half the population living in slavery at the bottom. Clarke County had only a handful of planters in the early nineteenth century and never had more than one hundreded at any time during the antebellum period. The tax books indicate that only about 10 percent of the white persons owned any slaves and only 1 or 2 percent owned a substantial number.

Next to the planters in the class structure came the vast majority of white citizens, whose occupations and incomes varied greatly. The number of businessmen and industrial workers increased in the latter decades, but farming and farm-related activities remained a major factor in the economy. Next came a small number of poor white persons who contributed little to and got little from society. But there were never more than twenty-five to thirty persons on the poor list and frequently they were widows and children or otherwise victims of circumstance and were not unwilling to help themselves. Early Athens had only one professional beggar, and she was a woman of some taste. “She always asked for flour, declining the offer of meal, because cornbread hurt her teeth. Her
taste in sugar was refined, and as to sorghum syrup she wouldn't hear of it."

Most persons worked hard and took pride in what they did. Grand juries at times expressed concern about drinking and fighting and other offenses, including prostitution. But many persons apparently sought to follow the patterns suggested by J. H. Newton, Wilson Lumpkin, or Mrs. Dudley Cary. Newton advised his son that "religion is the brightest jewel in a man's history or character, whatever his class may be, intelligent, accomplished, talented, wealthy," and urged him to see to his responsibilities. Lumpkin lived by the rule that "If you would have friends—you must show yourself friendly to others." He advised his son to "Cultivate a true spirit of sympathy for suffering humanity, wherever it presents itself," and "Say and do as many wise and good things as possible—but leave others to appreciate what you say and do." Mrs. Cary was "gentle, courteous, dignified, cheerful—as kind to one of her slaves as to a white person of the same age. Her parlor, although the walls were of hewn logs, was white and spotless as her cap, and the uncarpeted floor as clean and bright as if the planks had just left the plane."

Between the whites and slaves in the social structure were a few free Negroes. Clarke County never had more than a handful of persons in this group, although one or two of them did quite well in business. Such persons were in a sense displaced in the South; they were free, yet their race caused them to be grouped with the slaves.

At the bottom of the social pyramid were the slaves. They probably were better off in Athens than in some southern communities where insurrections were reported. They were at times subject to harsh punishment including lashing for such crimes as lying, stealing, and cheating. But for practical if not humane reasons they were not often beaten severely; an injured slave could not work. While some slaves perhaps were addicted to lying and cheating as sometimes charged and some undoubtedly did get and drink spirituous liquor as charged, others led more exemplary lives. A number attended the churches in Athens, and some formed at least two Negro churches in the community.

Some social divisions could be noted among the slaves. House servants and artisans had greater status and easier lives than field hands. Those slaves who belonged to the better-known or wealthier
white families enjoyed additional status among their own people. But all were slaves. For the most part they lived on the property of their owners, and they were not permitted to stray far from it, particularly at night. The men worked as drivers, gardeners, valets, artisans, or field hands. The women worked as cooks, laundresses, nurses, seamstresses, or housemaids. Some of the girls occasionally served as footmen. They held the straps like footmen and when the carriages stopped they would assist the riders just as footmen would. The youngsters of both sexes had tasks, also, but many had time for play, sometimes with the children of their white owners.

At times Negroes and whites worked closely together, apparently without difficulty. Many of the whites who owned only a few slaves worked with them in the fields and at other tasks. An English visitor in the 1830s cited the good relationships between whites and Negroes in the factories as proof that color prejudice was less in the South than in the North.

Planters, the white majority, poor whites, free Negroes, and slaves made up the basic class structure, but in the 1830s some in Athens society tended to regard old bachelors as a separate group. On July 4, 1831, these men were toasted as follows: "May their food be thunder and their drink lightning; may their beds be more of thorns, and their pillows of cuckle burs; may every whisper of conscience be like the sting of a scorpion, and every ray of beauty like the blasts of death, until they repent of their evil doings, and bow submissively at the shrine of love." Some of these men were not about to surrender submissively, however, and instead formed the "Independent Bachelors' Club." F. G. Callaway was elected president, and O. P. Shaw was named secretary. Members used language similar to that in the United States Declaration of Independence in drawing up their own, and spoke of King Public Opinion as their tyrant. "He has affected to render the married state independent of, and superior to the unmarried. . . . He has transported us beyond the seas of hope, to be tried and condemned for pretended offenses by superannuated maidens, and disappointed mothers. . . . He has kept among us at all times, standing pests; such as mothers, who make riches the only object in the marriage of their daughters; and daughters who make ambition their guide in the choice of husbands; while merit such as we possess, has been disregarded, and this without our
sanction or consent." The bachelors appealed to the supreme goddess who presided over affairs of love for relief. While affirming their interest in marriage, they decried the actions of calculating mothers and prudent fathers.

How one lived, what he wore, what he ate, and what he did for amusement were, of course, determined to a great extent by his economic status. As time passed the houses, house furnishings, clothing, and other possessions of some persons became more elaborate. Most middle class whites were able to build comfortable houses, and some planters were able to afford great town houses in Athens or plantation manors in the countryside nearby. Most of the larger houses featured the massive columns so often associated with the aristocratic old South. A few Federal-style houses, so popular in earlier American cities, also were constructed. The plantation houses, of course, were accompanied by stables, carriage houses, servant houses, and other buildings necessary to such operations. Many houses in town had two stories, and some three, with several rooms on each floor. The larger houses often included porticoes, pediments, and piazzas, and frequently were surrounded with spacious gardens of boxwoods and other plants.

Most of the houses were heated by huge fireplaces, lighted by candles or kerosene lamps, and furnished with tables, chairs, and beds of birch, walnut, cherry, mahogany, or some other wood. Furnishings became more elaborate in the latter years of the era, especially in the homes of the planters. By the 1850s many were able to sleep in feather beds between cotton or linen sheets, and some were able to obtain cooking stoves and portable gas lamps. The fireplace was important in most houses both for warmth and as a place of companionship. Usually it was equipped with brass andirons, shovels, tongs, and bellows. Often a clock ticked away on a mantle above.

Outside a wide variety of flowers lent their beauty to the owner's domain, whether pretentious or small. Hyacinths, dahlias, lilies, tulips, peonies, narcissus, and imperials of various colors were favorites of the ladies. Nearby, one could often find fruit trees, attractive in themselves, which provided peaches, apples, pears, plums, and other delicacies. Grapes and strawberries were raised by some, and almost everyone had a garden in which to grow corn, potatoes, cabbages, peas, melons, and other vegetables.

Most persons dressed in simple clothes in the early years. After
society became more developed in the late 1820s, a greater variety was worn. By then the people could buy ready-made clothes in Athens or have them made by one of the many tailors who continued to do a flourishing business. Whether for clothes or cloths or other goods, the businessmen periodically visited the North for the latest fashions. By the 1830s men could buy Italian and French silk cravats and velvet or silk vests, as well as their cotton and woolen pants and coats. Women could wear calico, gingham, organdy, cambric, linen, or silk as their finances and the occasion demanded. They could also choose from kid, morocco, leather, sealskin, and other types of shoes, some of which were embellished with tinsel or silk bows. Millinery makers provided a wide variety of straw and cloth hats, and gloves could be obtained for show, to protect the hands, or both. Prices, of course, varied with the item and the year. In 1860 a woman bought a pair of black cotton hose for seventy-five cents, a cashmere scarf for two dollars fifty cents, a robe for eleven dollars, a China silk dress for twelve dollars fifty cents, three hats for seventeen dollars fifty cents, and a cloak for twenty-six dollars. 10

By the 1840s, and perhaps earlier, the ladies had their hair styled by visiting specialists, and from an early date they employed various kinds of perfumery. Bracelets of several kinds were worn as were neck chains, lockets, coronet and filigree ear ornaments, and other jewelry. The ladies sometimes carried bright silk or cotton umbrellas. The men wore rings, breast pins, and various kinds of watches, usually hung from chains on their vests or trousers. Members of both sexes wore spectacles at times, and some members of both sexes occasionally indulged in snuff. 11

Good food was enjoyed by most, although it was not so easily prepared as it is today. Cooking was a major task, even for those with the stoves that became available in the 1840s. But the results were usually worth the effort. The main course generally was beef, pork, mutton, or fowl and in the wealthier homes on important occasions might include all of these. In addition, vegetables and pastries and desserts were prepared. These included many kinds of custards, puddings, and cakes, and in the latter years, ice cream. Peppermint, cinnamon, sassafras, almond, lemon, and other candies were served along with brazilnuts, walnuts, pecans, and other assorted nuts. 12

With such rich eating available, some were sure to overindulge.
When they did they could seek relief with "vegetable life pills" or one of the many patent medicines on the market. The pills cited were recommended by their maker not only for dyspepsia, but also for palpitations of the heart, headache, cholera, fevers, scurvy, and ulcers. There was a patent medicine for almost everything, including rheumatism, gout, incipient cancers, or just plain listlessness. Although these remedies may not have done much to relieve the basic diseases, they probably did wonders for any psychological side effects that were involved. Some persons even had faith in the hair restorers offered, although their enthusiasm may have waned in proportion to the condition of their hair.13

An indulgence about which some Athens ladies became disturbed in the late 1820s was smoking at social occasions and the use of tobacco generally. They sought the extirpation of this "vile and filthy" habit. "Emily" wrote in the Athenian in 1829 that she was empowered to make a treaty with the town's men "to ensure propriety and decorum in female dress and manners, provided they [the men] will only consent to burn their tobacco, cigar, and snuff boxes, and promise to relinquish the use of the plant in any way, and exert themselves to explode it from our society." An unidentified male answered with the suggestion that the men abstain for two hours "before they repair to any of those instructive and entertaining, tete-a-tetes, with the ladies by which the tedium of college life in this far famed town of Athens, is so happily relieved." He said if a man had to smoke that before he approached the hallowed presence of a belle he should "purify himself in an ocean of Rose Water, and let lavender and cologne, cinnamon and musk, let myrrh and frankincense, and all the fragrant powers be invoked to overcome with their odour, tobacco, that tyrant, which so often confines its slaves in a suffocating dungeon." It was also suggested that men abstain from smoking a month after marriage. Since no general agreements were reported in later editions of the newspaper, it is assumed that the people decided to solve this problem on an individual basis.14

The big social events of the early years were college commencement, July Fourth, and militia muster day. Commencements were held outside until the university's first chapel was built in 1808. At the first commencement in 1804 the sheriff inaugurated a custom that since has become a tradition by leading the procession of dignitaries, faculty, and students
from the college to an arbor where the ceremonies were held. There sacred music, orations, and dialogues were presented, and the young scholars received their degrees. The 1806 commencement, typical of the early ones, was described in detail by an early writer. He said it was attended by a crowd of persons, young and old, from town and country, who assembled under a large brush arbor in front of the college structure. They sat on planks and slabs borrowed from a nearby saw mill to watch the festivities. The intelligent portion appreciated the orations, but most looked on in wonder, as though at a great pageant. Although they understood about as much of the Greek and Latin speeches as they did of those delivered in English, they gave their profound attention. The rosy-cheeked country girls in their homespun and calico dresses looked without a shade of envy on the pale and languid faces of the fashionably dressed ladies in their silks and satins. In fact, they regarded them with commiseration as people "who could not milk a cow or cook a dinner to save them from starvation." As for the men in their fine gloves and fancy stockings, "they created the same emotions as a show of wax figures—they were 'mighty fancy but no use.'"

Some of the enthusiasm for commencement dimmed by the late 1820s because there was no longer room enough for all the spectators in the small chapel, and it was too difficult to provide ample facilities outside. This situation was remedied by a new chapel built in the early 1830s. By then commencement day had become commencement week and included sermons, speeches, exhibitions, dances, and other festivities as well as the awarding of diplomas. The commencement festivities one year included a fair sponsored by the ladies of the town and a concert by the Athens Society for the Improvement of Sacred Music. Proceeds from the fair went to aid young men studying for the ministry. Proceeds from the concert, which was attended by about five hundred persons, mostly ladies, were used to help disseminate Bibles. Leading state political figures often came to Athens during commencement week to renew acquaintances and debate the issues of the day. Two of the most famous occasions were the nullification discussion in 1832 and the slavery compromise debate in 1850. The 1840 commencement was made memorable for a much different reason. That year Francis Waldron, a local baker, produced a 250-pound commencement cake which he cut and sold to visitors.
July Fourth was celebrated with equal enthusiasm in the early years. The Declaration of Independence was always read, someone always gave an oration, a dinner or barbecue was held, and numerous toasts were offered. Sometimes the militia units would parade and fire salutes. An elegant ball often was held at the close of the day. By the 1840s enthusiasm had dimmed and the celebrations had become somewhat commonplace. They picked up enthusiasm again in the 1850s, however, possibly because of growing war fever.

Militia muster day was no less exciting for many. Georgia had taken steps to keep its militia active after the Revolutionary War, and by 1807 the laws upon the subject were fairly well codified. All male residents between eighteen and forty-five except preachers were required to attend periodic musters and maneuvers. One such muster was held in February 1809 when the members of the Clarke County regiment were ordered to appear in Watkinsville "with their knapsacks, cartouch boxes, arms, and every other requisite for war" to be organized and inspected. It undoubtedly comforted the people to know that the militia was organized, but muster day came to be dreaded by many because it frequently brought to town "all the rowdies and rough characters of an unpolished age . . . to fight, gouge, and get drunk." The enthusiasm for the militia waned as Athens and Clarke County grew more sophisticated, but was quickly renewed in time of crisis.

Washington's birthday also was included among the celebration days, and by the 1850s May Day and Thanksgiving were observed with appropriate ceremonies. The May Day festivals frequently were held at the girls' schools, and sometimes the militia and fire companies joined in the fun. Thanksgiving was observed in a quieter way, principally in the churches. Court days were, of course, major events in Watkinsville where the county government was a major activity. In the early days picking cotton and building houses were causes for celebration. One writer noted that plenty of good eating followed a cotton picking, "and if a Negro fiddler could be found the day's frolic would often wind up with a dance . . . . Similar customs prevailed at log-rollings, house-raisings and wheat-harvest, where men were weak-handed and needed each other's help, which was always cheerfully given."

Singing, dancing, and horse racing also were enjoyed at an early date. By May 1809 a dancing academy had been opened in
Athens, and in June of 1809 a singing school was organized. Residents attended races in Oglethorpe County at first and after the formation of the Fairfield Jockey Club in 1831 in their own county. Racing later was outlawed in the state. The most frequently enjoyed social activity of the early years, however, was the simple evening party. This was nothing more than visits by young gentlemen to the homes of young ladies. They would make their calls soon after sunset, and they were expected to depart by nine o'clock.23

As the years passed and the population increased, the number of social and educational activities also increased. Included were concerts, theater performances, circuses, lectures, and various other diversions. Visits to the botanical garden developed by the University of Georgia on Broad Street in Athens and to Helicon Springs a few miles away no doubt were enjoyed by many. The garden "was beautifully laid off, with a pretty lake and walks along the branch and many kinds of trees and shrubs and flowers."24 It was a favorite resort of the ladies and children. Helicon Springs was a mineral springs about four miles from Athens. A large hotel was constructed there, and an "omnibus" or wagon with a capacity of fourteen or fifteen persons provided daily transportation.25

Concerts were enjoyed by many persons, although the music did not always command the entire attention of those present. The editor of the Southern Banner reported in March 1834 that at one concert the "clattering of tongues and unceasing senseless giggles at times filled the room." He expressed the belief that "such conduct, too prevalent in the public audience of this place, arises more from thoughtlessness than want of a correct knowledge of propriety, and hence it is the more unpardonable."26 Various ballad singers, pianists, violinists, and bands could be heard. Prices ranged from fifty cents to a dollar a person. A band of ten Negro boys that was formed in the fall of 1858 may have given some local concerts and almost certainly enlivened some of the local parties.27

Stage shows were being performed by the early 1830s when Athenians were able to see traveling companies present such works as "The Honey Moon" (or How to Rule a Wife) and "Strangers" (or Misanthropy and Repentance). The Aeolian Minstrels appeared in Athens in February 1849, and similar groups appeared in the 1850s. The Juliens sought to boost their attendance by
giving a silver goblet to the man who escorted the most ladies to their show. The Aeolians emphasized that theirs were “chaste entertainments”; and the Olio group advertised “fun without vulgarity.” The cost usually was fifty cents for adults and twenty-five cents for children.28

Performances apparently were held in hotels and boarding houses in the early decades and in the town hall after it was constructed in the late 1840s. Besides its ground floor market flanked by jail rooms, the town hall had an auditorium which was located on the second floor. In this auditorium there was a platform ten by fifteen feet which elevated the actors above the audience. A calico curtain hid the stage from view until the performance began, and another curtain in one corner afforded some privacy in which the actors could don their costumes. Oil lamps were used along the sides of the room, and a row of candles served as footlights. When those in the audience were not captivated by the performance, they sometimes entertained themselves. Such activity became so enthusiastic that the town council resolved in March 1855 to have six men help the marshals keep order at exhibitions, concerts, and other performances in the town hall.29

The circuses, which came to Athens as early as the 1820s, gave local persons more opportunity for boisterous expression. At least one appeared almost every year, although the month of the visits varied considerably. During a visit local children and adults were able to see first hand many animals of which they had read in school or heard of from others. Rhinoceroses, elephants, lions, tigers, leopards, cougars, panthers, ocelots, pelicans, macaws, bears, wolves, and monkeys all were included in the Odgen’s Menagerie, and other groups brought similar collections. Some circuses emphasized their animals, some their gymnasts, others their equestrians. To offset possible opposition from the churches, all emphasized that there was nothing immoral about them. In the years just before the Civil War there was a greater emphasis on southern circuses; yet a New York group visited Athens as late as 1859.30

Many public lectures also were given in Athens, some by persons from distant cities. Topics were many and varied including such things as phrenology, mesmerism, elocution, astronomy, diseases, poetry, and the poetry of the Bible. Most were given notice in the local newspapers, although one talk by a woman’s rights speaker in February 1857 was passed over. The speaker advertised
that she did not want any political editors in attendance. They replied that they would not have gone anyway. Persons from the University of Georgia delivered many lectures in the community.31

Many of the lecturers were sponsored by one or more of the literary clubs, debating societies, and similar organizations founded there. Such societies were organized at an early date and remained active throughout the antebellum period. The Watkinsville Literary Society was active as early as 1814, and similar groups probably were organized in Athens even earlier. Certainly, the Demosthenian Literary Society, begun in 1803, and the Phi Kappa Literary Society, begun in 1820, at the University of Georgia provided an outlet for such expression.

An “Athenian Club” was in operation by 1828, and several other societies were organized by the 1830s. The Athenian Club constitution provided for four groups, each of which presented a composition at meetings of the organization. The “Polemic Club,” or “Citizens’ Polemic Club,” discussed such issues as “Are political associations beneficial or injurious?” And the Athens Independent Lyceum or Athens Lyceum listened to lectures on topics from “Should females be classically educated?” to meteorology.32

One of the best-known groups in Athens was the Mechanics Mutual Aid Association, which was formed to foster mutual improvement of workers. It met once a month for discussions of topics other than politics and religion. This organization, which emphasized that it was not formed in an attempt to regulate prices of work, discussed in 1836 such questions as “Ought capital punishment be abolished?” “Ought imprisonment for debt to be abolished?” “Does labor-saving machinery tend to promote the happiness and prosperity of mankind?” The Mechanics were incorporated in December 1837 with Right Rogers, John R. Cozby, John Reynolds, A. Brydie, and Samuel Frost as trustees. Their constitution, published in 1838, indicated that the group hoped to help widows of members, visit the sick, help settle disputes, and when they had enough money, to start a school. By 1844 members had opened a reading room in their hall over Doctor Alexander’s drug store and offered non-members an opportunity to subscribe. They made available newspapers and periodicals from all over the United States.33

Buckingham, the English observer, reported on his attendance at a meeting of one of the debating societies. He said the group
met over the post office in a spacious room which also served as a reading room and which held many newspapers. The session lasted from three o'clock to seven o'clock, and the group debated the question "Ought the State to have the right to educate the children of its citizens?" Buckingham spoke favorably of the members, but noted one unfortunate occurrence: "The floor was of newly-planed pine-wood, without mat or carpet, and it was covered with saliva and tobacco juice, from the chewers of the club, for whom no spitting-boxes appeared to have been provided, and, therefore, every minute at least, some member was seen and heard to project his contribution to the floor, which was spotted over like the leopard's skin." 34

Sometimes funerals were cause for public gatherings. In 1830 the people assembled in large numbers to pay their last respects to Judge Augustin S. Clayton. The funeral was held in the forenoon on Sunday in the University of Georgia chapel, and all three churches suspended their regular services so that their members might attend. The lower floor was used by the whites, with the women in the center and the men on both sides, as was customary. The galleries were reserved for Negroes, with men on one side and women on the other. All the town's clergymen sat on the platform. "The coffin was made of oak, and quite plain, there being neither handles, escutcheon, gilt or silver nails, covering or pall of any description, but everything was characterized by the extremest simplicity." The Methodist preacher gave an affectionate sermon, and the Presbyterian preacher commented further about Clayton. He said Clayton was one of the few unbelievers that he had ever seen converted so late (about fifty-five) in life. He also used the occasion to assert that there were many in the audience whose Christianity was not deep-seated. 35 Most funerals drew less attention, although funeral cards or invitations were at times sent out, some with a black ribbon attached. 36

Aside from funerals and town meetings, most social gatherings were designed for fun and celebration. In 1847 many persons turned out to cheer the American victories against the Mexicans at Buena Vista and Vera Cruz. On the latter occasion all the houses on Front Street and College Avenue in the business district were illuminated and a band provided music. Later an exhibition of the battles and other events of the war was displayed in Athens. 37

Even better remembered perhaps by those in attendance than
the public performances and gatherings, were the parties held in individual's homes. Those at the houses of the affluent were particularly memorable. Buckingham was impressed by one of these parties given by University of Georgia President Alonzo Church for some students and faculty. Buckingham said it was an elegant and highly intelligent party attended by about two hundred persons who remained together from eight P.M. until midnight. The young ladies, ranging in age between fifteen and twenty, particularly impressed him with their small delicate figures and fair complexions. He noted that the style of beauty was like that of Charleston, Savannah, and New Orleans. It was not so stiff and formal as at the North, but quiet and less showy. Many of the girls were dressed in white muslin; some accented their gowns with pearls, white ribbons, and delicate flowers. In spite of their youth the ladies were resourceful in conversation and more frank, cordial, and warm than their counterparts in the North. Buckingham was amused, however, by the way in which they and other Athenians pronounced certain words. “Prepared” generally was pronounced “preparred,” the last syllable sounding like “tarred,” and the word “where” often was sounded like “wharr,” in rhyme with “far” or “star.” He also noted that if a person were in a boat he was “riding on the water,” or if it were advisable for one to be courteous or attentive, he was told, “Now do your prettiest.” The girls evidently did their “prettiest,” for Buckingham expressed doubt that any town in England or France of similar population “could furnish a party of 200, among whom should be seen so much feminine beauty, so much general intelligence, or so much ease, frankness, and even elegance of manners.” He did have some critical comments about other Athens parties, however, where the single persons outnumbered the married by about twenty to one. He said that young married persons, the wives at least, frequently were too busy to attend, and that at most parties the married men came alone and talked politics.38

There were, of course, many persons in Athens and Clarke County who were not financially able to attend or give fine balls or parties. Only the top level of society, the planters, manufacturers, and leading businessmen, could afford the expense. On the other hand, few persons in the county were really poor, except the slaves; most whites were able to live in some security if not elegance. Most persons resided in solid wooden houses with flower
and vegetable gardens around them. They ate good food, wore good though perhaps plain clothes, and enjoyed some luxuries such as perfume and jewelry. Some owned horses to ride or pull their carriages and mules or other animals to pull their plows and perform other tasks. By 1860 some persons had stoves, gas lights, and other conveniences to make life easier, and many could enjoy concerts, lectures, plays, circuses, dances, and other special occasions. Because of their servitude, the slaves could scarcely aspire to many luxuries or enjoyments; but most of the whites at least had opportunities for advancement. A few had reason to believe they had found the good life.
Notes

CHAPTER I

1. It is generally accepted that the county is named for the Revolutionary War general Elijah Clarke, but there is some question as to whether he spelled his name "Clark," "Clarke," or both. Since his name appears both ways in early documents, he may have spelled it both ways. Louise Frederick Hays, *Hero of Hornet’s Nest: A Biography of Elijah Clark* (New York, 1946) spells his name without the “e,” but the county now uses it. For the sake of consistency, it will be used here.

2. This information was obtained in an interview with Dr. Arthur R. Kelly of the University of Georgia anthropology department. The largest archaeological collection from this area is the E. B. Mell Collection, gathered by the Athens educator. About half of Mell's materials come from known, documented sites. Others are catalogued by counties, including Clarke. Dr. Kelly and his staff have made significant finds at six or seven main sites near Athens. One of the largest was on Sandy Creek three miles north of Athens. Others were on the University of Georgia farm near Athens and the Watl-O-Sax farm near Watkinsville. Large collections owned by Dr. Merritt Pound and Dr. John Hunnicutt and his sons, John and Pemberton, duplicate many of the site materials in the Mell Collection. Dr. Kelly said the one important local site of Indian-white contact in the mid-eighteenth century is the trading post known as Cherokee Corner. This presumably was located near the Lexington road east of Athens.


4. Ibid., p. 15.


8. Ibid., p. 15; Mooney, “Myths of the Cherokee,” in *19th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 60; Royce, “The Cherokee Nation of Indians,” in *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, p. 151; William Bacon Stevens, *A History of Georgia* (New York, 1847, 1859), 2:415-416; Stella Mary Pruett, “Troup and the Georgia-Creek Controversy” (unpublished master's thesis, University of Georgia, 1941), p. 5. According to Stevens, the treaty with the Cherokees, which came in May and preceded the one with the Creeks by about six months, was the result of depredations by Tories and Indians on the white settlements in Georgia and South Carolina. He reported that in the fall of 1782 General Andrew Pickens of South Carolina and General Elijah Clarke of Georgia and about four hundred men invaded Indian territory, stopped the raiders, and forced the Indians to sign an agreement ceding the land from the Tugaloo to the Upper Oconee region. Stevens said the generals were able to get the Indians to meet with Georgia commissioners to make it official in May 1783.

10. The effect of the university's establishment in the backwoods area can be seen as early as 1802 when an Augusta visitor wrote of the Athens celebration of July 4: "In the evening there was a brilliant assembly at which were present nearly thirty ladies who in their dress and manners would not have disgraced the assemblies in our capitals" (*Augusta Chronicle*, August 7, 1802).


12. The senatus academicus was composed of a board of visitors including the governor, the state's executive council, the speaker of the house, the chief justice, and a self-perpetuating board of trustees that was to make laws for the university and appoint its president. Included on the first board were John Houston, James Habersham, William Few, Joseph Clay, Abraham Baldwin, William Houston, Nathan Brownson, John Habersham, Abiel Holmes, Jenkin Davies, Hugh Lawson, William Glascock, and Benjamin Taliaferro.


14. The act cited in Watkins and Watkins, *Laws of Georgia*, p. 575, provided that "the line dividing the said county of Jackson from the county of Franklin shall begin on the south fork of Broad river at the place where it intersects the counties of Oglethorpe and Elbert, from thence it shall run up to the head or source of the middle fork, it being the main stream; from thence forty-five degrees west to the main ridge which divides the waters of Broad river from the waters of the Oconee; thence along the said ridge to the temporary or western line of Franklin county; and all that part of Franklin county lying and being southwardly of the aforesaid line, shall be included and comprehended in the county of Jackson" (approved February 11, 1796).


16. Ibid., p. 20.


18. Ibid., p. 26. The trustees' action apparently was the result of a change in personnel. The original charter of the university authorized the trustees to fill vacancies on the board, but so many occurred during the inactive years between 1785 and 1799 that the number fell to six, fewer than a legal majority to act. The minority group filled the board, but when they reported their action to the legislature that body was afraid some legal question might arise in the future, and in December 1800 it reappointed the trustees and directed that the seat of the university be in one of these counties: Jackson, Franklin, Hancock, Greene, Oglethorpe, Wilkes, or Warren (see *Augusta Chronicle*, June 20, 1801, and Marbury and Crawford, *Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia, 1755-1800*, p. 563). Trustees named included Abraham Baldwin, Hugh Lawson, Benjamin Taliaferro, Joseph Clay, Jr., James Jackson, John Twiggs, John Clarke of Wilkes, the Reverend Robert M. Cunningham, John Milledge, Josiah Tatnall, Jr., Ferdinand O'Neal, John Steward, and James M'Neil.

19. Ibid., pp. 22-23. Meigs apparently accepted the job as professor with the understanding that if Baldwin resigned he would become president. (William M. Meigs, *Life of Josiah Meigs*, Philadelphia, 1887, pp. 11, 16); he probably left his teaching position at Yale because of political differences with Federalist-
minded Theodore and Timothy Dwight (Ibid., pp. 42-43). His salary was set at fifteen hundred dollars a year and he was allowed four hundred dollars for moving to Georgia (Trustee Minutes, 1786-1842, p. 30).


21. Some question as to where this committee met was raised in connection with the restoration of the Eagle Tavern in Watkinsville. Some say this tavern was formerly known as Billups' Tavern and was the place where the committee met; others say no. According to an item in the Augusta Chronicle, June 20, 1801, the committee was "to meet at Billups's tavern, the lower end of Jackson county, on the 29th instant, to select the site of the university; and immediately thereafter to contract for the building." It is not certain, however, if they met on that day or in that place. There is no record in the Jackson County Inferior Court Minutes of a license being issued for a Billups's Tavern near what is now Watkinsville. But since these records are apparently incomplete, this is not conclusive proof that such a tavern did not exist. The story that the committee met at a tavern in Watkinsville must be rejected, however, since Watkinsville was not in existence as such at this time. There apparently was a community there known as Big Creek and there may have been a tavern, but it seems more likely that the committee met elsewhere. Augustus L. Hull in his A Historical Sketch of the University of Georgia (Atlanta, 1894), p. 11, stated that they met at a Billups's Tavern on the Lexington Road to inspect various localities, and this seems more likely since the committee probably was traveling toward what is now Athens from Louisville which was then the state capital. Dr. E. Merton Coulter in his College Life in the Old South, p. 9, suggests simply that they met in the "last tavern on the edge of white lands."

23. Ibid., August 1, 1801.
24. Ibid., July 25, September 5, 1801.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid., August 1, 1801.
27. Ibid., July 25, 1801.
29. Charles Strahan, Clarke County, Ga., and the City of Athens. . . (Athens, 1893), p. 9.
31. Ibid., pp. 36, 672.
32. Deed book "B" of Clarke County (January 1, 1802). Watkinsville was named for Robert Watkins of Augusta, who with his brother George compiled one of the early digests of Georgia laws. Watkins may not have received a college education or enjoyed the benefits of a systematic study of law, but reportedly he was "eminently distinguished by genius and a high order of eloquence." See Stephen F. Miller, The Bench and Bar of Georgia . . . (Philadelphia, 1858), 1:345.
33. Deed Book "B" of Clarke County, p. 59 (January 1, 1802).
34. Clayton, Laws, 1800-1810, pp. 38-40 (approved December 5, 1801); Watkins, Laws of the State of Georgia, 1755-1799, pp. 39-40 (Constitution of 1798). The non-judicial powers of the inferior courts were many and varied. They were given the authority to erect and maintain a courthouse and jail, lay out and maintain public roads, supervise the care of the poor, nominate justices of the peace, elect tax receivers and tax collectors, establish and set rates for ferries, issue licenses for taverns, liquor stores and billiard tables,
appoint flour inspectors, and dispose of estrays. Inferior court justices were authorized to collect taxes subject to legislative limitations, and they were required to levy annually a tax to pay the fees of sheriffs, jailers, and coroners not otherwise provided for. This court also was vested with the power of a court of ordinary or register of probates and its clerk in addition to keeping various court records was authorized to grant marriage licenses. Judicially the inferior court had jurisdiction of all civil cases except those involving titles to land. (See Watkins and Watkins, *Laws of Georgia, 1735-1799*, p. 443 (approved December 23, 1791); pp. 595-596 (approved February 21, 1796); p. 614 (approved February 22, 1796); p. 499 (approved December 20, 1792); p. 662 (approved February 13, 1797); Clayton, *Laws, 1800-1810*, pp. 6-10 (approved November 30, 1801); p. 28 (approved December 5, 1801); p. 35 (approved December 5, 1801). Clarke County Inferior Court Minutes, 1802-1810, pp. 1-10.


39. Clarke County Tax Digest, 1802; *Georgia Express*, March 18, 1809.

40. Clarke County Tax Digests, 1802-1805.


42. Meigs, *Life of Josiah Meigs*, pp. 45, 48, 49; Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, p. 18; *Augusta Chronicle*, April 7, 1804.

43. *Georgia Laws, 1803* (Louisville, 1804); p. 142 (approved December 10, 1803); Trustee Minutes, 1786-1817, pp. 46, 47, 77, 81, 90, 91; *Augusta Chronicle*, January 29, February 26, 1803; Augustus Longstreet Hull, *Sketches of Athens, Georgia, From 1830 to 1865* (Athens, 1893), p. 4.

44. Trustee Minutes 1786-1817, p. 60; *Augusta Chronicle*, February 1, 1806; Hull, *Sketches of Athens*, p. 4.


46. Ibid., pp. 305-306 (approved November 24, 1806).

47. Ibid., p. 318 (approved December 8, 1806); Superior Court Minutes, 1801-1808, pp. 28, 32, 44.


49. *Augusta Chronicle*, February 1, 1806.

50. Ibid., July 2, December 31, 1803.

51. *Georgia Express*, August 6, and December 24, 1808; May 13, 27, 1809; April 17, 1812; *Foreign Correspondent and Georgia Express*, September 9, 1809; January 20, May 26, June 16, December 8, 1810; Hull, *Sketches of Athens*, p. 38; Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, pp. 62, 125-126.
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52. Georgia Express, December 24, 1808.
53. Clarke County Tax Digest, 1807.
54. Georgia Express, March 25, 1809; January 22, 1813; H. J. Rowe, publisher, History of Athens and Clarke County, Georgia (Athens, 1923), p. 108; Augustus Longstreet Hull, ed., Sketches From the Early History of Athens, Georgia, 1801-1825 By Doctor Henry Hull (Athens, 1884), pp. 4-9; Athens Gazette, August 14, 1814.
55. Tax Digests of Clarke County, 1802-1810; Georgia Express, March 18, 1809; Meigs, Life of Josiah Meigs, p. 46.
56. Deed Book “A” of Clarke County, pp. 7-8 (January 29, 1802), and pp. 13-14 (February 9, 1802); Deed Book “F” of Clarke County, July 17, 1809.
57. Foreign Correspondent and Georgia Express, September 29, 1810.
58. Superior Court Minutes, 1808-1811, March, 1809.
59. Clarke County Tax Digests, 1810-1814.
60. Hull, ed., Sketches from the Early History of Athens, pp. 9-10; Coulter, College Life in the Old South, pp. 23-31, 219; Lucius Q. C. Lamar, A Compilation of the Laws . . . 1810-1819 (Augusta, 1821), pp. 1058-1059 (approved December 16, 1815); Georgia Laws, 1821 (Milledgeville, 1821), pp. 69-70 (approved December 21, 1821); Athens Gazette, February 6, 1817.
62. Georgia Express, September 11, October 2, 16, 1812.
64. Coulter, College Life in the Old South, p. 35.
65. Athens Gazette, March 17, August 4, 1814; May 4, August 31, 1815.
67. Athens Gazette, February 1, 1816.
68. Superior Court Minutes, 1813-1817, September, 1816, Grand Jury Presentments.
69. Lamar, A Compilation of the Laws, 1810-1819, p. 1016 (approved December 14, 1815) and pp. 1017-1018 (approved December 19, 1816).
70. Ibid., pp. 1045-1046 (approved November 24, 1818); Adiel Sherwood, Gazetteer of the State of Georgia (Charleston, 1827), p. 94.
71. Clarke County Tax Digests, 1819-1829.
72. Book I, Census for 1820, p. 28.
75. Superior Court Minutes, 1817-1820, September, 1819; Ibid., 1825-1827, October, 1825.
76. Inferior Court Minutes, 1817-1826, February, 1818.
77. Superior Court Minutes, 1825-1827, August, 1826.
78. Clarke County Tax Digests, 1802-1814, 1819-1835.
82. For a more detailed description of the development of churches in Clarke County, please see Chapter viii.
83. Georgia Laws, 1822 (Milledgeville, 1822), pp. 128-129 (approved Decem-
ber 2, 1822); Georgia Laws, 1831 (Milledgeville, 1832), pp. 242-243 (approved December 26, 1831), and p. 127 (approved December 26, 1831).
84. Georgia Laws, 1822 (Milledgeville, 1822), 129-131 (approved December 6, 1822).
85. Inferior Court Minutes, 1817-1826, 1826-1831.
86. Ibid., 1810-1817, 1817-1826.
87. Ibid., 1810-1817, June, 1815; Ibid., 1817-1826, June, 1819; January, 1821.
88. Sherwood, Gazetteer of the State of Georgia, p. 112.
89. Georgia Laws, Extra Session, 1821 (Milledgeville, 1821), p. 24 (approved May 16, 1821); Georgia Laws, 1830 (Milledgeville, 1831), pp. 204-205 (approved November 24, 1830).
90. Sherwood, Gazetteer of the State of Georgia, p. 94.
91. Will Book “A” of Clarke County, p. 116; Banner-Watchman, October 24, 1882; Atlanta Journal, December 9, 1928; Superior Court Minutes, 1820-1822, October, 1920.

CHAPTER II

1. U.S. Treasury Department, A Statement of the Arts and Manufactures of the United States of America for the Year 1810: Digested and Prepared by Tench Coxe (Philadelphia, 1814), pp. 148-151. The $77,950 worth of such goods produced was an impressive achievement for a county not then ten years old. Clarke County produced $5,272.05 worth of blended and unnamed cloths and stuffs to rank sixteenth in the state in their production and $2,383 worth of flaxes and mixed goods to rank first among the six Georgia counties that produced them.
5. Southern Banner, September 28, 1833; September 6, 20, 1834; March 26, November 5, 1835; August 12, November 12, 1857; December 9, 1858; Southern Watchman, November 12, 1857; January 28, December 16, 1858; Tax Digest of Clarke County, 1850; Hull, Annals of Athens, pp. 101-102.

10. Dan Magill, “How Georgia’s First Railroad Was Built,” in the *Atlanta Journal Magazine*, February 14, 1926. Mr. Magill credited James A. Camak, a descendant of the road’s first president, James Camak, as the source of his information.


12. Ibid., June 15, 29, July 6, 27, August 10, 24, and September 14, 1833; Magill, “How Georgia’s First Railroad Was Built,” in the *Atlanta Journal Magazine*, February 14, 1926.

13. *Southern Banner*, December 14, 1833; *Georgia Laws*, 1833 (Milledgeville, 1834), pp. 256-268 (approved December 21, 1833). The charter provided that fifteen thousand shares of stock be issued at one hundred dollars a share and that a president and twelve directors be elected yearly to head the company. It stipulated that charges be fifty cents a hundred pounds on heavy articles and ten cents a cubic foot on articles of measurement for every one hundred miles, and passengers be charged not more than five cents a mile. The charter further stated that the road not be taxed for seven years, and after that it not be taxed more than one-half of one per cent of its net proceeds each year.


15. *Georgia Laws*, 1835 (Milledgeville, 1836), pp. 180-181 (approved December 18, 1835); *Southern Banner*, January 7, 14, 1836.


17. Ibid., May 26, July 30, 1836; February 4, 1837.

18. Ibid., May 20, November 18, December 16, 20, 1837.

19. Ibid., May 19, October 27, 1838; May 31, 1839.

20. Ibid., February 7, 1832; July 21, 1834; July 9, 1835; May 24, 1839; April 9, 1841; Buckingham, *The Slave States of America*, p. 53.


23. *Southern Banner*, September 23, 1842; March 31, 1843; November 21, 1844; June 9, 1846; February 17, 1848; Phillips in his *A History of Transportation in the Eastern Cotton Belt to 1860* asserted, however, that Georgia Railroad stockholders were disappointed in the Athens branch. He said that the Athens line was valuable chiefly as a feeder of the main line. p. 248.

24. *Southern Banner*, January 11, February 1, May 10, 1834; March 26, 1835; March 31, 1836; *Georgia Laws*, 1835 (Milledgeville, 1836), pp. 190-200 (approved December 22, 1835).


26. *Southern Banner*, March 23, November 23, December 21, 1833; May 13, September 10, December 31, 1835; October 29, 1836; March 21, 1838; April 3, December 25, 1840; July 30, 1841; December 30, 1842; August 1, 1844; January 5, 12, July 6, 1847; Buckingham, *The Slave States of America*, pp. 128-129.
Thomas Hancock who ran the Planter's and the Hancock Hotels at various times, William L. Mitchell who operated the Mitchell and the Franklin House, John Jackson who ran the Central, and E. L. Newton who owned the Newton House were among the better known hotel proprietors of the period.

27. Southern Banner, May 17, 1834; May 20, 1835; January 21, June 2, 1836; December 28, 1839; May 8, 1840; July 2, 1841; July 13, 1843; February 20, July 3, 1845; Georgia Express, August 6, 1808; Hull, ed., Sketches from the Early History of Athens, pp. 6-9. Jackson sold the hotel at Helicon Springs to Thomas Hancock in December 1839, and Hancock and perhaps others operated it after that.

28. Southern Banner, February 23, June 15, July 13, November 9, 1830; May 10, June 14, October 18, 1831; April 27, June 22, December 21, 1833; March 1, May 3, August 30, September 13, 1834; February 12, June 25, December 24, 1835; January 7, 21, March 3, May 26, June 9, 1836; May 27, October 14, 1837; January 13, February 10, May 3, December 29, 1838; November 30, December 28, 1839; January 18, 25, February 8, April 3, July 24, 31, 1840; January 1, 8, 22, February 12, March 5, April 9, May 28, June 18, July 31, October 9, November 19, December 31, 1841; March 25, April 29, November 4, December 30, 1842; April 21, May 12, 1843; January 18, March 7, May 23, June 6, August 8, November 28, 1844; March 27, August 14, September 18, October 2, 1845. For more information about local businesses, see Appendix I.

29. See Tax Digests of Clarke County and Appendix I.

30. Compendium... of the Sixth Census of the United States, 1850, p. 366.

31. Southern Banner, July 19, 26, 1834; September 6, 1839; December 14, 1843; February 27, 1845; Georgia Laws, 1840 (Milledgeville, 1841), pp. 99-100 (approved December 23, 1840); Ibid., 1842 (Milledgeville, 1843), pp. 96-97 (approved December 23, 1842).


33. Tax Digests of Clarke County, 1830ff.

34. Ibid.; Compendium... of the Sixth Census, p. 51.

35. Southern Banner, July 19, 1834; September 17, 1835; October 28, 1837; September 6, 1839; August 17, October 5, 1842; March 31, 1846; July 17, September 30, 1847; May 15, 1851.


37. Ibid., pp. 246-247.

38. Hull, Annals of Athens, p. 121; Southern Banner, October 25, 1834; October 15, 1835; October 15, 1836; October 7, 1837; October 6, 1838; October 12, 1839; October 8, 1841.


40. Augusta Chronicle, July 28, 1804; Superior Court Minutes, 1801-1808, March, 1803; March, 1807; March, 1808; Ibid., 1808-1811, September, 1810; March, 1811; Inferior Court Minutes, 1817-1826, August, 1819; January, 1822; March, 1823; Ibid., 1826-1831, May, September, 1826; July, 1827; February, 1829; January, 1831.

41. Superior Court Minutes, 1813-1817, July, 1813; Ibid., 1834-1839, August 1839; Ibid., 1844-1847, August, 1845; Inferior Court Minutes, 1817-1826, January, 1819; January, 1820; January, 1821; January, July, 1822; January, July, 1823; September, 1825; Ibid., 1831-1839, June, 1834; Ibid., 1846-1852, March, 1847;
December, 1848; August, 1849; *Southern Banner*, June 22, 1833; September 8, 1846; March 23, 1847.

42. *Augusta Chronicle*, June 25, 1803; *Georgia Republican and State Intelligencer*, January 13, 1804; *Athenian*, January 4, May 9, 1828; June 30, 1829; April 12, May 31, July 26, October 11, 1831.

43. Superior Court Minutes, 1801-1808, March, September, 1803; September, 1805; March, 1807; Ibid., 1820-1822, April, 1821; Ibid., 1834-1839, August, 1836; February, 1838; February, 1839; Ibid. 1842-1844, February, 1843; Ibid., 1844-1847, August, 1844; August, 1846; February, August, 1847; Inferior Court Minutes, 1810-1817, June, 1810; June, 1812; January, June, 1813; January, 1814; Ibid., 1817-1826, July, 1820; June, 1821; June, 1826; Ibid, 1831-1839, February, 1836; January, 1837; January, 1838; Ibid., 1839-1846, October, 1840; January, 1841; January, 1842; March, 1846; *Southern Banner*, March 24, 1838; *Georgia Laws*, 1834, pp. 38-39 (approved December 22, 1834).

44. Superior Court Minutes, 1827-1829, February, 1829; *Athenian*, March 3, 1829.

45. Superior Court Minutes, 1834-1839, August, 1839; Ibid., 1844-1847, February, August, 1844; February, August, 1845; February, August, 1846; February, 1847.

46. *Southern Banner*, February 18, May 17, 26, July 23, 1836. Officers elected included Joseph Ligon, captain; William E. Jones, first lieutenant; Burton Hicks, second lieutenant; E. B. Harvey, ensign; Thomas Cooper, first sergeant; John W. Hay, second sergeant; William D. Mimms, third sergeant, and Thomas M. Grigsby, fourth sergeant.

47. Ibid., May 5, June 9, July 21, 1838; March 30, 1839.

48. Ibid., July 13, 1843; August 14, October 9, 1845; January 12, 1847; August 3, 1848; Hull, ed., *Sketches from the Early History of Athens*, p. 13.


CHAPTER III

1. Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, January 9, 13, February 3, 20, 27, May 31, 1847; March 18, 1848; March 27, June 13, July 4, 1849; *Southern Banner*, October 9, 1845; February 23, March 9, 1847. The town hall apparently was located in the middle of what is now Washington Street between College Avenue and Lumpkin Street.

2. *Southern Banner*, March 2, 1848; September 24, 1857; June 2, 1859; Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, September 7, 1857; April 2, May 21, 1859; Ibid., 1860-1877, January 9, 1860; October 3, 1861; *Georgia Laws*, 1861 (Milledgeville, 1862), p. 89 (approved December 17, 1861).

3. Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, March 6, 1847; March 18, 1848; February 21, 1849; August 28, 1850.

4. Ibid. August 23, 1847; *Georgia Laws*, 1847 (Milledgeville, 1848), pp. 26-28 (approved December 18, 1847).

5. Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, January 1, 3, 1848.

6. *Georgia Laws*, 1853-1854 (Savannah, 1854), p. 211 (approved February 16, 1854); Ibid., 1857 (Columbus, 1858), pp. 164-166 (approved December 22, 1857); Ibid., 1859 (Milledgeville, 1860), pp. 127-128 (approved December 19, 1859); Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, December 9, 1858; *Southern Banner*, January 7, 1858.

7. *Athenian*, October 26, 1830; *Southern Banner*, December 10, 1836; August
16, September 20, 1839; *Georgia Laws, 1839* (Milledgeville, 1840), pp. 129-130 (approved December 29, 1839). Although they lacked equipment, many citizens volunteered to fight the blaze in 1830. The *Athenian* commented that the citizens “displayed admirable presence of mind” in fighting the fire and cited John Talmadge “for his unparalleled efforts.”


9. *Southern Banner*, March 15, 1855; February 7, 1856; May 21, 28, September 3, 1857; *Southern Watchman*, May 14, 28, September 3, 1857; Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, May 29, 1857. Damaged by the 1857 fire were the Hughes and Wing carpenter shop, William Wood's cabinet shop, the Clarke, Schevenel and Company carriage shop, M. E. McWhorter's blacksmith shop, and a house belonging to W. A. Patman occupied by B. W. Medlin.

10. *Southern Watchman*, October 29, 1857; *Southern Banner*, December 10, 1857; Athens Council Minutes, 1827-1860, November 7, 1857; A. L. Hull, *Sketches of Athens, Georgia From 1830 to 1865* (Athens, 1893), 14. The chief engineer was in charge of policemen as well as firemen during fires and he was empowered to remove or blow up buildings if necessary.

11. Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, January 9, 23, February 9, April 3, June 5, August 14, 1858; *Southern Banner*, March 4, 1858; *Southern Watchman*, January 28, 1858.

12. Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, November 6, 1858.

13. Ibid., April 2, June 4, 1859; *Georgia Laws, 1859* (Milledgeville, 1860), pp. 221-222 (approved December 19, 1859); *Georgia Laws, 1860* (Milledgeville, 1861), pp. 113-114 (approved December 19, 1860).


17. Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, October 1, November 5, December 22, 1859; Ibid., 1860-1877, February 2, 1861; *Southern Banner*, March 22, 1860.

18. *Southern Banner*, July 3, 1847; February 5, March 2, 1848.


20. Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, April 2, 1859. Other streets named included Thomas, Jackson, Hull, Pulaski, Newton, Finley, Pope, Franklin, Chase, Billups, Rock Springs, Barber, Neshet (Nesbit), Wall, Strong, Hoyt, Williams, Cobb, Hill, Meigs, School, Dearing, Waddell, Wray, Gilmer, Baxter, Mitchell, Factory, Fulton, Brown, Waler (Wales), Phinizy, and Espy. A more detailed description of these was included in the Council Minutes citation noted above.
21. *Athenian*, February 1, 1828; July 7, 14, 1829; February 1, 8, April 5, 1831; *Georgia Laws, 1835-1856* (Milledgeville 1856), pp. 400-401, (approved February 14, 1856).

22. *Southern Banner*, February 7, 1832; January 22, 1835; February 5, 1841; January 8, 1857; *Southern Watchman*, January 14, 1858; Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, January 7, February 14, 1854; January 27, 1855; January 9, 16, 1858.

23. Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, July 21, 1849; February 4, March 23, August 4, 1852; August 6, 1853; April 24, 1854; *Southern Banner*, March 27, 1851; April 6, June 22, 1854; March 8, 1855.


25. Ibid., January 10, 1854; *Athenian*, February 1, 1828; *Southern Banner*, February 1, 1834; March 2, 1848; January 3, 1856; January 1, 1857; January 7, 1858; January 8, 1859; January 16, 1861. *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850*, p. 366; *U. S. Bureau of the Census. Population of the United States in 1860*, p. 74. Note that there are no town records now available dated before 1847 and there are no newspapers of the 1820s now available dated before 1828.

26. *Compendium of the Sixth Census* (Washington, 1841), pp. 48-50; *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, 1853), p. 366; *U. S. Bureau of the Census. Population of the United States in 1860* (Washington, 1864), pp. 58-59, 62-63, 66-67. *Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census* (Washington, 1854), pp. 207ff. In 1850 Clarke County's population included 2,710 white males and 2,803 white females for a total of 5,513; eleven males and six females free of color for a total of seventeen; and 2,757 males and 2,832 females for a total of 5,589 slaves. A total of 860 Clarke residents had been born in other states and sixty-six residents had been born in other countries. The county reported 1,024 white and free Negro families and an equal number of dwellings. In 1860 Clarke County had 2,660 males and 2,879 females for a total white population of 5,539; 2,722 males and 2,938 females for a total slave population of 5,660; and ten males and nine females for a total of nineteen free Negroes. In 1860 Athens had 948 males and 1,007 females for a total white population of 1,955; 906 males and 986 females for a total slave population of 1,892; and one free male Negro. Watkinsville had 243 males and 204 females for a total of 447 whites, and 199 males and 227 females for a total of 426 slaves. There were no free Negroes reported in Watkinsville.

27. Tax Digests of Clarke County, 1840-1860.

28. *Georgia Laws, 1853-1856* (Milledgeville, 1856), pp. 49-53 (approved February 19, 1856); *Southern Banner*, May 8, 29, July 3, 1856; April 1, 16, 1857; *Southern Watchman*, May 29, August 28, 1856; October 8, 1857.


30. *Southern Banner*, July 16, 1857; June 24, December 30, 1858; May 26, 1859; June 7, November 1, December 27, 1860; *Southern Watchman*, July 16, 1857.

31. *Southern Banner*, November 9, 1833; February 13, 1861; *Southern Watchman*, March 6, 1861; *Georgia Laws, 1833-1854* (Savannah, 1854), pp. 376-377 (approved February 18, 1854).

32. *Southern Banner*, September 18, 1851; October 6, 1853; *Southern Watchman*, June 16, 1859; H. J. Rowe, publisher, *History of Athens and Clarke
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County, Georgia (Athens, 1923), p. 6. See also Arthur S. Griffin, History of the Southern Mutual Insurance Company, Athens, Georgia, 1848-1923 (Athens, 1931); MS, Notice from Southern Mutual Insurance Company to David C. Barrow, June 1852, in David Barrow MSS. Insurance Company directors from Athens were Young L. G. Harris, E. L. Newton, John H. Newton, Albon Chase, John I. Huggins, W. Letcher Mitchell, W. M. Morton, Henry Hull, Edward R. Ware, and B. P. Hardeman.


34. Southern Banner, April 3, May 8, December 25, 1840; July 30, 1841; December 30, 1842; July 13, 1843; August 1, 1844; February 24, March 3, August 18, 1846; January 5, 12, July 6, December 2, 1847; January 27, February 3, March 18, April 14, May 4, 11, July 27, 1848; January 18, February 8, 22, May 17, July 12, 26, October 11, 1849; July 11, 1850; January 16, November 13, 1851; October 21, 1852; January 27, March 31, June 30, December 22, 1853; January 19, November 2, December 28, 1854; January 4, February 8, March 8, April 12, 1855; November 20, 1856; January 8, March 12, December 10, 1857; January 7, October 28, December 9, 23, 1858; April 21, August 4, October 27, 1859; October 11, 1860; Southern Watchman, December 10, 1857; January 7, 1858; Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, December 19, 1849; January 26, 1854; James Silk Buckingham, The Slave States of America (London, 1842), pp. 128-129; Hull, Annals of Athens, p. 176. The tax digests indicate that John J. Huggins, William P. Sage, John H. Newton, Charles B. Lyle, William Dearing, O. P. Shaw, Thomas Bishop, W. W. and E. P. Clayton, A. K. Childs, Thomas Crawford, R. and L. C. Mathews, W. M. Morton, Nicholson, Grady and Company, Cobb and Colbert, Moss and Newton, Pittner, England, and Company, A. C. Patman, J. Springs, Thomas H. Wilson and Brothers, and Thomas W. Walker were among the most successful dealers in stock in Athens in the later years. William Murray, Watkinsville; Jesse Paulette, Farmington; and Thomas Davenport and John Totty, Salem, were principal businessmen outside Athens in the 1830s. Murray was the chief man outside Athens in the 1840s and he and Lindsey Durham, also of Watkinsville, were leading businessmen outside Athens in the 1850s. For more information on local business, see Appendix I.

35. Compendium ... of the 1840 Census, pp. 208-213; Statistical View of the United States ... being a Compendium of the Seventh Census, 207ff; Clarke County Tax Digests, 1840-1860; Manufactures of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth U.S. Census (Washington, 1865), pp. 61-79. The number, capital investment, and annual production of
Clarke County's thirty-six manufactories in 1860 were as follows: one agricultural implement factory, investment $5,000, production $2,000; six boot and shoe factories, investment $6,850, production $16,616; four carriage factories, investment $16,750, production $18,950; one clothing factory, investment $2,500, production $20,000; three cotton goods factories, investment $157,500, production $205,775; four flour and meal mills, investment $23,150, production $53,144; one furniture factory, investment $2,500; production $8,000; one iron castings factory; investment $15,000, production $18,000; two leather factories, investment $3,550, production $13,065; five lumber (sawed), investment $2,600, production $3,927; one paper and printing factory, investment $40,000, production $12,500; two newspaper printing establishments, investments $13,000, production $14,000; one tin, copper, and sheet-iron factory, investment $800, production $3,560; one wood turning factory, investment $3,000, production $2,160; two wool carding factories, investment $1,500, production $4,141; one woolen goods factory, investment $1,000, production $3,000.


37. Southern Banner, April 8, 1852; July 10, 1854; Southern Watchman, April 29, May 6, 1858; May 1, 1861.

38. Southern Banner, October 17, 1850; November 6, 1851; Rowe, publisher, History of Athens and Clarke County, p. 7; Ready Handbook to Athens and Vicinity (Athens, 1903), p. 18; Sylvanus Morris, Strolls About Athens During the Early Seventies (Athens, 1912), p. 7.

39. Southern Banner, March 3, 1853; March 6, 1854; Georgia Laws, 1853-1854 (Savannah, 1854), pp. 383-384 (approved February 20, 1854).

40. Southern Watchman, July 31, 1856; Southern Banner, June 14, 1854; May 14, 1857; Georgia Laws, 1863 (Milledgeville, 1864), pp. 91-92 (approved December 18, 1863). The Athens Steam Company continued to operate under that name until December 1863 when it was renamed the Athens Foundry and Machine Works and authorized to increase its capital to $100,000.

41. Southern Banner, May 26, 1853; August 3, 24, 1854; November 12, 26, December 31, 1857; July 22, August 26, October 7, 1858; Southern Watchman, October 11, 1855; Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, March 5, 1859; Statistical View of the United States . . . being a Compendium of the Seventh Census, pp. 207ff; Manufactures of the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth U.S. Census, pp. 61-79.

42. Georgia Laws, 1847 (Milledgeville, 1848), pp. 152-158 (approved December 25, 1847).

43. Inferior Court Minutes, 1846-1852, October, 1850; Clarke investors included John H. Newton, Elizur L. Newton, Asbury Hull, John S. Linton, William A. Carr, and William H. Hull.

44. Southern Banner, June 7, 1849.

45. Ibid., February 3, 10, April 28, 1853; January 5, 1854; February 22, May 10, 31, 1855; November 20, 1856; December 23, 1858; January 16, 1861.

46. Ibid., May 19, June 2, July 21; September 8, 1853; November 15, 22, 1855; May 8, 1856; February 6, 1861; Southern Watchman, November 29, December 6, 1855; Georgia Laws, 1855-1856 (Milledgeville, 1856), p. 408 (approved March 5, 1856).

47. U. S. Bureau of the Census. Population of the United States in 1860,
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pp. 58-59, 62-63, 66-67. Southern Banner, July 18, 1850; August 14, 1851; January 13, 14, 27, 1853; January 12, 18, May 18, October 19, 1854; November 13, 1856; April 9, 1857; May 11, 1858; Southern Watchman, June 14, 1855; February 19, 1857; January 21, 28, 1858.

48. Superior Court Minutes, 1844-1847, August 1846; February, August, 1847; Ibid., 1848-1850, August, 1849; February, 1850; Ibid., 1850-1851, February, 1851; Ibid., 1852-1853, February, August, 1852; Ibid., 1853-1856, February 1853; February, 1854; February, August, 1855; February, 1856; Ibid., 1857-1860, February, August, 1857; August, 1858; February, 1859; Ibid., 1860-1862, February, August, 1860.

49. Superior Court Minutes, 1860-1862, February, 1861; Inferior Court Minutes, 1810-1817, January, 1814; Ibid., 1817-1826, January, 1820; February, 1826; Ibid., 1839-1846, February, 1842; January, 1844; March, 1846; Ibid., 1846-1852, March 1850, March, 1851, June, 1852; Ibid., 1856-1865, February, 1861.

50. Inferior Court Minutes, 1810-1817, January, 1814; Ibid., 1817-1826, January, 1820, February, 1826; Ibid., 1831-1839, February, 1836, January, 1837, January 1838; Ibid., 1839-1846, January, February, 1842, January, 1844, March, 1846; Ibid., 1846-1852, March, 1850, March, 1851; January, 1852; June, 1852; Ibid., 1852-1856, January, 1853; Ibid., 1856-1865, January, 1859; March, 1860; February, 1861; Superior Court Minutes, 1810-1812, May, September, 1812; Ibid., 1813-1817, March, 1816, March, 1817; Georgias Laws, 1853-1854 (Savannah, 1854), p. 474 (approved February 17, 1854); Ibid., 1858 (Columbus, 1858), p. 186 (approved December 11, 1858).

51. Superior Court Minutes, 1844-1847, August, 1846; Ibid., 1853-1856, February, 1856.

52. Tax Digests of Clarke County, 1802-1814, 1819-1861. See note 26 above.

53. U.S. Bureau of the Census. Agriculture of the United States in 1860 (Washington, 1864), pp. 22-25; The Seventh Census of the United States:1850 (Washington, 1853), pp. 377-383; Statistical View of the United States . . . Being a Compendium of the Seventh Census, p. 207ff. A comparison of the output for some of these crops follows, with the 1850 figure first: corn, 289,575 bushels, 196,173; cotton ginned, 4,572 bales of 400 pounds each, 3,837 bales; oats, 65,710 bushels, 18,107; rice, 2,475 pounds, 10; sweet potatoes, 48,942 bushels; 35,100; butter, 91,209 pounds, 35,013; peas and beans, 25,172 bushels, 10,164. The number of sheep dropped from 4,693 to 3,952 and the number of swine fell from 17,074 to 11,095; yet the value of all animals slaughtered rose from $67,291 to $84,934; Wheat jumped from 14,229 bushels to 19,041 bushels, and hay went up from 6,550 pounds to 8,045 pounds. The value of orchard products fell, however, from $685 to $207, and the value of market gardens dropped from $480 to $74; The value of homemade manufactures also dropped from $13,621 to $5,747; Tobacco went up slightly from 1,772 pounds to 1,909 pounds, and wool went down slightly from 7,576 pounds to 7,208 pounds.

54. Southern Banner, August 14, 1856; July 29, August 5, 1858.

55. Ibid., May 12, October 20, 1859; October 18, 1860; Southern Watchman, May 12, June 16, 1859; Athens Council Minutes, 1847-1860, July 9, 1859; Georgia Laws, 1859 (Milledgeville, 1860), pp. 219-220 (approved December 2, 1859).


57. Southern Banner, October 10, 1850; January 30, October 9, 30, 1851; Horace Montgomery, Cracker Parties (Baton Rouge, 1950), p. 36; Louis T.


59. Montgomery, *Cracker Parties*, pp. 123, 153; *Southern Banner*, December 20, 1860 (quoting an article from the *Milledgeville Federal Union*, later *Southern Union*).

60. Montgomery, *Cracker Parties*, pp. 169, 175-176, 202; *Southern Banner*, November 6, 1856; *Southern Watchman*, November 13, 1856.


63. *Southern Banner*, July 26, October 15, November 1, 1860; *Southern Watchman*, June 28, 1860.

64. *Southern Watchman*, November 8, 1860.


67. *Southern Watchman*, December 6, 12, 19, 25, 1860; *Southern Banner*, December 27, 1860; January 9, 1861.

68. *Southern Watchman*, January 9, 1861; MS letter, Wilson Lumpkin to Asbury Hull, Colonel M.C.M. Hammon, R. S. Taylor, and many others, December 14, 1860, in Wilson Lumpkin MSS.


71. Inferior Court Minutes, 1856-1865, June, 1861; Athens Council Minutes, 1860-1877, April 16, November 2, 1861.

CHAPTER IV

1. Trustee Minutes, 1786-1817, pp. 45-46 (November 25, 1802); p. 74 (June 1, 1804); p. 86 (May 29, 1805). E. Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South* (New York, 1928), pp. 20-22.


5. *Augusta Chronicle*, June 23, 1804; May 3, 1805; December 13, 1806.

6. Trustee Minutes, 1786-1817, pp. 113-114 (July 22, 1807); *Georgia Express*, September 10, 1808; January 21, May 6, 1809; *Foreign Correspondent and Georgia Express*, August 19, 1809.

7. Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, pp. 23-24. According to Dr. Henry Hull in his *Sketches from the Early History of Athens*, Lewis was replaced by James Merriwether in 1808, but he stayed only through 1809.


15. Ibid., pp. 30-31, 40-42; Athens Gazette, February 6, 1817.

16. Hull, ed., *Sketches from the Early History of Athens*, p. 12; Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, p. 44.


20. Ibid., pp. 181, 234, 299; Southern Banner, March 8, 1834; July 9, 1836; January 22, 1841.


22. Ibid., pp. 56, 128.


24. Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, pp. 247-263; Southern Banner, August 14, 1856; Georgia Laws, 1859 (Milledgeville, 1860), pp. 26-27 (approved December 14, 1859); p. 405 (approved December 16, 1859).

25. Southern Banner, June 2, September 8, 1859; March 15, May 3, 1860; January 9, 1861; Southern Watchman, September 29, 1859; Georgia Laws, 1859, pp. 84-85 (approved December 19, 1859). Letter from Clarke County Ordinary to the Governor, dated October 25, 1860, on file in the State Archives in Atlanta. The Lumpkin Law School was the first permanent law school in Athens, although previous attempts had been made to establish one. In 1841 General Hardin operated a law school for at least one quarter.


27. Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, p. 70; Augusta Chronicle, August 29, 1807; Georgia Express, August 6, 1808; Foreign Correspondent and Georgia Express, October 6, 1810.


30. Georgia Express, April 1, 1809; September 18, November 27, 1812; Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, pp. 133-134; Hull, *Annals of Athens*, p. 106.


4. Superior Court Minutes, 1837-1860, February, 1859; Inferior Court Minutes, 1856-1865, January, 1860; January, 1861; Reports of the Clarke County Ordinary on education for the years 1859, 1860, 1861. These reports were addressed to the Governor and may be seen in the State Archives in Atlanta.

5. Augustus Longstreet Hull, *Annals of Athens, Georgia, 1801-1901* (Athens, 1906), p. 23; *Augusta Chronicle*, December 4, 1802; Trustee Minutes, 1786-1817, pp. 64-65 (November 14, 1803); p. 70 (May 21, 1804); p. 76 (November 9, 1804); pp. 80-81 (November 12, 1804); p. 103 (July 5, 1806); *Athens Gazette*, April 3, 1817; *Athenian*, December 30, 1829.

6. *Southern Banner*, May 11, November 30, December 14, 1833; January 7, November 4, 1837; December 1, 1838; December 14, 1839; November 27, 1840.

7. Ibid., December 14, 1833; December 20, 1834.

8. Ibid., December 16, 1842; January 4, 1844; January 2, December 30, 1845; January 5, 1847; December 11, 1851; Augustus Longstreet Hull, *Sketches of Athens, Georgia, From 1830 to 1865* (Athens, 1893), p. 15.

9. *Southern Banner*, November 9, 23, and December 7, 1854; November 29, 1855; December 25, 1856; December 10, 1857; June 3, 1858; January 13, 1859; March 6, 1861; MS letter, Williams Rutherford, Jr., principal, Cobbham Academy to parents about class standards, October 1, 1855, in Carlton-Newton-Mell, MSS.

10. *Augusta Chronicle*, July 2, 1803; Hull, *Annals of Athens*, p. 7. The *Augusta Chronicle* carried several advertisements about a Mrs. Allan and her daughter operating a school in Athens. Hull in his annals mentioned a Miss Harriet, the daughter of an Englishman named Allen, who lived in Athens and taught in the first female school there. It probably was the same family and the same school, but it is difficult to say, as with many of the early names, which spelling is correct, "Allan," or "Allen."

11. *Foreign Correspondent and Georgia Express*, May 19, 1810.

12. *Southern Banner*, October 21, December 16, 1842; March 10, June 2, November 2, 1843; May 2, December 26, 1844; August 28, 1845; Hull, *Annals of Athens*, pp. 148-149.


14. Ibid., August 24, October 19, 1854; May 29, July 31, 1856; June 3, August 26, December 1858; January 13, 1859. Although Lucy Cobb Institute no longer exists, the school building is used by the University of Georgia.

NOTES

16. *Southern Banner*, October 2, December 18, 1840, December 10, 1841; February 18, December 9, 30, 1842; December 28, 1843; December 26, 1844; November 18, 1845; January 5, February 2, November 25, 1847; January 18, May 17, December 13, 1849.

17. Ibid., January 14, December 31, 1836; December 9, 1837; January 14, 1842; January 6, 1843; January 18, 1849; December 15, 1853; January 3, 1856; January 1, 1857; January 7, 1858; *Georgia Laws, 1837* (Milledgeville, 1838), p. 29 of appendix.


19. *Georgia Laws, 1821* (Milledgeville, 1821), pp. 126-127 (approved December 25, 1821); Orr, *A History of Education in Georgia*, p. 121. The trustees, who were authorized to fill vacancies in their number, included Joseph Tarpley, John Floyd, Reuben Tucker, Stephen Hester, John Williams, Samuel Hester, Edward L. Thomas, William Clarke, George Hayes, Joseph Smith, Janes Knott, and John Simmons.

20. *Georgia Laws, 1825* (Milledgeville, 1825), pp. 20-21 (approved June 11, 1825); *Athenian*, June 15, 1830; May 17, June 14, November 8, 1831; Joseph Smith, Samuel Hester, John Foster, William P. Graham, John W. Graves, and James C. Branch were named commissioners to establish the Salem lottery.


24. *Southern Banner*, January 3, 1832; May 16, 1850. The language teachers included J. H. Guenebault of the Academy of Paris, 1832, French; Miss Edmonston, 1834, French, Spanish, Italian, German (also music, drawing, and painting); G. Beaumont, 1838, French, Spanish, Italian, W. Lehman, 1842, Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Spanish; Monsieur Pierre, 1848, French; Monsieur de Boncard, 1850, French.

25. Ibid., May 8, 1845. Penmanship and writing instructors and their dates were W. C. Houghton, 1833; B. F. Stephens, 1833-1834; Doctor Newman, 1838; Charles Quin, 1845; Augustus Habich, 1856, 1860.

26. Ibid., February 22, 1834; May 5, 12, 1838; January 26, 1839.

27. Ibid., October 12, 1854.

28. *Athenian*, December 30, 1828; January 5, 19, February 16, June 29, 1830; January 11, November 1, December 6, 1831; *Southern Banner*, January 4, 1834; October 22, November 19, December 24, 1835; January 28, June 9, August 13, September 24, 1836; January 7, 1837; March 17, 1838; January 26, 1839; January 4, 1840; January 13, May 5, 1843; January 27, 1846; January 19, 1847; January 6, 1848.

29. *Southern Banner*, June 18, July 2, September 17, 1857; Others who offered music instruction, their dates and their instruments where known were as follows: Mr. Schmidt, 1838, violin, guitar, flute; Miss Julia A. E. Rogers, 1840s, piano forte; Charles Heps, 1844, piano forte, guitar, violin, flute, singing,
Thomas Underwood, 1845; Joseph Denck, 1846, flute, violin, guitar; Charles Zogbaum, 1849.

30. Ibid., May 5, 1843. Dancing instructors and their known years of operation included John Ward, 1830s; J. Whate, 1843; Moulton and Clarke, 1844; Monsieur A. Bonaud, 1846; Monsieur A. Berger, 1846; B. L. Lord, 1850; Mr. Bossieux, 1851, 1852, 1855; Madame Achille, 1851, 1852; Prof. T. B. Williams, 1858; Mad-leise, 1859; Mr. and Mrs. W. L. Hall, 1860.

31. Ibid., May 5, 1843; May 30, 1845; June 17, July 1, 8, 1837; August 25, September 1, 1838.

CHAPTER VI

2. Georgia Express, August 6, December 24, 1808; Louis T. Griffith and John E. Talmadge, Georgia Journalism (Athens, 1951), pp. 21-22.
3. Georgia Express, February 18, 25; April 1, July 8, 15, 1809; Foreign Correspondent and Georgia Express, July 22, 29, 1809; March 10, July 28, August 4, 1810.
4. Georgia Express, January 28, 1809; Foreign Correspondent and Georgia Express, February 10, December 1, 1810.
6. Georgia Express, July 24, October 9, 1812.
7. Ibid., August 13, 1813.
8. Athens Gazette, February 17, March 10, August 18, September 15, 1814; November 9, 1815; March 26, 1818; October 5, 1820; Inferior Court Minutes, 1817-1826, June, 1817; Hull, ed., Sketches from the Early History of Athens, p. 36.
11. Athenian, March 23, 1833; Southern Banner, April 13, 1833; May 10, 1834; March 24, 1836; Griffith and Talmadge, Georgia Journalism, p. 40.
12. Southern Banner, March 24, 1836; April 6, 1839.
13. Ibid., January 12, 1839; February 19, 1841; Augustus Longstreet Hull, Sketches of Athens, Georgia, From 1830 to 1865 (Athens, 1893), p. 39.
16. Griffith and Talmadge, Georgia Journalism, pp. 44, 50-51; Southern Banner, April 14, July 6, 1843; October 9, December 23, 30, 1845; September 8, 1846; July 27, 1847; March 16, 1848; March 1, 1849; January 16, 30, May 8, August 21, 1851; January 4, 21, 1855; April 3, December 25, 1856; January 15, March 12, 1857; Southern Watchman, February 10, 1859.
17. Southern Banner, June 21, 1855; August 16, 1860; Southern Watchman, May 24, 1855.
18. Southern Banner, February 4, 1842; July 7, 1846; January 19, March 9, July 6, 1847.
19. Ibid., April 6, 1854; Southern Watchman, January 4, May 17, 24, 1855;
April 2, November 26, 1857; January 14, 1858; January 6 1859; May 10, 1860.
20. *Southern Banner*, August 6, 1836; August 5, 1837; May 9, 1844; Griffith and Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism*, p. 44.
24. Ibid., pp. 91, 110-118, 142, 211; *Southern Banner*, August 17, 24, 1848.
27. Ibid., pp. 119-123, 211.
29. *Southern Banner*, August 1, September 13, November 23, 1839; July 29, 1842; December 26, 1844; December 2, 1845.
30. Ibid., January 18, 1849; January 10, 1850; September 9, 1852; October 13, 1853; *Southern Watchman*, December 23, 1858; Flanders, *Early Georgia Magazines*, p. 216.
32. *Southern Banner*, March 23, 30, May 4, 1833; February 26, August 20, October 8, 1835; February 12, November 5, 1841; September 9, 1842; December 21, 1843; December 5, 1844; January 2, April 17, August 14, 1845; August 31, 1848; Flanders, *Early Georgia Magazines*, p. 192.

CHAPTER VII

1. Augustus Longstreet Hull, ed., *Sketches from the Early History of Athens* (Athens, 1884), p. 20; Deed Book “B” of Clarke County, pp. 286, 306-307. It is not certain when these churches were started, but Hull implies that Trail Creek and Big Creek churches were established at the time of the county's founding if not before. Deed Book “B” indicates that Freeman's Creek Church bought land in December, 1803, and Mars Hill Church bought land in July, 1805.
3. Ibid., pp. 17-18; R. P. Brooks, *A Brief History of the First Methodist Church, Athens, Ga.*, (Athens, 1924), p. 3. It has been suggested that Hull and his best friend David Meriwether came to Athens together to educate their sons. In any event Asbury and Henry Hull became two of the town's best known citizens. For more information see George Gilman Smith, *The Life and Letters of James Osgood Andrew* (Nashville, 1883), pp. 18-41.
5. James Allison Jones, "History of the First Presbyterian Church of Athens, Georgia" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Georgia, 1949), p. 10. The Hopewell Presbytery was created out of the South Carolina presbytery which had previously served both South Carolina and the few churches in Georgia.
6. Ibid., pp. 7-8; Trustee Minutes, 1786-1817, p. 103 (July 5, 1806); *Georgia
8. Ibid., p. 62 (November 12, 1803); Coulter, College Life in the Old South, p. 62.
11. Coulter, College Life in the Old South, pp. 193-194, 210-211; Athenian, June 30, 1829; July 6, 1830.
15. Ibid., April 8, May 6, September 9, 1858; January 6, March 3, 31, 1859; September 13, 1860; Southern Watchman, April 1, 15, 29, May 6, 20, 1858.
17. Coulter, College Life in the Old South, pp. 122, 124; Athenian, June 30, 1829; July 6, 1830; Southern Banner, June 20, 1839; June 10, July 29, September 9, November 4, 1842; July 13, 1843; June 8, 1848; May 17, 1849; May 22, 1851; March 26, April 2, May 21, 1857. YMCA officers elected in May 1857, included Young L. G. Harris, Methodist, president; Professor Williams Rutherford, Baptist, Doctor R. D. Moore, Episcopalian, Thomas R. R. Cobb, Presbyterian, and Peyton E. Moore, Christian, vice-presidents; Henry Waddel, recording secretary and treasurer, and Professor J. D. Easter, corresponding secretary. A. M. Scudder, Henry Hull, Jr., O. Colby, Thomas Seay, and R. J. Wilson were named directors.
19. Deed Book "O" of Clarke County, p. 298; Jones, “History of the First Presbyterian Church of Athens, Georgia,” pp. 9-12; Coulter, College Life in the Old South, pp. 40-41; Georgia Laws, 1828 (Milledgeville, 1829), p. 50 (approved December 20, 1828). Some records show that Waddel was pastor of a Presbyterian church at nearby Sandy Creek in 1820, but with his many university duties it is likely that he only supplied at that church or was a part-time pastor.
20. Jones, “History of the First Presbyterian Church of Athens, Georgia,” pp. 11, 14-18; Athenian, June 1, 1830; Others working on this project were Major Walker, Asbury Hull, Dr. Nesbit, Stephen Bordiers, William Dearing, Daniel Grant, John Nesbit, William Lumpkin, Dr. Hull, J. Hillyer, Professor Jackson, William L. Mitchell, E. L. Newton, and B. B. Hopkins (Athenian, May 31, 1831).
21. H. J. Rowe, publisher, History of Athens and Clarke County, Georgia (Athens, 1923), pp. 87-88; Athenian, May 31, 1831; Southern Banner, August 31, 1848.
22. Southern Banner, May 19, November 9, 1854; June 7, 1855; May 29, November 13, 1856; Jones, “History of the First Presbyterian Church of Athens,” (quoting MS. Minutes of Sessions, September 13, 1858), pp. 29-30.
23. Wilson, Methodism in Athens, p. 3; Brooks, A Brief History of the First Methodist Church, pp. 5-7.


29. Mell, *A Short History of Athens Baptist Church*, pp. 1, 2, 7, 10, 18, 27; *Athenian*, April 21, 1829.


31. *Southern Banner*, March 15, October 25, 1860; *Southern Watchman*, May 6, 1858; September 29, 1859; March 15, 1860.

32. Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, p. 198; *One Hundred Years of Life: Emmanuel Episcopal Church, Athens, Georgia, 1843-1843* (Athens, 1843), pp. 1-3, 8-11; *Georgia Laws, 1843* (Milledgeville, 1844), pp. 92-93 (approved December 27, 1843).

33. *One Hundred Years of Life: Emmanuel Episcopal Church*, pp. 11-12.


**CHAPTER VIII**


5. *Athenian*, July 12, 1831.

6. Ibid., August 2, 1831.


8. *Georgia Express*, August 6, 1808; *Athenian*, August 26, 1838; July 28, December 15, 1829; *Southern Banner*, April 6, 1833; May 3, 1834; May 13, 1835; May 31; August 28, 1840; December 31, 1841; April 28, 1846; July 20, 1847.

9. *Athenian*, December 16, 1828; December 15, 1829; *Southern Banner*, October 5, 1843; May 15, 1851; August 5, 1858; MS., Josiah Daniel Almanac-Diary, 1849-1850.

10. MS., Account Sheet of David C. Barrow at store of Moss and Newton in Athens, 1860, in David C. Barrow MSS; *Georgia Express*, October 8, 1808; *Athens Gazette*, December 7, 1813; *Athenian*, February 8, December 23, 1828; June 16, 1829; April 26, May 10, 1831; April 13, 1833; July 26, 1834; MS letter, John H. Newton to E.D. Newton, August 27, 1859, in Carlton-Newton-Mell MSS.
11. Athenian, June 16, August 4, 1829; January 19, 1830; June 14, 1831; Southern Banner, December 21, 1833; July 31, 1840; September 18, 1845.
12. Foreign Correspondent and Georgia Express, October 6, 1810; Athenian, July 28, 1829; Southern Banner, May 3, 1834; March 7, 1844; July 18, 1844; June 4, 1857.
13. Southern Banner, May 13, 1836; May 27, 1837; April 3, 1856.
17. Georgia Express, July 31, September 4, 1812; Athens Gazette, July 14, 28, 1814; July 27, 1815; Athenian, August 4, 1829; August 3, 10, 17, 1830.
18. Southern Banner, August 10, 1833; July 24, 1840.
19. Foreign Correspondent and Georgia Express, July 7, 1810; Georgia Express, July 10, 1812; July 9, 1813; Athens Gazette, July 6, 1815; Southern Banner, July 19, 1834; July 9, 1836; May 24, 1839; July 11, 1844; July 7, 1853.
21. Athenian, February 21, 28, 1832; Southern Banner, May 5, 1843; February 3, 1848; May 7, 1857; May 12, 1859.
23. Ibid., 5; Georgia Express, October 1, 1808; May 13, 27, 1809; January 22, 1813; Athenian, November 1, 1831.
25. Southern Banner, February 8, 1834; July 9, 1835.
26. Athenian, June 3, 1828; July 30, 1830; May 3, 1831; Southern Banner, March 1, August 23, 1834; July 29, 1837; March 20, July 31, 1840.
27. Southern Banner, February 25, 1842; March 3, 1843; June 2, 1846; March 6, May 15, November 20, 1851; June 24, July 1, September 30, December 23, 1852; January 27, May 26, July 28, August 4, 1853; February 23, May 18, July 13, 1854; May 15, 1856; August 5, October 7, 1858; February 24, July 7, 1859; Southern Watchman, April 12, 1855.
28. Southern Banner, August 3, 1853; July 28, August 4, 11, 18, 1838; July 26, August 1, 1839; February 22, 1849; April 8, 1852; March 10, 1853; March 16, 1854; March 5, 1857; March 11, 1858; Ventriloquists also appeared at times, and various exhibitions were staged including some deaf mutes doing a pantomime and the appearance of Siamese twins.
30. Athenian, August 6, 1828; May 3, 1831; Southern Banner, February 15, 1834; March 17, May 5, 1838; December 7, 1839; October 3, 24, 1844; November 4, 1845; May 25, October 21, 1847; September 14, 1848; August 9, 1849; April 4, 1850; May 6, 1851; March 4, 1852; June 23, 1853; June 8, 1854; September 6, 13, December 27, 1855; June 12, 1856; May 14, 28, 1857; August 26, 1858; April 7, June 20, 1859. Among the circuses visiting Athens were the National Circus of New Orleans, Howes and Mabie Circus of New York, Stone and McCollum’s Great Western Circus, Robinson and Eldread’s Great National Circus Company, Stickney’s Great New Orleans Circus, Walch, Delevan and Nathans’ National Circus, The LaFayette Circus, and Raymond and Ogden’s Menagerie.
31. Southern Banner, July 2, 1836; May 15, 1840; October 1, 1841; January 25, April 4, 1844; October 9, 1845; May 5, 12, 1846; March 9, 1847; June 12,
1851; July 28, September 15, October 13, 1853; April 27, 1854; January 25, 1855; February 25, 1858; Southern Watchman, February 12, 1857.

32. Athens Gazette, July 28, August 4, 1814; Athenian, October 28, 1828; Southern Banner, February 8, March 29, April 5, September 6, 1834; July 2, September 24, 1835; January 18, 1840.

33. Southern Banner, May 12, June 25, October 15, November 12, 1836; June 2, 1838; March 25, 1842; March 24, 1843; March 14, July 4, 1844; January 9, 1845; March 30, 1847; March 30, June 22, 1848; March 22, 1849; Georgia Laws, 1837 (Milledgeville, 1838), p. 126 (approved December 25, 1837).


35. Ibid., pp. 60-64.

36. MS, Funeral Card sent by James R. and Mrs. Elisabeth Carlton concerning the funeral of their daughter, Frances, May 5, 1849, in Carlton-Newton-Mell MSS.

37. Southern Banner, April 13, 1847; February 3, 1848.

Appendices

APPENDIX A

ATHENS, CLARKE COUNTY CHRONOLOGY

This appendix lists the dates of important events beginning with the area's occupation by the white man. It should be noted that Indians (Creeks and Cherokees) occupied the land for several centuries before that time. The earliest Indian occupation (Early Archaic or Paleo-Indian Occupation) may date to 7,000 B.C.

1784 Franklin County organized; white settlement begins.
1785 University of Georgia chartered.
1790 Area including Clarke County legally as well as practically free of Indians.
1796 Jackson County created out of Franklin County.
1801 University of Georgia opened; Athens founded; Clarke County created out of Jackson County.
1802 Town of Watkinsville laid out; first meetings of inferior, superior courts.
1803 Demosthenian Literary Society founded at the University of Georgia.
1804 Athens-Watkinsville post road opened.
1806 Athens, Watkinsville incorporated.
1808 Georgia Express, first newspaper, founded. A religious journal, which may have included some local news, was published for a time in 1807, but not even its name remains.
1818 Salem incorporated.
1820 Presbyterian Church organized; Phi Kappa Literary Society founded.
1821 Salem Academy incorporated; university gets more assurance of permanent income (university reached high point of ante-bellum development in 1830s, floundered in 1840s and early 1850s, then got some new life in the late 1850s and 1860).
1823 Clarke County Academy incorporated.
1825 Methodist Church organized.
1829 Local editor says Athens no longer a village, but a town; Athens Manufacturing Company (later Georgia Factory) established.
1830 Athens Baptist Church (now First Baptist) organized; Athens Factory established; town's first major fire destroyed New College building at the university.

1831 Athens got its own voting precinct.

1832 *Southern Banner* (now *Athens Banner-Herald*) started.

1833 Georgia Railroad Company incorporated in Athens; Camak Manufacturing Company (later Princeton Factory) established; university's botanical garden opened.

1834 State Bank opened branch in Athens; Helicon Springs Hotel opened; University of Georgia Alumni Society organized.

1835 Record cold wave hit in February (10.5 degrees below zero); Georgia Railroad Company opened a bank in Athens and became Georgia Railroad and Banking Company.

1839 First fire company formed, but without an engine or water supply.

1840 Clarke County ranked second only to Chatham among Georgia counties in capital invested in manufacturing; Harrison Freshet destroyed many bridges and mills in the Athens area.

1841 Principal office of Georgia Railroad and Banking Company moved to Augusta; railroad extended to Athens from terminus at Union Point.

1842 Athens town limits extended to two miles in every direction from the University of Georgia chapel.

1843 Emmanuel Episcopal Church organized.

1845 Clarke County Agricultural Society formed (it did not last, however, and a similar society with the same name was begun in the 1850s).

1847 The Athens town hall and market building constructed.

1848 Southern Mutual Insurance Company (founded in Griffin, 1847) moved to Athens; intendant and warden system of government replaced the commission system in Athens; *Southern Literary Gazette* founded by William Carey Richards, who helped make Athens a state periodical center for several years.

1850 Clarke County ranked third in the state in manufacturing capital; the census for the first time showed more Negroes than whites in Clarke County (5,589 slaves, 17 free Negroes, 5,513 whites); The Athens Steam Company formed; two plank road companies organized (apparently, however, they did not build any roads in the immediate vicinity).

1852 Pioneer Paper Manufacturing Company incorporated (started in the 1840s); Athens Building and Loan Association organized.

1853 Telegraph line opened between Athens and Union Point (presumably connected with various points from there).
1854 Athens Board of Health organized.
1856 Athens Gas Light Company begun; deputy clerk of the county
superior court authorized for Athens; Bank of Athens established;
Oconee Cemetery established.
1857 Fire on Granite Row caused damages estimated at $11,000; fire
gine purchased and improved fire fighting system developed.
1859 Lucy Cobb School for girls began classes; Athens contracted
for some gas street lights; Lumpkin Law School founded; local
education expanded with increased state aid.
1860 Clarke County voted for the union cause (Bell, 695; Breckenridge,
451; Douglas, 57; Lincoln, 0) but later for secession.

APPENDIX B

CLARKE COUNTY OFFICERS

1. Clerks (Inferior, Superior Court)

1816-1825 Sterling Elder
1825-1826 Thomas Ligon
1826-1837 Robert Ligon
1837-1860 John Calvin Johnson

2. Coroners

1816-1837 Charles Garner
1837-1838 John McDonald
1838-1840 James A. Tuck
1840-1844 Thomas A. Tuck
1844-1846 John Royal
1846-1848 William Fenn
1848-1850 Thomas A. Tuck
1850-1852 William Jeffries

3. Ordinary

1851-1860 Asa M. Jackson

4. Sheriffs

1801-1803 Abner Bankston
1803-1805 Joseph Lane
1805-1807 Abner Bankston
1807-1809 John Selman
1809-1811 Samuel Jackson
1811-1814 John Selman
1814-1816 Samuel Jackson
1816-1817 John Selman
1817-1820 James Hendon
1820-1822 John Selman
1822-1824 James Hendon
1824-1826 George W.
1826-1828 James Hendon
1828-1830 George W.
1830-1832 Meriwether
APPENDICES

1830-1832 James Hendon 1846-1848 Issac S. Vincent
1832-1834 Issac S. Vincent 1848-1850 Lorick (Lovick) P. Thomas
1834-1836 James Hendon 1850-1852 Issac S. Vincent
1836-1838 Issac S. Vincent 1852-1854 John I. Huggins
1838-1840 James Hendon 1854-1856 Issac S. Vincent
1840-1842 Francis Jackson 1856-1858 Lewis J. Lampkin
1842-1844 James Hendon 1858-1860 Issac S. Vincent
1844-1846 Francis Jackson

5. Surveyors
1816-1822 Benjamin Easley 1840-1844 William F. Lee
1822-1824 Edward L. Thomas 1844-1846 William Jones
1824-1826 Malcom McLeode 1846-1848 Nathan C. Daniell
1826-1830 David Sims 1848-1850 Jefferson Jennings
1830-1832 Issac S. Vincent 1850-1853 David R. Elder
1832-1834 Philip Stinchcomb 1853-1854 Williams S. Mitchell
1834-1836 Green B. Haygood 1854-1856 John Q. A. Norris
1836-1837 Elijah B. Harvey 1856-1858 Robert Moore
1837-1840 Philip Stinchcomb 1858-1860 Asbury H. Jackson

6. Tax Collectors
1850-1853 George M. Lanier 1853-1860 Richard Hughes

7. Tax Receivers
1850-1853 George M. Lanier 1856-1857 Joseph H. Dunnahoo
1853-1855 Richard Hughes 1857-1860 Duke Hamilton
1855-1856 Duke Hamilton

APPENDIX C
GENERAL ASSEMBLY MEMBERS FROM CLARKE COUNTY

1. Representatives
1802-1803 (Extra Session) Harmon Runnels
1803-1804 (Extra Session) Harmon Runnels
1804 William Strong
1805-1806 (Extra Session) Jett Thomas, Edward Moore, James Turner
1806 Zadock Cook, James Turner, William Clarke
1807-1808 (Extra Session) Peter Randolph, William Clarke, Zadock Cook
1808 William Strong, David Sims, Edward Payne
1809 Peter Randolph, David Sims, Reuben Hill
Augustin S. Clayton, Charles A. Redd, Reubin Hill
Augustin S. Clayton, Thomas Mitchell, White Rosseter
Thomas Mitchell, Augustin S. Clayton, White Rosseter
Reubin Hill, Thomas Mitchell, William Clarke
William Clarke, White Rosseter, Thomas Mitchell
Thomas Mitchell, White Rosseter, William Clarke
Thomas Moore, James M. Burton, White Rosseter
Thomas Moore, White Rosseter, Thomas R. Mitchell
White Rosseter, James M. Burton, John Parker
James M. Burton, Thomas R. Mitchell, White Rosseter
James M. Burton, John R. Golding, White Rosseter
John R. Golding, James Meriwether, Thomas R. Mitchell
James Meriwether, Zadock Cook, Joseph Ligon
John Sellman, John R. Golding, James Meriwether
Charles Dougherty, Asbury Hull, Hezekiah W. Scovel
Thomas Moore, Charles Dougherty, Asbury Hull
Thomas Moore, Charles Dougherty, Asbury Hull
Charles Dougherty, Asbury Hull, Thomas Moore
Charles Dougherty, Cicero Holt, George W. Moore
Charles Dougherty, Asbury Hull
Asbury Hull, Charles Dougherty, John H. Lowe
Asbury Hull, William P. Graham, Thomas Moore
Asbury Hull, William Stroud, John W. Graves
Asbury Hull, William Stroud, George R. Clayton
William Stroud, George R. Clayton, Benning B. Moore
William Stroud, George R. Clayton, Benning B. Moore
William Stroud, Nathan C. Barnett, Benning B. Moore
William Stroud, Nathan C. Barnett, Benning B. Moore
J. S. Vincent, William Stroud, Richard Richardson
Robert H. Moore, William Stroud, Richard Richardson
Robert H. Moore, William Stroud, Richard Richardson
Asbury Hull, William Stroud, Robert H. Moore
William Stroud, William W. Clayton, James J. Selman
William Stroud, Edward R. Ware, James J. Selman
William Stroud, Asbury Hull
Young L. G. Harris, Francis Jackson
Young L. G. Harris, Richard Richardson
Young L. G. Harris, Richard Richardson
W. P. Hardin, J. B. Carlton
J. B. Carlton, T. F. Lowe
Thomas W. Walker, P. E. Moore
W. G. Deloney, E. P. Lumpkin
2. Senators (39th District)

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<td>Rhoderick Easley</td>
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<td>(Extra Session)</td>
<td>1823-1825</td>
<td>Zadock Cook</td>
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<td>1825</td>
<td>James M. Burton</td>
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<td>Harmon Runnels,</td>
<td>1826-1827</td>
<td>Augustin S. Clayton</td>
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<td>1809</td>
<td>Davis Gresham</td>
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<td>Stevens Thomas</td>
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<td>1810-1815</td>
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<td>1819</td>
<td>William Clarke</td>
<td>1839-1842</td>
<td>Issac S. Vincent</td>
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<td>(Extra Session)</td>
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(38th District)

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<td>William Stroud</td>
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<td>1847, 1849-1850</td>
<td>William W. Clayton</td>
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(Clarke County)

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<td>1853-1854</td>
<td>Asbury Hull</td>
<td>1857-1858</td>
<td>J. B. Carlton</td>
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<td>1855-1856</td>
<td>Cincinnatus Peeples</td>
<td>1859-1860</td>
<td>John Billups</td>
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</tbody>
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APPENDIX D

ATHENS TOWN COMMISSIONERS

1836 Stevens Thomas, Jacob Phinizy, William M. Morton, Watkins Baynon, John J. Huggins, General Edward Hardin, Dr. E. R. Ware
1837 Stevens Thomas, Burwell Pope, Jesse Robinson, James R. Carlton, Jacob Phinizy, Howell Cobb, Howell C. Flournoy
1838 J. A. Cobb, Edward Harden, George W. King, Charles G. McKinley, Samuel Frost, William W. Clayton, James D. Frierson
1839 Burwell Pope, James R. Carl, W. W. Clayton, Albion Chase, John A. Cobb, Charles Evans, Samuel Baldwin
1840 John A. Cobb, Howell Cobb, William W. Clayton, Stevens Thomas, George Dent, Benjamin Towns, John Jackson
1841 James Camak, Asbury Hull, Charles Dougherty, W. L. Mitchell, Edward Harden, Thomas N. Hamilton, Jesse Robinson
1843 General Edward Harden, Asbury Hull, W. L. Mitchell, J. I. Huggins, William Bacon, S. Thomas, L. Franklin
1845 J. F. Phinizy, Jacob Phinizy, E. R. Ware, William M. Morton, Albon Chase, Leonidas Franklin, Thomas Hancock
1846 Edward Hardin, Leonidas Franklin, Stevens Thomas, William W. Clayton, John S. Linton, James W. Harris, James D. Frierson

INTENDANTS AND WARDENS

1848 Major William L. Mitchell, Jacob Phinizy, Edward R. Ware, first ward; Albon Chase, William M. Morton, second ward; Stevens Thomas, Thomas R. R. Cobb, third ward. They elected Ware intendant.
1849 E. R. Ware, Jacob Phinizy, William L. Mitchell, first ward; Albon Chase, John S. Linton, second ward; Leonidas Franklin, Benjamin Towns, third ward. They elected Ware intendant.
1850 Jacob Phinizy, E. R. Ware, William L. Mitchell, first ward; Albon Chase, John S. Linton, second ward; L. Franklin, Benjamin Towns, third ward. They elected Ware intendant.
1851 William L. Mitchell, Edward R. Ware, Joseph B. Carlton, first ward; John S. Linton, Albon Chase, second ward; Leonidas Franklin, Benjamin Towns, third ward. They elected Ware intendant.
1852 William L. Mitchell, Joseph B. Carlton, Peter A. Summey, first ward; C. Peeples, Albon Chase, second ward; Benjamin Towns, C. B. Lyles, third ward. They elected Chase intendant.
1853 W. L. Mitchell, P. A. Summey, Dr. Joseph B. Carlton, first ward; C. Peeples, J. S. Peterson, second ward; B. M. Hill, James Camak, third ward. They elected Peeples intendant.
1854 Joseph B. Carlton, P. A. Summey, William L. Mitchell, first ward; C. Peeples, J. S. Peterson, second ward; C. B. Lyle, M. M. Norton, third ward. They elected Peeples intendant.
1855 Joseph B. Carlton, P. A. Summey, William L. Mitchell, first ward; C. Peeples, William G. Deloney, second ward; L. Franklin, J. B. Cobb, third ward. They elected Peeples intendant.
1856 Joseph B. Carlton, John W. Nicholson, Sidney C. Reese, first ward; William G. Deloney, William L. C. Gerdine, second ward; E. P. Lumpkin, B. M. Hill, third ward. They elected Gerdine intendant.


1860 James R. Lyle, intendant. A. K. Childs, William S. Grady, John C. Pitner, first ward; David M. McCleskey, Ross Crane, second ward; R. S. Taylor, James Camak, third ward.


APPENDIX E
JUDGES OF THE WESTERN JUDICIAL CIRCUIT

1798-1803 Thomas P. Carnes
1803 John Griffin
1803-1809 Charles Tait
1809-1813 Thomas P. Carnes
1813-1816 Young Gresham
1816-1819 John M. Dooly
1819-1825 A. S. Clayton
1825-1828 William H. Underwood
1828-1831 A. S. Clayton
1831-1837 Charles Dougherty
1837-1841 Thomas W. Harris
1841-1845 Junius Hillyer
1845-1849 Charles Dougherty
1849-1857 James Jackson
1857-1868 N. L. Hutchins

APPENDIX F
DOCTORS AND DENTISTS

Many doctors and a number of dentists served Athens and Clarke
County at some time during the antebellum period. There was at least one doctor in the county in the early days, and the number increased with the population. By the late 1820s dentists had begun to make periodic visits to Athens and other towns in the area, and in 1834 Athens got its first resident dentist. Most of the doctors were general practitioners, and they undoubtedly treated dental as well as other medical problems in the early years. Among the best known were Doctors William Wright, Hugh Neisler, John Gerdine, Edward R. Ware, Henry Hull, James Tinsley, Crawford W. Long, Joseph B. Carlton, and R. M. Smith.

Doctor Wright is supposed to have come from Connecticut with University of Georgia President Josiah Meigs to establish the first medical practice in Athens. He evidently did not remain long, however, and was not greatly beloved during his stay. The September 1803 grand jury declared that he was not to be depended on, but the March 1805 grand jury declared that he should be allowed to practice in the county. While he was an educated man and a gentleman, he apparently lacked the tact and common sense to obtain the esteem of the people. The doctor's job was not an easy one in those days for anyone. While people venerated him they “could never see the necessity of more than one visit, nor the propriety of charging for an attention which any neighbor would be glad to render for nothing.”

Wright was prompted to sell his possessions and good will to Doctor Hugh Neisler, “for one doctor, one lawyer, one blacksmith and one preacher were sufficient to the wants of the community at that time.”

Doctor Neisler was of German extraction and a native of North Carolina. He was honest, credulous, confiding, and truthful, and he treated his neighbors as personal friends. He was not as educated as his predecessor, yet was an excellent Latin scholar and served for a time as temporary rector of a grammar school in Athens. Obviously, he was a man with some sense of humor as demonstrated in his treatment of a Savannah man whose wife was taken ill at night while on a visit to Athens. When the man complained that five dollars was too much to pay for a vial of laudanum, Doctor Neisler replied contemptuously: “I charge you nothing for the laudanum. You are welcome to it; but sir, when you knock up a scientific man at midnight you must expect to pay for it.”

Doctor Hull was the son of the Reverend Hope Hull, one of the first and most famous Methodist preachers in Georgia. Presumably he was reared in the Athens area where his father was preaching. He was graduated in medicine from the University of Maryland and apparently practiced medicine during the 1820s. It appears, however,
that he ceased or curtailed his practice about 1830 to become professor of mathematics and astronomy at the University of Georgia. Doctor Hull was tall, graceful, and dignified, and he was a favorite of the young people because he always sympathized with them about their problems. He was interested in history, as well as medicine and mathematics, and his Sketches from the Early History of Athens forms one of the few accounts of that period now available.

Doctor Tinsley studied medicine with a Doctor Abbot in Washington, Georgia, and later attended lectures in medicine in Philadelphia. After returning he practiced for a time but was "erratic and defied the conventional rules of practice of medicine and society." In 1820 he got a professorship of chemistry and natural philosophy at the university but remained for only about two years. Later he tried his hand at building, newspaper editing, and tavern keeping. Doctor Tinsley continued his medical practice sporadically, "although he never kept any medicine, depending upon what he found in the families he visited, and never had a surgical instrument." It was reported that he once removed a large tumor from a woman with her husband's razor. One contemporary suggested that while Doctor Tinsley had great talent, it generally was wasted. This may have been true, but in December 1830, he was named along with Doctor Gerdine to the state board of physicians.

Doctor Gerdine lived at his plantation six miles below Athens on the main road from Watkinsville to Cherokee Corners. He was in practice by 1808 and continued his service into the 1830s at least. Doctor Ware practiced with Doctor Hull for a time, and, after accumulating considerable property, he retired to it. He was described as a man of sound judgment, integrity, and sincerity.

Doctor Long is perhaps best known of the Athens doctors, although his fame was achieved before he moved his practice there in the 1850s. He was born in Danielsville and was educated at the University of Georgia and in Pennsylvania and New York. He moved to Jefferson in nearby Jackson County in 1841 to establish his practice, and it was there that he became one of if not the first to use anesthesia in an operation. About 1850 Doctor Long moved to Atlanta, and a year or so later he settled in Athens. While in Athens he joined with his brother, H. R. J. Long, also a doctor, in the practice of medicine and the operation of a drugstore. He remained in active practice in Athens until his death in 1878.

Doctor Carlton was born in Athens in the 1820s and was graduated from the University of Georgia and the Medical College of Georgia in Augusta. He apparently began his practice in Athens in the middle of the 1840s and remained there until his death in 1881. He served
Clarke County in the state House of Representatives from 1853 to 1856 and the district of which Clarke was a part in the state senate in 1857 and 1858. Doctor Smith was a Jefferson Medical College graduate who settled in Athens in the late 1840s. He became engaged in the drug business in addition to his medical practice and he also was active in community affairs. He served as chief of the Athens Volunteer Fire Department and as town warden and town intendant.

Clarke County apparently was served at sometime during the following periods by the following doctors:

1802-1810 John Cary, Charles Bonner (Oglethorpe), John Clement, William Wright, Hugh Neisler, Benjamin J. Biddle, John Gerdine, William Johnson, Dr. Boswell

1811-1820 John Gerdine, Hugh Neisler, James M. Burton, Hope Tigner, Dr. Baker, David Johnston

1821-1830 Hugh Neisler, John Gerdine, Hope Tigner, Henry Hull, Robert R. Harden, Lindsey Durham, James Tinsley, William Williamson, William P. Graham (Greene), Edward R. Ware, and William W. Waddel


Dentists

1820-1830 F. H. Badger, Doctor Ambler, J. A. Pleasants, S. H. Reese, John A. Cleveland
1831-1840 R. E. Martin, E. Osborn, Benjamin Douglass, A. F. Chesebrough, E. L. Smith, G. Walter Juson (located in Athens, perhaps the first to do so), R. Ressegue

1841-1850 Emeel Monciny, R. E. Martin, W. B. Rivers (located in Athens), O. Munson, K. Spencer, C. B. Lombard (located in Athens), William Bacon (apparently located in Athens), William O. Laird (located in Athens), William Barr, B. W. Ross (located in Athens), H. Seger, Dr. Putnam, W. B. Cherry

1851-1861 C. B. Lombard, E. S. Billups, Henderson Gilleland, A. A. Franklin Hill, R. M. Smith, H. A. Lowrance, C. E. Lancaster, Dr. V. Cuyler, Dr. Cyphus

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 14.
4. Ibid., 25.
5. Ibid., 26.

For further documentation and information concerning the materials discussed in the appendix, please see the Tax Digests of Clarke County, 1802-1814, 1819-1860 (1813-1818 are no longer available); Superior Court Minutes, 1801-1808, September, 1803, March, 1805; Inferior Court Minutes, 1852-1856, December 1852; County Officers, 1816-1861 (bound copies are now on file in the State Archives in Atlanta); Georgia Express, August 13, October 8, 1808; Athens Gazette September 12, 1816; May 8, 1817; Athenian, March 21, 28, November 11, 1828; June 30, July 28, September 1, 1829; January 5, February 23, June 8, July 20, December 21, 1830; March 8, 15, 22, June 21, August 23, 1831; March 6, 1832; Southern Banner, April 27, May 18, July 20, 27, September 7, December 1, 1833; January 25, April 12, June 7, 14, September 13, October 18, November 29, 1834; January 15, April 16, July 2, 1835; January 21, 28, April 28, July 2, 30, 1836; May 27, July 1, 1837; May 5, June 2, July 21, 1838; January 5, 26, April 27, 1839; March 7, 1840; February 5, May 7, 28, December 10, 1841; October 7, November 11, 1842; January 6, 13, June 23, July 27, November 30, 1843; February 1, 1844; May 8, September 4, 1845; January 27, March 17, June 2, 9, 1846; January 5, 19, February 2, March 30, September 30, 1847; January 20, February 10, 17, March 16, 30, April 27, October 19, 1848; January 18, 25, July 12, August 9, October 11, 1849; January 10, February 28, 1850; July 24, 1851; October 13, 1853; January 12, 19, 1854; January 4, 1855; October 29, 1857; July 1, 1858; May 3, October 11, 1860; January 9, 1861; Southern Watchman, April 22, 1858; Augustus Longstreet Hull, ed., Sketches from the Early History of Athens, Georgia, 1801-1825 (Athens, 1884), 13-14, 25, 38-39; Hull, Annals of Athens (Athens, 1906), 145; J. J. Rove, publisher, History of Athens and Clarke County, Georgia (Athens, 1923), 125.

APPENDIX G

LAWYERS

Many outstanding lawyers were associated by birth, practice, or both with Athens and Clarke County during antebellum days. Perhaps
the best-known were Augustin S. Clayton, brothers Joseph Henry and Wilson Lumpkin, brothers Howell and Thomas R. R. Cobb, and Young L. G. Harris. Clayton began his practice in the county before the end of its first decade and continued to serve the area in many ways for several decades. At various times he served as a state senator and representative, as a United States representative, and as judge of the Western Judicial Circuit. He also was a planter and active in the movements which brought cotton manufacturing plants and the Georgia Railroad to Athens. Clayton was described as a strong, logical, and eloquent orator and as an able, fearless statesman.

Joseph Henry Lumpkin was born in Oglethorpe County and educated at the University of Georgia and Princeton. He helped form the state penal code of 1833 and was chosen as one of the state's first Supreme Court justices in 1845. He and Thomas R. R. Cobb were principal founders of the Lumpkin Law School in Athens in 1859. He stood for equity and justice. He was a strong advocate of temperance, and he was highly respected as a man who practiced, as well as preached, his religion.

Wilson Lumpkin was born in Virginia in 1783 and came to Georgia with his family in 1784. Law and politics were his chief interests, and at various times he served as justice of the peace, inferior court judge, Georgia governor, and United States senator and representative. Wilson Lumpkin was a successful politician while his brother was a recognized authority on the law. They have been compared in this way: "One a shrewd politician, the other abhoring politics; one commanding by his ability, the other persuading by his eloquence; one robust in his aggressiveness, the other fond of study; one a Baptist, the other a Presbyterian; one an adherent of Clark, the other of Troup; one a Democrat, the other a Whig; one tall, the other short in stature, but both men of striking presence, and both of great ability."

The Cobb brothers were sons of John Addison Cobb, a native of North Carolina who came to Athens after living for a time in Jefferson County. Howell Cobb served one term as governor of Georgia, in 1851-1853, and six terms as Georgia representative in the United States Congress. As speaker of the House, he helped to effect the compromise of 1850 by which the North-South slavery arguments temporarily were adjusted. Later he served as Secretary of the Treasury under President James Buchanan. After secession, he became president of the provincial congress of the Confederate States of America and later a general in the Confederate Army.

Thomas R. R. Cobb served as reporter for the state supreme court in the 1850s, and he helped to prepare the state code in 1860. He also served as a Confederate general and was killed at Fredericksburg.
Considerable praise was directed toward him for his work as Supreme Court reporter. He compiled 167 volumes of these reports for which he was paid the grandiose sum of $835. Thomas Cobb was instrumental in the development of the Oconee Cemetery and the Lucy Cobb Institute in Athens. A contemporary wrote that it was impossible to compare the Cobb brothers because they were so different. "The Governor controlled men by unequalled management and tact; the General by the irresistible force of argument. The Governor was the greater politician, the General the greater lawyer. While the wonderful talents of both commanded respect, the social qualities, the general bonhomie, the generous open-heartedness of the Governor secured your love, the commanding power of intellect prominent in all the General said or did excited the admiration."2

Young L. G. Harris was an official of the Southern Mutual Fire Insurance Company in Athens for fifty years, but perhaps is best remembered for his contribution to religion. He was superintendent of the First Methodist Church Sunday School for many years, and he was generous in his support of religious and educational work. Young Harris College was named in his honor.

William L. Mitchell, A. O. Lochrane, Junius Hillyer, and many other Clarke lawyers also served with distinction. Mitchell served for a time as head of the Lumpkin Law School. Lochrane became an outstanding chief justice of the state supreme court, and Hillyer served in several important capacities. He served as solicitor general and judge of the western judicial circuit. He represented the area in the United States Congress in the early 1850s, and he was solicitor of the United State Treasury from 1857 to 1861. Lochrane's rise to fame is particularly interesting. He was an Irish immigrant who drifted to Athens in the 1840s and found employment as a clerk in a drugstore. In 1844 he made such an impressive speech in behalf of temperance that his friends induced him to study law, and in 1850 he was admitted to the bar in Watkinsville.

The following men practiced law in the county at least part of the decade in which they are listed:

1802-1810 Peter Williamson (apparently the county's first lawyer and its only one for two or three years), Edward Paine, E. B. Jenkins, Howell W. Runnels, Young Gresham, Reuben Hill, and Augustin S. Clayton
1811-1820 Williamson, Hill, Gresham, Paine, Clayton, Charles E. Haynes, Gabriel Matthews, and Walton Harriss


1. Augustus Longstreet Hull, Sketches of Athens, Georgia from 1830-1865 (Athens, 1893), 44-45.
2. Ibid., 36-37.

For further documentation and information concerning the materials discussed in this appendix, please see the Tax Digests of Clarke County, 1802-1814, 1819-1860 (1815-1818 are no longer available). Georgia Express, June 19, 1809. Athenian, February 8, 29, September 2, 1828; May 19, 26, 1829, March 2, April 27, September 21, 1830; March 15, 22, September 20, December 27, 1831; February 28, 1832. Southern Banner, August 3, 1833; January 4, March 22, 1834; January 8, 1835; March 10, 1836; July 1, 1837; February 29, 1840; September 2, 1842; March 3, 1843; December 23, 1845; March 8, October 11, 1849; August 24, 1854; June 14, 1855; March 6, 1856; January 1, 1857. William J. Northen, ed., Men of Mark in Georgia (Atlanta, 1907-1912), II, 310-311, 315-321, 357-359; III, 155-162, 203-206, 503-504, 556-581; V, 369-372. Augustus Longstreet Hull, ed., Sketches From the Early History of Athens, Georgia, 1801-1825 (Athens, 1884), 24. Augustus Longstreet Hull, Sketches of Athens, Georgia, From 1830-1865 (Athens, 1893), 36, 44-45. H. J. Rowe, publisher, History of Athens and Clarke County, Georgia (Athens, 1923), 32, 108. E. Merton Coulter, College Life in the Old South (New York, 1928), 269. Georgia Laws, 1857 (Columbus, 1858), 17-22, (approved December 21, 1857).
Despite its progress in business, manufacturing, and other areas, Clarke County's economy was strongly influenced by an increasing number of slaves. The number of slaves was somewhat smaller than the number of whites in the early years, but by the 1850s it was slightly larger. The first tax digest in 1802 reported 1,143 slaves and 863 persons filing taxes. This suggests that slaves made up somewhere between a third and a fourth of the total number of persons in the county. The first census that included Clarke was in 1810. At that time there were 2,500 slaves out of a total population of 7,628, or slightly less than a third. The number of slaves increased rapidly in the next two decades and by 1830 made up close to a half of the population, 4,709 as compared with 5,467 free persons, virtually all white.

The swing toward slavery was arrested in the 1830s when 10 more whites than Negroes were added to the population. But the trend was resumed in the 1840s and continued at a slower rate in the 1850s. In the 1840s the slave population increased by slightly more than 700 while the white population declined by about a hundred. This meant that in 1850 the slave population of 5,598, slightly outnumbered the white population of 5,513. Fewer than one hundred persons were added to the total in the 1850s, but seventy-one of them were slaves. In 1860 there were 5,660 slaves out of a total of 11,218.

Even in Athens and Watkinsville the divisions were fairly close, although the whites outnumbered the slaves. Athens in 1860 had 1,955 whites as compared with 1,892 slaves and one free Negro. Watkinsville had 447 whites and 426 slaves.

It should not be assumed from the large number of slaves, however, that most or even a large number of whites had slaves. The tax digests indicate that only about 10 percent of the whites owned any slaves at all and most of them had only a few. Less than 2 percent of the white population owned as many as twenty slaves and could be classified as planters. The tax digests indicate that the county never had more than a hundred planters at any one time, and some of these had larger holding in other counties. To qualify as a planter, a man had to own at least twenty slaves. There were five planters in 1802, ten in 1810, and about twenty in 1820. The number jumped to sixty in the early 1830s and leveled off at about seventy in the early 1840s. In 1860 Clarke had some seventy planters among the 544 slaveowners in its white population of about 5,500.
John A. Cobb, with 209 slaves, and Robert Taylor, with 247 slaves, owned the largest number of slaves reported in the Clarke County Tax Digests. They returned taxes based on these figures in the 1840s, and they were the only ones ever to report 200 or more slaves at any time. Daniel Easley is perhaps best-known of the early planters, since he also owned a great deal of property near Athens and several lots in that town. William Strong, Sr., and James Hayes were prominent planters in the first two decades; Stevens (Stephens) Thomas, Edward Paine, William Stroud, A. S. Clayton, Barton Thrasher, and Cobb were among the leading planters in the 1820s and 1830s. Thomas probably was better known as a storekeeper, but he returned taxes on as many as a hundred slaves in the 1830s. Cobb owned considerable property in Jackson and Jefferson counties as well as in the Trail Creek area of Clarke County and in Athens. Clayton was a well-known lawyer, legislator, and judge, and Paine and Walker were also lawyers as well as planters. Stroud and Thrasher continued to be among the principal slaveholders in the county throughout the antebellum period.

The value of slaves varied with the supply and demand for them and with the age, sex, and physical characteristics of the individuals. Older and sometimes feeble slaves had no monetary value at all while some of the strong young field hands might be worth from five hundred to one thousand dollars or more. Later tax digests, which report the total value as well as the number of slaves, indicate that the average value of slaves in Clarke County was between five hundred and seven hundred dollars each.

Some of the major slave holders are listed below by decades. While spellings sometimes vary as Hay, Hays, Hayes, and Fulwood, Fullwood, and Easly, Easley, it seems certain that the same individuals are involved so the most frequent spelling is used.


1811-1820 James Hays, Robert Fullwood, William Strong, Sr., Bedford Brown, Young Gresham, Stevens Thomas, Sherwood Strong, and William Harvie

1821-1825 George Hays, Stevens Thomas, Als Moore, Sherwood Strong, Gabriel Moffet, Sterling and Howell Elder, and Bosworth B. Degrafteneed

Elder, James Meriweather, Rebecca Bostick, and James Tinsley


1836-1840 John A. Cobb, Stevens Thomas, Edward Paine, Barton Thrasher, and Jacob Phinizy

1841-1845 Stevens Thomas, Burnell Pope, Barton Thrasher, William Stroud, Jacob Phinizy, and Robert Taylor

1846-1850 Barton Thrasher, William Stroud, John Billups, Thomas E. Williamson

1851-1855 John Billups, Barton Thrasher, William Stroud, Issac Thrasher, Lewis Lester, Sr.


APPENDIX I

BUSINESS DIRECTORY

This directory is compiled largely from advertisements in various Athens newspapers, especially the Southern Banner, and from the business directories published by the Athens newspapers in the late 1850s. Those persons and firms listed either advertised at some time during the decade in which they are listed or were listed in one of the newspaper directories. Since some persons possibly did not advertise, the list may not be complete. It does show, however, that many persons were involved in one or more businesses in the county and that business turnover was fairly rapid. Some of the principal businessmen, as listed in the tax digests, are referred to in the main text.

Auction and Commission Business (Auctioneer)

1831-1840 Samuel Frost; R. Rogers

1841-1850 Samuel Frost; R. Rogers and J. Reynolds; John Reynolds; W. H. Dorsey; L. M. Shackelford
1851-1860 W. H. Dorsey; B. B. Moon; T. M. Lampkin

**Banking**

1831-1840 Athens Branch, State Bank; Georgia Railroad and Banking Co.
1841-1850 Athens Branch, State Bank
1851-1860 Athens Branch, State Bank; Bank of Athens

**Barber-Hairdresser**

1821-1830 Turner Smith (Augusta)
1831-1840 Albert Quash
1841-1850 Bernardo J. Arze; John Truelle (hair stylist)
1851-1860 Bernardo J. Arze; John Truelle (hair stylist)

**Blacksmiths**

1801-1810 Samuel Wier
1831-1840 N. Holbrook
1841-1850 W. P. Talmadge; William S. Hemphill; John A. Martin; John H. Newton; Thomas G. Hall
1850-1861 William P. Talmadge; W. S. Hemphill; Robert Monteith; M. E. McWhorter; J. C. Orr

**Boarding Houses**

1800-1810 Warham Easley
1811-1820 Captain John Cary; Solomon Betton Begs; Major McKigney; Sam Brown
1821-1830 Mrs. Fulwood; Robert R. Hardin; Leander Erwin; John Dawson
1831-1840 Sam Brown; W. L. Mitchell; J. Jackson
1841-1850 A. Brydie; J. F. Goneke; G. L. Jules D'Autel

**Books and Stationery**

1801-1810 Unnamed store in Watkinsville
1811-1820 John R. Golding
1821-1830 George W. Shaw and J. C. Edwards; George W. Shaw
1831-1840 George W. Shaw; S. Tenney and Company (with John Clarke); S. Tenny; S. Tenney and Company (with Albon Chase)
1841-1850 Albon Chase; Albon Chase and Company; Chase and (J. S.) Peterson; J. J. Richards, William C. Richards and Company; William N. White.
1851-1861 Chase and Peterson; J. S. Peterson, William N. White and Brother (C. F.); White and Peterson; W. McDowell; Athens Baptist Depository
Book Binders
1831-1840 J. C. F. Clark; Clark and Burdine; S. Tenney
1841-1850 R. J. Maynard (with A. Chase and Company for a time)
1851-1861 Alfred Henderson; Joe Grimes

Botanic Medicine
1831-1840 William J. Mitchell, practitioner; Thomas S. Mood
1841-1850 Drs. Briggs and Musetter

Brick Masons and Plasterers
1851-1860 J. R. Carlton; W. P. Betsell; Ross Crane; T. P. Jeffries; Robert G. Williams

Cabinet Makers
1831-1840 Samuel Frost
1841-1850 Jacob Autry; Elisha Holland; D. M. Clower
1851-1860 William Wood; William E. Dixon; William Buchanan

House Carpenters
1800-1810 Jeff Thomas
1841-1850 A. Conger
1851-1860 A. Conger; J. S. Riden; Richard Saye; John Gilliland; James and John Colt; J. L. Whitman; J. A. Witherspoon; Anderson Smith; French Haggard; J. M. Williams; Milton Murphy

Carriage Manufactories and Repositories
1820-1830 Meredith Snead; Ely Clark and Benjamin Young; John Reynolds; Clarke and Young; Reynolds and Clarke
1831-1840 James Witter, Witter and Moreland (prior to that); John Reynolds and Company; B. Pope and Company; John Reynolds
1841-1850 Ely K. Clark, Daniel Van Houten and Michael S. Barrett; Schevenel and Hammond; Richard S. Schevenel and Son; Josiah Newton; John Reynolds and Company; Clarke; E. R. Hodgson and Brothers; Van Houten and Barrett; Richard S. Schevenell; Edward Lampkin; George P. Fellows and Charles Miller; Thomas G. Hall
1851-1860 E. R. Hodgson and Brothers; J. B. Burpee; Richard S. Schevenell; M. M. Turbyfill; E. K. Clark; Van Houten and Barrett; Watkins Baynon; Clark, Schevenell and Company (E. K. Clark, Oswald Schevenell and R. S. Schevenell); Charles M. Simpson; Gove and Simpson
Clothes and Tailoring

1801-1810 Ira E. Paschal, Watkinsville; William H. Hunt
1811-1820 Ira Paschal, Watkinsville; Paschall and Hubbard, Watkinsville; Samuel B. Hutchinson, Watkinsville; William H. Hunt
1821-1830 L. Schoonmaker; Wood and Jones; E. Wood
1831-1840 L. Schoonmaker; S. and Willard Whiting; Clock, Morrison and Company (D. Clock, William A. Morrison, T. and J. Cunningham); D. Clock and Company; (B. F.) Crane and (William) Morrison; William Fielding, Watkinsville; William Witter; David Holmes and Thomas Underwood; Thomas C. Underwood; Shelton and Bush; Herbert and Stone; A. Brydie; B. F. Crane; Taylor and Company
1841-1850 Frederick S. S. Hunt; Watkins Baynon; B. J. Evans; W. H. H. White; Ferry and Company; William Garvin; E. N. Butler; William Fielding; B. F. Crane; William A. Morrison and Thomas Sherwood; William A. Morrison; W. A. Morrison and Company (with Watkins Baynon); Winfrey and Morrison; Mallory, Ferry and Company; W. H. H. White; E. Vanderleith; Benson and Close; (B. F.) Crane and (William A.) Morrison
1851-1860 R. L. Bloomfield; E. Vanderleith; W. H. H. White; W. H. H. White and Company (with William Garvin); William Garvin; J. G. Garvin; (W. H. H.) White and (J. E.) Ritch; Wilson, Newton, and Company; Wilson and Veal; Lucas and Phinizy; Grady and Nicholson; Ferry and Company; M. Jacobs and Brother; E. L. Ferry; F. W. and E. L. Ferry; (E. L.) Ferry and (S. C.) Reese; J. Spring and Simmons; Orr and Langston; E. N. Butler; R. C. Wilson; (R. C.) Wilson and (George J.) Veal; F. Miller

Confectionaries (Bakeries)

1831-1840 A. Brydie; James Witter; Clower and Hart; Francis Walron's
1841-1850 John R. Moore; A. Brydie (George Cates baker there); William A. Talmadge and Company (William Burtloff, baker); T. S. Reynolds; Hansel Dillard
1851-1860 William McDowell; Servatius and Davenport; Joseph A. Patat; John Sansom; (J. M.) Winterich and (Joseph) Servatius; Hansel Dillard; C. W. Anderson

Drugstores (Apothecaries)

1831-1840 Linton and Bacon; E. Lord and Company; Reese and Lord;
McNees and Wells; William B. Wells and Company (Ebenezer Newton); William Bacon; Charles M. Reese

1841-1850 W. B. Wells and Company; William Bacon; Edward R. Ware (M. D.); Doctor Reese; Reese and Ware; A. Alexander; A. Alexander and Company (S. P. Reed, M. D.); Doctors (A. A. Franklin) Hill and (R. M.) Smith

1851-1861 Doctors Hill and Smith; Doctors (R. M.) Smith and (H. C.) Billups; A. K. Childs and J. J. Adams; Dr. R. M. Smith; C. W. and H. R. J. Long

Dry Goods and Groceries

1801-1810 Edward Cary and Company; Stevens Thomas
1811-1820 Stevens Thomas; Anthony F. Golding and Company
1821-1830 Andrew Graham; E. Wood; Wood and Jones; John I. Huggins; T. and J. Cunningham and Company; J. White and Company; S. J. Mays; E. L. Newton; John Jackson
1831-1840 Henderson Gilleland; Benjamin Elliott; John I. Cheatham and Company (John H. Newton and Cheatham); James Witter; Samuel Brown; J. L. Anderson; Anderson and (B. F.) Kendrick; S. Tenney; A. Bennett; T. Hancock and Company (Hancock, J. C. Edwards and James A. Wright); T. and J. Cunningham and Company; J. W. Jones; Crittenden and Company (J. C. and L. Stocking); H. A. Fraser and Company; William Brown; J. White and Company; W. L. Mitchell; N. Janagin; Watkins Baynon; Scott and Company; (S. J.) Mays and (William W.) Clayton; John H. Newton; Beecher and Brown; S. J. Mays; Mitchell and Elsberry; E. L. Newton and Company (Newton and S. Tenney); E. L. Newton; George A. Connally and Company; Samuel Tenney; Thomas Bishop
1841-1850 S. B. Redfield and Son; Crane and Morrison; A. Alexander and Company; R. Anderson; C. B. Lyle; (Lewis J.) Lampkin and (John B.) Cobb; James Bancroft and Company; Andrew and Thomas Baxter; (Thomas R.) Andrews and (John F.) Phinizy; John F. Phinizy; Peleg Churchill; T. M. White; T. M. and H. White; Athens New Store; L. R. Butler; Thomas Bishop; Thomas H. Wilson; Newton and Lucas; Summey, Trammel and Company; George Pringle; George Pringle and Company; Pringle and (Charles O.) Martindale; Smith and Stovall, (A. S.) Hill and (B. M.) Moss; Hill, Moss and Company
1851-1861 (L. R.) Butler and (D. N.) Judson; D. N. Judson; Thomas Bishop; Thomas Bishop and Son; Lucas and Phinizy; Lucas
and Billups (with J. M. Billups); R. L. Moss and Company; Huggins and Hampton; P. E. Moore; Thomas Crawford; Crawford and Stapler; John B. Cobb; Cobb and Crawford; (J. R.) Matthews and (J. A.) Browning; J. R. and L. C. Matthews; Patman and Company; Colt and Colbert; J. I. Colt; John Johnson; McWherter and Erwin; Lampkin and Lumpkin; Lampkin, Lumpkin, and Company; Grady and Nicholson; Nicholson, Reaves, and Wynn; J. W. Reaves and Company; B. W. Rumney; Pitner, England, and Freeman; (John C.) Pitner and (James S. and J. E.) England; Pitner, England and Company; I. Seymour and Company; I. and P. W. Seymour; Mathews and Patman; Sansom and Pittard; Kenny and Sledge; Isaac M. Kenney; Kenney and Lee; William A. Gilbert; Frank Dorsey; Goodman and Newton; R. H. Goodman; T. H. Wilson and Brother; Thomas H. Wilson; N. Holbrook; Newton and Lucas; Summey, Trammel, and Company; A. J. Brady; Rich and Stovall; W. P. and J. C. Turner; R. H. Wilson; M. Jacobs and Brother; Lyle, Comer and Hampton; Moore and Carlton; (J. W.) Horton, (P. E.) Moore, and (J. A.) Carlton; P. E. Moore; J. Spring and Simmons; Hill, Moss and Company; B. M. Hill; B. M. Hill and Company

Express

1851-1861 Adams Express Company of Charleston; Combs and Company Southern Express

Furniture

1800-1810 Warham Easley
1841-1850 S. C. Oliver and Samuel Frost

Gas

1851-1860 Grady and Nicholson; Athens Gas Light Company

Hardware and Crockery

1851-1861 A. M. Wyng; W. A. Patman; Griffeth and Williford

Harness Making - Saddling

1800-1810 Richard Wilson
1811-1820 Richard Wilson
1831-1840 John D. Mitchell; Smith and Weatherly; Clark and Mitchell; Daniel B. McCullough
1841-1850 James Royal; E. R. Hodgson and Brothers; W. S. Weatherly

**Hats and Caps**

1811-1820 Abner Crow; Lewis Lampkin and Company; Lewis Lampkin
1831-1840 Nichols and Gay; Philip Lampkin, Watkinsville
1851-1860 Reese and Lumpkin

**Hotels**

1811-1820 John Cary; Samuel Brown
1821-1830 Athens Hotel; Franklin Hotel; Georgia Hotel; Letcher Mitchell's; Watkinsville; Globe Tavern
1831-1840 W. L. Mitchell's; Georgia; Franklin; Planter's; Athens; Gallher's; Railroad; Village Inn; Helicon Springs; Eagle; Watkinsville; Central
1841-1850 Central; W. L. Mitchell's; Franklin House; Planter's; Newton House; Helicon Springs; Eagle
1851-1861 Lanier House; Newton House; Athens Hotel; Central; Lumpkin House; Franklin House; John R. Allman; Hancock; Kerlin's Hotel

**Ice**

1851-1860 John Kirkpatrick

**Insurance**

1841-1850 Southern Mutual Insurance Company
1851-1860 Southern Mutual Insurance Company; Georgia Equitable Insurance Company; The Athens Insurance Company

**Iron**

1831-1840 Finny Moore
1831-1860 Athens Steam Company (Athens Foundry and Machine Works after 1863)

**Jewelry and Fancyware**

1821-1830 G. D. Edwards (repairs); B. B. Lord and Company
1831-1840 W. P. Sage; Charles H. Gay; B. B. Lord and Company (B. B. and E. Lord and W. P. Sage); B. Lord and Company
1841-1850 W. P. Sage; Charles Catlin; Otis Childs; A. K. and Otis Childs; Jules D'Aurert
1850-1861 William Gallaber; Thomas McDowell

Leather Goods
1821-1830 William B. Moreland
1851-1860 Watkinsville Leather Manufacturing Company

Livery Stable
1821-1830 John A. Byrd
1831-1840 P. M. Wells; James Witter
1841-1850 John Reynolds and Company (Albon Chase)
1851-1860 Saulter and Ivy; J. A. Browning and Company (Josiah A. Browning, Milledge S. Durham, and William P. Harden); Browning and Durham

Loan
1831-1840 William Williams
1851-1860 Athens Building and Loan

Mattress Maker
1841-1850 J. H. Price

Millinery and Mantua
1821-1830 Sarah Mades; Mrs. Mary Edwards; Mrs. C. C. Hall; Mrs. Ann Sledge
1831-1840 Mrs. M. A. Taylor, Miss J. E. Bryan; Miss Eliza Mankin; Mrs. Bradfield
1841-1850 Mrs. E. Pritchard; Miss Lanigahn; Miss Strong; Mrs. A. Bennett; Louisa Frances Towns; Mrs. Benson; Miss Eliza Mankin; Miss Gardner; Mrs. Alexander; Mrs. Hall
1851-1860 Miss. A. S. Scisson; Mrs. McDowell; Mrs. Vanderkith; Mrs. Crawford; E. M. Smith; S. T. Potts; M. B. Myers; Mrs. E. Pritchard; Miss Brewer; Mrs. Loeb; Mrs. Harper

(Flour) Mill
1801-1810 Benjamin Parr

(Saw) Mills
1800-1810 Warham Easley; R. S. Easley; John Hampton
1811-1820 William Shaw
Commercial Nurserymen
1851-1860 Dr. G. Smythe; E. Bancroft

(House, Sign, and Ornamental) Painting
1821-1830 John Reynolds (signs)
1831-1840 Robert C. Thompson; States Lewis; John Reynolds
1841-1850 E. White
1851-1860 C. S. Oliver; Robert Witherspoon; B. J. Parr; C. J. Oliver; Perry Smith; Wilson McMillan; M. T. Kendrick; M. Bone

Paper
1851-1860 Pioneer Paper Manufacturing Company

Photographers
(Most probably visited only for a time)
1841-1850 W. L. Carr and Company; R. L. Wood and Company
1851-1860 J. F. O'Kelly (permanent resident); G. W. Motes; R. M. Hitch; William T. Harris; A. K. Zuky; M. A. Cooper; A. B. Hutchings; I. Tucker; J. W. Watson; Fred Valentine; W. H. Chalmers; Nunn and Cary of Savannah; Tucker and Perkins of Augusta; William B. Sier; R. H. Lewis; Almond and Talmadge; Henry Mahler

Pianos (repair, tuning)
(Most probably visited only for a time)
1851-1860 O. B. Rice; T. A. E. Bahnstedt; Joseph Fury; Morris Steinert

Portraits
(Most probably visited only for a time)
1841-1850 B. H. Warner
1851-1860 J. J. Bisbee; Job Inman

Printers
1851-1860 T. S. Reynolds

Restaurants
1800-1810 Eagle Tavern
1841-1850 William Veronee; Temperance Coffee House (A. Brydie)

Rifles, Guns, and Pistols
1831-1840 E. H. Rogers and G. W. Hart
1841-1850 Rogers

Shoes and Boots
1800-1810 William H. Hunt
1821-1830 William B. Moreland; (George W.) Shaw and (J. C.) Edwards
1831-1840 B. Starks; John F. Bogert; R. Rogers; J. Robinson and Company; Jessee Robinson; Samuel Tenney
1851-1860 Barry and Hughes; Patrick Barry; (S. C.) Reese and (C.) Lumpkin; Charles M. Lumpkin; E. L. Ferry; Ferry and Reese; W. T. Starke; N. W. Haudrup; Haudrup and Wiel; J. Bishoff; D. M. McClesky; John H. Newton; James Bridges; Charles Hughes; Ferry and Company; Edward R. Ware; Orr and Langston (hat and shoe)

Stages
1821-1830 Athens and Augusta
1831-1840 Athens to Clarkesville (J. W. Martin); Bradford and Shaw (Athens to Helicon Springs)
1841-1850 H. N. Wilson (Athens to Union Point)
1851-1860 W. Crawford (railroad passengers); W. P. Smith (Athens to Gainesville)

Tanning
1800-1810 Richard Easley; Thornton Jones; Josiah Meigs
1831-1840 Watkins Baynon and William L. Cherry
1851-1860 John Kirkpatrick; McClesky and Doyle

Tin and Coppersmithing
1821-1830 William Veronee
1831-1840 William Veronee
1841-1850 William Veronee
1851-1860 William A. Patman

Wagon Making
1841-1850 J. Laseter; John A. Martin
1851-1860 George P. Fellows; Thomas Hinton

Warehouse and Commission
1831-1840 J. A. Anderson and John Rees; John Rees; A. Slaughter and C. Labuzar's; (Samuel) Clarke, (Francis) McTeir and Company (H. Lawrence); W. and H. Bryson; Edward Bustin; Musgrove and Bustin

Wines and Liquors
1841-1850 William L. Cherry; Dotson and Cherry; George Booth; Saulter and Joy; George J. and Robert Booth
Several source materials are particularly helpful in the study of antebellum Athens and Clarke County. The most useful official manuscripts are the Athens Council Minutes (1847-1877, in the Athens City Clerk's office), the Clarke County Inferior Court Minutes (1802-1865, in the Clarke County Ordinary's office), the Clarke County Superior Court Minutes (1801-1862, in the Clarke County Clerk's office), and the Clarke County Tax Digests (1802-1814, 1819-1861, in the Clarke County Ordinary's office). Unfortunately, the early council minutes were destroyed. Those for the years 1847-1861 are available, however, and give a good survey of what the city government was doing. The inferior court minutes give somewhat similar information about the county, since that court was an executive and legislative as well as a judicial body. The superior court minutes are generally helpful in that they provide information about the judicial processes and events. They are especially helpful because they include the reports and recommendations of the various grand juries. Although a few years are missing, the tax digests give a good overall picture of the economic status of the county. They indicate, for example, the number of slaves owned by various citizens; and in the latter years they include the value of these slaves. The tax digests also identify the professional men in the county, including doctors and lawyers. Some valuable material about Athens can be found in the Senatus Academicus and Trustee Minutes of the University of Georgia. Among the better unofficial manuscripts available are the Howell Cobb Collection, Col. David C. Barrow Papers, Carlton-Newton-Mell Collection, Wilson Lumpkin Papers, and Original Documents Relating to the University of Georgia (all located in the University of Georgia library in Athens).

The United States Census Reports, although not as complete for the antebellum period as they are today, provide much useful information about population, manufacturing, agriculture, and religion. Various other government publications including the American State Papers, Class II, Indian Affairs, 2 vols. (Washington, 1832) and the reports on Indians by the Bureau of Ethnology (William H. Gilbert, "The Eastern Cherokees," in Anthropological Papers No. 23,
Bulletin 133 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1943; Frederick W. Hodge, ed., Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Bulletin 30, U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, 2 parts, Washington, 1907) provide background material on the county’s earliest inhabitants, the Indians. Students interested in this area should also consult the University of Georgia’s anthropology department about the Indian collections in the area.

Various digests and compilations of Georgia laws and the sessions reports themselves give information about the basic changes in city and county government. They also provide information about principal business developments. Laws incorporating churches, social organizations, and other groups are included.

Newspapers are an important source of information about all phases of community activity. The Southern Banner, 1833-1861 (Athens) provides a good general picture of life in the latter antebellum days, although newspapers then were not as concerned about local affairs as those of today. The Georgia Express, 1808-1813 (Athens) and the Athens Gazette, 1814-1817 provide some information about the first two decades of the county’s history. The Athenian, 1828-1832 gives a fairly complete report for those years. The Southern Whig, 1846-1850, (Athens) contributes both to the general picture and to clarification of Whig views. The Southern Watchman, 1855-1861 (Athens) is especially helpful to those interested in getting the union side of the secession issue as presented by Southerners. Its general reports are good also.

Aside from the materials mentioned above, the best first-hand accounts of life in the county were provided by Doctor Henry Hull, Augustus Longstreet Hull, and James Silk Buckingham. Augustus Hull edited his father’s sketches of the period (Sketches From the Early History of Athens, Georgia, 1801-1825 By Doctor Henry Hull, Athens, 1884); and he wrote his own sketches (Sketches of Athens, Georgia, From 1830-1865. Athens, 1893); he wrote a sketch of the university (A Historical Sketch of the University of Georgia. Atlanta, 1894); and he concluded his chronicling efforts of Athens with a book (Annals of Athens, Georgia, 1801-1901. Athens, 1906). Augustus Hull’s account of what the people were like and how they lived is most helpful. Buckingham was an English traveler who visited Athens in 1839 and described in some detail what he saw and experienced there. He discussed such diverse topics as social events, life in the cotton factories, and town government and organization in a most interesting manner. This material is to be found in his Slave States of America (London and Paris, 1842).
Dr. E. Merton Coulter's *College Life in the Old South* (New York, 1928) gives a detailed account of the University of Georgia's development, and it includes much information about Athens. Coulter's *Georgia: A Short History* (Chapel Hill, 1947) is helpful in placing Athens and Clarke County in perspective, and Horace Montgomery's *Cracker Parties* (Baton Rouge, 1950) is useful in placing county politics in perspective. William J. Northen's seven-volume *Men of Mark in Georgia* (Atlanta, 1907-1912) includes short biographies of a number of Clarke County residents, including Augustin S. Clayton, Young L. G. Harris, Thomas R. R. Cobb, Howell Cobb, and Joseph Henry Lumpkin. Elbert W. G. Boogher's *Secondary Education in Georgia, 1732-1858* (Camden, 1933) is valuable in that area. Louis T. Griffith and John Talmadge discuss Athens newspapers in their *Georgia Journalism, 1763-1950* (Athens, 1951), and Bertram H. Flanders discusses other Athens periodicals in his *Early Georgia Magazines, Literary Periodicals to 1865* (Athens, 1944). A helpful discussion of Clarke County's antebellum manufactories can be found in Cora Eliza O'Kelley's thesis, "Antebellum Manufactories in Clarke County, Georgia" (University of Georgia, Athens, 1940).

Aside from available church records and newspaper accounts, the best source materials on the churches are as follows: Edward Baker Mell's *A Short History of Athens Baptist Church . . . 1830-1953* (Athens, 1954); Samuel Boykin's *History of the Baptist Denomination in Georgia* (Atlanta, 1881); Robert Preston Brooks's *A Brief History of the First Methodist Church, Athens* (Athens, 1924); Robert Cummins Wilson's *Methodism in Athens . . . 1801-1953* (Athens, 1953); James Allison Jones's thesis, "History of the First Presbyterian Church of Athens, Georgia" (Athens, 1949); *One Hundred Years of Life: Emmanuel Episcopal Church . . . 1843-1943* (Athens, 1943); and J. Edward Moseley's *Disciples of Christ in Georgia* (St. Louis, 1954).
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This index includes references to persons and topics mentioned in the text and notes. Many additional persons and businesses are included in the appendices.

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Legend for Map

[Note: At this time many residences occupied an entire block]

1. John Thomas Grant residence
2. Mrs. John (Penina) Thomas residence
3. Joseph H. Lumpkin residence
4. T. R. R. Cobb residence
5. Law School
6. E. M. Smith and S. T. Potts residence and dressmakers
7. Camak residence
8. Botanical Garden [boundary speculative]
9. Residence
10. Young L. G. Harris residence
11. Albon Chase residence
12. Dr. Malthus Ward residence
13. Mrs. Christopher C. Meeker residence
14. Blanton Hill residence
15. Stevens Thomas residence
16. Ross Crane residence
17. Mandeville residence
18. Harden residence
19. Residence (later Presbyterian Manse)
20. Vincent residence
21. Methodist Parsonage
22. Methodist Church
23. Town Hall and Market
24. Junius Hillyer residence
25. Office of the Southern Cultivator
26. Episcopal Rectory
27. Asbury Hull residence
28. Thomas Wray residence
29. Goulding residence
30. A. M. Scudder residence and school
31. Presbyterian Church
32. Residence (later Stern residence-Regional library)
33. S. J. Mays residence (later Gerdine)
34. Dougherty-Huggins residence
35. John H. Newton residence
36. Episcopal Church
37. Will Delony residence
38. In this block, north to south:
   Talmadge & Winn, music, jewelry
   H. A. Lowrance and C. E. Lancaster, dentists [over Talmadge]
   J. Spring & Simmons, dry goods
   B. W. Rumney, cloth, clothing
   Mrs. B. Myers, millinery, fancy goods
   T. H. Wilson and Brothers, dry goods
   The Newton House, hotel
   White & Ritch, men's clothing [ground floor Newton House]

College Campus:
39. Library building
40. Ivy building
41. Demosthenian Hall
42. Phi Kappa Hall
43. Chapel
44. New College
45. Old College
46. Philosophical Hall (now Waddell Hall)
47. The President's House
48. Faculty houses
49. Dr. Henry C. Billups residence
50. Dr. Edward Ware residence (now Lyndon House)
51. Residence (birthplace of Henry W. Grady)
52. Dr. John S. Linton residence
53. Dr. Nathan Hoyt residence
54. Miss Emily Witherspoon's school
55. Col. L. H. Charbonnier residence
56. The Athens Female Academy (Mrs. Coley's School)
57. Frierson residence
58. Col. Frank Hardeman (later Brumby) residence

(Legend continued on back of the map.)
59. J. M. Reaves residence
60. Dr. Henry Hull residence
61. Gas Works
62. Dr. W. A. Carlton residence
63. Mr. James Carlton residence
64. Dr. R. D. Moore residence
65. Baptist Church
66. The Lombard building
   C. B. Lombard, dentist
   N. W. Haudrup, shoe shop
67. Dr. Robert M. Smith, residence
   and office
68. Joseph Patat, bakery
69. The State Bank
70. A. S. Clayton residence, and
   residence and office of William
   King, physician
71. P. A. Summey residence
72. A. K. Childs residence
73. Athens Foundry and Machine
    Works
74. Post Office
   Upstairs: Charles Hughes, shoe
   manufacture
75. William N. White, bookstore
   Upstairs:
   W. W. Lumpkin, attorney
   A. A. Franklin Hill, attorney
   Pope Barrow, attorney
   H. Gilleland, dentist
   Benardo Arze, barber
76. A. S. and M. H. Mandeville,
    clocks, guns
77. Crawford W. Long, drugs
78. James M. Royal, harness
79. Stores on this side of Broad
    [locations somewhat specula-
     tive]:
80. Stevens Thomas, dry goods
81. Stores on this side:
   T. Bishop and Son, groceries, 
   hardware
   F. W. Lucas, dry goods
   James A. Carlton, dry goods
   Moss and Newton, dry goods
   Office of the Watchman
   [upstairs]
   Isaac M. Kenney, dry goods,
   clothing
   Sanders and Motes, art gal-
   lery [over Kenney]
   The Bank of Athens
82. The Franklin House, hotel
83. Richard S. Schevenell, coach
    works
84. Town Spring
85. James Fulton, boys' school
86. Thomas Bishop residence
87. Old Cemetery
88. Hodgson residence
89. The Athens Factory
90. Cook and Brother Armory
91. The Depot (on Carr's Hill)