

SAVING THE SOUTH FROM ITSELF:
GEORGE W. LEE
AND INTERNAL CONFLICT IN CIVIL WAR ATLANTA

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Gen. Robert E. Lee referred to the American conflict of 1861 to 1865 as the “Civil War,” a correct term as he understood it. Etymologists now apply that term only to internal subversion used against a government, a better definition of the internal struggles of the Confederate States of America than its battlefield war for independence. Research in its societal “wars within a war” has been difficult because, while its many different parts can often be seen, how they interacted with the new southern government and each other has been difficult to study. Few individuals experienced, in any meaningful way, most of the strands of this secret history of the new nation. Atlanta’s Confederate provost marshal George W. Lee did and he could argue that it destroyed itself through individuals seduced by the potential profits from the war and the new nation’s rapacious one product economy.

Lee almost uniquely regularly worked in or with the civilians and the military to experience the sacrifices made and obstacles to overcome in both. A middle class professional, he owned no slaves and yet he quite possibly counted as the first soldier to enter the Confederate army. Working class men who joined the army repeatedly made Lee their commander. When tuberculosis forced him from the field, he accepted a lesser rank but a position that made him a player in the conflicts of southerner versus southerner. He then fought draft evaders, saboteurs, spies, speculators, bootleggers, counterfeiterers, and other enemies of the state. In that environment, he could successfully battle crime and dissent only to lose to persons described by his contemporaries and supported by the surviving records as opportunists of questionable loyalties. At the same time, Atlanta’s entrepreneurial upper class resented his authority. Politics and public panic became other problems to confront. Near the end of the war, he finally had an opportunity to fight against the Union army but almost as a reward for his struggles and sacrifices off the battlefield. Lee risked his life behind and in front of the lines until he and

Atlanta were almost all that remained of the Confederate States of America, a nation to whom he owed nothing but his view of his duty.¹

This man's life always came back to his background. A son of Drewry and Cynthia Jordan Lee, he began his life on September 25, 1831 in Gwinnett County, Georgia. His parents belonged to an emerging Southern middle class whose members typically owned few or no slaves. In 1839, Drewry became one of the commissioners of the nearby town of New Gibraltar and, after it had been renamed Stone Mountain, he used local political pull to receive a Federal appointment as its postmaster from 1846 to 1847. On September 28, 1851, George W. Lee married Nancy Catherine Dean, the daughter of blacksmith Hiram Hornbuckle and Sarah Hudson Dean and, within a few years, they had a daughter they named Indiana.²

Only some dozen years earlier Atlanta, where they made their home, had been Thomas Kile's grocery, a cabin home, and a blacksmith shop where five rural roads met. Hardly a decade before that it had been a Creek-Cherokee Indian community and an abandoned fort called Standing Peachtree. As with several of the true Mid-Western cities, from Pittsburg to Dallas, Atlanta found its destiny with the steam technology of the nineteenth century. With the union of four railroads, it developed into North Georgia's "Gate City" for goods coming in and cotton going out. By 1859, so many bales left from it, and at such a rate, that the Georgia Railroad alone had to send some 3,000 empty cars to the city annually. This disparity in cargo space should have made the transportation of goods to the city for regional sale remarkably cheap although the railroads conspired to keep freight rates artificially high. Increasingly, Atlanta's merchants traded directly with New York City, thus avoiding the expense of middlemen in the South's few ports. They gave small farmers and ranchers a similar direct access to northern capital. On the eve of the Civil War, Atlanta's future seemed bright as work began on the "Air Line" railroad

that would pass through Northeast Georgia to new markets in Virginia and beyond while plans moved forward for another line that would have connected the city, by way of Macon, to the Gulf Coast.

By 1860, Atlanta had a population of 7,741 but, although the fourth largest city in Georgia, it hardly qualified as a metropolis, even by the standards of the largely rural Old South. This “bright and shining city on a hill,” had criminal and disorderly elements but anything more than petty brigands existed in rumors rather than in reality. So much business went on in such a small area that the situation could appear absurd, as in 1859 at H. G. Kuhrt’s building where, among other businesses, a post office, a printing shop, two barbers, a book binder, a clothier, a bank, a lottery office, and a restaurant all shared space. For Atlanta as a whole, the destitute, wealthy, criminal, respected, poor, slave, and free similarly lived in close proximity to each other and, in death, they remained together, in the city cemetery, next to the junction of the railroads and the supporting stores, warehouses, foundries, factories, and machine shops from which they had made their livelihoods. The city had already become the powerful, ever expanding, economic engine built around transportation that it continues to be to the present time.³

George W. Lee tried to join in this great entrepreneurial rush for profit. A pre-war city directory listed him as the proprietor, with L. A. Guild, of the Senate Saloon on Decatur Street. Guild used his wife’s money to start the business but he then sold out and left Atlanta in 1859, leaving his partner broke and unable to pay their debts. Lee made some small profits in real estate the following year but then his partnership with grocer Twiggs V. W. Rhodes dissolved as well. By 1860, he and his little family were living with his parents and several younger siblings in a house next door to the Atlanta jail. While Lee’s father and three brothers worked as clerks, he took a job in a sawmill. In 1861, he and his latest partner, B. F. Wiggin, offered services to set

up and repair saw mill machinery. An anonymous writer would later describe him as ignorant, corrupt, and incompetent. His failures in business must have reminded the city's small entrepreneurial class that while they owned almost all of Atlanta for now, that they did have competition. Lee's lack of success, however, also likely earned him the sympathy of men who knew similar reverses. He would subsequently have a career as a leader of the middle class and earn disdain from some of Atlanta's economic elite and those who aspired, by any means, to join that upper class.⁴

Lee, as failure or success, belonged to the growing and increasingly economically powerful class of artisans, clerical personnel, and small farmers who supplied and served the Cotton Kingdom, directly or indirectly. He joined in a pursuit of success at the end of an era during which such Georgia middle class professionals as Farish Carter, John G. Winter, Mark Anthony Cooper, Robert Findlay, and John T. Milner had turned ambition into spectacular success in the midst of the South's cotton fields. The rise of such men had become a challenge to the existing plantation elite, although many of those families had come from the same free small farmer class. Race had become a critical issue among all classes in often odd and conflicted ways. Planters concentrated on one or two money crops both from profitability and to better control their labor force. The surrounding small, largely free labor usually provided foodstuffs and other services. That growing middle class feared their loss of social status should abolition succeed but also, as did Abraham Lincoln and Mid Western Americans, the economic competition to White men from newly freed slaves. Consequently, non-slave owners like Lee would support the coming war from a fear of emancipation even as some large, established planters also saw the war as an unacceptable risk to slavery.⁵

G. W. Lee began his role as a defender of this Atlanta in the earliest days of the newly independent state of Georgia in 1860. His neighbors elected him as the captain of the One Thousand Twenty Sixth Georgia Militia District and then major in the One hundred and First Infantry Battalion. He found himself holding the responsibilities of a colonel and Elihu P. Watkins of Atlanta wrote to Georgia Gov. Joseph E. Brown urging that Lee receive rank commensurate with his new duties, describing him as “a gentleman of integrity worthy [of] your confidence . . . [who] would serve his county efficiently in any post.” On October 31, 1860, Major Lee joined many of his neighbors at the armory of the Atlanta Grays, a local militia unit, to form a Minute Man Association to defend the right of a state to secede from the Federal United States, what at that moment they ironically termed as the “Confederacy.” Later that year, he traveled to the then state capitol of Milledgeville to request arms and equipment for the newly formed Fulton Dragoons, a volunteer military unit in which Lee served as a trumpeter.⁶

This enthusiast for a southern nation might have counted himself as the first Confederate soldier. A millwright by trade, Lee organized a company of Atlanta artisans, many of whom were members of his Atlanta Masonic Lodge (No. 59) and almost all left unemployed by a pre-war economic recession. With the help of the city’s most prominent men, he sought to obtain acceptance of his company by Brown. The governor likely ignored “Lee’s Volunteers” or the “Georgia Volunteers” because the state had met its quota of companies for the provisional southern army. Trying to supply still more troops risked reducing the situation to anarchy. The governor also may have confused him with another Major Lee of Atlanta, a con man who claimed to be an army drillmaster seeking troops for an Indian war in Florida. Lee chose to believe that Brown saw him as a rival for the governorship or even as a potential candidate for president of a southern nation. Not to be denied, the self-appointed captain took his men to

Montgomery, Alabama, to offer his volunteers as the first company of the newly created Confederate army. During the trip back to Atlanta, ladies accompanying the company acquired material in Grantville to make what became the first Confederate flag in Georgia.⁷

At that moment, United States troops still occupied forts in Florida, South Carolina, and Virginia. On March 7, 1861, President Davis ordered Lee's company to Charleston to aid in the siege of Fort Sumter. Before they could leave Atlanta, however, a new directive arrived for them to join the campaign against Fort Pickens near Pensacola, Florida. On March 19, as crowds cheered and cannons roared in salute, they set out on the Atlanta & West Point Railroad to Montgomery en route to Florida by way of Mobile. As skilled artisans, these 113 men proved valuable in building the batteries and other works around Pensacola. Lee answered directly to overall commander Gen. Braxton Bragg, of whom he had only the highest regard. The general gave the ad hoc engineers responsibility for some 100 pieces of heavy artillery at Fort McRae, including a mortar brought in from Charleston that reportedly had fired the first shot at Fort Sumter and of the Civil War.⁸

Governor Brown had allowed these Atlantans to join the Confederate army as twelve-month volunteers but, by excluding them from Georgia's official quota, he spared the state from having to support them. Lee had to spend at least \$800 of his own money on his men and requested the acceptance of his ragged men as engineers, or in any other service, so that they might leave their bureaucratic limbo to receive pay, rations, and uniforms but especially as his men had families to support. Eventually this company, renamed the Atlanta Advance Guards, became part of the newly created First Independent Georgia Volunteer Infantry Battalion. After its Major Leary resigned, Lee narrowly defeated several contenders to win election as its commander.⁹ On March 25, 1861, however, Lee himself resigned due to his health. Pre-war

photographs show that he already suffered from the ravages of tuberculosis, a debilitating ailment where emotional factors bring on relapses. Retiring to Atlanta, he still helped in organizing new companies for the Confederate army. An anonymous writer urged that he be allowed to form an entire legion.¹⁰

After he felt better, George W. Lee enlisted as a private in what became Company M of Congressman Wright's Legion on September 26, 1861. With Lewis G. Parr, he raised ten companies for the new unit and received election as a captain. Within less than one month of his joining the Legion, Lee won election as its lieutenant colonel while furthering his education in Confederate bureaucracy. In November, he received word for his men to rush to Manassas to defend Richmond, Virginia, the city that had recently beaten out Atlanta to become the capitol of the new southern nation. Before they could leave, however, new orders arrived for Wright's Legion to travel to Savannah to defend that city from amphibious assault. After the Legion moved to the Isle of Hope near Savannah, however, its members complained that Lee rather than their often absent Wright actually led them. They requested a new election for commander. Wright resigned in order to keep his seat in the Confederate Congress and, on February 16, 1862, George Washington Lee became colonel as the field officers each "ranked up" one position to fill the void.¹¹

The colonel soon had to rush back to his home. Reports had reached Richmond that Yankees had taken over Atlanta on May 12 and, with the help of self-emancipated slaves, had started a riot in order to burn the city to the ground. Commander of the District of Georgia Brig. Gen. Alexander Robert Lawton ordered Lee to take four of his companies to Atlanta's rescue and to assume command of the city.¹² This panic proved unwarranted as only one warehouse had burned and, in doing so, had set afire some adjoining structures, all likely the result of

carelessness by boys seen smoking cigars on the roof earlier in the day. The city had fires so often that it's *Daily Intelligencer*, in reporting the third fire in just that week, credited all of them to accident rather than arson.¹³

Lee did find Atlanta enveloped in fear. The Union army threatened to capture Chattanooga and to then march on the Gate City. Federal Gen. Don Carlos Buell had sent a force of saboteurs, known as the Andrews raiders, while disguised as civilians, to burn the bridges on the Western & Atlantic Railroad. That line provided the one rail connection between Atlanta and the Confederate military in Tennessee although the collisions on those state owned rails often closed it even in peacetime. Reports abounded that Yankee sympathizers, spies, and incendiaries now operated in the city, aided by members of the Andrews Raiders whom the public mistakenly believed still hid among the general population. Governor Brown ended the shipments of cotton on the Western & Atlantic because the bales to prevent the theft of the bales or arsonists setting them on fire to try to destroy the city.¹⁴

Newcomers accelerated these problems. Federal advances forced refugees to join the many other people of all classes and character who had come to Atlanta to benefit from the war. The city's population almost doubled to over 15,000, the majority of whom had only arrived since 1860. Among them were speculators in gold, bank notes, salt, bread, and meat. The worst class Lee described:

[Atlanta] has been since the Commencement of the revolution --- a point of rendezvous of traitors, Swindlers, extortioners [sic], and Counterfeiters. The population as a predominant element is a mixture of Jews, New England Yankees, and of refugees shirking military duties.¹⁵

Colonel Lee brought calm to the threatened and frightened populace. He made his Capt. William H. Battey the provost marshal while he took de facto command of the hospitals, the conscripts, quartermaster stores, and seemingly all else of the Confederate government in

Atlanta. Contrary to claims at the time, he did not declare martial law or otherwise override local civil authority. He did take action to protect the more than sixty million dollars worth of government stores in the city. He ordered the arrest of any soldier or civilian found without a pass and any slave or free person of color out after the legally imposed curfew of 9:00 PM without a pass or an owner. In the latter, Lee only extended the spirit, if not the letter, of Georgia laws that reflected the public's fear of slaves and former slaves plotting insurrections. He actually drew criticism for being too liberal in granting passes to the city's Black population.¹⁶

The undoing of Lee's efforts, however, always seemed to come from unexpected circumstances. He had only been back in Atlanta for a few days when, in early June, he received orders to return immediately to Savannah with his men. With the generals sent to other threatened areas, George W. Lee, as the senior colonel, now received orders to take the six best regiments to Virginia. On the way to Richmond, he had a relapse of his tuberculosis although by the middle of June he commanded at Petersburg, Virginia, with orders to send each regiment, as it arrived, to Gen. Thomas Jackson in the Valley of Virginia. Before he could carry out those instructions, his regiments became a new brigade that almost reached the size of a division. Commanded by Brig. Gen. Alexander Robert Lawton, this new unit became engaged in the Seven Days Campaign. By then, Lee had returned to Atlanta gravely ill but he hurried back to Virginia to try to take command of his regiment.¹⁷

Lung hemorrhages, however, rendered Lee unfit for field service and he resigned his commission on July 15, 1862. Nine days later, the Confederate Secretary of War gave him the position of provost marshal and assistant adjutant general in Atlanta, with only the rank of captain in the Department of East Tennessee. Command in the Gate City had reiterated almost beyond understanding. In just the few weeks that he had been gone, Col. Elihu P. Watkins, Maj.

Austin Layden, and Col. W. J. Lawton had each, in turn, succeeded Lee as commander of the post.¹⁸ Watkins had appointed Green Jones Foreacre as provost marshal. An Ohio Yankee, railroad agent, and disabled Confederate veteran, Foreacre had involved himself in a number of frauds from even before the war. Most recently, he had run a scheme to sell wooden bowls to the army for thousands of dollars. Foreacre reported to the government that hundreds of men, many of them officers, roamed the city without papers or with forged documents. With the support of Atlanta's various illicit whiskey rings, Foreacre still tried to keep his job even as he declared himself, like the city's twenty member police force, powerless to do anything about the growing crisis around him.¹⁹

As Foreacre's replacement, Lee made the first of his unsuccessful attempts to learn from the national government the limits of his authority. Without waiting for an answer, he stationed men at the railroad stations to arrest suspicious persons while ordering ticket agents and hotels to refuse to accommodate anyone without proper papers. He had cotton and other combustibles moved to safety and he required proof from strangers of their having avoided areas with smallpox. Following nearby outbreaks in July and August in 1862, Lee ordered all soldiers vaccinated. When an epidemic broke out in nearby Stone Mountain, he asked Governor Brown to override Dekalb County officials and implement quarantine. Lee ordered that the sick in the city's military hospitals have passes from physicians or that they remain at a secure contagious disease hospital that he set up on William Markham's 155-acre farm. Any patient who escaped from there found little to do in Atlanta; Lee closed the billiard halls, saloons, and gaming establishments.²⁰

Atlanta's new Provost Marshal also began to build a new command from scratch. His position included the authority to raise one provost (police) company for local security. Among

its other duties, this company provided escorts for military prisoners sent to Richmond for exchange or for confinement along with any of Atlanta's own miscreants arrested by the military. In addition, he obtained the services of a company of Echol's battery, which he used as cavalry. Later, as a major, Lee commanded the Twenty-fifth Georgia Provost Guard Battalion. These twelve cavalry and infantry companies usually had 600 to 700 members but, at its peak, it consisted of at least 1,156 older men, boys, convalescents, and other citizens exempt from the draft. It had the numbers to count as a regiment or even a brigade with G. W. Lee as at least a colonel although he never, in his career, made a request for promotion. The Confederate Secretary of War also allowed a transfer of men from Lee's original 1861 company who had been serving in Mississippi, and who had reenlisted in the Confederate service, to join company A of the Provost battalion to serve under his younger brother Capt. Marcus D. Lee.²¹ Capt. J. S. Hargroves wrote of the men of this "Lee's Rangers" company at Camp Preston, Major G. W. Lee's base two miles from the city, that they were of:

good moral and military character, quiet, orderly, and well behaved, not given to drinking, frolicking, or any thing of the kind. They were all young men—all except one or two entered on the roll as under eighteen years of age—and for merit as soldiers, they were, for young men, exceptions in Maj. Lee's camp.²²

Even Lee, however, described his troops in general as obnoxious and disrespectful but soldiers drawn largely from railroad workers and adolescent males would hardly have done otherwise. A minister serving as a chaplain in the Dahlenega campaign wrote in 1863 that the morals for the whole battalion were far from satisfactory. In February 1863, George W. Lee had to order the arrest of three of his own men for looting contraband whiskey that he had kept at Thomas F. Lowe's store on Peachtree Street. The following April, a court acquitted men of theft who had been sent by Lee to impress cattle at a fair price for use in the hospitals. A year later, while acting on reports of a gang of thieves operating in the Buckhead settlement north of

Atlanta, the Provost Marshal sent out a company that raided Wesley G. Collier's house. The county's superior court, later upheld by the state supreme court, convicted Lee's soldiers of riot for the brawl that ensued.²³ Dr. Anderson L. Scott, an Atlanta Unionist who had drawn attention for comforting the Andrews raiders, appeared before the Provost Marshal and found himself confined in the Confederate barracks. While Scott sat with rather filthy soldiers, Lee's men searched his office without any care for the condition that they left it. In the spring of 1864, Governor Brown received a complaint that a squad of Lee's men had broken up a whiskey still operating under a government contract, became drunk, and then abused the slaves of a Mr. Vaughn, the owner of the distillery. When a J. J. Hall of Butts County complained of the destruction of his still by Lee's orders, however, a state official asked Hall if he understood that making alcohol while the state's civilians needed corn and wheat for food violated the law.²⁴

Fighting this Civil War equivalent of a war on drugs had many dimensions. While claiming to provide medical supplies for the hospitals, a number of people smuggled home brew into Atlanta, usually at railroad stations. This drink included inexpensive but toxic substances added to increase the volume of the product. Starting with his first general order on May 14, 1862, Lee banned the sale of alcohol to members of the military and ordered the arrest of anyone found drunk in the streets. He later extended these orders to outlying areas where troops served. Lee's men emptied wagonloads of alcohol into the streets.²⁵

As with any prohibition involving a profitable vice, money bought enforcers, officials, and politicians. Even one of the officers in the Atlanta provost guard suffered arrest for accepting brandy from a farmer. Lee took a risk when he "washed" Peachtree Street with the "spiritual" T. O. Kyle's twelve barrels of whiskey, since this bootlegger's brother sat on the city council. Col. Marvel J. Camden of Chattanooga operated the Western & Atlantic Railroad and he used his

position to smuggle whiskey. In the spring of 1863, Lee confiscated the alcohol but Governor Brown pressured him to buy the contraband for the state hospitals or to send it back with Colonel Camden paying the bill for the shipping at the maximum rate. The governor eased the restrictions on whiskey production to provide for necessary purchases by the Confederate hospitals in Richmond but he discovered too late that he had unintentionally sanctioned a highly placed whiskey ring that took in \$120,000 in profits. In April 1863, Gen. John K. Jackson ordered the Atlanta Provost Marshal to stop his campaign against alcohol only for reinstated Gen. Bragg to reinstate it when he proclaimed martial law.

Lee did try to act judiciously. A woman named Harrington in Augusta shipped whiskey to her sister, another war widow in Atlanta, allegedly for the hospitals. The Provost Marshal believed that the women lied about their intentions but he still bought the alcohol for the medical department. He arrested and released Joseph Harford six or seven times for running a small dram shop and selling what Lee described as “his miserable poisonous concoction which he has been in the habit of calling Spirits” at the train stations. Harford concealed his “stuff” in a carpet sack and brought it into the city in barrels, secreted among other goods, as he “endeavored in a thousand ways to evade the law.”²⁶

Atlanta’s Provost Marshal found that fighting such fraud and corruption in Atlanta became complicated. A man named George from Athens, Georgia, had conned his way into the highest circles of the Confederate government in Richmond just with an officer’s uniform. When he tried his frauds in Atlanta, however, Lee had him arrested twice and sent both times to Bragg’s headquarters. Each time, this “Gentleman George” then conned the general into letting him go. Lee raided a “tiger,” or card game, ran by professional gamblers when one of the prominent men present lost \$20,000 that Lee believed came from Confederate government funds. He quickly

released all of the parties when he discovered otherwise. A local quartermaster who ordered shoes for Gen. Bragg's army from the state penitentiary rejected the footwear only as a means of then profitably selling the same shoes to the public. Similarly, in a nationally reported incident, Lee and his men arrested soldiers selling five wagonloads of military supplies worth \$60,000 to \$75,000.²⁷

Confederate provosts also had the responsibility for apprehending deserters and draft evaders. Shirkers even hid in Lee's command although a court exonerated the Provost Marshal from charges of selling the draft exemptions that he had the authority to issue to persons needed to maintain the railroads and other vital services in the city. He had even criticized how some doctors protected able-bodied men with medical deferments and he established his own board for determining the fitness of any man found in the city. When Gen. John K. Jackson arrived from the Army of Tennessee to collect deserters from the Fifty-eighth Georgia, however, he declared most of the men in the Atlanta provost companies as fit for the army and took them too, consequently reducing the garrison to almost nonexistent. In May of 1863, when Federal Col. Abel Straight's raid in Alabama threatened Georgia, Lee moved to protect Rome with his few remaining men and two pieces of artillery. He subsequently informed his superiors that, while Atlanta had become the Confederacy's greatest supply depot, it could face as many as 5,000 such enemy soldiers at any time but with virtually no defenders. So many of his men had been taken that he doubted that he could now find more than 100 men even willing to serve in his command. Five hundred Yankee raiders could take the city, he warned, and then would render as useless this irreplaceable railroad junction.²⁸

Lee had reason to fear attack. Desertion and draft evasion grew with the increasing opposition to the war that paralleled the decline of the Confederacy's fortunes. Many southerners

came from a class of small farmers and ranchers, land owning and tenant, without even an indirect connection to the plantation economy. Since the colonial era, southerners had, often while in the process of fleeing debt, profited by developing wilderness for later resale to planters. That enterprise grew as the railroads encouraged the conversion of small farms and ranches into cotton plantations. Eventually such speculators and wealthy developers who drove up the price of land, a situation made worse by the politically powerful planters opposing homestead laws that would have given away Federal land to a growing non-slave owning class. Planters could lose their wealth and go back to being small farmers but the opposite could happen too, giving the upper class a fear of competition. Over time, the plantations also drove down the cost of labor while inflating prices and absorbing land, slaves, and even political power. Large operations also supplied crops, livestock, and slaves at prices to which small farmers could not compete while slave owners increasingly leased out their skilled workers at a loss in work for tradesmen like Lee. The resulting dispossessed failed to appreciate slavery propagandist George Fitzhugh's vision of their becoming factory labor and manual workers in a caste that historian Eugene Genovese defined as White slaves.²⁹

Observers wrote that the mountain people had a tendency to treat their few slaves with a level of familiarity, even equality, seldom seen elsewhere because they had all of these disadvantages of slavery without any of the economic benefits that men like Lee derived from living near the cotton belt. Appalachian people particularly feared that a Confederate defeat would result in numbers of freedmen who would take from them their only real social status as free Whites and who would become unwanted competition for land.³⁰ Baptist ministers had spoken out against slavery since the American Revolution and, in Northwest Georgia, often proclaimed slavery as immoral and opposing secession as the work of God. North Georgia's

leaders in opposition to the war, if not the Confederacy and slavery, included Elias W. Allred of Pickens County (arrested while in the legislature in 1864); John Richards of Cherokee County (hanged by Capt. Jordan's conscription company in 1864); William Tate of Lumpkin County (arrested by Lee in 1863); and Peter Walker of Union County (served as a captain in the Union forces).³¹

With the passage of the Conscription Act of 1862, the protests of the mountain people of North Georgia became proactive with men refusing to serve in the Confederate army, threatening to burn the bridges of the militarily critical Western & Atlantic Railroad that passed through their region, and plundering the families who supported the southern cause. They even fired on passing soldiers. The absence of farm labor to the war and extensive Confederate impressments of livestock, made worse by a regional wartime drought, further encouraged desertion as men went home to provide for their families. Governor Brown responded to this problem by giving North Georgia companies preference in the state's contribution to distant armies and by placing severe restrictions on impressments and conscription in the region.³²

Georgians like Unionist George W. Ashburn and the notorious federal spy James George Brown took advantage of this dissent to lead resistance behind and in front of the lines, respectively, and for personal gain. The latter, an English born Murray County resident, even recruited a battalion of North Georgians for the federal army and created a district based organization for detecting and resisting Confederate raids. He had the kind of personal history as a perennial failure from which radical populist leaders in revolutions frequently arise. Gov. Joseph E. Brown (no relation) likely recognized the threat of such leaders and earlier in war had likely seen George W. Lee, a leader with his own career of disappointments, as such a threat. The populist Governor Brown himself came from less than stellar beginnings and differed from

such men chiefly in that he had become a success, politically and financially, and would continue to do so after the war by changing his politics at least twice. Most persons who commented on Lee, however, described him as an honest man while James G. Brown and George W. Ashburn had consistent histories of questionable dealings going back to before the war. In 1864, this Brown went so far as to announce to his followers the complete falsehood that he had been appointed by Abraham Lincoln as the governor of a new state of North Georgia with Atlanta as its capital.³³

As early as January 13, 1863, then Maj. George W. Lee wrote to Jefferson Davis to ask for the authority to raise a cavalry corps of non-conscripts for use against deserters hiding in the mountain counties. Despite his famous states' rights politics, Governor Brown asked the Confederate George W. Lee to lead this expedition. When the major replied that he lacked the men, the governor arranged with the Secretary of War for Lee to borrow 150 cavalymen from Chattanooga. Brown contributed fifty-two-year-old Captain Edward M. Galt and the 150 man state company that guarded the nine bridges on the Western & Atlantic Railroad. Lee added four companies of the Sixteenth Georgia Partisan Rangers and a local company for some 500 men. Concurrently, the governor offered amnesty to any deserter who surrendered peacefully.³⁴

On January 24, 1863, following fifty of his infantrymen and a supply train, Lee arrived in Dahlonega in Appalachian Lumpkin County in bitterly cold weather. The townspeople welcomed his men to stay in their homes and churches. Local women prepared a feast for them. Lee's expeditionary force then spread out with the local militia into nearby counties in search of bandits, Unionists, and men who should have been in the army. His soldiers had orders to forage upon the property and otherwise take retribution on civilians of known disloyalty to the Confederacy. Initially, Galt resented being supplanted but the two officers quickly gained respect

for one another and, within a week, Lee left all of his troops in Galt's charge. The captain wrote that he wished that every Confederate officer acted like Lee, as a man with common sense. The campaign ended a few days later. Lee's offer of amnesty resulted in as many as 1,000 soldiers returning to their commands. Draft evaders came forward to accept an offer that they could choose the company in which to serve. Many of those men proclaimed that they would have volunteered if they had been offered such a choice, that they resisted conscription not service. Lee arrested 150 to 200 North Georgians, however, and had the prisoners sent to Atlanta in chains, including fifty-three civilians deemed as suborning treason. Jeff Anderson found himself among them. Before he escaped from the Atlanta jail with the Andrews Raiders, Anderson had been arrested as a prominent leader in helping deserters, draft evaders, and runaway slaves. Two of the captives, D. L. Maldin and J. T. Fagin, were Confederate soldiers who had been released from the Federal prison camps to return home to encourage desertions. They had taken oaths not to return to aid the southern cause under pain of death. The *Southern Confederacy* newspaper praised the good conduct of Lee's men in Dahlonega and the hospitality of the townspeople.³⁵

After the expeditionary force had left, some North Georgians criticized the soldiers for consuming too much of the drought stricken area's food and for harassing families who had only been guilty of helping neighbors. Some men argued that they would have come out of hiding if they were allowed the same draft exemptions that Governor Brown famously gave to his political allies or could serve in safety in Lee's home guard companies. Stories circulated that the prisoners received severe beatings although H. H. Walker complained that there were civilians who were released after falsely pleading loyalty to the Confederacy. Lee drew criticism when he claimed that the desertion problem had more to do with the failures of the officers of the volunteers than the loyalty of the enlisted men. Northern newspapers held up the expedition as

proof of the declining fortunes of the South and wrote of Lee's men meeting violent opposition near Dahlonega. Beyond his official congratulations, however, Governor Brown privately wrote to Lee:

I highly approve of your course and thank you for the wise and judicious policies you have pursued in the delicate command to which you are assigned. The promptness and energy displayed by you and all under your command have I think quelled the troubles in N. E. Georgia.³⁶

In September, though, Lee had to lead a second expedition into the mountains. Some fifteen miles from Morganton, while reconnoitering in civilian clothes, he and Lt. R. F. Holmes fell in with a group of some 100-armed Unionists. This party, led by two Federal recruiting officers, had gathered to flee. Returning to camp, Lee set out in pursuit with his own men. In the battle that ensued, four of the Unionists died and several were wounded. A Federal officer and a local preacher were among the thirty to forty men captured. Lee's detachment came through unscathed.³⁷

The Atlanta Provost Marshal crossed state lines in that campaign. Unionists in East Tennessee had direct access to support from the Federal army, as well as the opportunity to raid plantations in neighboring North Carolina. If the "Tories" and "Moss Backs" in those two states united, a new front would be created to threaten the shrinking Confederacy. Lee led 200 men into Cherokee County, North Carolina, where they captured fifty men, including a notorious resistance leader named Busty and two more Federal recruiting officers. Zebulon Vance, that state's pro-states' rights governor, made an official complaint that Lee's men had seized a number of citizens who were too old for conscription, chained them together, and then marched them to a prison in Atlanta where they were held until they agreed to enlist in the army. Lee also sent detachments into the Ducktown area of Tennessee. Overall, this campaign resulted in the arrest of 300 to 400 more men and the confiscation of seventy-five head of cattle.³⁸

Lee, however, failed to apprehend Goldman Bryson, an opposition leader in three states who held a commission in the Federal army and who had reportedly become a horse thief and a serial murderer. In pursuit of this Unionist, the Atlanta Provost Marshal dispatched two of his best scouts, John H. "Coote" and H. Blount Rhea, to guide 300 members of the Provost Battalion to the Tellico Plains of Tennessee and offered a \$500 reward for the capture of the Unionist. Near Loudon, Captain Henderson with a company from Elbert County, Georgia, captured twenty-five and killed three of the out layer's band although the rest of these Unionists escaped with their leader. Informants reported that Bryson had assembled a Federal regiment at Murphy, North Carolina, with the goal of seizing the gold and other assets that had been at the Dahlonega mint in Georgia but which, under Lee's direction, had been transferred to Atlanta. Bryson subsequently learned that this prize had been moved to Athens, Georgia.³⁹ William Axe and Elena Rattle, members of a company of Cherokee warriors who Lee used as guides and scouts, were sent to arrest Bryson. While attempting the capture, they killed the captain and some of his men on November 8, 1863. Although Bryson had committed atrocities against Indians that made this act likely a revenge killing, Lee wanted the two warriors paid the reward for the Unionist.⁴⁰

Resistance to the war would continue, however. In June 1863, Lee had to send Capt. John R. Patrick's company of the First Regiment of Georgia State Troops to Campbell County, near Atlanta, where they successfully fought a battle with a 150-member gang of deserters who had gone into moonshining. Patrick received orders to, in future, hang anyone caught firing on his men. Lee organized a company in Forsyth County and took over the state's troops in Dawson County for use against the local resistance. Governor Brown accepted his recommendation that a local defense company also be formed in White County. Brig. Gen. Henry C. Wayne wanted Lee to lead another expedition to Dahlonega in January 1864 and, still later in the war, Congressman

Hiram P. Bell would urge that the government again give Lee the troops to make a sweeping arrest of deserters in North Georgia.⁴¹

Subversion also crossed racial lines. In late 1863, stories appeared across the country that a man had been arrested in Atlanta who claimed to be a major general of a secret army of 10,000 slaves centered in East Georgia. He allegedly planned to take his men to Atlanta after it fell to Union Gen. William S. Rosecrans. They would then begin a systematic campaign of rapine and murder. Hancock County officials, however, discovered that this conspiracy actually consisted of only a few dozen-slave artisans who meet secretly at night to drink wine, drill, and talk of emancipation. After they shot at a planter, thirty of their number were arrested and whipped. Two of the ringleaders were hanged.⁴²

Whatever George W. Lee thought of such reports he had to appear to act. In August 1862, he arrested five men and three women for interrogation about conspiracies against the government. Someone had tried to set fire to the Confederate munitions works. Officials held trials for six Atlantans suspected of opposing the war effort, all of whom soon obtained release. Lee had other people detained and interrogated. He questioned, for example, Cyrena Stone, an avowed Union sympathizer whose modern biographer believes aided escaped slaves, prisoners of war, and even enemy spies. She sat before Lee in a crudely furnished hotel room attended by several witnesses, including a newspaper reporter. When no Bible could be found, the Provost Marshal allowed her to testify without swearing to an oath. Cyrena only complained that she saw in all of his features a hatred of Yankees. Her sister, in a fictional version of the meeting, described the Provost Marshal character as a tall man with small pinched-up eyes and a course suit conducting a “reign of terror.” Lee actually released Cyrena after only a few questions about

Unionist meetings and the alleged plot of 300 Atlanta Union sympathizers to organize a slave uprising.

George W. Lee's actions did not match innuendo spread about him. All but freed slave Robert Webster, for example, helped a Federal colonel from East Tennessee to escape and he became notorious for speculating in currency. Although he claimed to fear being hanged by Lee, he actually only spent a short time in jail and would, much later, serve on a citizen's delegation that accompanied the mayor when he surrendered Atlanta to Sherman. Similarly, men captured from Col. Abel Straight's Raid had thousands of dollars found on them. Despite his belief that the money had been stolen, Lee declined to confiscate it. Other soldiers helped themselves to valuables from prisoners.⁴³

The Provost Marshal of Atlanta even showed courtesy to the previously mentioned Andrews raiders. In 1862, under orders from Gen. E. K. Smith, Captain Foreacre hanged eight of their party, including the leader James Andrews. Lee learned of the executions after returning to Atlanta. He found that action appalling; he never executed or tortured anyone. The remaining prisoners would become his charges and would remember his kindness. They never knew that Lee risked his career to consult with them but they would claim to have seen a change in his questions that implied to them that he expected to receive orders to execute them too. When the city jailer ignored Lee's instructions only to enter their cell armed, the prisoners jumped him and escaped. The fleeing men somehow immediately obtained pistols and horses, allowing five of them to raid a farm near Palmetto where the owner and his slaves unsuccessfully fought off their attackers.

Lee quickly dispatched scouts and cavalry who eventually recaptured some of the fugitives. Prisoner William Pittenger would claim that the Provost Marshal shouted to his soldiers to take

no prisoners alive and to leave the bodies in the woods. Reports appeared in the press that the guards killed three of the thirteen men who fled. A Mrs. Nancy Vaughn of nearby Decatur captured one man but eight of the escapees eventually reached safety behind the Federal lines. To save his remaining six saboteurs from being hanged as spies, Lee had them reclassified as prisoners of war and moved to the more comfortable but also more secure Confederate barracks. He ended access to all prisoners, including in the hospitals, by citizens with Unionist sympathies.⁴⁴

With his success as an administrator in the bureaucratically challenged Confederacy, George Washington Lee attracted responsibility. He found himself leading the battle against counterfeiting although inflation had made that crime a poor use of the South's increasingly scarce printing resources. As early as July 1862, one Simon Stern of Columbus and his brother-in-law did find themselves under arrest for buying more than 100 bales of cotton with counterfeit notes. Most of the phony currency appeared only in that city but, the following September, Jabez Richards of Atlanta discovered, among his store's receipts, \$1,200 in bogus bills. By November, the city's *Southern Confederacy* specifically listed the only bank notes that it felt safe in accepting as payment.

The Secretary of the Treasury placed Lee in charge of a small detective force, what amounted to a Confederate version of the later United States Secret Service, to fight counterfeiting across the whole country. A G. H. Gilbert worked undercover for the Provost Marshal in hunting such miscreants in Atlanta, Chattanooga, and southwest Georgia. Lee had at least two of the persons caught with bogus notes under lock and key by 1863. One of these prisoners escaped but soon found himself back in custody after he tried to befriend Dr. Stephen T. Biggors' son. The boy helped Lee's guards to set a trap for the man. Otherwise, the Provost

Marshal's investigations found few phony notes among civilians but considerable amounts of script that had been made behind the Federal lines turned up on captured Yankee soldiers.⁴⁵

Catching criminals for Lee's *ad hoc* forerunner of the modern Federal Bureau of Investigation required help from everyone from professional detectives like Gilbert to small boys like Biggors. Lee exempted from military service George McGinnely, proprietor of the Trout House hotel, for use as a spy as he could read character and knew everyone. The Provost Marshal also brought detective James Gettys McGready Ramsey from Knoxville, Tennessee, to Atlanta as an investigator. Capt. James A. Burton had been working as a Treasury Department agent west of the Mississippi River. While he worked in Georgia and South Carolina, Burton learned that Vicksburg had fallen and he had no easy way to return to his usual post. He chose to work for Lee and eventually caught a Yankee spy, an extortionist, a forger of passports, a forger of army papers, a forger of all types, four deserters, and a man who took money under false pretenses. G. W. Lee had three operatives in late 1862 and his detective force grew to seven permanent and four temporary agents by April 1863.⁴⁶

The Atlanta Provost Marshal also found himself involved with foreign affairs. Aliens were exempt from military service and a provost marshal could issue passports that allowed Confederate civilians who were both exempt from military conscription and of proven loyalty to leave for countries other than the United States. He had the responsibility of checking credentials of alleged aliens and for answering queries from local consulates although none of those nations recognized the official existence of the southern nation. Lee also helped the Confederate government in arranging for currency exchanges.⁴⁷

The official war occasionally interfered with the Provost Marshal's myriad responsibilities. Early on a morning in December 1862, for example, as he made his usual daily tour of the city,

Lee came upon Confederate Pres. Jefferson Davis and Gen. Joseph E. Johnston. They were changing railroads for a train to Chattanooga. Lee ordered a passenger car added to a freight train and sent them on their way in good spirits and after a private conversation with Johnston. The famed cavalryman John H. Morgan became a local celebrity when he made Atlanta his headquarters. Lee helped the general to recruit men. By the spring of 1863, the deteriorating military situation in Mississippi caused a flood of deserters to head east through Georgia to their homes. A few months later, following the surrender of Vicksburg, its Confederate soldiers showed up in Atlanta nearly naked, barefoot, and without money. They had been sent home, by the United States army, on parole on the condition that they would return to service only after officially being exchanged for Federals held by the Confederacy. Disillusioned and abandoned, they announced that they would refuse to return to their units. If not given help, these men could have taken what they needed. Lee and the civilians did what they could for these soldiers. The Atlanta Ladies Hospital Association, for example, gave 1,000 of these veterans a dinner.⁴⁸

The Vicksburg parolees problem passed but then the Battle of Chickamauga, fought September 19 and 20, 1863, less than 120 miles from Atlanta, flooded the city with wounded. By the end of the war, an estimated 80,000 Confederate and 25,000 Union soldiers would make the Gate City second only to Richmond in hospital patients. Lee had to provide guards for the medical stores, as well as for the some 2,000 or more patients who were there at any given time. He posted sentries to prevent sick soldiers from spreading disease to the civilians. The Provost Marshal also became an agent for receiving donations of goods and money for the patients from individuals and charitable groups both Black and White, including proceeds from concerts and theater performances; cloth goods from Upson County; and straw that Lee himself sent from Stone Mountain.⁴⁹

Many Atlantans wanted George Washington Lee to take on still more responsibilities. Although critics of the Confederacy's railroads described them as operated by corrupt civilians for profit to the detriment of the new nation, Atlanta's railroad superintendents unsuccessfully petitioned the national government to authorize Lee to take charge of all of their operations! The city's volunteer fire department presented very different problems. Noting that 3,000 men avoided the draft by serving in the city's non-steam powered fire companies, an observer urged that this alleged fire department be abolished and its responsibilities be given to Lee's provost guard. The fire companies did put on a good parade, with bright armor, banners flying, and marital music. In the wake of the Federal capture of Chattanooga in September 1863, Lee received a commission as lieutenant colonel of the "Atlanta Fire Battalion," Third Infantry Battalion, Georgia State Guards, a unit created for a maximum of six months duty.⁵⁰

Overall, Mayor James M. Calhoun, Atlanta's press, and many prominent citizens praised Lee. Local officials wrote to his superiors of how his command worked in harmony with their government. Civilians arrested by the military were transferred to local authorities and soldiers apprehended by the police were transferred to Lee. Governor Brown requested that Atlanta's Provost Marshal receive a promotion in rank compatible with his numerous and growing responsibilities. The editors of the *Southern Confederacy* echoed the sentiments of many Atlantans about Lee "that there is not a more faithful and energetic officer in the service of the Confederate States." H. L. Hubbard similarly described him to the Confederate Secretary of War as "a man whom, we all honor for and esteem for his many good qualities, and who is denounced by no one but a miserable set of whiskey sellers, and speculators, who employ little pettifogging Lawyers to write letters to your Honor."⁵¹

Other persons, however, felt differently. Likely because Georgia's state adjutant general Henry Wayne perceived the Atlantan as a challenge to his own authority, he would make numerous minor complaints about Lee over the years. An anonymous critic made broad accusations about the Atlanta Provost Marshal but with only one specific claim, that he had a financial interest in a newspaper that he then allowed to charge the government exorbitant prices for printing. Lee did become a partner in the *Southern Confederacy* newspaper but he did so only after he had resigned as post commander and had moved it to Augusta. In August 1862, Private John Kershaw allegedly tried to cut the throat of the Provost Marshal while he slept in his tent but Lee awoke in time to strike a blow against his assailant and to call for help. For reasons unknown, no charges appear to have been made against the soldier. Two years later, near Roswell, a bushwhacker slightly wounded him. As the Civil War ended, two men called Lee out of the house where he stayed and struck him with a slug shot. Lee pulled out a gun and shot one of his then fleeing assailants.⁵²

Having been transferred to command of the Army of Tennessee, the famously conflicted Gen. Braxton Bragg became George W. Lee's most prominent critic. On August 12, 1862, without the required legal authority of President Davis, the general declared Atlanta and its environs under martial law. He further ordered the Mayor James M. Calhoun to appoint a military governor of the area, an act that left the mayor conflicted on what he should legally do as he had excellent relations with Lee, whom he assumed already had command of the city. Bragg's action created a public uproar. Confederate Vice President Alexander H. Stephens famously wrote that the general had no more right to subvert local authority than did any Atlanta prostitute. During this controversy, the *Southern Confederacy* felt the need to defend Lee and to contrast him with the general:

He is bound to take notice of and regard all orders and *instructions that are officially sent to him*, and no others. He is well known in the community, having resided here for a number of years, and many of our citizens have known him from childhood. Everybody knows that he is not a tyrant, and is not disposed to usurp any authority.⁵³

George W. Lee obeyed all orders and directives from the general without question but, by the spring of 1863, Bragg had decided that Atlanta's provost marshal had to be replaced. He claimed that, as an officer earlier in Pensacola, Lee had been under arrest for stealing clothing funds entrusted to him by his men and that the then captain only escaped prosecution by resigning his commission. He described Lee as a man so notorious that Georgia's governor had refused to accept a company he had initially raised and that, while in Atlanta, Lee had lavishly spent government funds, imprisoned citizens for months without charges, and commanded men who should have been serving in the regular army. Bragg summed up Lee as a man of "misrepresentation and downright falsehood." The government in Richmond and respected Atlanta citizens came to the Provost Marshal's defense; the Secretary of War even mistakenly claimed that Gen. Robert E. Lee had appointed the Provost Marshal. Bragg responded with a more reasoned tone but he still claimed that from his first meeting with George W. Lee in Pensacola that he had been unable to find any merit in the Atlantan. The general went on to argue that the Provost Marshal must be removed if only because any officers the general sent to Atlanta must outrank him despite Lee being in command.⁵⁴

Col. Moses H. Wright, officially the commander of the post in Atlanta, now began to complain that he could learn nothing from the Provost Marshal and that the troops in the city, but particularly the railroad guard, annoyed respectable travelers while allowing "villains" to pass. Wright had left Lee in charge of the city so that he could devote his full time to moving a Confederate arsenal from Nashville to Atlanta and then to expand it into one of the largest munitions operations in the South. He now asked if he had the authority to replace Lee and his

men. At the same time, Bragg threatened to have all of the army's hospitals removed from Atlanta. He sent Col. J. Q. Loomis of Alabama to take command of security of the city's military medical facilities. The colonel went further, however, and all but officially took over security for the whole city. Lee acquiesced but, as he now had conflicting orders from General Bragg, sent by the Secretary of War on July 25, 1863, that retained him in command in Atlanta, he made yet another unsuccessful attempt to get clarification of his duties from Richmond.⁵⁵

Surviving records belie most of Bragg's charges and fail to support the rest. Governor Brown did decline to accept Lee's original company but he did so without questioning anyone's character. In 1861, Bragg himself issued an order in which he referred to Lee's original Atlanta unit as "an admirable company" and Lee as being "in high estimation." At that time, the Atlanta papers added that Lee had become one of Bragg's great favorites. The government subsequently accepted forty other companies that Lee raised. Lee's surviving letters contradict the general's famous remark to Gen. Johnston that Lee lacked enough literacy to sign his name. Being from a family of professional clerks, George W. Lee had a consistent and better penmanship than that of the mayor of Atlanta and attorney James M. Calhoun.

Bragg's memory of the siege of Fort Pickens had other problems. After Lee had stepped aside in Pensacola to allow John B. Villepigue to win election to command the Georgia Battalion, the men voted for Lee anyway. A scuffle afterwards resulted in the Atlantian's brief arrest for only being in the area.⁵⁶ Lee had resigned his commission at Pensacola but because of health problems although he did later accept other positions in Atlanta. The affair about the money actually concerned funds that he had entrusted to his successor as company commander, Jabez R. Rhodes. When the new captain misappropriated the money, Lee insisted that all of it be repaid to the troops. Bragg likely confused the two captains although Rhodes would serve under

the general until put to death by a firing squad on September 3, 1863 as possibly the only officer executed in the Civil War due to a desertion related charge.⁵⁷

Bragg could also have been using Lee as an excuse to justify the general's actions in declaring martial law. These attacks on Lee, however, have a striking similarity to those found in a post-war memoir by Atlanta Yankee Cyrena Stone that suggests that someone orchestrated a campaign against the Provost Marshal. Sympathetic Atlantans argued that his problems with the sick, notoriously troubled, and often criticized Braxton Bragg actually came from some of the city's influential entrepreneurial aristocracy's unwillingness to accept authority being given to a failed middle class businessman.

Lee specifically blamed his problems upon the "Union Circle," a community of what one refugee described as seventy-five to 100 Yankee Atlantans. They included Amherst Stone, Cyrena's husband, and some of the city's other leading citizens. These people would eventually claim to have been secret supporters of the Union throughout the conflict but their excuses made after the war for their actions give them the appearance of self-serving apolitical opportunists.

Lee counted William O. Markham as the most dangerous of these conspirators. The Provost Marshal received a fine of ten dollars for harassing him. A former Atlanta mayor who had built much of the city, Markham owned with partners the Atlanta Rolling Mill, a foundry that made almost all of the iron plating for the Confederate warships. He also rented much of his property to the government including even the space used by Lee as an office. Markham would claim, however, that he only did business with the southern nation under pressure from Provost Marshal Lee.

Nothing else written by Lee's friends or critics make any mention of such a situation. Colonel Moses Hannibal Wright, Lee's superior and the commander of the Atlanta Arsenal, had

repeatedly ordered certain civilian companies such as Irishman James L. Dunning's Atlanta Machine Works to take government contracts. He would no longer tolerate refusing supplying the army whether for reasons of personal profit or patriotism. The Confederate Sequestration Act of May 21, 1861 ordered the confiscated and sold all property of enemy aliens. For whatever reason, however, not until late 1862 did the Confederate States court, meeting in Marietta, finally confiscate and sell the Gate City Rolling Mill of William O. Markham and the Atlanta Rolling Mill of James L. Dunning to parties willing to cooperate with Wright. The Confederate court in Marietta also issued ordered writs of garnishment concerning property of enemy aliens against seemingly any Atlantan with property, including even Lee. He became involved in a suit over the confiscation of such property when he served as trustee for railroad and bank stock held by Charlotte Smith that the court claimed actually belonged to her husband Horace Smith Sr., an "enemy alien." The court awarded possession of the assets to her son.

In August 1862, however, Col. Wright quite likely ordered Lee to arrest men who chose, whether for profit or patriotism, to avoid supplying the needs of the southern military. After the war, Markham attempted to receive compensation for cotton and other property lost to the federal military by using by claiming harassment by Lee and the sequestration as proof of his loyalty to the Union. The government refused his claim and a claim filed by his descendents in the early 1900s, in part because he not only admitted serving in the state militia and profitably supplying to the state of Georgia but also for deliberately concealing other "important facts" in the case.⁵⁸

When Sherman's army occupied Atlanta, however, Markham called himself a Union loyalist and he provided names of men whom he accused of having persecuted Unionists. Sherman subsequently ordered that, if captured, Col. George W. Lee, Col. Alex M. Wallace,

Capt. G. Whit Anderson, and Lt. Ely Tillinger Hunnicutt would receive treatment as outlaws rather than as prisoners of war. At that time in Macon, Lee responded that he had Markham and others arrested or reported to the Confederate government; that had his advice been followed these persons would not now be persecuting loyal Confederates.⁵⁹ The United States government did nothing to investigate, arrest, or prosecute George W. Lee for anything during or after the war.

Early on George W. Lee clashed with this “Jacobin Club” as he called it. Over a long period, for example, the Provost Marshal had received complaints about successful dry goods merchant and member of the Union Circle Michael Myers refusing to accept Confederate currency, passing counterfeit bills, and violating the liquor laws. Lee finally arrested Myers who subsequently died while in custody. A formal inquiry found that the Irishman died from natural causes brought on by his notorious alcoholism. The notorious bootlegger Joseph Harford would write Myer’s eulogy. Critics would claim that Lee had Myers beaten to death after having hounded him for months when, in fact, the Provost Marshal summoned doctors when he learned of the prisoner having a seizure. Myers died at home while under medical care. Early in 1863, the government ended the Provost Marshal’s investigations of citizens in Atlanta and had his prisoners released.⁶⁰

In January 1864, however, Lee believed that he came very close to exposing criminal activities involving Amherst W. Stone, Cyrena’s husband. A Yankee slave owner and outspoken supporter of Secession, even in the North, this member of the Union Circle operated a successful Atlanta law practice built upon helping the Confederate government to sequester and confiscate the property of Unionists. In violation of the laws of both warring nations, Stone and his Union Circle associates planned to bribe officials to allow them to smuggle cotton out of the South.

George W. Lee started an undercover investigation of this scheme through his former adjutant, Judge William Gibbs McAdoo, formerly of Tennessee.

Lee failed to learn the full details of the conspiracy until his transfer to the Florida border late in the war. He discovered that these Atlantans shipped cotton with false papers that claimed Europe as the destination when they intended to, illegally, sell the cargoes in New York, in violation of Confederate law, after slipping it past the Federal blockade, in defiance of United States statutes. In turn, these profiteers smuggled in commodities to sell to desperate people at inflated prices. An ailing Lee intended to prepare a full report naming all of the persons involved in this enterprise but, before he could submit it, he had a recurrence of his health problems and the war ended. Federal authorities had already exposed this scheme and had Amherst Stone, Cyrena's husband, imprisoned in the North for his role in it.⁶¹

Atlanta business continued to boom as war, speculation, fraud, and loyalty became commodities. A refugee wrote of witnessing strangers all but ignored as commerce went at an even more frenzied pace than before the war on Alabama, Decatur, Peachtree, and Whitehall streets. Everyone who could seemed obsessed with making a fortune as they cried out "gold, gold, gold!" Divisions in the city's classes widened. Even in June 1864, as Sherman's legions approached, a visitor attended a party in Atlanta, where he noted that the difference between the trenches he had just left and the city proved to be as great as between "dark whiskey" and champagne. While most of Atlanta's population starved, froze, panicked, and worried over the fate of themselves and absent loved ones, the guest had a very different experience:

To be invited out to dine, where there are a brace of beauties full of music, love, and sympathy, and a service of silver; to reside in a saloon with a carpet which melts like water under your tread, rosewood furniture and marble statues, and mirrors which reflect your satisfaction from every wall; to sit at a table with roasts and fricassees, and wines and sweetmeats. . .⁶²

In part because of a reduction in his staff, the Provost Marshal finally resigned his position in Atlanta in the summer of 1863. Bragg, notorious even before the war for his inability to work with seemingly anyone eventually joined his generals in requesting his removal from command. Lee could then have simply walked away from the war, as hundreds of thousands of southerners had already done. Despite his health and all that he had suffered, however, he soon returned to duty. On September 8, 1863, he joined the Conscript Bureau and announced that he and his new command would set out to maintain order across the state by arresting deserters and stopping civil insurrection wherever he found it. He created twenty home guard companies of boys and men otherwise found unfit for field service. His command likely included the one company created in each respective congressional district by the Confederate Conscript Bureau to arrest draft evaders and deserters while impressing horses and other property. Confederate and Unionist critics would charge that these men, and their state equivalent, often consisted of draft evaders who were government sanctioned murderous brigands.⁶³

Lee also still commanded the twelve companies of his Twenty-fifth Georgia Provost Guard Battalion and he moved it to the Florida border to defend Georgia against a Federal invasion that failed to materialize. He took advantage of that location to conduct a new sweep for men avoiding military service. Reports had appeared as early as 1862 that a Worth County lynch mob, including a local sheriff, had hanged an old man who had sons in the service and his thirteen-year-old son for harboring deserters. In anti-war violence on the Florida border, resisters had also decapitated a conscript officer and left his corpse for the vultures. By the end of 1863, allegedly 1,500 deserters hid out in the vast natural refuge of the Okefenokee Swamp that had once protected Seminole Indians. Lee and his men killed three men in a skirmish but, overall, they found only twenty fugitives from the army and no escaped slaves in the great swamp or

anywhere else in South Georgia. Back in Atlanta, the city's population swelled to 22,000 frightened and desperate people as Federal armies in Tennessee now prepared to invade North Georgia. Col. Wright, now in complete command but without Lee and the Provost Battalion, pleaded to have his responsibilities for Atlanta's security be reassigned to someone else.⁶⁴

The best man and the best men to fill that need would not answer that call. On June 3, 1864, Lee resigned his last field commission in the Confederate army because of his recurring health problems. He hated to leave because he had struggled so long to keep a command. Secretary of War Seddon shortly afterwards ordered his Twenty-fifth Georgia Provost Guard Battalion disbanded with the men, according to age, receiving transfers to the Fifth Georgia Confederate Infantry Regiment, the First Georgia Infantry Battalion, and the state reserves. As early as December 1863, a report from the Conscript Bureau stated that Lee's unit been rendered unfit for service due to wounds. Company A and, sometimes the whole battalion, had become known as "broken-legged" because so many of these men had been permanently crippled in the regular service during the Virginia campaigns earlier in the war. Like their constantly ill commander, they had given their share to their new nation and then, even as the Confederate States of America steadily slid into oblivion, had come back to serve again.⁶⁵

George W. Lee would finally led men in battle against the Union army but for the state of Georgia. Beginning in the spring of 1863 as Atlanta's Provost Marshal, he had published pronouncements calling for the public to prepare for invasion. Later with the Conscript Bureau, he had gathered all unassigned arms in Atlanta and elsewhere.⁶⁶ A writer for an Atlanta newspaper believed that Lee would now receive a commission as a brigadier general to command one of the two brigades of state troops and militia. On April 4, 1864, however, Governor Brown only made him a colonel and one of the aide-de-camps. State adjutant general

Henry Wayne even referred to Lee as only a major whose authority extended to calling out the cadets from the Georgia Military Institute.⁶⁷ The governor ordered militia from across the state to gather at Camp Rescue, established near Macon. From there, Lee dispatched 6,550 men to help in the defense of Atlanta. At Roswell, Georgia, he shortly afterwards commanded some 400 scouts. With four pieces of artillery, they guarded a bridge that otherwise could have given the Federal army unimpeded access to Atlanta. When enemy cavalry subsequently threatened central Georgia, Lee gathered 500 men and dispatched them to protect the state capital at Milledgeville. He armed a like number to guard the Federal officers held as prisoners at Camp Oglethorpe in Macon. In August 1864, he personally led 445 soldiers in repulsing enemy horsemen outside of Macon. The press cited his bravery in leading his troops from the front line amidst the danger and heat.⁶⁸

Lee, however, again came under suspicion. Adjutant General Wayne criticized him for leaving Milledgeville without permission to which he replied that he left on the order of the governor to deal with an emergency. Claims flew that Lee issued fraudulent passes that allowed militiamen to go home during the crisis. Despite the desperate military situation, he received a lengthy trial with numerous witnesses. On September 18, 1864, the court found that the sale of exemptions had occurred but it acquitted Lee and his subordinates of any involvement in this fraud.

George W. Lee continued to work for the state of Georgia in other positions. On November 18, as Federal armies moved across the interior of the state, Lee supervised the train that carried the state archives and other property to safety. He also acted as the governor's emissary to Federal Gen. James H. Wilson in Macon to arrange to have state stores of grain in North Georgia released to starving civilians. Brown subsequently asked him to prepare a roster of the names of

the troops that Georgia had contributed to the Confederate cause, a task that the end of the war prevented him from carrying out. Lee returned to Atlanta by December 20, 1864 where he became one of the first persons back in the ruined, looted, and abandoned city. During this second Confederate occupation, he worked with Capt. Henry P. Farrow of the Nitre and Mining Bureau to restore the Western & Atlantic Railroad as a means of sending aid to the starving families in North Georgia, many of whom he had once fought with or against. The southern nation's first soldier now became one of the last Confederates as his nation's flag steadily came down elsewhere in what remained of his embattled country.⁶⁹

If anyone saw the devastated city as a Biblical judgment against its past, Atlanta's entrepreneurs missed that message. Business boomed on every level in the city as it ceased to have its assets wasted on war and siege. Travel writer Sidney Andrews, among others, noted that, with the end of the fighting, the Atlanta did more business than Augusta and Macon combined and had 30 percent more commerce after than before the war. Visitors found navigating the piles of building materials and new construction more of a problem than its ruins. It had a serious problem with brick thieves and a new fraud to kidnap freed slaves for sale into bondage in Cuba. Even the bones of animals killed in the area's numerous battles were being gathered up for sale as fertilizer. The resulting economic growth would come to be symbolized by the phoenix on the city's seal and by the loss of what remained of Civil War Atlanta to expansion and rebuilding in the century that followed. Lee waited upon captured Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia as he passed through Atlanta. Had they been allowed to casually converse, the Confederate vice president, by then a prisoner of the United States, might have reminisced on how he had written a eulogy for the Confederate States of America before the new nation even began, on November 25, 1860: "revolutions are much easier started than controlled, and the men who begin them,

even for the best purposes and objects, seldom end them. . . The selfish, the ambitious, and the bad will generally take the lead.” He and Lee might have pondered how the Confederate States of America had thus become a traditional empire in that it taxed the blood and property of the masses in imperialistic adventures for the benefit of the wealthy. In the case of the Cotton Kingdom, Lee would have noted, the lands conquered were not some foreign lands but whatever in the Old South not already been taken by the plantation economy. Today, scholars would have described cotton as a commodity that became such an all-consuming economic engine as to act as if it had an intelligence that placed its self-destructive growth over even its long-term survival.⁷⁰

Lee did set out to rebuild both his life and city in this New South. The federal government did, however, did take away by legislation the political rights of all former Confederate officers. Lee did not go through the complicated and expensive process to petition to have those rights restored. Like many former officers, he surely could have ignored those laws without anyone noticing or caring. A credit reporter wrote that he had extensive real estate that he had acquired during the war and that had survived to provide him with the capital to allow him to open two store buildings from which he lived off the rents. Records fail to support that claim. In 1863, G. W. Lee & Company had taken over a foundry from a B. Schofield and purchased lot 79 on Marietta Street for \$23,000. When the partners sold what remained of their property after the war, it brought only \$220.⁷¹ In 1866, Lee operated the Orme Hall, a theater in Atlanta, before moving back to Stone Mountain to become a partner in a distillery. The following year, creditors foreclosed on the property that he and his brother Mark still held in Atlanta. George moved on to Rome, where he helped to organize the city’s fire department and then he to Cartersville where he and partners leased an iron foundry and machine shop as well as the Bartow House hotel.⁷² A

census taker found him there in 1870. By then, he worked as a railroad engineer for a new line. He still had real estate worth \$1,000 and personal belongings of a value of \$300. By 1872, he became a partner in the Steam Road Wagon Company in Atlanta and, four years later, a newspaper described him as an earnest and successful businessman in Stone Mountain. Six years later, he only operated a third rate-boarding house in Atlanta. He died on April 3, 1879, in Rome, Georgia, at age forty-seven and after months of illness. Remarkably, despite his years of battling tuberculosis, he had outlived his wife and his daughter, as well as his major critics Cyrena Stone (died 1868), James L. Dunning (died 1874), and Braxton Bragg (died 1876).⁷³

The career of George Washington Lee merits study because it provides a panorama of how internal elements in the Confederate States worked against the survival of that nation. Persons with a similar experience who left records for today's scholars prove to be rare to non-existent. The partisan writings of his contemporaries who conspired against him have drawn attention in recent years. Lee, by contrast, felt no need to justify his actions. His writings also fail to explain the central issue of his career: why he, or any men like him from the South's non-slave owning classes, served the Confederacy as its managers, mechanics, and soldiers so well or even served it at all. Former prisoner of war Union soldier John McElroy wrote that men like Lee would be as liberated from the economic, political, and social stranglehold of the South's plantation economy by emancipation as the slaves. Many soldiers from the lower and middle classes did eventually desert but other southerners gave all that they could, in the specific instance of Lee, literally from the beginning to the end. Their number who survived remained a part of the same social and economic system after the war as they had before, and even found their opportunities for advancement even more limited.

Of Lee himself, he gave to the Confederacy from previously having been a part of the dangerous but highly seductive fanatical opportunism that became the character of his city to the present day, for good and bad, as famously depicted in its great novels. George W. Lee sought and took an active, if often unsuccessful, role in all of it before, during, and after the war. As a Confederate officer, he achieved success despite problems with bureaucracy, manpower, material, the enemy, crime, politics, and class. He quite likely believed that his own, his family's, and his neighbors' future would be tied to the fate of his city and whatever nation it would serve. From the peripheral boundaries of the southern nation, the commonly recognized enemy marched in to decide what that country would be, and in many different ways.⁷⁴

NOTES

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⁴² David Williams, "'The Faithful Slave is About Played Out': Civil War Slave Resistance in the Lower Chattahoochee Valley," *Alabama Review* 52 (April 1999): 98-100; Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry*, 167-70; *Daily State Gazette* (Trenton, N. J.), October 29, 1863; *Daily Telegraph* (Macon), October 10, 1863; Kent Anderson Leslie, *Woman of Color, Daughter of Privilege: Amanda America Dickson, 1849-1893* (Athens, Ga., 1995), 53-54.

⁴³ Dyer, *Secret Yankees*, 94, 101-113, and Dyer, "Half Slave, Half Free: Unionist Robert Webster in Confederate Atlanta," in Gordon and Inscoe, *Inside the Confederate Nation*, 298-300; Lee to Winder, May 11, 1863, W. N. Stark to same, May 26, 1863, George W. Lee file, Department of Henrico Papers; report on money stolen from Colonel Straight, November 13, 1863, file C(WD) 1048, Correspondence Relating to Civilian Prisoners, Entry 131, Records of the Commissary of Prisoners, RG 249, NARA.

⁴⁴ Lee to Randolph, September 17, 1862, and enclosed petition of August 17, 1862, 708 L 1862, SOW (M437, roll 58); Bonds, *Stealing the General*, 278-84, 310; Don Carlos Buell to Lorenzo Thomas, August 5, 1862, and endorsement by G. W. R., G. J. Foreacre to George W. Randolph, September 16, 1862, and Lee to Clifton H. Smith, November 18, 1862, O.R., vol. 10, pt. 1, 534-35, 638-39; Hewett, *Supplement to the Official Records*, Ser. 1, 670-71; SC, October 10, 19, 25, 1862; William Pittenger, *Daring and Suffering: a History of the Andrews Railroad Raid in 1862* (New York, 1887), 309, 312, 323, 360, 369; *Augusta (Georgia) Constitutionalist*, October 22, 1862. Sherman's army would find federal soldiers hidden among enemy wounded in Confederate uniforms provided by Atlanta Unionists. *Nashville Daily Times & True Union*, September 17, 1864. One of Lee's military courts condemned Jacob Moorland to hang for desertion but his commander interceded. *Weekly Constitution* (Atlanta), June 23, 1885.

⁴⁵ *Hampshire Gazette* (Northampton, Ma.), December 11, 1822; Richard M. McMurry, "Rebels, Exortioners and Counterfeiters: a Note on Confederate Judaeophobia," *Atlanta History* 22 (Fall-Winter 1978): 46-47; SC, July 29, 1862, November 16, 1862, April 25, 1863; Richards, *Sam Richards's Civil War Diary*, 125-26; G. H. Gilbert to Lee, January 16, 1863, 865 M 1863, SOW (M437, roll 105), and C. G. Memminger to Lee, May 4, 1863, Entry 144, Letters Received Secretary of Treasury and the Treasurer, 1861-1865, RG 109, NARA; Lynn Glaser, *Counterfeiting in America: the History of an American way to Wealth* (Philadelphia, 1960), 149-50; George B. Tremmel, *Counterfeit Currency of the Confederate States of America* (Jefferson, NC, 2003), 21-22.

⁴⁶ Lee to Gartrell, September 5, 1862, 596 G 1862, Lee to Seddon, July 10, 1863, 536 B 1863, SOW (M437, rolls 49, 83), and George McGinnely file, *Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens*

or *Business Firms* (National Archives microfilm M346, roll 630), RG 109, NARA; William B. Hesseltine, ed., *Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey: Autobiography and Letters* (Nashville, 1954), 103-4; Judith Benner, *Fraudulent Finance: Counterfeiting and the Confederate States, 1861-1865* (Hillsboro, TX., 1970), 38-39.

⁴⁷ Lee to A. Fullarton, December 1, 1862, and to H. Pinckney, June 17, 1863, Box 1, folders 3 and 4, British Consulate papers, 1859-1866, MSS 15, Manuscripts, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Emory University, Atlanta; Charges and Specifications Against Captain W. K. Bradford, August 12, 1864, folder 12, box 68, Mss 1376, Howell Cobb Papers, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscripts Library; Robert S. Davis, "Georgians in Confederate Government Private Files," *Georgia Genealogical Society Quarterly* 41 (Fall 2005): 218-21.

⁴⁸ *DI*, December 17, 1863; Clayton, *Requiem for a Lost City*, 92-95; Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, 11 vols. (New York, 1864), vol. 6, "Documents," 78; *Macon (Georgia) Daily Telegraph*, May 27, 1863; Lee to Cooper (telegraph) July 27, 1863, 1221 C 1863, CSAAG (M474, roll 61).

⁴⁹ Radley, *Rebel Watchdog*, 208-9; Clayton, *Requiem for a Lost City*, 89-91; *DI*, September 16, October 12, December 25, 1862, January 19, 1864, June 3, 1864; *SC*, January 13, 1863.

⁵⁰ Petition to James A. Seddon, July 25, 1863, compiled service record of George W. Lee, *Confederate General Staff Officers and Non-Regimental Enlisted Men* (National Archives microfilm M331, roll 155) and James P. Hambleton to John B. Weems, November 17, 1862,

1243 H 1862, *SOW* (M437, roll 53); Atlanta Fire Department, *History of Service* (Atlanta, 2000), 4-5; *SC*, February 8, 1864; Richards, *Sam Richards's Civil War Diary*, 194.

⁵¹ Brown to Randolph, July 4, 1863, in compiled service record of George W. Lee, *Confederate General Staff Officers and Non-Regimental Enlisted Men* (National Archives microfilm M331, roll 155), RG 109, NARA; *SC*, October 31, 1862; Hubbard to Randolph, October 18, 1862, 1145 H 1862, *SOW* (M437, roll 53).

⁵² Clayton, *Requiem*, 15; Wayne to Samuel Jones, November 20, 1862, Adjutant General's Letter Book no. 12 (September 11-December 31, 1862), 350, GAR; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (New York), April 18, 1863; "An Officer" to Seddon, January 26, 1864, 51 A 1864, *SOW* (M437, rolls 118); *Daily Telegraph and Confederate* (Macon), November 29, 1864; *SC*, August 20, 22, 1862, June 19, 1864; *Daily Constitutionalist* (Augusta), April 22, 1865. Nothing in Kershaw's service records mentions the attack on Lee.

⁵³ *SC*, September 20, 1862; Richards, "We Live Under a Constitution," 30-34.

⁵⁴ Bragg to Joseph E. Johnson, March 2, 1863, and same to "General," July 22, 1863, *O.R.*, vol. 23, pt. ii, 656-57, 924-25; Randolph to Braxton Bragg, August 12, 1862, *O.R.*, ser. 2, vol. 4, 844.

⁵⁵ G. W. Lee to Seddon, February 27, 1863, 108 L 1863, *SOW* (M437, roll 100), and Lee to H. L. Clay, July 20, 1863, compiled service record of George W. Lee, *Confederate General and Staff Officers and Non-Enlisted Men* (National Archives Microfilm M331, roll 155), RG 109, NARA; Moses H. Wright to W. W. Mackall, July 28, 1863, *O.R.*, vol. 23, pt. 2, 935.

⁵⁶ General Orders 13, in Hewett, *Supplement to the War of the Rebellion*, Ser. 93, 120; Dyer, *Secret Yankees*, 99, 346 n. 6; *DI*, July 24, 1864; deposition of William McConnell, September 8, 1862, 545 L 1862, *SOW* (M437, rolls 26, 58) and Bragg to B. S. Ewell, March 1, 1863, compiled service record of George W. Lee, *Confederate General and Staff Officers and Non-Enlisted Men* (National Archives Microfilm M331, roll 155), RG 109, NARA; Bragg to Joseph E. Johnson, March 2, 1863, and same to “General,” July 22, 1863, *O.R.*, vol. 23, pt. 2, 656-57, 924-25.

⁵⁷ Crist, et al, *The Papers of Jefferson Davis*, 9: 274 n. 10; Lee to Seddon, Camp Bartow, near Savannah, February 7, 1862, 10879 1862 *SOW* (M437 roll 26); compiled service record of Jabez R. Rhodes, *Confederate Soldiers who served directly in organizations raised directly by the Confederate Government* (National Archives Microfilm M258, roll 57), RG 109, NARA; *Daily Dispatch* (Richmond), September 7, 1863; Wright to Davis, August 14, 1863, 1474 W 1863, *CSAAG* (M474, roll 88).

⁵⁸ Dyer, *Secret Yankees*, 72-73; “Sherman in Atlanta,” *Atlanta Constitution*, September 30, 1888; Markham v. United States (case file 11137) and, Records of the United States Court of Claims, RG 123, NARA; Confederate States of America vs. George W. Lee (case file 868), Records of the Confederate District Court of North Georgia, Records of the United States District Courts, Record Group 21, National Archives Southeast Region, Morrow, Ga.

⁵⁹ Radley, *Rebel Watchdog*, 238; *Memphis Daily Appeal* (Atlanta, Ga.), July 1, 1864; entry of November 6, 1863, William G. McAdoo diaries; Wallace P. Reed, *History of Atlanta, Georgia* (Syracuse, NY, 1889), 93-95; Clayton, *Requiem for a Lost City*, 180; Dyer, *Secret Yankees*, 14-15, 77-79, 197; *DI*, March 17, 1865 *DI*, October 22, 27, 1864; *Confederate Union* (Milledgeville), November 1, 1864.

⁶⁰ Dyer, *Secret Yankees*, 103-5, 113-14, 201-2; credit report, Georgia, vol. 13, 14, 402, R. G. Dun Collection; *DI*, September 3, 4, 1862; *SC*, August 30, 1862.

⁶¹ Dyer, *Secret Yankees*, 21, 68-69, 72-73, 200, 260-61, and Dyer, "Atlanta's Other Civil War Novel: Fictional Unionists in a Confederate City," *GHQ* 79 (Spring 1995): 161; Lee to Seddon, December 23, 1863, 14 L 1864, and Wm. G. McAdoo to Seddon, February 2, 1864, 90 M 1864, *SOW* (M437, rolls 132, 134); entry of January 27, 1864, William G. McAdoo diaries. Cyrena Stone may have written her memoir of Civil War Atlanta after the war to create the image of her husband Amherst as a loyal Unionist.

⁶² Jones, *The Dispossessed*, 59-61; Eugene D. Genovese, *A Consuming Fire: The Fall of the Confederacy in the Mind of the White Christian South* (Athens, Ga., 1998), 47-49; Clayton, *Requiem for a Lost City*, 18-19; *SC*, April 24, 1864; *Nashville* (Tennessee) *Daily Times & Press*, June 28, 1864; *SC*, June 25, 1864.

⁶³ Lee to Gartrell, June 6, 1863, in compiled service record of George W. Lee, *Confederate General Staff Officers and Non-Regimental Enlisted Men* (National Archives microfilm M331, roll 155), RG 109, NARA; Robert S. Davis, "Notes on the Confederate Home Guards of North Georgia," *Northwest Georgia Historical and Genealogical Society Quarterly* 27 (Spring 1995): 2-4.

⁶⁴ Seddon to Cooper, July 14, 1863, *ORs*, Series I, vol. 23, p. ii, p. 910; "Col. G. W. Lee," *Memphis Daily Appeal* (Atlanta), September 4, 1863; Derry, *Georgia*, 7: 720; Col. G. W. Lee—"Important Appointment," *Daily Enquirer* (Columbus), September 6, 1863; "A Horrid Report,"

SC, December 5, 1862; Sutherland, *A Savage Conflict*, 252; David Williams, Teresa Crisp Williams, and David Carlson, *Plain Folk in a Rich Man's War: Class and Dissent in Confederate Georgia* (Gainesville, Fl., 2002), 172; M. H. Wright to Cooper, September 8, 1863, 1633 W 1863, CSAAG (M474, roll 88).

⁶⁵ W. W. Mackall to Gen. G. W. Smith, June 12, 1864, and orders of the Secretary of War, June 24, 1864, *O.R.*, vol. 38, pt. 4, 770, 789, vol. 39, pt. 2, 663; John S. Preston to Seddon, December 31, 1863, and Howell Cobb to Cooper, April 19, 1864, *O.R.*, ser. 4, vol. 2, 1071, vol. 3, 311; Hewett, *Supplement to the Official Records*, ser. 18, 555; *DI*, October 9, 21, 1863.

⁶⁶ Lee to Wright, April 30, 1864, compiled service record of George W. Lee, *Confederate General and Staff Officers and Non-Enlisted Men* (National Archives Microfilm M331, roll 155), RG 109, NARA; *Memphis Daily Appeal* (Atlanta), July 14, 1863; *Tri-Weekly Courier* (Rome), September 10, 1863; *SC*, June 17, 1864; *DI*, March 20, 1863, June 22, 1864.

⁶⁷ *Daily Columbus* (Georgia) *Enquirer*, June 3, 1864; Wayne to Lee, March 4, 12, 14, 1864, Adjutant General's Letter books no. 24 (April 29-June 5, 1864), 127, 225, 258, GAR.

⁶⁸ Lee to Howell Cobb, July 31, 1864, folder 10, August 4, 1864, folder 11, August 7, 1864, folder 12, box 68, Mss 1376, Howell Cobb Papers; W. W. Mackall to G. W. Smith, June 12, 1864, *O.R.*, vol. 38, pt. 4, 771; Lee to Wayne, July 24, July 25, August 29, 1864, George W. Lee file, Letters Received by Adjutant General Henry C. Wayne, RG 22-1-17, and Wayne to Lee, August 15, 1864, Adjutant General's Letter books no. 25 (June 10-August 24, 1864), 351, GAR; David Evans, *Sherman's Horsemen: Union Cavalry Operations in the Atlanta Campaign*

(Bloomington, 1996), 300, 311, 313-17, 551 note 7, 553 note 21; Richard W. Iobst, *Civil War Macon: the History of a Confederate City* (Macon, 1999), 142; *DI*, August 3, 1864.

⁶⁹ Wayne to Lee, August 18, 1864, Adjutant General's Letter books no. 25 (June 10-August 24, 1864), 424, Lee to Wayne, August 18, September 20, 1864, George W. Lee file, Letters Received by Adjutant General Henry C. Wayne, RG 22-1-17, G. W. Lee file, Courts of Enquiry, RG 22-1-65, L. H. Briscoe to ?, August 17, 1864, and Adjutant General's Letter books no. 25 (June 10-August 24, 1864), 384, *GA*; *Nashville* (Tennessee) *Daily Times & True Union*, August 30, September 17, 1864; Brown to Lee, December 5, 1864, in Allen D. Candler, ed., *The Confederate Records of the State of Georgia*, 5 vols. (Atlanta, 1909-1011), 2: 809; orders, April 25, 1865, Ira H. Foster Collection, Kentucky Historical Society, Frankfort; *SC*, January 20, February 7, 1865; *DI*, April 12, 1865; Lee to Brown, March 25, 1865, Brown Family Papers, MS 785, Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscripts Library; *Chattanooga* (Tennessee) *Daily Gazette*, July 7, 1864. Lee apparently had only limited success in removing the state records from Milledgeville. Sherman's soldiers littered the streets with historical official records of the state. Union soldiers collected some of these documents as souvenirs. "Restored to Archives," *Valdosta* (Georgia) *Times*, July 23, 1887; "Letter Bearing Signature of Washington in Atlanta," *Atlanta Journal*, July 25, 1943, 16-C.

⁷⁰ Garrett, *Atlanta and Environs*, 1: 679-99, 729-30; Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: a Tour of the Southern States, 1865-1866* (Cincinnati, 1866), 355-57; John Richard Dennett, *The South as it is: 1865-1866* (New York, 1965), 264-69; Alexander H. Stephens, *Recollections of Alexander H. Stephens: His Diary Kept When a Prisoner at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, 1865*, ed. Mary L. Avery (New York, 1971), 104. For the Stephens quote see Eudora Richardson, *Little Aleck: a*

Life of Alexander H. Stephens, the Fighting Vice President of the Confederacy (Indianapolis, 1932), 195. For social definitions of “empire” beyond simple political boundaries see Charles S. Maier, *Among Empires: American Ascendancy and Its Predecessors* (Cambridge, Ma., 2006) ; Dora L. Costa and Mathew E. Kahn, *Heroes and Cowards: The Social Face of War* (Princeton, 2008); Christopher Gelphi, Peter D. Feaver, and Jason Reifer, *Paying the Human Costs of War: American Public Opinion and Casualties in Military Conflicts* (Princeton, 2009); Fred Anderson and Andrew Cayton, *The Dominion of War: Empire and Liberty in North America, 1500-2000* (New York, 2005); and Niall Ferguson, *Colossus: the Price of America’s Empire* (New York, 2004).

⁷¹ Credit report, Georgia, vol. 13, 385, R. G. Dun Collection; Fulton County deed book K (1868-1870), 604-608, microfilm roll 100/64, and deed book I (1866-1867), 393-94, microfilm roll 100/61, GAR

⁷² *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Georgia, Passed in Milledgeville, at an Annual Session in December 1865, and January, February, and March, 1866*, 2 vols. (Milledgeville, Ga., 1866), 1: 149-50; *DI*, April 13, 1866; Monthly and Special Lists, District 4, 1867, 197, *Internal Assessment Lists for Georgia, 1865-1866* (National Archives microfilm M762, roll 8), Records of the Internal Revenue Service, RG 58, NARA; *DI*, August 28, 1866, September 11, 1867; *Tri-Weekly Courier* (Rome), April 22, 1869; *Weekly Express* (Cartersville, Ga.), June 23, July 28, October 30, 1870; *Atlanta Constitution*, June 5, 1870.

⁷³ United States Census Bureau, Ninth Census of the United States: Population and Slave Schedules, Fulton County, Georgia, 1870, microfilm, Washington, D. C.; *Atlanta* (Georgia)

Daily Sun, February 16, 1872; *Observer* (Fayetteville, NC), June 8, 1876; credit report, Georgia, vol. 13, 385, R. G. Dun Collection; Tad Evans, comp., *Baldwin County, Georgia Newspaper Clippings (Union Recorder) Volume XI 1878-1882* (Savannah, 1997), 97; Shirley F. and James P. Kinney, Jr., *Myrtle Hill Cemetery Obituaries and Internments: Annotated Genealogical Abstracts Rome Floyd County, Georgia Volume XI* (Rome, Ga., 1997), 244; *Daily Constitution* (Atlanta), April 6, 1879.

⁷⁴ John McElroy, *Andersonville: a Story of Rebel Prisons* (Washington, D. C., 1899), 35. For discussions of the issues of men of Lee's class and their sympathies during the Civil War see Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry*; Richard E. Beringer, Herman Hattaway, Archer Jones, and William N. Still, Jr., *Why the South Lost the Civil War* (Athens, Ga., 1986); Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge, Ma., 2010); and Eugene D. Genovese, *A Consuming Fire: the Fall of the Confederacy in the Mind of the White Christian South* (Athens, Ga., 1998).