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Introduction

by Dennis J. Mitchell

In an effort to publish more issues of *The Journal of Mississippi History*, which had fallen behind schedule, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH) and the Mississippi Historical Society agreed to publish three vintage issues. The first focused on the early history of the state. This second vintage issue contains reprints of articles about the Civil War. The third vintage issue will focus on Reconstruction. In selecting articles for the vintage issues, we used *Journal* articles published before the 1970s.

A large percentage of *The Journal of Mississippi History's* articles dealt with the Civil War during the *Journal's* early years of publication, but those in this vintage issue cover lesser known aspects of the war. Herbert Howard Lang's account of J.F.H. Claiborne's life on the Gulf Coast during the war communicates the complexity of life on the home front. Claiborne, the renowned historian of early Mississippi history and one of the leaders of the short-lived antebellum Mississippi Historical Society, chose to remain loyal to the Union despite losing a son fighting for the Confederacy. Claiborne's complicated life and career will broaden and deepen readers' understanding of the war on the home front. Lang's article came from his study of Gulf Coast historians in his dissertation. Lang went on to spend his career in New Mexico where he became a student of mining history.

In the second article, Willie D. Halsell describes the relationship between Jefferson Davis and L.Q.C. Lamar. While the article does not concentrate solely on the war years, it demonstrates how the war continued to dominate the politics of Reconstruction and beyond. Halsell served as head of special collections at Mississippi State University's Mitchell Memorial Library during a long career that saw her encourage an army of young scholars to examine Mississippi history with fresh eyes.

Margaret DesChamps Moore's survey of Mississippi's churches on the eve of the war reminds readers that secession and the Civil War quieted the majority of the state's clergy, who probably opposed secession before having their sentiments overwhelmed. Moore earned the first Emory University doctorate in history and taught at the University of Mississippi alongside her husband, John Hebron Moore, prior to his final career move to Florida State University.

The final article is the work of Andrew Benjamin Brown, which he later incorporated into his *History of Tippah County, Mississippi: The First Century* published by the Tippah County Historical and Genealogical Society. Using the life of Sol Street, Brown captures the turmoil in north Mississippi after Union forces invaded Mississippi. Sergeant Street purchased a substitute when he heard of the invasion and left his unit in Virginia in order to return home to defend his neighborhood as captain of a guerrilla band. Street's story and death illustrates many Mississippians' Civil War experiences in all their complexity.

Student volunteers from Millsaps College (Emma McRaney, Angel Williams, Connor Dunne, Gwyneth McDonough, Braxton Thomas, and Madison Brennan) transcribed these vintage articles. Two volunteers – Julia Marks Young, the retired director of the MDAH Archives and Records Services Division, and Amanda Kaminer, an adjunct professor in the Department of History and Political Science at Mississippi College – painstakingly proofread each article for accuracy. MDAH director emeritus Elbert Hilliard also did a final reading of the articles, noting minor changes that were needed to accommodate various provisions of *The Chicago Manual of Style*. In some instances, commas have been inserted as needed to separate independent clauses, and brackets have been used to indicate editorial changes. In a few instances, additional information has been included in incomplete footnote citations.

One difficulty of reprinting older articles is that some of the language used in the articles is not only outdated, but sometimes offensive. While the Mississippi Historical Society would never

publish a new article using such language, we have reprinted these articles verbatim to reflect scholarship as it was presented at the time. Each article is a product of its time and place, but is included because it contains historical information that is still relevant.

I hope you enjoy reading about Mississippi's Civil War history in these articles that were first published more than half a century ago.

J. F. H. Claiborne at Laurel Wood Plantation, 1853-1870

by Herbert H. Lang

Few of the numerous studies of the varied career of J. F. H. Claiborne give more than scant attention to the life and activities of the Mississippi historian during his years at Laurel Wood plantation; yet, the period of his residence on the Gulf Coast—spanning the last few years of the antebellum era, the Civil War, and Reconstruction—was for Claiborne the most satisfying and significant of his entire life. Indeed, his decision to settle at Laurel Wood in 1853 was a turning point for Claiborne, for it was at this plantation that he rebuilt his personal and political fortunes, and it was there that he produced most of the writings that brought him recognition as Mississippi's foremost historian of the nineteenth century. It was at "Laurel Wood," too, during the war, that Claiborne became deeply embroiled in the intrigue that disrupted the normal course of events on the Gulf Coast for four years and marked the most dangerous and melodramatic period of his life.

Claiborne's early career had been marked by disappointment and failure. He had served in the Mississippi legislature and in Congress, acquiring that profound insight into politics that was to enrich the pages of his books, but he had destroyed his own political future through indefensible machinations in the election dispute of 1837-1838. On another occasion, with unfailing honesty and courage he had exposed the attempt of speculators to defraud the government and the Indians in the notorious Choctaw lands case, securing the gratitude and vindication of Congress, but he had been vilified by some of the most powerful men in his state and

This article was originally published in the January 1956 edition of *The Journal of Mississippi History*. Some of the language may be offensive because the article is a product of its time and place. The article is reprinted verbatim to reflect the scholarship as it was presented at the time.

HERBERT H. LANG, who earned his Ph.D. from the University of Texas, was an assistant professor of humanities at the New Mexico Institute of Mining and Technology when this article was submitted for publication. In 1956, Lang joined the faculty of the history department at Texas A&M University, where he became a full professor in 1965. Dr. Lang retired in 1984 and died on January 5, 2006.

had been forced to flee Mississippi to a refuge in New Orleans. There, as a novice among men of shrewd business acumen, he had ventured in land, cotton, and slaves,¹ deriving invaluable commercial experience, but he had lost his patrimony through ruinous endorsements² and was taken into custody as a common debtor.³ Later, he had edited with distinction some of the principal Democratic newspapers in Louisiana and Mississippi,⁴ earning the gratitude of leaders of his party, but, as a result of his arduous duties, he had suffered the complete collapse of his already poor health. The constant discouragement produced by such disappointing results of ventures undertaken with every hope of success prompted Claiborne in 1849 to turn from the speculation and newspaper work that brought only a precarious living at best and to purchase Laurel Wood plantation.

Grown cautious through previous experiences, however, Claiborne sought a means of supplementing the income he expected to derive from his plantation. He gained that additional security in 1853, when he was appointed to a government sinecure by President Franklin Pierce. He had become a friend of Pierce when the two men had served together in Congress, and during the campaign of 1852 he had supported Pierce in the *Louisiana Courier*.⁵ After the election Pierce offered Claiborne “an eligible diplomatic position abroad or a comfortable berth in Washington.” But Claiborne proposed instead that Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana be combined into one timber district and that “the care of the public timber therein should be confided to him, with an appropriate salary.” Pierce made the appointment, and in 1857 President [James B.] Buchanan reappointed Claiborne to the post.⁶ Immediately following his first appointment as timber agent Claiborne moved to “Laurel Wood.”

Fronting on the Gulf of Mexico at Mulatto Bayou, Laurel Wood lay between Bay St. Louis and the Rigolets in southern Hancock County,

¹ Contract signed by Claiborne, William M. Gwin, and John D. Freeman, October 14, 1839, J. F. H. Claiborne Papers (Library of Congress).

² C. E. Cain (ed.), “Letter from J. F. H. Claiborne to Richard Abbey,” *Journal of Mississippi History*, VI (January 1944), 49.

³ Court order directing the sheriff of Adams County, Mississippi, to take Claiborne into custody, January 14, 1839, Claiborne Papers (Library of Congress).

⁴ Claiborne became editor of the *Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Gazette* in 1841, editor of the New Orleans *Jeffersonian* and the New Orleans *Statesman* in 1846, and editor of the *Louisiana Courier* in 1850.

⁵ Franklin L. Riley, “Life of Col. J. F. H. Claiborne,” *Mississippi Historical Society, Publications*, VII (1903), 232.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 232-233.

approximately twelve miles from Fort Pike. Though isolated by a pine forest and salt marshes, it had easy access to plantations on the banks of the nearby Pearl River. Built in 1800 by slave labor, the small house with pitched tin roof was supported by high brick piers joined by iron bars to hold Negroes brought ashore from slave ships in the early days of the century. Slave quarters were located to the rear of the main structure.⁷

Though he had little training or experience in plantation management, Claiborne made a financial success of the plantation. His devotion to agricultural pursuits is indicated in a letter to Benjamin L. C. Wailes in 1856, in which Claiborne wrote that he contemplated the publication of a farm monthly to be called the *Sea Shore Farmer*.⁸ He became interested in experimenting with new crops and introduced new varieties of garden peas which he procured in France, England, and Germany. His account of their cultivation was published in 1857 in the agricultural report of the Commissioner of Patents.⁹ Claiborne raised potatoes and other vegetables in quantity and had extensive orange groves. Some of his orange trees had been producing for sixty years, he maintained, and still yielded a substantial revenue, bringing ten dollars a thousand at the New Orleans market.¹⁰

The principal crop on Claiborne's plantation was long staple or sea island cotton. A correspondent for a New Orleans newspaper reported in June 1858, after seeing Claiborne's cotton:

We yesterday examined the sample of twenty-two bales Sea Island cotton, sold in this city a few days since. This cotton was grown upon the plantation of Colonel J. F. H. Claiborne and Major Andrew Jackson, on Pearl River, Hancock County, Mississippi, and was sold at the handsome price of 35, 40, and 44 cents, 16 bales bringing 40 cents per pound; the whole consignment of 22 bales netting to the enterprising planters something over \$2250 after deducting freights, commissions, and all other charges.¹¹

⁷ Federal Writers' Project, *Mississippi Gulf Coast: Yesterday and Today, 1699-1939* (Gulfport, 1939), 116.

⁸ Charles S. Sydnor, *A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes* (Durham, 1938), 137.

⁹ J. F. H. Claiborne, "Report of an Experiment of Nine Varieties of Garden Peas, by J. F. H. Claiborne of Laurel Wood Plantation, Hancock County, Mississippi," *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1856: Agriculture* (Washington, 1857), 314.

¹⁰ J. F. H. Claiborne, "The Pine District of Mississippi," *Jackson Weekly Clarion*, December 27, 1876.

¹¹ New Orleans *Picayune*, June 6, 1858.

At the start of the Civil War, when Claiborne's one hundred slaves produced an average of eight hundred pounds of seed cotton to the acre,¹² he was out of debt and had an annual income of six thousand dollars.¹³

At "Laurel Wood," with more leisure than he had enjoyed at any prior period, Claiborne was able to devote his energies to scholarly and cultural pursuits. In view of his long experience in political arenas, his services in various elective and appointive offices, and the prominent role his ancestors had played in the development of the Old Southwest, it is not surprising that he exhibited a serious historical interest. In 1858 Claiborne was associated with Benjamin L. C. Wailes, Joseph B. Cobb, the author of *Mississippi Scenes*, and Benjamin W. Sanders, the state librarian, in the organization of the Mississippi Historical Society.¹⁴ Claiborne also maintained an extensive correspondence with some of the leading historians of the day, including Charles Gayarré, Albert James Pickett, John W. Monette, Benson J. Lossing, and Lyman C. Draper.

By the eve of the Civil War Claiborne was devoting as much of his time and talent to historical writing as could be spared from his plantation responsibilities. During the four years immediately preceding the beginning of the war Claiborne wrote at Laurel Wood two biographies, a series of articles, and several short sketches for an encyclopedia. Moreover, there are indications that he was at work on other pieces of writing that were never published,¹⁵ and that he wrote several segments of his *Mississippi* during the same period.

A few months before the inauguration of President Buchanan, when the nation was anticipating the president-elect's appointments, Claiborne wrote for the New Orleans *Delta* an article on "The Cabinet—Past and Present,"¹⁶ a study of the roles of major cabinet officers in the administrations, from Washington to Van Buren. At about the same time he prepared, again for the *Delta*, his "Recollections of the Metropolitan

¹² Claiborne, "The Pine District of Mississippi," Jackson *Weekly Clarion*, December 27, 1876.

¹³ Cain (ed.), "Letter from J. F. H. Claiborne to Richard Abbey," *Journal of Mississippi History*, VI, 49.

¹⁴ Z. T. Leavell, "The Ante-Bellum Historical Society of Mississippi," Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications*, VIII (1904), 228.

¹⁵ Among Claiborne's contemplated writings was a political study of the antebellum South. J. F. H. Claiborne, *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman, Major-General, U.S.A., and Governor of the State of Mississippi*, 2 vols. (New York, 1860), I, vii-viii.

¹⁶ Reprinted in *ibid.*, 231.

Press,”¹⁷ a series of brief, intimate sketches of prominent editors he had known in Washington. In 1859 Claiborne’s study of *The Houmas Land Claims* of Louisiana appeared in pamphlet form.¹⁸

During the Civil War *Harper’s Magazine* published an article Claiborne had submitted earlier entitled “Rough Riding Down South.”¹⁹ Essentially a study of social conditions in the Piney Woods and the seashore counties of Mississippi, the sketch was composed largely of anecdotes of the political campaigns of Powhatan Ellis, Harry Cage, and Franklin E. Plummer. In 1860, while Claiborne was in New York supervising the publication of two books, he met George Ripley, who solicited from him sketches of Seargent Smith Prentiss and other leading Mississippi figures for the *New American Encyclopaedia*.²⁰ In his *Life of Sam Dale*, Claiborne claimed to have written “an elaborate memoir of Mr. Prentiss for a historical work on which I am engaged.”²¹ But the memoir was never published. And in his *Life of Quitman*, Claiborne stated that he had begun a biography of George Poindexter “based on his own correspondence and manuscripts.”²² It is probable that the manuscript referred to became the basis for the lengthy sketch of Poindexter that appears in Claiborne’s *Mississippi*.

During 1860 Claiborne published two biographies of men prominent in the early history of his state. His *Life and Times of Gen. Sam Dale*, the *Mississippi Partisan* was brief, popularly written, romantic, and largely fictional; his *Life and Correspondence of John A. Quitman, Major-General, U.S.A., and Governor of the State of Mississippi* was lengthy, scholarly, sedate, and entirely veritable.

Claiborne’s major historical contribution, *Mississippi, as a Province, Territory and State*, was the achievement of his later life. But the short span of time that began in 1857, only to be terminated four years later by the exigencies of war, marked the most productive literary period of his career.

At Laurel Wood Claiborne also resumed his active participation

¹⁷ Reprinted in J. F. H. Claiborne, *Life and Times of Gen. Sam Dale, the Mississippi Partisan* (New York, 1860), 190-203.

¹⁸ J. F. H. Claiborne, *The Houmas Land Claims; A Letter from John Claiborne, Esq., to Hon. C. T. Bemis, Accompanied by a Letter from the Hon. John Slidell to Mr. Claiborne* (New Orleans, 1859).

¹⁹ J. F. H. Claiborne, “Rough Riding Down South,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine*, XXV (June, 1862), 29-37.

²⁰ George Ripley, New York, to Claiborne, November 14, 1860, J. F. H. Claiborne Papers (University of North Carolina).

²¹ Claiborne, *Sam Dale*, 222n.

²² Claiborne, *Quitman*, I, 107n.

in Mississippi politics. In 1853 he was Albert Gallatin Brown's chief lieutenant in the southern counties when Brown was a candidate for the United States Senate.²³ The following year it was charged by the opposition that Claiborne was active in gerrymandering congressional districts in southern Mississippi,²⁴ and that he worked with Brown and Quitman in controlling the patronage in that area.²⁵ In the 1855 election, when Claiborne managed Quitman's race for Congress in Hancock, Jackson, Perry, and Greene counties, Brown and Governor John J. McRae expressed confidence that Claiborne would have little difficulty in managing the seaboard counties.²⁶

Always a partisan of the Democratic Party, Claiborne gave freely of his fortune as well as of his talents to further the cause of his party. He claimed to have contributed at least ten thousand dollars to Democratic coffers before the Civil War.²⁷ He was mentioned as a candidate to fill the congressional post left vacant in 1858 by the death of Quitman, but he declined the honor.²⁸ In 1860 he was listed as a Douglas elector on the ballot for the fifth district in Mississippi.²⁹

During the 1850s, in addition to his other activities, Claiborne acted as a claims agent and probably as a lobbyist. Earlier he had advertised in a New Orleans newspaper, offering his services "for prosecuting claims, or anything requiring government action." Listing his congressional experience, he advised interested parties to contact him through the offices of Senators Robert J. Walker or Henry Johnson.³⁰ That his search for clients was not without success is indicated by the fact that Claiborne was approached by John Calhoun, president of the New Orleans and Jackson Railroad, who sought to hire him to represent the railroad before the legislature of Mississippi in 1856. Calhoun wrote that he knew "from past experience, how potent" Claiborne was "in matters of this kind," and indicated that he desired Claiborne to secure the passage of a bill which

²³ James Byrne Ranck, *Albert Gallatin Brown: Radical Southern Nationalist* (New York, 1937), 109.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 131.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 142.

²⁶ Claiborne, *Quitman*, II, 215.

²⁷ Isaac M. Patridge, "The Press of Mississippi," *De Bow's Commercial Review*, XXIX (October 1860), 509.

²⁸ *Nashville Daily News*, August 12, 1858.

²⁹ J. W. R. Taylor, Holly Springs, to Claiborne, August 30, 1860, Claiborne Papers (University of North Carolina).

³⁰ Newspaper clipping dated New Orleans, February 25, 1845, *ibid.*

would permit the railroad to issue \$2,000,000 in new stock for the purpose of extending the line to Canton.³¹

At the start of the Civil War, torn between a dual allegiance and love for his state and his nation, Claiborne at first tried to follow the middle ground, secluding himself at Laurel Wood to weather out the war in isolation. But when it became apparent to him that he would have to take a firmer stand and align himself with one camp or the other, he cast his lot with the Union. Once having taken the irrevocable step of supporting the Union against the Confederacy, he worked wholeheartedly for the cause he espoused.

It seems somewhat paradoxical that Claiborne should have become an ardent Union man. *His Life of Quitman*, published on the eve of the war, was above all a poignant defense of the state-rights doctrines for which the South claimed to be fighting. As a cotton planter who felt that he had suffered under unjust tariff laws he saw the advantages to be gained from southern independence; as the owner of one hundred slaves he could expect to be ruined financially by the emancipation that would surely follow a northern victory; as the father of a son who died fighting in the Confederate service he was tied by blood to the Confederate cause; as a lifelong neighbor and acquaintance of some of the major political figures of the Confederacy he was bound to the government at Richmond by bonds of friendship and sympathy. Yet, despite the existence of such strong reasons for supporting the South, Claiborne took the more difficult course and worked for a Union victory. His reasons for doing so, though perhaps not obvious, weighed more heavily than any possible temptations he might have had to become a Confederate. He was the bearer of a name that had in the past shone in the annals of the Southwest under the old Republic. He took seriously his duties as United States timber agent and could not betray a government he was pledged to support. Always essentially a Jacksonian Democrat, he placed the Union above the states. Claiborne was certainly a theoretical secessionist in 1860, but he never went so far as to want to put his theories into practice.

With the outbreak of hostilities Claiborne sent his wife and daughters to Natchez, but he remained at Laurel Wood to supervise his plantation.³² Three months after the inauguration of President Lincoln, Claiborne

³¹ J. Calhoun, New Orleans, to Claiborne, February 27, 1856; J. F. H. Claiborne Papers (Mississippi Department of Archives and History).

³² Riley, "Life of Col. J. F. H. Claiborne," Mississippi Historical Society, *Publications*, VII, 234.

regretfully resigned his post as timber agent.³³ He was commissioned in August 1861, to administer oaths and to take acknowledgements of deeds and other papers for the Confederate government in southern Mississippi.³⁴ During the war he purchased several thousand dollars worth of Confederate bonds.³⁵

To all casual observers Claiborne appeared to be a loyal supporter of the Confederacy, albeit a passive adherent to the cause. In actuality he was undoubtedly the most active advocate of the Union in southern Mississippi. In the summer of 1862 Claiborne wrote Governor John J. Pettus to deplore the starving condition of the inhabitants of the seaboard counties, as well as depredations of Yankee invaders. Affirming his own fidelity, he wrote, "We are now proving our loyalty by starvation—by the tears of our women and the cries of our children for bread!" and begged permission to import essential foodstuffs from enemy-held New Orleans in order to preserve the lives of loyal supporters of the Confederacy living along the coast.³⁶ But at the same time he carried on a voluminous correspondence with Major General Nathaniel P. Banks, the Union commander at New Orleans. To Banks, Claiborne wrote very differently of his neighbors on the seaboard:

Few of them can be addressed through their moral sense or convictions of duty. They are essentially animal. They have but a dim idea of government—none whatever of political principle. When Civil War broke out they eagerly volunteered . . . with the hope of plunder. But the mortality that has occurred among them . . . has disgusted them with the service. Most of all, they feel the pressure of want in their families . . . They are now subsisting on sweet potatoes; that crop will be exhausted by the 1st Feb. *Want*, I repeat is producing in their animal natures, a great re-action. It brings reflection. Reflection brings regret. Regret, repentance. The Union sentiment is spreading . . . A vigorous exclusion would bring this whole seaboard to its allegiance in 3 months.³⁷

³³ J. F. H. Claiborne, Hancock County, to General N. P. Banks, December 23, 1862, Nathaniel P. Banks Papers (Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts).

³⁴ Commission dated August 1861, Claiborne Papers (Library of Congress).

³⁵ Memorandum dated July 4, 1863, *ibid*.

³⁶ J. F. H. Claiborne, Shieldsboro, to J. J. Pettus, August 4, 1862, and August 15, 1862, Governors' Records, Series E., Vol. 54 (Mississippi Department of Archives and History).

³⁷ [J. F. H. Claiborne], Memorandum to Banks [enclosed with letter of December 23, 1862], Banks Papers.

Claiborne's correspondence with the Union commander began late in December 1862, when he wrote to Banks for "advice and protection." Introducing himself as a man who out of his "own convictions of duty" had "remained at home, pursuing my usual business, confiding in the U. S. military authorities for the protection of my property," Claiborne assured the general that he had "maintained *confidential* relations" with the Union officers at Fort Pike and had from them "strong testimonials of the services I have rendered." Reaffirming his loyalty to the Union, Claiborne stated his position in unequivocal terms:

Does the Proclamation of the President affect the loyal as well as the disloyal? Does the mere fact of my residence *in Mississippi*, reduce me to the condition of an enemy of the Union, to which I am bound by all the traditions of my family? Can I reside here on or after 1st Jan. and lawfully hold my colored people as bondsmen? I have the Southern views on the subject of slavery; I wish to retain my people; but if I cannot lawfully do so, and the Government, for public use desires to appropriate them, I will cheerfully send them within your lines, relying on the U. S. to do me justice. I have ever treated my people more as wards than as slaves. I never had an overseer. I never used a whip. I have clothed & fed them abundantly, and every industrious adult on my place has realized for *themselves* [*sic*] from \$75 to \$100 per annum. I had, for the next year, allotted to them 100 acres of land, to be planted in cotton for themselves, I aiding them to cultivate it with my teams . . . I was advised long since to retreat into the interior, as most slave holders, in exposed sections, have done. I refused to do so . . . I am now derided by the disloyal for my credulity. I still retain my faith, and apply to you, General, for advice . . . Surrounded here by armed men, mostly of desperate character & fortunes, my person in danger, and my property liable to be plundered, I have been compelled to be circumspect. But I have neglected no means to further the cause. I *have* created a strong Union sentiment, which is rapidly developing.³⁸

On five separate occasions during the month of July 1863, Claiborne informed Banks of the activities of saltmakers and tannery operators

³⁸ J. F. H. Claiborne, Hancock County, to Banks, December 23, 1862, *ibid.*

on the Gulf Coast. To Claiborne's chagrin, the leatherworkers were systematically stripping the bark from live oak trees which had been set aside as a reserve for the United States Navy for use in the tanneries they had erected at Bay St. Louis.³⁹ Furthermore, a great quantity of salt was being produced for military and civilian use. According to Claiborne, Governor Pettus had contracted for 100,000 bushels of salt at thirty-five dollars a bushel.⁴⁰ In one letter Claiborne suggested, "If you could shell those places, & seize the salt-boilers, we should get rid of the guerillas and their sympathizers."⁴¹ In subsequent memorandums he reported that saltmaking was proceeding at a rate of five hundred bushels a day,⁴² and that twenty wagon loads of salt had been shipped to General Joseph E. Johnston's army.⁴³

As the war progressed and Union victories became more frequent, Claiborne sent more valuable information. In July 1863, he told Banks of fortifications being erected at Mobile, of the location and size of Johnston's army, of the movements of General William J. Hardee, and of the location of a Confederate train of four hundred wagons.⁴⁴ Claiborne was particularly energetic in 1863 in informing Banks of the smuggling trade carried on between New Orleans, the Rigolets, and Mississippi coastal towns, naming "the Alice, the Venus & other vessels" that "regularly bring out contraband" and implicating the suttler at Fort Pike.⁴⁵ Early in the following year he reported the construction of seven Confederate rams on the Alabama River. "Two of them, the Tennessee and the Nashville, are very powerful, mounted with six guns," Claiborne wrote, "It is believed that they can sink any vessel of the blockade fleet; and there is good reason to believe that the attempt will *shortly be made*."⁴⁶

On two occasions Claiborne was able to supply General Banks with the names of persons serving the Confederacy in New Orleans, the general's own headquarters. On July 10, 1863, Claiborne wrote:

³⁹ [J. F. H. Claiborne] to Banks, July 10, 1863, *ibid*.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*.

⁴¹ J. F. H. Claiborne to Banks, July 22, 1863, *ibid*.

⁴² [J. F. H. Claiborne] to Banks, July 27, 1863, *ibid*.

⁴³ [J. F. H. Claiborne], Memorandum to Banks [enclosed with letter of July 28, 1863], *ibid*.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*.

⁴⁵ [J. F. H. Claiborne], Memorandum to Banks [enclosed with letter of December 12, 1863], *ibid*.

⁴⁶ [J. F. H. Claiborne] to Banks, January 12, 1864, *ibid*.

Arrangements are making to run the blockade to Havana from two points on this coast. The parties engaged in it have all been in or are in the Confederate service. *They have two men in New Orleans*—a Capt. Dane or Dean & one Asa Weed (who was once arrested here as a spy, and liberated with a view to this very object) *employed to give them information about your movements, the movements of the blockading squadron* etc. Dane & Weed communicate with one of the parties here, by means of a schooner (The Venus) which makes a weekly trip from the city to Toomer’s Mill near Fort Pike, and the information they give is duly sent to Jackson. Weed or Dane, or both of them are soon to visit *your camp at Port Hudson*.⁴⁷

Later in the same month Claiborne intercepted and copied several letters destined for Confederate sympathizers in New Orleans. One such letter, addressed to Mason Pilcher of the Bank of New Orleans, showed that the bank had “advanced \$405,000 to the Richmond authorities; that it is now in communication with Richmond; and in all probability, making arrangements to export, unlawfully, on its own acct. near 7 million lbs. cotton, or to dispose of the same to the blockade runners of Mobile.” In transmitting the copies of the letters Claiborne wrote, “If you use them, Genl., pray do so in a way not to lead even to a surmise how your information was obtained. My position here is very precarious & the registered enemies in Mobile are doing their best to have me arrested.”⁴⁸

Late in 1863 Claiborne became involved in a grandiose scheme of treason that reached into the Confederate State Department and into the very heart of its operations abroad. The episode began with a letter from Claiborne to Banks, dated December 12, 1863, headed “Strictly Confidential”:

There is at my house a confidential, accredited agent of J. P. Benjamin, who may be induced to give intelligence of vital importance to you, and to the Government: 1. In relation to matters in Eastern Texas. 2. Operations on the Mississippi—plans of Gen. Johnson [*sic*] to interrupt navigation – scouts – light batteries – torpedoes – mode and place of crossing the river – how these plans may be defeated. 3. The Union sentiment

⁴⁷ [J. F. H. Claiborne] to Banks, July 10, 1863, *ibid*.

⁴⁸ [J. F. H. Claiborne] to Banks, July 27, 1863, *ibid*.

in Mississippi – and how in 60 days a combined movement may be had to throw off the Jeff Davis yoke. 4. Mr. Benjamin's operations abroad, in all their ramifications. This gentleman has twice run the blockade with dispatches for Slidell, Mason & other agents. He knows them all intimately He holds the commission of Mr. Benjamin, accrediting him to the various rebel emissaries in Europe, and can be induced to place their dispatches in the hands of Mr. Seward.⁴⁹

General Banks was, of course, interested in meeting Claiborne's friend. The young agent of Secretary Benjamin was spirited from Laurel Wood to Banks's headquarters in New Orleans, where he was identified as Benjamin W. Sanders, the former state librarian of Mississippi.⁵⁰ Banks immediately sent the young man to Washington. The success of Sanders's visit to Union headquarters was attested by a letter he sent to Banks from Havana late in January 1864:

I avail myself of the first suitable opportunity to apprise you of the result of my mission to Washington and the manner in which I was received by the President and the Hon. Sec. of State . . . Sec. Seward did not hesitate for a moment to approve of the plan for thwarting the enemy's movements abroad. He adopted all my propositions . . . I am here, now, *enroute* for England and France, and will sail for Southampton on the next steamer.⁵¹

The extent of actual assistance rendered to the Union cause by Claiborne's activities can only be guessed. Sanders's treason, for example, doubtless would have caused considerable injury to the Confederacy had Claiborne been able to induce him to turn traitor earlier in the war before European powers became convinced of the hopelessness of southern chances for victory.

It is doubtful that Claiborne's services to the Union were entirely divorced from his immediate economic interests; at any rate, he did not allow his adventures in espionage to interfere with his business activities. He continued to produce cotton at "Laurel Wood," and, by engaging himself to serve as purchasing agent in the Confederacy for the Belgian consul

⁴⁹ C[laiborne] to Banks, December 12, 1863, *ibid.*

⁵⁰ B. W. Sanders, New Orleans, to Banks, January 2, 1864, *ibid.*

⁵¹ B. W. Sanders, Havana, to Banks, January 22, 1864, *ibid.*

at New Orleans, was able to transport through the lines, under a pass issued by Admiral David G. Farragut and General W. K. Emory,⁵² his own cotton and cotton purchased from planters on the Pearl River. The Confederate authorities did not long remain in ignorance of Claiborne's intrigues, but in the absence of absolute proof of an overt act of trade with the enemy, they were unable to interfere. In letters written in October 1863, Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin and Secretary of War James A. Seddon discussed Claiborne's cotton shipments. Benjamin wrote:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your favor of 29th instant, enclosing a report relative to the trade carried on by Mr. Claiborne as agent of the Belgian consul at New Orleans. The trade is one evidently illegal, and is, in point of fact, a trade with the port of New Orleans covered up under the disguise of a trade with neutral vessels . . . it is necessary to have the papers now in possession of Mr. Claiborne proving the assent of the enemy's officers to the shipment of the cotton . . . I refrain from suggesting anything on the subject of breaking up this illegal traffic, as I take it for granted that you have made up your mind what course to pursue on that point.⁵³

Perhaps Claiborne's position during the Civil War is best summed up by a passage in his *Mississippi* in which he defended the Loyalists who fled to West Florida during the American Revolution, and whose course paralleled his own:

It has been the custom to denounce these men as . . . enemies of their country. Such censure would be proper when applied to men who drew the sword against their countrymen, and waged upon them a savage and relentless war. But the same sentence should not be pronounced on those whose sense of loyalty and of duty forbade them to fight . . . but rather than stain their hands with kindred blood, renounced home, comfort, society and position . . . The right of conscience and of opinion is sacred, and at this

⁵² Pass signed by Admiral D. G. Farragut and endorsed by General W. K. Emory, May 13, 1863; and Cuthbert Bullitt, acting collector of customs, New Orleans, to Belgian Consulate at New Orleans, May 12, 1863, Claiborne Papers (Library of Congress).

⁵³ *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 30 vols. and index (Washington, 1894-1927), Ser. I, Vol. XX, 848.

distance of time these men, once generally condemned, may be properly appreciated.⁵⁴

On July 26, 1865, Claiborne took the amnesty oath, professing his allegiance to the United States,⁵⁵ and for all practical purposes, he became closely aligned with the carpetbag government in his state. In 1869, when L. C. Nowell, the Republican political boss at Pass Christian, nominated Claiborne on a fusion ticket,⁵⁶ the historian declined the nomination in an open letter to the Handsboro *Democrat*, saying, "I stand without a party—owing allegiance to none; in fellowship with none; asking favors of none; under obligation to none; and I can bring no strength to those who wish me to unfurl their standard."⁵⁷ But despite his protestations of political independence, he advocated the candidacy of General Ulysses S. Grant. Of President Andrew Johnson, Claiborne said, "I doubt not he was met at the bar of God by the accusing spirit of Mrs. Suratt, and is now suffering the penalty of his crimes."⁵⁸ Claiborne became a favorite of Adelbert Ames, the carpetbag governor and senator from Mississippi. Ames worked to secure the payment by the federal government of Claiborne's claims for damages suffered at Laurel Wood during the war,⁵⁹ and Claiborne reciprocated, according to Ames, by writing "articles in defense of Genl. Grant at a time when such articles were, if not necessary, at least very gratifying to the General."⁶⁰ Under the pseudonym "Moderator," Claiborne prepared letters for the editor of the New Orleans *Pilot* calling for a third term for President Grant.⁶¹

Claiborne remained at Laurel Wood for five years after the end of the war. In 1870, on the death of his mother-in-law, Martha W. Dunbar, he inherited Dunbarton plantation and moved to Natchez.⁶² Claiborne continued to hold his Gulf Coast lands, but after 1870 his visits to Laurel Wood gradually became less frequent. His last prolonged visit

⁵⁴ J. F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a Province, Territory and State, with Biographical Notices of Eminent Citizens* (Jackson, 1880), I, 103.

⁵⁵ Certificate dated July 26, 1865, Claiborne Papers (Library of Congress).

⁵⁶ L. C. Nowell, Pass Christian, to Claiborne, July 27, 1869, *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Handsboro *Democrat*, August 10, 1869.

⁵⁸ J. F. H. Claiborne, Natchez, to General R. Lowry, September 13, 1878, Claiborne Papers (University of North Carolina).

⁵⁹ Adelbert Ames, Washington, to Claiborne, February 21, 1873, *ibid.*

⁶⁰ Adelbert Ames, Breckville, to Mr. Casey, July 19, 1873, *ibid.*

⁶¹ John M. A. Parker, surveyor of customs, New Orleans, to Claiborne, July 25, 1874, *ibid.*

⁶² Memorandum prepared for Franklin L. Riley by M. C. Garrett, Claiborne Papers (Library of Congress).

to the coast occurred in 1876, when he was invited to speak at Bay St. Louis during the centennial celebration on July 4, 1876. He addressed his former neighbors,⁶³ concluding his talk, fittingly, with a poignant plea for national unity and for an end to sectional animosities. This visit rekindled his interest in the Gulf Coast and stimulated him to compose his reminiscences of Laurel Wood during ante-bellum days.⁶⁴ The remaining few years of his life Claiborne spent at Natchez writing his monumental history of Mississippi.

⁶³ The address was published as J. F. H. Claiborne, *Historical Account of Hancock County and the Sea Board of Mississippi* (New Orleans, 1876).

⁶⁴ Claiborne, "The Pine District of Mississippi," *Jackson Weekly Clarion*, December 27, 1876.

The Friendship of L.Q.C. Lamar and Jefferson Davis

by Willie D. Halsell

Lucius Q. C. Lamar was Jefferson Davis's "most intimate friend and confidant," stated the Washington correspondent of a Memphis newspaper in summarizing the chief events of Lamar's life.¹ Lamar, however, had at no time claimed that he had been so close to Davis. He had said that he was "not more intimate than other gentlemen but still a friend of Mr. Davis and often in consultation with him, . . ."²

The newspaper [writer] probably exaggerated, and Lamar understated, the nearness of the relationship, especially in regard to the time during and after the Civil War. Their devotion was such that Lamar in 1861 confided to his wife: "The President seems more attached to me than ever. Everybody says that it is well known that he loves me."³ Lamar more than returned that love. Soon after Davis was released from Fort Monroe, Lamar asked a mutual friend "to represent my feelings to our Chief and Mrs. Davis . . . I never could express them to him or her . . . But I honor & love our Chief above all men . . . You can never do me as great a favor as you will now do by making known to these precious & priceless ones, how *entirely* I am devoted to them & with what depth &

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¹ Memphis (Tennessee) *Daily Commercial*, January 25, 1893.

² *Congressional Record*, 48 Cong., 2nd sess., 627 (January 12, 1885).

³ Lamar to wife, November 22, 1861, quoted in Edward Mayes, *Lucius Q. C. Lamar: His Life, Times and Speeches, 1825-1893* (Nashville: Publishing House of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, 1895), 97 (cited henceforth as Mayes, *Lamar*).

WILLIE D. HALSELL, a native of Itta Bena, Mississippi, received her B.A. in history from Mississippi State College for Women and an M.A. in history from Vanderbilt University in 1926. She taught history at Averett College in Virginia and Chowan College in North Carolina before returning to Mississippi to direct the Lee County Public Library in Tupelo. She came to Mississippi State College in 1953 to oversee the Mississippi Room in the library. In 1958 Halsell became Head of Reference at Mitchell Memorial Library, and in 1966 she was named Head of Special Collections, a post she held until her retirement in 1971. Halsell died in 1974.

tenderness I love him . . .”⁴

Despite the difference of seventeen years in their ages, Davis and Lamar had many similarities of character. When in school, both read widely and in varied fields, with the result that each became a man of several interests, and each was considered to be among the best educated men of his day. They agreed on most of the major issues and public questions in the decade before the war. They both admired Calhoun and faithfully studied his doctrines. Calhoun’s mantle fell to Davis, generally considered Calhoun’s successor as [the] southern leader in the Senate. Lamar was said to be “perfectly familiar” with almost every sentence of the Carolinian’s,⁵ and he was chosen to deliver the address at the unveiling of the Calhoun monument in Charleston.

Neither Davis nor Lamar recanted [their] secession beliefs. They never admitted that secession was anything but a legitimate constitutional right, and never said they would pursue a different course, if 1861 should be enacted again. Both were Democratic senators from Mississippi, party leaders in the state and South, and [presidential] cabinet members. A final likeness was the fact that neither was very successful in business affairs.

They had not as many dissimilar as similar characteristics. Their rearing and education differed, for Davis’s father, a stern parent, sent him away to school when he was still a little boy, but Lamar was constantly surrounded in childhood with a loving and sympathetic family. His education, even through college, was obtained while he lived at home, and he read law in the office of a relative. In dispositions also they were unlike, Lamar being affectionate, easygoing, even-tempered, Davis less friendly and of more uncertain temper.

Their friendship began in the early 1850s when Lamar, a young and aspiring politician, emulated with unbounded admiration the older man’s successful career. From their first meeting, probably at a States Rights Convention in 1851, through the two stormy decades that followed, they were usually in political accord.⁶ Indeed, as Lamar later said, he “grew up” as a young man under Davis.⁷

⁴ Lamar to Burton Harrison, August 13, 1867, *Burton Harrison MSS.*, Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts.

⁵ Atlanta (Georgia) *Constitution*, June 11, 1874.

⁶ Oxford (Mississippi) *Constitution*, May 17, 1851; Yazoo (Mississippi) *Democrat*, June 25, 1851; Memphis *Daily Appeal*, June 25, 1851; Jefferson Davis to James A. Pearce, August 22, 1851, in Mrs. Jefferson Davis, *Jefferson Davis: ex-president of the Confederate States of America/A Memoir by His Wife*, 2 vols. (New York: Bedford Co., 1890), I: 471-2.

⁷ Lamar to wife (1879), in Mayes, *Lamar*, 364.

A political emergency cemented their developing friendship when Lamar performed a service for Davis in the gubernatorial race between Davis and Henry S. Foote in the autumn of 1851. Davis had resigned from the [United States] Senate for the purpose of carrying on the canvass for the States Rights Democrats against the Unionists. When, in the course of the campaign, the Unionist candidate, Foote, arrived at Oxford to speak, Lamar, then a professor at the state university, was pressed into the debate against him. The young professor was untried as a political orator, while Foote was one of the most skillful of speakers. Lamar, however, emerged from the joint debate far from defeated and was carried off triumphantly on the shoulders of excited university students.⁸

When Davis delivered the commencement address at the University in July 1852, Lamar, eager and devoted, doubtless met and conversed with him. Lamar was probably among the company which afterwards made a journey from Oxford to Holly Springs with Davis, Professor Albert T. Bledsoe,⁹ “and others.”¹⁰

In 1857 Lamar and Davis were both elected to Congress, Lamar to the House, Davis again to the Senate. They served in those offices over three years, Lamar resigning to canvass the state for the approaching secession convention, and Davis withdrawing after Mississippi’s secession from the Union. Both worked hard during those years, and they reached the top rank in Mississippi politics, Lamar being “confessedly Mississippi’s greatest statesman, after Davis and [A.G.] Brown, . . .”¹¹ and that at a time when unusual talent in the state competed.

Neither Davis nor Lamar was a delegate to the Democratic party convention which met at Charleston in April 1860. Both, however, were constantly informed by wire of developments. Some weeks before the Charleston Convention, Davis had prepared resolutions voicing the position of the wing of southern Democrats of which he was a member. It was generally expected that if these resolutions were adhered to,

⁸ Mayes, *Lamar*, 51-5.

⁹ [Bledsoe] was the learned and versatile professor who wrote the defense of Davis entitled *Is Davis a Traitor: or Was Secession a Constitutional Right Previous to the War of 1861?*

¹⁰ *Oxford Democrat Flag*, July 2, 1852; *Holly Springs Palladium*, June 10, 1852; *Memphis Daily Eagle & Enquirer*, May 23, 1852.

¹¹ Wiley P. Harris in *Memphis Daily Appeal*, December 8, 1875; quoted in Mayes, *Lamar*, 270.

the convention would split.¹² Davis was bitterly opposed to Stephen A. Douglas's candidacy, since he disliked and distrusted Douglas, and furthermore, said a few, because Davis wanted the nomination for himself, a charge which he denied.¹³ Davis thought that one could be chosen "who will be accepted by both sections without a platform."¹⁴ When, after convening in Charleston, the southern delegates in a night caucus resolved to stand by the Davis resolutions, at least one witness predicted "war and tumult."¹⁵

The convention had been in session only a few days when Davis, disturbed at the turn of affairs, sent Lamar to Charleston as his messenger. Lamar was charged with the task of informing the southern delegates that Davis did not want them to secede on the platform, but to remain in the convention and "achieve a more solid and enduring triumph by . . . defeating Douglas."¹⁶ Lamar urged these views on the delegates, but all in vain. The extremists of the Mississippi delegation would not be held back. They forced the Alabama delegation to obey their instructions to withdraw, reported Lamar, and then followed Alabama out of the convention.¹⁷

On the night of Mississippi's withdrawal from the party convention, Lamar, who had been dispatched for the purpose of restraining [the southern delegates], was so carried away by the intense excitement that he took a leading part in a mass meeting of southerners. Near midnight in front of the courthouse where a crowd jammed the moonlit street, Lamar spoke an hour and a half to an enthusiastic audience. He declared that the Democratic party had been split and that "Broken faith, like broken heads, can not be mended." He was followed by William L. Yancey [of Alabama] and other orators. Lamar thus cast his lot with the seceders, while agonizing over the lack of unity and cooperation among the seceding

¹² Jackson (Mississippi) *Daily Mississippian*, February 9, 1860; Memphis *Weekly Appeal*, March 14, 1860; Ethelbert Barksdale to Davis, February 20, 1860, in Dunbar Rowland, ed., *Jefferson Davis constitutionalist: his letters, papers, and speeches*, 10 vols. (Jackson, MS: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1923), IV, 196, 203-4.

¹³ Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton, 1881), I, 206-7.

¹⁴ Jefferson Davis to Franklin Pierce, January 30, 1860, in Rowland, *Jefferson Davis, Constitutional*, IV, 185.

¹⁵ Murat Halstead, *Caucuses of 1860. A History of the National Political Conventions of the Current Presidential Campaign . . .* (Columbus, 1860), 23.

¹⁶ Lamar to C. H. Mott, May 29, 1860, in Mayes, *Lamar*, 83.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

delegates.¹⁸

During the month after the Charleston Convention, Davis and other congressmen prepared an address to southern Democrats, in which the Democrats were urged to defer the Richmond Convention of seceding delegates and to send representatives to the Baltimore Convention, in the hope of gaining unanimity and a winning candidate. The platform which the southerners had maintained at Charleston should also be demanded at Baltimore. There were nineteen signatures to this address: Davis's name was fourth, Lamar's fifth.¹⁹ No other Mississippi congressman's name was signed. Said Lamar in explanation to a confidant, "Davis had signed it, and I was determined that his name should not go unsupported by any of the [Mississippi] delegation."²⁰

Lamar, Davis, and other prominent Mississippi Democrats, anxious to carry the election, took part in the exciting fall campaign, Davis and Lamar speaking together at one place, Columbus.²¹ The States Rights Democrats hoped not only to win the state for their candidates, but also to obtain a degree of unity that would make small the opposition to secession, if Lincoln should be elected.²²

When it was evident that the Democrats had lost the 1860 election, the Mississippi congressmen were summoned by the governor of the state to a conference in Jackson. Before their arrival, the governor had issued a proclamation convening the legislature in special session to consider the calling of a secession convention. The chief question put before the congressmen was whether the governor should recommend to the legislature separate action or cooperative secession with the other southern states. Prolonged debate took place between the congressmen. Jefferson Davis, A. G. Brown, and Lamar opposed separate action. These three were overruled, however, and they thereupon agreed that the action

¹⁸ Ibid.; Halstead, *Caucuses of 1860*, 75; Joseph Hodgson, *The Cradle of the Confederacy; or, The Times of Troup, Quitman, and Yancey: a sketch of Southwestern political history from the formation of the Federal Government to A. D. 1861* (Mobile: Register Publishing Office, 1876), 416-7; New Orleans (Louisiana) *Delta*, quoted in Natchez (Mississippi) *Daily Courier*, May 4, 1860.

¹⁹ Jackson *Semi-Weekly Mississippian*, May 22, 1860; Yazoo *Democrat*, May 26, 1860; Memphis *Weekly Appeal*, May 30, 1860; Lynchburg (Virginia) *Reporter*, quoted in Memphis *Weekly Appeal*, September 12, 1860; George F. Milton, *The Eve of Conflict. Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (New York, 1934), 454; Pierce Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin*, in the American Crises Biographies (Philadelphia: G. W. Jacobs & Company, 1906), 193.

²⁰ Lamar to C. H. Mott, May 29, 1860, in Mayes, *Lamar*, 83.

²¹ Colonel George H. Young to A. B. Longstreet, October 26, 1860, in Mayes, *Lamar*, 85.

²² Percy Lee Rainwater, *Mississippi – Storm Center of Secession 1856-1861* (Baton Rouge, 1938), 136.

of the conference be made unanimous, recommending to the governor that he advise separate and immediate secession.²³

Lamar and Davis both were moderate secessionists, as also the majority of the Secession Convention, meeting [at the state capitol] in January 1861, proved to be. Lamar was reported by a “fire-eater” to be “very reasonable on the secession question.”²⁴ He feared the disunity, jealousy, and discord which he saw “between the most patriotic of our men,” and he foresaw that fearful results would follow secession.²⁵ Davis, who was more moderate than Lamar, held back, he later said, because he realized the military handicaps of the South.²⁶

Six months after the secession of Mississippi, Lieutenant Colonel Lamar stood with President Davis on the balcony of the Spotswood Hotel in Richmond, Virginia. Davis, after being serenaded by the citizens, made an address. He was followed by Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, and then by Lamar, who confidently declared that “history will acquit these Confederate States of all responsibility for its [war’s] calamities.”²⁷

Since Lamar’s company was located near Richmond for about a year, it was convenient for Lamar to drop in frequently to visit the president and other friends. When he was invalided by sickness, President Davis was one of the first to call on him.²⁸ Davis “often” consulted with Lamar,²⁹ and he sent him on at least one peace-making mission. “Ill feeling between the Potomac generals and the President” with Lamar’s cousin, James Longstreet, taking the side against the president, was the cause of Lamar’s journey to Joseph E. Johnston’s headquarters in November 1861. Lamar hoped to “disabuse” Longstreet’s and Johnston’s minds “of

²³ Vicksburg (Mississippi) *Whig*, December 4, 1860, quoted in *Natchez Courier*, December 7, 1860; Otho Singleton to Davis, July 14, 1877, in Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I: 57-9, footnote; Reuben Davis, *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1889), 391; Mayes, *Lamar*, 86-7. For a different account, see Rainwater, *op. cit.*, 168-9.

²⁴ Mrs. Jacob Thompson to Mrs. Howell Cobb, December 15, 1860, in Ulrich B. Phillips, ed., *The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb*, in *American Historical Association Annual Report*, 2 vols. (1911), II, 523; Rainwater, *op. cit.*, 208.

²⁵ Lamar to A. B. Longstreet, December 11, 1860, in Mayes, *Lamar*, 89; Lamar to C. H. Mott, May 29, 1860, *op. cit.*, 83.

²⁶ Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I: 57; also see Rainwater, *op. cit.*, 152-7.

²⁷ Mayes, *Lamar*, 94-6; Mary Boykin Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie* (New York, 1905), 70.

²⁸ Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie*, 70, 72-3.

²⁹ *Congressional Record*, 48 Cong., 2nd sess., 627 (January 12, 1885).

some wrong impressions.”³⁰ At this time Lamar reported to his wife that Davis was more attached to him than ever, and that if the Confederacy should have peace, he expected Davis would appoint him minister to a foreign country.³¹

On the day of Davis’s inauguration, February 26, 1862, Lamar was again in Richmond. He talked with Davis, and in the course of the conversation suggested the name of a young man for the office of private secretary to Davis. This young man was Burton Harrison, whom Lamar had known at the University of Mississippi and who was still maintaining a “Classical School” there. Harrison, though he had a dependent mother and sister, intended to join Lamar in the Virginia army, and was awaiting word from him. The word proved to be a telegram stating that “You are Private Secretary to the President.”³²

Lamar and Harrison planned to meet in Chattanooga, but they missed each other. Lamar continued to Oxford, Mississippi, from which place he wired Harrison to go on to Richmond and get an introduction to the president through a mutual friend.³³ Harrison was employed by Davis and faithfully remained with him or his family until the fall of the Confederacy and imprisonment.

Lamar spent several months on sick leave in Mississippi and Georgia until November [1862] when the president appointed him Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia. Davis wanted Harrison to go with Lamar as his secretary, but for some reason Harrison remained with the president.³⁴ In late 1863 Lamar returned to the Confederacy and during January 1864, he reported to Davis and Secretary of State Judah P. Benjamin, and also

³⁰ Lamar to wife, November 22, 1861, in Mayes, *Lamar*, 97; on Johnston, Lamar, and Davis [during the] latter part of the war, see Davis to L. B. Northrop, April 17, 1885, in Rowland, *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist*, IX, 366.

³¹ Lamar to wife, November 22, 1861, in Mayes, *Lamar*, 97.

³² Mrs. Burton Harrison’s Scrap Book, 1858-1909, in *Burton Harrison MSS.*; Mrs. Burton Harrison, *Recollections Grave and Gay* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1911), 69; Fairfax Harrison, ed., *Aris Sonis Focisque: Being a Memoir of an American Family, the Harrisons of Skimino and Particularly of Jesse Burton Harrison and Burton Norvell Harrison* (New York: The De Vinne Press, 1910), 149-50.

³³ Lamar to Harrison, [March] 1, 1862, in Mrs. Burton Harrison’s Scrap Book, 1858-1909, in *Burton Harrison MSS.*

³⁴ *Original Documents Relating to the Mission of L. Q. C. Lamar as Commissioner of the Confederate States of America to Russia*, in Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Thomas Walton to Burton Harrison, December 8, 1862, in Mrs. Burton Harrison’s Scrap Book, 1858-1909, in *Burton Harrison MSS.*

had his accounts audited in Richmond.³⁵

Lamar next served the Confederacy and Davis by making a series of speeches in Georgia towns, defending Davis and his presidential course, chiefly the suspension of the use of the writ of habeas corpus. The attacks of Governor Joseph Brown and Vice-President Alexander H. Stephens had to be answered by the president's friends, and Lamar was one of those chosen for the task. During March and April he spoke to the Georgia legislature in Milledgeville, and to citizens at Columbus and Atlanta.³⁶ He stoutly declared his confidence in the president, saying that "For one, I believe that the highest earthly ambition of Jefferson Davis is to be instrumental in securing the independence of these Southern States, with all the civil liberties of the people unimpaired and inviolate."³⁷

Some act or event in the autumn of 1864 estranged Lamar and Davis. Lamar wrote to Burton Harrison to intercede with the president for him. Lamar said to Harrison's sister, "If Burton doesn't stand up for me, I'm undone – The President is against me."³⁸ Lamar went to Richmond in December, where he was appointed judge advocate of a military court.³⁹ If he saw Davis again before the fall of the Confederacy, no record of the meeting has been found.

The imprisonment of Davis and Burton Harrison worried and grieved Lamar, not only because he loved them, but also because he saw a sinister meaning in this action of the federal government. He brought his personal influence to bear on the people he knew who might aid in the release of the prisoners.⁴⁰

After they had been freed in 1867, Lamar, who was at the time a professor at the University of Mississippi, suggested to the students that they make up a gift of money for Davis. He planned to take the gift in person to Davis in Canada, but, the failure of a bank took away his savings

³⁵ Mayes, *Lamar*, 113; Judah P. Benjamin to Henry Hotze, January 9, 1864, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1895-1912), Series II, vol. 3, 995. Lamar also attended the wedding of Hetty Cary (sister of Constance who married Burton Harrison) on January 19 (Mrs. Burton Harrison, *Recollections Grave and Gay*, 202) and was in Petersburg, [Virginia], January 20. Mayes, *Lamar*, 115. *Atlanta Journal*, January 25, 1893.

³⁶ Mayes, *Lamar*, 114-5, Appendix No. 7, 639-56; John C. Butler, *Historical Record of Macon and Central Georgia* (Macon, 1879), 280.

³⁷ From the speech at Atlanta, April 14, 1864, in Mayes, *Lamar*, Appendix No. 7, 653.

³⁸ "Sister," Oxford, Mississippi, to "Brother," October 18, 1864, in *Burton Harrison MSS*.

³⁹ Mayes, *Lamar*, 115.

⁴⁰ Harrison, *Aris Sonis Focisque . . . Harrison's of Skimino*, 179; Lamar to John N. Waddell, November 21, 1865, in Mayes, *Lamar*, 121; John N. Waddell to Rev. W. T. Brant, January 10, 1866, in Mrs. Burton Harrison's Scrap Book, 1858-1909, in *Burton Harrison MSS*.

so that he was unable to make the trip. He sent to Burton Harrison the \$500 and a letter to be delivered by Harrison to “our chief.”⁴¹

Lamar discussed his position in regard to Mississippi politics, saying to Harrison that many “of the old knights” were “disposed to enter” the political lists again, but he himself was unwilling “although often thereunto requested.” He added, “Nor do I intend to, until – our Chief comes home and is allowed his place of leader.”⁴² Lamar consulted Davis regarding the political situation in Mississippi during Reconstruction, and Davis approved his decision to take his “property and family from the State.” Davis said in effect that he saw “nothing but sorrow and wrongs for Mississippians in the future.”⁴³ Notwithstanding these plans, Lamar finally decided to remain in Mississippi.

Davis was concerned over the effect of the war on Lamar’s prospects in politics. The “brilliant future” promised by his talents and abilities had been altered, possibly ruined. The years spent in the conflict had created a “hiatus” in Lamar’s career, which Davis feared might become “a great misfortune” to him.⁴⁴

Despite his intention not to re-enter politics until Davis was pardoned and restored to political life, Lamar was nominated for Congress and elected in 1872. He returned to the House of Representatives after twelve years absence with a message of peace on his lips. His opportunity to deliver it effectively came in the eulogy he made [for] Charles Sumner, in which he asked for sectional peace and understanding. Because of the magnanimity of this speech, he was able from that time forward to discuss controversial subjects without invoking a storm of Republican invective. And a topic prominent among those of a controversial nature was Jefferson Davis.

The most positive and convincing proof of Lamar’s devotion and loyalty to Davis was to be found in his frequent vindications of Davis in Congress. Lamar first spoke in behalf of the former Confederate President in January 1878, when describing the prominent figures in the Senate of 1861. He named Jefferson Davis and then paused to ask: “Mr. President, shall I not be permitted to mention his name in this free American Senate which has been so free to discuss and condemn what it has adjudged to

⁴¹ Lamar to Burton Harrison, August 13, 1867, in *Burton Harrison MSS*.

⁴² *Ibid*.

⁴³ Lamar to Judge James Jackson, Macon, Georgia, May 30, 1870, in Mayes, *Lamar*, 128.

⁴⁴ Letter from “Y.M.C.,” Memphis, reporting an interview of Davis to the editor, Macon (Georgia) *Telegraph and Messenger*, quoted in *Atlanta Constitution*, June 1, 1873.

be his errors? – one who has been the vicarious sufferer for his people, the solitude of whose punishment should lift him above the gibe and the jeer of popular passion, . . .”⁴⁵ Again in May of the same year, Lamar mentioned Davis’s “commanding” character, notable “not only for great and shining talents and abilities, but also for his spotless morality and the unflecked purity of his public conduct.”⁴⁶

During the years 1878 and 1879 two incidents occurred which estranged Davis and Lamar. A misunderstanding between the two friends developed from a newspaper correspondent’s article, in which it was said that Lamar had been suggested as representative of the South at the Paris Exposition; but he in a note urged Senator John B. Gordon to go in his place, since, according to the article, Lamar recalled his days as Confederate diplomat when “The greatest obstacle in the way of financial recognition of our Confederacy was that our president was from Mississippi, to which the odium of repudiation was attached.” Because Lamar also was from Mississippi, and Gordon from a state with no repudiation in its past, Gordon could accomplish more for the South than Lamar. This account was published in Mississippi newspapers in January 1878, the *Clarion* giving it three and a half columns on its editorial page.⁴⁷

Lamar explained to Davis that the article had little basis in fact. He had written a note to Gordon, suggesting that Gordon take his place on the trip to Europe, and urging as one inducement the high character of Georgia’s credit. No language in the note connected Davis with any act of repudiation. This note, left by Lamar on Gordon’s desk, was read by a newspaper correspondent without Gordon’s knowledge, and was used as the heart of the erroneous article. When it was published, Gordon wanted to answer in the papers, but Lamar “felt so disgusted” that the matter was dropped.⁴⁸

By August 1878, the misunderstanding had been set aright, and Davis denied that he “had ever believed him [Lamar] unfriendly.” To the contrary, Lamar “had in adversity remained my firm friend.”⁴⁹

⁴⁵ *Congressional Record*, 45 Cong., 2nd sess., 525 (January 24, 1878).

⁴⁶ *Congressional Record*, 45 Cong., 2nd sess., 3655 (May 22, 1878).

⁴⁷ Jackson *Daily Clarion*, January 8, 1878; Raymond (Mississippi) *Hinds County Gazette*, January 2, 1878; J. S. McNeilly, “War and Reconstruction in Mississippi, 1863-1890,” in Mississippi Historical Society *Publications*, Centenary [Series], II, 451.

⁴⁸ Lamar to Davis, June 29, 1878, in Rowland, *Jefferson Davis Constitutionalist*, VIII, 222; John B. Gordon to W. T. Walthall, August 21, 1878, in *op. cit.*, VIII, 258.

⁴⁹ Davis to John B. Gordon, August 28, 1878, in Rowland, *Jefferson Davis Constitutionalist*, VIII, 267-8; Mayes, *Lamar*, 363.

Then before the year was over, another difficulty arose between them. The source went as far back as January 1878, when Lamar had been instructed by the Mississippi legislature on his vote for the silver bill then before Congress. But he had his own convictions on the monetary policy of the government, and he declined to obey the instructions. Opposition to him appeared all over the state. One of his strongest opponents was Ethelbert Barksdale, editor of the state Democratic newspaper, the *Clarion*. Unknown to Lamar, Barksdale wrote to Davis, asking for an expression of his views on the instruction question. He promised not to publish Davis's answer without his permission.⁵⁰

Davis answered promptly that a senator should obey instructions or resign his office. His long letter was published in the *Clarion* a month later, and papers over the state copied it.⁵¹ Lamar was thunderstruck, hurt, and disappointed. He did not object to Davis's having views different from his, but what disturbed him was that "my enemies have inveigled Mr. Davis into writing an article against my position" and this article had been put in the hands of his ablest and most merciless opponent. Lamar considered that true friendship would have caused Davis to inform Lamar privately of his views, particularly since Lamar had for so many years been Davis's pupil, "friend, admirer, and unwavering supporter."⁵²

Because of Davis's tremendous prestige in Mississippi and the South, his letter was a blow to Lamar. It can hardly be doubted, in view of their long friendship, that Davis was innocent of intent to harm Lamar. He simply stated his opinion on the question, not realizing the possible effect on Lamar's political prospects. Barksdale was triumphant, for he had maneuvered Davis into taking a position against Lamar. It was to Lamar's credit that he did not attribute malice to Davis.

Two months later Lamar defended Davis with such boldness and adroitness that the South was thrilled; and again Lamar's previous plea for sectional peace in the Sumner eulogy caused his championship of Davis to be received more calmly by the senators than would have happened otherwise. On the first day of March 1879, the subject of pensions for Mexican War veterans was under discussion. Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts moved to strike the name of Jefferson Davis from the

⁵⁰ Ethelbert Barksdale to Davis, December 12, 1878, in Rowland, *Jefferson Davis, Constitutional*, VIII, 297.

⁵¹ Davis to Barksdale, December 14, 1878, in *ibid.*, 298; Jackson *Weekly Clarion*, January 15, 1879; Memphis *Daily Appeal*, January 25, 1879; Mayes, *Lamar*, 363-4.

⁵² Lamar to wife [1879], in Mayes, *Lamar*, 364.

pension rolls. Several southern senators defended Davis, recalling his courage on the battlefields of Mexico. Hoar answered that two of our bravest officers in the Revolutionary army were Aaron Burr and Benedict Arnold. Lamar stood at this point and indignantly characterized Hoar's insult as wanton and unprovoked. The Chair called Lamar to order against which he appealed, saying that it seemed to be in order to fling insults but out of order to characterize the blow. His appeal was sustained, and Lamar declared that he and numerous southern men who believed in secession occupied the same position as Davis. He defended Davis against the charge of treason, and declared that Hoar might have learned a lesson from the pages of mythology. He compared Davis to Prometheus bound to the rock, and likened the manner of Hoar's attacks with those of the vulture which buried its beak in the vitals of its victim. The effect of Lamar's dramatic figure of speech and delivery was stunning to the Republicans.⁵³ After about two weeks had elapsed, Davis wrote Lamar a formal letter of thanks for his defense "against the petty malignity of Hoar, Blaine, and others."⁵⁴

Another notable occasion on which Lamar spoke in behalf of Davis was in January 1885. Lamar was being mentioned for a place in President-elect Grover Cleveland's cabinet, but, no matter what the results might be for his political future, he again emphatically repelled charges against Davis. The debate arose out of the questions of what had been done with the Confederate state papers since they had been deposited in the War Department by General W. T. Sherman, and whether or not Sherman had seen among those papers a letter from Davis stating that he would coerce a seceding southern state. The issue was largely personal, and northern and southern senators immediately took sides in the angry debate. Lamar was not on the floor of the Senate, and entered just in time to hear Senator John Sherman say: ". . . great God! will it ever be disputed in this country of ours at any time, even a thousand years hence, that Jefferson Davis . . . was a conspirator and traitor to his country? . . . it was a causeless rebellion, . . . and . . . all the men who led in that movement were traitors

⁵³ *Congressional Record*, 43 Cong., 3rd sess., 2228-9 (March 1, 1879); Macon (Mississippi) *Sun*, September 18, 1885; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, March 5, 1879; *Memphis Daily Commercial*, January 25, 1893; John J. Ingalls, *A Collection of the Writings of John James Ingalls* (Kansas City, 1902), 363; George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, 2 vols. (New York, 1903), II: 177. For interesting northern reaction to the bitter speeches made at this time, see *Zach Chandler MSS* and *John Sherman MSS*, Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts.

⁵⁴ Davis to Lamar, March 15, 1879, in Rowland, *Jefferson Davis Constitutionalist*, VIII, 366-7.

to their country.”⁵⁵

Lamar, refusing to be infuriated by the “bloody shirt” nature of the charges, replied that “no such letter is in existence and, in my opinion, no such letter was ever written General Sherman . . . has been misled and misinformed” Then Lamar summarized the political losses of the South and his position:⁵⁶

We of the South have surrendered upon all the questions which divided the two sides in that controversy. We have given up the right of the people to secede from this Union; we have given up the right of each State to judge for itself of the infractions of the Constitution and the mode of redress; we have given up the right to control our own domestic institutions. We fought for all these, and we lost in that controversy; but no man shall in my presence call Jefferson Davis a traitor without my responding with a stern and emphatic denial.⁵⁷

Davis and Lamar met for probably the last time in January 1882. Lamar was in Jackson as a candidate for reelection by the Democratic caucus. The last four years had been trying for him, marked as they were with alienation from his constituency caused by the instruction question, the yellow fever epidemic, and jealousies and revolts within the Mississippi Democracy. His reelection to the Senate had been doubtful for a time, but county conventions over the state instructed for him with the result that on the night of January 4, 1882, he was unanimously renominated by the caucus.⁵⁸ After the speeches at the [State] Capitol were concluded, many of the members adjourned to the Edwards House, a famous political rendezvous. It happened that Jefferson Davis also came to the hotel at this time; he was en route from his home on the coast to his Brierfield Plantation in Warren County. He joined in the congratulations, and, the crowd insisting on a speech, he addressed them for half an hour. Lamar also made a few remarks.⁵⁹

The two men provided a sharp contrast as they stood near each other.

⁵⁵ Congressional Record, 48 Cong., 2nd sess., 627 (January 12, 1885).

⁵⁶ Ibid., *Atlanta Constitution*, January 13, 1885; *Washington Post*, January 13, 1885.

⁵⁷ For northern response to this scene, see *John Sherman MSS*, [Library of Congress].

⁵⁸ *Vicksburg Daily Commercial*, January 4, January 9, 1882; *Memphis Daily Appeal*, January 5, January 6, 1882; *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, September 30, 1923.

⁵⁹ *Memphis Daily Appeal*, January 6, 1882, *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, September 30, 1923.

Davis, at seventy three, was stooped, broken, and aging. As the “vicarious sufferer” for the southern rebellion, his participation in politics had ended seventeen years before. Lamar was at the high point of his career to that date, riding the topmost wave. He was fifty-six years old, vigorous, and resourceful. Davis’s political service to the South was ended, Lamar’s was approaching a climax of usefulness.

The last communication between them took place in 1885 and 1886. Lamar wrote to Davis to tell him that he had accepted a place in Cleveland’s cabinet, his chief motive being that if “I may impress the country with a desire of the South faithfully to serve the interests of a common country, I may do more good than I have ever yet been able to accomplish.”⁶⁰ He hoped for Davis’s approval of the step.⁶¹ Davis advised that he thought Lamar’s service in the cabinet “will be better for the public than yourself.” The Interior Department with its many divisions held little appeal for Davis, and he thought it would have been better for Lamar to accept “some other Department where unity in its duties would have afforded a better opportunity for the exercise of your genius. . . .”⁶²

Lamar’s last letter to Davis concluded with a statement which described his course in regard to Davis during twenty years: “No man has either in public or private assailed your name or made a slighting allusion to your fame and character in my presence without receiving a prompt and indignant rebuke from me.”⁶³

In their declining years Lamar and Davis were in similar situations. Lamar, when asked by a younger relative and friend if he should become a senatorial candidate, answered no. He, then more than sixty years old, described his situation by reviewing his own political career, as antebellum congressman, Confederate soldier and diplomat, harbinger of peace for the nation in House and Senate, cabinet member, Supreme Court justice, in all of which offices he had won honor; and yet he would advise no man to enter politics. For, said Lamar, now in his old age he had no money, no home, poor health, few real friends, his family was widely scattered, and he was forgotten by his people. He paraphrased Cardinal Wolsey’s words, saying in effect that had he but served his own interests as diligently as he had served his country, he would not now be given over to sadness in

⁶⁰ Lamar to Davis, February 28, 1885, in Mayes, *Lamar*, 471.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Davis to Lamar, March 28, 1885, in Rowland, *Jefferson Davis Constitutionalist*, IX, 357-8.

⁶³ Lamar to Davis, July 3, 1886, in *Ibid.*, IX, 463.

his grey hairs.⁶⁴ Davis could truthfully say the same words in his old age, the country he served at such a cost being the Confederacy.

⁶⁴ Audley W. Shands, then a boy about twelve years old, heard Lamar giving this advice to his father. The boy was tremendously impressed. He said that these words of Lamar affected the course of his (A. W. Shands') life. Interview of Audley W. Shands, Cleveland, Mississippi, December 15, 1933.

Religion in Mississippi in 1860

by Margaret DesChamps Moore

The influence of Protestant churches on the South is evident to even the most casual observer, but nowhere is it more strikingly apparent than in Mississippi. Today this state, with one of the highest percentages of white church members and churches in the nation,¹ is the remaining fortress of prohibition and the blue laws. The growth of Mississippi and other Southern states into a Biblical stronghold was a late nineteenth century development which followed the decades of war and reconstruction. Wherever men fought and women prayed in the 1860s, ministers strengthened them by picturing their cause as a battle for the Lord.² In the dark days that followed Appomattox, clergymen often comforted their congregations by preaching that Southerners like the Israelites of old were God's chosen people, that their unhappy lot was punishment for past wanderings and sins, and that the Lord would yet lead them into a promised land.³ Southern religiosity was firmly entrenched by this long period of suffering, anxiety, and waiting, but the machinery for its operation was built by the evangelical churches of the antebellum era.

Organized religion made little headway in Mississippi during the territorial period. Missionaries reported that most people were too interested in amassing fortunes to concern themselves with spiritual matters. When the state entered the union in 1817, not more than one

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¹ Harold F. Kaufman, "Mississippi Churches: A Half Century of Change," *Mississippi Quarterly*, XII (Summer 1959), 105-35.

² See James W. Silver, *Confederate Morale and Church Propaganda* (Tuscaloosa, 1957).

³ For example, see *Richmond Christian Observer*, December 27, 1866.

MARGARET DESCHAMPS MOORE, who received the first doctorate awarded by Emory University, was a member of the history department at the University of Mississippi for fourteen years. She was the wife of noted historian John Hebron Moore. She died on December 7, 2003.

person in twenty was a church member.⁴ The opening of the central area of the state attracted many emigrants interested in churches, but not until the 1830s, when the last cessions of Choctaw and Chickasaw lands brought an influx of eastern settlers into North Mississippi, did religion really begin to flourish. In some cases, notably Presbyterian, ministers migrated with congregations. More often, missionaries came under the sponsorship of denominational and inter-denominational societies. Methodists, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians worked chiefly in towns and villages, but Baptists preferred to form their congregations in the country where, according to one of their historians, people were more "correct in their deportment" and not "so advanced" in their ideas.⁵ By 1836, these four denominations had formed statewide organizations for their churches in Mississippi.⁶

In spite of financial difficulties, and all churches felt the effects of the panic of 1837, denominations carried on tremendous building programs in the 1840s. Probably seventy-five percent of the 1,441 church edifices in the state reported in the census of 1860 had been erected before 1850. Most of these buildings were in northeast and central Mississippi where the population had rapidly become stable and substantial.⁷ The southeastern part of the state, where Sunday was spent fishing, hunting, and visiting, remained so unchurched that the Baptists regarded its inhabitants and those of the Delta as "sitting in the region and shadow of death."⁸ No group save the Methodists succeeded in building churches between the Yazoo and the Mississippi, and most of these were merely stations for

⁴ See "Documentary Material Relating to the Early History of the Presbyterian Church in Mississippi," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXI (December 1943), 186-208.

⁵ Z. T. Leavell and T. J. Bailey, *A Complete History of Mississippi Baptists* (2 vols., Jackson, 1904), I, 672.

⁶ For histories of the major denominations in Mississippi in the period of early statehood see: *ibid.*; John G. Jones, *A Complete History of Methodism* (2 vols., Nashville, 1908), *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi* (Chicago, 1891), 348-83; Frances A. and James A. Cabaniss, "Religion in Ante-Bellum Mississippi," *Journal of Mississippi History*, VI (October 1944), 191-224; *Southwestern Presbyterian* (New Orleans), October 30, November 6, 13, 1890, January 1, March 19, April 16, May 28, June 18, 1891, January 21, 1892. Also see the following works of Walter B. Posey: *The Development of Methodism in the Old Southwest* (Tuscaloosa, 1933), *The Baptist Church in the Lower Mississippi Valley* (Lexington, 1957), *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest* (Richmond, 1952).

⁷ *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, 1853), 462-63; *Statistics of the United States in 1860* (Washington, 1866), 418-19.

⁸ *Minutes of the Fourteenth Anniversary of the Convention of the Baptist Denomination of the State of Mississippi* (Jackson, 1850), 20; *Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Session of the Mississippi Baptist State Convention* (Jackson, 1858), 33.

preaching to slaves.⁹

By 1860 probably one white adult out of three belonged to some church. Since the census for that year listed only the number of churches, the seating capacities of the buildings rather than the number of members, and the value of church property, this figure is only an educated guess based on the census and available denominational figures. Three-fourths of the church members belonged to the Methodist and Baptist denominations, with the Methodists holding onto a slight numerical lead which they did not lose to the Baptists until the post-war era. While the Presbyterians exercised an influence far out of proportion to their numbers, they lagged far behind the two leading denominations in membership. Other religious bodies represented by small numbers in the population were Episcopalians, Christians or Campbellites, Cumberland Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics. The last group was only beginning to get a program under way in Mississippi and was not regarded by Protestants as a real threat to their ascendancy.¹⁰

By the end of the antebellum period church people no longer stood apart from the general population as they had in early days. This change was in part due to the rise of Methodism socially, and was deplored by many of the old pastors who remembered the time when itinerants traveled as a "band of brothers"¹¹ and Methodists tried to be a people distinct in their tempers, morals, conversation, and dress.¹² But it was also due to the passing of the frontier and the increasing urbanity of village life. One can hardly imagine a citizen of Port Gibson harassing a minister in 1860 as one had Thomas Griffin when he preached from the courthouse thirty years earlier. When Griffin inquired rhetorically in his sermon "How does gambling flourish here?", he was answered by a drunk: "It is doing very well, as a great deal is going on."¹³

In no way was the increasing urbanity of Mississippians more evident than in the clergy of the state. From earliest times the Presbyterian and

⁹ *Statistics of the United States in 1860*, 418-19.

¹⁰ For available statistics see: *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850*, 462-63; *Statistics of the United States in 1860*, 418-19; Jesse L. Boyd, *A Popular History of the Baptists in Mississippi* (Jackson, 1930), 107; *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the Year 1860* (Nashville, 1861), 231-32.

¹¹ William Winans to W. J. Sasnett, October 14, 1856, in Winans Correspondence, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.

¹² William Winans to Joseph McDowell, August 31, 1830, *ibid.* Also see William Winans to C. K. Marshall, January 11, 1856, *ibid.*

¹³ *Southwestern Presbyterian* (New Orleans), November 13, 1890.

Episcopal ministers, who had excellent educations, were recognized as men of ability whose opinions were highly regarded.¹⁴ But by the late antebellum period, clergymen like J. T. Freeman, editor of the *Mississippi Baptist*, and Ashley Vaughn, first president of the Baptist State Convention, furnished enlightened leadership for their denomination.¹⁵ Methodist preachers, no longer itinerants, were settled in towns and showed great interest in community affairs. C. K. Marshall of Vicksburg played a noted role in commercial conventions;¹⁶ William Winans, perhaps the best known clergyman in the state, stood for Congress;¹⁷ and Richard Abbey, planter and slaveholder, was a leader in the movement for scientific agriculture.¹⁸

The churches these men served were often adorned with cut glass chandeliers, organs, and rented pews. In some cases, like that of the Episcopal Church in Vicksburg, the building was decorated with wreaths and evergreens for the Christmas season. Congregations held indoor protracted meetings instead of open air camp meetings, and where these remained in the country they became increasingly devoid of the old bodily exercises. Some churches had libraries and most of them with varying success tried to operate Sunday schools. Women, who were the real strength and support of most congregations, had sewing societies and gave fairs to raise money for their mission projects. Men organized temperance societies and children, who comprised half the total white population of the state, belonged to various youth groups.¹⁹

Churches still suspended or expelled members for major infractions of the moral code, a practice rather vigorously continued until the 1890s,

¹⁴ *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, 348-83. [J. H. Ingraham], *The Southwest by a Yankee* (New York, 1835), 65-72.

¹⁵ *Encyclopedia of Southern Baptists* (2 vols., Nashville, 1958), II, 881-90.

¹⁶ John G. Van Deusen, *The Ante-Bellum Southern Commercial Conventions* (Durham, 1926), 78-80.

¹⁷ See Winans Correspondence.

¹⁸ John H. Moore, *Agriculture in Ante-Bellum Mississippi* (New York, 1958), 147-51.

¹⁹ For descriptions of late antebellum churches see Diary of Edward R. Welles (typescript), 1854-1856, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson; P. B. Bailey to Methodist Quarterly Conference, Crystal Springs Circuit, November 14, 1846, in Crystal Springs Circuit Manuscripts, *ibid.* *Spirit of Missions*, III (July, 1839), 202-03; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Mississippi, May 2, 1838* (Natchez, 1838), 5-6; *Natchez Free Trader*, March 1, 1845; *Pontotoc Chickasaw Union*, January 4, 1838; *Columbus Democrat*, February 2, 1839.

but by 1850 fewer matters were considered worthy of discipline.²⁰ In 1856, a Methodist complained that in his denomination “conformity to the world in dress, amusements, pursuits and Spirit, has almost excluded class-meetings and the administration of Discipline for minor offenses.”²¹ Certainly all churches by the end of the antebellum period tolerated with better grace the member who failed to attend the Sunday service than in earlier days when he was required to account for his absence. Editors of church papers warned Christians of the wrongfulness of card playing, the theatre, the circus, and novel reading, but churches brought few offenders other than dancers to trial for engaging in sinful amusements.²² Dancers could not escape, for most clergymen shared the opinion expressed by William Winans when he wrote a young woman that if she should die in the ball room “neither I nor any well-informed Christian friend could have a hope upon your tomb.”²³ The gradual restriction of church discipline to dancing and those more fundamental matters such as assault and battery, gross intoxication, fraud, and adultery must have contributed to peace, if not purity, in congregations long troubled by men who brought quarrelsome brothers-in-law to trial and women who accused neighbors of malicious gossip.

Attesting to the growth of the religious influence in Mississippi was the large number of educational institutions under church sponsorship, and the support which denominations, especially the Baptists, gave the public school movement. The pioneer Presbyterian minister usually supplemented his salary by operating a small school in conjunction with his church. Gradually as Methodists and Baptists settled their internal quarrels over an educated ministry, they became firm supporters of schools and colleges. The Methodists founded the noted Elizabeth Academy which functioned during most of the antebellum period, and the Baptists

²⁰ This conclusion is based on a study of records of Baptist and Presbyterian churches. Since Methodists seem not to have kept minutes of class meetings, records of Methodist discipline cases are not available. The largest collection of Presbyterian session records is in the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Montreat, North Carolina. Baptist records may be located in the archives of the various southern states.

²¹ William Winans to W. P. Barton, May 23, 1856, in Winans Correspondence. Also see Joseph Travis, *Autobiography of the Rev. Joseph Travis* (Nashville, 1856), 224.

²² See Margaret B. DesChamps, “The Presbyterian Church in the South Atlantic States, 1801-1861.” Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Emory University, 1952. For published examples of discipline cases in Mississippi churches see *Centennial Celebration of the Providence Baptist Church* [n. p., n. d.] and *The History of an Old Church [Philadelphus] and Her People* [n. p., n. d.].

²³ William Winans to Sarah R. Grayson, May 27, 1850, in Winans Correspondence.

established at least fifteen lesser known schools. On the eve of the [Civil] war several denominations operated institutions which they called colleges, and at least two of these, Oakland, founded by the Presbyterians, and Mississippi [College], controlled by the Baptists, were worthy of the name. Another evidence of the maturity of religious institutions was the presence of the Methodist book and tract society at Vicksburg, and the sporadic efforts of the major denominations to maintain and support church periodicals.²⁴

Although Baptist and Presbyterian churches in Mississippi experienced internecine struggles in the 1830s, by 1860 unity appeared to reign not within the various denominations, but among them.²⁵ Theology and church practices varied widely, but certain basic religious beliefs seemed common to all. The finality of heaven and hell, the reality of sin and the atonement of Christ, the literalness of the scriptures, and the omniscience of God rested on Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist consciences alike. Controversies over church government, Arminianism, closed communion, and immersion were less ignorantly and brutally conducted than formerly. When a denominational convention was held, all pulpits in the town might be occupied by ministers attending the meeting,²⁶ and church schools often employed teachers not of their own religious persuasion.²⁷ Yet, in spite of surface appearances, rivalry and ill feeling were as often characteristic of inter-denominational relations as were harmony and good will.

Since the Methodist Church was the largest in Mississippi, it naturally became involved in the most controversies, first with Baptists and Presbyterians, and later with Episcopalians. A Methodist writing of Baptist opposition to his zealous preaching near Port Gibson concluded: "It would seem they are determined to put out . . . [my] fire if the cry of water will do it."²⁸ Typical of the arguments between Methodists and Presbyterians was the one described by a young layman who heard a

²⁴ For a discussion of the role of churches in education see *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, 300-383, and denominational histories previously cited.

²⁵ Boyd, *Popular History of the Baptists*, 50-54; Posey, *Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest*, 118-23; Margaret B. DesChamps, "Presbyterians and Others in the South after 1800," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXXI (March 1953), 25-40.

²⁶ For example, see *Minutes of the Fourteenth Anniversary of the Convention of the Baptist Denomination*, 7-10. Editor's note: Arminianism is based on the theological ideas of the Dutch Reformed theologian Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609).

²⁷ For example, see William Winans to Carolina Hearn, December 28, 1855, in Winans Correspondence.

²⁸ John Seaton to William Winans, May 29, 1821, *ibid.*

Presbyterian preach at a Methodist camp meeting. He said the clergyman “preached Calvinism from the start and Indirectly nay directly attacked our Doctrine.” Then, when he concluded, a Methodist minister arose and denounced Calvinism. “I hope,” commented the writer, “that some good was done [by the meeting] but I expect a Declaration of war has taken place.”²⁹

By the 1850s the Methodists, then a church of the socially prominent, were quarreling with the Episcopalians. Methodist ministers privately charged Episcopal clergymen with attracting young women to their church through a lenient policy on amusements, especially dancing.³⁰ But the occasion of their most notorious controversy was the printing of a sermon by William Mercer Green, first Episcopal bishop of Mississippi, on apostolic succession, a matter in which few Methodists would have had either interest or understanding when their church was introduced into the Mississippi territory.³¹ Richard Abbey wrote an entire book for the Methodists in reply to the bishop. He attacked the Episcopal Church for having no real piety among its members and for failing to win numbers to its faith. In speaking of the great success of other churches in gaining converts through recent protracted meetings in Jackson, he said: “Why either the Baptist, the Presbyterian, or the Methodist churches could receive your church bodily, and it would scarcely be considered more than a clever *revival*.”³² But the Episcopalians would not let Abbey have the last word, and a clergyman replied anonymously to his charges in *Pamphlets for the People*. After attempting to show that the extent of Methodist piety was overestimated, he remarked that it was pleasing to see in Abbey’s book an expression of good feeling toward Presbyterians and Baptists, since they all quarreled constantly in their religious newspapers. He could only conclude: “War with each other, but Union against the Episcopalians, seems to be your motto.”³³

²⁹ Samuel Sellars to William Winans, June 20, 1844, *ibid*.

³⁰ For example, see William Winans to C. K. Marshall, April 11, 1856, *ibid*.

³¹ See Nash K. Burger, “The Rt. Rev. William Mercer Green, First Episcopal Bishop of Mississippi,” *Journal of Mississippi History*, XXII (January 1950), 3-27.

³² R[ichard] Abbey, *Letters on Apostolic Succession, addressed to Bishop Green of Mississippi. Occasioned by the Publication of His Recent Sermon on that subject* (Louisville, 1853), 160.

³³ *Pamphlets for the People in Illustration of the Claims of the Church and Methodism* (Philadelphia, 1854), 22.

All denominations of the Old South believed that political matters were not the proper concern of churches.³⁴ Ministers confined their sermon topics chiefly to theological and ethical questions, church courts warned against neglecting spiritual duties in the interest of campaigns and elections, and the religious press commented with caution on political events. Yet, in spite of the efforts of churches to avoid enmeshment in the affairs of government, political and ecclesiastical realms could not be entirely separated. Long before the Union was dissolved, the slavery controversy divided the Methodist and Baptist churches into northern and southern branches and caused the Presbyterian to excise its radical abolitionist synods. In the decade before the war southern clergymen became the staunchest defenders of the region's characteristic institution.

A determining factor in the position Southern clergymen took on slavery was the increasing lay control over conferences, presbyteries, and associations of their denomination. In 1835 members of the Methodist Conference, previously silent on slavery, felt compelled to draw up a strong statement denouncing abolitionism. This action was provoked by the refusal of many Methodist planters to allow ministers to preach to their slaves. So angered were they by the antislavery attacks of Northern clergymen that they suspected their own Southern preachers of clandestine abolitionist activities.³⁵ The records of the Presbyterian churches indicate even more clearly how laymen of that denomination throughout the South silenced clerical opinion unfriendly to an institution they deemed essential.³⁶

If the Mississippi Methodist Conference never became pro-slavery, as one of its historians argues, it was certainly anti-abolitionist.³⁷ In 1860 the Conference expelled a member for "holding insurrectionary and seditious opinions and tampering with the slaves" in his Middle Deer Creek charge.³⁸ Even earlier, [the] Crystal Springs Circuit had declared that "slavery as it now exists in the South is not a sin."³⁹ And William Winans, who once supported the colonization movement and was even accused of being an

³⁴ See Margaret B. DesChamps, "Union or Division? South Atlantic Presbyterians and Southern Nationalism, 1820-1861," *Journal of Southern History*, XX (November 1954), 484-498.

³⁵ Jones, *Methodism*, II, 346-47.

³⁶ See Margaret B. DesChamps, "Antislavery Presbyterians in the Carolina Piedmont," *Proceedings of the South Carolina Historical Association*, 1954 (Columbia, 1955), 6-13.

³⁷ Jones, *Methodism*, II, 513-14.

³⁸ Vicksburg, *Tri-Weekly Whig*, December 1, 1860.

³⁹ Methodist Quarterly Conference, August 17, 1844, Crystal Springs Circuit, in Crystal Springs Circuit Manuscripts.

abolitionist, by the end of the antebellum period was agreeing with his fellow minister, C. K. Marshall, that "Slavery is the most favorable state for Africans *here*."⁴⁰

Strongest support of the institution came from the Presbyterian Church. The leading pro-slavery clergyman of the South Atlantic states was James Henley Thornwell, president of South Carolina College. His position was popularized in the Southwest by his protégé, Benjamin Morgan Palmer of the First Presbyterian Church in New Orleans, and was echoed many times by lesser orators in Mississippi.⁴¹ But Mississippians did not have to go to South Carolina for arguments in defense of their society. While Thornwell was still a theological student in 1833, James Smylie preached a sermon to his congregation in Port Gibson reasoning from Biblical sources that slavery was a positive good. Smylie's arguments that the Bible justified the enslavement of the Hamitic race, that the holiest men of the Old Testament had been connected with slavery, and that the apostles did not find it incompatible with Christ's teachings, are credited with having a tremendous influence on subsequent slavery legislation in the state.⁴²

While the editors of the Mississippi *Baptist* on the eve of the war declared themselves to be the "uncompromising friends" of slavery, Baptist action was more concerned with the spiritual welfare of Negroes than with justification of their bondage.⁴³ Methodists had the more widespread and effective program for preaching to Negroes, but Baptists pioneered in forming separate churches for them. By 1860 many Baptist ministers believed that these Negro churches should control their own membership and form their own conferences.⁴⁴ They, with clergymen of other faiths, provided religious services for a sizeable portion of the black population and worked zealously to improve relations between slaves and masters.⁴⁵

The other great public issue with which clergymen could not escape involvement was the movement for Southern independence, but their

⁴⁰ William Winans to C. K. Marshall, December 2, 1856 in Winans Correspondence.

⁴¹ See Margaret B. DesChamps, "Benjamin Morgan Palmer, Orator-Preacher of the Confederacy," *Southern Speech Journal*, XIX (September 1953), 14-22.

⁴² John G. Jones, *A Concise History of the Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi and the Southwest* (St. Louis, 1866), 239-42.

⁴³ Percy L. Rainwater, *Mississippi, Storm Center of Secession, 1851-1861* (Baton Rouge, 1938), 175; *A Republication of the Minutes of the Mississippi Baptist Association . . . from 1806 to the Present Time* (New Orleans, 1849), 167-68.

⁴⁴ *Minutes of the Fourteenth Anniversary of the Convention of the Baptist Denomination*, 22-23.

⁴⁵ For example, see *Port Gibson Correspondent*, April 30, 1836.

support of secession in 1860 was far less unanimous than their defense of slavery. Prior to the election of Lincoln, clergymen throughout the South spoke out against secession and actively supported the Whigs, and later the Know-Nothings [the American Party], because they hoped these parties could preserve the Union. William Winans, the noted Methodist preacher in Wilkinson County, ran on the Whig ticket for Congress in 1848, but he did not conduct an active campaign and lost the election. His correspondence shows that his fellow Methodists did not approve of any minister seeking public office and that neither they nor the prominent Whigs worked in his behalf. Yet letters written to him indicate that Methodists generally supported the Whig party, and when it died, Winans urged every patriot to support the American Party "as the only probable means of bringing our Nation back to a policy founded on principle."⁴⁶ A Mississippian wrote the *Jackson Southron* in 1845: "The Presbyterian clergy, [indeed] I believe the great body of clergy of all denominations, are whigs, not because they are aristocrats but because they are opposed to radicalism, and in favor of conservatism."⁴⁷

This conservatism was in large measure responsible for the lack of ministerial enthusiasm for secession in 1850. Winans's reason for seeking public office, he wrote a friend, was to make "one less firebrand, to light up the fire, kindled by Calhoun, to dissolve the ties of our most important Union."⁴⁸ In this position he was joined by prominent clergymen in other southern states. Thornwell in South Carolina said in 1850: "The truth is we can see nothing . . . [in secession] but defeat, insecurity to slavery, oppression to ourselves, ruin to the state."⁴⁹ A Presbyterian in North Carolina remarked that "The people who are worth consulting look on this agitation as foolish, wicked and abominable."⁵⁰ The Baptist State Convention, meeting in Jackson in the fall of 1850, warned its members that "the cry of politics" was "loud with excitement" in Mississippi, and encouraged them to exercise "coolness, deliberation, and firm adherence to truth" in the secession controversy.⁵¹

The Republican victory in 1860 caused many ministers to believe

⁴⁶ William Winans to Wesley P. Winans, November 25, 1855 in Winans Correspondence.

⁴⁷ *Jackson Southron*, October 15, 1845.

⁴⁸ William Winans to Benjamin M. Drake, February 25, 1850, in Winans Correspondence.

⁴⁹ Benjamin M. Palmer, *Life and Letters of James Henley Thornwell* (Richmond, 1875), 579.

⁵⁰ Robert H. Morrison to James Morrison, April 29, 1850, in Robert H. Morrison Letters, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

⁵¹ *Minutes of the Fourteenth Anniversary of the Convention of the Baptist Denomination*, 11-12.

that the Union they once thought ordained to spread religion across the continent would become an instrument of evil in the hands of wicked men.⁵² The dramatic action of these preachers, some of whom after Lincoln's election became secessionists overnight, has often obscured the opposition of Unionist ministers who played their roles with little color and perhaps less support. C. K. Marshall, long an ardent advocate of Southern rights, is remembered as the minister who opened the Mississippi Secession Convention of 1861 with prayer, but the name of the one minister who attended the convention as a delegate and voted Unionist has passed into oblivion.⁵³ Benjamin M. Palmer's Thanksgiving Day sermon, in which he saw secession as the will of God, was widely published in Mississippi newspapers and was unquestionably more influential than James Lyons's quiet and virtually forgotten stand for union. Yet Lyons remained a Unionist during the war and other Presbyterian ministers of less prestige and reputation in Mississippi were imprisoned for expressing similar views.⁵⁴ One of them, with prejudice and bitterness, but not without reason later recalled: "All those southern ministers and professors of religion who were eminent for piety [and from that group he specifically excluded Palmer] opposed Secession till the States passed the secession ordinance."⁵⁵

The extent of Unionist sentiment among Mississippi clergymen on the eve of the war is illustrated in official resolutions passed by the Baptist State Convention and the Methodist Conference. While both secessionist and Unionist sentiments were expressed in the Baptist Convention, resolutions were passed "respectfully requesting the editors of the state to cooperate in furthering ameliorating measures, and not to inflame the public mind in this distressing situation." The convention further pled with Southern Baptists to "make a united, prayerful, honest effort . . . to restore harmony and peace in . . . Zion."⁵⁶

The strength of Union sentiment in the Methodist Church is strikingly revealed in a resolution passed by its annual conference even after the election of Lincoln. Framed by the presiding elders of the Vicksburg

⁵² See DesChamps, "Union or Division," *Journal of Southern History*; XX, 484-98.

⁵³ *Journal of the State Convention and Ordinance and Resolutions Adopted in January, 1861, with an Appendix* (Jackson, 1861).

⁵⁴ See John K. Bettersworth, *Confederate Mississippi* (Baton Rouge, 1943), 253-57.

⁵⁵ John H. Aughey, *The Iron Furnace: or, Slavery and Secession* (Philadelphia, 1863), 6, 255-57.

⁵⁶ Boyd, *Popular History of the Baptists*, 109. On the surface, these resolutions appear to relate to Baptist internal controversy, but Boyd sees them as a part of the secession controversy.

and Yazoo districts, it suggested that the next General Conference of the church change the name of the denomination from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to simply the Methodist Episcopal Church. The name, South, the Mississippi Conference stated, should be deleted since it was "liable to misrepresentation and . . . likely to embarrass us in many respects."⁵⁷ But before the General Conference met, Mississippi seceded, and the resolution was forgotten.

To the Confederacy then formed, Mississippi brought a large group of well-organized churches and affiliated societies, devout church members, and articulate ministers who supported the new nation with an alacrity and vigor not characteristic of their opposition to its formation.

⁵⁷ *Minutes of the Forty-Fifth Session of the Mississippi Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, November 21-29, A. D. 1860* (Vicksburg, 1861), 36.

Sol Street: Confederate Partisan Leader

by Andrew Brown

Solomon G. Street, or Sol Street, was the son of Anderson Street, one of the pioneer settlers of Tippah County, Mississippi. The elder Street's home was about ten miles northwest of Ripley, the county seat, and about fifteen miles south of Saulsbury, Tennessee. Little is known of the early life of his son, who was a small boy when the family moved to Mississippi, beyond the facts that he was thirty years old in 1861, that he was married – his wife's name was Rhoda – and that he was making a good living as a carpenter when the Civil War broke out. Sometime between March and May 1861, he enlisted in the Magnolia Guards, a volunteer company that had been organized at Ripley in late 1860 or early 1861. The Magnolia Guards assembled at Ripley on April 30, marched to Saulsbury, and there took the cars for Corinth where they became Company F of the Second Mississippi Infantry.

The Second Mississippi was sent almost immediately after its organization to Lynchburg, Virginia, where on May 9 it was mustered into the provisional army of the Confederate States. On the same day Street was made third sergeant of his company and served in that capacity for more than a year. He was a giant of a man, possessed of a booming voice that carried into the farthest recesses of the regimental camp. After Sol Street had become a legend in North Mississippi, a survivor of the regiment recalled Sergeant Street's orders as he drilled his men: "Hold them heads up! Look fierce! Look mean! Look like the devil! Look like

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ANDREW BROWN, a mining engineer and native of Ripley, Mississippi, was an authority on Civil War history and the history of Northeast Mississippi and Tippah County. At the time this article was published in the July 1959 edition of *The Journal of Mississippi History*, Brown was an employee of the United States Geological Survey in Washington, D.C. Brown died in 1964.

me!"¹ How well he succeeded in making the men of Company F look like the devil or Sol Street is not known, but it is a matter of record that they were good soldiers.

Street served with the Second Mississippi in the campaign of First Manassas in 1861 and at the battle of Seven Pines and in the Seven Days Battles around Richmond in 1862. While McClellan was being pushed away from the Confederate capital by Lee, however, affairs took an opposite turn in the West. On May 31, [P.G.T.] Beauregard evacuated Corinth, and within a month Federal troops were ranging far and wide throughout Northeast Mississippi, the homeland of the Second Mississippi. The news was not long in reaching Virginia; and in July a considerable number of the men in the regiment took advantage of a provision of the recently enacted conscription law, obtained substitutes, and returned to their homes. Among those who took this step was Sol Street; he obtained his discharge from the Army of Northern Virginia on July 28 and returned to Tippah County in August. There he found conditions even worse than he had feared. Not only was Union cavalry roaming throughout Northeast Mississippi almost at will, but Confederate and State authorities were bickering over responsibility for the defense of the region while neither was able to offer any effective resistance to the invaders. In the meantime property was being destroyed, slaves were being carried away, and the lives of noncombatants were in imminent danger. It became evident to Street within a matter of days after his arrival that the citizens themselves must provide such protection as Northeast Mississippi received.

Sol Street, Confederate Partisan Leader

The first step toward an adequate home defense was taken by William C. Falkner, the first captain of Street's Company F and later colonel of the Second Mississippi. Falkner had been defeated for the colonelcy at the reorganization of April 1862 and had returned to Ripley. There he recruited, almost entirely from Tippah County, a regiment of cavalry containing about 750 men known subsequently as the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers. The Rangers were mustered into Confederate service early in August and served creditably until the middle of November, when the Conscription Bureau, taking advantage of some irregularities in the regiment's organization, broke it up in a vain attempt to obtain conscripts

¹ Will Ticer of New Albany, son of J. P. Ticer of the Second Mississippi, related this story to the author in 1956.

for the regular Confederate forces.² Although Falkner later reorganized the regiment, the result of the Conscription Bureau's action was to leave Tippah and adjoining counties practically stripped of defenders. It was at this black time that Sol Street re-entered the picture.

Nothing is known of Street's activities from August through November 1862. He did not enlist in the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers. Possibly he was making plans to organize a military unit of his own, and biding his time until the moment came to strike. The breakup of the Rangers gave him an opportunity, and he seized it instantly. Early in December he obtained authority from Governor [John J.] Pettus of Mississippi to recruit cavalry for home defense, and almost entirely by his own efforts enlisted a company called the Citizen Guards of Tippah County, of which he was chosen captain. On December 15, 1862, the Citizen Guards were mustered into the Army of Mississippi (not, it should be emphasized, the Confederate Army) as Company A, Second Mississippi (State) Cavalry.³ The commander of the Second Cavalry was Colonel J. F. Smith.

Smith's regiment was a paper organization that saw only desultory fighting before it disbanded upon being ordered into Confederate service on June 4, 1863.⁴ Early in January of that year, however, Captain Street's Company A, Captain W. H. Wilson's Company D (which had been recruited largely by Street), and possibly another company were detached—one suspects that Street detached them on his own initiative—for “service along the Memphis and Charleston Railroad.” Thus began the operations of that irregular but highly effective group of fighters known as “Sol Street's guerilla band,” which for eighteen months was to be a thorn in the flesh of Federal commanders from Corinth to the outskirts of Memphis, and from Tippah County, Mississippi, to Hickman, Kentucky. To understand the nature of Street's operations, and the peculiar situation that dictated his policies, it is necessary to summarize conditions in Northeast Mississippi in the first part of 1863.

At the beginning of that year nearly all the Confederate troops in Mississippi were in the vicinity of Vicksburg. In March, however, Brigadier

² See W. C. Falkner file in Old Records Section, Adjutant General's Office (hereinafter cited as *A.G.O.*), National Archives. This file contains letters from Falkner to Secretary of War Seddon, J. W. Clapp, and others, that give a good account of the breaking up of the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers.

³ Muster roll Co. A, Second Miss. Cavalry, in Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss.; also *A.G.O.*, Sol G. Street file.

⁴ *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), hereinafter cited as *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 3, 973.

General James R. Chalmers was placed in command of the newly created Fifth Military District of the state, which comprised the ten northern counties. Following orders, Chalmers set up headquarters at Panola (now Batesville) near the western edge of his district. The ostensible reason for the location was to watch anticipated Union movements from Memphis toward Vicksburg; but another and probably overriding objective was the breaking up of the increasing trade between citizens of North Mississippi and the merchants of federally held Memphis. The specific aim of the Richmond authorities was to prevent cotton from reaching the Federal lines; and so strongly did they stress the cotton angle that military objectives were often subordinated or even ignored. This was certainly the case in the location of Chalmers's headquarters.

As Chalmers had only a handful of soldiers, many of whom were none-too-reliable Partisan Rangers, he was obviously unable from Panola to protect a district which extended 120 miles east and west and 60 miles north and south. For assistance in the eastern part of his district he was forced to depend on such help as he could get from Brigadier General Daniel Ruggles, commanding the First Military District from headquarters at Columbus. Showing an almost unbelievable lack of perception, Ruggles remained in that pleasant little city, far removed from the Union armies, until someone in Richmond noticed what Ruggles should have seen long before, that most Federal raids from the Memphis and Charleston Railroad followed the Saulsbury-Ripley road. Ruggles was thereupon ordered to move his headquarters to Tupelo.⁵ The incident is worth noting as one of the few occasions when the judgment of the Richmond authorities was better than that of the men in the field. But even after the move to Tupelo, the important town of Ripley was fifty miles from Ruggles's hodgepodge of state troops at Tupelo and even farther from Chalmers's little force at Panola. Neither general was able to offer much opposition to the swift Federal raids into Tippah County, with the result that such protection as the citizens had was provided by Sol Street and his band.

The term "band" is used advisedly. Officially Street was captain of one company, but usually he was reinforced by Captain Wilson's Company and other irregulars. In fact, his organization at this time was a most informal one, and he doubtless was accompanied by men who never enlisted in any state or Confederate unit. Street located his headquarters in the almost impenetrable bottom of North Tippah Creek probably near his boyhood

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. LII, pt. 2, 460.

home. From this hideout Street staged his spectacular raids with a force that on many occasions totalled no more than thirty hand-picked men.⁶ The necessity for using only men of known trustworthiness was vital, for the northern part of Tippah County was a region of divided loyalties,⁷ and the danger of betrayal was ever present. Street's intelligence system was simple and effective. News of practically every Union foray was speedily brought to him by some enlisted or unenlisted "scout," and usually within a matter of hours the invaders found Sol Street's band hanging on their flanks, taking advantage of their knowledge of the country to do whatever damage they could.

Street's first recorded brush with the enemy was on January 5, 1863. On that day Major D. M. Emerson left Bolivar, Tennessee, with a detachment of the First Tennessee Cavalry (Union) and independent companies of "Tippah and Mississippi Rangers."⁸ His objective was Ripley. About fifteen miles south of Bolivar, Street ambushed the raiders and killed one Union soldier. Emerson later reported that some of the attackers were dressed in Federal uniforms, which indicates that Street already had adopted a favored mode of camouflage in the bushwhacking war in the west. Both sides used it. A conspicuous example is supplied by the Union Colonel B. H. Grierson's famous raid through Mississippi in the spring of 1863, when part of his force was garbed in Confederate butternut.

After his first brush with Street, Emerson decided to leave well enough alone and returned to Bolivar. Three days later, however, Colonel Edward Prince of the Seventh Illinois Cavalry led a detachment from La Grange to Ripley in search of the elusive partisan. Prince failed to locate Street, but from the Union standpoint the raid was successful in that Lieutenant Colonel Lawson B. Hovis of the First Mississippi Partisan Rangers was captured at his home in Ripley.⁹

By the middle of February harassed Union commanders had learned that Street's band was likely to turn up anywhere between the Mobile & Ohio and Mississippi Central railroads, and anywhere between the Ripley-Salem line and Bolivar.¹⁰ On February 25 it captured two privates

⁶ Ripley *Southern Sentinel*, September 6, 1895.

⁷ See Headquarters map file, Map S5 (RG-77), in Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, National Archives. This map, made for General Rosecrans in 1862, shows an area in north Tippah County as "UnionNeighborhood."

⁸ *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 1, 331.

⁹ *A.G.O.*, Lawson B. Hovis file.

¹⁰ *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 1, 349.

and two sergeants of the Seventh Illinois who had straggled behind their command.¹¹ By this time Federal commanders were taking a serious view of Street, whom they consistently described as “the noted guerrilla.” General Hamilton managed to send a man whom he described as “one of my best spies” to Street’s camp. In due time this emissary returned with a report that the heavy guns at Vicksburg were being dismantled and the place evacuated.¹² As the report was groundless, and as Street’s men could have little knowledge of what was going on at Vicksburg in any event, it is obvious that the “guerrillas” recognized Hamilton’s “scout” for what he was and sent him on his way rejoicing with plausible but erroneous information.

March 1863 was a busy month for Street’s band. Being short of almost every kind of equipment, they for some time had eyed hungrily the provision- and supply-laden trains that puffed heavily over the tracks of the Memphis and Charleston and Mississippi Central railroads. The Partisans knew that every mile of track and every station on the Memphis and Charleston was guarded so closely that it was out of the question for a small unit to do any serious damage on that line. However, Private Archer N. Prewitt of Street’s Company A, a native Tennessean, learned that the Mississippi Central was not guarded so closely, and that a pay train was scheduled to run from Bolivar to Grand Junction on March 21. This chance to get good Yankee dollars was too good for Street to miss. On the night of March 19 he took about eighty of his own and Captain White’s companies, and, after riding all night and crossing the Memphis and Charleston near Saulsbury, hid in the woods all day of the 20th. After nightfall Prewitt led the band to a deep cut on a curve about three and a half miles north of Grand Junction. The men removed the rails on the outside of the curve and hid in the bushes. Soon after sunrise of the 21st a southbound train entered the cut, and before the engineer realized what was happening the locomotive and five cars were piled up. Street’s men emerged from cover, firing as they came. About twenty or twenty-five Negro soldiers were aboard. These, when they glimpsed the ragged Confederates charging toward them, stood not on the order of their going but took helter-skelter to the woods, where some of them were captured later.

Unfortunately for Street, the train wrecked in the cut was not the pay

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 340.

¹² *Ibid.*, pt. 3, 106.

train, but a construction train carrying a considerable amount of supplies. When the pay train itself came into sight a few minutes later, its engineer saw the wreck in time to stop and back up toward Bolivar. The Federal paymaster, however, jumped when it appeared that his train would ram the wreckage, and was captured.¹³

After taking all the material they could use, Street's men set fire to the cars and began a leisurely retreat toward Ripley with sixteen white prisoners and "sixteen free Americans of African descent." Thus did General Chalmers, in reporting the affair, pay his respects to the recently promulgated Emancipation Proclamation.¹⁴ Among the prisoners was the paymaster. He was mounted on a mule during the retirement, and not being accustomed to such a mode of transportation over rough roads, suffered severely before he reached the fastness in Tippah Bottom.¹⁵

Street's capture of the train brought him into contact for the first time with Colonel Fielding Hurst of the First Tennessee Cavalry (Union), whom the Confederates designated "the notorious Colonel Hurst." Though a native of Bethel, Tennessee, and a slaveholder—throughout the war he was always accompanied by his two body servants Lloyd and Sam¹⁶—he had turned against the Confederacy early in the war, and had become one of its most vindictive foes. Appointed colonel by Governor Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, he recruited a body of "Tory" troops who, according to both Federal and Confederate evidence, were notorious for their freebooting proclivities. Hurst was far from unique in this respect. Many of the "independent" companies, battalions, and regiments attached to both the Union and Confederate forces held the same reputation. Street's band was no exception. In fact, one alleged act of robbery on their leader's part led to his violent death.

The acts of lawlessness with which the record of the war in North Mississippi and West Tennessee is studded were due to the fact that neither of the armies ever exercised firm control of the country, and that the fighting was nearly always on a small scale. It was true guerrilla warfare, which is a dirty, stealthy business under all conditions but especially under such conditions as prevailed in the region in 1863. From the Confederate viewpoint the situation was aggravated by stringent regulations against trading with the enemy, joined with the close

¹³ Ripley *Southern Sentinel*, September 6, 1895, *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 1, 471.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 471.

¹⁵ Ripley *Southern Sentinel*, September 6, 1895.

¹⁶ *A.G.O.*, Fielding Hurst file.

proximity of enemy-held Memphis. All soldiers, regular and irregular, had orders to confiscate cotton going to Memphis and merchandise coming out of Memphis, and to "bring it to headquarters." Human nature being what it is, soldiers more often than not failed to take the offending articles to headquarters.

On the day after the affair near Grand Junction, Hurst led about one hundred of his Federals from Pocahontas to Ripley, ostensibly to catch the train-wrecker. When he could not find Street, his trip turned into a horse- and cotton-stealing expedition. The only military result of the raid was the killing of Colonel John H. Miller, whom Governor Pettus had sent to Tippah County to organize scattered small units in that area into regiments.¹⁷ Street was informed of Hurst's raid, and assumed that he would remain in Ripley that night. He therefore led his force of Partisans to the town after dark, intending to capture the Union pickets and possibly retrieve some of Hurst's booty. When Street learned that the Tennessean had retired toward Pocahontas, however, he followed immediately, and by taking a side road through the bottom of Muddy Creek reached Jonesboro ahead of the enemy. On a steep hill about a mile south of Jonesboro part of the Mississippians ambushed and captured Hurst's rear guard of eight men, and the prisoners were taken to Ripley by a detail commanded by R. J. Thurmond. In the meantime Street with the remainder of his men took another side road, got in front of Hurst about a mile and a half south of Pocahontas, and charged the enemy recklessly. When the attack failed because of wet powder and inferior numbers, Street retired toward Ripley. Remarkably enough, not one of his men was killed in the skirmish; only one was wounded and two captured. The Federal loss, other than the eight men captured, is not known.¹⁸ Hurst reported to his superiors at Memphis that Street had been desperately wounded. This was not the first nor the last time that the guerrilla was erroneously reported disabled.¹⁹

After the fighting near Jonesboro and Pocahontas, Colonel Hurst announced that he would not grant the rights of prisoners of war to the captured members of Street's band. This threat, Street realized, was one that had to be countered by higher authority than his own. Although he had been operating independently with little or no regard to the wishes or plans of General Chalmers, he was forced to take the matter to Panola. Chalmers immediately wrote "Col. Hurst, U.S.A." that Street commanded

¹⁷ Ripley *Southern Sentinel*, August 8, 1894.

¹⁸ Ripley *Southern Sentinel*, September 6, 1895.

¹⁹ *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 3, 147.

“a regular organization of State troops turned over to Confederate service,” and that his men were therefore entitled to be treated as prisoners of war.²⁰ Chalmers closed his letter with the warning that “in case of a persistent refusal to extend them such courtesies, the Genl. will retaliate upon your command, some of whom are now prisoners in our hands.”

Chalmers now made the first of many efforts to bring Street’s band of irregulars into formal Confederate service. The organization, as Chalmers wrote Hurst, had been turned over to Confederate service, but only on paper. On April 2—the same day he wrote Hurst—Chalmers addressed an order to “Captain Solomon G. Street, commanding Citizen Guards of Tippah County” to assemble his company at New Albany. Instructions were also given to assemble all other independent companies in the vicinity at the same place for the purpose of organizing them into a battalion or regiment.²¹ The wording of the order shows that Street was the recognized leader of all state troops in Tippah County. The captain did not obey the order, if indeed he ever received it. Instead, he remained in state service for another four months, although on occasion he did cooperate with General Chalmers. On May 21 his band was part of about 300 Confederates who beat off a Federal attack at Salem. In that skirmish six of Street’s men were captured.

Late in May the bitter enmity between the Union troops and Street’s band came to a head. On May 27 Major General William Sooy Smith, commanding the Union cavalry at Memphis, charged that two of Street’s men, named Kesterson and Robinson, had murdered two Union prisoners in cold blood, adding that “their excuse that the prisoners were trying to escape is so notoriously false that your own men heaped upon them the execration they so richly deserved.” Smith threatened to place in irons and shoot four prisoners from Street’s command if Kesterson and Robinson were not turned over to him.²² This time Street turned the matter over to General [Daniel] Ruggles, saying only that the prisoners had actually been shot while attempting to escape. Ruggles wrote Smith that he was having the matter investigated, and in the meantime was having four prisoners of Smith’s placed in irons.²³ There the matter stood for a time.

Late in July, Street took his company to Okolona. From that town,

²⁰ Captured Confederate Records in possession of the War Department, National Archives, Letters and telegrams of Chalmers’s command, CCVII, 39-40.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Special orders Chalmers’s command, CXCIX, 17.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, 224.

²³ *O. R.*, Ser. II, Vol. V, 714.

on July 29, he wrote the War Department at Richmond,²⁴ stating that he “had power over” three companies and asking authority to recruit a battalion of cavalry for Confederate service. As Confederate authorities took a dim view of the enlistment of additional cavalry units, Street received no answer. A few days later his command received pay for the period December 15, 1862, to April 15, 1863. The muster roll made at the time, however, includes the names of all men who joined the company up to August 1. The total number of names on the muster roll—the only one of Company A in existence—is 113 rank and file, of whom 82 had enlisted when the company was originally mustered into state service. Of these, thirty-eight were at that time present for service; forty-one were absent without leave; four were on detached service; eight had been “claimed” (as deserters) by Confederate units; one had died in camp, and twelve had been captured. The roll shows none killed, though some of the men listed as captured are known to have died of wounds. In all probability the maker of the roll simply omitted the names of the men killed in action.²⁵

The men named on the muster roll of Company A were not all of Street’s band. A list prepared by a survivor and published in 1895 contains sixty-nine names, seventeen of whom are not on the roll. His account of the fight with Hurst at Pocahontas adds another name, that of R. J. Thurmond.²⁶ Granted that some of the men named were members of Captain Wilson’s company, it is most likely that others on this list never enlisted, but joined Street temporarily for one or more of his skirmishes.

Street’s last fight as captain of Company A took place late in August, when he attacked a Union forage train between Pocahontas and Ripley. On this occasion, with the Kesterson-Robinson affair fresh in their minds, the Federal soldiers squared accounts in a brutal manner. Two of Street’s privates, John Carraway and Moses Crisp, were captured and without further ado taken to a bridge over Muddy Creek and shot. Ruggles promptly held two Federal prisoners as hostages, but as in the original case there is no record of the final disposition of the case.²⁷ In all probability the accounts were simply allowed to stand as balanced.

After the surrender of Vicksburg on July 4, 1863, large numbers of Federal troops based at Memphis and in West Tennessee were shifted to the vicinity of Chattanooga. An immediate result was that Confederates

²⁴ *A.G.O.*, W. C. Falkner and Sol G. Street files.

²⁵ Muster Roll Co. A, 2nd Miss. Cavalry, Department of Archives and History, Jackson.

²⁶ Ripley *Southern Sentinel*, September 6, 1895.

²⁷ *O. R.*, Ser. II, Vol. VI, 224.

in West Tennessee were able to operate more freely than had been possible before, and some of them took advantage of the relaxed pressure to move into North Mississippi, where they had some hope of obtaining arms and equipment. Conditions in Mississippi also improved. In August, Major General Stephen D. Lee was placed in command of all cavalry in Mississippi, and soon brought a semblance of order into the harried Fifth Military District. He brought many state troops into Confederate service and augmented them with units from Tennessee. One of the largest of these Tennessee units, about a thousand strong, was brought to Orizaba (about seven miles south of Ripley) late in July by Colonel R. V. Richardson. Within a matter of weeks Richardson had accumulated an even larger command,²⁸ and was signing himself “Col. commanding NE Miss.”

Richardson, a daring and successful partisan fighter, had had his share of troubles with both sides. In March, 1863, Joe Johnston, who had no use for guerrilla fighting, charged him with “great oppressions” and recommended that his authority to recruit be withdrawn.²⁹ To keep the score even, on March 15 the Union commander sent Colonel Benjamin H. Grierson after him, saying of his men, “I am assured by high Confederate authority that they act without and against orders and are simply robbers to be treated as such. The gang must be exterminated and the sooner the better.”³⁰ Grierson’s expedition came to nothing.³¹ In fact, when he made his famous raid to Baton Rouge a few weeks later, he had to fight Richardson all the way to Central Mississippi.

In Richardson, Street found a kindred spirit. Moreover, he was given no choice but to attach himself to the regular organization. On September 1 the partisan leader resigned his Mississippi commission³² and transferred his men to the Confederate army. They were not incorporated into a regiment, but fought as “Street’s Battalion” under Richardson’s command. This battalion participated in Chalmers’s attack on Collierville in October, the first offensive movement in that area on the part of the Confederates since the battle of Corinth a year before. About this time Street abandoned the hideout in Tippah bottom and shifted his base to Orizaba.

In November, Street, probably at Richardson’s suggestion, took his

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXIV, pt. 3, 564.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 654.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 111.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 139.

³² *A.G.O.*, Sol G. Street file.

battalion on a raid into West Tennessee. He stopped first at Whiteville, where he rested for two days before moving to Cageville (now Alamo). He then moved through Dyersburg and after crossing the Obion River killed a well-known Unionist whom he described as “the notorious Tory Jim Dixon, who lost his life by refusing to surrender.” He continued north to Hickman, Kentucky, where he killed one Union soldier and captured nine men and forty horses before moving into Madrid Bend. There he continued his recruiting—actually conscripting—activities with some success and then started south. At Meriwether’s Ferry on the Obion River his rear guard was driven in by a detachment of the Second Illinois Cavalry. Two Confederates were killed, and Street himself and twenty-nine of his command were captured.³³ The Union commander lost no time in reporting his trophy: “I attacked the devils at Meriwether’s Ferry at noon yesterday. I whipped them and killed eleven men and also took Sol Street and 55 men, also one wagon load of arms and some horses.”³⁴ “Colonel” Street, however, was not one to remain long in durance. After being a prisoner for about twelve hours he made his escape and overtook his command near Whiteville, where he learned that some of his horses had escaped near Reelfoot Lake. Immediately he retraced his steps to Madrid Bend, drove off a Union force engaged in conscription duty, retrieved most of his lost horses, and then settled down to a conscription campaign of his own.³⁵

While Street was fighting Yankees and conscripting men and horses in Kentucky and West Tennessee, Major General Nathan Bedford Forrest was at Okolona creating an army with which to invade his home state of Tennessee. He had been led to believe that Richardson would bring about a thousand men to his colors; but that hope proved illusory as Richardson’s men, Street among them, were scattered far and wide. The indefatigable Forrest, however, did not let the absence of Richardson’s men deter him. On December 3 he crossed the state line near Saulsbury, while Chalmers and Lee made an opening for him by diversionary attacks at Moscow and Ripley. Once inside Tennessee, Forrest and his 450 men began an intensive recruiting and conscription campaign, and when they slipped back into Mississippi on the night of December 27, the command numbered more than three thousand men. Many of them were untrained, more had no arms, many were unwilling conscripts; but they were the material from which their commander forged one of the greatest cavalry

³³ Sol G. Street to R. V. Richardson, December 1863, in *A.G.O.*, Sol G. Street file.

³⁴ *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXI, pt. 1, 570.

³⁵ Sol G. Street to R. V. Richardson, December 1863, in *A.G.O.*, Sol G. Street file.

organizations in the long history of war.³⁶ Street's battalion, and the men and horses he had gathered in Madrid Bend, were among the troops that poured across the state line that wintry night.

On January 25, 1864, Forrest formally organized his newly created "Forrest's Cavalry Department," which included all cavalry commands in North Mississippi and West Tennessee. General Order no. 2, dated the same day, grouped his scattered units into four small brigades. Street's battalion, with Marshall's regiment, Catlin's command, and the Twelfth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Tennessee formed the First Brigade, commanded by Brigadier General R. V. Richardson.³⁷ On February 4 the Fifteenth and Sixteenth regiments and Street's battalion were combined to form the Fifteenth Tennessee, commanded by Colonel F. M. Stewart. On the same day Street was appointed Major.³⁸

Until he came under the command of Forrest, Street had been a daring and, in his own sphere, a brilliantly successful leader, but he had never been a good subordinate. He changed almost instantly, and from a reckless individualist was transformed into a "good hand" even by the exacting Forrest standard. One result of the transformation was that his name dropped from the records. No longer was he Sol Street, the famous guerrilla, but now he was Major Street of the Fifteenth Tennessee. He did not participate in the Sooy Smith campaign of February 1864, having been left in Central Mississippi; but under the command of Colonel J. J. Neely, who succeeded Richardson as brigade commander on March 9, he took part in Forrest's campaign in West Tennessee and Kentucky in March and April, the campaign was highlighted by the capture of Fort Pillow. At the conclusion of that campaign his career came to a sudden end near the scene of some of his greatest triumphs.

On May 2 Forrest closed his headquarters at Jackson, Tennessee, sent his long trains southward to Corinth, and moved with most of his command, including Street's men, to Bolivar. There he skirmished with an expedition sent from Memphis under the command of General Samuel D. Sturgis, and bivouacked a few miles south of the town. While Street was riding into the camp, a young soldier named Robert Galloway shot him, inflicting a mortal wound. Years later Galloway related that Street's band had killed his father for the purpose of robbing him, but had been

³⁶ The movements of Forrest during this period are taken from Robert S. Henry, *First with the Most Forrest*, 203-216.

³⁷ *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. XXXII, pt. 2, 614.

³⁸ *A.G.O.*, Sol Street File.

frightened away before they found his money; another version, told by members of the Street family, is that Street had burned Galloway's cotton to keep it from falling into Federal hands. But whatever the facts were, young Galloway—he was only sixteen years old—enlisted in the Confederate army and when Street was pointed out to him by a friend during the fighting at Bolivar, lost no time in taking his revenge. He escaped after the shooting, but was captured and taken before Forrest, who in a towering rage told him that a drumhead court martial would see that he was shot at sunrise. He managed, however, to escape during the night and made his way to the Union lines at Memphis. After the war he moved to Illinois.³⁹

So ended the career of Sol Street, who operated on a small scale and in a comparatively obscure theatre of war, but who was yet one of the most successful and most feared of the Confederate partisan commanders.

³⁹ Private Hubbard's Notes, in Robert S. Henry, ed., *As They Saw Forrest*, 156-157.

Awards Presented at the 2016 Mississippi Historical Society Annual Meeting



Charles Gray (left) of Bay St. Louis receives the Dunbar Rowland Award from MHS board member Marco Giardino (right).

The Mississippi Historical Society held its annual meeting March 3–5, 2016, in Jackson to honor its award winners and offer presentations on preserving and interpreting Mississippi history from the points of view of representatives of two professions—archivists and historians. Topics included the Civil War and civil rights, twentieth century Mississippi, and research in the digital age. The society’s award for the best Mississippi history book of 2015 went to Justin Behrend, State University of New York at Geneseo, for his work *Reconstructing Democracy: Grassroots Black Politics in the Deep South After the Civil War* published by the University of Georgia Press. The McLemore Prize includes a \$700 cash award. “Justin Behrend’s *Reconstructing Democracy* is a deeply researched and original examination of an important topic: the biracial and bipartisan politics of the Natchez District in the decade after the Civil War,” said Charles Bolton, University of North Carolina at Greensboro history professor and chair of the McLemore Prize committee. Bolton further stated, “Bringing to life the stories of unknown or little-known black men who held political office in this area during Reconstruction, Behrend brilliantly demonstrates both the promise of black emancipation and the white backlash to black freedom.”

Charles Gray of Bay St. Louis received the Dunbar Rowland Award for

his lifelong contributions to the preservation, study, and interpretation of Mississippi history. Gray is the longtime executive director of the Hancock County Historical Society (HCHS) and has been a member of the society since the early 1980s. He has also served on the Hancock County Historic Preservation Board and the Mississippi Historical Society's board of directors. Gray was instrumental in the acquisition of the Loblano House, the documentation of local cemeteries and historic properties in Hancock County, and the digitization of the HCHS photograph collection. Gray was named Citizen of the Year for Hancock County by the local Chamber of Commerce in 1999, and as a result of his leadership, HCHS received the Mississippi Historical Society's Frank E. Everett, Jr. Award in 2010 for its outstanding contributions to the preservation and interpretation of local history.

Ocean Springs High School teacher Lamenda Hase received the John K. Bettersworth Award that is presented to an outstanding middle or high school history teacher. Hase has taught U.S. history, world geography, and advanced placement courses. She received her bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Southern Mississippi. The Bettersworth Award includes a \$300 cash award. James C. Giesen, Mississippi State University associate professor of history, received the 2016 Mississippi History Now Prize for his article, "The Truth About the Boll Weevil."

The Elbert R. Hilliard Oral History Award was presented to Mississippi State University Libraries for their exemplary digital oral history project "A Shaky Truce: Starkville Civil Rights Struggles, 1960–1980." The Oral History Award includes a \$300 cash award. The Bolivar County Historical Society received the Frank E. Everett, Jr. Award for its outstanding contributions to the preservation and interpretation of local history. The Everett Award carries a \$300 cash award. Telisha Dionne Bailey won the Franklin L. Riley Prize for her doctoral dissertation "Please Don't Forget about Me': African American Women, Mississippi, and the History of Crime and Punishment in Parchman Prison, 1890–1980," which she completed for her Ph.D. in history from the University of Mississippi. The Riley Prize is awarded biennially as merited and carries a \$500 cash award.

Ruth Poe White, a University of Kentucky graduate student, won the Glover Moore Prize for the best master's thesis dealing with a subject related to Mississippi history or biography. Poe completed her thesis, "A Tale of Two Cities: Vicksburg and Natchez, Mississippi, during the American Civil War," for her master's degree at the University of Southern Mississippi. The Moore Prize is awarded biennially as merited and carries a \$300 cash award.



Telisha Dionne Bailey received the Franklin L. Riley Prize from Trent Brown of Missouri S&T for her doctoral dissertation, “‘Please Don’t Forget about Me’: African American Women, Mississippi, and the History of Crime and Punishment in Parchman Prison, 1890–1980,” which she completed for her Ph.D. in history from the University of Mississippi.

Awards of Merit were presented to Wilma Mosley Clopton of Jackson for her documentary film projects highlighting the significant contributions of African Americans in Mississippi; Herb Power of Canton for his volunteer service overseeing the maintenance of the historic Old Madison County Jail and grounds; and William “Brother” Rogers of Starkville for his photographic documentation of historical markers in Mississippi and development of the website www.mississippimarkers.com.

Organizations receiving Awards of Merit included the City of Clinton for its documentation and commemoration of the 1875 Clinton riot and massacre; Department of History, Political Science, and Geography at the Mississippi University for Women for its documentation and commemoration of the 1966 integration of the school; the Mississippi Department of Archives and History and the Southern Documentary Project, an Institute of the Center for the Study of Southern Culture at the University of Mississippi, for their production of the documentary film *50 Years and Forward: The Voting Rights Act in Mississippi*; and the Tupelo Convention and Visitors Bureau for its Heritage Trails historical marker program interpreting the Chickasaw, Civil War, and civil rights history of Lee County.



Wilma Mosley Clopton receives an Award of Merit from MHS board member Marco Giardino for her historical documentaries about African American history in Mississippi.



The Elbert R. Hilliard Oral History Award was presented to Mississippi State University Libraries for their exemplary digital oral history project “A Shaky Truce: Starkville Civil Rights Struggles, 1960–1980.”

Program of the 2016 Mississippi Historical Society Annual Meeting

*by Brother Rogers,
2016 MHS Program Committee Chair*

The Mississippi Historical Society (MHS) held its annual meeting March 3-5, 2016, at the historic King Edward Hotel (Hilton Garden Inn) in Jackson. The program began on Thursday, March 3, with a meeting of representatives of the Federation of Mississippi Historical Societies, followed by a late afternoon reception at the Mississippi Governor's Mansion hosted by Governor Phil Bryant and First Lady Deborah Bryant. Following the welcoming reception, the board of directors gathered at the Fairview Inn for their annual dinner meeting. Afterward, MHS sponsored a hospitality suite at the King Edward Hotel.

The program sessions began on Friday, March 4, with a welcome by three individuals: Elbert Hilliard, secretary-treasurer, MHS and director emeritus, Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH); Katie Blount, director, MDAH; and Dennis Mitchell, president, MHS and division head, Arts & Sciences, Mississippi State University-Meridian.

The morning program featured concurrent sessions on various aspects of Mississippi history. Jason Morgan Ward, associate professor, Mississippi State University (MSU), presented a paper entitled, "There is a Revolution in Mississippi Today: Black Women, Federal Dollars, and White Backlash in the Civil Rights Movement." Charles Westmoreland, assistant professor, Delta State University, spoke about his book, *Southern Pharisees: Prayer, Public Life, and Politics in the South, 1955-1996*. Ann Abadie, associate director emerita, Center for the Study of Southern Culture, University of Mississippi, moderated the session.

Jo Miles-Seely, project coordinator, Mississippi Digital Newspaper Project, MDAH, explained her work archiving the state's newspapers online. Julia Marks Young, director, Archives and Records Services Division, MDAH, showed clips from the documentary, "50 Years and Forward: The Voting Rights Act in Mississippi." Jennifer Brannock, associate professor, University Libraries, University of Southern

Mississippi (USM) and Curator of Rare Books and Mississippiana, McCain Library and Archives, served as the session moderator.

Following the morning break, the next set of concurrent sessions began with University of Mississippi assistant professor Shennette Garrett Scott, who presented a paper on "Everything that is Mean, Damnable, and Cursed: Minnie Geddings Cox, the Indianola Affair, and the Uses of the Past." Kasey Mosely, a Ph.D. candidate at MSU, read her paper, "Cotton Isn't King Anymore: Mississippi Press Women, the 1958 and 1977 National Conventions, and the Reimagining of Mississippi's Identity." Daphne Chamberlain, assistant professor of history, Tougaloo College, presided over the session.

In addition, Jo Miles-Seely of MDAH, moderated a three-person panel. USM associate professor Jennifer Brannock and Andrew P. Haley, associate professor of American cultural history, USM, and author of *Turning the Tables: Restaurants and the Rise of the American Middle Class*, together presented their work to collect and digitize community cookbooks from Mississippi. Kevin Greene, co-director, Center for Oral History and Cultural Heritage, USM, gave a presentation on the center's work and the Mississippi Oral History Project.

Victoria Bynum, distinguished professor emerita of history, Texas State University-San Marcos, delivered the keynote address at lunch on her book, *The Free State of Jones: Mississippi's Longest Civil War*. The movie *The Free State of Jones* was scheduled for release on June 24, 2016, making her presentation timely. Brother Rogers, vice president, MHS, introduced Dr. Bynum. K. C. Morrison, professor and head of the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, Mississippi State University, delivered the invocation. The MHS annual business meeting followed the luncheon.

Attendees had a choice for two afternoon tours in Jackson. Both the Eudora Welty House at 1119 Pinehurst Street and the Medgar Evers Home at 2332 Margaret Walker Alexander Drive hosted visitors. Hinds Community College provided complimentary bus transportation to the Evers Home. Afterward, the president's reception, sponsored by the MSU Department of History, and the annual banquet were held at the King Edward Hotel.

For the first time, the winner of the McLemore Prize for the best book written on Mississippi history was the featured speaker at the banquet. Justin Behrend, associate professor of history, State University of New York at Geneseo, won the McLemore Prize for his book, *Reconstructing*



Author Victoria Bynum (left) signing copies of her book, *The Free State of Jones*

Democracy: Grassroots Black Politics in the Deep South after the Civil War. Former McLemore Prize winner Charles C. Bolton, professor and chair of the Department of History, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, presented the award to Dr. Behrend. Aubrey K. Lucas, former president of both the University of Southern Mississippi and the Mississippi Historical Society, delivered the invocation.

On Saturday, March 5, the first program session featured student research papers from members of Phi Alpha Theta, the national history honor society. Anna Gray of Mississippi College, Sophie Lipman of Millsaps College, and James Theres, graduate student, Jackson State University, all made presentations. Christian Pinnen, assistant professor of history, Mississippi College, organized the students' participation and served as moderator.

The final program segment focused on the history of the King Edward Hotel and downtown Jackson. Presenters were Toby G. Bates, associate professor of history, MSU-Meridian, Kenneth H. P'Pool, deputy state historic preservation officer, MDAH, and Todd Sanders, architectural historian, MDAH.

Dennis J. Mitchell, president, MHS, presided over the awards luncheon. Anne Lipscomb Webster, retired director of reference services, MDAH, delivered the invocation. Incoming president Brother Rogers, associate director, John C. Stennis Center for Public Service, adjourned the meeting.

The following members of the program committee deserve thanks for an outstanding job: Toby Bates, Jennifer Ford, Velvelyn Foster, Jeanne Lockett, K. C. Morrison, and Stuart Rockoff. In addition, secretary-treasurer Elbert Hilliard and the staff at MDAH are to be commended for helping organize and implement the many details that made the annual meeting a success.

**MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL
BUSINESS MEETING
MARCH 4, 2016**

The annual business meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society was held at 2:00 p.m. on Friday, March 4, 2016, at the historic King Edward Hotel/Hilton Garden Inn, Jackson, Mississippi. Dennis J. Mitchell, president, Mississippi Historical Society, called the meeting to order and presided.

Elbert R. Hilliard, secretary-treasurer, acted as secretary for the meeting. Sherry Norwood, accountant specialist senior, Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH), recorded the minutes.

The following business was transacted:

I. The secretary-treasurer moved that the minutes of the March 6, 2015, annual business meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society be approved as distributed. The motion was seconded by Al Hollingsworth and unanimously approved.

II. The secretary-treasurer presented for the information of the members the following financial report for the year ending December 31, 2015:

BANK BALANCES

As of December 31, 2015

Regions Bank

Heritage of Mississippi Series	44,932.12
Daily Interest Operating Account	

Trustmark National Bank

Halsell Prize Endowment Certificate of Deposit Due February 29, 2016(.450%)	8,249.73
Certificate of Deposit Due September 2, 2016(.450%)	11,844.67
Certificate of Deposit Due October 10, 2016(.499%)	5,250.00
Certificate of Deposit Life Membership Account Due September 26, 2016(.450%)	45,970.77
Glover Moore Prize Fund Certificate of Deposit Due November 8, 2016(.450%)	10,949.56
John K. Bettersworth Award Fund Certificate of Deposit Due April 24, 2016(.450%)	4,135.25
Mississippi Historical Society Daily Interest Operating Account	41,546.45
Mississippi History NOW Adine Lampton Wallace Endowment Certificate of Deposit Due February 14, 2016(.450%)	14,951.48
Frank E. Everett, Jr., Award Certificate of Deposit Due September 26, 2016 (.450%)	3,704.30

BanCorpSouth Bank

Mississippi History NOW	6,292.07
Money Market Account	

Community Trust Bank

Elbert R. Hilliard Oral History Award	4,184.01
Certificate of Deposit	
Due March 4, 2016(.400%)	

Heritage of Mississippi Series	20,310.58
Money Market Account	

William E. Atkinson Civil War History	11,110.09
Award Endowment	
Money Market Account	

TOTAL	\$233,331.08
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Restricted	\$128,719.19
Unrestricted	\$104,611.89

Operating Account
 Summary Report
 1/1/2015 through 12/31/2015

INCOME

Annual Meeting	12,699.39
Bettsworth Award Contributions	610.55
Donations	
Atkinson MS Civil War History Award	2,450.00
Everett Award CD	1,400.00
General Fund CD	50.00
Glover Moore Prize Fund CD	50.00
Miscellaneous Contributions	40.00
Interest Earned	279.72
Membership Dues:	
College	300.00
Contributing	4,450.00

Corporate	2,600.00
Federation	510.00
Gift	120.00
Joint	2,905.00
Lifetime Memberships	2,500.00
Patron	600.00
Single	9,825.00
Student	20.00
Supporting	1,425.00
Total Membership	<u>25,255.00</u>

TOTAL INCOME **42,834.66**

EXPENSES

Accounting Fees	1,800.00
Annual Meeting Expenses	11,370.78
Atkinson Award-Transfer to Money Market Acct	5,850.00
Atkinson Award	200.00
Bank Charges	72.76
Bettsworth Award	651.30
Contributions –	
Foundation for Mississippi History	500.00
Elbert R. Hilliard Oral History Award	300.00
Everett Award Contributions -	
Transfer to CD	1,400.00
General Fund Contributions –	
Transfer to CD	50.00
Glover Moore Prize – Transfer to CD	50.00
Grant Awards –	
Junior Historical Society	1,000.00
Halsell Prize	200.00
Honoraria –	
History is Lunch Lecture Series	300.00
Journal of Mississippi History	7,259.79
Lifetime Membership –	
Transfer to CD	3,200.00
McLemore Prize	700.00
Miscellaneous Expense –	

Bus Transportation for MDAH Teacher Workshop	425.00
Office Expense	299.60
Postage	975.00
Web Page Design	<u>106.34</u>
TOTAL EXPENSES	36,059.27
TRANSFERS	
From 2014 Operating Account	<u>34,771.06</u>
OVERALL TOTAL	41,546.45

MISSISSIPPI HISTORY NOW

Summary Report

1/1/2015 through 12/31/2015

INCOME	
Donations	4,230.00
Grants –	
Department of Archives & History	10,000.00
Mississippi Humanities Council	2,750.00
Interest Earned	<u>.78</u>
TOTAL INCOME	16,980.78
EXPENSES	
Annual Meeting Expense	97.01
Authors' Fees	1,250.00
Digital Copies	28.00
Lesson Plans	1,500.00
Professional Fees	<u>15,000.00</u>
TOTAL EXPENSES	17,875.01
TRANSFERS	
From 2014 Mississippi History NOW Account	<u>7,186.30</u>
OVERALL TOTAL	6,292.07

The secretary-treasurer thanked Sherry Norwood for her assistance in preparing the financial statements and in maintaining the Society's membership and financial records. He concluded his report by emphasizing the need for continued financial support for *Mississippi History Now*.

III. The president expressed his appreciation to the members of the Local Arrangements Committee: Elizabeth Coleman, co-chair; Diane Mattox, co-chair; Timothy Davis, Laney Grantham, Elbert R. Hilliard, Larry Johnson, Rita Johnson, Sherry Norwood, and Trey Porter for their outstanding work in planning and organizing the annual meeting.

Dr. Mitchell also expressed appreciation to the members of the Program Committee: William "Brother" Rogers, chair; Toby Bates, Jennifer Ford, Velvelyn Foster, Jeanne Luckett, K. C. Morrison, and Stuart Rockoff; and to the staff members of the Department of Archives and History who assist the Society: Sherry Norwood, Chris Goodwin, and Stephenie Morrisey.

IV. The president expressed thanks to the following individuals for their generous financial support in helping fund the 2016 annual meeting: Marshall Bennett, Jackson; David R. Bowen, Jackson; Eley Guild Hardy Architects, P. A., Jackson; Claire and Elbert Hilliard, Madison; Rita and Larry Johnson, Madison; and the Mississippi State University Department of History.

V. Dr. Mitchell recognized and expressed appreciation to the following individuals who were completing their three-year terms of service on the board of directors of the society: Daphne R. Chamberlain, Thomas D. Cockrell, Marco Giardino, E. Avery Rollins, Susannah J. Ural, and Charles R. Westmoreland, Jr.

VI. Dr. John Marszalek, chair, Publications Committee, presented the following report:

The Publications Committee for the *Heritage of Mississippi Series* consists of Governor William F. Winter, Dr. John F. Marszalek, Dr. Dernoral Davis, Elbert Hilliard, Hank Holmes, Peggy Jeanes, Dr. William Scarborough, Dr. Charles Reagan Wilson, and Chrissy Wilson.

Several of our members are now in retired status, so we will have to work with incoming president Brother Rogers to discuss the make-up of the committee in the future.

As of this time, through the cooperation of the Mississippi Historical Society and the University Press of Mississippi, the following volumes have been published: Patti Carr Black's volume on art; Dr. Randy Sparks's volume on religion; Dr. Stephen Cresswell's volume on 1877-1917; Dr. Michael Ballard's volume on the military history of the Civil War; Dr. Timothy Smith's volume on the Civil War home front; and James Barnett's book on Native Americans.

We have other authors under contract who are working on their manuscripts:

Dr. Connie Lester of the University of Central Florida has continued work on her Mississippi Economic history volume. Her working title is "Making Do: Poverty, History, and the American Economy in the Twentieth Century." Despite her heavy teaching and professional load, she expects to have her manuscript completed by the end of 2017.

Dr. Chester "Bo" Morgan of the University of Southern Mississippi has been delayed in the completion of his 1917-1945 volume for many years because of other commitments. He has reported that he has written eight chapters and hopes to have the entire book in manuscript by the end of the year.

Jere Nash, the driving force behind the Mississippi Literary Festival, is receiving the advice of Dr. William Harris of North Carolina State University, on his Reconstruction manuscript. He says that "I will be a shell of my former self by July, but I am moving heaven and earth" to make a deadline of summer 2016 for 2017 publication.

Dr. Max Grivno of the University of Southern Mississippi has a draft of 200 pages on his slavery in Mississippi manuscript. He believes he will have the manuscript completed by the spring of 2016. "Excited by the progress," he says.

Mike Bunn now of Historic Blakeley State Park in Alabama and Clay Williams of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History indicate that, despite their "day jobs," they have made real progress on their manuscript dealing with frontier Mississippi, 1800-1840. They are determined to have their

manuscript completed by 2017 and believe they are on track to do that.

Lori Watkins Fulton of William Carey College is editor of the multi-author history of Mississippi literature. She and her authors have the manuscript completed, and the manuscript has been favorably evaluated by two outside readers. Two authors are still revising their chapters, but she will have the manuscript ready for publication and to us by the summer of 2016.

Charles Weeks and Christian Pinnen have completed three chapters of their Mississippi Colonial History volume plus a number of others well underway. They hope to have the entire manuscript ready by this summer of 2016 and the manuscript ready for publication by the May 2017 deadline. Charles is retired, but Christian is carrying a heavy load at Mississippi College because of the retirement of two senior professors in the History Department.

Thus we have seven volumes with authors under contract, and we are optimistic that their progress will result in publication soon.

Volumes yet to be assigned an author remain the following four: the pre-Civil War years (1840-1860), the Jim Crow era, the Civil Rights era, and World War II.

There is no way that we can have the entire series completed by Mississippi's bicentennial year, but we believe that we can have a representative number in press.

Please contact us with any suggestions for possible authors of the remaining volumes.

VII. Melissa Janczewski Jones, editor, *Mississippi History Now*, presented the following report:

Thank you to the officers and Board of Directors of the Mississippi Historical Society (MHS) for giving me the opportunity to provide you with an update on Mississippi History Now (MHN).

MHN successfully completed its re-launch year with the publication of six new articles between December 1, 2014, and September 30, 2015. I am happy to report that the Mississippi Humanities Council renewed our annual \$3,000.00 grant for the 2015-2016 publication season, and we are currently

working on six new articles and lesson plans, which we plan to have published prior to November 30 of this year. This year's proposed articles and authors are: "Joseph Emory Davis: a Mississippi Planter Patriarch" by Dr. Lynda Lasswell Crist, former director and editor of *The Papers of Jefferson Davis* at Rice University; "The 1964 Mississippi Freedom Schools" by Dr. William Sturkey, assistant professor of history at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; "The Story of Gilbert Metz: The Last Survivor of Auschwitz in Mississippi" by Kay Metz, history teacher at Clinton Junior High School; "The Life of Blewitt Lee" by Dr. James Giesen and Whit Waide, professors of history and political science, respectively, at Mississippi State University; "Beauvoir's Veterans and their Wives" by Dr. Susannah Ural, professor of history, University of Southern Mississippi; and "Religion in Mississippi During the Great Depression" by Dr. Alison Collis Greene, assistant professor of history at Mississippi State University.

Karla Smith continues to prepare the MHN lesson plans, and Dr. Deanne Nuwer continues to serve as the site's historical consultant. Chris Goodwin is currently serving as the site's webmaster in the absence of an IT Director at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH). Due to some software incompatibility following a recent system upgrade at MDAH, MHN is currently unable to publish new content to the website. However, Chris Goodwin and the technology department at MDAH are working to address the problem. In the meantime, we are continuing to prepare the upcoming articles according to schedule so that we are ready to publish new content as soon as the software issues are resolved.

Traffic to the MHN site remains steady topping 2,000 each month. Our number of Facebook page followers has grown to more than 650.

Again, thank you for allowing me to serve as your editor. As always, I eagerly welcome all of your comments and suggestions.

VIII. Avery Rollins, chair, Membership Committee, presented the following membership report as of December 31, 2015:

Contributing	87
Corporate	31
Exchange	26
Gift	77
Honorary	6
Joint	115
Life	171
Single	614
Student	5
Supporting	20
College	29
Federation	51
Patron	4

TOTAL CURRENT MEMBERSHIP 1,236

Mr. Rollins stated that he had enjoyed his tenure as a member of the Society's board and chair of the Membership committee. He stressed that the commitment to find ways to encourage involvement in the Society by African Americans and young people should continue and challenged the members of future Membership committees to explore new ways of recruiting members.

IX. On behalf of Lucy Allen, chair, Meeting Sites Committee, the secretary-treasurer reported that the Society's 2017 annual meeting will be held in Gulfport and that the 2018 meeting would be held in Jackson. He further reported that the Society's board of directors had voted at its meeting on Thursday evening, March 3 to accept the Meeting Sites Committee's recommendation that the 2019 meeting be held in Natchez.

X. On behalf of Ann Atkinson Simmons, chair, Resolutions Committee, the secretary-treasurer presented the following resolutions:

RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE

WHEREAS, Jack Raymond Reed, Sr. departed this life on January 27, 2016; and

WHEREAS, a native of Tupelo, at age eighteen, Reed enlisted in the United States Army and was assigned to the U.S. Army Intelligence Corps, stationed in Australia and occupied Japan; and

WHEREAS, Reed received a bachelor's degree from Vanderbilt University and a master's degree from New York University; and

WHEREAS, in 1950 Reed married the former Frances Camille Purvis of Corinth and had four children: Jack Raymond Reed Jr., Frances Camille Reed Sloan, Catherine Dale Reed Mize, and George Scott Reed; and

WHEREAS, Reed was elected President of the Mississippi Retail Merchants Association in 1966; and

WHEREAS, while living in Tupelo, Reed began a life-long commitment to community service, supporting many local organizations in Tupelo and North-East Mississippi, culminating with being chosen Tupelo's Outstanding Citizen in 1975; and

WHEREAS, Reed served as chairman of Governor William F. Winter's 1982 Blue Ribbon Committee on Education; and

WHEREAS, in 1987 Reed was the Republican nominee for Governor of Mississippi; and

WHEREAS, Reed was appointed by President George H. W. Bush as the Chairman of the National Advisory Council on Education; and

WHEREAS Reed was a longtime member and ardent supporter of the Mississippi Historical Society and Mississippi History Now;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Mississippi Historical Society, assembled on March 4, 2016, in Jackson, Mississippi, mourns the death of Jack Raymond Reed, Sr. and expresses its sympathy to his family.

RESOLUTION OF COMMENDATION

WHEREAS, the Mississippi Historical Society is aware that the Local Arrangements Committee, co-chaired by Elizabeth Coleman and Diane Mattox, and the Program Committee, chaired by William “Brother” Rogers, invested a considerable amount of time, thought, and effort in planning the 2016 meeting of the Society in Corinth; and

WHEREAS, the Local Arrangements Committee succeeded in hosting an enlightening, entertaining, and memorable annual meeting; and

WHEREAS, the Program Committee succeeded in planning informative and scholarly meeting sessions;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED by the Mississippi Historical Society, assembled on March 4, 2016, in Jackson, Mississippi, that the Local Arrangements Committee and Program Committee be officially recognized and commended for their splendid efforts.

The president asked if there were any other resolutions. There being no resolutions from the floor, Dr. Mitchell’s motion to adopt the aforementioned resolutions was seconded by Donna Dye and unanimously approved.

XI. Ann Abadie, chair, Nominations Committee, thanked Michael Ballard, Katie Blount, Robert Luckett, and Charles Westmoreland for serving on the committee and reported that the committee recommended the following slate of officers and board members:

Officers for the term 2016-2017

President – William “Brother” Rogers, Stennis
Center for Public Service, Starkville

Vice President – Susannah J. Ural, University of
Southern Mississippi

Secretary-Treasurer – Elbert R. Hilliard, Director
Emeritus, Department of Archives and History

Board of Directors for the term 2016-2019

Marshall Bennett, Jackson
Rolando Herts, Delta State University
Otis W. Pickett, Mississippi College
Brian A. Pugh, Brandon
Alysia Burton Steele, University of Mississippi
Mona Vance-Ali, Columbus

For the unexpired term 2016-2017

David Slay, Vicksburg

Board of Publications for the term 2016-2019

Robert Fleegler, University of Mississippi
William Parrish, Mississippi State University

The president asked if there were any other nominations. There being no nominations from the floor, Jim Miller moved that the aforementioned slate of nominees be accepted by acclamation. The motion was seconded by John Marszalek and unanimously approved.

XII. Katie Blount, director, Department of Archives and History, distributed and commented briefly on the following written report highlighting some of MDAH's accomplishments during the past year:

I am pleased to be here with my dear friends in the Mississippi Historical Society. I have worked with the Society now for twenty years, under Mr. Hilliard's steady guidance. I look forward to continuing the strong partnership between the Society and the Department of Archives and History.

Two Mississippi Museums

I am pleased to report that the 2MM construction project is on track. The building shell was completed in fall 2015, and work has begun on interior construction. Then exhibits will be installed, and the museums will open in December 2017 as the centerpiece of the bicentennial of Mississippi's statehood. This is the most significant public building project underway in Mississippi and the first state-operated civil rights museum in the nation.

We are also on track with the fundraising. The Mississippi Legislature has required that MDAH raise a dollar-for-dollar match

for the cost of the exhibits. The Foundation for Mississippi History has raised over \$13.3 million to date. The Foundation recently launched the campaign's public phase at the Mississippi Economic Council's annual Capital Day event.

We are working now to secure the rest of the public funds — an estimated \$16 million for furnishings/equipment and exhibit fabrication/installation — to complete the project, and just under \$1,000,000 for twenty-four staff positions needed for the museums. We have had dozens of conversations with legislators about the project and have been very encouraged by the response. We welcome your help in conveying to our public officials the importance of the project.

We are working with partners, including the Mississippi Development Authority's Visit Mississippi, the Mississippi Tourism Association, and convention & visitors bureaus to launch a major marketing initiative to put the museums on the map and to lift the profile of our current sites and other tourist attractions across the state. The Two Museums will be a boost to the entire tourism industry in Mississippi.

Legislative Agenda

We are seeking funding to establish career ladders for our employees to help address the longstanding problem of salaries at MDAH that are not competitive. The Department's outstanding and dedicated staff members deserve to be fairly compensated.

The legislature authorized a Community Heritage Preservation grant round for 2015, and in December the Board of Trustees awarded over \$3 million to twenty-two preservation and restoration projects. We are optimistic that we will have another Community Heritage Preservation Grant round in 2016.

Other News

MDAH recently completed the first cycle of the NEH-funded Mississippi Digital Newspaper Project and has begun work on a second cycle. So far over 104,000 pages have been mounted on the Library of Congress website "Chronicling America."

Biloxi native Randy Randazzo recently donated over 4,300 postcards and 751 negatives depicting the Gulf Coast and south Mississippi—the premier image collection of the Coast.

In June 2016, we will complete inventories of pre-1920 records in all county courthouses.

Historic Sites

We are working every day to maintain and improve our historic sites.

Major repairs are underway at Historic Jefferson College—new roofs, structural stabilization, and improved drainage.

At Winterville Mounds in partnership with the Delta Council, work has begun on a series of landscape improvements. We are especially indebted to Chip Morgan, executive director, Delta Council, for his support and assistance.

We are about to begin exterior repairs to the Manship House visitor center and plan to have limited operating hours once work is completed.

We are grateful to Governor Phil Bryant and First Lady Deborah Bryant for their generous hospitality and extraordinary commitment to preserving and maintaining the Governor's Mansion.

We are indebted to members of the Mississippi legislature and Liz Welch, secretary, Mississippi Senate, for their leadership and commitment to preserving the architectural integrity of the State Capitol.

Finally, if you're in Jackson on Wednesdays at noon, please join us for our popular "History Is Lunch" speaker series.

I know you all keep up with us through the Mississippi History Newsletter and our website. Please feel free to call me anytime for an update. We are grateful to all of you for your interest in Mississippi history and your leadership in the Mississippi Historical Society.

XIII. In the matter of other business, and in response to Ken Shearer's question about the Society's participation in the 200th anniversary of Mississippi's Statehood in 2017, the secretary-treasurer reported that the Department of Archives and History is actively involved in planning the bicentennial celebration. He further reported that MDAH will be coordinating the display of the 20-star flag and the 1817 Constitution at various sites throughout the state and that the dedication and opening of the 2 Mississippi Museums in December 2017 constitutes what the state's current legislative body considers one of its most important contributions to the state's bicentennial celebration.

The secretary-treasurer further reported that the Federation of Mississippi Historical Societies will be launching a project to encourage local historical societies to collect photographs pertaining to their

respective communities and partner with MDAH to digitally archive the photos.

Marshall Bennett suggested that consideration be given to the issuance of a medallion commemorating the bicentennial anniversary, as was done for the sesquicentennial of Mississippi Statehood.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned by the president.

Dennis J. Mitchell
President

Elbert R. Hilliard
Secretary-Treasurer

A Bibliography of Dissertations Relating to Mississippi – 2016

Compiled by Jennifer Ford

It is hoped this compilation of doctoral dissertations that *The Journal of Mississippi History* provides to its readers helps scholars, students, and the general public to be aware of current scholarship in graduate schools on Mississippi history, culture, and literature.

Barringer, Whitney. “The Corruption of Promise: The Insane Asylum in Mississippi, 1848-1910.” Ph.D., The University of Mississippi, 2016.

Carey, Thomas John. “The Design of the Southern Future: The Struggle to Build White Democracy at the University of Mississippi, 1890-1948.” Ph.D., The University of Mississippi, 2016.

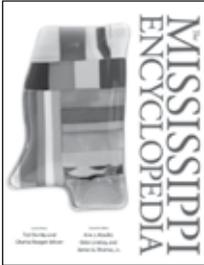
Faulkenbury, T. Evan. “Poll Power: The Voter Education Project and the Financing of the Civil Rights Movement, 1961-1992.” Ph.D., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2016.

Fielder, Elizabeth. “The Radical South: Grassroots Activism, Ethnicity, and Literary Form, 1960-1980.” Ph.D., The University of Mississippi, 2016.

Jeter-Bennett, Gisell. “‘We’re Going Too!’ The Children of the Birmingham Civil Rights Movement.” Ph.D., The Ohio State University, 2016.

JENNIFER FORD is the head of the Department of Archives and Special Collections at the University of Mississippi’s J. D. Williams Library.

- Kraszewski, Gracjan. "Dogma and Dixie: Roman Catholics and the Southern Confederacy During the American Civil War." Ph.D., Mississippi State University, 2016.
- Lamkin, Cynthia Loren. "Perceptions of Segregation, Desegregation, and Integration from Burglund High School Students in McComb, Mississippi." Ph.D., The University of Southern Mississippi, 2016.
- Leedy, Katy L. "Discarding Dreams and Legends: The Short Fiction of Elizabeth Madox Roberts, Flannery O'Connor, Katherine Anne Porter, and Eudora Welty." Ph.D., Marquette University, 2016.
- McNamara, Sarah. "From Picket Lines to Picket Fences: Latinas and the Remaking of the Jim Crow South, 1930-1964." Ph.D., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2016.
- Nelson, Erin Stevens. "Community Identity in the Late Prehistoric Yazoo Basin: The Archaeology of Parchman Place, Coahoma County, Mississippi." Ph.D., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2016.
- Piper, W. Brian. "Cameras at Work: African American Studio Photographers and the Business of Everyday Life, 1900-1970." Ph.D., The College of William and Mary, 2016. Note: Includes commentary about the photographic work of Ernest Withers.
- Sims, Katrina Rochelle. "'Take the Mountain': The International Order of Twelve Knights and Daughters of Tabor and the Black Health Care Initiative in the Mississippi Delta, 1938-1983." Ph.D., The University of Mississippi, 2016.
- Shaw, Danielle Nicole. "Mad Men, Playboys, and Hipsters: White Masculinity in Postwar U.S. Film and Literature." Ph.D., University of California, Davis, 2016. Note: Includes references to the work of Richard Wright.
- Williams, Tyler Mason. "Politics of Dust: 'Faulkner' and the Legacy of Difference." Ph.D., State University of New York at Buffalo, 2016.



The Mississippi Encyclopedia

Senior editors Ted Ownby and Charles Reagan Wilson
Associate editors Ann J. Abadie, Odie Lindsey, and James G. Thomas, Jr.
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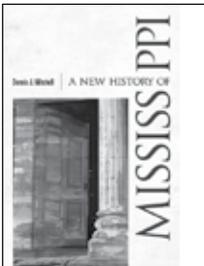
Telling Our Stories
Museum of Mississippi History and Mississippi Civil Rights Museum

Mississippi Department of Archives and History
The definitive guide to two state-of-the-art museums—the Museum of Mississippi History and the Mississippi Civil Rights Museum, which both opened in December 2017, in celebration of the state's bicentennial
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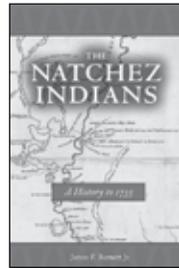
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The Editor, SoQ

118 College Drive #5078

Hattiesburg, MS 39406

SouthernQuarterly@gmail.com



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NOTE TO PROSPECTIVE CONTRIBUTORS

Initial submissions should be made to editor Dennis J. Mitchell, dmitchell@meridian.msstate.edu or P.O. Box 571, Jackson, MS 39205-0571. Preferred manuscript length is 25–40 pages (double-spaced), exclusive of footnotes. The *Journal* encourages the inclusion of illustrations—photographs, drawings, maps, tables—that enhance the essay.

The Chicago Manual of Style (latest edition) should be followed, with some exceptions (primarily dates: the *Journal* prefers “December 1, 1866,” to Chicago’s “1 December 1866”).

For more information contact *Journal of Mississippi History* editor Dennis J. Mitchell at dmitchell@meridian.msstate.edu or 601-479-6293.