The *Journal* of MISSISSIPPI HISTORY

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COVER IMAGE — J. Mack Moore, from the photograph collection of the Old Court House Museum, Vicksburg, Mississippi. Original photographer not known.

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Photographic Documentation of Brierfield: "The House Jeff Built"

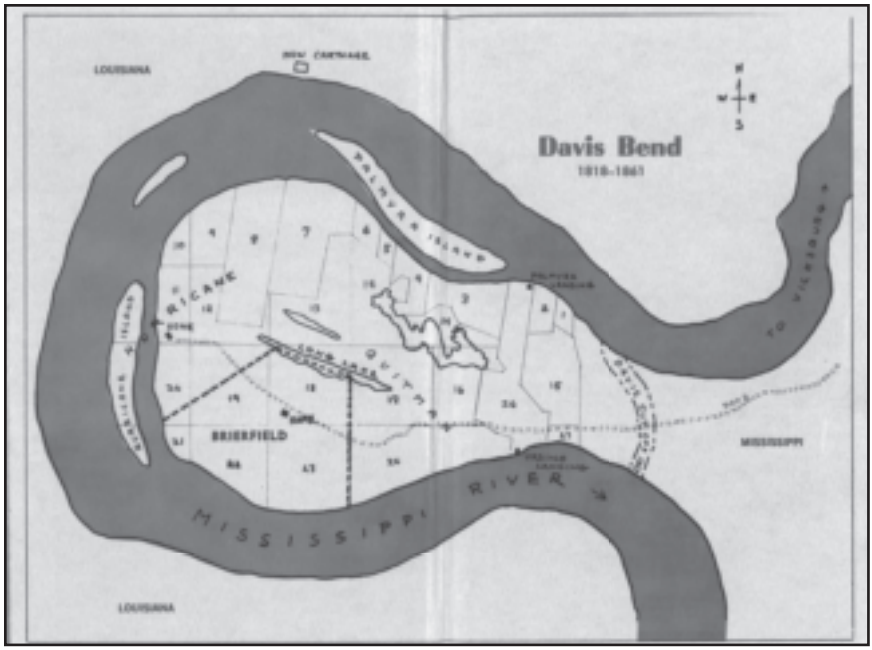
by Gary McQuarrie and Brooks C. Place

Brierfield was the plantation home of Jefferson Davis located on Davis Bend in Warren County, Mississippi.[1] The eldest brother of Jefferson Davis, Joseph E. Davis, acquired approximately 6,900 acres in the choice western and southern portions of the 11,000-acre peninsula, including the river frontage, in 1818. The river-encircled area of fine cotton land became known to locals as "Davis Bend." The elder Davis sold part of the land to friends such as General John A. Quitman, but reserved to himself 5,280 acres on which to raise cotton. Joseph Davis supposedly "gifted" to his brother approximately 2,320 acres in 1835, probably to settle an indebtedness related to Jefferson's interest in their father's estate. But Joseph never gave Jefferson a deed, which later caused legal problems. Much of the property, which had about two and one-half miles of river frontage, was covered in woods and brambles that required clearing in order to allow eventual cultivation. Jefferson and his new wife, Varina Howell Davis, laughingly referred to it as the "Brierfield," when they first saw it and the name stuck. Enslaved people cleared the property, constructed a home and other buildings, and cultivated cotton over the coming years.

On June 24, 1862, Union soldiers advancing toward Vicksburg made a night landing on Davis Bend, and General Peter J. Osterhaus ordered the burning of Joseph Davis's Hurricane plantation home, destroying the mansion and its contents. Although the Union forces visited Brierfield, they did not set fire to it. The plantation had become disorganized due to flooding and the war. Prior to the raid, Jefferson Davis's parlor furniture, books, and family correspondence had been taken to Joseph Davis's inland farms for safekeeping. During General Ulysses S. Grant's initial thrust for Vicksburg from Memphis early in 1863, Rear Admiral David G. Farragut

[1] Frank Edgar Everett, Jr., *Brierfield: Plantation Home of Jefferson Davis* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1971), 7, 8, 18, 19, 23-27, 75-78, 91, 118, 119.

GARY MCQUARRIE is retired and is managing editor of Civil War Navy—The Magazine. *BROOKS C. PLACE, a native of Francestown, New Hampshire, and a former computer programmer, is the great-great nephew of Dr. George Holmes Bixby. He is an avid history enthusiast of Francestown and the Bixby family.*



Illustrated map of Davis Bend 1818-1861 showing Joseph Davis's plantation and home (Hurricane) opposite Hurricane Island and Jefferson Davis's plantation and home (Brierfield). Inside front cover illustration from Frank E. Everett, Jr. Brierfield: Plantation Home of Jefferson Davis *(Hattiesburg, MS: University and College Press of Mississippi, 1971). Design by Jules B. McKee. Courtesy of University Press of Mississippi (www.upress.state.ms.us).*

had assisted Grant by steaming upriver from the south. On Farragut's approach, the fleet made a landing at David Bend in May, and

> "…sailors from the fleet were allowed on shore and despoiled the plantations of most of their beauty. Everything of value was either carried away or destroyed, and the plantation presented the appearance of having suffered a deluge and tornado at the same time . . . The place will be securely garrisoned by negro troops. Guerillas will not find it to their interest to pay a visit, especially as it is the design to establish there a station for a gunboat to cover our troops in case of an emergency…"[2]

[2] Thomas W. Knox, "What Has Become of Jeff. Davis' Plantation," *New York Herald* (New York, NY), 2, col 2-3, December 28, 1863.

A Vicksburg newspaper reported on July 1, 1863, that Yankees had rifled Brierfield, destroyed all farming implements, as well as household and kitchen furniture, and had defaced the premises. After the fall of Vicksburg on July 4, the Union Army took control of Brierfield and Hurricane for use by the Freedmen's Bureau.

George Holmes Bixby, M.D.: Photographer on the Western Rivers

Along with several staff members from the Wilson's Creek National Battlefield Museum in Missouri, the authors recently confirmed that Dr. George Holmes Bixby (great-great uncle of Brooks C. Place), who served as the chief medical officer aboard the USS *Red Rover*, was an amateur photographer of significant skill who took many photographs of gunboats and other vessels of the Mississippi River Squadron while aboard the Navy's "first hospital ship" from June 1862 until the end of his service in the fall of 1865.[3] Bixby was one of a small group of physicians who were also amateur photographers of the Civil War, the foremost being Dr. Reed D. Bontecou, who photographed surgical procedures and soldiers' wounds for the purpose of educating other physicians.[4] However, Dr. Bixby photographed navy vessels rather than patients. In the four photograph albums assembled by Dr. Bixby that were passed down through his family, there were three photograph prints of Brierfield, 'The House Jeff Built.' With additional analysis and research findings presented below, it became apparent that Dr. Bixby took multiple photographs of the famous plantation home on a single occasion when he visited the Davis plantation to deliver medical supplies and that some of his images of Brierfield are now held by several organizations, including the Library of Congress (Control No. 2014646150, LC-DIG-ppmsca-35099).

George Holmes Bixby was the son of Levi and Mary Bixby. Levi Bixby was serving as American Consulate to Suriname (Dutch Guiana), South America, when George was born on November 2, 1837, in the colony's capital, Paramaribo.[5] Levi sent his children, including George, back to his hometown

[3] Larry Toll, Alan Chilton, Jeffrey Patrick, and Brooks Place, "George Holmes Bixby, M.D., USS *Red Rover*: Photographer on the Western Rivers," *Civil War Navy—The Magazine*, 7:2 (Fall 2019), 4-17.

[4] Stanley B. Burns, *Shooting Soldiers: Civil War Medical Photography By R.B. Bontecou* (New York, NY: Burns Archive Press, an imprint of The Burns Archive, 2011), 8, 18, 34, 35.

[5] W. R. Cochrane and George K. Wood, Genealogies: Bixby. In: *History of Francestown, N.H.: From its Earliest Settlement April, 1758, to January 1, 1891, with a Brief Genealogical Record of all the Francestown Families* (Nashua, NH: Town of Francestown, printed by James H. Barker, 1895), 521-523.

of Francestown, New Hampshire, to live with his brother Paul and to be educated in the Francestown schools. George received his professional education at the Vermont Medical College at Woodstock, Vermont, at Harvard Medical School, and finally the Medical Department of Dartmouth College, where he graduated in 1858 with a medical degree.[6] Subsequently, he traveled to Europe to study gynecology in Paris and Vienna. When news of the American Civil War broke out, Dr. Bixby returned to Boston in January 1862 and immediately offered his medical services to the Western Sanitary Commission. He was first assigned to the large river steamer Empress and soon demonstrated his medical abilities during the transport of casualties and sick soldiers from the Battle of Shiloh. As a result, at the recommendation of the president of the Western Sanitary Commission, Bixby joined the Navy on June 1, 1862, and was appointed as acting assistant surgeon and promptly assigned to the *Red Rover* as the senior medical officer, remaining so throughout the Civil War until his honorable discharge on September 26, 1865.[7] The travels of the *Red Rover* up and down the Mississippi River from Cairo, Illinois, to New Orleans, Louisiana, as part of the Mississippi Squadron are well

Carte de visite photograph of Acting Assistant Surgeon George Holmes Bixby, circa 1862-1865. Courtesy of Mr. Brooks C. Place.

[6] Granville P. Conn, *History of the New Hampshire Surgeons in the War of Rebellion* (Concord, NH: New Hampshire Association of Military Surgeons, printed by Ira C. Evans Company, 1906), 313-315.

[7] fold3.com. *Civil War: Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy from Commanding Officers of Squadrons, Mississippi Squadron*, May 1, 1863 to June 30, 1863, A. W. Pennock, Roll 131, Digital Images, 1, and November 2, 1863 to December 31, 1863, A. W. Pennock, Roll 128, Digital Images, 10. fold3.com. *Civil War: Navy Survivors' Certificates*, Certificate No. 7758, George H. Bixby, Digital Images, 1-107.

documented. Logbooks indicate that the *Red Rover* made at least two visits to the Jefferson Davis plantation: on July 31, 1863, to deliver medicine to the gunboat USS Carondelet and shortly after April 14, 1864, to deliver medical stores and supplies to ships of the squadron at the plantation.[8] Other visits also may have occurred given the ship's frequent travels upriver and downriver.

After the war and later in his life, Dr. Bixby sent copies of some of his gunboat and other photographs to higher-ranking naval officers Rear Admiral Henry A. Walke and Admiral David Dixon Porter, under whom he had served, as gifts and reminiscences of their service together on the Mississippi River. In doing so, Bixby's subtle approach may have been designed to engender support of his Navy pension disability application that is documented in correspondences in his war pension file. Rear Admiral Walke, who had served in the Mississippi Squadron, responded to Dr. Bixby in his letter of November 28, 1892:

> Dear Sir: I have the pleasure of accepting your valuable and acceptable presents as reminiscences of your services in the Navy, during the late war, with your letter and pamphlets, and the excellent photographs taken by yourself, namely: Gunboats of the Mississippi Flotilla, the Carondelet, the Louisville, the Black Hawk, House That Jeff Built, … with an original request from me to you to receive some of the Carondelet's sick crew on board the hospital-steamer *Red Rover*, at Helena, Arkansas, for which please accept my hearty thanks …

Dr. Bixby's photograph albums contained three prints of 'The House Jeff Built.' Details of the home, tree leaf and branch patterns, and ground appearance show that two of these prints are identical to the photograph held by the Library of Congress; the third print is also identical, with the exception that three soldiers are standing on the porch. The first two of Bixby's prints were made from the same glass plate negative. The third print is evidence that Dr. Bixby took at least two photographs that day from the same camera position—the home, tree leaf and branch patterns,

[8] Edward C. Kenney, "From the Log of the *Red Rover* 1862-1865: A History of the First U.S. Navy Hospital Ship," *Missouri Historical Review* 15:1 (October 1965), 31-49.

Jefferson Davis's house, Brierfield, photographed by Dr. George H. Bixby, circa 1863-1864. Photograph taken with no soldiers on the front porch, captured from the same camera position on the same day as the photograph with the three soldiers standing on the porch. Courtesy of Mr. Brooks C. Place.

Jefferson Davis's house, Davis Bend, Mississippi. Albumen print, gift of Colonel Godwin Ordway, 1948. Library of Congress (Control No. 2014646150, LC-DIG-ppmsca-35099).

and ground appearance are identical to those in the first two prints, but there are three soldiers standing on the porch in the third. That print was made in 1892 when its negative had deteriorated and begun flaking (a note in Bixby's album documents the date). Both negatives are lost to history, likely having been discarded or lost at some point by relatives, as his belongings were stored at various locations and passed from relative to relative. Dr. Bixby would have taken these photographs on one of his visits to the plantation, as the 'House That Jeff Built' lettering on the portico would have first appeared after Union occupation of Davis Bend following the surrender of Vicksburg in July 1863 and was still there during the documented July 4, 1864, celebration at the plantation.

Similarly, Alamy, one of the largest companies in the stock photo

Jefferson Davis's house, Brierfield, photographed by Dr. George H. Bixby, circa 1863-1864. Three soldiers are standing on the front porch. Photograph captured from same camera position on the same day as the photograph with no soldiers standing on the porch. Print made from a deteriorating glass-plate negative in 1892. Courtesy of Mr. Brooks C. Place.

industry, offers images that are identical to Dr. Bixby's photograph with no one standing on the porch (same as the Library of Congress image): images MAJWMT ('Gift of John H. Gundlach' written on the back), PB7GB3, M7C07K, and KDEJF8 (images not shown)—M7C07K appears to be a print of poorer quality. In these images, the same details of the home, trees, and ground appearance are identical. None of the Alamy images are credited to a photographer. Interestingly, John H. Gundlach, a St. Louis real estate professional, was the son of Peter Gundlach, who was reportedly a Civil War veteran and became a well-recognized shoe merchant in St. Louis.[9] After the war, the image MAJWMT may have been passed from father to son.

Other Photographs of Brierfield

Other Civil War photographers also took photographs of the Brierfield plantation house. One may have been David P. Barr (widely known as D. P. Barr), who was born in Ohio in 1839 and entered a partnership with J. W. Young around 1863.[10] Barr and Young were Cincinnati photographers who followed Grant and their Ohio regiment to Memphis and Fort Pickering, becoming the official photographers of Fort Pickering during its occupation. After the capture of Vicksburg by Union forces, the two were certainly among the first, if not the first, to establish a gallery in the city.[11] Their work was marked 'Barr & Young, Army Photographers, Palace of Art, Vicksburg.' By June 1864, however, the partnership dissolved, and Barr established the Washington Photograph and Ambrotype Gallery on the third floor of the Odd Fellows Hall on Washington Street in Vicksburg. After the war, Barr was active in Illinois and Kentucky in the 1870s and later in Houston and San Antonio, Texas, from the 1880s until the 1920s.[12]

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[9] Walter Barlow Stevens, *Centennial History of Missouri (The Center State): One Hundred Years in the Union 1820-1921, Volume V* (St. Louis-Chicago, IL.: The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1921), 144-147.

[10] Bob Zeller, *The Blue and Gray in Black and White: A History of Civil War Photography* (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2005), 144.

[11] Jeff Giambrone, "Photographers in Occupied Vicksburg," *Military Images*, 23:4 (January/February 2002), 13-16.

[12] Shannon Thomas Perich, *The Changing Face of Portrait Photography: From Daguerreotype to Digital* (Washington, DC: National Museum of American History in association with the Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2011), 33-36.

Brierfield, 'The House That Jeff Built.' J. Mack Moore, from the photograph collection of the Old Court House Museum, Vicksburg, Mississippi. Original photographer not known, but may have been D. P. Barr.

The photographs of Brierfield held by the Wisconsin Historical Society (WHS) and the J. Mack Moore Collection at the Old Court House Museum, Vicksburg, were possibly taken by Barr and are similar with only minor differences. Both show the home occupied by Union soldiers with a flag draped across the center porch columns; however, the WHS photograph has several soldiers mounted on horses, while the Moore photograph shows two cows and an unmounted horse in the yard with what appears to be a photographer's camera mounted on a tripod near an equipment box—both photographs also show a buggy with retracted canopy pulled by a pale-colored horse to the right of the porch. (Moore, who was born in Vicksburg in 1869, became a freelance photographer and was expert in the making of prints from glass–plate negatives, but he did not take this photograph. Moore acquired glass-plate negatives from older Vicksburg photographers over his lifetime but also made his own negatives from others' photographs and wrote his name at the bottom of either type of these negatives to identify his own collection of negatives, as reflected in the print of Brierfield). In addition, the WHS and "Moore" photographs were taken from slightly different positions in the yard, with the WHS photograph taken at a slightly closer and

more frontal position to the home and with the yard cleared of animals and other objects. Based on the differences in shadows, they also appear to have been taken at different times of the day. The details, particularly the draped flag on the front porch, however, suggest that both photographs were taken within a similar timeframe, most likely shortly after the surrender of Vicksburg to Union forces on July 4, 1863. The flag draped across the porch columns seems to be a symbol of the recent victory at Vicksburg. The Bixby photographs were apparently taken after the WHS and "Moore" photographs, as the skinny tree in the center of these other photographs indicate that the tree had been removed by the time Bixby took his photographs, probably to allow a better, unobstructed view and after the draped flag was removed from the porch columns. This timing would be consistent with either of Dr. Bixby's documented visits to the plantation. The tree on the right side of all of these Brierfield photographs appears to be dead, not a tree having simply lost its leaves, thereby making it difficult to estimate the time of year the photographs were taken.

As mentioned previously, an additional July 4 celebration at Brierfield was held in 1864, a year after the surrender of Vicksburg. The Vicksburg Daily Herald described it as follows:

'The House Jeff Built.' Exterior view of Brierfield, plantation home of Jefferson Davis. Photographic print 4 x 2.5 inches. Photographer not known. WHi-76916, Wisconsin Historical Society.

"The JEFF. Place" is also a very fine plantation. The residence has not been injured, except the door locks and one or two marble mantels broken up, apparently for trophies. The JEFF furniture has been removed, but the rooms are still furnished with furniture brought there . . . The portico in front is supported with pillars, and these form the only ornamental features of the house, except such as were added for this occasion by the artistic touches of our Northern sisters. Of these were festoons, wreaths, stars and garlands, mysteriously woven in evergreens and flowers. Over the portico entrance outside, were the following inscriptions, the letters being formed by cedar foliage: "THE HOUSE THAT JEFF. BUILT. WELCOME." The latter motto was arched and with festoons made a very beautiful appearance…"[13]

Jefferson Davis did not think much of the manner in which his plantation home had been decorated for this event. Writing to William T. Walthall, he noted, ". . . If you do not get the better picture, and have to use this, please erase the impudent lettering ["The House Jeff Built"]

[13] "Celebration of the Fourth of July at the Residence of Jefferson Davis, Davis's Bend, Mississippi, The Freedmen's Paradise, The Trip," *Vicksburg Daily Herald*, 1:25 July 6, 1864, 2, col 2-3.

Home of Jeff Davis, Port Gibson, Claiborne County, Mississippi. Postcard from the Cooper (Forrest Lamar) Postcard Collection. Item 2702, PI/1992.001. The postcard is from the 1900s and is based on the Brierfield photograph in the J. Mack Moore Collection. "Pope Drug Co." is inscribed in the lower left corner, probably as a promotion. Courtesy of Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

which the Yankees put on the pediment on the occasion of a fete they held at my house [July 4, 1864]."[14] It is likely that Davis did not know the exact date the lettering had been placed on the pediment as this lettering appears in all of the different photographs of the home, but Davis was indeed aware of the specific celebration event and assumed the lettering was placed there on that occasion. Of note, the presence of draped flags on the columns was not mentioned in the 1864 newspaper article, consistent with that decoration having occurred in July 1863.

Fate of Brierfield and Davis Bend

In the early 1900s in Mississippi, Brierfield was popularized into a postcard. "Home of Jeff Davis, Port Gibson, Mississippi," was an artistic rendition of the well-known J. Mack Moore Collection photograph of Brierfield, with an attribution to the Pope Drug Company, the apparent sponsor, of the card that is now part of the Forrest Lamar Cooper Postcard Collection at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History.[15] In 1859, Mississippi River flooding inundated the Davis peninsula with resultant narrowing of the peninsula's neck. During the Civil War, the river poured water over the weakened levees even higher than in 1859. In 1867, the surging river burst through crumbling banks, changing its course, and as a result Davis Bend became Davis Island, with the neck being completely eroded away. Almost one hundred years later, the surviving heirs of Jefferson Davis conveyed Brierfield in 1953 to two private individuals who then sold it in 1954 to new owners who made it a private hunting reserve. In response to the 1927 flood on the Mississippi River, the Army Corps of Engineers constructed massive levees on both sides of the river, but deemed Davis Island too small and insignificant to barricade.[1] By 1983, water covered all but 2 percent of the island, completely submerging the decayed remains of the two historic Davis plantations.[16]

[14] Letter to William T. Walthall, November 3, 1877, Lynda Lasswell Crist, editor, Suzanne Scott Gibbs, assistant editor, *The Papers of Jefferson Davis, Volume 13, 1871-1879* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2012).

[15] Note that Brierfield was not actually located in Port Gibson.

[16] Brian Hamilton, "Davis Island: A Confederate Shrine, Submerged." EdgeEffects. Posted October 9, 2014, http://edgeeffects.net/davis-island-a-confederate-shrine-submerged/.

Beeson Academy/Hattiesburg Prep: A History in Context

By Stuart Levin

While private schools were rare in Mississippi prior to the 1960s, multiple academies were established statewide during that turbulent decade.[1] Beeson Academy (later known as Hattiesburg Prep) was one of these schools, founded in 1965 under the banner of "quality education in a Christian atmosphere." However, a closer look indicates that the school was in fact established as an integral component of a state-supported effort to counteract federal mandates on segregation. Beeson/Hattiesburg Prep's subsequent trajectory and ultimate demise were also clearly intertwined with the contemporaneous racial environment.

Since Reconstruction, Mississippi's white supremacist policies had been essentially immune from federal intervention until the 1954 United States Supreme Court decision *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka* (*Brown I*) that segregated schools violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.[2] The following year in a case on implementation of the *Brown I* ruling, the Supreme Court ordered states to proceed desegregating schools "with all deliberate speed." Mississippi's leadership focused on the word "deliberate." Governor Hugh White suggested a schedule that would postpone school desegregation "for ten or more years," while state Attorney General (and future governor) James P. Coleman avowed that black Mississippians would not find cooperation within the white community moving forward on integration.[3] At the same time, the reality on the ground was continued underfunding of schools

[1] Anna Wolfe, "What is a Segregation Academy?" *Jackson Free Press*, December 17, 2014, https://www.jacksonfreepress.com/news/2014/dec/17/what-segregation-academy/.

[2] James W. Silver, "The Closed Society," *The Journal of Southern History*, 30:1 (1964), 32.

[3] Charles Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All: The Battle over School Integration in Mississippi, 1870-1980* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2006), 73.

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for black students in a state with a 42 percent black population.[4] As of 1962, the average per-pupil funding for Hattiesburg's African American students was barely one-half of the amount spent for whites.[5]

Citizens' Councils were formed by white businessmen and professionals in the aftermath of *Brown I,* with the intent to combat integration primarily through economic pressure. Black parents seeking to send their children to previously all-white schools faced loss of employment and denial of loans and mortgages in addition to repercussions in the community by having their names published in local newspapers.[6] By using non-violent means against civil rights activists, Citizens' Councils sought to ward off more extremist groups (particularly the Ku Klux Klan) that shared similar goals but had the potential of fomenting social unrest.[7] Furthermore the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, which was created by the state legislature in 1956, served as a state-funded investigative organization to spy on civil rights activities and financially supported Citizens' Council initiatives through the mid-1960s.[8]

In Hattiesburg, attorney Dudley Conner became the first president of the Forrest County Citizens' Council. At the inaugural meeting in March 1956, Conner noted that the area may not yet have racial problems, "but you can be sure the NAACP will see we have such problems in the future. That is why we are having this meeting tonight." Observing that there were 485,000 black children in Mississippi versus 310,000 white children, guest speaker Earle Wingo added that "if we open the doors wide to them, educate them with our children, the whites would be in the minority. The situation would be intolerable . . . They wish to do away with all laws related to segregation, even those barring marriage between the races."[9] Citizens' Council member and Hattiesburg hardware store owner M. W. Hamilton later agreed that "the Citizens

[4] *1960 Census of Population: Advance Reports-General Population Characteristics-Mississippi* (U.S. Department of Commerce: Bureau of the Census), February 23, 1961, 2, www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/1960/pc-s1-supplementary-reports/pc-s1-52.pdf. The percentage of black population in Mississippi was the largest of any state in the nation.

[5] Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All,* 87.

[6] Neil McMillen, *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1954-64* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1971).

[7] "The White Citizens Council," *MS Civil Rights Project*, accessed May 16, 2020, https://mscivilrightsproject.org/hinds/organization-hinds/the-White-citizens-council/.

[8] Sarah Rowe-Sims, "The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission: An Agency History," *Mississippi History Now*, accessed May 16, 2020, http://www.mshistorynow.mdah.ms.gov/articles/243/mississippi-sovereignty-commission-an-agency-history.

[9] "Citizens Council Will Elect Officers April 3," *Hattiesburg American*, March 23, 1956, 1.

Council was basically set up to prevent integration of the schools and the general society."[10]

The story of the first attempt of a black applicant to Mississippi Southern College (MSC)[11] in Hattiesburg demonstrates the commitment of both state government and the Citizens' Council to oppose any integration in education. Clyde Kennard was a native of a rural area north of Hattiesburg, who returned to help on his mother's farm following military service and undergraduate studies at the University of Chicago. Given the absence of any black colleges closer than Jackson, Kennard applied to MSC in 1955 in order to further his education locally at a comparable level. After an initial rejection, he reapplied three years later.[12] In a 1958 letter to the *Hattiesburg American*, Kennard expressed sympathy for both whites and blacks who preferred segregation, but also argued that if "we are ever to attain the goal of first class citizenship, we must do it through a closer association with the dominant (White) group."[13]

The Sovereignty Commission collaborated with the Citizens' Council on an investigation into Kennard's past in order to find indiscretions that could provide a rationale to reject his application.[14] Former Hattiesburg Credit Bureau manager Sam Rees noted that "he was of the opinion that Kennard had no sense of responsibility in meeting his obligations" and "had possibly been receiving funds from the NAACP and had possibly been the so-called payoff man for other negroes [sic] in the Eatonville community." The investigator commented that "he had nothing to back this opinion other than his belief." Council president Conner told the Sovereignty Commission that he did not know Kennard, but that he had seen the black applicant's recent letter to the *Hattiesburg America*n. According to the investigator, Conner remarked that:

> "if the State Sovereignty Commission wanted Kennard out of the community and out of the State just to let him know,

[10] M.W. Hamilton, interview by Orley B. Caudill, Petal, MS, February 13, 1978, transcript, University of Southern Mississippi Center for Oral History and Cultural Heritage, Hattiesburg, MS, https://digitalcollections.usm.edu/uncategorized/digitalFile_aa15b5b8-30e9-4d66-9b48-de0fdfafbb73/.

[11] Renamed the University of Southern Mississippi (USM) in 1962.

[12] William Sturkey, *Hattiesburg: An American City in Black and White* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019), 258-259.

[13] Clyde Kennard, "Letter to Editor: Mixing," *Hattiesburg American,* December 6, 1958, 2-A.

[14] William Sturkey, *Hattiesburg: An American City in Black and White* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2019), 259-260.

> and he would see that this was taken care of. He claimed that no violence and no publicity would take place. He indicated that it would be handled by bringing economic pressure on the negroes."[15]

Kennard declined to withdraw his application to MSC. After a meeting with MSC President William McCain, Kennard was arrested on a false charge of reckless driving. Subsequently Kennard, a teetotaler, was arraigned for illegally possessing whiskey. He was convicted on both charges, and later on another allegation of stealing $25 in chicken feed from the local cooperative. Kennard died at age thirty-seven of stomach cancer, diagnosed while in the third year of his sentence at Parchman Penitentiary. Forty-six years later, an employee of the cooperative recanted the testimony that convicted Kennard.[16]

Although by 1960 the federal government had made minimal efforts to force the implementation of the *Brown I* decision, the potential of such intercession was a legitimate concern within the Mississippi power structure. In a 1960 letter to the *Hattiesburg American*, Kennard noted that "if the State should lead out with the smallest amount of integration, it would never have to worry about Federal intervention."[17] Governor Ross Barnett counterattacked with a states' rights argument, contending that the Tenth Amendment provided the right of self-determination to resist federal integrationist efforts.[18]

These opposing viewpoints soon collided in Oxford with James Meredith's registration at the University of Mississippi in 1962.[19] The violent outcome demonstrated the capacity of the federal government to use its authority over the state of Mississippi to enforce a U.S. Supreme Court decision on integration. But it also further signaled the state's commitment to block federal efforts advancing desegregation at

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[15] Zack J. Van Landingham, Clyde Kennard Report. December 17, 1958, 1-27-0-6-1-1-1 to 1-27-0-6-37-1-1, Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission (MSSC), http://www.mdah.ms.gov/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd01/001981.png&otherstuff=1|27|0|6|1|1|1|1932|.

[16] Sturkey, *Hattiesburg*, 260-263.

[17] Clyde Kennard, "Letter to Editor," *Hattiesburg American*, January 26, 1960, 10.

[18] Gov. Ross R. Barnett. "A Statewide Address on Television and Radio to the People of Mississippi by Governor Ross R. Barnett, 7:30 PM," September 13, 1962, 12-37-0-3-1-1-1 to 12-37-0-3-8-1-1, Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, MSSC, http://www.mdah.ms.gov/arrec/digital_archives/sovcom/result.php?image=images/png/cd09/067684.png&otherstuff=12|37|0|3|5|1|1|66814|.

[19] "UM History of Integration James Meredith," University of Mississippi, accessed May 16, 2020, https://50years.olemiss.edu/james-meredith.

all educational levels.

Tortuous administrative procedures under a pupil placement law were used to prevent black students from integrating Mississippi public schools. A federal district court dismissed the first public school desegregation suits in 1963 for not utilizing all of the administrative solutions provided under the placement law. This court decision was reversed in 1964 by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals when it ruled that black students could directly petition school boards given that placement was done illegally by race. Court challenges continued while black students were engaged in desegregation efforts during Freedom Summer in 1964.[20]

Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act banned racial discrimination in any "program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance" thereby threatening the elimination of federal funding.[21] This requirement gave the federal government some additional leverage in opposing segregated public education. As a result, limited integration of schools in Jackson (and separately in Biloxi and Leake County) occurred in the fall of 1964.[22] Following an appeal by black applicants to speed up the plan to initiate desegregation of the Jackson school system by September 1969, the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals mandated that under Title VI "a good faith start requires designation of at least four grades for the 1965-66 school year."[23]

Despite the glacial pace of Mississippi public school desegregation ten years after the *Brown I* ruling, the wall had been breached. In response, Citizens' Councils and the state government changed tactics while retaining the strategic goal of segregated white schools. The Citizens' Council leadership in Jackson stated that it "would be a trailblazer in providing schools to avoid integrated facilities."[24] Local Citizens' Councils had spent the previous decade building up organizational resources to promote segregation, obtaining private funding later supplemented by state subsidies that supported the creation of a network of white academies.

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[20] Patric J. Doherty, "Integration Now: A Study of Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education", *Notre Dame Law Review* 45:3 (1970), 491, https://scholarship.law.nd.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3021&context=ndlr

[21] Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All,* 118.

[22] Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All*, 112. Also, see Joseph Crespino, *In Search of Another Country: Mississippi and the Conservative Counterrevolution* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 174. In 1964-65, Mississippi had the lowest percentage nationally of African-American schoolchildren in integrated classrooms (0.020%).

[23] Doherty, "Integration Now," 491.

[24] "Rights Backers Announce Plans for Freedom Party," *Hattiesburg American*, July 20, 1964, 8.

Council School No. 1 in Jackson was established as a model academy. Citizens' Council influence within the Jackson business community led to loans of $600,000 from two of the city's largest banks. The school's staff toured Prince Edward County in Virginia, where five years earlier the entire public educational system had been shut down and white private schools created in a campaign of massive resistance to desegregation.[25] In order to facilitate a broad network of segregation academies, the September 1964 edition of the Citizen Councils of America's monthly magazine, *The Citizen*, contained a nuts and bolts guide for white community leaders on "How to Start a Private School."[26]

Concurrently, the apparatus of state government in Mississippi was used to advance policies that limited implementation of public school integration while facilitating formation of private white academies. At the behest of the Citizens' Council leadership, the Legislature in 1964 passed Senate Bill 1501 "to encourage the education of all of the children of Mississippi" and "afford each individual freedom in choosing public or private schooling." In practice, this law was designed to encourage creation of state-supported white private academies through a Mississippi tuition grant program.[27]

In order to preserve federal funding by demonstrating compliance with the Civil Rights Act, most Mississippi districts proposed desegregation through the "freedom of choice" plan adopted by the state in 1965.[28] Under this plan parents of either race were permitted to send their children to previously segregated schools. Nonetheless, few blacks and virtually no whites did so. As the U.S. Civil Rights Commission noted, "White families almost invariably choose to have their children attend the predominantly white school and most Negro families chose to have their children attend the all-black school . . . Those few black families who choose to send their children to the predominantly white school can be—and are—singled out and subjected to pressure and abuse."[29] Furthermore, black principals were required to authorize student transfers to previously

[25] Michael W. Fuquay, "Civil Rights and the Private School Movement in Mississippi, 1964-1971," *History of Education Quarterly*, 42:2 (2002), 163-165.

[26] *The Citizen*, September 1964, 1-21. Accessed June 13, 2020. https://egrove.olemiss.edu/citizens_news/52/.

[27] *Coffey v. State Educational Finance Commission*, 296 F. Supp. 1389 (S.D.Miss 1969), 2-3, https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp/296/1389/1982533/.

[28] Crespino, *In Search of Another Country,* 173-177.

[29] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington D.C. *Federal Enforcement of School Desegregation Report.* September 11 1969, 14, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED035689.pdf.

all-white schools, which could result in a reduction of their own staff if an excessive number of pupils requested such reassignment.[30] Ultimately, as the Commission report noted, freedom of choice plans "do not work."[31]

"Freedom of choice" essentially functioned as a form of resistance to what Governor (and Hattiesburg native) Paul B. Johnson Jr. termed "a brazen effort of the Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) Department to gain absolute control over education."[32] Though integration remained limited in nature, local Citizens' Councils took the lead in re-creating segregated alternatives for white children.

On September 2, 1965, the Hattiesburg Public Schools integrated five of the eight previously all-white Hattiesburg elementary schools with a total of twenty-six black children. The compliance plan further stated that fifth through eighth grades would be desegregated in 1966-67, and the upper grades the following year.[33] In response, the Forrest County School Foundation was established as a non-profit entity under the auspices of the Citizens' Council.

The September 1964 copy of *The Citizen* on "How to Start a Private School" served as a template for Hattiesburg's new white private school. Formation of an educational corporation was advised with a charter of incorporation. *The Citizen* quoted Jackson School superintendent Dr. Kirby Walker's comment that "racial differences increase with every passing year from the first through the twelfth grades, and integration at the high grades is far more damaging to the educational system than that at the lower grade." New segregated schools were initially suggested at the elementary school level followed by addition of upper grades. Staffing was recommended through recruitment of recently retired public school teaching staff and principals. However, as *The Citizen* noted, if teachers come to the new private academy prior to retirement, "the legislature can provide for participation by private school teachers in the state teacher retirement system." Use of free textbooks from the state was also encouraged.[34]

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[30] Buzard-Boyett, Patricia Michelle, "Race and Justice in Mississippi's Central Piney Woods, 1940-2010" (2011), *Dissertations*, 740, 560-561. https://aquila.usm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1764&context=dissertations.

[31] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington D.C. *Federal Enforcement of School Desegregation Report.* September 11 1969, 15, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED035689.pdf.

[32] Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All,* 122.

[33] "26 Negroes Choose to Integrate Here," *Hattiesburg American*, September 2, 1965, 1.

[34] *The Citizen*, September 1964, 1-21.

The Forrest County School Foundation received one of the twenty-one charters issued for the creation of Mississippi private academies in 1964-65.[35] M. W. Hamilton was among the three Forrest County Citizens' Council officers named on the charter of incorporation,[36] and Sam Rees was one of the early members of the Foundation. In the summer of 1965, Foundation committee officer and Citizens' Council activist, Dr. G. A. Bynum,[37] requested that interested citizens complete a form published in the news section of the *Hattiesburg American*. Bynum noted that "if you wish your children and grandchildren to receive a quality education in a Christian, segregated environment, you should start now to help the Citizens' Council establish a private school system . . . tell all your neighbors


Page 20 Hattiesburg AMERICAN Tuesday, Oct. 11, 1966

FORREST COUNTY SCHOOL FOUNDATION INC

CAR PRESENTATION — Ben Gammel (left) and George Neel (right), committee members acting on behalf of the Forrest County School Foundation, present a car to the school superintendent, J. A. Beeson, "in grateful appreciation for a job well done." Gammel and Neel said that along with the car went from the School Foundation "a warm vote of thanks for unselfish service in directing the academic program which has brought the private school state accreditation and recognition as an outstanding institution of excellence in education." (Staff photo by Robert Miller)

Hattiesburg American*, October 11, 1966, 20.*

[35] "21 Private School Charters Issued Since June 22, '64," *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, July 20, 1965, 1, 14.

[36] "Private School Officers and Directors are Named," *Hattiesburg American*, July 31, 1965, 1.

[37] Bynum was a Mississippi College classmate and friend of William J. Simmons, the chief executive at the Citizens' Council's headquarters in Jackson. Simmons visited Hattiesburg on several occasions during school planning, acting as an unofficial consultant. William J. Simmons, interview by Orley B. Caudill, June 26, 1979, transcript, University of Southern Mississippi Center for Oral History and Cultural Heritage, Hattiesburg, MS, 75, https://digitalcollections.usm.edu/uncategorized/digitalFile_804061a4-ab3f-4e45-bc98-6d271c92fd8f/.

about our plans for a private white school."[38]

John A. Beeson moved to Hattiesburg in 1935 for a position as math chair in the public schools, eventually serving as junior high school principal through May of 1965.[39] His retirement was short-lived. In August that year, Beeson was named as head of the new school under the auspices of the Forrest County School Foundation.[40] Following small-scale integration in Hattiesburg the next month, twenty children registered immediately at the Forrest County Foundation School.[41] Thirteen days after the start of the 1965-1966 academic year in the Hattiesburg School District, the new Foundation School opened with three teachers for the first through sixth grades at a temporary site at 101 13th Avenue. Each teacher was responsible for two grades and all had prior experience in the public schools. Additionally, the school touted free textbooks courtesy of the state, and subsidies of $185 per student.[42]

In April 1966, Hamilton revealed the Forrest County School Foundation's proposal to start construction on a donated five-acre site off Highway 49 South, just southeast of the Paul B. Johnson estate.[43] This tract offered the possibility for eventual expansion to thirty-two acres. Three months later, progress on this site was highlighted at the annual leadership meeting of the Foundation. Plans for a capacity of 160 students in grades 1-8 were noted.[44] In the interim, the temporary location of the school changed to a ten-room duplex at 304 Water Street with monthly tuition of $20 for the first child, $15 for the second, and $10 for additional children, all supplemented by the state grant.[45]

The basis for the Forrest County Foundation School was transparent – federal government intervention challenging the racial status quo. An article in the *Hattiesburg American* noted the founders' concern about public education "rapidly deteriorating and becoming more and more controlled by the federal government."[46] The September 1964 edition of

[38] "Plan Private White School Here," *Hattiesburg American*, June 22, 1965, 10.

[39] "Tribute to a Fine School Man," *Hattiesburg American*, May 28, 1965, 4.

[40] "Beeson to Head Private School," *Hattiesburg American*, August 16, 1965, 1.

[41] "20 Children Register for Private School," *Hattiesburg American*, September 2, 1965, 1.

[42] "Private School Students and Parents Meet Tuesday," *Hattiesburg American*, September 13, 1965, 9.

[43] "Private School Will Be Built," *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, April 22, 1966, 6.

[44] "Building Progress Reported: Officers, Directors Elected," *Hattiesburg American*, July 18, 1966, 10.

[45] "Private School to Hold Registration Aug 19-20," *Hattiesburg American*, Aug 18, 1966, 13.

[46] "Beeson Academy Grows and So Do Its Kids," *Hattiesburg American*, May 24, 1972, 8D.

The Citizen had termed the 1964 Civil Rights Act "a misuse of Federal power," promoting private schools as the obvious alternative "until the conservative white majority can recapture national political power."[47] At a Forrest County School Foundation banquet in August 1966, guest speaker W. R. Huddleston, principal of the Citizens' Council School in Jackson, asserted that private schools were developed by people "who want to live their own lives and rear their own children in the way they see fit," and were a "bright spot" against those who would challenge "our Southern civilization." Another speaker at the dinner, Citizens' Council educational consultant Medford Evans (referred to in the *Hattiesburg American* article as "Medgar Evans") contended that:

> "One of the tragedies of our time is the breaking down of the excellent system of education which had been built in this state. The educational level of Negroes in the South was higher than among Negroes anywhere else in the world under a segregated system, but it won't work in the same classroom. You can't have integration and education. It is too late to save the public school system. It is incumbent on us rather to find another way to save our children and the very process of education itself. Private schools are the hope of keeping the very light of civilization alive in the future."[48]

The incongruous nature of the construction site adjacent to the black community of Palmers Crossing led to some break-ins and threats to burn down the school, necessitating regular patrols by board members. [49] However, the founders of Hattiesburg's new private academy soon also faced the need to distinguish their endeavor from the more extreme right. On January 10, 1966, the home of Forrest County civil rights activist Vernon Dahmer was firebombed. Dahmer rescued his family from the inferno while facing a volley of gunfire, but succumbed to extensive burns the next day. Despite long-standing efforts by the power elite (including the Citizens' Council) to constrict civil rights for blacks, the horror of Dahmer's murder led to drastic change in the

[47] *The Citizen*, September 1964, 2.

[48] "Strong Private Schools Called Answer to Integration Problem," *Hattiesburg American*, August 16, 1966, 10.

[49] Based on internal communications within the school.

white community's approach. The local Chamber of Commerce held a special meeting to discuss injustices faced by the black population. Furthermore, the Chamber organized efforts to issue a reward for tips leading to detention of those responsible for the crime.[50]

Two days after the firebombing, a number of Mississippi residents were called to testify by the House Un-American Activities Committee regarding KKK intimidation of civil rights workers.[51] These witnesses maintained a united front, citing the Fifth Amendment to avoid self-incrimination. One of the witnesses, publicly identified as Mordaunt Hamilton, was asked whether he had sold guns to the Klan at his hardware store in downtown Hattiesburg. Hamilton declined to answer whether he even owned a hardware store. Hamilton further refused to respond to the chief investigator of the committee when questioned as to whether he had pulled a gun on Klan imperial wizard Sam Bowers and organizational leaders when he was not reimbursed for the sale of Klan robes.[52]

Hamilton was subsequently indicted as a co-conspirator in Dahmer's murder.[53] He was shunted aside from further involvement in the Foundation School once his Klan ties became evident.[54] While not admitting to any role in the Dahmer case, in a 1978 oral history Hamilton confirmed his connections to the Jones County Klan including a disclosure that he had sold guns to some of their members.[55]

The backlash within the city's power structure further incentivized the Foundation School leadership's desire to eschew any Klan ties. Several years after the Hamilton confrontation at the school board meeting, another Klan-influenced[56] Foundation committee member named Ben Gammel struck both headmaster David White and board member Charles H. Smith in the school building after his daughter was refused

[50] Sturkey, *Hattiesburg*, 303-307

[51] "Beckwith, Accused Murderer, Is Silent on Klan Activity," *New York Times*, January 13, 1966, 13. One of the other witnesses was Byron De La Beckwith. After being tried without a conviction during the 1960s by two all-male, all-white juries for the 1963 murder of NAACP leader Medgar Evers, Beckwith eventually received a life sentence following a 1994 trial. See "Byron De La Beckwith Dies, Killer of Medgar Evers Was 80," *New York Times*, January 23, 2001, B6.

[52] "State Man Questioned About Weird Plans," *Hattiesburg American*, January 13, 1966, 1.

[53] M. W. Hamilton, interview by Orley B. Caudill, Petal, MS, February 13, 1978, transcript, USM-OH.

[54] There is no further mention of Hamilton in Beeson records after mid-1966. Based on private conversations, he was forced out of involvement.

[55] M. W. Hamilton, interview by Orley B. Caudill, Petal, MS, February 13, 1978, transcript, USM-OH.

[56] Based on communications within the school, David White noted Gammel's Klan ties.

registration.[57] Gammel was convicted of assault and battery[58] and died "unexpectedly" several weeks later at age fifty of unknown causes.[59]

Hattiesburg American, *December 9, 1966, 14.*

The Foundation School moved to its permanent location for its third year of operation in September 1967,[60] and was renamed after recently retired Superintendent Beeson at the end of that school term. Beeson Academy joined the new Mississippi Private School Association (MPSA) and noted plans to encompass grades 1-12 by the 1970-1971 academic year.[61] In April 1969, Beeson dedicated its first permanent building, which included a multipurpose auditorium, and then announced plans to construct science labs.[62]

Meanwhile in July 1966, a separate group unaffiliated with the Foundation had incorporated as Hattiesburg Academy, Inc., declaring its intention to create a first through seventh grade school. Established

[57] "Ben Gammel Fined $1360, Placed Under Peace Bonds," *Hattiesburg American*, September 5, 1969, 1, 6.

[58] "Ben Gammel Fined $500 in Assault-Battery Case," *Hattiesburg American*, December 3, 1969, 12.

[59] "Rites Tuesday for Ben Gammel," *Hattiesburg American*, December 22, 1969, 1.

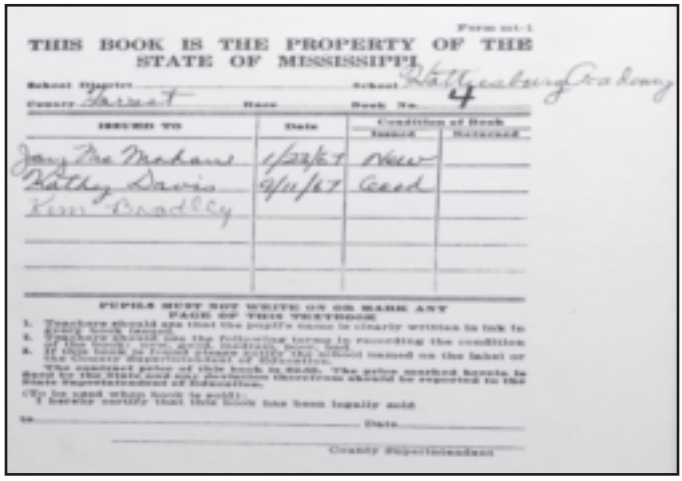
[60] "Foundation School to Open Monday," *Hattiesburg American*, September 9, 1967, 7.

[61] "Foundation School is Named in Honor of J. A. Beeson, Retiring Superintendent," *Hattiesburg American*, August 17, 1968, 9.

[62] "Dedication Ceremony Scheduled Sunday at Beeson Academy," *Hattiesburg American*, April 11, 1969, 8.

under the leadership of Perry Waldvogel (a teacher and coach at Thames Junior High), this school was envisioned as a non-denominational Christian school based on Jackson Academy's accelerated phonics curriculum model.[63] However, Hattiesburg Academy was unable to successfully compete for the same pool of students against a white private school with a more solid infrastructure. In order to strengthen the private school market, in 1969 both schools merged under the Beeson banner with the goal of accommodating approximately two hundred students.[64]

By the late 1960s, both state subsidies and federal tax-exempt status provided a strong financial footing for Mississippi private academies. As of 1968, the maximum $240 grant from the state of Mississippi covered 60 percent of the tuition at the Foundation School (and 53 percent at the former Hattiesburg Academy).[65] In addition, textbooks were state-funded.[66]


THIS BOOK IS THE PROPERTY OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

Bookplate, The Mississippi Story *(elementary school textbook), Hattiesburg Academy*

Federal actions did lay the groundwork for further (though still minimal) integration in the state during the latter half of the 1960s. In 1964, Mississippi had both the lowest per pupil funding and average teacher salaries in the United States. While federal educational aid had previously been insignificant, President Lyndon Johnson's "War on Poverty" included the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which greatly enhanced outlays to programs for low-income students. By 1967 this funding meant that nearly one-fifth of public

[63] "New Private School Planned Here," *Hattiesburg American*, July 28, 1966, 1-2.

[64] "Two Local Private Schools Merge," *Hattiesburg American*, September 2, 1969, 1.

[65] *Coffey v. State Educational Finance Commission*, 4-9.

[66] "Hattiesburg Academy Features the 4 R's," *Hattiesburg American*, December 29, 1966, 17.

educational support came from the federal government, thereby giving the national government additional clout in the budgets of Mississippi school districts.[67]

Nonetheless, in the absence of widespread integration, the market for private schools statewide remained relatively limited. Freedom of choice plans had constrained desegregation within Mississippi public schools. During the 1968-69 school year, only 10.6 percent of black students in Forrest County were enrolled in white schools, and all of them lived in Hattiesburg (the separate county system surrounding the city had not submitted a compliance plan to HEW).[68] Less than 7 percent of black students statewide attended integrated schools. However, after fifteen years the state was forced to stop obstructing implementation of *Brown I*.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Alexander v. Holmes County Board of Education* issued on October 29, 1969, was a milestone impacting the structure of Mississippi elementary and secondary education. By overruling a lower district court judgement supporting continued use of freedom of choice plans, *Alexander* served as both the death knell for officially sanctioned segregated school systems and the catalyst for private school expansion. Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black noted that:

> "It has been 15 years since we declared in *Brown I* that a law which prevents a child from going to a public school because of his color violates the Equal Protection Clause. As the record conclusively shows, there are many places in this country where the schools are either "White" or "Negro" and not just schools for all children as the Constitution requires. In my opinion, there is no reason why such a wholesale deprivation of constitutional rights should be tolerated another minute. I fear that this long denial of constitutional rights is due in large part to the phrase "with all deliberate speed." I would do away with that phrase completely."[69]

School integration could no longer be deferred in the public schools through "freedom of choice." This new situation created a chain reaction

[67] Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All*, 118.

[68] Doherty, "Integration Now," 498.

[69] Doherty, "Integration Now," 505.

increasing the number of Mississippi private schools from 121 to 236, with a tripling of student enrollment between 1966 and 1970. [70]

In Hattiesburg, a biracial committee negotiated a compromise plan with HEW that would desegregate city schools at the secondary level in the fall of 1970, but retain single-race elementary schools.[71] Meanwhile, Forrest County was among the thirty-three school districts named in the *Alexander* decision, and a court-ordered integration plan was developed by HEW for implementation by January 1970. Each public school was mandated to have 80 percent white and 20 percent black students, consistent with the racial configuration of the county school district at the time. [72]

A group of white parents under the name Citizens for Local Control of Education (CLCE) rapidly emerged to oppose reorganizing the Forrest County schools. Resistance was strongest among families of fifth through seventh grade children who were to be bussed from their local school in Petal to Earl Travillion in the Palmers Crossing community thirteen miles away. While white students would have retained a three-to-one majority, many parents sought to express total opposition to integration.[73] CLCE's one-day boycott in December 1969 resulted in 80 percent of white students staying home.[74] Some faculty and staff members at USM in addition to the editorial page of the *Hattiesburg American* encouraged support for the public schools, but CLCE was

Sacramento Bee*, January 6, 1970, 21.*

[70] Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All,* 173.

[71] Buzard-Boyett, Patricia Michelle, "Race and Justice in Mississippi's Central Piney Woods, 1940-2010," 683.

[72] "County Schools to Reopen Wednesday," *Hattiesburg American*, January 6, 1970, 1, 12.

[73] James Wooten, "A Protest by Parents," *New York Times*, January 8, 1970, 1, 28.

[74] Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All,* 181-182.

well organized.[75] A January rally attracted some 1,000 protestors to downtown Hattiesburg in the bitter cold with signs stating "We want our schools back" and "Bury HEW in Mississippi mud."[76]

A new plan was negotiated that allowed Petal to incorporate as a town and separate school district. However, this arrangement proposed busing white fifth through eighth grade students from two other Forrest County schools (Dixie and Central) to Earl Travillion. In another protest led by CLCE, students sat in empty classrooms at Dixie and Central Schools for several weeks with parents serving as chaperones in the absence of books or teachers.[77]

Shortly thereafter, over 600 of the approximately 4,300 white students in Forrest County (representing most of the Dixie and Central students) enrolled at either Beeson or one of the four new private Baptist schools. As of early January 1970, Beeson's student population increased by at least seventy students.[78] Six weeks later, the Beeson board announced plans for a junior-senior high school, gym/auditorium, and football field to host 300 students with an eventual goal of twice that number.[79]

The first twenty seniors graduated from Beeson in 1971, and the school's largest expansion came that same year. The initial 1970 Hattiesburg desegregation plan included integrated junior and senior high schools based on geographic districts while retaining racially identifiable elementary schools. But a majority of white students in the previously all-black (Rowan) high school zone did not appear there on opening day. In some cases, families in the previously all-white (Blair) high school zone became "legal guardians" for those assigned to Rowan.[80] The 1970-71 academic year was a turbulent one in the Hattiesburg public schools characterized by disciplinary issues in the face of racial turmoil.[81] During a mass walkout in March 1971, some 300 black high school students demonstrated against the lack of action on multiple provisions of the HEW compliance agreement, including appointment of a non-white representative on the school board, integration of faculty

[75] Wooten, "A Protest by Parents," *New York Times*, 1, 28.

[76] Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All*, 181-182.

[77] Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All*, 181-182.

[78] "County Schools to Reopen Wednesday," *Hattiesburg American*, January 6, 1970, 1, 12.

[79] "Beeson Academy Announces Construction Plans," *Hattiesburg American*, February 27, 1970, 7.

[80] Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All*, 190.

[81] Helen Nicholson and Miriam W. Vance, "Is School Desegregation Still a Good Idea?," *The School Review* 84:3 (1976), 493-497.

on an equal basis and proportional representation of black students on school committees, the school newspaper, and pep squad.[82]

Several black members of the Hattiesburg district's biracial committee subsequently requested modification of the plan to integrate all schools. While the adopted revision kept elementary schools racially distinct, in the fall of 1971 both eleventh and twelfth grades were consolidated into Blair and all tenth graders placed at Rowan. Both high schools would then be comprised of grades consistent with the system-wide racial breakdown. The overall racial makeup of students in the Hattiesburg school district flipped from 55 percent white and 45

Hattiesburg map, City Engineering Dept, 1977 (USM Special Collections, Mississippiana Map Collection)

[82] Buzard-Boyett, Patricia Michelle, "Race and Justice in Mississippi's Central Piney Woods, 1940-2010," 684-689.

percent black to the opposite between 1970 and 1971.[83]

Beeson's population jumped from 245 to 460 students in grades 1-12, primarily in response to integration within the Hattiesburg high schools. This increase was in line with national data showing a "racial tipping point" when local schools reached 25 to 35 percent minority population.[84] The majority of new students came from the upper grades in the relatively wealthier area of Hattiesburg immediately south of USM, which had been redistricted to Blair in 1970-71. Beeson grew to a staff of twenty-seven teachers, as well as an elementary supervisor, guidance

Hattiesburg American*, May 24, 1972, 28.*

counselor, secretary, coach, assistant coach, and band/choral directors.[85]

Despite the school's expansion during this period, Beeson Academy's long-term financial viability was less clear. State funding was challenged in a class action suit filed by black students and their parents against the Mississippi Educational Finance Commission, which administered the state funding program for private nonsectarian schools. On January 29, 1969, the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi ruled that the grants violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment as they "tend in a determinative degree to perpetuate segregation" and therefore, "significantly encourage and involve the State in private discriminations."[86] In order to maintain state funding, the Mississippi legislature renamed the program as the

[83] Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All*, 189-190.

[84] Jeremy R. Porter, Frank M. Howell and Lynn M. Hempel, "Old Times are Not Forgotten: The Institutionalization of Segregationist Academies in the American South," *Social Problems*, 61:4 (2014), 584.

[85] "Beeson Academy Grows and So Do Its Kids," *Hattiesburg American*, May 24, 1972, 28.

[86] *Coffey v. State Educational Finance Commission*, 2-4.

provision of private school "loans" rather than "grants."[87] However one year later these state tuition "loans" were banned by federal district judge Harold Cox.[88] Additionally in 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court prohibited the state of Mississippi from providing free textbooks to racially discriminatory schools.[89]

Furthermore, Beeson was one of eleven Mississippi private academies cut off from federal tax-exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) following a preliminary 1970 court ruling in *Green v. Connally* aimed at schools "which practice racial discrimination." [90] Contributions to Beeson to help minimize tuition as well as large capital gifts such as books, buildings, and athletic fields would no longer be tax-deductible. [91] The philosophical divide between federal policy support for school integration and tax subsidies for segregated private academies was epitomized in the conclusion of the chief judge writing on behalf of the three-member *Green* panel. Judge Harold Leventhal noted that an organization engaged in activities contrary to public policy should not be assisted by federal tax exemption—"otherwise, for example, Fagin's school for pickpockets would qualify as a charitable trust."[92]

Forrest County School Foundation chair Bynum, who served on the MPSA executive board, responded that the IRS action would only encourage people to more fully support private schools. Bynum stated that "the people are sick and tired of being beneath the heel of the tyrant."[93] At the 1970 MPSA annual meeting, keynote speaker Tom Anderson decried "pink brain-benders and Freudian frauds" avowing that "we will either get involved (through education) or we will be enslaved."[94] While expressing confidence in their fight against federal intervention, Beeson's leadership also stated their desire to graduate students who "learn to think for themselves, who understand and believe in the free enterprise systems, who learn to accept moral responsibilities to God and country, and who understand the greatest form of government ever conceived on

[87] Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All,* 175.

[88] Buzard-Boyett, Patricia Michelle, "Race and Justice in Mississippi's Central Piney Woods, 1940-2010," 683.

[89] *Norwood v. Harrison*, 413 U.S. 455.

[90] "11 Miss. Private Schools Lose Tax-Exempt Status," *Hattiesburg American*, August 19, 1970, 1.

[91] Crespino, *In Search of Another Country*, 230-231.

[92] *Green v. Connally*, 330 F. Supp. 1150 (D.D.C. 1971).

[93] "11 Miss. Private Schools Lose Tax-Exempt Status," *Hattiesburg American*, August 19, 1970, 1.

[94] Billy Skelton, "Columnist Blasts Liberals at Private School Meeting," *Jackson Clarion-Ledger,* April 11, 1970, 7.

this earth, the Constitution of the United States of America."[95]

The more conservative political atmosphere within the federal executive branch during the early 1970s raised the hope that this change would benefit segregation academies. As with other southern states, Mississippi had been dominated by the Democrats since the end of Reconstruction. The conflicts with both the Kennedy and Johnson administrations' support of a civil rights agenda led to strong opposition by the state's Democratic power structure. Sensing the political vacuum created for white southern Democrats, the Republican Party began to find common ground with segregationists.

There was an expectation that the Nixon administration would be more forgiving of Mississippi's efforts to obstruct integration, including support of continued IRS tax exemption for racial discriminatory private schools. However, by 1970, President Nixon tilted toward a position of moderation, knowing that he could not outflank Alabama Governor George Wallace on the right in the event of a 1972 third party presidential challenge. After assessing several options on the issue, the White House ultimately backed the final *Green* decision removing tax exemption for segregated Mississippi private academies.[96]

These federal rulings created barriers to white families of lesser means. Beeson was unable to obtain a bank loan at a reasonable rate in order to construct a high school and a gym, instead passing on the cost through an additional assessment of $500-$1,000 per family for a building fund.[97] Internal conflicts soon became apparent as the constituency began to change from the predominantly blue-collar background of the founding families to a more affluent demographic.

Additionally, the maintenance of relatively segregated elementary schools in Hattiesburg suppressed the urgency among white families to search for private school options in the lower grades. For example, Thames Elementary essentially functioned as the equivalent of a white private school in a public system, with only a small complement of black students.[98] One other challenge was geographic. Beeson's site at the southern edge of town proved increasingly problematic as Hattiesburg

[95] "Beeson Academy Grows and So Do Its Kids," *Hattiesburg American*, May 24, 1972, 8D.

[96] Crespino, *In Search of Another Country,* 229-231.

[97] "Beeson Academy Board Issues Policy Statement; Meeting Set," *Hattiesburg American,* July 17, 1970, 1.

[98] Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All*, 190.

expanded toward the west.[99]

By the mid-1970s, Beeson also faced competition for the private school market in Hattiesburg from a newly established church-based school. In order to obtain state funding, private academies such as Beeson were established as nonsectarian academies though nominally Christian. Opposition to school desegregation within conservative Christian sects initially made this distinction irrelevant.

Divisions within the national Presbyterian movement reflected conflict over the theological view of racial issues among many white Christians in the South. The Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS) had itself originated as a splinter group from the national movement during the Civil War over the issue of slavery. However by the 1960s, a more liberal faction of churches in the PCUS began to support racial equality, highlighting deep differences with Presbyterians in the Deep South. The cultural onslaught against "traditional values" over the previous decade had led to a backlash in Mississippi, leading to white religious leaders citing Scripture in defense of segregation. In a 1954 address to the Synod of Mississippi of the PCUS after the *Brown I* decision, Dr. G. T. Gillespie, president emeritus of Belhaven College, a private Christian school in Jackson, noted that "there would appear to be no reason for concluding that segregation is in conflict with the spirit and the teachings of Christ and the Apostles, and therefore un-Christian."[100]

Conflict was inevitable as white religious leaders from other states (including many from the Presbyterian Church), came to Mississippi to engage in civil rights efforts.[101] One such initiative was the Delta Ministry under the auspices of the National Council of Churches, designed to promote community building, economic development, and racial understanding.[102] Reverend W. J. Stanway, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Hattiesburg and chairman of the Committee of Church Extension for the Synod of Mississippi, decried

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[99] "Hattiesburg Prep, Presbyterian Christian School Officials Deny Merger Considered," *Hattiesburg American*, December 16, 1979, 1, 10.

[100] G. T. Gillespie, "A Christian View on Segregation" (1954). *Pamphlets and Broadsides*. 1, https://egrove.olemiss.edu/citizens_pamph/1/.

[101] The Presbyterian leader of the Hattiesburg Ministers Project (part of the Delta Ministry), Reverend Robert Beech, moved his family to Hattiesburg from Illinois. During his time in Hattiesburg, Beech was assaulted by M. W. Hamilton in his hardware store while trying to buy a stepladder. "State Man Questioned About Weird Plans," *Hattiesburg American*, January 13, 1966, 4.

[102] "Delta Ministry," *Mississippi Encyclopedia*, accessed November 14, 2020, https://mississippiencyclopedia.org/entries/delta-ministry/.

> "the fact that the Delta Ministry is not performing a proper church related ministry; the Delta Ministry's past activity has been related to dissension and conflict; the Delta Ministry's creating of antagonism between classes of Negroes, and the absence in the Delta Ministry of primary emphasis on spiritual development."[103]

Stanway led the opening prayer at the Beeson Academy building dedication in 1969.[104] Four years later the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA) was created as conservative churches split off from the PCUS, with most Mississippi Presbyterian churches joining the PCA.[105]

The 1964 article on private school formation in *The Citizen* had bemoaned the federal courts striking down public school prayers and religious instruction as well as school segregation.[106] However, the alliance between white evangelical Protestant churches and the nonsectarian segregationist academy in Hattiesburg was threatened by the latter's loss of federal tax exemption. Beeson's interests began to diverge from those of this religious community in the school's efforts to maintain its financial footing.

In June 1976, the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Runyon v. McCrary* prohibited all private schools nationally from discrimination based on race.[107] Several months later, the PCA-affiliated Bay Street Presbyterian Christian School was started in Hattiesburg with an initial student enrollment of twenty-three students and budget of $20,000. Following the involvement of another PCA church two years later, the name of the school was changed to Presbyterian Christian School (PCS).[108] PCS hired no black faculty and did not issue a statement of nondiscrimination. Nonetheless, as a sectarian Christian institution established six years after desegregation, PCS (which had one minority student) was not considered a segregation academy in the same context as Beeson.

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[103] "Presbyterians Approve Church Extension Report," *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 2, 1967. 2-157-2-40-1-1-1, Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission (MSSC).

[104] "Dedication Ceremony Scheduled Sunday at Beeson Academy," *Hattiesburg American*, April 11, 1969, 8.

[105] "Tobin Grant, "What Catalyst Started the Presbyterian Church in America? Racism," *Religion News Service*, June 30, 2016.

[106] *The Citizen*, September 1964, 6.

[107] *Runyon v. McCrary*, 427 U.S. 160 (1976), https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/427/160/

[108] Rachel Winstead, "Basements Below the Sanctuary: A Story of the Church School" (2020), *Honors Theses*. 1573, https://egrove.olemiss.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2589&context=hon_thesis.

Although the IRS initiated an investigation for racially discriminatory practices in 1980, PCS never lost its tax-exempt status. By the following year, PCS had grown to 150 students with a budget of $130,000.[109]

Simultaneously on a larger scale during the 1970s, Mississippi experienced a sea change in public opinion, reflecting an acceptance of the new facts on the ground within much of the white community. While the state was an extreme outlier in opposing implementation of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, by 1980, 69 percent of Mississippians supported school desegregation versus 74 percent regionally and 86 percent nationwide.[110] This was certainly more likely to have been the case in areas without black majority populations, such as Hattiesburg. Moreover, as PCS became more established, it could not as easily be pigeonholed as a segregationist escape route. PCS had enrolled some minority students by the early 1980s, and the school's attorney (who was a member of one of the founding churches) had set up an integrated youth soccer program in Hattiesburg.[111]

In this context, Beeson was forced to reassess its mission. Ray Stevens assumed the leadership role at Beeson in 1975 and began a more college-oriented school focus. He had previously served a long period as headmaster at one of the state's earliest segregation academies in Jackson.[112] However, Stevens was removed from his position in 1978 as the Beeson Academy board again pivoted in its mission. This was reflected in changing the name to the Hattiesburg Preparatory Academy. Board chair Mackie Davis noted that this signaled a "firm decision" by the board to pursue a course focusing on academic excellence and forsaking its reputation as a refuge for segregationists.[113]

A more rigorous curriculum was instituted with a goal towards college preparation.[114] Part-time teachers were brought in from USM and William Carey College to teach specialty courses, and ACT scores were higher than the public schools during much of the 1970s. Davis had pointed to the hiring of "a new better qualified headmaster and the development of a model elementary physical education program with the help

[109] Crespino, *In Search of Another Country*, 237-238.

[110] Ibid., 268.

[111] Ibid., 264-265.

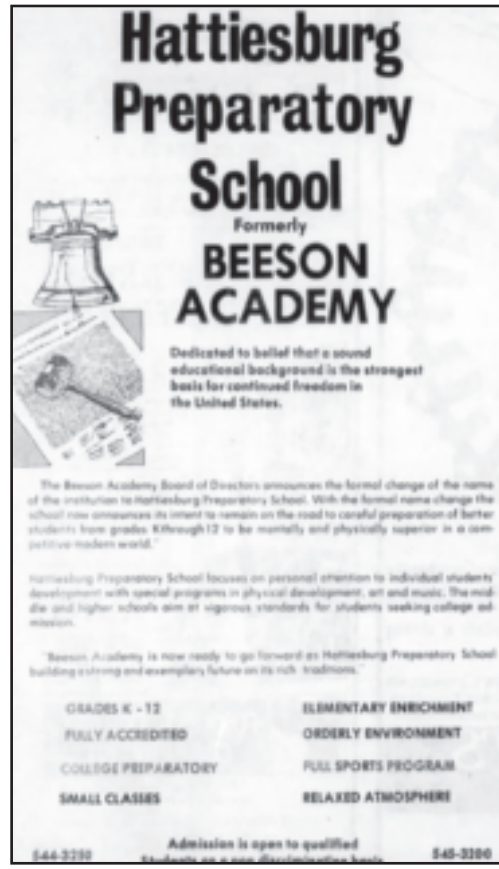
[112] "Ray Stevens Named New Beeson Academy Headmaster," *Hattiesburg American*," April 27, 1975, 12.

[113] Gary Pettus, "Private School Will Survive," *Hattiesburg American*, January 17, 1980, 1, 6.

[114] "Hattiesburg Preparatory School Making Great Progress," *Hattiesburg American*, April 24, 1980, 43.

of a professional consultant as two recent steps taken in the progress of the school toward a status equivalent to Andover Academy, Baylor School, or McCallie School in the preparation of the whole child."[115]

Nonetheless, the school was still popularly known as Beeson, and carried the weight of its legacy. In 1975, the IRS issued revised guidelines that tax-exempt institutions must adopt non-discriminatory policies in their charters and publish this information in the primary local newspaper.[116] In an attempt to regain tax-exempt status, a 1978 ad in the *Hattiesburg American* stated that "admission is open to qualified students on a non-discriminating basis."[117]



Hattiesburg American*, July 2, 1978, 8D.*

Hattiesburg Prep admitted its first black student the following year in the face of what one trustee termed a "(change in) the constituency" of the school.[118] However, one Hattiesburg public high school student during that era recalled athletic events at which the opposing team was referred to as the "Beeson Bigots."[119] A local college student who worked in the school as a part-time janitor concurred, remembering it

[115] "Beeson Academy Changes Name to Hattiesburg Preparatory School," *Hattiesburg American*, June 28, 1978, 31.

[116] Neal Devins, "Tax Exemptions for Racially Discriminatory Private Schools: A Legislative Proposal," *Harvard Journal on Legislation* 20:153 (1983), 157, https://scholarship.law.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1457&context=facpubs.

[117] Hattiesburg Preparatory School formerly Beeson Academy," *Hattiesburg American*, July 2, 1978, 8D.

[118] Gary Pettus, "Private School Will Survive," *Hattiesburg American*, January 17, 1980, 1, 6.

[119] Andrew Wiest, personal communication, June 13, 2020.

as a "white-flight academy."[120]

In response to several lawsuits by black plaintiffs regarding enforcement, IRS guidelines were subsequently tightened. In 1980, the federal court ruled that so-called "Paragraph (1) schools" covered by the *Green* decision (Mississippi private academies set up during the era of desegregation) had to go beyond the non-discrimination clause by providing statistical data. The injunction further stated that:

> "the existence of conditions set forth in paragraph (l) herein raises an inference of present discrimination against blacks. Such inference may be overcome by evidence which clearly and convincingly reveals objective acts and declarations establishing that such is not proximately caused by such school's policies and practices. Such evidence might include, but is not limited to, proof of active and vigorous recruitment programs to secure black students or teachers, including students' grants in aid; or proof of meaningful public advertisements stressing the school's open admissions policy; or proof of meaningful communication between the school and black groups and black leaders within the community concerning the school's nondiscriminatory policies, and any other similar evidence calculated to show that the doors of the private school and all facilities and programs therein are indeed open to students or teachers of both the black and white races upon the same standard of admission or employment."[121]

Hattiesburg Prep could not meet these criteria and remained hampered by financial challenges. The school community changed and enrollment dropped to approximately 180 from 400 just a few years prior. Board chair Davis noted discussions regarding sale of the school, which were quelled by headmaster Kenneth Rasmussen. There were rumors of the school's closure as well as consideration of a merger with PCS.[122]

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[120] Charles Bolton, personal communication, May 28, 2020.

[121] IRS Proc. 75-50, 1975-2 C.B. 587. Private School Update, https://www.irs.gov/pub/irs-tege/eotopicn00.pdf.

[122] Gary Pettus, "Hattiesburg Prep Board President Denies Plans Being Made to Close," *Hattiesburg American*, December 15, 1979, 1.

Hattiesburg Prep did see a temporary increase in enrollment from 75 to 300 students in 1982 following consolidation by the neighboring Perry County schools in the face of a major loss of federal funding,[123] but enrollment declined again to 200 by 1985.[124] The $1,000 tuition bill was prohibitive for many families, and the school continued to be subsidized by board members. However, this practice was ultimately unsustainable and after several years of financial losses, the Hattiesburg Preparatory School finally ceased operations in 1986.[125]

The demise of Hattiesburg Prep occurred in line with several other statewide trends. Public education benefited from significantly increased investment by Governor William Winter's Education Reform Act of 1982. Within four years, white students in public schools outscored their private school counterparts in standardized testing for the first time since 1970. Additionally, by 1986 the average public school teacher's salary was $18,443 versus $12,500 in MPSA academies. As Hattiesburg Municipal Separate School District superintendent Gordon Walker noted, "The reality of the situation is that private schools have a difficult time competing with public schools in the quality of the educational programs they can offer."[126]

Furthermore, Hattiesburg Prep faced other obstacles. As noted, the school's tenuous financial status was battered by competition from a strong church academy option (PCS). "White flight" occurred primarily westward to neighboring Lamar County, where the public schools developed a strong academic reputation.[127] During the mid-1980s several significant state industries (including agriculture, oil and gas, as well as manufacturing and timber) experienced decline, decreasing the ability of families to cover the cost of private schools.[128] Finally, Hattiesburg Prep's past also played a role in scuttling its future.

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[123] Reginald Stuart, "Mississippi Town Divided Over 2 Ousted Coaches," *New York Times,* April 8, 1982, D 19. The origins of this dispute were racially motivated, relating to dismissal of both a white and black coach after being mandated by the all-white school board to use white students in the starting basketball lineup.

[124] Kim Willis, "Hattiesburg Prep Plans to Shut Down," *Hattiesburg American*, June 12, 1986, 1.

[125] Susana Bellido, "Hattiesburg Prep Closes; Auction Set," *Hattiesburg American*, July 25, 1986, 1, 12.

[126] Hayes Johnson and Ruth Ingram, "Financial Woes, Dropping Enrollment Plague Private Schools," *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, November 9, 1986, 1-2G.

[127] Bolton, *The Hardest Deal of All*, 190.

[128] Hayes Johnson and Ruth Ingram, "Financial Woes, Dropping Enrollment Plague Private Schools," *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, November 9, 1986, 1-2G.

The history of Mississippi private school academies created a cultural barrier that prevented successful recruitment of minority students. As state NAACP president Aaron Henry observed, "blacks perceive the academies as institutions of segregation. Blacks are used only as a conduit to secure federal funds" for obtaining tax-exempt status.[129] Board chair Davis added that, while Hattiesburg Prep was able to attract a small number of outstanding black students to improve its image, the effort was inadequate to rescue the school.[130] Ironically by the time Hattiesburg Prep wanted and needed African-American students, its origin story made such efforts futile.

While many additional Mississippi private academies have also since closed, others remain as "independent" schools. Within these schools the origin story is often a revisionist version, cloaked in the anodyne language adopted by Beeson Academy in the mid-1970s of "parents who were deeply concerned for the future intellectual and spiritual education of their children."[131] The website of the Mid-South Association of Independent Schools (the MPSA's successor organization) does not mention the role of the Citizens' Council in its formation.[132]

This history has continued to influence the racial environment. In 1973, Dr. James Loewen at Tougaloo College presciently wrote that "Forty years from now, powerful Mississippians will exist throughout the state who have to rationalize that their attendance as children at such schools was a good thing, and they will surely do so by retaining racism in their view of the world."[133] Nearly fifty years on as the entire

[129] Ruth Ingram, "Perception of Racism Still Keeping Black Students Away from Academies," *Jackson Clarion Ledger*, November 9, 1986, 1-2G.

[130] "Changes in State Put Private Schools in Bind," *Hattiesburg American*, November 11, 1986, 3.

[131] Beeson Academy Handbook, 1976-1977. Also see multiple school websites including Jackson Prep https://www.jacksonprep.net/about/history, Pillow Academy https://www.pillowacademy.com/apps/pages/index.jsp?uREC_ID=1807360&type=d&pREC_ID=1973271 and Starkville Academy https://www.starkvilleacademy.org/admissions/-accessed January 17, 2021.

[132] Mid-South Association of Independent Schools website- accessed January 16, 2021, https://newsite.msais.org/test/tangolofus.php.

[133] James Loewen, "School Desegregation in Mississippi, *Tougaloo College*, August, 1973, http://sundown.tougaloo.edu/content/LoewenMonographSCHDESEG.pdf. Also see Phil McCausland, "'Segregation Academy' Attended by Cindy Hyde-Smith a Common Remnant of Mississippi's Troubled History", NBC News, November 25, 2018, https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/segregation-academy-attended-cindy-hyde-smith-common-remnant-mississippi-s-n939866 and Ashton Pittman, "Biden Disbands Trump's 'Patriotic Education' Committee That Included Ex-Gov. Bryant," Mississippi Free Press, January 20, 2021, https://www.mississippifreepress.org/8289/biden-disbands-trumps-patriotic-education-committee-that-included-ex-gov-bryant/.

nation struggles with its racial legacy, the need for an honest reckoning could not be more evident.

The author recognizes the initiative of Mississippi journalist Ellen Ann Fentress in creating the Academy Stories website to promote public reflection on the persisting impact of the South's academies on its past and present. The author appreciates the insights provided by Charles Bolton, former history chair at the University of Southern Mississippi (USM) and current associate dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of North Carolina-Greensboro; William Sturkey, assistant professor of history at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill; and Andrew Wiest, history professor at USM. Finally, this essay was inspired by a Mississippi History class assignment initiated at the suggestion of the late Dr. Kenneth McCarty, professor emeritus of history at USM and former editor of the Journal of Mississippi History.

The Design and Dating of the Thomas Batchelor House at Beech Grove Plantation in Amite County

by Douglas Lewis

More than two dozen day-books, account books, and ledgers of mostly antebellum dates from 1809 onward that have been preserved for years at the Thomas Batchelor House at Beech Grove Plantation in Amite County (once part of the Old Natchez District) are being donated to the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. The property, a once-substantial cotton farm, was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1975 and designated a Mississippi Landmark in 2019.[1] These documents constitute the often day-by-day records of the owners of the plantation property, which has been in the same family since it was pioneered in 1803. The earlier items in the collection document in meticulous detail the building of several structures, especially the 1827 "mansion house" (see Figure 1) in which they were found. The records exhaustively document the genesis of one of the best surviving examples of Federal architecture in Mississippi, and they even record that ultimate rarity, the builder's preparation of detailed measured drawings in the months before the Batchelor House was built.[2] A descriptive analysis of Beech Grove's architecture and a survey of its East Coast sources are presented in this article, together with the documentary evidence for its construction date. The accounts also have been canvassed for contemporary domestic structures built by the same family at the

[1] On December 11, 2019, the present writer donated eleven ledgers from the Natchez firm of Buckholts & Richards (active 1816-1833: see note 107) to the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH, Z/2381). At the same time, the Beech Grove Papers (Z/2380)—accounts of the writer's great-great-great grandfather, and successors—had a small initial deposit, but the remainder of that archive is scheduled for future donations. This paper is based on its two earliest components: Item 1, Thomas Batchelor's personal accounts, 1809-1842; and item 2, Beech Grove "RECEIPT BOOK," 1842-1869.

[2] See notes 15 and 16.

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Figure 1. South facade of Batchelor House with archaeologically reconstructed central porch

Amite County seat in Liberty and in the neighborhood of the Thomas Batchelor House (though among all such buildings, only Beech Grove itself survives today).

The protagonists of this saga are an interrelated group of pioneer families in the then extreme southwestern frontier of the United States, at the time that it was dramatically augmented by the Louisiana Purchase of 1803.[3] That band of settlers originated in the Virginia Tidewater, although probably in the turmoil leading up to and following the Revolutionary War, they moved successively into that state's Piedmont region, then into upland North and South Carolina, before emigrating to the Mississippi Territory.[4] Their eldest leader was George Gayden (1739-1819), who was born near the Rappahannock River in

[3] American ministers in Paris consummated the Louisiana Purchase on April 30, 1803. This news reached America by July, and at a ceremony in New Orleans on December 20, 1803, the territory of Louisiana was officially transferred to the United States.

[4] The Gayden and Collins families had evidently reached the piedmont area in Orange County, Virginia, by 1772, from which they moved to Granville County, North Carolina, by 1776/77. They are later documented in the Lancaster district of South Carolina in 1787, where they were listed in the Census of 1800.

the 'Northern Neck' and married near Orange, Virginia, in the early 1770s. Gayden was eventually the father of nine adult children.[5] A close associate of Gayden during latter decades of his life was Thomas Batchelor (1775-1842), whose grandparents (and ancestors of at least two generations) were natives of Norfolk, Virginia. Batchelor's parents had migrated to the piedmont section of North Carolina, where he was born.[6] Batchelor must have profited from a remarkably solid schooling (or even a stint at college), for he was trained in the law, and was adept at four languages—Ancient Greek, Latin, French, and English.[7]

In 1803 Batchelor, together with the Gayden and Collins families, set out from the Camden district of South Carolina by wagon train through the foothills of the Appalachians, and thence by flatboat from Muscle Shoals down the Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers to Natchez.[8] They followed the tide of American settlement southward, crossing the Homochitto and Buffalo rivers into the newly-founded Wilkinson County, in the extreme southwestern angle of the Mississippi Territory.

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[5] George Gayden, a native of Farnham in Old Rappahannock [now Richmond] County, married 1st Nancy Ann Waddell (or Wardell) in Orange County before June 1773, since his eldest daughter Rebecca—the future Mrs. Thomas Batchelor—was born there on February 27, 1774, (according to her tombstone at Beech Grove). Gayden's other children, in birth order (according to their naming in his will of May 29, 1819, preserved in the Amite County Courthouse), were: Cadesby (c. 1775-1841), married December 13, 1806, Polly Lea Collins; Agrippa (July 21, 1778-January 17, 1845, according to his tombstone adjoining Beech Grove), married July 31, 1821, Margaret Muse Lea; Martha ["Patsy"] (born c.1780/81 in North Carolina), married May 12, 1808, Lewis Perkins. George Gayden married 2nd December 4, 1782, Lois Collins in Granville Co., NC; their children: George L. (c. 1783-c. 1845), married January 31, 1808, Sally Evans Dunn, married 2nd Martha Scott; Elizabeth ["Betsy"] (c. 1785-1853) married 1804, William Morgan; Diana (c. 1787-after 1819), married 1806, George Davis; Griffin (c. 1788/9-1830), married December 20, 1818, Dorcas Wade, married 2nd (after 1826), Mary Ann McClendon; and Nash (c. 1790-1812), married June 6, 1811, Hannah Howard.

[6] Thomas Batchelor (December 23, 1775-April 11, 1842, according to his tombstone at Beech Grove), apparently born in Franklin County, North Carolina (adjoining the Gaydens in Granville County on the west, and Nash County on the east—to whose Deep Creek Township his grandparents and parents had moved from Norfolk in the first half of the eighteenth century—as aligned from west to east along the Tar River), would have joined these emigrant families in the later 1790s.

[7] One of Batchelor's anthologies of ancient Greek texts, the *Analecta Græca Majora* (Cambridge, MA, 1824), survives at Beech Grove. A measure of its rarity is that among the 1,000 books collected by Anson Jones, the last governor of the Republic of Texas, were (alongside titles similarly in English, French, and Latin) only two books in Greek: Eugene D. Genovese, *The Sweetness of Life; Southern Planters at Home* (Cambridge, UK, 2017), 25.

[8] Contemporaneous copy (at Beech Grove) of letter of May 30, 1923, to Mrs. Clark H. Rice of New Orleans from Margaret Rowena McLean Smiley (1842-c. 1925), granddaughter of Parthena Davis (1792-1840s/50s—see note 10), transmitting the latter's firsthand account of this trek: "[Parthena] was born in South Carolina and I heard her say that her cousin Fannie Wren came a days' journey with her when they moved to Mississippi. [Wiley] Collins was killed by the Indians on his way here." Wiley (c.1757-1803) was the youngest of the Collins family.

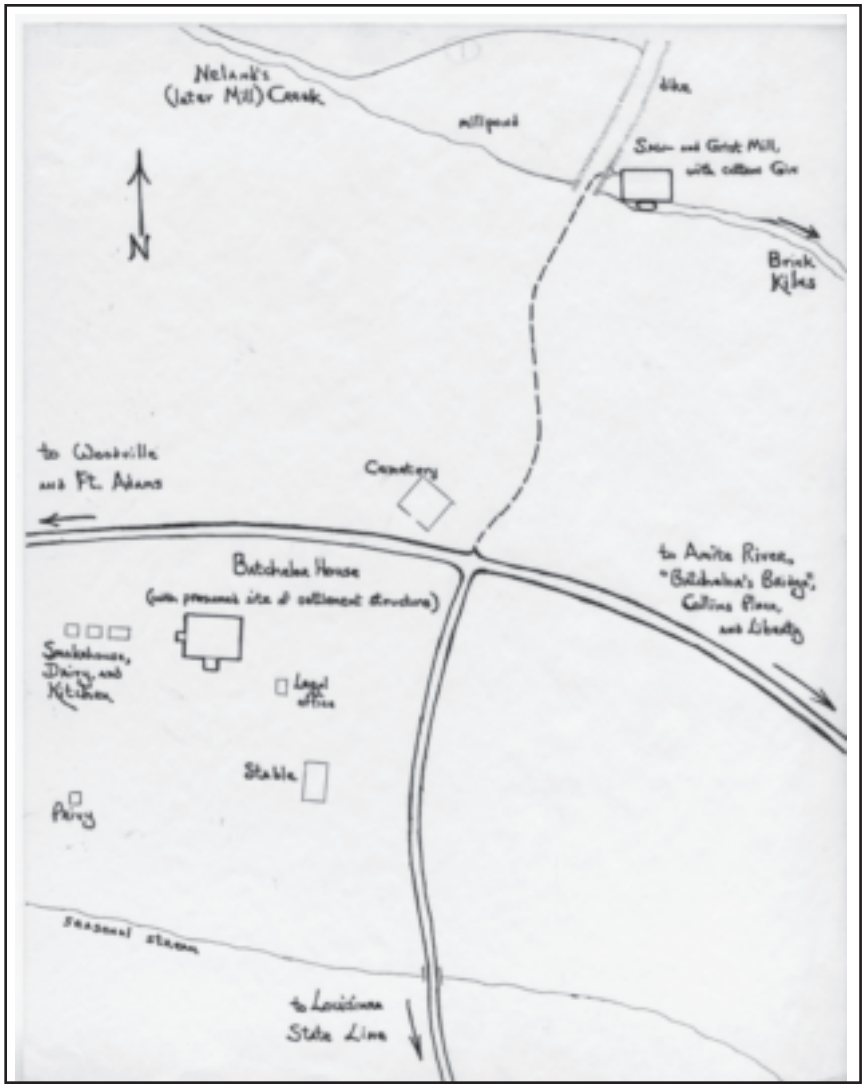

Figure 2. Site plan of the center of Beech Grove Plantation, 1842

There they entered into virgin lands watered by the West Amite River, a bit more than forty miles east of newly-christened Fort Adams, a military outpost that General James Wilkinson had established on the Mississippi six miles above the 31st parallel's Line of Demarcation across the international frontier from Spain's Nueva Feliciana. They settled permanently along a Federal post road leading east from Fort Adams, just before it forded the west branch of the Amite, at a point crossed in 1832 by "Batchelor's Bridge" (see Figure 2). They carved out

landholdings distinguished from those of their immediate predecessors on the river-oriented tracts of British and Spanish grants immediately to their west by the newly-ordained Jeffersonian grid of townships and ranges. Their first formal purchases of Federal lands in the area were recorded in 1807.[9]

Meanwhile Thomas Batchelor had married George Gayden's eldest daughter Rebecca (1774-1836) on December 26, 1805, and presumably on that date moved into her existing "settlement structure" on the Beech Grove site, where according to the 1805 census she already maintained a substantial household. Though barely thirty, Rebecca was already twice a widow. At her traditionally first-eligible age of about sixteen she had married Ebenezer Leith of Virginia, an offshoot of the famous Lee family with whom she had borne one daughter, Parthena (1792-1840s/50s).[10] After Dr. Leith's death in the early 1790s, Rebecca had married the wealthy Francis Wren of South Carolina (c. 1770-1805), and by him had had four children. In fact, Francis's testament of March 21, 1804, affords the earliest officially recorded date for the Mississippi arrival of these families. His will was registered in Woodville (the River Amite settlements were contained within Wilkinson County until 1809) and was probated upon his death in October 1805.[11]

Design

The "settlement structure" occupied by Rebecca Gayden [Leith/Wren] and her children was a roughly-finished log or plank building

[9] Each member of Beech Grove's migrating families registered these preliminary land purchases on the same day, August 14, 1807—in each case for the standard unit of sale, of 320 acres. The land-surveying grid of 'townships' and 'ranges' was introduced into the Northwest Territory by the Ordinance of 1787, and throughout western lands generally by the Land Bill of 1796, passed by an Act of the U.S. Congress: Samuel E. Morison and Henry S. Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic,* vol. 1 (New York, 4th ed., 1953), pp. 362-367. On the pivotal date of March 3, 1803, the Act of 1796 was extended also to the Mississippi Territory (est. 1798): May W. McBee, *Natchez Court Records, 1767-1805* (Greenwood, MS, 1953), p. 351 ff. See note 94 one of the preceeding 'irregular sections.'

[10] Parthena Leith married October 20, 1816, another early Amite County planter, Charles Davis, Esq. (c. 1780s-1834); their daughter Victoria Caroline Davis (1824-1881) was named for the Batchelors' eldest daughter, Victoria Caroline Batchelor (1806-1858), mistress of Beech Grove 1846-1858. See also note 8, for Parthena's trip to the Mississippi Territory.

[11] Rebecca Gayden Leith's and Francis Wren's children were John Wren (1795-1818), who fathered a natural child in Liberty; Eliza[beth] Wren (1797-c.1856), who married 1st Robert J. Lowry, 2nd James Eubanks, and 3rd Christopher Carsner; Francis Wren II (c.1800-1855), married 1821 Mahalia Collins; and George Gayden Wren (1802-1819), who from infancy lived with his mother Rebecca Gayden Wren and his step-father Thomas Batchelor.

that stood on the Beech Grove site from the last months of 1803 until sometime in the early or middle 1820s (see Figure 2). Only two of its interior doors remain today. Formed of carefully joined vertical planks planed smooth on one side, their reverses are roughly-hewn with adzes and fitted with strap hinges over jamb-mounted iron pins. These doors were re-installed as twin closures to ancillary spaces opening off the master bedroom in the 1827 Batchelor House that replaced the earlier structure.[12]

We know much more, however, about the preparations for Mr. and Mrs. Batchelor's "mansion house." On April 24, 1820, the United States Congress passed an "Act for the . . . sale of Public Lands," and punctually on November 24 of that year Thomas Batchelor paid $97 to obtain an official Federal grant for the seventy-eight-acre plot on which his new house would be constructed.[13] His application took fifteen months to process, and on February 20, 1822, President James Monroe signed a permanent patent to this property that is still preserved in the library at Beech Grove. The next four years saw the accumulation, aging, and drying of the heavy timbers needed to frame the house.[14]

Then in May 1826 there occurs in Batchelor's earliest autograph account book (recording his incomes and expenses from March 1809 to March 1842) an indebtedness to the mercantile firm of McDowell & Hicks of Natchez for "6 Sheets drawing paper . . . [$] .75." This discovery is almost unprecedented in Southern architectural history. According

[12] The northern door, to the original nursery, occupies its undisturbed aperture and has never been off its hinges. The door opposite, to an under-the-eave 'cabinet room' (reconfigured as a bathroom in a meticulous restoration of 2003-2004, Figure 13), occupies its rediscovered original aperture in the center of the south wall. Since it had been moved in the later nineteenth or early twentieth century to the eastern end of that same space, only its strap hinges need to be replaced in 2004.

[13] Albert E. Casey and Frances P. Otken, *Amite County, Mississippi, 1699-1865*, vol. I (Birmingham, AL, 1948), p. 515. Mr. Batchelor's official number for this application, however, is '15,' and all other such remarkably early numbers are connected with applications uniformly dated 'January 1, 1807.' The suspicion therefore arises that Batchelor may actually have applied for a patent to this land even before his, and his relatives,' purchases of their principal properties on August 14, 1807 (see note 9). The seventy-eight acres for which this application was made, in any event, are immediately contiguous (to the west) with Batchelor's original 320 acres documented in note 9.

[14] An index of the time required for such a preliminary accumulation of timber is afforded by the fact that Mr. Batchelor's eventual saw and grist mill with his new gin, of 1833—a structure specified at '54 feet by 34 feet,' or only slightly smaller than the footprint of the Thomas Batchelor House itself, which measures 50 feet 6 inches by 42 feet 6 inches—began having its timbers laid aside on July 7, 1831, though its frame was only built in the summer of 1833 (see notes 95-98). That two-year allowance for the accumulation of the framing timbers for a mill may perhaps easily be doubled in the case of those destined for the 'mansion house' itself.

to a very recent calculation of monetary values, such an amount would approximate at least $24 in today's prices,[15] or the equivalent of some $4 per sheet. One can certainly assume, therefore, that Batchelor's drawing paper represented the very best quality available. (Quite possibly, on the analogy of the fine elephant folio paper that John James Audubon was using at this same moment for both the original drawings, as well as Robert Havell's edition of prints for his *Birds of America*, Batchelor's six sheets may also have been supplied by James Whatman's famous paper mills in Kent, in southern England). Their number is also significant. Very probably, again on the analogies of many such sets of drawings, Batchelor's six sheets would presumably have been destined for (1) a main or ground-floor plan of Beech Grove's rooms; (2) a corresponding second or upper-story plan; (3) an elevation of the north or front façade of the proposed Batchelor House; (4) another, of the corresponding south or "plantation" façade; (5) at least one further elevation, of the east or west gable ends of the new house, with a rendering of one of its end chimneys; and probably also (6) a sheet of interior drawings, plausibly including staircase and wainscoting details, as well as renderings of standard and particularized door and window frames, with the various baseboard moldings. Alas, no trace of those drawings survives today; following a centuries-old pattern of heavy use, they were no doubt consumed on the construction site.[16]

Their preparation adds yet another talent to the accomplishments of this pioneer polymath—a demonstrable skill at measured drawing, if not of architectural planning writ large. Interestingly, the surviving Amite County Courthouse of 1839-40 in Liberty is close enough in style to the Batchelor House—while retaining the reticent Federal ordonnance appropriate to a public building—to suggest that Thomas Batchelor, as perhaps the foremost legal figure in the county, might at least have been consulted on its design.[17] A possibility that Batchelor may have had architectural experience gains strength from a consideration of Beech Grove's unusually thoughtful plan (see Figure 3).

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[15] Genovese, *Sweetness of Life* (cited in note 7), p. xxiv, giving modern equivalents in 2014 dollars.

[16] By this period James Whatman's mills were owned by men named Balston and Hollingsworth (for the variant "Turkey Mill"). The vast majority of construction drawings do not survive, from late Medieval times to the nineteenth century: see for example Douglas Lewis, *The Drawings of Andrea Palladio* (New Orleans, 2000), 15.

[17] Robert G. Huff and Hattie P. Nunnery, *Amite County & Liberty, Mississippi* (Virginia Beach, VA, 2009), 15.

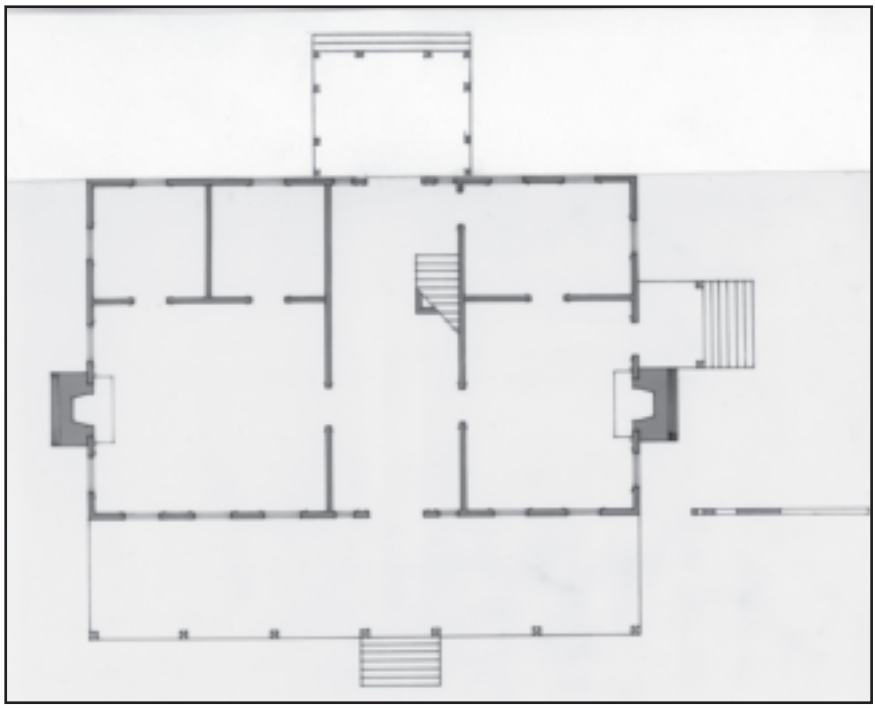

Figure 3. Plan of main floor of The Thomas Batchelor House, 1827

Figure 4. View of Batchelor House from the northwest

The Thomas Batchelor House is a classic American 'raised cottage,' a form found ubiquitously throughout the domestic architecture of the early Republic.[18] It shelters a principal story of full height, as well as a lower second story, under a single-pitch roof (see Figure 4).

The front gallery is indented under the same unbroken roof, which also accommodates service rooms at the rear, occupying a space behind the main rooms corresponding to the façade gallery. The central suite consists of a parlor (see Figures 5, 9) and dining room (see Figure 10) on either side of a wide central hall (see Figure 6) that also contains the single-flight stair (see Figure 7). The hall, which runs through the entire width of the house, opens by exactly opposing double doors into both the parlor and dining room. Through those doorways is visible, at right angles, an *enfilade*—or unobstructed axial view—from one fireplace to the other, each served by a twin chimney set outside the centers of the gable ends (see Figures 6, 8). This quite novel arrangement is accomplished by the foot of the stair being placed in proximity to the rear

[18] Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture* (New York, 1952), 259-260, 263; Cyril M. Harris, *American Architecture* (New York & London, 1998), 270; Jay D. Edwards, "Origins of Creole Architecture" in *Winterthur Portfolio* 29, nos. 2-3 (1994): 155-189, esp. Map 2, "Principal Routes of Diffusion of the Verandahs."

Figure 5. Batchelor House, west and north walls of parlor, with three facade windows

doors, while its head rises just beyond the center-line of the house as marked by the ridgepole and the two chimneys, as well as the downstairs *enfilade*.[19] There is thus established an expectation of unusual regularity, for there are not many examples in American domestic architecture of such unbroken end-to-end vistas across the major reception rooms.[20]

Such an expectation is more than borne out by the trio of service rooms along the rear or south façade. The first, a pantry behind the dining room—originally the plantation office—is an unremarkable 16 by 10 ½ feet (the latter dimension echoing the depth of the north gallery). But the two *chambres de cabinet* behind the parlor (see Figure 9) have the very unusual (perhaps unique) shapes of perfect cubes—each one is exactly 10 ½ feet of all sides. They form in fact a three-dimensional 'module' for the whole house. The parlor is precisely four such shapes, arranged as a square; the north gallery is exactly five of these ideal modules, set end-to-end.

This quality of exceptional regularity in the Batchelor House extends, as well, to the second story. Since it is paradigmatic that the purpose of a raised cottage is to appear only as a story-and-a-half in height, a necessary corollary in the vast majority of the type's examples is that the ceilings of the upper rooms must follow the slopes of the roof (except, of course, in those areas provided with dormers). In the Batchelor House, however, not only the upstairs hall—of the same width as that downstairs, and also running through the entire depth of the house—but also both major bedrooms, have walls intersecting their flat ceilings at regular right angles (see Figure 12). This is accomplished by framing their intersections just barely inside a major beam (called a

[19] Such an arrangement is very highly unusual. An exhaustive survey of the secondary literature suggests that the only Tidewater parallel—which in fact is contemporaneous with the planning of Beech Grove—is the small but ornate c. 1825 raised cottage called Sylvania, in Bradley, South Carolina, where the stair is essentially identical to that in the Batchelor House, Mills Lane, *The Architecture of the Old South: South Carolina* (Savannah, 1994), *s.v.*

[20] Of the examples of such *enfilades* as do exist, several are technically disqualified by lacking a center hall, and/or placing the main chambers against the façade, by omitting a front gallery (*e.g.* Hanover, c. 1720, Berkeley, South Carolina; William King House, 1763, Windsor, North Carolina [note 31]; Tazewell Hall, c. 1760s [Williamsburg: note 32]; Thomas Person House, c. 1774, Littleton, North Carolina [note 33]; Henry Lane House, c. 1810, Morgan Co., Georgia [note 27]; Propinquity, c. 1810, Washington Village, Mississippi [note 46]; and the Thomas Cheely House, c.1825, Hancock County, GA). The present research has turned up only one true antecedent for the Beech Grove plan (featuring a facade gallery, an open *enfilade* between gable-end fireplaces across a center hall, with cabinet rooms behind): namely, the Harper House of 1794, in Augusta, Georgia: Mills Lane, *The Architecture of the Old South: Georgia* (Savannah, 1986). See note 34.

Figure 6. Batchelor House, view from parlor across hall to dining room, along central enfilade

Figure 8. Batchelor House, enfilade *view from hall doors to parlor fireplace*

Figure 7. Batchelor House, central hall to south, with main stair; enfilade *doors, foreground*

purlin), set midway along each pitch of the roof to provide mid-length support for the rafters, which would otherwise be stretched to a length of almost thirty feet.[21]

An inconspicuous asymmetry in the Batchelor House arises from the divergent sizes of the main reception rooms and their corresponding upper bedrooms. The 16 by 20-foot dining room parallels the hall, which runs back through the whole depth of the house (see Figure 10). The 22 by 20-foot parlor, however, is sized so as to accommodate the two cubical cabinet rooms behind it, which serve respectively as gentlemen's and ladies' retiring rooms, opening through twin doors off the parlor/ballroom (see Figure 9). That larger room thus extends the eastern gable-end outward by some six feet, though the front and rear double doors are centered on the hall. The resulting asymmetry, however, is only noticeable in axial views of the north and south façades. The north gallery's six bays are arranged as three in front of the parlor's three

[21] A useful diagram of early raised-cottage roofing systems is provided in Jay D. Edwards, *Louisiana's Remarkable French Vernacular Architecture* (Baton Rouge, 1988), 4, fig. 5 (of which Beech Grove's 'single-pitch umbrella roof' is of the type illustrated as "Class IIIb").

Figure 9. Batchelor House, east and south walls of parlor, with cubical retiring rooms behind

Figure 11. Batchelor House, dining room from northwest, with plantation office behind

Figure 10. Batchelor House, upstairs hall, view into south central dormer

Figure 12. Batchelor House, east wall and fireplace of larger bedroom (above parlor)

Figure 13. Batchelor House, southwest retiring room, off master bedroom (above dining room)

north windows,[22] and two bays before the dining room's paired windows, with that framing the north entrance doors quite noticeably off-center (see Figure 4). On the south façade, the imbalance is more subtle since its three dormers are more widely spaced, and the two cabinet-room windows are only slightly farther apart than the two in the pantry, behind the dining room (see Figure 1). The design is completed by a one-story projecting, pedimented porch (framing the south doors, and extending the axis of the hall), reflecting at reduced scale the motifs of the north gallery.

The question arises as to where Thomas Batchelor might have encountered comparable designs to the one he developed at Beech Grove. The answer lies decisively in the coastal and piedmont regions of the Carolinas, where he grew up—as of course also (more hypothetically) along the trajectory of his travels in 1803 from South Carolina to the

[22] Three aligned façade windows—as are found on the north wall of the Batchelor House parlor—are somewhat rare in American domestic architecture of the Federal period. One comparable antecedent (which also happens to be directly opposite a most unusual pair of square 'cabinet rooms' behind the parlor, again as at Beech Grove) is found at Varennes Tavern, c. 1790, Anderson, South Carolina: Lane, *South Carolina* (as in note 19), *s.v.* (see also notes 24-25 here).

Mississippi Territory.[23]

The simplest form of Beech Grove's two principal rooms with end-wall fireplaces, facing each other across an intervening passage, is of course the vernacular type called the dog-trot plan. There are regional examples of that type from the last decades of the eighteenth century (and just beyond) surviving in the then-pioneer areas of the western Piedmont. A truly striking instance is provided by Varennes Tavern in Anderson, South Carolina, built for John Norris or his son Jesse Ward Norris probably in 1790-91.[24] Although expressed vertically as a typical Carolina I-House,[25] the ground-plan of Varennes Tavern is so uncannily prescient of Beech Grove's as to suggest that its already substantial foothills town (near the natural highway of the Saluda River, just west of our pioneers' documented starting point) might plausibly have been an early stop on their westward trek. Varennes Tavern not only has a large square chamber to the left of its open passage—with a fireplace centered on its end wall between twin apertures, together with the highly unusual arrangement of three windows on its façade wall, as at Beech Grove—but also the unprecedented symmetrical shapes (exactly re-created at the Batchelor House) of two perfectly square *chambres de cabinet* directly behind it. A single, larger cabinet room stands behind the right-hand chamber, which has two façade windows, and two

[23] The potential prototypes for the Beech Grove plan—as enumerated in the following paragraphs—tend quite generally to cluster in southern Virginia and northeastern North Carolina, within short distances of Batchelor's ancestral Norfolk. See especially Edwards, *Origins,* Map 2, "Principal Routes of Diffusion" for an identical trajectory of the "1790s English Tidewater Cottage." As explained in the final sentence of the following paragraph, it seems most likely that the large caravan of loaded wagons transporting these families from South Carolina to Muscle Shoals might well have avoided the steeper mountain slopes, 'outflanking' the Appalachians by following a more southerly route (which may have brought them into direct personal contact with more western South Carolina and piedmont Georgia towns).

[24] It has apparently not been noticed that the very highly unusual name of this inn refers directly to the *Maison de Poste* in the village of Varennes-en-Argonne, where on June 21, 1791, Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were arrested on their abortive flight from the Tuileries in Paris. It seems quite clear, therefore, that Lane's 'uncertain date' for Varennes Tavern should be corrected to "1790-91." (A contemporaneous engraving of the *"Arrestation de Louis seize* à *Varennes"* is preserved at Beech Grove. Thomas Batchelor was an ardent Bonapartist, even going so far as to name his and Rebecca Gayden's third son 'Napoleon Bonapart Batchelor' (1815-1850) after the French Emperor—four days before Waterloo.)

[25] Which—as at Varennes Tavern—may often share an identical ground plan with a standard 'raised cottage,' but differs in the articulation of its second full story, in which (most typically) two bedrooms flank a central stair hall, with regular windows on all sides, looking out over shed roofs above the façade gallery and the rear 'cabinet rooms.'

flanking its own gable-centered chimney. In fact, the only difference from the eventual plan of Beech Grove is that the passage doorways at Varennes Tavern are not aligned to afford an open vista between its gable-centered fireplaces. Its single-flight stair rises from the entrance end rather than the far end of the central passage and shifts both doors irregularly toward the front. The James Caldwell House, a second dog-trot plan less than twenty miles from Varennes, was built c. 1800 beside the Savannah River near Lowndesville, South Carolina. Its original plan again showed on the left a large chamber with three façade apertures and a pair of windows flanking its gable-centered chimney. Its passage doors were indeed aligned by folding its staircase into a corner of the opposite room, but its incipient *enfilade* terminated only in a blank wall since its second chamber lacked a fireplace.[26] A third dog-trot plan distinguishes the Henry Lane House in Morgan County, Georgia, in which folded-corner staircases in both main rooms provide the unbroken vista of a full *enfilade* between twin gable-centered chimneys.[27] Its date of c. 1810 may be too late, however, for our travelers, who may not have swung so far south into central Georgia, though the preceding locations might suggest that they may have intended to outflank the Appalachians by heading for the less hilly semicircle of the "Black Belt"—curving away from Columbus through Montgomery and on northward toward Muscle Shoals.

Turning from the often rustic dog-trots to the more finished eighteenth-century buildings that replaced them, in the coastal and adjacent parts of Virginia and the Carolinas (with particular attention to Thomas Batchelor's ancestral Norfolk and border counties of North Carolina), one encounters many clear prototypes of the Beech Grove plan. Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in 1781 at the Moore House, which places a large square parlor to the left of a wide front-to-back central hall, opposite a smaller dining room with a chamber behind (though the back wall of the parlor gives only onto a long, narrow "retiring room"). Its chimneys are indeed centered on the side walls, but an *enfilade* across the hall is again blocked by the stair, which once more forces the potentially aligned lateral doors into irregular positions toward the front.[28] Another

[26] Lane, *South Carolina*, *s.v.*, 'James Caldwell Cabin, Abbeville County.'

[27] Lane, *Georgia*, 32. A still useful earlier work is Frederick D. Nichols and Frances B. Johnston, *Early Architecture of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1957).

[28] Dell Upton and John M. Vlach, eds., *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture* (Athens, GA, 1986), 325.

parallel geographically proximate to Norfolk is the Old Brick House of c. 1760 in Elizabeth City, North Carolina, which almost exactly reverses the Moore House plan.[29] In 1761, the contract for a similar configuration was drawn up for a new Glebe House in Lunenburg County, Virginia (to the west of Norfolk), specifying "chimneys to be four feet deep, the Hall 18 foot square, the passage 10 foot wide, the Chamber 18 foot by 14 [with] two rooms and passage above."[30] Beech Grove precisely follows this same pattern, while increasing each interior dimension by two feet.

An open *enfilade* between the main rooms was achieved in 1763 at the William King House in Windsor, North Carolina (near the head of Albemarle Sound), but at the sacrifice of a central hall; large cabinet rooms at the size of full chambers stand behind them, balancing the width of a front gallery.[31] John Randolph II's Tazewell Hall of the 1760s, originally at Williamsburg, had twin reception rooms with an open vista between their opposing fireplaces, narrow retiring rooms behind, and a wide hall between them, running through the full width of the house.[32] That scheme was paralleled c. 1774 at the core of the Thomas Person House in Halifax County, North Carolina (bordering Thomas Batchelor's and his parents' Franklin and Nash counties), where the central *enfilade* ran across a parlor, hall, and dining room almost precisely anticipating Beech Grove's dimensions.[33]

At the Harper House of 1794 in Augusta (somewhat farther down the Savannah River, but still just possible as a stop for this family's westward pioneers), a "perfect" *enfilade* toward the fireplaces of the main rooms was accomplished by placing a curving stair at the back of the central hall, which had three equal cabinet rooms along the rear façade.[34] On the South Carolina side of that river, the George Lester House in Saluda County (from the earliest years of the nineteenth century) articulated those three spaces as a central back porch flanked

[29] Mills Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: North Carolina* (Savannah, 1985), *s.v.* See also Frances B. Johnston and Thomas T. Waterman, *Early Architecture of North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, 1941), 28-30, with pl. 55.

[30] Upton and Vlach, *Common Places*, 324.

[31] Lane, *North Carolina*, *s.v.*

[32] Mills Lane, *Architecture of the Old South: Virginia* (Savannah, 1987), 79. See also the monograph article on this building, in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 14 (1955), 14-17.

[33] Also called Little Manor (or Mosby Hall), in the town of Littleton; expanded c. 1804 by Col. William Person Little: Lane, *North Carolina*, p. 122; also Johnston and Waterman, *Early Architecture of North Carolina*, 38-39, with pls. 105-110 (for '1774' date of original portion).

[34] Lane, *Georgia*, *s.v.* See also Nichols and Johnston, *Early Architecture of Georgia*.

by twin cabinets, but the corner-folded stair in its short hall, however, again blocked a visual *enfilade* between its gable-centered fireplaces.[35]

Two exact prototypes for the asymmetrical arrangement of Beech Grove's gallery bays occur in Low-country Carolina houses of the end of the eighteenth century and the first years of the nineteenth. As noted above, the heavy chamfered posts of the Batchelor House front gallery are arranged (left to right) as three slightly narrower bays framing the three parlor windows; then a still narrower bay giving access to the north doors; and finally two wider bays to frame the two dining room windows. Around 1790, the demolished house of The Bluff on the Cooper River above Charleston demonstrated an exact reversal of that sequence, with its two, one, and three bays across the façade.[36] The contemporaneous Lassiter House at New Bern—until 1794 the capital and still one of the most important towns of North Carolina—bore very precisely the same 3-1-2 arrangement as at Beech Grove, even to the spacing of the columns.[37]

Another idiosyncratic but charming Tidewater feature of the Batchelor House are the small windows under the eaves of the west gable end, added to light the ancillary spaces to its master bedroom (a nursery and retiring room: see Figure 13). These windows are exactly prefigured, in the same positions, at the Sloop Point House of 1728 in Hampstead, North Carolina, just outside Wilmington.[38] They are repeated in many other North Carolina buildings, including (for example) a farmhouse on the Peggy Wright Plantation near Louisburg, the seat of Thomas Batchelor's native Franklin County.[39] The progressively "shouldered" main shafts and stepped bases of Beech Grove's exterior chimneys would also be worthy of remark, were they not to be found in these identical configurations on nearly all North Carolina's early domestic designs.

The interior woodwork of the Batchelor House, as well, has abundant antecedents in Carolina architecture. A mantelpiece of c. 1800 in McMakin's Tavern at Lyman in Spartanburg County already has the doubled colonnettes and scalloped oval frieze ornaments of Beech

[35] Lane, *South Carolina*, s.v.

[36] Samuel G. Stoney, *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country*, 7th ed. (New York/Charleston, 1989), 71, 191.

[37] Johnston and Waterman, *Early Architecture of North Carolina*, 60.

[38] Ibid., 147.

[39] Ibid., 44.

Grove's principal mantels.[40] At Marshlands, formerly in the Charleston Navy Yard, a mantel of 1810 shows those same rayed ovals filling the entire frieze area.[41] In approximately that year, at the Eli Smallwood House in New Bern, there also appear those panels of narrow parallel reeding that form so consistent a motif in several of Beech Grove's mantels.[42] A commission of 1827 exactly coeval with the Batchelor House, at Elgin (the Peter Mitchell House at Warrenton), immediately north of the builder's natal Franklin County, has door surrounds finished like mantelpieces, complete with the multiple cornice moldings also contemporaneously applied to the several mantels in Beech Grove.[43]

To conclude this survey with a pair of newly-built houses that Thomas Batchelor can definitely be shown to have known intimately well—and which both contributed vital components to his decade-later masterpiece at Beech Grove—we need only recall his service as principal Amite County delegate to Mississippi's first constitutional convention. That assembly of prominent planters and jurists was held in the village of Washington, six miles northeast of Natchez, from July 7 to August 17, 1817, with a five-day recess from the July 17-21.[44] Over the course of its six weeks' negotiations, no less than forty-eight delegates required local housing, a number far exceeding the exiguous accommodations of that tiny village. Washington had been established as the capital of the Mississippi Territory only in 1802, barely fifteen years before.[45] Given Batchelor's legal preeminence, together with his length of residence in the Natchez District, and given also the standards and expectations of local hospitality, it is perfectly conceivable that he should have been frequently entertained—if not, indeed, offered long-term lodging—at one or both of the Washington houses of General Leonard Covington, at Propinquity, and/or the future governor of Mississippi, Gerard C. Brandon, at Selma.

Leonard Covington had emigrated from Maryland, through Cincinnati, in

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[40] Lane, *South Carolina*, *s.v*.

[41] Stoney, *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country*, 77, 214.

[42] Lane, *North Carolina*, *s.v*. The consistency of this reeded motif, which appears on all four of Beech Grove's mantels, might argue for their common origin *in situ*. This is dramatically confirmed by the presence in two of the house's mantels (the one in the parlor, and a second in the large bedroom upstairs) of panels decorated with the most highly unusual molding found in the window and door frames of the parlor, apparently shared only by Beech Grove and by the same elements in the 1820-1823 house of Rosalie, at Natchez.

[43] Lane, *North Carolina*, *s.v*.; Johnston and Waterman, *Early Architecture of North Carolina*, 98.

[44] John Francis Hamtramck Claiborne, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory, and State* (Jackson, 1880; repr. Spartanburg, South Carolina, 1978), 352-358.

[45] Richard A. McLemore, ed., *History of Mississippi* (Jackson, 1973), I, 197.

1809. He had been appointed Lt. Col. of Light Dragoons at Fort Dearborn, near the town of Washington, and purchased the property at Propinquity in 1810. He was killed during the War of 1812 near Lake Ontario in Canada on November 11, 1813, so his then-finished house at Washington Village certainly dates from 1810 to 1812-1813.[46] Propinquity is a tall structure with a two-story projecting pedimented square porch on the façade, and rooms almost identical in size to Beech Grove's (a 21-foot-wide parlor, a 12-foot hall, and a 17-foot-wide dining room). The woodwork is quite fine, with the unusual addition of crown moldings, for example, in the hall. Thanks to its unusually deep cabinet rooms that help to absorb the rise of the staircase, Propinquity achieves an unbroken enfilade across facing doors in the hall, from the parlor fireplace to the one in the dining room. Both mantelpieces have paired colonnettes and friezes of prominent rayed ovals; that in the parlor also has pendant swags, and the unusual device of three-dimensional urns in niches above the lateral columns.

Gerard Brandon's exactly contemporaneous house at Selma was also built c. 1812, following the burning of his previous house c. 1811; it may have been finished within the year.[47] It is a large raised cottage with a seven-bay façade gallery, two small dormers front and back, and gable ends remarkably antecedent to Beech Grove's, save that only one axial chimney projects onto the exterior; a third serves the cabinet room on the same south side. Even the small second-story windows under the eaves are present, at the same positions, on both gable ends. Selma has no hall, but rather a large central parlor, originally opening onto a wide rear porch with corner-folded stairways to the upper floor. Its finish is more restrained than Propinquity's, with mantelpieces showing plain friezes between small vertical panels of reeding.

Batchelor must have studied both these new houses at Washington with unusual care, since Beech Grove, exactly ten years later, is such a creative amalgam of the two. From Selma (and its manifold Virginia and Carolina prototypes), the Batchelor House takes its basic raised cottage shape, with inset front gallery, cabinet rooms at the rear, and a

[46] Claiborne, *Mississippi*, 259.

[47] Gerard C. Brandon IV, *Memoir of the Brandon Family, May 20, 1932* (transcript at Mississippi Dept. of Archives and History (MDAH), Jackson); and idem, *Family Record Compiled by GCB IV for his dear granddaughter Mary Jane Smith, 1939* (this transcript also at MDAH), p. 1. The present writer's visit to Selma during 'Bicentennial of Statehood Tour of Washington, MS' led by Mary Warren Miller of the Historic Natchez Foundation, September 16, 2017. I am particularly grateful for Ms. Miller's review of these sources, during our telephone conversations of October 24, 2019 (in which she carefully critiqued the National Register application for Selma compiled by Jack D. Elliott Jr.).

congruent configuration of its gable ends. From Propinquity, together with the memory of still more specific Tidewater/Piedmont antecedents, it derives its classic plan of square parlor-central hall-smaller chamber visually linked through a fireplace-to-fireplace *enfilade*, with cabinet rooms behind, as well as the design of its mantels. Beech Grove shifts Propinquity's projecting square entrance porch to the rear façade, thus gaining the large outdoor living area of Selma's front gallery, while also affording the secondary façade, a feature of centralized importance. And the intervening decade, between the careful study of these houses and their inspired combination at Beech Grove, allows the Batchelor House to exhibit a locally unparalleled richness of interior ornament.

Dating

Thomas Batchelor's earliest surviving account book—amid a plethora of detailed outlays for every conceivable variety of goods and services, as well as incomes from his cotton sales—opens with scattered payments for the construction of the official house that he built in the new town of Liberty, in his role as the first Clerk of Court for Amite County.[48] Through the autumn of 1811 he took his meals at a local inn ("paid Tavern bill Nov.r term…$1.12 ½"),[49] but by June of that same year he had begun to pay William Knight, contractor, to construct a permanent house in the county town. Besides advances of more than $30.00 over the summer, by the end of that year Batchelor records a comprehensive payment to "William Knight for work done on House in the Town of Liberty $231.72".[50] In the next month, he transitioned to a finishing specialist, William Hogue, who "came to my House to work on Monday the 6th January 1812."[51] Four months later Hogue "worked on floor on Friday 1st May" and the following week "worked on Galery [*sic*.] floor Friday 8th & Saturday 9th May."[52] It was Batchelor's intent to rent his Liberty house to part-time tenants (at least during the long

[48] Batchelor had been a justice of the peace from very soon after his arrival on the River Amite: in fact the first public record made in the area is his "Docket" of official proceedings as a JP, dated "Beech Grove, 1807" that he himself deposited two years later (1809) among the earliest papers of the newly-founded Amite County in Liberty.

[49] First page of Item 1, headed "Expenses paid in Cash beginning January 1st, 1811" under date of November 29, 1811.

[50] Ibid., p. headed "Amite, December 24th, 1811," under that date.

[51] Ibid., p. headed "Amite, January the 21st, 1812," under date of January 23rd.

[52] Ibid., p. headed "Amite, March 6th, 1812," on dates cited in text.

periods between his court sessions), for toward the end of the year he notes that "Robert C. Anderson Began to Occupy my house in Liberty 10th February 1812 at 12 doll. per Month."[53] Hogue continued to work "@ one dollar per day" through the end of that year, when Batchelor settled his account for $126.95.[54] There are no notes of tenants in 1813, but on January 10, 1814, "Lieut. Samuel Spotts" contracted for "the rent of My House & lot in Liberty at 8 dollars per Month," and it was presumably he who paid "4 dollars House money" on June 20, 1814.[55] Several pages farther on, there is an entry that "Thomas Linch and Mark Moore [paid] Twelve months' House rent in the Town of Liberty commencing the first day of October 1819 and ending the first day of October 1820 at Twelve dollars per Month."[56] In the following month, "Doctor Donnell" rented "The two Western Rooms in my house in the Town of Liberty [from] 27 Nov. 1820 at Six dollars per Month."[57]

Meanwhile there had been an intervening need to expand Rebecca Gayden's "settlement structure" on the Beech Grove site, into which Thomas Batchelor had moved after their wedding in 1805 because of their growing family. Their first three children were born in 1806, 1809, and 1811, and Mrs. Batchelor had just delivered their fourth (on August 7, 1813),[58] when the earliest accounts record a substantial shipment of lumber to:

"Beech Grove, Amite, August 9th, 1813:"

6 plank	12 feet long & 8 Inches wide . . .	$48
2 plank	9 feet long & 8 Inches wide . . .	12
12 plank	12 feet long & 7 inches wide . . .	84
14 plank	12 feet long & 6 inches wide . . .	84

[53] Ibid., p. headed "Amite, July the 24th, 1812," undated entry following 'Octr. 10' at very bottom of page.

[54] Ibid., facing pp. headed "Amite, October 13th, 1812 / Amite, December 30th, 1812."

[55] Ibid., p. headed "Amite, November the 4th, 1813," on dates cited in text.

[56] Ibid., p. headed "Beech Grove, March the 29th, 1820," under date of October 1.

[57] Ibid., same page, under date of November 27.

[58] Thomas and Rebecca's children were: (1) Victoria Caroline Batchelor (1806-1858), 1st marr. 1826 Abel H. Buckholts (1801-1833), 2nd marr. 1836 Henry G. Street (1801-1879)—mistress of Beech Grove, 1846-1858; (2) Mary Ann Harriet Batchelor (1809-1830), 1st marr. 1824 Iverson G. Lea (1802-1824), 2nd married 1829 Rev. James W. Smylie (c. 1780-1853); (3) James Madison Batchelor (1811-1866), 1st married 1836 Mary E. Dent, 2nd married 1845 Eliza K. Nutt (1825-1885); (4) Thomas Agrippa Gayden Batchelor (1813-1868), 1st married 1835 Margaret C. Stewart (1819-1843), 2nd married 1844 Martha L. Chandler (1821-1862); (5) Napoleon Bonapart Batchelor (1815-1850), married 1837 Ellen D. Noland (c.1820-1870s).

1 plank 12 feet & 11 Inches wide . . .	11
2 plank 12 feet & 7 Inches wide . . .	14—$ 253.00 [59]

This lumber had been anticipated by a neighbor's being paid on January 5, 1813, (when Rebecca was three months pregnant with the Batchelors' fourth child) for "2 ½ days' work hewing," to prepare the framing timbers for the proposed addition.[60] On January 14, 1815, the local blacksmith provided "one pair Hinges 75 cts."[61] and on January 23 a nearby planter sold the Batchelors "350 brick @ 8 dolls. per Thousand."[62] Rebecca and Thomas' fifth child was born in 1815, and on May 7, 1816, Rebecca's brother sold them "54 panes of Window Glass @16 cts . . . $8.64" as well as "6 gal. Spanish Whiting . . . $.75."[63] The same neighbor who had hewn the heavy timbers was given money on October 17, 1816, for the purchase at Natchez of sundry locks, files, screws, vises, and molding planes, totaling $4.50.[64] As we know from the building of the surviving Batchelor House itself in 1827, however, these 1816 extensions of the "settlement house" on the Beech Grove site only served their function, at most, for a bit over a decade—or, as will be explained below, perhaps indeed for only as little as half that time.

The patriarch George Gayden died in June 1819,[65] and his heirs sold two parcels of land on June 1, 1821, to Thomas Batchelor, who on August 20, 1821, bought from one of them "[a] Dwelling House ['over the River' at] Collins' old place."[66] George's second wife was Lois Collins Gayden (c. 1749-1810s). Her brother Edward Collins (c. 1753-1829) had pioneered that tract on the east side of the Amite River in the original settlement, but had left it when three of his daughters married in 1808 and 1809, and he himself had remarried in 1811 to an affluent widow neighbor,

[59] Item 1, p. headed "Beech Grove, Amite, August 9th, 1813, under that date.

[60] Ibid., same page, under date (retrospectively entered) of January 5, 1813, to Matthew Tool.

[61] Ibid., p. headed "Amite, August the 6th, 1814," payment to William Morgan, on date cited in text.

[62] Ibid., same page, payment to James Lea, on date cited in text.

[63] Ibid., p. headed "Beech Grove, February the 1st, 1816," payment to Agrippa Gayden, on date cited in text.

[64] Ibid., p. headed "Beech Grove, October the 17th, 1816," under that date, payment to Matthew Tool.

[65] George Gayden's will (made in his 80th year), in the Amite County Courthouse, is dated May 29, 1819; it was probated on June 8, and his estate was evaluated—at the conspicuous figure of $10,177.75—on June 19, 1819.

[66] Casey and Otken, *Amite County* 1, 258 (parcel sold to Thomas Batchelor by George L. Gayden and wife, registered in Deed Book 1, 170), and 283 (parcel sold on same date to Thomas Batchelor by Betsy Gayden and William Morgan, registered in Deed Book 1, 169)—see note 5 for these names—and Item 1, p. headed "Beech Grove, July the 6th, 1821," on date cited in text.

who incidentally was the mother-in-law of the Gaydens' youngest son.[67]

The very low price that Mr. Batchelor paid for the former Collins house—only $50.00—indicates that its structure was both small, and probably also dilapidated. In fact, barely one month later, on September 21, 1821, his accounts record a major purchase from a local sawmill:

Bought of I[saac] H. Wright:

242 feet of floring plank	@$2.25	$5.44 ½
291 Weatherboarding	@1.75	5.09
71 feet 6-Inch ditto	@ 2.00	1.42
597 Ruff edge	@ 1.00	5.97

On November 2, 1821, this order was further augmented with the following lumber:

408 feet Ruff edge	@ 1.00	$4.08
96 feet Inch plank	@ 2.00	
96 feet ¾ ditto	@ 1.75	
97 feet Inch ditto	@ 2.00	
279 feet Inch ditto	@ 1.50	
119 feet Scantlain[molding]	@ 4.00	

And on November 28, 1821, Mr. Batchelor requested from the same mill:

398 feet Inch plank	@ 2.00
86 feet floring [sic] plank	@ 2.25 [and]
17 feet ruff [sic] edge	@ 1.00.[68]

Over the course of the latter two months, Batchelor records his indebtedness to a slave he had given his daughter for "10 days' work of Adam before Octr. Court, $10.00" [plus] "Ditto 15 days after Court, $15.00" [as well as] "6 Days' work of Adam ending Thursday 6th Decr. 1821, $6.00" [or a total of] "31.00."[69]

[67] George Gayden and Lois Collins had been married on December 4, 1782, in Granville County, North Carolina. Lois' brother Edward Collins married (second) in Amite County on December 1, 1811, Jane Terrell (widow of Edward Howard), mother of Hannah Howard, and wife of Nash Gayden (who had married Hannah on June 6, 1811).

[68] Item 1 (cited in note 1), p. headed "Beech Grove, 21st September 1821," on dates cited in text.

[69] Ibid., same page, under dates of November 2 and 29. See also note 103.

Since the above enumeration conspicuously lacks any mention of the heavy timbers required for framing a good-sized domestic structure, nor yet any specialized materials for roofing nor chimney-building (as well as an evident lack of time to accumulate them), it is virtually certain that these re-workings were focused on the house that Batchelor had just bought at "Collins' old place" across the Amite River from his own lands. It is perhaps feasible to imagine that such a remodeling of the Collins house might initially have been undertaken with the intention of moving the entire Batchelor family—with Rebecca's unmarried previous children, as well as their own five—into it, as being at least a couple of miles closer to Liberty. But since we also know, in hindsight, that their existing "settlement structure" at Beech Grove was shortly to be completely replaced with a new "mansion house" in 1827, it seems more likely that matters of taste intervened, and that the provisional restoration of the Collins' house in 1821 may have served only as a temporary lodging, while the present Batchelor House at Beech Grove was being planned and built. This may well mean that Mrs. Batchelor's original "settlement structure" of c. 1803 on that same site may only have stood for less than twenty years, before it may have been methodically disassembled, with its salvageable components destined for eventual incorporation into the new house. We know, for example, that such a situation certainly applied to two of the rough-hewn doors in Beech Grove's present master bedroom. Further, the purchase of fifty-four windowpanes for the previous house on May 7, 1816, demonstrates that at least the window glass, that other infrequent and expensive commodity, must also have been salvaged from its fabric, since the 1827 accounts record payment for only one small box of panes—far short of the number required to glaze Beech Grove's more than twenty large windows.[70]

In the autumn of 1824 Thomas Batchelor undertook yet another substantial outlay:

Account of Expenses in building Gin:

60 Canvas Wrags[?] & Grates	$135.40
Hauling Same from Natchez	
100 lb. Iron for Cylinder	8.00

[70] For the re-used doors, see note 12; for the windowpanes, see notes 63, 74, and 83. As Beech Grove has been accurately restored, its windows require almost 700 panes.

hauling Same		1.00
150 lb. Nails		18.00
hauling Same		1.50
Gudgings &c. from Nathan Davis		11.50
Paid Butler for Running Gears		100.00
" Martin for Press		100.00
" M for House and other works		122.00
" Ben. Graves for Gin head		175.00
Paid Ben. Hill for Spears & Bixler for lumber		104.98 ¾
Paid Wm. Morgan for blacksmith's Work	[Total]	$780.38[71]

Until 1824, Batchelor had been using the cotton gin of his brother-in-law, Agrippa Gayden; and indeed the same spread of accounts has the canceled aide-memoire that "Gayden's Gin Box is 20 Inches Wide & 4 feet 8 Inches long."[72] His use of the Gayden gin may have ended in 1824-25, since evidence of his own new gin being operational is provided by an invoice of:

Bagging & Cordage shipped from New Orleans 31st August 1825:

12 ps. Ky. Bagging 624 ½ yds.@ 25¢	$156.12
11 Coils Rope, 806 lbs. @ 10¢	80.60
10 lbs. Baling Twine @ 25¢	2.50
paid Drayage	.50
Coms. 2 ½ % on amount	6.00
Paid Freight on Steam boat 'Ft. Adams'	9.33
Storage & Drayage [from] the above	3.50
s [Total]	$258.55[73]

The next page of accounts (including May 1826) in fact records the vital entry for the "6 Sheets drawing paper" on which the designs for the new "mansion house" were laid out. The next eight pages all contain notations of supplies and equipment for the construction of the present Thomas Batchelor House, between the very end of 1826 and the twelve months of 1827. Batchelor recopied them in a summary sheet at the end of this sequence, which is expanded here with supplementary details of

[71] Item 1, p. headed "Liberty, [Jul]y the 28th, 1824," under that date.

[72] Ibid., facing page headed "Liberty, October 14th, 1824," following date of October 17.

[73] Ibid., p. headed "Liberty, Mar. 12th, 1825," on Aug. 31; drawing paper ibid., p. headed "Liberty, Sept. 30, 1825."

each shipment, and specific dates wherever these are given:

Beech Grove, March 1st 1827. Materials for building new House:
[1826] 4 Kegs Nails bought in 1826 $28.00
[January 1st-December 29,1827] Washing [laundry] for yourself [George Seeber, general contractor] & [Thomas] Sellars [assistant] 12 months each at 15$ each 30.00
[Early 1827] 600 feet [of lumber from mill of Avery & Chalfant] haul'd by Bob previously [before 8 March], @ 75¢ per hundred 4.50
1827 Feby. 24th. Bought of James Puech 280 lb. Sheet Lead @ 10 1/2¢ 29.40
" " " " " Rogers & Slocum [Hardware Co., N.O.] for building 40.92
" " " " " Field & Morgan 137.40
March 1st [for George Seeber] 5 Bead planes as per bill 6.00
" " " " " 1 T-Bevel 1.00
[March/April], 5 Weeks of 2 hands to saw frame of house @$20/mo.1 Mo.& 4 days 43.50
[pd. April 10] 4 hands 1 Month scoring in to hew @ $15 60.00
March 8 [from Avery & Chalfant mill] 1781 feet Ruff edge plank 13.35¾
" 10 " " " 241 Floring [sic] plank 7 Inches wide & 11 feet long
[plus]
" 12 " " " 24 [of same:] 1690 feet $25.35
" " " " " 143 Weatherboarding 12 feet long & 7 Inches broad 10.00
" " " " " 73 Floring plank 18 feet long 6 Inches wide, 657 feet 9.14
" " " " " 1 Load Ruff edge @ 75 cts. per hundred
[Summarized subsequently as] Avery & Chalfant's bill for lumber $111.00
May 4th Bought of Harvey & Tomkins:
" " 212 plank 16 feet long 8 In. broad ⅝ thick, 2261 feet 4 In. @ 8 bits $22.65
" " 13 plank 15 feet long 14 In. broad 1 ¾ thick, 227 feet
" 5 113 floring plank 16 long 7 In. wide 1 ¼ thick, 1054 feet 15.81

" " 60 Ceiling plank 16 " 8 " ⅝ " 640 " 6.44
" 13 46 plank 5 by 10 ⅜ thick, making 500 feet 5.00
" " 4 plank 15 by 13 1 ¼ Inch thick @ 12 bits
" " 25 Poplar plank 400 feet @ 8 bits
" " 6 floring [sic] plank Refuse 16 by 7 64 feet @ 8 bits .64
" " 48 Ceiling plank 16 by 8 @ 8 bits
" " 93 Refuse Ceiling 16 by 8 1177 feet @ 6 bits 8.82
[Indebtedness to this purveyor summarized:] Harvey & Tomkins' bill for lumber 126.33½
[May] Left at Coobs by Mr. [Larkin] Wailes / 360 Ceiling plank 16 by 8, ⅝ thick
" " " " " " " 24 plank 16 by 13 1 ¼ thick
[May?] Paid Larkin Wailes for hauling plank 8.00
July 19 [paid George Seeber] cash fifty two dollars to pay Wheeler 52.00
" 15 [Wheeler:] 4 Weeks board while Sick @ 12$ per Mo. 12.00
[July] [William Hughey given] cash 75 cents to pay Wheeler .75
" 31 " " " one dollar & twenty five cents, to pay Beatty 1.25
July 30 William Hughey [was] taken with bowel complaint: Deduct One Month, $25.00
& went to his cousin's, came back 20 August; 2 Weeks' Nursing, board, & physic 10.00
31st July Clapp & Beatty received eighty dollars in full for painting House &c. 80.00
19th August Samuel Foster received nine dollars in full for making brick 9.00
September 30 [George Seeber:] cash advanced you to get Candles at Kiernan's 20.00
[Summer / Fall] 6 Barrells Northern lime [from New Orleans] @ $2.50 15.00
" " Freight of Same to B[ayou]. Sarah @ 50¢ 3.00
" " 32 lb. bolts to fasten on eave Trough @25¢ 8.00
" " 47 lb. Ceiling Brads @9¢ 4.23

"	"	10 Barrells lime bought at B. Sarah @ 12 bits	15.00
"	"	1 Knob Lock at B. Sarah	2.50
26 Nov. at Natchez 2 Knob Locks $7, 1 ditto $2.50			9.50
"	"	" 2 Bolts 50¢, Screws 75¢, 1 lb. Lamp black 25¢	1.50
"	"	" 1 Barrell [linseed] oil $24.80, 2 Kegs White Lead $7.00	31.80
"	"	" 2 Barrels Lime $5, 1 Barrel Plaster Paris $10	15.00
"	"	" Drayage & Commission	1.67
[Dec.12] Paxton Holland, building 3 Chimneys [& Piers] underpinning house			150.00
14 Dec.r [B. Sara] 1 Barrel [linseed] oil at B.Sarah			20.00
"	"	" 2 Kegs White Lead at B.Sara	7.50
"	"	" 3 Bottles Copal Varnish @ 1.50¢	4.50
"	"	" 1 Box Window Glass	4.50
Carpenters' Work [Probably includes $1300 in IOU to G. Seeber, Jan. 2, 1828]			1645.00
Bricklayer [See above, for $150 paid to Paxton Holland on December12, 1827]			150.00
Painters [" " for $80 on July 31; also $115 to Clapp & Beatty Jan.17, 1828]			195.00
Plaisterer [From Natchez? Not Thomas Sellars, William Hughey, or Wheeler?]			65.00
		[Total]	$2685.65 ½[74]

Several interesting points arise from this chronology. Measured drawings for the Thomas Batchelor House (now lost) were prepared during the latter half of 1826, but the idiosyncratic "4 Kegs Nails bought in 1826" are almost certain to have been laid in previous to their specific need, perhaps simply as a result of their random availability. A general contractor and assistant were both brought to the site in January 1827, very possibly for the primary purpose of their extended consultations on those same drawings. Batchelor made fundamental purchases during a trip to New Orleans on February 24, including at least many tools, and sheet lead for the roof. But his principal pages for these accounts are both headed "Beech Grove, March the 1st, 1827" (which was a Thursday).[75] Since from early medieval times in many Continental countries, March 1 was celebrated as the New Year, it seems quite possible that symbolic

[74] Ibid., full page headed as on this account. Square brackets include material from this and previous pages.

[75] Adriano Cappelli, *Cronologia, Cronografia e Calenario Perpetuo* (Milano, 1969), 84, 285.

reasons may have underlain his choice of this day.[76] At any rate, it is on that date that the contractor was paid for his essential tools, the first lumber was delivered to the site (with more by March 8), and the work of hewing the massive beams for the base plates and upper framing was put in hand. The thirty-odd three-foot brick piers supporting the house must of course have been erected simultaneously, although Paxton Holland was only paid for them when he was reimbursed for the two Batchelor House chimneys (added last, between August 19 and December 12); his third chimney had evidently been installed on a separate kitchen.[77]

The two major consignments of lumber arrived from two different mills respectively in early March and early May. They are specified in accordance with the sizes of Beech Grove's various rooms—with the "refuse" flooring and ceiling planks, at considerably less-than-normal cost, quite possibly representing a dismantling of the site's preceding "settlement structure,"[78] with one exception. There is no provision at all, in these specifications, for the forty-two tongue-and-groove flooring planks, all at the unparalleled length of twenty-two feet, which make up the parlor floor. These boards are all laid at their full, integral lengths, with the very highly unusual characteristic of having no end-joints at all. Furthermore, their full suspended lengths allow a controlled degree of bounce, during the dances of which the Batchelors were evidently fond. Such a "sprung" floor, carefully calculated to serve its primary function of dancing, may be almost unprecedented in this region's architecture.[79] Its planks (like those of the adze-hewn plates, sills, and posts of the heavy framing timbers) may well have been culled from several months or even years of assiduous husbandry of Beech Grove's virgin forests.

Another quite surprising fact is that after less than five months' work, the entire exterior of the Batchelor House was ready to be painted

[76] Ibid., 8-22, esp. 11 ("Stile veneto"), and 16, 18, 20, 21 for this usage in countries other than Venetian dominions. It is also possible that an unknown, esoteric significance might perhaps underlie this choice, for there is some evidence that Batchelor may have been a Freemason.

[77] Item 2, 20: "Received of Thomas Batchelor one hundred fifty dollars for building three chimneys, under pinning house &c . . . 12th Decr. 1827. [signed] Paxton Holland."

[78] Such a dismantling might have occurred at any point between November of 1821, when the Batchelor family apparently moved into their newly-acquired and newly-renovated house at "Collins' old place" on the east side of the West Amite River (note 68), and late autumn of 1827, when Thomas and Rebecca Batchelor's "mansion house" was far enough advanced for its doors to be hung (note 12) and its windows to be glazed (notes 74 and 83).

[79] One of the only evident functional reasons for the Beech Grove parlor floor's studious avoidance of end- (or butt-) joints might be a wish to prevent the snagging of guests' fragile dancing slippers.

(since payment for that work was already made on July 31, 1827).[80] The celerity of this operation certainly demonstrates that the exterior siding and weatherboarding had previously been thoroughly dried, through aging in controlled stacks. Beech Grove's early testimony for roof gutters, or eave troughs, reflects a feature omitted from its most recent restoration.[81] Samuel Foster's work through August 19 for making brick was accomplished in two kiln sites on an adjoining property originally settled by Thomas Batchelor himself, a quarter mile down the creek that flows in front of Beech Grove.[82] The eighteen barrels of lime (for mortar, during the summer's bricklaying of the chimneys) each cost $2.50 in New Orleans and Natchez, but only $1.50 at Bayou Sara; plaster-of-Paris for the interior walls downstairs was far more expensive, at $10 a barrel. The one box of window glass bought at Bayou Sara on December 14 could only have contained some twenty-eight panes (if the 1816 price of 16¢ per pane still was accurate). That same 1816 purchase of glass for the preceding "settlement house" at Beech Grove, however, does demonstrate that it—most unusually for its early date—certainly had glazed windows.[83] It is thus feasible that its relatively precocious and expensive window-glass should have been a principal material salvaged from it, since the many large windows at Beech Grove contain almost seven hundred panes.

The latest payments for the construction of the chimneys and the last-minute purchase of final materials for the Batchelor House both occurred in mid-December 1827. One comes thus within easy range of the end-of-year reckoning noted by Batchelor's delivery of a major note

[80] Item 2, p. 19: "Received of Thomas Batchelor eighty dollars in full for painting House &c…31st July 1827. [signed] Clapp & Beatty."

[81] This is apparently a precocious date for 'eve Troughs'[sic]. It was mistakenly assumed, during the 2004 meticulous restoration of the original aspect of the house, that roof gutters might have been inappropriate in 1827.

[82] Item 2, 19: "Recd. of Thomas Batchelor nine dollars in full for making Brick . . . 19th August 1827. [signed] Samuel Foster." The locations of Foster's two 'pug mills' are marked by deep circular troughs (worn by paddle-powering mules) beside Mill Creek: compare illustration (p. 230) of a comparable Mississippi system of "Brick Making and Masonry" in J. Frazer Smith, *White Pillars: Early Life and Architecture of the Lower Mississippi Valley* (New York, 1941), 229-231.

[83] Their windowpanes, of course, may not (or may not all) have been installed as early as the presumed date of construction of that 'settlement structure' in the latter months of 1803. But the Batchelors' purchase of fifty-four panes in 1816 (note 63) proves not only that their preceding house on the Beech Grove site certainly had at least a few glazed windows by that date, but that their source for this glass, Rebecca Batchelor's brother Agrippa Gayden, was also using it simultaneously on an adjoining property.

of indebtedness to George Seeber on January 2, 1828, and his outright payment to the painters for the completion of their interior work, on January 17.[84] With its twice-repeated date of actual commencement on March 1, 1827, therefore, the clear evidence of the surviving accounts is that the Thomas Batchelor House at Beech Grove was completed in the astonishingly short time of just over ten months. One striking indication of how this might have been achieved is afforded by the account of September 30, recording that the contractor George Seeber was advanced the considerable sum of $20.00 "to get Candles at Kiernan's [tavern]"—by which we learn that the building crew worked day and night, once they were able to concentrate on the interior of the house.[85]

Beech Grove's detached kitchen had been the subject of a preceding payment of $9.00 on June 29, 1825, to Young S. Harrington for "600 feet of plank," which is clearly distinguished from those destined for the "mansion house" two years later, by its lack of specifications as to lengths, widths, or thicknesses (or, in other words, that it was a generic shipment of rough planking, quite evidently intended for such an auxiliary structure).[86] The bricklayer Paxton Holland was paid in 1827 to provide a third chimney for just such an ancillary building; and indeed one learns from the repeated references to "board" being provided for the Batchelor House workers that a kitchen was certainly functioning at Beech Grove by the early summer of 1827. The third chimney may have been built for it at the same time as the foundation piers, or very early in that year.

On the account-book spread immediately following Mr. Batchelor's final summary of the costs for his "mansion house," there occur from 1828 through 1830 his notations of

[84] Item 2, consecutive entries on p. 21: "Received of Thomas Batchelor his note dated the 2nd day of January 1828 for thirteen hundred and forty three dollars payable the 1st day of March next, or Sooner if he sells his cotton…[signed] George Seeber" followed by "Received of Thomas Batchelor one hundred & fifteen dollars in full for painting House &c . . . 17th January 1828. [signed] Clapp & Beatty." It was standard procedure for Southern planters to make such New Year's reckonings: Genovese, *Sweetness of Life* (cited in note 7), 161-2, 221-230.

[85] That very substantial sum would have bought hundreds of candles. See note 74.

[86] Item 2, "Received of Thomas Batchelor nine dollars in full for six hundred feet of plank. 29 June 1825. [signed] Young S. Harrington." It should be noted that this amount of lumber almost exactly parallels those provided in 1837 and 1838 for a legal office at Beech Grove, and a cabin for a neighbor who worked at Batchelor's Grist Mill, or respectively of 525 linear feet and 680 feet. See notes 120 and 122.

Expenses Laid out in building my out buildings [at Beech Grove]:

Paid [John] Rutledge [$38.55 in a receipt dated September 12, 1828] $40.34
Paid Montague & Jones for plank 70.95
Paid Doct. Cannon for 2 Kegs White Lead $6 [and] 2 [Kegs] Brown $4 10.00
2 Kegs Nails. Rogers & Slocumb [Hardware Co, New Orleans] 17.00
1 Gro[ss] Screws 4 bits, 2 Knob Locks $2.50 3.00
1 Stock Lock .75
Paid [Castlereugh C.] Atkinson, carpenter, in cash [$37 on Sept. 18, 1828] 38.00
Paid [George] Seeber 50.00
Paid [William] Brundige [$16.00 in a receipt dated November 9, 1827] 18.00
Paid [the carpenter,] Atkinson [$68.25 in a receipt dated October 28, 1828] 80.00
Paid the painter $25, paint & oil $14 $39.00
[Total] 367.04[87]

Batchelor's direct payments to the workmen offer a bit more information about these "outbuildings." The carpenter Richard Young was paid on June 19, 1829, for "Covering [roofing] Stable & making [its] door, $11.00; Making Dairy $15, and [making] Necessary [or privy] $15."[88] In September and October 1829, Young was further paid $94.00 for "22 Pannels fence dressed on both sides @ 10 bits, $27.50, [then] 14 Pannels plain @ 5 bits, $14.00" [as well as for] "Making 500 Shingles, $1.50 [and for building] Gates $10.00."[89] Winston Gilmore was paid $6.00 "for one pair Hinges" on May 17, 1830.[90] Nicholas Nicholson was paid $20.00 for "carpenter's work" on August 17, 1830,[91] while the bricklayer

[87] Item 1, p. headed "Beech Grove, 1828," with receipts on September 12 and 18, October 28, and November 9 registered in Item 2, 19, 22 (twice), 23.

[88] Item 1, The Beech Grove Papers (Z/2380), p. headed "Beech Grove, June 19th, 1829," on that date.

[89] Ibid., facing page also headed "Beech Grove, June the 19th, 1829," under date of September 9; Item 2, 24, 27.

[90] Ibid., 25: "Received of Thomas Batchelor six dollars in full for one pair Hinges . . . 17th May 1830 [signed] Winston Gilmore."

[91] Ibid., 26: "Received of Thomas Batchelor Twenty dollars in full for carpenter's work done for him this 17th day of August 1830 [signed] Nichol. Nicholson."

Paxton Holland received another $22.50 on August 23, 1830.[92] Richard Young finally was paid another $24.00 for "Carpenter work" on October 21, 1830.[93] Beech Grove's kitchen, privy, stable, and dairy, together with their associated fences and gates—none of which, unfortunately, survive today—thus required almost exactly three years to complete, from William Brundige's initial work in October and November 1827 to Richard Young's final payment on October 21, 1830.

With that provision of the most crucial secondary structures to surround the Batchelor House, as well as Beech Grove's new cotton gin of 1824-25, and the 1821 remodeling of the "old Collins place" (which, when the family moved out of it into their new "mansion house," may well have been assigned to the overseer of the planation's eighty-five slaves), there remained two other essential buildings typically found on an affluent estate—a grist mill for the grinding of grains and a saw mill for preparation of lumber. At Beech Grove these were put in hand as a combined structure, which in fact is unique among the plantation's auxiliary buildings in having left a firm trace, clearly visible today. Just east of the bridge over Neland's Creek[94] (aptly renamed, as a result of this construction, Mill Creek) below the Beech Grove family cemetery, a couple hundred yards northeast of the Batchelor House, is still to be seen (at low water) an extensive grid of well-preserved foundation timbers, some feet below the surface of the creek.

Thomas Batchelor's accounting for this final structure at Beech Grove begins with the note that he "Began to get Mill timber July the 7th [1831] & Began same time to clear Land [for the millpond]."[95] Several scattered entries of accounts intervene before a summary page, headed: "1833: Amount of Expenses in building Mill." These might begin with G. D. Parham's receipt on May 17, 1832, of $12.00 for "work done on [Batchelor's] Mill and Ginn." But the small amount, as well as the specificity of the next entry, suggests instead that Parham's work may

[92] Ibid., 26: "Recd. of Thomas Batchelor ten dollars in money & his due bill for twelve dollars & fifty cents . . . August the 23rd, 1830 [signed] Paxton Holland."

[93] Ibid., 27: "Received of Thomas Batchelor Twenty four dollars for Carpenter work done for him . . . October the 21st, 1830 [signed] R. Young."

[94] Originally named for John Kneeland (d. August 1817), who settled 120 acres on the upper reaches of this stream (above Bethel Church) in 1802, and obtained a U.S. Government Preemption Certificate for that land (irregular § 7 along the creek, Township 1 North, Range 3 East) in 1806. Kneeland had five children and four slaves in the 1805 census, and six children and seven slaves in the Census of 1810. He was widely respected as one of the original settlers of this area.

[95] Item 1, p. headed "Beech Grove, June 27th 1831," on date cited in text. See also note 14.

more probably have been performed on the existing cotton gin, which had been built at Beech Grove in 1824-25.[96] In fact, the newer gin, grist, and saw mill's principal builder, Thomas Tomkins, only arrived at the creek site on July 18, 1832. He was paid on September 1 the much more substantial sum of $55.00 for "work . . . on the foundation & frame of a Mill," which was clearly the initial work on this project. Such is fully confirmed by his next appearance, when on February 16, 1833, he earned an additional $61.90 "for work done on Mill," but noted that "I obligate myself to come when the weather gets warmer (say, May next) & make an alteration in the trunk of said Mill & put the Water wheel lower."[97] Another workman, Solomon Mangum (offsetting an itemized laundry bill from the staff at Beech Grove from mid-March through August), was paid $50.00 on April 26, 1833, for "work done on the upper frame of Mill House" for which he also earned $110.92 on June 1, with the balance (making up Mangum's comprehensive fee of $415.00) tendered on September 11, 1833.[98] The blacksmith William G. Tyler also had his total wage of $18.25 on June 1 of that year reduced by a more modest deduction for seven pieces of washing (costing 75¢), during the month of May.[99]

Thomas Batchelor's eventual summary of his gin, grist, and saw mill expenses lists two one-line entries for the lumber used in that structure, giving only the name of the commercial mill from which he ordered it. A specific itemization is therefore useful. In August and September of 1832 these shipments begin, to be followed in January 1833 with:

125 pieces of Spoilling 16 feet long 12 inches wide, 1900 feet $28.50
Sept. 1st [cancelled] 26th 88 Plank of Sheeting 17 feet long, 22 of them

[96] Item 2, p. 31: "Recd. of Thomas Batchelor twelve dollars on account of work done on his Mill & Ginn, May 17th, 1832 [signed] G.D. Parham."

[97] Item 1, p. headed "Beech Grove, July the 13th 1832," under date of July 18th; Item 2, (cited in note 1), 31: "Received of Thomas Batchelor fifty five dollars on account of work done for him on the foundation & frame of a Mill, September 1st, 1832 [signed] Thomas Thompkins;" ibid., 32, February 16, 1833; and note 14.

[98] Item 1, two-page spread headed "Beech Grove, February 9th, 1833," right-hand page, for first four months of laundry account; Item 2, 33: "Received of Thomas Batchelor fifty dollars on account of work done on the upper frame of Mill House, 26th April 1833 [signed] Solomon Mangum" and ibid., 33: "Received of Thomas Batchelor One hundred & ten dollars and ninety two cents on account of work done on Mill, June 1st, 1833 [signed] Solomon Mangum," as well as ibid., 34, for final payment of $415 on September 11.

[99] Item 1, two-page spread headed "Beech Grove, February 9th, 1833," right-hand page, for laundry bill during May; Item 2, 33: "Received of Thomas Batchelor Seventeen dollars & fifty cents in full for Blacksmith's work done on Mill Irons &c, June 1st, 1833 [signed] William G. Tyler."

one foot wide, the balance some wider, 420 [feet] 10 [inches] / 136 [feet; totals cancelled]

1833 Jany. 5th 8 plank 17 Feet long 10 Inches wide, 113 [feet, total]

9	"	17	"	17	"	216
3	"	17	"	14	"	60
1	"	17	"	16	"	22 [feet] 8 [inches]
6	"	12	"	19	"	114 [total,] 525.8

in.,$7.87 ½ [and later]

6 " 94 feet of Ruff edge @ 4 bits[.][100]

An isolated note occurs ten days later, with a memorandum of heavy timbers provided:

3800 three foot boards 15 Jany. 1833 at 4 farthest trees[.][101]

Bill For Saw Mill & Ginn 1833

2 Plates 10 Inches square [i.e. 10" x 10" in cross-section] 34 feet long

6 Corner Posts 12 Inches square, 8 feet long

1 Piece	14	"	"	18	"
2 Posts	12 by 14	"	Square, 14 "		
2 Pieces	8 by 12		30 feet long		
14 Braces	8 by 10		6 feet 8 Inches long		
1 Piece	10 Inches Square		34 feet[.]		

Consecutively below appears a contract for "Work to be done by Mr. Solo. Mangum:"

For framing the Mill house, Gin &c fifty four feet by thirty four, together with the Shed over the bridge & Raftering, Raising &c, calculated to work a Saw, for One hundred dollars (say) $100.00

For putting one Saw to work by Water complete, One hundred fifty dollars (say) $150.00

For making the Running Gears of a Ginn [sic], double reverse Screw press, box &c, & putting it in Operation complete $150.00

[100] Item 1, p. headed "Beech Grove, July the 20th, 1832," under dates of September 1 and 26, and January 5, 1833.

[101] Ibid., p. headed "East half of the S.E. Quarter of Section Twenty One…1833," under date cited in text. As will be seen in the final entry of the next account, such timbers were routinely provided by the owner, rather than ordered from a commercial mill.

The timber for the above work to be furnished on the ground [i.e. by the owner].

[Friday] February the 8th 1833.

[signed] Tho. Batchelor

[signed] Solomon Mangum[102]

On the next spread occurs the final, after-the-fact compendium account:

Amount of Expenses in Building Mill 1833

Paid Thomas Tomkins [who was assisted by] Adam [the slave experienced in carpentry, belonging to Thomas Batchelor's daughter], came to Work on Monday 27th Sept. 1832 . . . commenced Work with Tho. Tomkins on Monday 22nd October 1832[103] $223.25

There are also separate notes[104] of Tomkins's work December 19-21, 1832 "on bridge, at Mill, 3 days @ $2.50 per day" and on January 4, 1833, he "Began to work at Mill breast[work, or dike enclosing the millpond] 9th to 11th January "at Mill breast[work] three days @ $2.50 per day" as well as [on Jan. 22, 1833] a memorandum of "Tho. Tomkins' directions for Mill Irons:

Rag Iron 4 feet 8 Inches in diameter. Rags half Inch apart, the notches square down. The crank 11 ½ Inches long 3 Inches Square. Sawmill Saw 6 feet long, thin on the back and high middle."

Paid Bates the Blacksmith 12.00

Paid [Tyre] Rembert [who] commenced Work 2nd Octr. @ 1$ per day[105] 12.00

Paid Brown & Parker for plank 67.94

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[102] Ibid., p. headed simply "1833," under date of February 8th. Mangum's more detailed cash accounts from April through August occur in ibid., p. headed "Beech Grove, June the 12th, 1833," including the final three months of his laundry bills, and documentation of his work on August 6 and 13 in "coupling Rafters and Raising them" and "on the press house," at $2.50 per day. Mangum was assisted in this work by Abraham P. Boardman, who shared in the laundry expense, and was independently paid $16.32 on June 1 (Item 2, p. 33), as well as by Tyre [or Tiry] Rembert (ibid., 31, directly paid $18 on August 18), and by 'Harry' and 'Bill', two slaves, whose 12½ days' work was reimbursed (through Mangum) at $1 per day. See also note 98.

[103] These insertions concerning 'Adam' are from Item 1, p. headed "Beech Grove, 29th September, 1832," on dates cited in text. See also note 69.

[104] Ibid., p. headed "Beech Grove, September the 1st, 1832," on dates cited in text. The 'Mill Irons' directions are from ibid., p. cited in note 101, immediately following that entry.

[105] The insertion of Rembert's first day of work is from ibid., p. cited in note 97, on date cited in text.

3 Kegs cut nails, 300 lb. @ 6¢ 18.00
1 Pair Mill Stones [&] Running Gears of a horse grist mill [to] William Sandall, Dec. 28[106] 50.00

Paid A.H. Buckholts [husband of Batchelor's daughter V. C. Buckholts[107]] for Adam's hire 31.00
March 12th Paid for Mill Irons in N. Orleans, Saw &c 106.35
Paid William G. Tyler (Blacksmith) for making Mill Irons 17.50
Paid for Iron in N. O. 484 lbs. 26.07
Paid Brown & Parker for plank [partly on June 21, 1833][108] 26.00
Octr. 9 Paid John Radford for work done on Press house &c [@ $1 per day] 16.00
Paid B[enjamin] Graves for Gin head [containing Sixty Saws][109] 290.00
Paid Solomon Mangum 400.00
[Total] $1296.11[110]

To this summary is added, on a loose slip of paper, two calls from the family doctor:

July[?] 29, 1833 [Dr.] James Perkins' visit for workman 5.00

[106] The 'Sandall' insertion is from ibid., p. headed "Beech Grove, November 4th, 1833," on date cited in text.

[107] Abel Hodge Buckholts (1801-1833), son of pioneer Amite County planters, married Victoria Caroline Batchelor (1806-1858) on December 26, 1826. In 1825, Buckholdts provided the capital (and renewed energy) for the Natchez and New Orleans mercantile and cotton brokerage firm of Buckholts & Richards, founded by John Richards (1787-1827) of Virginia and Natchez. Following his partner's death, Buckholts ran the firm alone, until his own premature death in the cholera epidemic of 1833. The eleven Buckholts & Richards account ledgers inherited by his widow and preserved at Beech Grove were donated to the Mississippi Dept. of Archives and History. After Buckholts's death, his widow Victoria Caroline Buckholts married on July 27, 1836, the lawyer Henry Goodall Street, Esq. (1801-1879). See note 120.

[108] Item 2, (cited in note 1), 33: "Received of Thomas Batchelor twenty dollars on account of plank bought by him, 21st June 1833 [signed] James Brown & Parker."

[109] Ibid., 34: "Recd. of Thomas Batchelor two hundred and ninety dollars in full for a Gin head containing Sixty Saws, this 9th day of September, 1833 [signed] Benjm. Graves."

[110] Item 1, p. cited in note 99, under dates of March 12 and October 9, 1833.

Aug. 11 " " " " visit and advice for same 5.00[111]

On April 30, 1836, G. W. Ailes was paid "fifty dollars for repairing and Setting to work [the] Grist & Saw Mill."[112] Similar repairs earned John and William Dunckley $90.00 on March 21, 1839,[113] while $7.50 was paid on January 20, 1845, to Charles E. Fraley for "one week's work done on [the Beech Grove] yard paling," and another $6.00 covered Fraley's "work done on Mill" on April 28, 1845, both for Thomas's son James Madison Batchelor.[114]

One more structure near Beech Grove for which Thomas Batchelor was responsible was a house for the family of his daughter, Mary Ann Harriet Batchelor (1809-1830). At age fifteen, Mary Ann Harriet had spent three weeks married to a dying husband, Iverson Green Lea (1802-1824), a law school graduate who had been a protégé of Batchelor.[115] After her recovery from four years' mourning, she married on April 7, 1829, the Presbyterian minister Reverend James Smylie (c. 1780-1853), and their son Thomas Batchelor Smylie was born on February 26, 1830. With products from his new sawmill (and motivated by the birth of his namesake grandson—though Mary Ann had died five months later), Batchelor arranged to purvey to Reverend Smylie the materials for a new house. Their estimates for interior finishing supplies are contained in a:

[111] Item 2, loose slip between 34 and 35. James Perkins (c.1800-c.1842) was a nephew of Rebecca Batchelor, whose own sister Martha ('Patsy') Gayden had married James's father, Col. Lewis Perkins (note 5); James himself had married in 1826 Rebecca's niece Louisiana Emily Gayden, daughter of her full brother Cadesby Gayden (note 5).

[112] Ibid., 36, for the receipt cited in text.

[113] Ibid., 41: "Received of Thomas Batchelor ninety dollars in full for repairing & Setting to work his Grist Mill, 21st March 1839 [signed] J.& Wm. B. Dunckley."

[114] Ibid., unnumbered page headed "Beech Grove, Jan.3, 1845," on date cited in text; and on a separate slip of gray paper inserted at that page, "Received six dollars of J. M. Batchelor for work done on Mill this 28 day of April 1845 [signed] Charles E. Fraley." J. M. Batchelor ran Beech Grove until he was given a plantation at Rodney, Mississippi in 1846.

[115] Iverson and Mary Ann were married on September 7, 1824 (Casey and Otken, *Amite County*, vol. III (Birmingham, 1957), p. 238); just three weeks later later his obituary comments that he "died at age 22, as an Attorney-at-Law, in Liberty, at the residence of Thomas Batchelor, Esq."—J. Paul Mogan Jr. and Kathryn C. Mogan, *Amite County Cemeteries* (Osyka, Mississippi, 1982), 33. Mary Ann's was the first burial in the Beech Grove cemetery (she died August 8, 1830), followed by Thomas's wife Rebecca Gayden Leith Wren Batchelor's, on January 14, 1836; Iverson (d. September 29, 1824) is buried therefore in the original Liberty cemetery, now known by the name of 'Robert Brown,' on the crown of the bluff overlooking his early home, 2.5 miles southwest of Liberty.

Memorandum for Revd. Jas. Smylie, Jany. 30, 1834:
700 feet ceiling Plank 15 feet long ¾ Inch thick
2000 ft. Weatherboards, all lengths or 5000 feet
3000 feet Inch[-thick] plank, 12 or 15 ft. long
3000 floring " " or 5000 of each.[116]

Framing timbers had been delivered eight days earlier, according to Batchelor's accounts:

Beech Grove, January the 22nd, 1834—Revd. James Smylie, [by] Waggon:

6 Pieces of Scantling [molding]	17 feet long,	4 by 6 Inches	[@] 8 bits	$2.04
68 Pieces " "	17 "	3 by 4 "	@ 8 bits	11.56
18 Joists	15 feet long	2 ½ by 8 inches		6.75
18 Pieces	15 "	4 by 4 for braces		3.59
54 Rafters	9 "	3 by 4 inches		3.06
4 Gallery Posts	10 "	6 by 6 "		1.20
2 Posts	10 "	4 by 6 "		.40
Feby. 11 81 Pieces Weatherboarding	11 ½ "	7 Inches broad		5.13
1 Piece Scantling [molding]	12 "	6 inches square		.36
14 31 Inch[-thick] plank	16 feet long	12 inches wide		
11 " "	15 "	12 inches wide, 661 ft.		6.61
April 10 750 feet Ruff edge plank @ 4 bits				3.75
11 500 feet weatherboards @ 8 bits				8.00
4 " split				
June 3 40 Plank 16 feet long 7 inches wide, 1 ¼ thick, 373 ft. @ 12 bits				5.59
14 plank 15 feet long 12 inches Wide, ¾ inch thick, 210 ft. @ $1				2.10
15 " 16 "	12 " "	240 ft. @ 8 bits		2.40
15 " 16 "	7 " "	140 " @ 8 bits		1.40
			[Total]	$63.94[117]

[116] Item 1, p. headed "Beech Grove, January the 22nd, 1834" on date cited in text.
[117] Ibid., same page, on dates cited in text.

A subsequent account is headed **Revd. James Smylie:**

22 Plank 15 ½ ft. long, 12 inches wide, 1 In. thick, 341 ft. @ 8 bits
26 Inch[-thick] plank, 16 " 12 " 416" @ 8 bits
4 " 1 6 " 10 " 53
[Total] 810 ft. @ $1 $8.10

That reckoning was expanded, later in June or through July 7, by a subsequent account:

529 feet Ruff edge plank @ 4 bits $2.64 ½
93 feet Weatherboards @ 8 bits .93
98 feet flooring plank @ 12 bits 1.47…
The balance of J. Smylie's a/c up to this day Friday the 18th July 1834 $59.58 ½ August
25 28 pieces Weatherboards 7 inches wide & 15 ft. long, 245 feet
44 " " 7 " 12 " 308 "
553 ft.@ $1 5.53
160 feet Ruff edge plank @ 4 bits .80[118]

It will be recalled that Thomas Batchelor's brother-in-law, Agrippa Gayden (1778-1845), had run a local cotton gin that Batchelor had used before his own first gin had been built at Beech Grove in 1824-25. Ten years later, Gayden's structure and machinery needed upgrading, as reflected in Batchelor's accounting at:

Beech Grove, July 28, 1834. Agrippa Gayden:

3 Cants 15 feet long, 17 inches wide, 4 In. thick 63 feet 9 Inches
3 " 15 " 17 " 4 " 63 9 "
3 Arms 13 " 12 ½ " 3 ¼ " 40
2 pieces for press doors 12 ft. long, 18 In. wide, 3 thick 36
1 " " 12 " 18 " 3 " 18
[Total] 221 . 6 @ $3 $6.63

100 feet of 1 ¾ - inch plank @ 12 bits 1.50
3 Arms for band Wheel 9 ft. long, 10 Inches wide, 3 thick 22 . 6 @ 3¢ .66
4 Plank for Rim 15 ft. long, 12 in. wide, 1 ¼ thick 45 ft. .56

[118] Ibid., p. headed "Beech Grove, May the 4th, 1834" on dates cited in text.

6 Braces 7 feet long, 6 by 3 In. at one cut, 3 square at the other @ 3¢ 1.26
1 Piece Scantling15 ft. long, 3 by 4 @ 3¢ .45 1" 8" 4 by 4 @ 3¢ .32
[Total] $11.38
7 Plank 12 Inches broad, 15 ft. long 105 feet @ 8 bits 1.05
2 Pieces for Stairs, 15 ft. long, 15 inches broad & 3 thick, 97 ft. @ 8 bits . 97
[Total] $13.40[119]

A small consignment of processed lumber, totaling some 525 linear feet, was provided on August 14, 1837, (without cost—probably for a legal office at Beech Grove) to Henry G. Street, Esq., second husband of Batchelor's elder daughter Victoria Caroline Buckholts.[120] On the same date there is a credit of $10.00 noted as due to "Mr. Crooms" for "laying the floor of [the Beech Grove] Smoke House."[121] Since that building had certainly existed for years and since the credit is so low, this presumably indicates only the replacement of its dirt floor with a permanent one. Some 680 feet of lumber were also sold on March 9, 1838, to one of the employees of the new grist mill; but that cabin was almost certainly erected on a separate property, to the north of Beech Grove.[122] A set of "Arms for the Saw-Mill Gate" were installed on April 6, 1839,[123] and new components were provided on the cotton press for the gin on July 6, 1839.[124] With these modest transactions, Beech Grove's earliest accounts come to an end. Thomas Batchelor's last entry is dated March 31, 1842,[125] and he

[119] Ibid., p. headed as cited in text; accompanied by marginal note, "Hauled 5 bales cotton in payment of the above."

[120] Henry Goodall Street (1801-1879) of Beech Grove was a younger son of the long-established family owning Santee Plantation near Richmond in Hanover County, Virginia; he and his brother Joseph H. Street emigrated to Woodville, Mississippi by 1833, and established a joint law practice there (Joseph moved to Natchez by the spring of 1840). On July 28, 1836 (Casey and Otken, cited in notes 13 and 115, *Amite County* 3, p. 240) Henry married Thomas Batchelor's eldest daughter, Victoria Caroline Batchelor (1806-1858)—recently the widow of Abel Hodge Buckholts (1801-1833), for whom see note 107. Henry's and Victoria Caroline's two children were Thomas Parke Street (1839-1917) of Beech Grove and Charles Napoleon Batchelor ['C.N.B.,' or 'Nap'] Street (1843-1864), Sergeant Major in Co. K, 33rd Mississippi Regiment: killed at the Battle of Franklin (Tennessee).

[121] Item 1, p. headed "Beech Grove, June 18th, 1837" (both entries under date of August 14).

[122] Ibid., p. headed "Beech Grove, March 9th, 1838." The beneficiary was James Duck; his Duck descendants still live at the present day on their same property, less than 2 miles north of Beech Grove.

[123] Ibid., p. headed "Beech Grove, April the 6th, 1839," on that date. The new fixtures included the 'Arms', a 'Middle piece,' and the 'Gate' itself, though no prices are given.

[124] Ibid., next page (lacking the customary header), under date cited in text. The listing is for ten pieces (including two female screws), but again no prices are noted.

[125] Ibid., p. headed "Beech Grove, October the 1st, 1841," under 1842: "Began to plant cotton, Thursday 31 March."

died on April 11 of that year.

In conclusion, this review of the design and dating of the Batchelor House at Beech Grove has provided a well-attested line of descent from Virginia and North Carolina prototypes, and a documented date within the year of 1827, for one of the most outstanding examples of Federal architecture in Mississippi. The account books, from which that documentation is derived, also provide thorough histories for Thomas Batchelor's and his family's residential and service buildings of (1) his town house in the county seat of Liberty (1811-12); (2) a remodeling / expansion of his wife's earlier (c. 1803) "settlement structure" on the Beech Grove site (additions documented 1813-16, house demolished between 1822 and 1826); (3) a major rebuilding of another settlement structure at "Collins' old place" on the Amite River (1821), perhaps as an interim family dwelling (1821-27); (4) a cotton gin (1824-25), closer to home, probably on the builder's original parcel of 320 acres, adjoining Beech Grove; (5) a new [or expanded?] Batchelor House exterior kitchen (1825-26): the bricklaying of its chimney reimbursed, together with two chimneys on the main house, on December 12, 1827; (6) other outbuildings for the Batchelor House, including a privy, dairy, smokehouse, and stable (all 1827-30, with associated fencing and gates [repaired 1845]: the smokehouse refloored in 1837, and the stable/barn surviving into the 1980s); (7) a saw- and grist-mill, incorporating a new cotton gin (1832-33, its site still visible: repaired 1836, 1839, and 1845); (8) a new house (off-site) for Rev. James Smylie, widower of Batchelor's daughter Harriet (1834); (9) the refurbishing of a cotton gin for Agrippa Gayden, Batchelor's brother-in-law, on the latter's property (1834); and (10) a small legal office at Beech Grove for Henry Street, Batchelor's son-in-law (1837). Such a large complement of ancillary buildings attests to Beech Grove's increasing importance as a major cotton and livestock farm, during the last quarter-century of its builders' lives. Its surviving "big house" epitomizes the Natchez District's most up-to-date planning, and a refinement of interior finish rivaling the greatest houses of that Mississippi metropolis.[126]

[126] It is observed above (note 42) that the highly unusual moldings of the door- and window-frames in the Beech Grove parlor may be matched only at Rosalie (1820-23) in Natchez, designed probably by James Griffin. In addition to that element of quasi-uniqueness, it is further noteworthy that each of the principal downstairs rooms, at the Batchelor House, also has a handsomely differentiated repertory of moldings, culminating in their unusually elaborate wainscoting and fireplace surrounds. Another rare Beech Grove feature, which may truly be unique in the Federal architecture of this region, is the pair of large oval chandelier sockets in the parlor and dining room (see figure 10), each with a sunburst pattern of ridged and scalloped rays, matching the rayed ovals of its mantelpieces.

Mississippi Historical Society Awards Prizes at 2020 Annual Meeting

Ken P'Pool (center) won the Dunbar Rowland Award for lifetime achievement. He is pictured with past winners Lucy Allen and Elbert Hilliard.

The Mississippi Historical Society announced the recipient of its lifetime achievement award, honored the best Mississippi history book published in 2019, recognized the history teacher of the year, and presented other awards at its annual meeting held March 5-6, 2020, at Delta State University in Cleveland.

Ken P'Pool won the Dunbar Rowland Award for lifetime achievement, given in recognition of his major contributions to the preservation of Mississippi history. P'Pool began his career with the Mississippi Department of Archives and History in 1979 as an architectural historian and rose to the position of Director of the Historic Preservation Division and Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer. During his tenure, P'Pool spearheaded numerous historic preservation projects across the state and is widely known for his work on the restoration and preservation of buildings damaged by Hurricane Katrina on the Mississippi Gulf Coast. He was nominated by the Historic Natchez Foundation. P'Pool retired in 2018.

Dave Tell accepts the McLemore Prize from Dierdre Payne for his book Remembering Emmett Till.

Remembering Emmett Till, by University of Kansas professor Dave Tell, was awarded the McLemore Prize for best Mississippi history book of 2019. Published by the University of Chicago Press, the book examines the complexities of the 14-year-old Chicago boy's murder and how Till's story has been reflected throughout history.

Kevin Allemand Jr. received the John K. Bettersworth Award, presented annually to an outstanding history teacher. Allemand is an award-winning instructor who currently serves as the subject area supervisor and chairperson of the social studies department at Hancock High School in Kiln, Mississippi.

Jack Elliot Jr. and Sidney Bondurant were awarded the Willie D. Halsell Prize for the best article published in the *Journal of Mississippi History*. Their article, "Death on a Summer Night: Faulkner at Byhalia," examines the history of the Wright Sanatorium at Byhalia, an institution for alcoholics, and the background to the night of July 5–6, 1962, when Nobel-prize-winning author William Faulkner died there of a heart attack.

The Natchez Historical Society received the Frank E. Everett Jr. Award, which is given to a local historical society for outstanding achievements in the interpretation and preservation of Mississippi history.

Jack Elliot Jr. (right) and Sidney Bondurant were awarded the Willie D. Halsell Prize for the best article.

Natchez Alderwoman Sarah Carter Smith accepts an Award of Merit for that city's new monument to the Parchman Ordeal.

An Award of Merit was presented for the 50th Anniversary Commemoration of the historic case of Hawkins v. Town of Shaw.

The 1969 Delta State College Black Student Sit-Ins Oral History Project won the Elbert R. Hilliard Oral History Award for telling the history of black student protests and demonstrations for civil rights on the Delta State campus.

Kaimara Herron of the University of Mississippi and Lindsay Rae Smith Privette of the University of Alabama were awarded the Glover Moore Prize and Franklin L. Riley Prize respectively for the best master's thesis and dissertation on subjects in Mississippi history. Herron's thesis is entitled, *She Lived, Served, and Died: Caroline Barr, Black Domestic Workers, and the Threat of Memory in Lafayette County*. Privette's dissertation is entitled, *Fightin' Johnnies, Fevers, and Mosquitos: A Medical History of the Vicksburg Campaign.*

Awards of Merit were presented to the Emmett Till Interpretive Center in Sumner, Forrest County Board of Supervisors for erecting a statue of Vernon Dahmer, city of Natchez for its monument to the Parchman Ordeal, and the Rev. George Lee Museum of African American History and Heritage and Fannie Lou Hamer Civil Rights Museum in Belzoni. Bolivar County recipients of Awards of Merit included the Amzie Moore House Museum and Interpretive Center, Grammy Museum

for its Mississippi Music Bar and the Mississippi Music Table, Mississippi Delta Chinese Heritage Museum, Railroad Heritage Museum, Delta Arts Alliance for renovating the Ellis Theater, the 50th Anniversary Commemoration Committee of the historic case *Hawkins v. Town of Shaw*, and Dr. L.C. Dorsey Community Health Center Museum in Mound Bayou. These organizations were recognized for their outstanding archival, museum, and media interpretation work.

The Elbert R. Hilliard Oral History Award was presented for the 1969 Delta State College Black Student Sit-Ins Oral History Project.

Mississippi Historical Society 2020 Annual Meeting Program

by Stephanie Rolph

Outgoing MHS President Chuck Westmoreland (right) and incoming MHS President Marshall Bennett

The Mississippi Historical Society (MHS) held its annual meeting March 5-6, 2020, on the campus of Delta State University and at the Cotton House Hotel in Cleveland. The program began on Thursday morning, March 5, with the board meeting and annual business meeting.

The opening session and luncheon started with a welcome by Charles Westmoreland, president, MHS; Bill LaForge, president, Delta State University; and Billy Nowell, mayor, city of Cleveland. The speaker was Jarvis McInnis, assistant professor of English at Duke University and a graduate of Tougaloo College, whose topic was "From the Mississippi Delta to Panamá: The Curious Case of *The Cotton Farmer* Newspaper."

The first afternoon session was titled The Long Shadow of the Civil War and featured three student presentations: "How the Mighty

Fell: The Decline of Generational Wealth Among the Planter Elite Families of Desoto County, Mississippi, 1836-1870," by Matthew Powell, University of Mississippi; "The Philosopher-Statesman: L.Q.C. Lamar, Henry Adams, and National Reconciliation," by Ashley Steenson, University of Mississippi; and "African-American Health, the Lost Cause, and Public Health Policy in Bolivar County, Mississippi," by Wayne Dowdy, Millsaps College.

The second afternoon session was titled Culture, Religion, and Professional Wrestling. It featured three presentations: "James 'Kamala' Harris: From the Mississippi Delta to the Jungles of Uganda Professional Wrestling and Race Relations in Mississippi and the Deep South," by Sean Buckelew, University of Southern Mississippi; "Bobbie's B-Side: Mississippi Delta," by Laura Kate Fortner, Delta State University; and "Church Discipline, Dancing, and a Lynching in Summit, Mississippi, 1909-1910," by Ted Ownby, University of Mississippi.

The afternoon concluded with Ask an Archivist: Preservation Roadshow. Preservation professionals from the Society of Mississippi Archivists gave brief talks on preserving various formats followed by a question and answer time that provided advice on preserving records, objects, and other materials in any format, including digital files. Panelists included Jennifer Brannock, University of Southern Mississippi; Jenifer Ishee, Mississippi State University; Emily Jones, Delta State University; Jessica Perkins-Smith, Mississippi State University; Lorraine Stuart, University of Southern Mississippi; and Mona Vance-Ali, Columbus-Lowndes County Public Library.

The President's Happy Hour was held at the top of the Cotton House Hotel followed by the banquet and best book award ceremony. Marshall Bennett, MHS vice president, presided. The banquet speaker and McLemore Prize winner was Dave Tell, professor, Communication Studies, University of Kansas, whose book is *Remembering Emmett Till*. Tell addressed how historical tourism has transformed seemingly innocuous places like bridges, boat landings, gas stations, and riverbeds into sites of racial politics, reminders of the still-unsettled question of how best to remember the murder of Emmett Till and its impact on the state and the nation.

The first morning session on Friday, March 6, was called Mississippi, My Home. It featured four presentations: "Home as People, Not Place: Eudora Welty's Personal Sense of Home," by Kasey Mosley,

Kevin Allemand of Hancock High School received the John K. Bettersworth Award for best history teacher from Rebecca Tuuri, associate professor of history at the University of Southern Mississippi.

Mississippi State University; "Mississippi's First Jewish Immigrants: The 'German Coast' in the Eighteenth Century," by Milt Grishman, past president, Congregation Beth Israel; "The Grander Age Colony: Cooperative Living and Socialist Migration into Mississippi," by Thomas M. Kersen, Jackson State University; and "Broker and Sponsor: Albert T. Callicott and Displaced Persons Resettlement in Mississippi, 1948-1952," by Andrew Marion, University of Mississippi.

The second morning session was titled Catalysts to Civil Rights Activism in the Twentieth Century. It featured three presentations: "Righteous Struggle: Medgar Evers, Religious Biography, and Civil Rights Historiography," by Patrick Connolly, Mississippi College;

"Lawrence Guyot and His Upbringing and Education into Civil Rights Activism," by Chris Danielson, Montana Technological University; and "An Ounce of Mississippi Was Worth a Pound of Massachusetts: Chronicling the Mississippi Suffrage Movement through the Local Press," by Jennifer Ishee, Mississippi State University

Charles Westmoreland, president, MHS, presided over the awards luncheon. Incoming president Marshall Bennett, adjourned the meeting. Afternoon activities continued with tours of the Amzie

Moore House, Mississippi Delta Chinese Heritage Museum, and Railroad Heritage Museum in Cleveland.

The following members of the program committee deserve thanks for an interesting program: Stephanie Rolph, Erin Kempker, Jennifer McGillan, and Susannah Ural. In addition, secretary-treasurer William "Brother" Rogers, MDAH staff, and Delta State staff members Rolando Herts, Emily Jones, and Charles Westmoreland are to be commended for organizing and implementing the many details that made the annual meeting a success.

Mississippi Historical Society
Minutes of the Annual Business Meeting
March 5, 2020

The annual business meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society was held at 11 a.m. on Thursday, March 5, 2020, at Delta State University in Cleveland.

Charles Westmoreland, president, Mississippi Historical Society (MHS), called the meeting to order and presided. William "Brother" Rogers, secretary-treasurer, acted as secretary for the meeting. Emma McRaney, assistant to the director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH), recorded the minutes.

The following business was transacted:

I. The president called the meeting to order at 11 a.m. and thanked everyone for attending.

II. The president suggested that the minutes of the March 2, 2019, annual meeting be approved as distributed. A motion to approve the minutes by acclamation was made by Elbert Hilliard, seconded by Kathryn Green, and unanimously approved.

III. Rogers presented the financial report for the Society and gave an additional update on the Society's investments.

IV. Page Ogden gave a brief update on the work of the Finance/ Investment Committee. The president expressed his gratitude for the committee's work.

V. The president expressed his appreciation for the work of the Local Arrangements Committee. Dr. Rolando Herts, Lisa Miller, Emily Jones, and Kelli Davis Carr were instrumental in planning and coordinating the annual meeting.

VI. The president expressed his appreciation to the Program Committee. Stephanie Rolph chaired the committee and thanked her

peers for their dedication in organizing an outstanding program.

VII.The president thanked the annual meeting sponsors: Cleveland State Bank, Delta State University Foundation, Elbert Hilliard, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Mississippi Humanities Council, and Neysa's Fireside Shop.

VIII.The president recognized and expressed appreciation for the following individuals who were completing their terms of service on the board of directors: Toby Bates, Will Bowlin, Erin Kempker, Marks "Mc" Sokolosky-Wixon, Deanne Stephens, and Page Ogden.

IX. Rogers gave an update on the publications of the Journal of Mississippi History. He stated that a new issue, Fall/Winter 2019, will be published soon and that the Spring/Summer 2020 issue will be published before year's end, marking the first time in a number of years that the calendar year will match the year on the current issue.

X. Rogers gave a report from the Publications Committee on behalf of John Marszalek. He stated that a new Heritage of Mississippi Series book, Colonial Mississippi: A Borrowed Land by Christian Pinnen and Charles Weeks, will be published in 2021.

XI. Katie Molpus, editor of Mississippi History Now, gave a brief update on the website. She stated that a new article had been published on March 2, and MHN's social media presence was continuing to grow.

XII.Rogers gave an update on National History Day, stating that the contest will be held on March 28. He also announced that MDAH is the official sponsor for Mississippi History Day.

XIII.Rogers gave a brief update and overview of the future meeting sites of the annual meeting. The 2021 annual meeting will be held in Jackson, and the 2022 annual meeting will be held in Hattiesburg. Every other meeting will now be held in Jackson.

XIV.Rogers presented resolutions of condolence for Claire Hilliard, Kenneth McCarty, and David Sansing. On a motion by Dierdre Payne,

seconded by Ogden, the board voted unanimously approve the resolutions.

XV. Will Bowlin, chair, Nominations Committee, reported that the committee recommended the following slate of officers and board members:

Officers for the term 2020–2021

President—Marshall Bennett, Former State Treasurer of Mississippi

Vice President (president elect)—Stephanie Rolph, Associate Professor of History, Millsaps College

Secretary-Treasurer—Brother Rogers, Director of Programs and Communication Division, Mississippi Department of Archives and History

Charles Westmoreland will serve as immediate past president.

The following six individuals are nominated to serve three-year terms on the Society's Board of Directors (2020–2023):

La Shon F. Brooks, Chief of Staff and Legislative Liaison, Mississippi Valley State University

Kelly Cantrell, Instructor, East Mississippi Community College

Ryan Schilling, Instructor, Mississippi Gulf Coast Community College

Rebecca Tuuri, Assistant Professor of History, University of Southern Mississippi

Jen Waller, Director, Coahoma County Higher Education Center/ Cutrer Mansion, Clarksdale

Marcus D. Ward, Vice President of Institutional Advancement, Alcorn State University

The president moved that the aforementioned slate of nominees be accepted by acclamation. On a motion by Payne, seconded by Ogden, the nominees were unanimously approved.

XVI. Rogers provided an update on the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. He announced that Mississippi Distilled: Prohibition, Piety, and Politics will be a new temporary exhibit at the Two Mississippi Museums and opening later in the month.

XVII. There being no further business to come before the board, the

meeting was adjourned by the president.

Charles Westmoreland, President
William "Brother" Rogers, Secretary-Treasurer

BANK BALANCES
As of December 31, 2019

Trustmark National Bank	
MHS Operating Account	39,125.48
BancorpSouth Bank	
Mississippi History NOW Money Market Account	12,162.02
Origin Bank	
Heritage of Mississippi Series Money Market Account	25,311.95
Fidelity Investments	
Elbert R. Hilliard Oral History Award	4,923.98
Halsell Prize Endowment	9,734.74
John K. Bettersworth Award Fund	5,101.40
William E. Atkinson Mississippi Civil War History Award Endowment	12,986.95
Heritage of Mississippi Series	37,659.74
MHS Operating Account	8,680.05
Certificate of Deposit Unrestricted	13,340.01
Certificate of Deposit Life Membership	52,621.01
Certificate of Deposit Adine Wallace Endowment	16,806.03
Certificate of Deposit Frank Everett Award	4,178.09
Certificate of Deposit Unrestricted	5,904.67
Certificate of Deposit	

Glover Moore Prize	12,309.76
TOTAL	**260,845.88**
Restricted	141,174.66
Unrestricted	119,671.22
Total	260,845.88

Mississippi Historical Society
RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE

WHEREAS, Dr. David Sansing departed this life on July 6, 2019; and

WHEREAS, a native of Greenville, Sansing served in the U.S. Army during the Korean War; and

WHEREAS, Sansing then earned his bachelor's and master's degrees from Mississippi College, and received his Ph.D. from the University of Southern Mississippi.

WHEREAS, Sansing spent his career sharing Mississippi history with others, writing over a dozen books and textbooks on various aspects of the state's history; and

WHEREAS, Sansing began teaching at the University of Mississippi in 1970 and was named the university's Teacher of the Year in 1990; and

WHEREAS, Sansing aimed to bring history to life, often inviting guests like James Meredith to talk to his classes and engage with students; and

WHEREAS, Sansing was a longtime member of the Society, and served as president in 1987;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Mississippi Historical Society, assembled on March 5, 2020, in Cleveland, mourns the death of Dr. David Sansing and expresses its sympathy to his family.

Mississippi Historical Society
RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE

WHEREAS, Dr. Kenneth McCarty departed this life on April 2, 2019; and

WHEREAS, a native of Bay St. Louis, McCarty earned his bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Southern Mississippi, and received a doctorate in history from Duke University; and

WHEREAS, McCarty dedicated his life to pursuing and sharing knowledge, teaching American and Mississippi history to over 16,000 students over nearly 50 years; and

WHEREAS, McCarty served as editor of the Journal of Mississippi History for 17 years and served as president of the Society in 2003; and

WHEREAS, McCarty served his country in the Army and National Guard, earning the rank of Captain; and

WHEREAS, throughout his career, McCarty received recognition for his excellence in teaching and his contributions to the field of history; and

WHEREAS, McCarty was a longtime member of the Society, and his dedication to the preservation of Mississippi history will always be remembered.

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Mississippi Historical Society, assembled on March 5, 2020, in Cleveland, mourns the death of Dr. Kenneth McCarty and expresses its sympathy to his family.

Mississippi Historical Society
RESOLUTION OF CONDOLENCE

WHEREAS, Mrs. Claire Hilliard departed this life on January 20, 2020; and

WHEREAS, a native of New Orleans, Louisiana, Mrs. Hilliard

graduated from Delta State College, served as a teacher, and married Mr. Elbert Hilliard in 1958; and

WHEREAS, the Hilliards later settled in Madison, Mississippi in 1960; and

WHEREAS, Mrs. Hilliard was an active and faithful member of the Madison United Methodist Church and the Lamplighters/Truthseekers Sunday School Class for over 59 years; and

WHEREAS, Mrs. Hilliard was a dedicated member of the Naomi Ruth Chapter of the Madison UMC United Methodist Women and a longtime member of the Annandale Chapter, Mississippi State Society, Daughters of the American Revolution and The Official Mississippi Women's Club; and

WHEREAS, Mrs. Hilliard was a faithful supporter of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, always bringing delicious desserts to the holiday luncheons for all to enjoy; and

WHEREAS, like her husband, Mrs. Hilliard was a lifetime member of the Mississippi Historical Society and a regular attendee of the Society's annual meetings;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Mississippi Historical Society, assembled on March 5, 2020, in Cleveland, mourns the death of Claire Hilliard and expresses its sympathy to her family.

Recent Manuscript Accessions to Repositories at Mississippi Universities and the Mississippi Department of Archives and History

by Mona Vance-Ali

This is the forty-second annual compilation citing manuscript acquisitions to appear in The Journal of Mississippi History. The collections listed below were acquired by institutions during 2019-2020. Unless otherwise noted, all collections are open to researchers.

Thomas N. Adair Photograph. (PI/2020.0029) One photograph of Thomas N. Adair. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1 item)

Mrs. James L. Alcorn Photograph. (PI/2020.0012) Portrait photograph of Mrs. James L. Alcorn dated October 4, 1912. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1 item)

James Arden Barnett Papers. (Z/U/2020.040) Contains three photographs of James Arden Barnett wearing aviator helmet and bomber jacket (which were donated to Museum). Also includes a blank 1945 Application for Home Canning Sugar Allowance, a blank Officer Qualifications Questionnaire from the Bureau of Naval Personnel, and a poster from SCOPE titled Highlights of 1968 Legislative Session, Briefly Noted. Donated October 2020 by Susan Perry, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1 box)

James Rye Barton Papers. (Z/U/2020.019) Consists of a notebook of transcribed stories titled "Reminiscences of Boyhood on a Mississippi Farm, 1910-1926" and a set of compact discs of James Rye Barton narrating these stories circa 1995. Donated August 2020 by Cay Barton Posey, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Bear Creek Baptist Church Papers. Congregation membership

MONA VANCE-ALI is an archivist at the Columbus-Lowndes Public Library in Columbus, Mississippi, and a former member of the board of directors of the Mississippi Historical Society.

letters. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division. (1 file)

Black Lives Matter (BLM) Collection. (M623) Collection chronicles the BLM rally and march held on June 13, 2020 in downtown Hattiesburg and the August 28, 2020 march on the campus of the University of Southern Mississippi. Images and video clips show protestors, banners and speakers who addressed the crowd in front of the Forrest County courthouse. The collection also includes sample protest signs and two carved BLM keychains. Local photographers and participants donating to the collection include Joshua Bernstein, Jennifer Brannock, Matthew Casey, Rebekah Frisch, Betty Press, Emma Semrau, Sean Smith, David Tisdale and Jennifer Torres. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi. (290 digital files; 4 items)

Black Lives Matter Protest Posters Collection. (Z/U/2020.023) Formed from the June 6, 2020 protest and march on the Mississippi State Capitol and Governor's Mansion, Jackson, Hinds County. Posters gathered after left behind on the ground by marchers. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (22 handmade posters)

"Black Women of Yalobusha County" and the book Outstanding Black Women of Yalobusha County (2021), as well as member of the University of Mississippi class of 1974. The University of Mississippi Libraries.

Emmette Blakely Papers. (Z/U/2020.006) Consists of letters, photographs, news clippings, and other materials concerning his military service. Papers include a lengthy biographical sketch written by his wife Louise Blakely. Photographs document the awarding of medals and other recognition. Donated February 2020 by Louise Blakely, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

The Bolivar Commercial and *Cleveland Enterprise* Bound Newspapers Collection. (M502) Cleveland, MS. *The Bolivar Commercia*l, 21 May 1926 – 27 March 2020. *Cleveland Enterprise,* 1935 and January 1927 – December 1944. Delta State University Archives

& Museums.

Box Family Papers. Correspondence, photographs, genealogy research, and other materials. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division. (Approx. 17 cu. ft.)

Ed Bryant Collection. Ed Bryant attended the University of Mississippi graduating with a B.A. in 1970 and a J.D. in 1972. He received a commission in the U.S. Army and served in the Judge Advocate General's Corps. Upon returning to his hometown of Jackson, Tennessee, he joined a law firm. In 1994, Bryant won election as a Republican to the U.S. House of Representatives where he remained until 2003. The collection consists of material related to his service as one of the House managers in the impeachment trial of President Bill Clinton. The Ed Bryant Collection is currently unprocessed and not available to researchers. University of Mississippi - Archives and Special Collections. (4 boxes)

Sallie Fulkerson Chamberlin Album. (Z/U/2020.013) Consists of one Album of Beauty owned by Sallie Givens Fulkerson Chamberlin with entries dated 1864-1865, and few dated 1870, 1872, 1885. Notes include poetry and sentiments of the Confederacy during the Civil War. Sallie, born in Claiborne County and died in Warren County, was daughter of Horace Smith Fulkerson and married William McPherson Chamberlin. Four photographs are included. Donated June 2020 by Edwin and Judith Peirce, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

J.R. Chambliss and Family Papers, Accretion (Z/U/2020.057) contains business correspondence and finance records of the Hinds County African American businessman. He was a member of the Mississippi Knights of Pythias. Of note are documents concerning the Jackson Negro Chamber of Commerce in 1935, and a single entry ledger recording expenses 1933-1934. Donated December 2020 by Milton J. Chambliss, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Chanute Historical Society Photograph Collection. (PI/2020.0005) Includes a photograph of a group of people at Windsor Ruins, a

photograph of Congressman Dan McGehee and Governor Hugh White, 1937, and two images of the Mississippi Capitol building exterior dated March 21, 1940. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (4 items.)

Chickasaw County Officials Photograph. (PI/2020.0022) County Officials, Chickasaw County, Miss. From January 1, 1912 to January 1, 1916. Frank Walker, Hal Brannen, Joe L. Davis, Jeff Busby, Jess Nabors, Geo. Riley, Henry Harrington. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1 item)

Gilroy and Sally Chow Families Collection, Accretion. (M327) World War II Cricket (replica) given to American soldiers who visited Paris on the 50th anniversary of the 6 June 1944 Allied invasion of Hitler's "invincible Fortress Europa." This object is engraved "Debarquement en Normanie," the French terminology for D-Day. Paratroopers used a cricket to signal to one another in the darkness of night after parachute landing behind enemy lines. Sgt. Kenneth W. Gong, a paratrooper from Cleveland, MS, would have used just such an object on his missions. This item donated in honor and memory of the MS Delta Chinese veterans of World War II. It is displayed in the MS Delta Chinese Heritage Museum and can be viewed by appointment. Delta State University Archives & Museums. (1 artifact)

Churches of Madison County (Miss.) Project Papers. (Z/U/2020.059) Consists of files for the Churches of Madison County, Mississippi, Project of address lists, letters, newspaper clippings, articles, and photographs about some of the churches in Madison County. Donated December 2020 by Laura Heller, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Civil Rights in South. (M406) Photographic subjects include parents' meeting regarding bussing in Petal School District, 1970 (1), Poor People's Campaign march in Edwards, Mississippi, May 6, 1968 as participants prepare to journey to bus to Selma, Alabama and Washington, D.C. (2), and comedian Dick Gregory distributing turkeys to needy in Jackson, December 23, 1964 (1). Periodicals include Socialist Workers Party Bulletin, Midstream, Southern Coordinating Committee Newsletter, Southern Regional Council Publication, and

Vicksburg Citizens' Appeal dating 1957-64. Acquisitions purchased with funds provided by the Thomas W. and Marilyn M. Culpepper Endowment. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi. (4 photographs and 8 periodicals)

Claiborne County Tenant Purchase Program Collection. (Z/U/2020.050) Includes draft and final transcripts of interviews dated 1979-1980 from the Claiborne County Tenant Purchase Program, also referred to as the Resettlement Program. Other files record notes and finance records of the project, correspondence with staff and director of program at Alcorn State University, photo essay drafts by David L. Crosby with photographs by Roland Freeman, and correspondence with Roland Freeman. Also included are index cards for the project. The original interviews on cassette tapes and some digital files donated to the Audio-Visual Collection and Electronic Archives Collection. Donated November 2020 by David L. Crosby, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (3 cu. ft.)

Watts Clark Architectural Records. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division. (500 rolled drawings and approx. 20 cu. ft. of records)

Janice Cleary Sheet Music Collection. Historic sheet music, focusing on ragtime and related disciplines, 19th and 20th centuries. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division. (Approx. 140 cu. ft.)

Cochran Family Papers. (Z/U/2020.049) Concerns the family originating from Booneville and Baldwyn of Lee and Prentiss counties. The bulk of the papers consists of the correspondence of Evelyn Hortense Cochran to her parents and siblings about her service during World War II. Also included is genealogy research and records of Hortense Archer Cochran and Edward Wilder Cochran, and their ancestors. Various papers and photographs of their children Edward Louis Cochran, Paul Reginald Cochran, Archer Wilder Cochran, Evelyn Hortense Cochran,

Mary Josephine Cochran, and Elizabeth Cochran are included. Donated October 2020 by Nancy Runner, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (2 cu. ft.)

Common Cause Mississippi Records. (Z/U/2020.003) Common Cause Mississippi is a chapter of the national grassroots organization dedicated to upholding democracy core values by creating open and accountable government serving the public interest and promote equal rights, opportunity, and representation for all people. Records include board meeting minutes, correspondence, conference programs, legislative agendas, finances, newsletters, membership lists, and reports on state projects. Donated January 2020 by Lynn Evans, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (5 cu. ft.)

Aubrey Corley Vietnam Veteran Collection. (M489) Boyle, MS. 1964-2019. Color and Black-and-white snapshots chronical the months, activities and engagements experienced by one young soldier. The original photographs returned to the donor family at their request while archival scans of the images make up the entirety of this permanent collection. Sgt. Aubrey Corley served with the 22nd Infantry, 25th Division, 2nd Battalion in Co. A. While stationed in the Tay Ninh province, Sgt. Corley experienced a great deal of the ravages of war, determining to defend and rescue other members of his team. Sgt. Corley received two bronze stars, an army commendation medal, two Purple Hearts and one Silver Star. The collection is available by request only at this time. Delta State University Archives & Museums. (Approx. 220 images)

Tech Sergeant Granville B. Cutler Slides. (AM20-069) Black and white 35mm slides of Europe taken in the immediate aftermath of WWII. Includes slides of Brenner Pass. Cutler served with the 103d Infantry Division. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi. (29 slides)

James Dabbs Genealogy Collection. Genealogy records and books. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division. (Approx. 4 cu. ft.)

"A Day at Parchman" Manuscript. (Z/U/2020.036) This manuscript consists of one handwritten speech, essay, or writing sample that is undated and unsigned. The author is unknown. The manuscript may have been a draft. It concerns Parchman Prison, also known as the Mississippi State Penitentiary, and a visit made to it on March 12,

1951, by the author. Donated October 2020 by Kelly M. Francois, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1 item)

Donne Variorum Archive. (AM20-083) Planning papers for the John Donne Variorum National Endowment for the Humanities international project conducted by former University of Southern Mississippi professor, Gary Stringer. Accompanying the papers are a set of The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne and a complete set of The John Donne Journal. The archive was donated by Dr. Gary Stringer, who initiated the variorum project during his tenure at the University of Southern Mississippi and continued it while at Texas A&M University and East Carolina University. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi. (.5 cu. ft. and 50 volumes.)

Alvin Merry Donnell Papers. (Z/2379.000/S) Consists of one photographs of Alvin and wife Lunathia Collins Donnell; two letters, one from Mayor Chokwe Lumumba, one from President Barack Obama; Certificate of honorable discharge from the US Marine Corps Montford Point Marines; and several certificates of recognition and a program from the National Montford Point Marine Association Conference. Donated January 2020 by Amanda Tillman on behalf of the Donnell family, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1.5 cu. ft.)

East Mississippi Street Rod Association. Photographs, artifacts, jackets, organizational records. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division. (Approx. 3 cu. ft.)

Gail Eaves Sheet Music Collection. Historic sheet music, 19th and 20th centuries. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division. (1 cu. ft.)

Eddington Family Genealogy Papers. (Z/U/2020.045) Consists of a photocopy of the "My Civil War Memoirs and Other Reminiscences" by W. R. Eddington, some Eddington family tree charts, and genealogical research of associated surnames. Donated October 2020 by Robert A. Burress, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Edward McGehee College (Woodville, Miss.) Collection. (Z/U/2020.030) Consists of a few items from the college for girls located

in Woodville, Wilkinson County. There is one catalog that includes a brief history of the college and buildings, an 1897-1898 register of students, and list of 1898-1899 faculty; three issues of The L.L.L. Star newsletter from 1899 are included; These include alumni notes. Donated August 2020 by Jerome Wall, III, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Fielder and Butler Family Collection. (Z/U/2020.038) Consists primarily of family photographs of Alvin L. Fielder, Jr., an American jazz drummer who played with Sun Ra and others in the 1960s and 1970s. Photographs and papers are also of his parents, Charles T. Butler, who was a bricklayer, and Esther Hunter Butler, who worked as a Home Extension Agent in Meridian and nearby counties. Donated September 2020 by Carol Fielder on behalf of Alvin Field, Jr., Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (5 cu. ft.)

First Baptist Church/First Belleview Baptist Church Records. (M491) Shelby, Mississippi. 1927-2003. This collection features Sunday morning fellowship Orders of Service, minute books and files of the deacon organization as well as sub-committees related to Nursery School duties, Special Events programming, Fellowship meals and outreach ministries, Youth ministry, Vacation Bible School sessions and ad-hoc committees called to search for minister replacements over the years. Processed collection consists of 14 records containers, 6 flat file boxes, and three objects boxes. The collection is available by request only at this time. Delta State University Archives & Museums.

Edward M. Gaddis Papers. (Z/U/2020.007) Consists of papers, photograph, liquor labels, and certificates concerning Edward M. Gaddis and the Red Carpet Line of the Southern Distilling Company in Vicksburg, Warren County. The papers include incorporation papers, certificates, publicity sheets, labels, clippings, permits, and honorary citizen awards to Edward M. Gaddis from Natchez and Baton Rouge. Donated February 2020 by Gay Gaddis Grantham, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Galilee First Baptist Church Record Books. (Z/U/2020.009) Consists of seven record books dated 1824-1877; 1890-1917; and 1925-1941 and recording the church rolls and meeting records of the Galilee First

Baptist Church of Gloster, Amite County, Mississippi. Donated March 2020 by Galilee First Baptist Church, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (3 cu. ft.)

Laura Gooch Collection. This is a collection of correspondence, the diary of Alice Maud Matthews, and other materials relating to the Matthews and Peel families of North Mississippi. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (3 linear ft.)

Grand Opera House of Mississippi. Correspondence, photographs, programs, artifacts and historic costumes. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division. (Approx. 30 cu. ft.)

Richard Grant Collection. This collection contains manuscripts, digital materials and ephemeral items relating to the work of the award-winning author of Dispatches from Pluto. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (24 linear ft.)

Duncan Gray, Jr. Collection, Accretion. This addition to the collection contains correspondence and documents related to the life and work of Bishop Gray. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (6 linear ft.)

Greenville, MS, Photographs (PI/2020.0009) Photographs of African American workers performing construction, street paving, and repairs in Greenville, Washington County, between February and July 1935. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (10 items)

Elizabeth Parrott Reynolds Hammett Papers, Accretion. (Z/U/2020.014) Consists of correspondence, particularly from Julia M. Arnold to Lisa Reynolds, and including letters from Mary Ann Todd and Walter D. Downing. One piece of writing titled HOME SWEET HAVEN is written by Julia M. Arnold, and there are slides of the exhibit TO LIVE UPON CANVAS at the Mississippi Museum of Art, 1980. Includes postcards dated 1909. Donated July 2020 by Lisa Hammett, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Tom Hannaford Murrah High School Memorabilia. (Z/U/2020.024) Includes two theater programs from 1968 and 1969; a memorandum

about the Junior-Senior Prom of 1969; and newspaper clippings from Hannaford's sophomore and junior years at Murrah High School, Jackson, Hinds County. Donated July 2020 by Tom Hannaford, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Robert E. Hays Vietnam War Papers. (Z/U/2020.054) Includes the manuscript memoir, "One Man's Experience in the Viet Nam War, October 1968-May 1969, Updated July 2020" by Robert E. Hays and propaganda leaflets in English and Vietnamese. Donated December 2020 by Robert E. Hays, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

William F. Herring World War II Letters. (Z/U/2020.041) Consists of three letters written by William F "Billy" Herring to his former Lexington High School teacher Clara Beall Watson. Both correspondents are from Lexington, Holmes County. Herring served as a private in the Army Air Forces during World War II and wrote to his favorite teacher while stationed at Freeman Field in Indiana. Donated October 2020 by John S. Watson, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Thomas Hines Collection. Copies of articles in the Oxford Eagle regarding the built environment of Oxford, MS through the years. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (1 linear ft.)

William B. Hogg Collection. (AM20-050) Native of Hazlehurst, Mississippi, William B. Hogg (1880-1937) was a Methodist preacher in Mississippi and in Tennessee who began religious radio programs in Chicago and Hollywood. The collection consists of four family letters and a journal with sporadic entries between 1921-1924. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi. (5 items)

Holmes Family Photograph Album. (Z/U/2020.048) Consists of family photographs with captions dated 1919; 1921-1922; and 1927 concerning summertime vacations and activities of the family. Donated November 2020 by Sandra Holmes West, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

David B. Howell and Family Papers, Accretion. (Z/U/2020.005)

Includes several memoir writings by David B. Howell, one memoir writing by Julia Crawford; photocopies of newspaper clippings or maps from books about Aberdeen, Monroe County, and Harold Leroy Taylor. Donated February 2020 by David B. Howell, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.10 cu. ft.)

Human Rights Campaign Mississippi Protest Posters. (Z/U/2020.020) Consists handmade posters used in protests by Mississippians in 2016 against the religious freedom law (House Bill 1523). One sign says "NO H8 in our State" and the other says "#BYE PHIL-ICIA." Their messages demand for no hate in Mississippi, and the second one refers to Governor Phil Bryant. Donated July 2020 by Rob Hill for HRC Mississippi, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1.5 cu. ft.)

Mildred Maury Humphreys (Mrs. Benjamin G. Humphreys) Photograph. (PI/2020.0011) Portrait photograph of Mildred Maury Humphreys. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1 item)

Albert Sidney Johnston United Daughters of the Confederacy Chapter Logbook. (Z/U/2020.056) This logbook is for Chapter #379 of Oxford, Lafayette County, which contains the membership lists and meeting minutes of the chapter from 1900 to 1919. The chapter organized on April 25, 1900. Donated October 2020 from the Estate of Patricia Brown Young, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1 ledger)

Kilbourne and Powell Cabinet Card Photograph Collection. (Z/U/2020.029) Consists of cabinet card photographs of men, women, children, and families by W. L. Powell in Magnolia, Pike County; Kilbourne of Morgan City, Louisiana; Kilbourne of Chicago, Illinois; Kilbourne and Powell; W. H. Duke of McComb City, Pike County; A. W. Hill of Summit, Pike County, and four photographs with no identifying information. No persons are identified; exact dates are unknown. Donated August 2020 by Mandy Forbes, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu.ft.)

Clymathes B. King Papers, Accretion. (Z/U/2020.058) Includes correspondence from the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)

to Clymathes B. King, newspaper clippings, a skit script, and programs for the Tenth Annual Summer Convocation of Hampton Institute, 1950. Also included is a Department of Classroom Teachers of Jackson News Bulletin, May 1966, and a Daily Plan Book for September 10, 1970 to June 4, 1971. Donated December 2020 by Milton J. Chambliss, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

George H. Kirkland, III, Papers, Accretion. (Z/U/2020.027) Includes brochure, application, and photographs from Camp Kittiwake in Pass Christian, Harrison County; group photographs of pledges and members of Delta Kappa Epsilon fraternity at the University of Mississippi; programs for the Mystic Krewe of Zeus, Hattiesburg, Forrest County, 1950s; newspaper clippings; magazines; maps; and photographs of aftermath of Hurricane Camille. Donated September 2020 by George H. Kirkland, III, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.50 cu. ft.)

Xavier A. Kramer Photograph. (PI/2020.0021) Portrait photograph of McComb Mayor Xavier A. Kramer. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1 item)

Luke Lampton Image Collection. Second donation of postcards and panoramic photographs documenting all aspects of life in Mississippi. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division. (Approx. 3 cu. ft.)

Don Larson "Camille: One Family's Story" Manuscript. (Z/U/2020.028) Consists of the typed manuscript titled "Camille: One Family's Story," a memoir written by Don M. Larson, about his family's experience with Hurricane Camille in 1969. He writes in a recurrent technique counter-posing the historic Woodstock Music Festival against the devastation of Hurricane Camille. Donated September 2020 by Don Larson, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH.

Armin D. Lehmann Papers. (AM20-084) Armin D. Lehmann was a member of Hitler's Youth and was present in the bunker in the final days of WWII. As an adult he immigrated to the United States and wrote several books on his experience and on the peace movement, including In Hitler's Bunker: A Boy Soldier's Eyewitness Account of

the Furher's Last Days, Hitler's Last Courier: A Life in Transition and Tomorrow's World: A Book of Peace. The papers are comprised of research he conducted on the war and biographical clippings. Included is correspondence, the majority written by Arnhilt Schultze ter Boven, articles, and some photographs. Materials are primarily in German. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi. (1 cu. ft.)

William Lewis, Jr. Collection, Accretion. This collection contains the personal files of William Lewis, Jr. on the activities of the 11th Mississippi Infantry Regiment memorial committee. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (3 linear ft.)

Katsey Long Collection. This collection contains visual materials related to a documentary project on folk art in the American South. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (3 linear ft.)

Sam Lumpkin Photograph. (PI/2020.0003) Photograph of Sam Lumpkin, a Tupelo, Mississippi politician being sworn in as the Lieutenant Governor. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1 item)

Madison-Ridgeland High School Bravettes Photograph. (PI/2020.0006) Group photograph of Madison-Ridgeland Women's Basketball Team in the gymnasium, Terry, Mississippi, 1963. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1 item)

Florence Mars Papers, Accretion. (Z/U/2020.010) Consists largely of deeds concerning land once owned by William H. Mars, manuscript drafts and files maintained by Florence Mars, and possibly photographs of Mars family members. Donated May 2020 by Dawn Lea Mars Chalmers, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (4 cu. ft.)

Natalie Maynor and Family Papers. (Z/U/2020.044) Includes photographs from Camp Rockbrook in Macon, Noxubee County, a Pegasus 1956 yearbook, homeroom meeting minutes of Bailey Junior High School, and ephemera and programs from Murrah High School and Millsaps College. Materials also about the tours and programs of Murrah Singers and Millsaps Singers, carnival ball programs, Galloway Methodist Church programs, reunion booklets for Grace Mason and

Robert Clayton Maynor from Millsaps College. Donated October 2020 by Natalie Maynor, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.40 cu. ft.)

Robert Clayton Maynor, Sr. Journal. (Z/U/2020.033) The journal is a record of the Mississippi Cotton Oil Company's manager's log of day-to-day operations of the cottonseed business with some personal and historic references mentioned, such as the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the moon landing, Hurricane Camille, and the attempted assassination of President Ronald Reagan. Business was located on Gallatin Street, Jackson, Hinds County. Donated October 2020 by Natalie Maynor, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1 item)

McAlexander/Marshall County Collection, Accretion. This addition to the collection contains research files kept by Dr. McAlexander regarding his research focusing on Marshall County and North Mississippi. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (6 linear ft.)

Tom McHaney Collection. Collection of foreign translations of William Faulkner works, journals and editions of Diddie, Dumps and Tot for the rare book collection. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (5 linear ft.)

James Benton McLure Papers. (Z/U/2020.016) Consists of a short biography by James Benton McLure, obituary, letters and telegrams of condolences, correspondence from McLure to relatives during his military service during World War II, military documents, pages from University High School (Oxford, Lafayette County) yearbook, report cards from Oxford Public Schools, and his high school diploma. Materials date ranges from 1921 to 1961. Donated July 2020 by Donna Bailey Dye, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Joseph Richard McLure Papers. (Z/U/2020.022) Consists of Joseph Richard McLure's World War II correspondence, photographs, newspaper clippings, and other materials. Also includes some genealogical research and letters. He is brother to James Benton McLure. Donated July 2020 by Donna Bailey Dye, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1.25 cu. ft.)

Pam McPhail Fox Conner Collection. (Z/U/2020.031) Consists of several binders and loose papers concerning Major General Fox Conner. Much of it is photocopies from publications but also includes copies of original letters encountered during interviews with Conner relatives. Donated August 2020 by Pam McPhail, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (2.5 cu. ft.)

Governor William McWillie Collection. (Z/U/2020.053) These are items associated with Governor McWillie's family originally donated in 1982 include a letter from Isobel Butler to Anne McWillie dated 1854 inviting Anne to be in her wedding to George Williamson. Also included is the prayer book with inscription to Mary T. Mitchell from her mother dated December 25, 1875; an undated valentine; and the contents of Anne McWillie's writing box containing several small sketches, two photographs, newspaper clippings, and locks of hair wrapped in paper and identified. Transferred October 2020 from Governor's Mansion, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Rev. Edward Menaldino Sheet Music Collection. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division. (2 cu. ft.)

Meridian (Miss.) Sports Scrapbooks. (Z/U/2020.052) Two oversized scrapbooks of newspaper clippings predominantly from Meridian, Mississippi, newspapers concerning sporting events and activities in the Meridian and Lauderdale County area during the 1960s. Donated November 2020 by Bill Blackwell, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (2 oversized scrapbooks)

Messina Family Photographs. (PI/2020.0030) Photographs of the Old Central Fire Station and City Hall, Jackson, Mississippi. Donated by Tom Henderson, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (8 items)

Sheila Michaels Papers. (AM20-035) Accrual. This material (1940-1987) contains unpublished manuscripts, diaries, photographs, correspondence, subject files, oral histories and published materials chronicling Michaels' involvement in the Mississippi civil rights movement and her lifetime dedication to civil rights and feminist

causes. Born in St. Louis, Michaels spent much of her life in New York City where she had attended Columbia University. In 1961, she joined the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the following year worked for both CORE and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Jackson, Mississippi, where she also worked very briefly for the Mississippi Free Press. In 1963, she became a SNCC Field Secretary. During Freedom Summer 1964, she was Project Manager of the Mississippi Council of Federated Organizations' (COFO's) Hattiesburg Project. Michaels also worked with SNCC in Georgia and Tennessee. She is credited with the creation of the "Ms." form of address and adoption of term "feminist" over "women's liberationist." Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi. (6 cu. ft.)

Mississippi Historical Collection. (M587) Accrual. Additions to the collection consist of images and documents tracing Mississippi history from its earliest days through Hurricane Camille, including: correspondence, court cases, and newspapers pertaining to slavery, the Civil War, Reconstruction and lynchings; correspondence, postcards, photographs of the University of Southern Mississippi, the Hattiesburg area, the Gulf Coast, Natchez and other Mississippi cities; and a report from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers on damage and recovery efforts in the aftermath of Hurricane Camille. Other highlights include 1848 essay on treatment of Native Americans written by University of Mississippi student, H.H. Bedford, a 1922 letter to the Patrons of Gulf-Park campus announcing performances by poet Vachel Lindsay and opera singer, Carolina Lazzari, a 1862 letter from a prisoner of war on Ship Island and a 1866 letter from an agent of the Mississippi Treasury Department commenting on the introduction of baseball in Vicksburg. Acquisitions purchased with funds provided by the Thomas W. and Marilyn M. Culpepper Endowment. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi. (73 items)

Mississippi Post Offices Photographs. (PI/2020.0031) Photographs by Annie Lou Gore in 1951 of post office buildings in Ackerman, Calhoun City, Dublin, Houston, Kilmichael, Maben, Stewart, Tomnolen, Vaiden, Vardaman, West, Winona, and Woodland, Mississippi. Photographs are of the exterior views of the buildings. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (13 items)

Mississippi Religious Leadership Conference Records, Accretions. (Z/U/2020.015 and Z/U/2020.034) This first accretion includes by-laws, correspondence, income tax returns, bank and check register, and financial records concerning the Moore-Dee Reward Fund. Additional records for Interfaith Panels Committee Meeting 2011, Panel of American Faiths 2012, and conferences in 2008 and 2019. The second accretion to the Mississippi Religious Leadership Conference Records includes banking and financial records, newspaper clippings, meeting minutes, and related documents. This organization was also called the Committee of Concern. Donated July 2020 by Don Fortenberry and October 2020 by Dorothy C. Triplett, Archives and Records Services Division, MDAH. (2.5 cu. ft.)

Mississippi Scenes Photographs. (PI/2020.0018) Photographs of scenes around Bay St. Louis, Gulfport, Pascagoula, Biloxi in 1947 and 1951. Includes more photos of Biloxi in 1953, some Vicksburg scenes in 1955, and Holly Grove Plantation in April 1961 Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (25 items)

Mississippians in the Great War Source Materials. (Z/U/2020.017) Consists of photocopies of documents, articles, and other writings supporting the research of Anne Lipscomb Webster for her book of the same title. Webster's book was published in 2016. Donated July 2020 by Anne Webster, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.50 cu. ft.)

Joe Edd Morris Collection, Accretion. This addition to the collection contains manuscript materials related to Dr. Morris' award-winning books, The Prison (2019), Torched: Summer of '64 (2020), and other works. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (6 linear ft.)

Mamie and Ellis Nassour Arts & Entertainment Collection, Accretion. The collection contains ephemera, materials related to theatre and entertainment, Broadway posters, etc. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (10 linear ft.)

John R. Neff Collection. This collection contains research materials, manuscript drafts, and materials related to the life and

work of Professor John R. Neff, author of Honoring the Civil War Dead: Commemoration and the Problem of Reconciliation. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (31 linear ft.)

Newton County Public Hanging Photographs. (Z/U/2020.025) Consists of two original photographs mounted on board circa the late 1800s or early 1900s. Donor's family from Newton County area believes it is from this county. Building identified as the old jail in Newton and that the hanging was the last public hanging in Newton County, possibly of George Thames. Donated September 2020 by Evelyn Caffey Panter, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (2 items)

Walter P. Nilsson USS Biloxi Collection. (AM20-038) This collection pertains to the operations of the U.S.S. Biloxi in 1943-1944 and Lieutenant Nilsson's service on board the cruiser from 1944-45. Included are bulletins, reports, inspections, daily schedules, Radio Press News, certificates, photographs and the book, Carrier War by Oliver Jensen. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi. (25 cu. ft.)

Woodrow W. Ogden Collection. (PI/2020.0015) This collection is divided into 5 series: Negatives (Series I); Transparencies (Series II); Postcards (Series III); Business Cards (Series IV); and Souvenir Booklet (Series V). Donated November 2019 by Walter Page Ogden, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (794 items)

O'Keefe Family Archive. (M658) The archive documents the family's prominent role in the Gulf Coast business, political and philanthropic spheres from Edward "Ned" O'Keefe's immigration to Ocean Springs in the mid-1800s through successive generations. Materials chronicle the mainstay of the family business ventures, the funeral home now operating as the Bradford-O'Keefe, the political careers of John and Jerry O'Keefe, and the family's philanthropic activities. The archive includes a good deal of material on Jerry O'Keefe, who was a WWII ace fighter pilot and US Navy Cross recipient, served in the state legislature (1959-1963) and as mayor of Biloxi (1973-1981). Included are images of the early livery business and residences of the family, three legislative and political scrapbooks of Jerry O'Keefe, a scrapbook from John O'Keefe's tenure as mayor of Biloxi, three family scrapbooks,

and various plaques, awards and proclamations. Digital materials include clippings, obituaries, scrapbooks, interviews, biographies and photographs of businesses, family members and events. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi. (10 cu. ft. and 9524 digital files)

Pass Christian & DeLisle, MS. Photographs. (PI/2020.0007) Includes photographs of exterior views of homes in Pass Christian, Mississippi during the 1930s, including Trinity Episcopal Church and Pass Christian Public School. Also includes images of the Catholic Church of DeLisle, circa 1930s, and photographs of Reverend R.J. Sorin on a mission in Vidalia, Mississippi in 1912 and a 1930s picture of him standing the DeLisle Catholic Church's gate. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (14 items)

Patterson Family Papers. (Z/U/2020.011) Consists of school papers by Ollie Mae Patterson and Leta Fern Patterson when they were students at Hillman College, Clinton, Mississippi, among other memorabilia from Hillman College and their youth. Donated May 2020 by Mr. and Mrs. Colin A. P. McNease, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1.25 cu. ft.)

John L. Pendergrass Collection of Political Campaign Materials. (M613) This collection contains over 800 political buttons that chronicle Mississippi political history from the 1890s, to the civil rights movement to the present. Also included are campaign mailers documenting individual and party platforms as well as political signs documenting the changing graphics and tenure of races. There is a substantial amount of material on US presidential elections as well as some material highlighting the University of Southern Mississippi athletics. Incorporated into the collection is a previous gift of political memorabilia from the Eisenhower-Nixon campaign. Highlights include materials documenting President Theodore Roosevelt's 1907 visit to the state, the "Know Mississippi Better Train", the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights Democrats presidential ticket, and Charles Evers' mayoral and gubernatorial races. Mississippi native Dr. John L. Pendergrass curated the collection over a 45-year period. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi. (18 cu. ft.)

Pickle Festival, Wiggins, MS, Photographs. (PI/2020.0025) Photographs of scenes at the Pickle Festival in Wiggins, Stone County, in June 1937. Includes a photograph of Governor Hugh White crowning the Queen, Mrs. T.F. Walton, on June 17, 1937. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (4 items)

Mary Boyce Ransom Aberdeen High School Collection. (Z/U/2020.021) Consists of her notes as class secretary and historian of Aberdeen High School class of 1952. These include minutes and records of the members of her graduating class and the ones who have deceased between class reunions. Donated August 2020 by David B. Howell, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Dorothye Quaye Chapman Reed Collection. This collection contains archival materials relating to the life and work of Dorothye Quaye Chapman-Reed, including scrapbooks, photographs, awards, and articles. Chapman-Reed is the author of the website. (13 linear ft.)

Sharon Robb-Chism Collection. This collection contains American Civil War-era letters from two unidentified individuals, "Nick" and "Sallie." Nick served in the Union army during the war and was writing from Mississippi. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (2 folders)

Theodore Roosevelt Postcard. (PI/2020.0013) Black-and-white photographic postcard of President Roosevelt and a crowd. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1 item)

Roosevelt State Park Photographs. (PI/2020.0004) Images of scenes, swimmers, and lake at Roosevelt State Park, Scott County, from 1941. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (13 items)

David G. Sansing Collection, Accretion. The addition to Dr. Sansing's papers contains manuscripts, research notes, photographs and ephemera related to the life and work of David G. Sansing. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (13 linear ft.)

W.C. Shoemaker Collection. Scrapbooks, photographs, typewriters, a camera and case, a funeral guest book, and other materials. Mississippi

State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division. (Approx. 5 cu. ft.)

Walter Spiva and Family Papers. (Z/U/2020.055) Consists of the correspondence of Walter and Mary Spiva with Ed and Perle Johnson in the 1960s, letters between Sylvia Krebs and Harold and Lila Johnson in the 1980s, and the article "In the 70-80 Bracket: Letters About Aging" by Sylvia Krebs. Also includes a memoir titled "Western Trip made by Mr. and Mrs. Walter Spiva, Jr., Mr. W.A. Davenport, Mrs. Walter Spiva, Sr., and Madge Spiva, July 23 – August 6, 1941." Donated November 2020 by Sylvia Krebs, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Howard E. Sproull Genealogy Collection. (Z/U/2020.037) Consists of genealogical files, correspondence, and many maps of counties in South Carolina, Northern Ireland, and Canada. Research follows the surname Sproull and its various spellings of Sproul, Sproule, and Sprowl; and associated surnames. Donated October 2020 by Nancy Jones on behalf of Van Jones, Lucia Jones, and Christie Jones Brooks, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (3 cu. ft.)

Bonnie Stebbins Collection. Blues photographs, magazines, newsletters, and festival t-shirts donated by blues singer Bonnie "Queen B" Stebbins. University of Mississippi - Archives and Special Collections. (8 linear ft.)

George Royster Stephenson Papers. (Z/U/2020.046) Includes a memoir titled "Reminiscence trip to Holly Springs" among other manuscripts of stories and poetry. A letter from Hubert McAlexander to Stephenson comments on his writing, in addition to a letter from Eudora Welty critiquing a short story manuscript he sent for her comments. Donated November 2020 by Rob and Virginia Farr, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Guy Sterling Collection. Blues photographs, posters, newsletters, and festival programs, including a number of autographed items. University of Mississippi - Archives and Special Collections. (2 linear ft.)

Sugarcane Processing Photographs. (PI/2020.0024) Images of the sorghum mill, mill workers, and mules near Magee, Simpson County, dated November 15, 1940. Also includes photographs of msorghum mill workers making molasses at the same mill, dated January 29, 1941. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (8 items)

JoAnn Manville Thompson Postcard Collection. (PI/2020.0028) These postcards are of the Lauren Rogers Library and Museum of Art, the Mississippi Governor's Mansion, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, and a portrait photograph of Robert Lloyd Manville. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (11 items)

Triangle Restaurant Collection. (Z/U/2020.032) Consists of ephemera from the Triangle Restaurant in Meridian, Lauderdale County, and Jackson, Hinds County. Items include a handwritten mock menu; a printed menu dated 1953; a pamphlet for Triangle Tourist Cottages; a matchbook advertising the Chik-Steak sandwich at Triangle Restaurant; newspaper advertisement about opening of Triangle Drive-In; cardboard advertisement; letter; and an autograph of Harriet Weatherbee Rush. Donated September 2020 by Ryan Laws, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Turner-Fullen-Davis Family Collection. (M498) Cleveland, MS. 1943-1944; 2001-2014. Collection of letters from World War II between Sgt. George Turner to his mother and sister, photographs, photocopies and original newspaper articles are the primary elements of this collection. Turner describes his training experiences at Fort Benning, Georgia then moving to Fort Bragg, Michigan and finally Camp Van Dorn in Mississippi before finally being deployed to France. When writing paper appeared to be in short supply, Sgt. Turner found use of what appears to be toilet paper. He writes of running into school friends and what he misses most about home and the family. He adds little drawings of things he discusses in his letters making them even more interesting to read and compare his drawings to his descriptions. The collection is available by request only at this time. Delta State University Archives & Museums.

Richard Earle Tuttle Papers. (Z/U/2020.002) Consists of files from his role as chief counsel for the Lawyers' Committee for Civil

Rights Under Law in 1965-1966. Legal briefs, newspaper clippings, correspondence, narratives of court cases, and personal writings from Tuttle and from civil rights workers. Donated February 2020 by Cynthia Cowgill, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (3 cu. ft.)

John W. Vickers Vietnam War Letters. (Z/U/2020.042) Consists of three letters written by John Vickers to his uncle Ray O. Vickers while in training at Parris Island and at Camp Le Jeune, U.S. Marine Corps. His letters contain his feelings about training and being a Marine, but also his duty to his country. Vickers later lives in New York; his uncle Ray continued to live in Jackson, Hinds County, until his death in 1990. Donated October 2020 by John S. Watson, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Violet Valley Bookstore Collection. This collection includes documents, letters, articles and book order documents from Violet Valley Bookstore. It also includes Violet Valley T-shirts and book bags, posters, and flyers exhibited in the store (including from Oxford Pride), and two artifacts from the first Oxford Pride, exhibited in the bookstore: a Pride flag used by Water Valley for Equality and a sign shown by the same group. Part of the Invisible Histories Project. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (3 linear ft.)

John S. Watson Photograph Collection. (PI/2020.0020) Includes ohotographs of Mississippi and athletic scenes, mostly Murrah High School basketball and football, and sports teams from colleges and universities. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (17 items)

William West and Family Papers. (Z/U/2020.043) Consists of correspondence, poetry manuscripts, scrapbooks, photographs, and newspaper clippings of William Samuel West of Hinds County. The collection includes his will, dated October 9, 1863. West married Rebecca Alfonse Wells of Bolton, Hinds County, and she died at Wells Plantation in 1871. Poetry was published by William Samuel West under several aliases, including Vidette, Alpehus, and SAM. Donated October 2020 by Cortney Lancaster, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (1.5 cu. ft.)

Ian M. Whalen Collection. This collection contains correspondence, visual materials, and ephemera related to the University's Pride Network, the LGBTQ community in and around Oxford, Mississippi, and related archival materials. Part of the Invisible Histories Project. The University of Mississippi Libraries. (3 linear ft.)

Whistlestop Theater Collection. (M499) Cleveland, MS. 1957-2012. This collection deposited by the Delta Arts Alliance includes programs, newspaper clippings, and recordings in DVD format pertaining to plays produced by the Whistlestop Theater in Cleveland, MS. These records provide information on the plays produced by the community throughout the past several decades. The collection is available by request only at this time. Delta State University Archives & Museums.

George F. Woodliff and Family Papers. (Z/U/2020.004) Consists of photographs, programs, a magazine, a flyer, a bumper sticker from Thad Cochran campaign, invitations, correspondence, and newspaper clippings. The Woodliff family was connected to Governors Fielding L. Wright, J.P. Coleman, and Bill Waller. Woodliff also is featured in a group photograph of the Southern Farm Bureau Casualty Insurance Company's Board Meeting. A Gordon Marks telegram is included. Donated January 2020 by Dan Woodliff, Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH. (.30 cu. ft.)

Wright and Ferguson Funeral Home Blueprints. (Z/U/2020.026) Contains blueprints drawn by "J.R." at Malvaney Associates Architects for repairs and alterations for the Wright and Ferguson Funeral Home in Jackson, Hinds County, located at High Street and North West Street. There are plans detailing plot plan; first and second floor plans; roof plan; east, north, and south elevations; ladies' and men's lounges; office; mechanical plan; and fence details. The building is no longer used by Wright and Ferguson. Archives & Records Services Division, MDAH.

Lieutenant Joseph M. Zinni WWII Letters. (AM20-042) This collection contains approximately 100 letters sent between 1944-1945 from the 166th Signal Corps combat photographer Joseph M. Zinni to his wife, Anne. Zinni wrote nearly every day in the weeks immediately prior and after World War II as troops were liberating concentration

camps. Zinni was considered one of the best photographers of the 166th Signal Photo Company, known also as General Patton's GI Photographers. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi. (.5 cu. ft.)

103rd Infantry Association. (M514) Three accruals. Materials relating to the 103rd Infantry "Cactus" Division and the service of Donald B. Hayes and Herbert Gauderer. Included are memoirs, post-WWII newsletters of the division, WWII booklets distributed to the service members, certificates, and some photographs. The accruals also contain books on the history of the 103d, including Report After Action: The Story of the 103d Infantry Division by Ralph Mueller and Jerry Turk and The Trail of the Cactus by Douglas W. Sikes. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi. (1.75 cu. ft.)

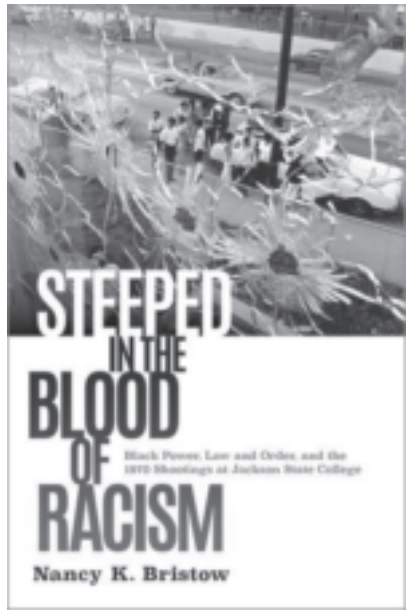
BOOK REVIEWS

Steeped in the Blood of Racism: Black Power, Law and Order, and the 1970 Shootings at Jackson State College.

By Nancy K. Bristow.

(Oxford University Press, 2020. xiv, 299 pp. $34.95)

Jackson, Mississippi, is most often remembered in histories of the Black freedom struggle for the horrific June 1963 assassination of NAACP organizer Medgar Evers. The wider story of the Jackson movement has been detailed in John R. Salter's powerful 1979 memoir and in M. J. O'Brien's superb 2013 history, *We Shall Not Be Moved*. Until now, however, the subsequent law enforcement killings of two young Black men at Jackson State College in the early morning hours of May 15, 1970, and the wounding of twelve others have not received book-length treatment by any academic historian.



When they are remembered, the Jackson State killings are linked to the far more famous shooting deaths of four white students at Ohio's Kent State University by National Guardsmen eleven days earlier. But as U.S. English professor Patrick Chura rightly highlighted in a fine 2019 analysis in *Peace & Change,* "the color line separating the two events and their victims was not incidental but fundamental," for as the excellent *New York Times* journalist Roy Reed wrote at the time, the Jackson State deaths were "almost entirely a Mississippi phenomenon" of white official violence directed at Blacks, not poorly-trained soldiers targeting white students protesting against the war in Southeast Asia.

Nancy Bristow's thoroughly-researched monograph explicates the truth of Reed's statement in extensive detail. Bristow distinguishes the Jackson State deaths from those at Kent, but even in 1970 it was widely appreciated that the Black Mississippi deaths had attracted far less fanfare than the four white dead in Ohio. *Time* magazine wrote acerbically of the African American victims being treated as "second-class martyrs," yet this discriminatory dynamic was already very well-known. In 1965, the killing of Jimmie Lee Jackson, a Black movement participant, by an Alabama state trooper drew only modest attention, but when two fellow white voting rights propo-

nents, James Reeb and Viola Gregg Liuzzo, were shot to death soon thereafter by Alabama Klan supporters, even President Lyndon B. Johnson personally consoled their families. Likewise, when state lawmen in February 1968 shot and killed three Black students at South Carolina State College in Orangeburg, national reaction was muted.

In Jackson, even a local investigation into the Black students' rock and bottle-throwing, which had preceded the thirty-second burst of over 150 rounds of gunfire, found "no evidence that the crowd . . . threatened the officers prior to firing" (128). Likewise, a subsequent federal probe called the shootings "unreasonable, unjustified . . . clearly unwarranted" and concluded that "racial animosity on the part of white police officers was a substantial contributing factor" in the capricious barrage (134).

Bristow does a fine job in showing how Jackson State's students, often from working-class backgrounds and the first in their families to attend college, had manifested "a determination to stay out of trouble" that sharply distinguished them from young white activists angered by U.S. conduct in the war in Southeast Asia (67). Her insistence that Jackson was thus different in kind from Kent State, where race played no role in the students' deaths, is powerfully clear but also fully congruent with other knowledgeable commentators from Reed in 1970 through Chura in 2019.

Better editing would have saved Bristow from a trio of errors. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, not "the Fifth District," turned aside a suit for civil damages on behalf of the victims (160). Bristow also fails to cite, or fully utilize, the appellate court's richly detailed 23-page opinion (*Burton v. Waller*, 502 F. 2d 1261), relying instead on only news summaries of it. The prominent civil rights activist Julian Bond was a state representative but never a "Georgia Congressman" and Eric Garner, a Black man who died at the hands of a New York City police officer in 2014, was killed not "in Brooklyn" but in the borough of Staten Island (173, 193).

The tradition of official state violence against Black Americans is now better understood and more widely condemned than at any prior point in American history. The long roster of deaths such as those of James Green and Phillip Gibbs in Jackson in 1970 will receive ongoing reflection for—in Martin Luther King, Jr.'s words—"as long as the cords of memory shall lengthen."

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Resisting Equality: The Citizens' Council, 1954-1989. By Stephanie R. Rolph. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2018. Acknowledgements, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. xii, 237. $48 cloth. ISBN: 9780807169155.)

In 1971, historian Neil McMillen published *The Citizens' Councils: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction* (University of Illinois Press). McMillen exposed the organization at the center of massive

resistance for what it was—a loosely affiliated network of local white supremacist groups that used economic reprisal and other forms of terrorism to combat the efforts of the NAACP during the classical phase of the civil rights movement. Updated and reprinted in 1994, McMillen's work has remained the standard history of the Council. Its members' self-styled sophisticated resistance to civil rights agitation, defined against the violent and self-defeating resistance of the Ku Klux Klan, has become an indelible part of the scholarly civil rights narrative.

Stephanie Rolph's valuable new monograph, *Resisting Equality*, "builds on" McMillen's work by situating the Citizens' Council within a long civil rights movement framework, specifically within the transformation of American racism that followed the seeming, though never wholesale, collapse of organized massive resistance in the 1960s (3). Focusing on the Council's coalition-building efforts on the national stage and its leaders' steadfast commitment to white supremacy, her work strengthens the historiography of white resistance associated with scholars like Jacquelyn Dowd Hall and Joseph Crespino. She argues that historians have "for the most part, ignored the Council's later years," which, she maintains, "restricts our understanding of Council activism to its ultimate failure" (3). She explains that the organization ultimately "cultivated ideology over political positions" and that its "unwavering commitment to white supremacy," despite a shift in tactics and focus, "ensured its continued relevance" (3).

Rolph is less concerned with the semi-autonomous local councils that carried out reprisal campaigns against civil rights activists than she is with the Citizens' Council of America (CCA) and the Association of Citizens' Councils of Mississippi (ACCM), both headquartered in Jackson. Rolph argues that a "sustained and unapologetic advocacy for white supremacy," especially via various means of publishing and disseminating propaganda, "won [the CCA and ACCM] a variety of allies within Mississippi, across the country, and around the globe." Such networks allowed the CCA and ACCM to find their place in the conservative counterrevolution of the 1970s and 1980s, long after civil rights activists managed to overcome the terrorist activities of the local councils (4). These connections allow us to see more clearly how white supremacy was "reborn," rather than "irreparably weakened," and how the desire to maintain white power "converged with mainstream thought" (4, 6).

Certain Council leaders loom large in this study, and Rolph emphasizes their intention to develop an elite-led movement that nonetheless inspired whites at the grassroots to take the initiative, sometimes through violent action. The CCA's William Simmons is the most visible of this cadre. Simmons edited the Council organ, *The Citizen*, and produced and moderated its syndicated radio program, *Forum*. These outlets served as Simmons' vehicles for positioning the Council within a developing conservative movement while still cham-

pioning white supremacy. Whether posturing as a staunch Cold Warrior in the pages of *The Citizen*, cozying up to the South African Nationalist regime that was holding fast to Apartheid, or hosting Republican opponents of federal government overreach on *Forum*, Simmons kept an unabashed biological racism at the core of Council ideology.

Rolph combines a fresh examination of some well-worn sources, such as *The Citizen* and the papers of figures like James Eastland and John Stennis, with transcripts of *Forum* and a litany of other Council publications and correspondence, and the papers of Medgar Evers, to provide a rich view of the Council's endurance. As she notes, the Council persevered in the face of conflicts with competing institutions, notably the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, and a sustained challenge from Black activists. Simmons and Council founder Robert Patterson were ultimately unable to maintain white unity under Council influence in their home state, but their broader vision dovetailed with the rise of the New Right closely enough to ensure the Council's relevance until the shuttering of the Jackson offices in 1989.

The book's brief concluding chapter on the Council since 1964 might leave historians wanting more, though Rolph does emphasize the elements of Council activity and ideology in the years prior to 1964 that presaged its evolution in the 1970s and 1980s. This is necessary reading for anyone hoping to fully understand The Citizens' Council and white resistance to the civil rights movement. All scholars of twentieth century and contemporary American politics should find it engaging and useful.

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Black Litigants in the Antebellum South. By Kimberly M. Welch. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018. Acknowledgments, illustrations, map, notes, appendix, index. Pp. xi, 328. $39.95 cloth, $29.99 E-book. ISBN: 978-1-4696-3643-6.)

In *Black Litigants in the Antebellum South*, Kimberly Welch examines a largely unexplored record of civil suits involving free and enslaved Black litigants in courts in and around antebellum Natchez, Mississippi. Building on her startling discovery that Black litigants often successfully sued whites and each other in civil court, Welch argues that African Americans found success in such cases by appealing to property, and "claimed legal personhood through the language of property" (13). Property ownership and the rights of legal and social personhood imbued in property offered Black litigants a language and legal infrastructure to press claims (for debt repayment, divorce, the recoup of stolen goods, and even occasionally manumission) and to insist on social belonging. Welch finds that Black litigants understood and utilized slaveholders' preoccupation with the preservation of property rights, exploiting the legal foundation of slavery itself to make claims, as property-holders, for civic inclusion and to create a more "tolerable world"

for themselves in white society (147). This tension between race and property permeates the study and whites routinely prioritized the sanctity of Black property over white superiority. Further, Welch builds on Walter Johnson's critique of agency and hegemony. Antebellum southern law was not simply a tool of oppression for whites and antebellum Blacks were not wholly excluded from legal rights based on race or color. In court, whites had no monopoly on rights and the law was available to every member of the Old South, including free Blacks and slaves.

Welch divides the book into two thematic halves. The first focuses on the tactics and strategies Black litigants found successful in court. Blacks constructed narratives to justify their claims, which forced the court to accept non-white voices as authoritative. African Americans also exploited tropes of Black inferiority to demand that whites articulate their expectations of Black behavior; thus holding whites accountable for their limited racial power in court. Black litigants' very presence in court, Welch argues, presented a paradox that challenged the racial logic of antebellum Mississippi. When white lawyers represented Black clients and judges heard these cases, they were "compelled" to admit a different order, one in which knowledge, law, and experience belonged to Blacks as well as whites (106). Welch is careful not to overstate Blacks' successes in court, however. Blacks occupied a subordinate position in the slave South, and whites took advantage of the courts to undermine them in court. That so many white judges and juries ruled in favor of Black plaintiffs, Welch maintains, reveals the untidy operation of law and white supremacy.

The second half examines the scope and significance of antebellum Black civil litigation. When Blacks lent money to whites, for example, they initiated creditor/debtor relationships that mirrored the master/slave relationship. Such interactions, Welch argues, inverted the entire racial order of the South. Black lenders routinely sued white debtors, often successfully, highlighting the region's primacy of property over race. Mississippi and Louisiana judges readily protected Black property rights, which Black property holders understood in expansive terms as civil rights. Property ownership and the legal protection of various forms of property buttressed free Blacks' identities as householders, providers, and their ability to "handle the responsibilities of freedom" (145). Likewise, Welch examines slave litigants and finds that they were "doing analogous things in court" (163). Enslaved people were only allowed to file suit in freedom cases, Welch explains, but they demonstrated facility in the legal language and courtroom strategies of free Blacks.

Welch draws her sources from the neglected, deteriorating, and fragmented civil records of courts around Natchez, recovering and documenting a rich, if geographically narrow, history of Black litigation. Her rescue of these important sources is important and she explains the dangers these and other undiscovered records face without preservation and care. The extant case files impose some limitations. Large gaps in the

records obscure the outcome of many cases, and the poor condition of her sources renders testimony and case details incomplete. Moreover, Welch's evidence indicates Blacks' access and success in court often depended on a variety of shifting conditions in the law that eventually prohibited slaves from filing manumission suits and closed legal loopholes for free Blacks. Reputation and standing in the community could change as well, rendering Welch's "model" of Black antebellum litigation slightly unstable (22). Nonetheless, Welch's book is essential reading for scholars of antebellum Mississippi.

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Private Confederacies: The Emotional Worlds of Southern Men as Citizens and Soldiers. By James J. Broomall. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019. Acknowledgements, illustrations, notes, index. Pp. xi, 226. $90 cloth, $29.95 paper. ISBN: 978-1-4696-5198-9.)

Confederate soldiers yearned for absentee loved ones, bonded with fellow comrades-in-arms, and, in their anguish, struggled to make sense of defeat. Indeed, they *felt* the Civil War. Men's emotional experiences mattered—it formed their inner selves as it shaped their wider world. In *Private Confederacies: The Emotional Worlds of Southern Men as Citizens and Soldiers*, James J. Broomall examines the emotional and gendered experiences of elite southern men before, during, and after the war. Self-mastered, self-assured southerners struggled to make sense of their precarious position as Confederate soldiers facing the dual threats of enemy bullets and lethal disease. "They responded by creating emotional communities composed of fellow soldiers who crafted a common language of uncertainty," argues Broomall. "Soldiers relied on each other for psychological support, physical comfort, and personal security" (2). Confederate veterans grappling with a loss of property, a loss of self, and a loss of status resurrected this emotional community in the postwar period in the form of paramilitary organizations. Reconstruction-era Klansmen, argues Broomall, "intended to restore a social order undone by emancipation and war and created a mythology to explain the lost cause" (2).

To understand war's collateral damage, Confederate soldiers must first be understood as antebellum elites. The opening chapter addresses manhood in the decade preceding war. As self-restrained men preoccupied with their public personas, they relied on public facing 'masks' and shunned overt emotional displays. Placing individual men at the center of a national struggle, Broomall draws deeply upon men's dairies—and the private, less-guarded thoughts contained therein. The result of this methodological approach is at once compelling and limiting. Some men emerge as near-living specters who felt the full range of emotions (exhilaration, rage, depression, and exhaustion) while others, oftentimes women, minorities, and non-elites, are largely invisible. Yet, sentiments conveyed though the written word required a degree of verbal facility, and Broomall's case

studies offer compelling glimpses into elite men's innermost thoughts and feelings.

War tested men. It shook their personal resolve as it remade their social networks. Upon entry into the army, men, such as Mississippian Ruffin Thomas, came together as Confederate soldiers. Military uniforms and camp culture, according to Broomall, "fostered emotional exchanges" between soldiers (32). In such a space, men came to rely on each other for necessary emotional support. For some Confederate men, the trauma of war "caused mental consternation and emotional duress; others, nonplused, continued to affirm antebellum belief systems that provided a bulwark against the conflict" (63).

The final three chapters analyze the end of the war and the rise of the Klan during Reconstruction. Coping with the transition from soldier to citizen, personal trauma, and a fluctuating conception of manliness, veterans struggled to come to terms with defeat. Southern social structures had been leveled by war and emancipation; Black freedom represented a loss of white mastery. Broomall argues that "war had partially shattered the forbidding veneer of a closed Southern culture" and, in the postwar decades, men directly related to other men on an intimate, emotional level (127). Seeking solace, men sought out other veterans. White southerners joined paramilitary organizations, which were, Broomall rightly argues, emotional communities of like-minded, violent men.

Some of this analysis is well-trod ground. Numerous historians have demonstrated the effects of southern honor, the experiences of Civil War soldiering, and the violence of the Klan. Yet scholarship tends ignore the emotional lives of men, especially southern men. Published almost two decades ago, Stephen W. Berry's *All That Makes a Man: Love and Ambition in the Civil War South* (2003) was "dedicated to the inner experiences of masculinity, to the private landscapes men negotiated in their confrontations with what their society claimed a man should do and be." Berry's analysis, however, favored the 1850s and early 1860s (12). Broomall takes this approach into the post-bellum period and rightly shows the lasting psychological and emotional effects of war and defeat for elite southern men. Broomall explores how personal thoughts and feelings shaped the very trajectory of historical events. Short in length and sweeping in scope, not all subjects are covered equally or, understandably, in great depth. But *Private Confederacies*, nonetheless, demonstrates the importance of men's emotional lives and reconceptualizes the emotional carnage of war and defeat.

Tracy L. Barnett
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Sowing the Wind: The Mississippi Constitutional Convention of 1890. By Dorothy Overstreet Pratt. (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2018. Illustrations, map, notes, bibliography, index. Pp. ix, 294. $70 cloth. ISBN: 9781496815460.)

Dorothy Overstreet Pratt has written the first book-length study on the Mississippi Constitutional Convention of

1890. For many decades, in articles and brief passages in books, apologists for the state have explained that the convention was needed to disfranchise uneducated African American voters. Since 1875, the state's Democrats had used fraud and violence to keep Black and Republican voters away from the polls. In 1890, Democratic leaders moved to replace the violence and fraud with laws that would discourage or eliminate Black voting. Since 1890, most white Mississippians have declared the convention and its resulting new constitution a success.

Pratt takes issue with that assessment. While she admits that race was at the center of many debates at the convention, she argues that class issues were also at its heart. Yeomen farmers in white-majority counties (in the hills and piney woods, for example), wanted to increase their influence relative to the Black-majority counties in the western part of the state. The Black-majority counties were led by a relatively wealthy white elite who wanted to resist loss of power and to protect the low taxation of plantation lands. In short, the convention was often a struggle between representatives of white dirt farmers and elite white planters.

The convention did succeed in greatly reducing the number of Black voters in the state, Pratt explains. White elites were also glad that the poll tax and literacy tests reduced the number of poor and uneducated white voters. As time went on, however, the number of white voters of modest means rebounded, the Delta ceased to dominate the state's leadership, and demagogues such as James K. Vardaman and Theodore Bilbo began to win elections. Under this demagogic leadership, violence against African Americans became more common, and the state failed to advance economically when compared with other southern states.

Pratt's emphasis on class helps explain the mystery of Isaiah T. Montgomery, the lone Black delegate to the convention, who voted for the document despite its goal of disfranchising African Americans and delivered a 1910 speech largely laudatory of the convention. As a wealthy and educated Black landowner in the Delta, Montgomery voted with his class. He was hopeful that tax-paying and landowning African Americans would still be permitted to vote and he was less concerned about the masses of Black citizens who would lose the franchise. Pratt notes that white delegates of modest means attempted to exclude Montgomery from the convention, while Delta elites voted to seat him.

Pratt is convincing when she traces many of the problems of twentieth century Mississippi to the 1890 Constitutional Convention. She notes that Mississippi and South Carolina were typically at the bottom of a host of economic and social measures, attributing the low rankings to tax policies and school funding issues that arose under the new Constitution. Further, it is hard to argue with her conclusion that because of that document, "the civil rights era was preordained" (210).

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Beyond the Crossroads: The Devil and the Blues Tradition. By Adam Gussow. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017. Acknowledgements, appendix, index, song credits. Pp., 404. $90 cloth, $19.95 paper. ISBN: 9781469633657.)

Adam Gussow, associate professor of English and Southern Studies at the University of Mississippi, has crafted a creative and exhaustive new study of blues history and culture centered around a narrow yet fascinating theme—the form and function of the devil in the blues. Through combining close readings of nearly ninety years of blues lyrics with oral histories and other primary sources, Gussow examines the amorphous nature of the seemingly ubiquitous Satan figure that has served as a vibrant character in blues culture and lore for most of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in Mississippi and beyond. Thanks to decades of well-intended blues scholarship and folklore, the devil within studies of the blues has remained a shadowy figure closely linked to African American spiritual concepts centered on the timeless duality of good versus evil, "where the devil," in fact, "was the devil."(4). Given the devil figure's widespread presence across the blues, Gussow is not convinced of this myopic interpretation. This study seeks to widen our understanding of the multifarious representations of the figure across both time and space and the numerous impacts these interpretations have had on blues music, artists, and history.

In five parts, *Beyond the Crossroads* peers into both familiar and previously unexamined arenas within the blues where the devil, through deeper analysis, becomes more than just "the devil." In fact, as the author contends, the shapeshifting devil character within blues music is the "only actor, apart from the blues singer, who is an icon for the music a whole" (10). With this idea in mind, readers travel on a nimble path as Gussow explores this concept. First, he examines the origins of the term "the devil's music" among Black elders and community leaders responsible for creating the scared-secular dichotomy at the turn of the twentieth century. This older generation chastised young blues musicians for their devilish ways but did not foresee how these young, skeptical Black southerners rejected their "devil" and dualistic world view for one of youthful modernity. Chapter two follows the devil icon along the paths of the Great Migration to New York City where Black blueswomen purveyed a different and equally modern devil image to publicly combat antiquated conceptions of virtue and respectability directed toward contemporary Black feminism and sexuality.

Part three, one of the most creative in the book, argues that blues songs, although filled with intimations describing white supremacy in the Jim Crow South as the devil, were at the same time laden with innuendo suggesting Black blues singers become the devil in order to battle racism. Chapter four examines the all too familiar paradox among those who know blues music and its frequent association with sexual de-

sire. Here, Gussow contends that the devil became a tool for softening the juxtaposition between the freedom of post-emancipation Blacks to choose a lover on their own terms and the "unfreedom"—the "unstable antagonistic relationship"—that has trapped one or the other partner in a living hell of jealousy and heartache (155). The book's final 111 pages investigates the most mythically Faustian figure in all of blues lore—the legendary Robert Johnson. Here Gussow rejects revisionist scholars' interpretations of Johnson by presenting the fabled figure as a "fearless young modernist" whose impact on American popular culture (most notably the 1986 Hollywood film Crossroads) and on Mississippi Delta towns like Clarksdale has been so profound that the figure of the devil has proliferated into the twenty-first century.

Tightly organized, impeccably researched, and masterfully written, *Beyond the Crossroads* is an important addition to an impressive canon of blues analysis and criticism. Offering criticism here seems moot, but a growing corpus of twenty-first century blues scholars have shied away from an overabundant use of song lyrics, which Gussow seems to reject. Nevertheless, when the author corroborates song lyrics with primary and empirical sources along with oral histories, the reader is left with ingenious explorations. In part three of the final chapter, for example, Gussow probes the veracity of Clarksdale as ground zero of the blues as well is its surprisingly close relationship to the devil-blues mythology. Contained within this section is a fascinating community study of an economically crippled region clinging to the blues. The blues' role in turning the "Magnolia State" into the "Birthplace of America's Music" is on full display here, and Gussow has brilliantly captured one of this transition's key moments.

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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").

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