

# The Journal of Mississippi History

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Volume LXXIX

Spring/Summer 2017

No. 1 and No. 2

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## CONTENTS

Introduction to Vintage Issue	1
<i>By Dennis J. Mitchell</i>	
Mississippi Unionism: The Case of the Reverend James A. Lyon	5
<i>Edited by John K. Bettersworth</i>	
The Mississippi Reconstruction Convention of 1865	25
<i>By Winbourne Magruder Drake</i>	
Mississippi's Confederate Leaders After the Civil War	49
<i>By William B. Hesseltine and Larry Gara</i>	
Logging and Rafting Timber in South Mississippi, 1840–1910	63
<i>By Nollie W. Hickman</i>	

COVER IMAGE — Reverend James Adair Lyon (1814–1882), courtesy of the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

*The Journal of Mississippi History* (ISSN 0022-2771) is published quarterly by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 200 North St., Jackson, MS 39201, in cooperation with the Mississippi Historical Society as a benefit of Mississippi Historical Society membership. Annual memberships begin at \$25. Back issues of the *Journal* sell for \$7.50 and up through the Mississippi Museum Store; call 601-576-6921 to check availability. *The Journal of Mississippi History* is a juried journal. Each article is reviewed by a specialist scholar before publication. Periodicals paid at Jackson, Mississippi. Postmaster: Send address changes to the Mississippi Historical Society, P.O. Box 571, Jackson, MS 39205-0571. Email [journal@mdah.ms.gov](mailto:journal@mdah.ms.gov).

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# Introduction

*by Dennis J. Mitchell*

In an effort to address the backlog in the publication of *The Journal of Mississippi History*, the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH) and the Mississippi Historical Society decided to publish three vintage issues. This third issue that addresses the Reconstruction era follows two earlier vintage issues on the early history of the state and the Civil War. In selecting articles for these vintage issues, we have used *Journal* articles published before the 1970s.

Reconstruction has undergone a completely revised interpretation since these articles were first published. Initially, it was viewed by most of the nation's leading historians as a period of corruption and domination by Radical Republicans and freedmen who were unprepared to exercise their new political rights. The South was finally redeemed when it threw off its Northern shackles and reestablished the political dominance of white Democrats.

Modern historians reject this view. Today Reconstruction is seen as a time of significant social and political progress for African Americans. The great tragedy of the era is that these positive changes were short-lived due to racist attitudes that were pervasive throughout the nation during the nineteenth century. In the South, these beliefs led to white vigilantism and voter intimidation to block black voter participation.

Nevertheless, some of the earlier articles published about Reconstruction are still insightful for the modern reader. During his long career at Mississippi State University, John K. Bettersworth

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DENNIS J. MITCHELL is the editor of *The Journal of Mississippi History* and professor emeritus at Mississippi State University-Meridian.

provided Mississippians with many glimpses into the complicated, often overlooked aspects of Mississippi's Civil War and its aftermath. Bettersworth's editing of James A. Lyon's wartime journal establishes that not all Mississippians supported the Confederacy, and the minister's bitterness toward the Confederate leadership establishes the difficulty of the "Reconstruction" sought by Lyons and his son.

Winbourne Magruder Drake's analysis of the 1865 Mississippi Reconstruction Convention provides insight into a confused and somewhat murky period of the state's history when Mississippi attempted to re-enter the Union. Writing as professor Drake did in a segregated society, he is too generous in his estimate of the "moderation" of the members of the convention. Nonetheless, his article provides a valuable account of the convention for the benefit of today's readers, who may wish to consult more recent scholarship on this subject.

William B. Hesseltine, lead author of the article on the postwar careers of Mississippi's Confederate leaders, was a legendary professor at the University of Wisconsin, where he trained a generation of prominent historians and produced numerous works of historical significance. His co-author, Larry Gara, was lesser known but gained notoriety for being fired in 1962 from Grove City College after being labeled a communist. The amazing aspect of this article, given Hesseltine's passivism and Gara's radicalism is that they failed to hint at any criticism of the former Confederate leaders for the direction in which they led Mississippi after the Civil War.

Nollie W. Hickman taught at Perkinston Junior College (now Mississippi Gulf Coast Community College) and Northeast Louisiana State College (now University of Louisiana at Monroe) and researched the timber industry of the Piney Woods. The industry that he described grew during the Reconstruction period to be the second most important economic engine in the state after cotton. As he demonstrated in this article, Hickman mastered his subject and no details escaped his attention.

Student volunteers from Millsaps College (Emma McRaney, Angel Williams, Connor Dunne, Gwyneth McDonough, Braxton Thomas,

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

One difficulty of reprinting older articles is that some of the language used in the articles is not only outdated, but sometimes offensive. While the Mississippi Historical Society would never publish a new article using such language, we have reprinted these articles verbatim to reflect the scholarship as it was presented at the time. Each article is a product of its time and place, but is included because it contains relevant information that I used to write *A New History of Mississippi*.

I hope you enjoy reading about the history of Reconstruction in these articles that were first published more than half a century ago.



# Mississippi Unionism: The Case of the Reverend James A. Lyon

*Edited by John K. Bettersworth*

The record of unionism in Mississippi during the Civil War is exceedingly fragmentary, for those classes who differed with the prevailing sentiment of the day were in most cases either the poor, who rarely committed their grievances to writing, or the wealthy, who shrewdly concealed if they did not destroy all written evidence of their dissent. The case of the Reverend James A. Lyon of Columbus is a fortunate exception.<sup>1</sup> A steadfast opponent of secession, this Presbyterian clergyman remained a unionist to the end, despite all efforts to silence him. It is indeed remarkable that Lyon survived the hysteria of wartime. He doubtless enjoyed, of course, a great deal of immunity by virtue of his cloth; yet other ministers who were of his mind were harried out of the land. The explanation lies, perhaps, in the fact that his years of service and leadership in the community had given Lyon a prestige that could transcend political differences. At any rate, with the exception of a seven-year interruption because of ill-health, Lyon had been building up the church and his reputation in Columbus ever since he came there in 1841 from the hills of East Tennessee.<sup>2</sup> Lyon's reputation was by no means limited to Columbus. In 1861 he went as the delegate from the Presbytery of Tombeckbee to the first General Assembly of the Confederate Presbyterian church, where he "was drawn into a leading

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This article was originally published in the January 1939 edition of *The Journal of Mississippi History*. Some of the language may be offensive because the article is a product of its time and place. The article is reprinted verbatim to reflect the scholarship as it was presented at the time.

<sup>1</sup> [In 1939] the original manuscript of the journal of the Reverend James A. Lyon, from which the [published] selections [were] taken, [was] owned by Dr. Robert H. White, Nashville, Tennessee. Excellent typewritten copies of the journal are available at the Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Mississippi [Z/0176.000/S].

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Lipscomb, *A History of Columbus, Mississippi* (Birmingham, 1909), 105-106.

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JOHN K. BETTERSWORDTH graduated magna cum laude from Millsaps College in 1929 and obtained a Ph.D. in history from Duke University in 1937. He served as a professor and administrator at Mississippi State College (Mississippi State University) for more than forty years. Bettersworth died on December 31, 1991.

part” and by crusading in behalf of slavery reform got himself appointed chairman of a committee to “prepare a manifesto on slavery and the religious instruction of negroes” to be laid before the next assembly.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the 1863 meeting elected Lyon as moderator.<sup>4</sup>

Lyon’s manifestations of unionism consisted mainly in remarks on “The War” in his journal, where he denounced the “demagogues” who had engineered disunion and set up the Confederate government; in sermons, where he called upon the people to repent their secessionist sins; in a spirited public defense of his son Theodoric against charges of disloyalty; and finally, in encouraging the peace movement at the end of the war. Theodoric, a second lieutenant in the army, had incurred the hatred of the fire-eaters by writing a letter defending the sentiments of his father. The letter became public property, whereupon Theodoric was court-martialed, removed from his command, and transferred to Virginia. His only consolation was that in standing for the legislature during the progress of the court-martial he received one-fourth of the votes cast in Lowndes County, and a conservative, James M. Arnold, was actually elected.

While it is dangerous to generalize on the basis of the still incomplete evidence of Mississippi unionism, one is tempted by a reading of Lyon’s journal to make several observations, for whatever they may be worth. First of all, the diary sheds light on the peace or reconstruction party that was beginning to take shape in the 1863 elections. That the legislature of 1863 was strongly Whiggish has been evident enough from the policies it followed,<sup>5</sup> but it is upon such revelations as those of Lyon that we have to depend to learn the details of the canvass that brought victory to the conservatives.

In the second place, one asks whether there is any significance in the fact that practically all of the Mississippi clerical dissent that has been recorded was among Presbyterians. It was a Presbyterian, John Aughey, whose unionism sent him in flight from his churches in Attala and Choctaw counties to Tishomingo County, only to be captured and held

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<sup>3</sup> Lyon’s Journal, 23-24. The report, prepared by Lyon for the 1863 meeting, called for a thorough-going revision of the slave codes, particularly insofar as Negro education and family relationships were concerned. Although the report was read in the assembly and was published in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, XVI (1863), 1-37, its sentiments were too radical for the times, and the assembly never got around to adopting it. Lyon’s Journal, 56-59, 96-98.

<sup>4</sup> Lyon’s Journal, 24.

<sup>5</sup> A conservative became speaker of the House of Representatives and the legislature chose J. W. C. Watson, an old-line Whig, as Confederate senator. *Mississippi House Journal*, 1863, pp. 85, 167-171.



prisoner by the Confederates until he could escape to the Federal lines.<sup>6</sup> It was also a Presbyterian, James Phelan of Macon, who for his opposition to the Confederacy was forced to resign and retire to the country, where the second attempt on his life proved fatal.<sup>7</sup> Another, the Reverend Gallaudet of Aberdeen, escaped to the North.<sup>8</sup> If there was any connection between unionism and Presbyterianism it might at least partly be explained by the fact that of the three largest denominations in Mississippi, the Presbyterians were the only one that had not suffered a sectional cleavage before the Civil War began. Many a Presbyterian clergyman in the South was Northern by education if not by birth, and there had been a constant interchange of both ministers and ideas between the two sections. Lyon himself had lived for a time in Saint Louis.<sup>9</sup> Here, then, was a church that had preserved much of its national character to the end. If we seek further explanation, we may find it in an open-mindedness on the whole question of slavery and secession that would naturally obtain in a church that was essentially the church of the educated, liberally inclined urban communities. Finally, as an aristocratic church, it is reasonable to assume that the Presbyterian church would be very likely to reflect the attitude of those wealthy classes in Mississippi who had opposed secession from the beginning.

The Lyon journal covers the years from 1861 through 1870. The entries were not made regularly, except upon Lyon's birthday and at the end of the year. In nearly every other case the excuse for writing was an occurrence of more than everyday importance, and in the narration the trivia with which a daily record becomes cluttered are missing. The method used is almost entirely retrospective, and even though Lyon may have at times been guilty of wishful remembering, the result is at least concise and coherent.

1861

[SERMON ON THE CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY,  
January 4, 1861]

. . . . Tho my audience was very large the church being crowded, yet

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<sup>6</sup> John H. Aughey, *The Iron Furnace; or, Slavery and Secession* (Philadelphia, 1863). A revised and enlarged edition of this book was published under the title of *Tupelo* in 1888 at Lincoln, Nebraska, and in Chicago in 1905.

<sup>7</sup> Aughey, *Tupelo*, 69-70.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 72.

<sup>9</sup> Lipscomb, *A History of Columbus, Mississippi*, 106.

those whom I hoped most to influence by it staid away. I however had the sermon published in “The True Witness & Sentinel” of New Orleans (Jany 26<sup>th</sup>) and distributed a large number of extra copies among the people—The sermon or rather I was spoiled by an anonymous writer in the Mississippi Democrat of this place—wh[ich] enabled me to demand of the editor that the Sermon should be published in the same paper. This was done, but very reluctantly—and with a long pretended Editorial, doubtless by the same unknown author, criticizing & spoiling the Sermon & me—I have reason to believe that the sermon has done and is doing great good—in preparing the minds of the people for another question that is not very far ahead I hope—that of *Re-Union*.

### MY CONFEDERATE FAST-DAY SERMON

Thursday the 13<sup>th</sup> of June was appointed by the provisional president of the “Confederate States” in obedience to the unanimous request of the “provisional Congress” of the same as a day of “humiliation fasting & prayer” before Almighty God in the view of the Calamitous Condition of the Country—In obedience to this request I prepared & delivered a Sermon on the Subject—“The Crisis in the Light of providence.” I devoted a long preliminary to this Sermon in enveighing against letting down and prostituting the pulpit, to a level with a low and corrupt hustings which has been done to a most lamentable extent by nearly all the pulpits in the land not excepting some of the first presbyterian pulpits!—This Sermon was published entire in “The True Witness and Sentinel” published in New Orleans July the 6<sup>th</sup> 1861—I have received many thanks from some of the most inteligent [*sic*] men in the country for this Sermon—In it I maintained the same position that I took in my fast day sermon of Jany the 4<sup>th</sup> 1861—

1862

### MY FAST DAY SERMON FOR FEB: 28, '62

. . . . I had no comfort to give the people—no flattery for them or their rulers—Their *Sins*, their violations of God’s law but nothing else had brought the sword upon the land—and the only hope was in repentance—In depicting the evils of the war—three gentlemen, viz E. P. Odeneal, Abm. Humphries, and James Turner left the house, in a way that showed that they were offended—but I could not change my tone—My text was the 1<sup>st</sup> verse of the 58 chapter of Isaiah—“Cry aloud, Spare not &c”—and

I endeavoured to act up to the spirit of my text—I did not know what effect the Sermon might have but I now have reason to believe that it did good—It certainly convinced the people that I will not be compelled to preach “Smoother things”—

### THE CIVIL WAR

Hitherto I have not made any entry in this journal relative to the dreadful Civil War that has been raging between the two sections now for nearly two years. The fact is it was appalling, so dreadful, so heart-sickening and so astounding in its developments that I had not the heart to write about it in the first place—and felt conscious that I had not the ability to transfer my views of it in anything short of a volume. I have felt astounded ever since it commenced, and before the actual beginning of hostilities—at the amazing developments made by it—which to portray would require me to speak of its *remote* causes, which I trace not so much to *slavery* as to the haughty *spirit* generated by slavery—of its immediate causes to be found in the passing of political power out of the hands of our party into those of another of the delusions palmed off upon the people in both sections—of the fallacies studiously inculcated as truths—of the efforts made to convince the people that there would be no war and *driving* and hissing them into submission to Secession—and after the war commenced the thousand efforts & appeals and devices resorted to, to deepen hatred and create the war spirit and keep it up—and then after a certain degree of progress had been made—to speak of the enormous lengths and strides in tyranny and absolute despotism on the part of demagogues now become bold—in dividing the country, in appointing themselves law-makers, generals, Rulers, Judges &c—in taxing the people—making war—siezing [sic] property drafting, conscripting, shooting, hanging burning, destroying &c &c! The tameness with which the masses submit to it—The assiduity with which the spirit of hatred is cultivated by the demagogues, and the efforts to instill it into the minds and hearts of the people—the extreme reluctance that the people have [been] manifesting from the beginning to go into this war—nothing but . . . the deep laid schemes, the violence and the deception of the demagogues could ever have precipitated them into a war, so distasteful, and so ruinous. And nothing but the iron manacles that now bind them could keep them in what their souls hate—

But after all there is another view of the subject—This war however dreadful, and criminal on the part of those who have been instrumental

in bringing it about, was necessary, to the body politic as medicine is sometimes necessary to the body physical. The disease of pride, vanity, ingratitude, selfishness, infidelity, atheism, *cruelty, unfaithfulness*, and all the other national diseases consequent upon unchecked prosperity, needed to be purged out by the chastisement of war!—

How the war will end I cannot foresee—We have to suffer yet more however before the clouds of God's just wrath are rolled back—and the sword of his Justice is sheathed—It may end by compromises [*sic*] and final reconstruction—but all is dark at present—equally dark I imagine on both sides. (Decr. 31, 1862)

1863

### MY 49<sup>TH</sup> BIRTH DAY, APRIL 19<sup>TH</sup>

My custom is to make an entry in this my journal on each successive birth day. Since the last it has seemed like one long & most oppressive night-mare, on account of the horrid civil war still in progress—How we are able to attain peace is to me inexplicable [*sic*]. I do not see how our rulers, and demagogues can make peace—I have no hope from foreign intervention—I see no end to the war except in absolute subjugation on the part of the South, unless the people rise in their majesty and take the matter into their own hands, and compromise by an honorable and just reconstruction.

### THE COURT MARSHALL [*sic*]

I was earnestly opposed to Secession not only as a great political heresy, but as an egregious blunder that would bring war and ruin upon the land. In my warnings and expostulations, I faithfully predicted all the calamities and ruin that have followed in the trail of that rash, wicked and precipitate measure. Just in proportion as my predictions come true, and the sad facts verify all that I foretold, in that degree I am denounced by those who were chiefly instrumental in bringing on the ruin. Hence these miserable men, have been accustomed to defame me as an “Abolitionist,” “Black-republican,” “Lincolnite,” “Unsound,” “Traitor” &c &c—for as the ruin and distress accumulate, the people remind them that I had warned them against their reckless madness in bringing on the war.

It has been my opinion from the beginning, and is so still, that unless God interposes by his providence, in some way, which human logic cannot deduce, and human sagacity cannot scrutinize, there can be but one result

to the contest—and that is, that the *stronger*, must eventually overcome the *weaker* power. All the signs of the times point to this result. The only escape from it that I can perceive is to encourage the Conservative peace party North to hope that when Lincoln's Abolition policy is overthrown, that we the South will go up to a Convention of all the states there to discuss the causes of our troubles, and to agree upon a just and honorable settlement:—which doubtless would result in the re-establishment of a united government under our Constitution. Infinitely better [to] pursue this policy, [than] to continue a hopeless resistance by the sword only, until we are subjugated, and are compelled to submit to the ignominious terms that may be dictated by the Abolitionists.

An opportunity for the publication of the aforesaid views was providently offered, by the Hon. Scott Thompson who addressed to me a letter from Crawfordsville Miss. dated August 12<sup>th</sup>, 63, stating that there was a report extensively circulated that there was [a] "Reconstruction party" in Columbus numbering several hundred of which I was "the *head and front*"—He requested that I should reply "*in extenso*" for publication. This letter gave me some uneasiness from the fact that I was represented as being at the head of a *Political Party*, whereas I never took any active part in politics in my life, and never expect to, so long as I entertain my present views on the subject of ministers of the Gospel adhering rigidly to their holy vocation, and leaving all secular matters whatever to secular men. And moreover the rabid war men have attached to the meaning of the word "Reconstruction" however unjustly, that of "submission" to Lincoln and to Abolitionism which I exceedingly deprecate [*sic*]—Not desiring to have my name attached to a political paper as its author to be circulated through the public prints, I handed the Scott Thompson letter over to my son Theodoric C Lyon, whose political views correspond with my own; and who was better able to answer the letter, than I was myself.<sup>10</sup>

Accordingly he answered the letter on August 17<sup>th</sup> setting forth his views as to the best policy to be adopted in the present conjuncture of affairs. This letter was read, by Mr. Thompson, to divers persons in his neighborhood—When some one we know not precisely who, but suppose it was Majr. Ed. Gregory, reported the letter to the provost Marshall [*sic*] in this place (Columbus Miss) as a disloyal treasonable document,

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<sup>10</sup> That Theodoric had been a unionist from the beginning of the war is evident from the fact that his father mentioned early in 1861 the publication of an union address by Theodoric in the *Nashville Republican Banner*. Theodoric did not, however, evade military service. He joined the Lowndes Riflemen and soon became a second lieutenant. *Lyon's Journal*, 5, 36-37.

whereupon the provost Marshall [sic] sent for the letter, which was given up to him. Altho we intended to have the letter published, yet this fact, and the rumors relative to its character, made us the more anxious for its publication in order that it might speak for itself. Accordingly, with some difficulty, my son, procured the publication of the correspondence under the head of “*political correspondence*” in “*The Southern Republic*” Sept. 1<sup>st</sup>. 63. A little weekly sheet published in Columbus Miss by J. D. Williams.

The rumors that had been afloat relative to the character of the letter whetted the public curiosity exceedingly to see the letter. The letter not only sets forth what we deemed the wisest and safest policy to pursue in the present crisis—but it lays at the door of the reckless politicians and demagogues the responsibility for all our troubles, and holds them strictly accountable for the ruin into which the country is plunged. This of course excited their wrath. And there happened to be an unusual number of such demagogues and their minions in Columbus when the letter came out. Amongst this class may be mentioned W. S. Barry, Isham Harrison, Beverly Mathews, Jim Blair, Ed Gregory &c. They first tried to prevent the letter from being published—next they endeavored to turn it into ridicule—[lest] they began to smell *treason* in it—and after they had got up as much excitement as possible, they called a public meeting at the Court House, which was largely attended, both by men and women, where speeches were made by the Hon. W. S. Barry, Genl. Gideon J. Pillow, Majr. Ed. Gregory, Jim Blair—(all of these were intoxicated) Anthony Whitefield (a lad) Old Majr. Blewitt (a silly old dotard, and a baptist, who has entertained a grudge against me for the last twenty years for a sermon I once preached showing that “Baptist Immersions were invalid”)—and Wm Witherspoon who spoke a few words in favor of Theodoric.<sup>11</sup> This meeting was a “ridiculous farce,” as afterwards pronounced by some that

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<sup>11</sup> William S. Barry, who appears to have been the leading spirit in the movement against Lyons, was one of the outstanding Democratic politicians of the secession era. A lawyer and planter, he entered politics early in his career. In 1849 he was elected to the Mississippi House of Representatives, and in 1853 he entered the House of Representatives of the United States. As president of the Secession Convention of January 1861, Barry had taken an aggressive stand in favor of disunion, and in a speech to the convention he had expressed his attitude toward dissenters by recommending that they be subjected to “the stiff limb and the strong rope.” H. S. Fulkerson, “A Civilian’s Recollections of the War Between the States,” MS., ch. I, p. 11. After the adjournment of the convention, Barry served as delegate to the convention at Montgomery and member of the Provisional Congress, resigning his seat in 1862 to enter the army. Goodspeed, *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi* (Chicago, 1891), I, 353. Major Thomas Blewett, however “silly” he was, was a pillar of the Baptist Church and a leader in civic affairs. The Blewett House, a hotel built by him, became a famous rendezvous of state political leaders. Lipscomb, *A History of Columbus, Mississippi*, 118-119.

took a leading part in it. It hurt no body except those who got it up and took part in it.

But the assailants were not satisfied with the volley of abusive and scurrilous words heaped upon us. There happened to be here as the commander of this District a weak, old, yankee granny of a Brig'r Genl. Dan'l Ruggles, who on account of his being a blue nosed Yankee, thought that he must be extra loyal to the South—and consequently has made himself exceedingly odious & detested, by his arbitrary and tyrannical acts of military power, in arresting not only soldiers & officers, but ladies and gentlemen, and even ministers of the Gospel. This persecuting clique of Demagogues went to this convenient tool, and by pressure, prevailed upon him to arrest my son, which he did after considerable hesitation on the 4<sup>th</sup> of Septr.

This however did not impose any obstacle in the way of my son's answering in public meeting, the misrepresentations & caricature of his letter, and the charges false and damaging made against him by the drunken speakers at the farcical meeting. This he intended to do. And as there was a public meeting in the court house on Saturday the 5<sup>th</sup>—his purpose was to give notice at that meeting that he would in due time pay his respects to his assailants, and defamers. But just before the hour for the meeting, Genl Ruggles issued an order that he should not attend *public meetings* of any kind! Accordingly he was prevented from attending the meeting—But I myself attended the meeting, and at the close gave the notice which he himself would have given had he been there. Just as I had finished giving the notice, Majr Ed. Gregory, sprang up and began to cry, "*Treason, treason, treason!!*"—Green T. Hill, a stage driver chimed in—and Wm. S. Barry hissed them on! I stood calm, cool, and collected, my hat in one hand my cane in the other—vituperative abuse was heaped upon me by Gregory and Hill—I replied calmly & firmly in a conventional tone—When after-a-while they became exhausted [*sic*] and I think, ashamed, or at all events confounded!—And thus this disgraceful scene ended.

That evening old Ruggles confined Theodoric to his premises—and next day sabbath, he put under "close arrest" and so remained for two weeks, until Majr Genl Hardie [*sic*] arrived here & released him from "close arrest."

On the following Tuesday Septr 8<sup>th</sup> I started to Moreton [Morton] Miss. the Head Quarters of the Department to see Genl Hardie [*sic*], and to procure a speedy and an open trial in Columbus. This the Genl



promised—I there made the acquaintance of several of the Staff—Officers of Genl J. E. Johnston, viz Col. Ewett, Col Lamar, Major Eustace, and then I joined Dr. David M. Yandell.

Genl Hardie [sic] appointed Brig'r Genl Buford, Col. Lowry, Col. Ferril, Col. Holt, Col. Scott, Col. Crossland, and Col. Goodwin, as the Court Marshall [sic] to try the case: and set Monday the 21<sup>st</sup> of Septr as the time to commence. Poor Col. Goodwin however was in the court but one day—He came here sick—was taken to his bed on Tuesday and died on Friday, leaving a wife and some six little children in North Alabama.

On Monday evening, the day that the trial commenced, George Miller, whom Theodoric defeated for the Lieutenancy last winter—and who during the contest for that office, preferred [sic] a batch of charges against him—but which batch of charges were sent back to him from “Head Quarters” as impertinent—this aforesaid Geo. Miller, aided by the aforesaid Hon. W. S. Barry, took up his batch of charges to the aforesaid Brig'r Genl Ruggles, who appended them to the charges growing out of the Thompson Letter! This of course complicated his trial considerably, and protracted it for nearly two weeks in length. The charges in the Miller batch were vile and low. But they broke down on every one. The clique did their very best, by every means fair and foul—by false-swearing & by outside pressure to procure a conviction. But my impression is that they have failed.

Saturday the 3d of October was set for the final hearing of the case. But little time was allowed to prepare, after the evidence was closed. Theodoric sat up nearly all of Friday night in order to be ready to make his defence on Saturday morning—The Hon George R. Clayton, was his legal adviser & assistant in the case. At 9 o'clock in the morning the court was in session. Mr. Clayton read his defence, summing up & commenting upon the evidence mainly. His argument on the law and the evidence seemed to be absolutely conclusive. After hearing it I did not see how it was possible for this court not to render an honorable acquittal from all the charges. Next day Theodoric read his part of this defence, dwelling mainly upon first principles, and applying them to Mr. Thompson's letter—He did not touch the vile Miller batch. His argument was abler, so far as the foundation principles were concerned than Mr. Clayton's.

The Judge Advocate, Capt Pool, then followed him with a vile and silly rigmarole, which he says was prepared for him by council! Judge Clayton consumed three quarters of an hour in reading his part—Theodoric one hour, and the Judge Advocate about a half an hour. The court was then



cleared, and the judges made their decision. But what that is, we do not yet know, as it has to be sealed and sent up to Head Quarters for approval or disapproval, before it is made known. What may have been the effect of the pressure brought to bear upon the court, by the mad clique, I can not tell: but I feel sure that if an unbiased judgement is exercised, that nothing more serious than a reprimand will be the verdict. We are waiting with some degree of anxiety for the publication of the decision. Let it be however what it may, I feel sure that a just and wise providence will order it for the best—for the good of them that love God, and for the eventual prosperity of Zion.

### MY SON A CANDIDATE FOR THE LEGISLATURE

In proportion as the fires of persecution raged fiercely against my son, in that degree did the purpose of his friends grow strong to run him as a Candidate for the Legislature. Accordingly he received letters and requests from different places and parties, to allow his name to be announced as a Candidate to represent the County in the next Legislature. But in proportion as this feeling manifested itself the rage of the persecutors increased. And they swore that no Candidate should run on the principles advocated in the Thompson Letter—that he should be arrested—that a party formed on those principles should be put down with bayonets—that the polls should be guarded, and that the people should not vote for such a Candidate!!

Accordingly when the name of Theodoric was about to be announced, certain men went to the printer, and warned him that if he did announce his name, his press would be destroyed by mob violence!—and succeeded in so alarming the printer, that, altho his sympathies were decidedly with Theodoric, yet he was afraid, and declined to announce his name! This despotism of Mob violence made my son and his friends the more determined that he should be a Candidate. But the difficulty was to get his name before the people. The printer was afraid to publish either *circular* or *tickets*! But his friends managed to get circulars and tickets, but only three days before the election, whilst at the same time my son was undergoing his trial. These circulars were pulled down as fast as they were put up—and so successfully did his persecutors proceed in the work of pulling down & brow-beating that not half the people in the county knew on the day of the election that he was a Candidate. Terrorism was brought to bear at some of the boxes, and especially in Columbus, where bullies stood around the box, and “spotted the tickets”—that is

marked on the ticket the number of the voter, so that his ticket could be identified. This deterred a large number from voting for Theodoric that would otherwise have done it!—But no blood was actually shed. The vote cast in the town & county notwithstanding these adverse circumstances was respectable—he getting in town 74 votes, and altogether 156, in the county, which was one fourth of the entire vote cast. Mr. James M. Arnold who was known to hold to Conservative principles was elected by a decided majority, which showed the triumph of his principles advocated by Theodoric and proved that he too would have been elected if he had had a fair chance. But as it was there was a decided victory gained—He was a candidate—he ran—he was voted for—a party was formed—and his principles triumphed in the election of J. M. Arnold.

### THE DECISION OF THE COURT MARSHALL [sic]

The decision of the Court Marshall [sic] has come to hand. We are amazed at the result. Instead of an honorable acquittal, as we felt certain justice required—or a simple reprimand as the utmost limit to which they could go, influenced even by the pressure of the demagogues, it is one of the greatest severity and out-rage—It is undoubtedly a *sacrifice to policy*. He is cashiered—conscripted and reduced to the ranks—separated from his regiment and sent to some Regiment in Virginia under guard—and deprived of all his back pay—amounting to about \$700. And all this severity is on account of the “Thompson letter,” as the court acquitted him on the “George Miller batch of charges”!—This is astonishing and unaccountable in any other view of the case than that the decision was made for the sake of *policy*, and not in accordance with the law, testimony or conscience. An acquittal would have been regarded by the public, as they doubtless supposed, as decision in favor of so-called “*Reconstruction*.” Hence the Condemnation. But the Lord reigns and it will yet all come out right,—Truth will eventually triumph.<sup>12</sup>

### TROUBLE IN THE CHURCH

Two or three rabid men in the chh. and two or three violent men out

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<sup>12</sup> Theodoric, immediately upon arriving in Virginia, took his case before the War Department, which, according to the journal, recommended to Davis that the whole proceedings be set aside; but the president “had been tampered with by letters, especially from Mississippi,” and would not act. The War Department did, nevertheless, permit Theodoric to return to his own company in Mississippi where he continued to seek “relief,” this time through Senator J. W. C. Watson. The war had ended before anything further could be done. Lyon’s Journal, 86-88.

of the church, but directly or indirectly connected with the congregation, have been exceedingly outraged because I did not agree with them in their “blood and thunder” politics, and preach and pray (on fast day occasions) to suit them.<sup>13</sup> These men, in the church, were Bartley Barry, (an Elder) Abram Humphries,<sup>14</sup> and E. P. Odeneal; and out of the church, but indirectly connected with the congregation, Col. W. S. Barry and Jim Blair, two very notorious and very bad men. W. S. Barry is a man of gifts and cunning, and is an accomplished, and perfectly unscrupulous demagogue, besides being a drunken scoffer and debauchee. He has been a great favorite with the democratic party in the state, and is very ambitious to be at the head of political affairs. Besides these there is another member of my church, by the name of Frank G. Baldwin, who, aside from the violence of his political feelings, has failed in all the ends of life. He is the grand son of a distinguished presbyterian minister of Georgia, who in the past age stood high. He himself was educated with the view to the ministry—but back-slid—became addicted to card-playing and idleness—married; lived on his wife’s property . . . and all his affairs are at “loose ends.” He reconnected himself with the chh some years ago—and thought again of preaching but received no encouragement from me. It has so happened however that with him I have never been a favorite. These men have been muttering ever since the war commenced because I was not with them in their violent views and measures; and especially on fast day occasions I would persist in preaching what I believed to be the *truth*, which to them was not “Smoother things.” When the “Scott Thompson Letter,” (the history of which is given in a preceding entry) was published, the rage of these men know [sic] no bounds. The arch demagogue, W. S. Barry, felt that the scepter of his reign was passing away. The fact is he was one of the sitters for the picture of the demagogues who brought on the war, so graphically drawn, and so scathingly lampooned in the aforesaid Thompson letter. He therefore felt that he must bestir himself, as his days were numbered. Hence the *arrest, trial &c* narrated above in a separate notice, but as long as I was here, and continued to exert the great moral influence that I did, which was in all things antagonistic

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<sup>13</sup> An apocryphal but amusing anecdote that has come to the editor’s attention recounts that Lyon ambiguously prayed for “the success of the armies” without specifying which he meant.

<sup>14</sup> Abram Humphries, a financier whom the war found with large investments in prairie lands and negroes, had achieved wealth and influence as partner in mercantile firms in Columbus and Mobile, as charter member of the Columbus Insurance and Banking Company, and as director of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad. Lipscomb, *A History of Columbus, Mississippi*, 47.

to him, he laid his plans, and went to work to have me removed—or at all events to make the impression if possible, that my views and course were very much disapproved of by the church. He began to operate first (as it is presumed) upon the disaffected member already described, F. G. Baldwin, who became violent—and drew up a paper addressed to me, (of the purport of which I know nothing) and tried to get signers to it—but failed. W. S. Barry next put his cousin Bertley [sic] to work—who together with Baldwin, drew up another paper, addressed to the presbytery, which happened to be in session here at that time, and went to Abram S. Humphries, who, they felt sure would sign it, but he refused, very much to their disgust, and thus the thing failed the second time. But the Rev. M. Peden<sup>15</sup> one of the members of the presbytery, who for some cause I know not what, has conceived a great jealousy and dislike to me, encouraged the mal-contents to get up another paper, and send it to the Moderator of presbytery at Synod; and that the Synod could order a pro-re-nota meeting of presbytery, to take the matter into consideration—and that he himself would attend to it. Accordingly, after I had left for Synod, not dreaming of the ferment that these men were trying to make, they again bestir themselves, still urged as is believed, by W. S. Barry, and got up another paper, signed by nine persons, which was their whole strength, and at least four or five of these were over-persuaded to sign it, on the pretext that my usefulness was at an end here. The parties signing the paper were R. Barry (Elder) B. Barry (Elder) James Hamilton, Geo. Frazer, James Miller, F. G. Baldwin, E. P. Odeneal, John Abert & Ch. H. Abert . . . . These are the signers of the paper addressed to the moderator of presbytery, requesting the dissolution of the pastoral relation between me and the church numbering 180 members!—The letter did not reach the Synod in time—but was forwarded to the Moderator of presbytery whose home is at Louisville, Winston Co. Miss. The letter however was informal, and wrong in every way, and the Moderator, of course, could pay no attention to it, and so wrote them.

Some time after my return from Synod, I heard a rumor of what had been done—and on making inquiry found out all about it. My first impulse was immediately to bring the matter before the congregation, and sought for a copy of the letter with that end in view—But they, or Bartley, for

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<sup>15</sup> Peden had in 1863 made an unsuccessful attempt to prevent Lyon's choice by the Presbytery as delegate to the General Assembly. Lyon's Journal, 50-51. From the fact that one of the men whom Peden favored against Lyon, the Reverend R. S. Gladney, was a "violent secessionist," one would gather that the real issue at the Presbytery meeting was Lyon's unionism. Aughey, *Tupelo*, 71.

he was the animating spirit, and the chief tool of W. S. B.[arry]—refused to let me have a copy—on reconsideration however—knowing that most of those who signed the paper, were over-persuaded to do it—and had no ill-will towards me, I determined to pursue a conciliatory policy and win them back if possible, so that, now, they all seem reconciled except Frank G. Baldwin, and Mrs. Sallie Barry, the wife of the said W. S. B.—But I have prepared an annual sermon at considerable length in which I have discussed certain topics that have been used as fuel to try to get up a disturbance. This sermon I expect to deliver on next sabbath, and trust good results will flow from it. And I have no doubt but that good will come of this abortive effort.

## 1864 THE WAR

I have long purposed to make an entry in this journal on the subject of this present *war*. But as it drags its slow and dreadful length along—its awful proportions, and hideous features developing . . . as it goes, I have felt appalled at the attempt—I feel utterly incompetent to gestate and bring to birth, this monstrous conception as it lies heavy & uneasy in my mind. I feel that any attempt to bring it forth would be an abortion. Therefore I cannot attempt it. I doubt whether any historian of the present generation will be competent to the great undertaking. It is like every other huge object, it must be viewed at a distance, in order to see it in all its proportions and relations. The fact is my mind seems stunned and paralyzed, by the rapid, gigantic, and frightful development of its monstrous and amazing features. The various and multitudinous phases of this morbid development of what was supposed to be civilized and christianized humanity, loom up so rapidly and so fearfully to a frightened [sic] view that my astonishment is chronic and my vision blurred by the one great and all absorbing object. It is with difficulty I read any book that requires thought and attention—with great difficulty that I prepare my sermon and make my sabbath and pulpit preparations from week to week—It so completely fills the sensorium of my mind, if I may so express it—that there seems to be no room for any other subject of thought—And even my thoughts on this subject are often confused and ill digested. It is in my mind “*rudis indigestaque moles*.” The eye of the mind seems blurred by it as does the eye of the body, when one gazed too long upon the disk of the sun—it can see nothing else—and not it clearly. The immediate causes of the war—the remote causes of the war, as seen both from a human

and a providential point of view—how the people were led into it by the devices of wicked demagogues, who themselves were blind—the means used to bring about blood-shed—the multifarious devices, and deception to mislead and then to subjugate the people—the rapidity with which a galling and iron despotism was riveted upon the necks of the people—the terrorism, the boldness, and daring with which the liberties of the people were *snatched* from them—their humiliating abjectness—their fear to speak their opinions—their actually giving utterance to opinions and feelings, the exact contrary of what they entertain and feel! Actuated by the fear of the demagogues and tyrants—all which to behold confounds and stupifies the mind. Next the furious rage of the demagogues—their reckless despair—their determination to bring about a general and a common ruin—their determination to destroy with themselves the whole fabric of liberty—their mad alarm at any and every thing that looks like a peace, every movement to stop the horrid effusion of blood, short of their purpose, which is success in their nefarious design, a ruin to the *whole country*, is frightful to contemplate—Then again the strange vengeance of some of the *Conservative* portion of the people, who were opposed to this war in the outset, but who now seem willing to be ruined themselves, for the gratification of seeing the demagogues and the terrorists punished—is a singular, but perhaps a natural phase of depraved humanity.

There never was on the face of the earth a more absolute despotism, than that which now prevails in the land. It extends not only to the persons and property of the people, but to their words, their speech, their very thoughts & emotions! Although the people both in and out of the army have it wholly in their power to stop this war, if they would but give expression to their ardent wishes, and heartfelt desires—yet they are so completely cowed, subjugated, awed, crushed, that, like victims for the slaughter, they allow themselves to be dragged to clear, manifest, open, inevitable destruction.

But their [sic] is a *providence* in all this. And as I read its designs, *three* things are to be accomplished by it—*First* the wickedness of the people is to be condignly punished—They have misused the great trust of free government—they have from carelessness, indifference, and selfishness allowed it to pass out of their hands into the hands of wicked Godless demagogues—The war therefore is the natural, and necessary fruit of their wickedness. Second, *Slavery* a great and peculiar trust committed to their hands for the civilization and christianization [sic] of the African, but which they have vilely abused, and used only for selfish and sordid

purposes, regardless of the natural rights of the slave, will be modified and reformed, if indeed it is not abolished altogether. And *third*, the *Government*, which has been kept grating, and jarring, ever since the Constitution was adopted, by the existence of certain discordant and antagonistic elements in it, will be strengthened, and *consolidated*, (not centralized) and made what the framers of the constitution intended it to be. The so called “states rights” doctrine, which was so fiercely advocated, at the time the Constitution was adopted, has, ever since, been the *sand* in the machinery, the *friction* in the cogs, and the wheels of government, will be effectually worked out. It is this that has been grinding, and grating, and wearing the operations [of] government, and has hindered the perfect operations of the Constitution. When this *Consolidation* of Government, this clearing, as it were, of the machinery of state, is accomplished, which it is probably, one of the providential designs of this war to do, then the government will be what the framers of the Constitution intended it should be, the wisest, the greatest, and the best, that ever God vouchsafed to a people.

What my exact *duty* is in this great emergency has been and is a source of great perplexity. As a minister of the Gospel, and as an Ambassador of the Lord Jesus Christ, I am in doubt, often painful doubt as to what my precise duty is—as to what I should do, and how far I should go in guiding the people, as to their civil & political duties. I have a vast interest at stake in the country, no less than the entire future of my whole family—besides my two sons exposed to all the horrors of this dreadful war—My youngest brother has already been sacrificed. My constant prayer is that God may direct me—If I know my heart I am anxious to do my *duty*, nothing *less*, and nothing *more*.

As to how this war is finally to end, I am utterly uncertain. Had we encouraged the Conservative peace party north, I have no doubt but that they would have elected Gen’l McClellan president, at the late election, on the Chicago platform, and peace and Re-Construction would have been the result—But this encouragement, Jeff Davis and his supple minions would not allow the people and papers to give. The Consequence is that Mr. Lincoln has been re-elected—and the North again united in their purpose to prosecute the war to final subjugation, which will be the result sooner or later. But at present I see no prospect of the cessation of hostilities. Davis and his oligarchy at Richmond, will hear to no terms—will make no compromise—The result will, in all probability, be that our armies will gradually with an increased ratio of speed, go to pieces, and melt away. This process has already commenced, and I do not think that the war can



last more than another year—unless it is the will of providence that the slave population shall be armed and put into the army. This providence may persist as a kind of discipline and civilizing process, as preparatory to the final freedom of the slaves—If this be the purpose of providence the war may last two years longer. Then the demagogues will fly to foreign lands, and the war will cease—N. B.—I find by look’g back through this journal, that I made an entry on the subject of the war just two years ago on page 36.<sup>16</sup>

## 1865

### THE END OF THE WAR

This cruel war has at last ended by the complete subjugation of the South—or rather the *leaders* of the rebellion—for strictly speaking it was not a war of the *people* but a war of the demagogues who had subjugated and enslaved the people—This result took place a little sooner—and a little more suddenly than I was expecting when I last made an entry in this journal on the subject. It is true that I confidently expected the war to end this year—and towards the last of Summer—and also by subjugation—as I had lost all hope that our despotic rulers, who seemed to be struck with judicial madness as was Pharoah of Egypt, would hear to any kind of Compromise, or settlement, that it was possible to obtain—but the end came a little more suddenly than I was expecting. The fact is the Confederacy had been in a dying condition for almost two years—ever since the fall of Vicksburgh [*sic*]—and in actual, “*Articulo Mortis*” since the fall of Atlanta—but its final demise was almost like a convulsion—it took the people by surprise—This was caused by the overthrow and surrender of Lee’s army in Va—which was the *heart* the very centre of life—of course when death commenced there the extremeties were soon deprived of their vitality—and complete death rapidly followed . . . .

Generations will come and go, before the history of this gigantic war can be truthfully and fully written . . . . It originated in lies of the basest kind—it was kept up by lies its whole life consisted of lies promulgated systematically, and with malice-propense. In it was verified over again the

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<sup>16</sup> During the year 1864 Lyon began to work vigorously for peace, as a state-wide reconstruction movement got under way. Lyon himself admits authorship of a “Memorial” and “Preamble and Resolutions” on the subject of peace submitted in the legislature of August 1864. Lyon’s Journal, 109-110. In the autumn the *Mississippian*, which had capitulated to the peace party, published a number of communications from Lyon. Incidentally, James M. Arnold, the conservative who had won a legislative seat in the elections of 1863 when Theodoric was also a candidate, introduced the “Preamble and Resolutions” written by Lyon. Lyon’s Journal, 110.



history contained in the XXII chap. of I Kings—where we have an account of “the Lying spirit” in the mouth of the prophets of Ahab, who prevailed upon him to make war against Syria, which resulted in his defeat and death—To my mind the providence of God is clear and out-standing in a most remarkable manner, in that the results were brought about contrary to all human calculation—and, what is very remarkable, causing the people to use the very means to bring about results which they were most anxious to avoid!—One of the strongest of all the psychological phenomena that ever came under my observation, was evidenced in the fact, the demagogues, preachers, i.e. false prophets—news papers and people—all who were actuated by the “Lying Spirit” were made to utter, to advocate and to maintain with fierce vengeance sentiments and policy, which in their secret hearts they believed to be false and ruinous both to themselves and others!

Amongst the multitudinous fallacies—(Lord Bacon’s “Idols”) that were at different stages of the war harped upon by those possessed of the “lying spirit” were the following, viz:

1. “Cotton is King, &c &c”
2. “There will be no war &c”
3. “Yankees can’t fight &c”
4. “Foreign intervention &c”
5. “Federal finances will break down”
6. “North-West dissatisfaction &c.”
7. “Divisions amongst the Yankees &c”
8. “Our Revolutionary fathers succeeded. *Ergo* we are certain in like manner to succeed &c”
9. “Nine millions can never be conquered”
10. “The Sectional hatred is such that the two sections cannot come together again.”
11. “We can’t be subjugated &c.”
12. “The jealousy of European governments will not allow the Union to be restored”—
13. “Slavery is *right*—our cause is righteous and a righteous God is bound to guarantee our ultimate success &c &c”

With such and like fallacies, incessantly harped upon by politicians, demagogues, leaders—news-paper[s], and preachers in whom was the “lying spirit” together with a system of fierce terrorism that stifled all liberty of speech—and liberty of thought, the war was inaugurated and continued, until the last widow’s son, was, *not dragged*—but *pushed* to the slaughter!—But the war is over—the South is subjugated and Slavery is virtually abolished.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> After the war Lyon continued until 1870 to fill the Columbus pastorate, despite some difficulties with his congregation over reconstruction and a constant haggling over salary. When he finally resigned, it was to become professor of “Metaphysics, Logic and Political Science” at the University of Mississippi. Lyon’s Journal, 243. Although not actively engaged in politics, Lyon had no more sympathy with the Northern radicals than he had with the Southern fire-eaters, and he appears to have eschewed politics after the war. He did, however, exhibit an uncompromising negrophilism. Also, in the General Assembly of 1870, he worked diligently to restore the Southern Presbyterians to communion with the Northern branch of the church. Lyon’s Journal, 210-211, 238-239.

# The Mississippi Reconstruction Convention of 1865

*by Winbourne Magruder Drake*

With the collapse of the Confederacy in the spring of 1865, Mississippi, in common with most of the other Confederate states, was faced with the task of reorganizing its state government and resuming its place in the Union.<sup>1</sup> It seemed unlikely that the federal authorities would recognize the legality or actions of the existing state government. Nevertheless, on May 6, 1865, when the last Confederate forces surrendered in east Mississippi, Governor Charles Clark issued a proclamation calling a special session of the legislature to meet in Jackson on May 18. The legislature, in a brief session, passed an act providing for a state convention to meet on July 3. The convention was called for the purpose of repealing the secession ordinance and making some necessary constitutional changes.<sup>2</sup> The United States military authorities did not recognize the organization of the state government or the actions of the legislature. Indeed, the departure of the legislators from Jackson by the first available means of

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This article was originally published in the October 1959 edition of *The Journal of Mississippi History*. Some of the language may be offensive because the article is a product of its time and place. The article is reprinted verbatim to reflect the scholarship as it was presented at the time.

<sup>1</sup> A shorter version of this paper was read at a meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, on March 6, 1959.

<sup>2</sup> *The American Annual Cyclopedia*, V (1865), 578. The legislature also passed a resolution deploring the assassination of President Lincoln and appointed three commissioners to confer with President Johnson to find out what course he planned to follow with regard to the state. Governor Clark's proclamation, his address to the legislature, and the acts and resolutions passed by that body, may be found in Governors Records, Series E, Vol. H, Mississippi Department of Archives and History. A copy of a printed proclamation issued by Governor Clark, calling the convention election and quoting the convention act, is in the Broadside File, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

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transportation was apparently stimulated by a rumor that they would be arrested if they tried to exercise legislative functions. On May 22, General E. D. Osband, commander of the United States troops in Jackson, arrested Governor Clark and took custody of the state records.<sup>3</sup> Mississippi was now without a civil government of any kind.

Meanwhile a group of loyal or Unionist Mississippians had met in Memphis early in May and had called a convention to be held in Vicksburg on June 5 for the purpose of reorganizing the civil government of the state. This plan received little support, for only six or eight counties sent delegates to Vicksburg, and the convention did not organize.<sup>4</sup> Thus the efforts of both the old state government and of the loyal citizens to reorganize the government proved to be abortive.

On May 29, 1865, President Andrew Johnson issued two proclamations which formed the basis of his plan of reconstruction. One of these granted amnesty and pardon to those who had participated in the rebellion and who took a prescribed oath to support and defend the [United States] Constitution and to abide by all the laws made during the rebellion with regard to the emancipation of slaves. Although fourteen classes of ex-Confederates were excepted from the benefits of the proclamation, they were permitted to make special application to the president for pardon.<sup>5</sup> The other proclamation named a provisional governor for North Carolina and provided for restoration of federal authority in that state. The governor was directed to prescribe rules for assembling a convention to amend the state constitution and was authorized to exercise all powers necessary to enable the loyal people to restore the state to its constitutional relations with the federal government. The members of the convention and the electors must have taken the amnesty oath, and be qualified voters under the provisions of the state constitution which was in effect before secession. Either the convention or a subsequent legislature was to prescribe the qualifications for voters and office holders under the state constitution and laws.<sup>6</sup> On June 13, President Johnson issued a similar proclamation, with only the necessary changes in names and dates,

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<sup>3</sup> J. L. Power, "The Black and Tan Convention," *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, III (1900), 74; James Wilford Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi* (New York, 1901), 59-61.

<sup>4</sup> *Natchez Courier*, May 18, June 3, 6, 10, 1865.

<sup>5</sup> James D. Richardson (comp.), *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, 10 vols. (Washington, 1896-1899), VI, 310-12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 312-14.

appointing William L. Sharkey as provisional governor of Mississippi.<sup>7</sup>

The announcement and inauguration of Johnson's reconstruction plan did much to relieve the feeling of "fearful expectancy" and uncertainty as to their status which the people of Mississippi had felt since the suspension of civil government.<sup>8</sup> The appointment of Sharkey, who was able, conservative, and highly respected, was generally acceptable to Mississippians and to northerners.<sup>9</sup>

In a proclamation of July 1, Sharkey called a special election for August 7 to elect delegates to a convention which was to meet on August 14. The electors and delegates were to have the qualifications prescribed in the president's proclamation. The number of delegates for each county was to be the same as their number of representatives in the lower house of the legislature before 1861.<sup>10</sup>

The press of the state joined Sharkey in urging the people to take the amnesty oath, pointing out that unless they did so they would have no political or legal rights, that they would still be considered rebels, with their property subject to confiscation, and that they would be unable legally to engage in business of any sort.<sup>11</sup> A majority of the people took the oath as soon as possible. Indeed, there were many complaints of the lack of facilities for taking the oath, and of the inconvenience of having

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 314-16. Similar proclamations were issued for the five remaining southern states that had not organized provisional governments under Lincoln's reconstruction plan. Sharkey was in Washington, D.C., at the time of his appointment. He and William Yerger, two of the commissioners appointed by the May session of the legislature, had gone to Washington in an unofficial capacity at Governor Clark's request. They had urged the president to permit the convention called by the legislature to meet. When told that this would not be done, they agreed that the plan announced by the president for North Carolina would be more acceptable than any other to Mississippians. For an account of the interview Sharkey and Yerger had with Johnson, see speech by Yerger in *Journal of the Proceedings and Debates in the Constitutional Convention of the State of Mississippi, August, 1865* (Jackson, 1865), 145-46. (This source is cited hereinafter as *Convention Journal*.)

<sup>8</sup> "Report of Carl Schurz on the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana," *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 2, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 4 (cited hereinafter as Schurz, *Report*); Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 61.

<sup>9</sup> Charles S. Sydnor, "William Lewis Sharkey," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 22 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1958), XVII, 21; Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 75.

<sup>10</sup> *Convention Journal*, 3-8. The proclamation also provided for the reestablishment of local and county government.

<sup>11</sup> *Meridian Daily Clarion*, July 19, 1865; *Natchez Courier*, June 15, 20, July 22, 1865.

to travel considerable distances to take it.<sup>12</sup> Of course some die-hards refused to take the oath, some were indifferent or negligent, and others were unwilling to subscribe to it for fear that they would thus be signing away their right to compensation for their slave property. Nevertheless, by the time the convention met, there were comparatively few men in the state who had not taken the oath.<sup>13</sup> Almost a thousand people in the classes excluded from the benefits of the amnesty applied to the president and were granted pardon.<sup>14</sup>

The methods of nominating candidates for the seats in the convention varied throughout the state, as did the intensity of interest in the campaign. In many counties conventions or meetings were held to nominate candidates. In others, prominent men were prevailed upon by their friends to announce their candidacy.<sup>15</sup> Some men were evidently reluctant to stand for election, for, as one observer put it, the office of delegate was "considered as a position of great responsibility promising little reputation and no profit," while it "might prove the political death knell to the aspiring politician."<sup>16</sup>

While the campaign for convention delegates aroused little interest in many parts of the state,<sup>17</sup> there were, particularly in Hinds and the surrounding counties, clearly defined issues and parties. William Yerger and Amos R. Johnston of Hinds County were the leaders and ablest spokesmen of the conservative party. The conservatives thought the convention should realistically recognize the fact that the South

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<sup>12</sup> Governor Sharkey received numerous letters from the military authorities and from private citizens on this subject. The oath was at first administered only by the military authorities, but on July 7 Sharkey authorized probate judges who had themselves taken the oath to administer it. For some letters to Sharkey on the subject, see Governors Records, Series E, No. 70, Mississippi Department of Archives and History. The *Natchez Courier*, June 20, 1865, quoting a communication from Jackson reported that the people were "pressing in by hundreds to take the oath."

<sup>13</sup> *Jackson Mississippian*, August 11, 1865; Jason Niles Diary, entry for July 15, 1865, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina; B. F. Moore to William L. Sharkey, July 28, 1865, Governors Records, Series E, No. 70, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

<sup>14</sup> See House *Executive Documents* No. 31, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., 19-20, and *ibid.*, No. 32, 40 Cong., 1 Sess., 63-84 for the names of these people.

<sup>15</sup> *Meridian Daily Clarion*, July 19, 30, 1865; *Jackson Mississippian*, July 22, 29, August 1, 1865; Jason Niles Diary, entry for July 8, 1865.

<sup>16</sup> *Meridian Daily Clarion*, August 20, 1865, quoting *Mobile Advertiser*. See also *ibid.*, July 17, 1865, and *Natchez Courier*, July 22, 27, 1865.

<sup>17</sup> Carl Schurz, who reached Mississippi after the convention adjourned, said he heard that "in most cases the members were elected not upon strictly defined party issues but upon their individual merits as to character, intelligence, and standing in society. Only in a few places the contest between candidates was somewhat animated." Schurz, *Report*, 9-10.

had been defeated, that slavery had been abolished, and that there was no hope either for the revival of slavery or for compensation for the slaves. According to their view, the best way to secure the readmission of Mississippi to the Union at the earliest date and on the best terms was for the convention to declare slavery totally and finally abolished.<sup>18</sup> The other group, occasionally referred to as the constitutional party, but more frequently (at least by their opponents) called the Potter party, or Potterites, was led by George L. Potter, a prominent Hinds County attorney. Potter declared that if elected he would “vote against any proposition” in the convention “for the unconditional abolition of slavery.” He contended that Mississippi had never been out of the Union, and that the state was entitled to her rights under the constitution, including the right to compensation for slaves.<sup>19</sup> The Potterites thought some form of abolition might be adopted by the convention which would leave open the possibility that at least widows, orphans, minors, and loyal persons might be compensated for their slaves.<sup>20</sup>

A majority of the state’s newspapers, including the *Jackson Mississippian* and the *Meridian Clarion*, two of the leading pre-war Democratic organs, supported the conservatives. Apparently only the *Brandon Republican* and the *Jackson News* supported the Potter party.<sup>21</sup> But before the end of the campaign the *News* had changed its stand somewhat, concluding that the demand for amending the state constitution to provide for abolishing slavery should be complied with “with as good grace as possible.”<sup>22</sup>

There were other issues in the campaign besides that of the method of recognizing the abolition of slavery. It is clear, however, that Negro suffrage was not an issue. None of the state’s newspapers, not even the two which were edited by former Union soldiers, favored Negro suffrage.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> For speeches and circulars of Johnston, Yerger, and the other conservative candidates from Hinds and other counties, see *Meridian Daily Clarion*, July 30, 1865, and *Jackson Mississippian*, July 18, 20, 22, 30, August 1, 1865.

<sup>19</sup> *Jackson Mississippian*, July 20, 1865. An editorial in *idem* entitled “The Rip Van Winkle Party” said that Potter must have slept through four years of war and then waked up “crying most lustily for slavery.”

<sup>20</sup> Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 82.

<sup>21</sup> *Meridian Daily Clarion*, August 8, 1865; *Jackson Mississippian*, August 2, 3, 5, 6, 1865. It should be noted that only seventeen newspapers in the state had resumed publication by August 1865. *Meridian Daily Clarion*, August 22, 1865.

<sup>22</sup> *New Orleans Daily Picayune*, August 10, 1865, commenting on and quoting from the *Jackson News*, July 28, 1865.

<sup>23</sup> *New York World*, August 26, 1865.

Indeed, one of the arguments used by the conservatives was that, by complying with the terms of the President's proclamation, the state could more quickly secure representation in Congress, "so that we may help defeat the party that is endeavoring to bestow upon the negro the right of suffrage, and social equality with the white men."<sup>24</sup>

In some counties, particularly in the northeast and Piney Woods where disloyalty to the Confederacy and unionism had been strongest, the convention candidates were classified as unionists and secessionists.<sup>25</sup> In general, however, the pre-war political affiliations and stands on secession or unionism had little to do with the principal issue of the campaign.<sup>26</sup>

The vote was light in the election for convention delegates on August 7, as was the case in the convention elections held in the other southern states.<sup>27</sup> The Radical Republicans later argued that the vote was "inadequate to give expression to the popular will of the people."<sup>28</sup> An analysis of the available figures shows that the vote was particularly small in several counties where the candidates were either unopposed or had negligible opposition. But in many counties where the race was closely contested the size of the vote compared favorably with that in the secession convention election and in the gubernatorial election of October 1865.<sup>29</sup> Contemporary Mississippi newspapers thought the size of the vote was respectable under the circumstances, pointing out that the people had had a short time to qualify.<sup>30</sup>

Mississippi's constitutional convention was the first to assemble under President Johnson's reconstruction plan, and its actions were the object of widespread attention in both the North and the South.<sup>31</sup> The northern

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<sup>24</sup> Jackson *Mississippian*, August 3, 1865.

<sup>25</sup> Alex J. Smith to W. L. Sharkey, July 28, 1865; W. M. Pollan to W. L. Sharkey, July 18, 1865, Governors Records, Series E, No. 70, Mississippi Department of Archives and History; W. C. Turner, "Circular to the People of Clarke County," *Meridian Daily Clarion*, July 30, 1865. See also the comment in Schurz, *Report*, 10, to the effect that only one real Unionist, Thomas G. Crawford of Jones County, was elected to the convention.

<sup>26</sup> For example, the Jackson *Mississippian*, which had been strongly secessionist, was the leading conservative newspaper. George L. Potter, like his chief opponents Yerger and Johnston, had been a Union Whig before the war.

<sup>27</sup> Schurz, *Report*, 6.

<sup>28</sup> *Meridian Daily Clarion*, October 17, 1865.

<sup>29</sup> Returns for forty-three of the state's sixty counties are in Legislative Records, Series I, No. 118, Mississippi Department of Archives and History. For the secession convention returns, see Percy Lee Rainwater, *Mississippi, Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861* (Baton Rouge, 1938), 198-200, and for the October 1865 returns, see *Mississippi Senate Journal* (October 1865), 10-11.

<sup>30</sup> Jackson *Mississippian*, August 11, 1865.

<sup>31</sup> New York *Times*, August 18, 1865.



conservatives were watching to see if the South was actually adapting itself to the changed state of affairs, and the Radicals were looking for some indication of the continued existence of a rebellious spirit.<sup>32</sup> Reporters from several northern papers were in Jackson to cover the convention, and the northern press did not hesitate to offer advice to the convention as to the spirit in which its proceedings should be conducted and the action it should take.<sup>33</sup> The actions and speeches of some of the delegates show that they were influenced by public opinion,<sup>34</sup> and apparently the awareness of being in the limelight had a moderating effect on some of the less conservative members. While there was no intimation of military coercion, it seems possible that the presence of federal troops in Jackson may have at least indirectly influenced the actions of the convention. Most of the delegates were motivated by the desire to bring the state back into the Union, to regain control of their own affairs, and to restore civil government, law, and order as rapidly as possible.

The delegates who assembled in Jackson on August 14, 1865, were generally characterized by contemporary observers as conservative and able,<sup>35</sup> and a study of their actions and debates seems to bear out that judgment. Thirty-five of the ninety-nine delegates were lawyers, and thirty-eight were farmers. Most of the remainder were doctors, ministers, or merchants. Thirty had served in the state legislature, and several had served on the bench, including William Yerger, who had been on the state's high court of errors and appeals. James F. Trotter of Marshall County had been a member of the 1832 convention and had served briefly in the United States Senate. James T. Harrison of Lowndes County and John W. C. Watson of Marshall had been Confederate congressmen. Seven of the delegates had been members of the secession convention of 1861, and six of these had voted against secession. Seven members had been Unionist delegates in the convention of 1851. While all but eight were native-born southerners, only eleven had been born in Mississippi. This is not surprising in view of the fact that more than half of the delegates were born before Mississippi achieved statehood. In past political

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<sup>32</sup> New York *World*, August 25, 1865.

<sup>33</sup> New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, August 10, 1865; New York *Times*, August 18, 1865.

<sup>34</sup> The convention voted to have its debates reported in full and printed to "vindicate the state from the aspersions that are constantly being cast upon her," and to show the northern conservatives and the government that the convention was acting in good faith, and not merely going through the forms of a return to allegiance. *Convention Journal*, 26-27.

<sup>35</sup> New York *World*, August 26, 1865; Meridian *Daily Clarion*, August 20, 1865, quoting Mobile *Advertiser*; Jackson *Mississippian*, August 13, 1865.

affiliations, seventy delegates listed themselves as Whigs, while eighteen were Democrats. The remainder used a variety of designations—mostly “conservative”—to describe their politics. While the old party affiliations were an indication of the conservative nature of the group, they had little or no bearing on the division on policies or issues in the convention itself.<sup>36</sup>

The 1865 convention contained fewer men who had had experience in public affairs than did any of the ante-bellum conventions in Mississippi, with the possible exception of the convention of 1832. For example, a comparatively small percentage of the delegates had served in the legislature, and there were no former governors in the convention. A majority of the delegates had been Whigs, and the Whigs had been the minority party in Mississippi for many years. Consequently, although many of the delegates were men of ability, relatively few of them had held high political office in the state. Very few of the prominent Democrats who had led the secession movement sought seats in the 1865 convention. If they wanted to serve, they probably realized that they had little chance of being elected. Also, many of the old Democratic leaders were excepted from the terms of the President’s amnesty proclamation, so they were technically ineligible to seats in the convention unless they had been pardoned.<sup>37</sup>

Provisional Governor Sharkey presided at the opening of the convention on August 14. The delegates presented their amnesty oaths for the governor’s inspection, and later completed their qualifications by presenting their credentials and by taking the oath to support the constitution of the United States.<sup>38</sup> J. Shall Yerger, a Unionist who had

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<sup>36</sup> The above information on the delegates is drawn largely from “Tabular View of the Convention,” compiled by the secretary, J. L. Power, *Convention Journal* [278-83], and to some extent from Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History, Comprising Sketches of Counties, Towns, Events, Institutions and Persons*, 2 vols. (Madison, WI, 1907), I and II, *passim*; Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi*, 1908 (Nashville, 1908), 46-124; and the statements of the delegates themselves in their speeches during the convention, as reported in *Convention Journal*.

<sup>37</sup> The same thing might be said of several Whigs who actually served in the convention. An examination of the lists of pardons in the source cited in note 14, above, shows that thirteen delegates, all but two of them Whigs, were not pardoned until after the convention had adjourned. The *Meridian Daily Clarion*, October 6, 1865, noted that “quite a number of gentlemen participated in the deliberations who were manifestly not entitled to seats upon the floor. They were mostly, however, considered ‘safe men’ and consequently no official objections were made.”

<sup>38</sup> *Convention Journal*, 8-9. There is no indication in the *Journal* that the qualifications of any of the members were questioned. Only eighty delegates were present for the opening session, but nineteen more arrived later. Greene County was not represented, because no election took place in that county. *Ibid.*, [283].

been a member of the 1861 convention, was elected president of the convention on the first ballot.

On the second day the president appointed the two fifteen-man committees which were to do the most important work of the convention. The Committee on the State Constitution, with James T. Harrison as chairman, was to report the alterations and amendments to the state constitution necessary to restore the state to its constitutional relations with the federal government. The Committee on Ordinances and Laws, headed by Amos Johnston, was to report what action should be taken on the ordinance of secession and the ratification of state laws passed since January 9, 1861, the date Mississippi seceded from the Union.

On August 15 President Johnson sent the following telegram to Governor Sharkey:

I am gratified to see that you have organized your convention without difficulty. I hope that without delay your convention will amend your State constitution, abolishing slavery and denying to all future legislatures the power to legislate that there is property in man; also that they will adopt the amendment to the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery. If you could extend the elective franchise to all persons of color who can read the Constitution of the United States in English and write their names, and to all persons of color who own real estate valued at not less than two hundred and fifty dollars, and pay taxes thereon, you would completely disarm the adversary and set an example the other states will follow. This you can do with perfect safety, and you would thus place the Southern States, in reference to free persons of color, upon the same basis with the free States. I hope and trust your convention will do this, and, as a consequence, the radicals, who are wild upon negro franchise, will be completely foiled in their attempt to keep the Southern States from renewing their relations to the Union by not accepting their senators and representatives.<sup>39</sup>

This dispatch was especially important, for it indicated what the president expected the convention to do, and Sharkey had received no general instructions from Johnson on the proposed action of the convention

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<sup>39</sup> Senate *Executive Documents*, No. 26, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 229. The *Convention Journal* contains no record of this dispatch, but there is little reason to doubt that Sharkey presented it to the convention. The *Journal* does not contain a full report of the proceeding of the first few days. See Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 84.

except those contained in the proclamation appointing him governor.<sup>40</sup>

The two committees made their reports on August 17, and the next day the convention began consideration of the report of the Committee on the State Constitution. The first section of the report provided for amending the constitution so as to strike out all the portions concerning slaves or slavery. The convention adopted this part of the committee's report without debate or a recorded vote.<sup>41</sup>

The second section of the report of the Committee on the State Constitution was the subject of the longest debate during the convention, a debate which lasted for almost four days.<sup>42</sup> This section, as originally reported, provided that the following be inserted as the eighth article of the state constitution:

That neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, otherwise than in punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall hereafter exist in this State; and the Legislature at its next session, and thereafter as the public welfare may require, shall provide by law for the protection and property of the freedmen of the State, and guard them and the state against any evils that may arise from their sudden emancipation.<sup>43</sup>

Hugh Barr of Lafayette County offered a substitute, which added the following preamble to the original section:

Slavery having been abolished in this State by the action of the Government of the United States, it is therefore hereby declared and ordained . . . .<sup>44</sup>

The debate that followed the introduction of Barr's substitute centered around a discussion of what had brought about the abolition of slavery.

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<sup>40</sup> Sharkey's testimony before the Committee on Reconstruction, 1868, House *Executive Documents*, No. 53, 40 Cong., 3 Sess., 39.

<sup>41</sup> *Convention Journal*, 43. For the constitution as amended by the convention, as well as all amendments, ordinances, and resolutions the convention adopted, see Senate *Executive Documents*, No. 26, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 61-77. See also Francis Newton Thorpe (comp.), *The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies Now or Heretofore Forming the United States of America*, 7 vols. (Washington, 1909), IV, 2065-68. Thorpe lists the amendments in a very confusing way, including the abolition amendment in three different places among those adopted by the convention. Thorpe includes only the ordinances of an essentially organic character which the convention adopted.

<sup>42</sup> *Convention Journal*, 44-165, 226-31.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-30.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

William Yerger contended that its abolition resulted from the war, and was “produced by the joint action of the Government, and the people of the Southern States,” rather than “by the sole act of the United States.”<sup>45</sup> He concluded that the preamble proposed by Barr would create useless discussion in both the North and the South. Barr and his supporters held that it would be incorrect to allow the people of the state and future generations to think that the convention had voluntarily abolished slavery, when actually its abolition had been forced on them by a conqueror. George L. Potter said there was no doubt that, if slavery were dead, it had been killed by the action of the federal authorities. But to him the important point was whether the action was legal, and whether it would be sustained by the courts. The convention voted to table Barr’s substitute as well as three different modifications of it.<sup>46</sup>

Potter, who, of the more vocal delegates, seemed most reluctant to admit that slavery was actually or legally dead, then offered a substitute for section two of the committee’s report, which he supported by an able though lengthy speech.<sup>47</sup> Potter probably had no notion that slavery would be revived, but his purpose was to have the constitutionality of the proclamations and acts of emancipation decided by the courts. If abolition were declared unconstitutional, then widows, orphans, and non-participants in the rebellion might be able to claim compensation. If the convention declared slavery abolished, all right to such claims would be shut off. Also, if emancipation were declared unconstitutional by the federal courts, it would be the responsibility of the federal rather than the state government to take care of the free Negroes. Potter also argued that the state should not submit to any conditions imposed upon it for admission of its representatives to Congress, for he took the position that the southern states had never been out of the Union. He argued that the president had only advised, not required, that the convention recognize the abolition of slavery, and that Johnson would not insist upon the passage of an abolition amendment. This part of Potter’s argument was weak, as his opponents pointed out. His weakest point, however, was his failure to mention the fact that the Thirteenth Amendment would settle the question of the constitutionality of emancipation. On the other hand, Potter’s prediction that the recognition of the abolition of slavery by the convention would not satisfy the Radical Republicans, but that they

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 53. The vote on tabling Barr’s substitute was fifty-four to forty-one.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 55-70.

would insist on other conditions of readmission, was prophetic. Potter's proposed substitute received only moderate support and was tabled by a vote of sixty-three to twenty-eight.

Early the next day, August 19, Robert S. Hudson of Yazoo County introduced still another substitute for the second section of the report of the Committee on the State Constitution. This was similar to the section as originally reported, but with the addition of a proviso that the clause, and all legislation based upon it, should be inoperative until the state's representatives should be admitted to Congress and until civil authority should be restored in the state. He also included a provision that nothing in the amendment should be construed to prejudice any right to compensation for the loss of any slave. In defending his plan Hudson stressed the fact that Mississippi was still a sovereign state, to whom terms of admission could not be dictated. Potter and three other delegates made speeches in support of Hudson's proviso.

The three chief opponents of the Hudson proviso, and advocates of the committee's original amendment, were John W. C. Watson, Amos Johnston, and William Yerger. Johnston reminded his listeners of the condition of the state, noting that she stood "vanquished, without power, without will, without volition — absolutely without any choice as to the course which she may pursue."<sup>48</sup> He argued that the conditional clause of Hudson's proviso would place a weapon in the hands of the Radicals. Everyone in the convention, he said, admitted that slavery was dead, and, since it was dead, "let us indulge in no useless regrets over its demise, but bury the carcass that it may no longer offend our nostrils."<sup>49</sup> It was foolish to think that the government would compensate slaveowners after having spent millions of dollars on the war. If in future years the government should decide to compensate innocent persons, adoption of the free state constitution would not impair their rights. "Let the institution of slavery go; and the question of compensation — everything — until we relieve ourselves from this present pressure . . .," Johnston concluded.<sup>50</sup> Watson pointed out the inconsistencies in Potter's argument that no conditions had been placed on the convention. If the state were out of the Union, the government could impose conditions of readmission, while if secession were unconstitutional, the people of the state had forfeited their rights as citizens. Watson thought that moderate action on the part

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 86-87.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 91.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 95.

of the convention would strengthen the northern conservatives, and he predicted they would join southern congressmen against the Radicals.

The final speech on abolition, by William Yerger, was the best speech of the convention. By way of background, Yerger told of his mission to Washington in June 1865. President Johnson had made it clear to him that the convention must pass an abolition amendment before the administration would support the restoration of the state government and resumption of normal relations with the federal government. Without that support, the president had pointed out, Radical fanaticism, which was “clamoring, not for the abolition of slavery, but for universal suffrage and social equality of the negro,” would overwhelm them.<sup>51</sup> Turning to conditions in Mississippi, Yerger called on the delegates to face the fact that the state was under absolute military control and that slavery, in fact and under the law, had been abolished. He argued that civil and political liberty, the right of trial by jury, the writ of *habeas corpus*, and the political supremacy of the white man over the Negro were more important than slavery, and none of these things should be sacrificed by trying to hold on to slavery. But the delegates who were supporting Hudson’s proviso, he said, were ready to jeopardize these rights, not for slavery, which even they admitted was dead, but in the “pursuit of a chimerical right under the constitution of the United States.”<sup>52</sup> Yerger then briefly summarized the arguments against Hudson’s proviso. The government was not begging them to return to the Union. If the proviso were adopted, “a hue and cry will be immediately raised by the whole northern press that the Southern States are attempting to dictate the terms of their restoration to Congress.”<sup>53</sup>

After Yerger closed his speech with a stirring appeal to the members to act in the best interests of the state, Hudson’s substitute motion was tabled without a recorded vote.<sup>54</sup> James T. Harrison then offered an amendment to section two of the committee’s report, so that it would read: “The institution of slavery having been abolished in the state of Mississippi, neither slavery nor involuntarily servitude . . .”<sup>55</sup> This represented a definite compromise between the original committee report and some of the other suggestions, for it left unanswered the question of

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 147.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 157.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 161.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>55</sup> Idem.

who or what had killed slavery. The vote in favor of adopting the second section of the committee report, as reworded by Harrison, was eighty-seven to eleven.<sup>56</sup> Thus slavery was abolished in the state, although to say, "Thus perished the institution of slavery in Mississippi, killed in the house of its friends,"<sup>57</sup> is not quite correct, for it had already been killed. It might be better to say that the convention, after four days of argument on the method of burying the institution, recognized its demise, and, to quote one of the delegates, buried it "face downward, with the inscription on its back, 'no resurrection.'"<sup>58</sup>

After settling the abolition question, the convention adopted the third section of the report of the Committee on the State Constitution. This part of the report provided for amending the twelfth section of the declaration of rights of the constitution so as to authorize the legislature, in case of certain misdemeanors, to dispense with an inquest of a grand jury and to authorize prosecutions before justices of the peace or other inferior courts.<sup>59</sup> A contemporary observer noted that this change was made because of the "apprehension of trouble from the sudden emancipation of so many negroes," and was "demanded by a regard for the best interests of the

State."<sup>60</sup> The section was adopted without debate or a recorded vote, after a slight change in wording from the original committee report.<sup>61</sup>

On August 22, the convention began consideration of its second most important piece of business — revoking the secession ordinance — by taking up the report of the Committee on Ordinances and Laws. The majority of this committee had reported an ordinance whose first section

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<sup>56</sup> *Convention Journal*, 164-65, 174. Before the final vote, an unsuccessful effort was made to change the last part of the amendment, which directed the legislature to provide "for the protection and security of the person and property of the freedmen." The proposed changes would have deleted the word "property" and inserted "the regulation of labor and wages." By leaving the wording of this part of the amendment unchanged, the convention showed it intended the Negroes to have property rights. The October 1865 session of the legislature passed an act which limited the property rights of freedom. Sharkey, testifying before the Joint Committee on Reconstruction in March 1866, pointed out the stand the convention had taken on this matter, and criticized the legislative act as being unconstitutional. *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction* (Washington, 1866), Part III, 133-34.

<sup>57</sup> Franklin L. Riley, *School History of Mississippi* (Richmond, 1900), 287. Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 90, uses a similar phrase.

<sup>58</sup> Speech by Hudson, *Convention Journal*, 195.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 30. The twelfth section of the declaration of rights stated that no person should, for any indictable offense, be proceeded against criminally by information. The amendment the convention adopted was in the form of a proviso to this section. Thorpe, *Federal and State Constitutions*, IV, 2050, 2066.

<sup>60</sup> *Meridian Daily Clarion*, August 27, 1865, quoting *Mobile Advertiser*.

<sup>61</sup> *Convention Journal*, 165-66.



declared the secession ordinance to be null and void. James F. Trotter submitted as a minority report an ordinance declaring the secession ordinance repealed and abrogated. Another minority report, signed by Richard Cooper of Rankin County and Edmund Goode of Lawrence, stated that, inasmuch as Mississippi had resumed her sovereignty in 1861, had failed to maintain her asserted sovereignty in the war, and was now willing to resume her station in the Union, the secession ordinance was declared null and of no binding force. These three wordings of the revocation of the secession ordinance, and other minor variations, formed the basis of the debate which followed their introduction.<sup>62</sup>

Trotter, defending his minority report, stated the case most clearly for those who believed the words “abrogated” or “repealed” should be used.<sup>63</sup> Using the words “null and void,” he contended, would imply that the secession convention had had no authority to pass the secession ordinance. This would reflect discredit on the patriotism and intelligence of the 1861 convention, and impute the crime of treason to all of its members and to all citizens of the state who had obeyed its authority. Trotter said that everyone regretted the step taken in 1861, and wanted to retrace it. The use of the word “repeal” should satisfy those who believed the action of the secession convention to be void *ab initio* as well as those who did not, for legislative bodies often repealed acts which were considered unconstitutional. Hugh Barr said the “null and void” terminology would deny not only the right of secession, but the right of revolution. He distinguished between “null and void” as a term used by courts in judicial review, and “repeal” as used by legislative bodies. [James T.] Harrison did not think declaring the secession ordinance null and void would actually remove it from the statute books.<sup>64</sup> None of the proponents of Trotter’s minority report said in so many words that they thought the right of secession still existed, but they saw no point in passing on the constitutionality of the secession ordinance by declaring it null and void from the beginning.

Amos Johnston, the committee chairman, ably defended the majority report. He said the wording of the report was intended to mean that the secession ordinance was null and void *ab initio*, and never had any binding force. These words would clearly indicate that Mississippians

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<sup>62</sup> The majority and minority reports are on pp. 36-38, and the debates on pp. 175-226 of *Convention Journal*.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

were not holding onto the right of secession. Johnston, recognizing the right of revolution, said the use of the term “null and void” admitted Mississippians had been engaged in revolution but had failed. Although “repeal” was the correct usage for legislature bodies, the convention was more than a legislative body. Other members spoke strongly in favor of declaring unequivocally that the right of secession had never existed. Lock E. Houston, a Union Democrat from Monroe County, in an effort at compromise, urged that the “null and void” wording did not actually say the secession ordinance was null and void at the time it was passed.

At the close of the debate the convention voted by the narrow margin of forty-eight to forty-six to table Trotter’s motion. Other amendments or substitutes, including Goode’s minority report, were also tabled. The majority report, as originally offered, then passed by a vote of eighty-one to fourteen, with many delegates who had supported Trotter’s and other substitutes voting for the “null and void” wording on the final vote.<sup>65</sup>

Section two of the report of the Committee on Ordinances and Laws provided for repealing certain enumerated ordinances and amendments which the secession convention had passed in January and March, 1861. Some members pointed out the inconsistency of the committee in using the words “null and void” in connection with the secession ordinance, and “repeal” for other acts of the secession convention. Amos Johnston explained, however, that this had been done because declaring the other ordinances null and void would have had the effect of destroying the value of the treasury notes issued for the defense of the state under authority of two of the ordinances, while “repealing” them might not have this effect. On second thought, Johnston and others now felt that repealing the ordinances might also have the effect of repudiation, so he moved to have the two revenue ordinances deleted from the list of those repealed. William Yerger did not want the state to repudiate the action of the earlier convention, even though he disapproved of it. But on the other hand, he thought deleting the ordinances from the list of those repealed would in a sense be pledging the state to pay the present holders, many of whom were speculators, the face value of the notes. In its final form, on Yerger’s suggestion, this section of the committee report provided for the repeal of various ordinances adopted by the secession convention, except for the two to raise means for the defense

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 220-21. The division of sentiment on the revocation of the secession ordinance did not follow the same lines as that on the abolition amendment, although Yerger and Johnston were leaders of the conservatives in both debates.

of the state, which were left for the action of the legislature.<sup>66</sup>

The convention completed the major part of its work with the action on the abolition amendment and the ordinances of the secession convention, but it adopted several additional ordinances and amendments of importance, and considered still others.<sup>67</sup> Probably the most important of the other ordinances which were passed was one reported by the Committee on Ordinances and Laws which legalized and supported the legislative and other official enactments of the state since the date of the secession ordinance.<sup>68</sup> Obviously some such action was necessary in view of secession having been declared null and void. The first section of this ordinance validated all laws enacted by the legislature since January 9, 1861, except those in conflict with the constitution of the United States or of the state, or those in aid of the rebellion.<sup>69</sup> Also excepted were laws in relation to crimes and misdemeanors, and a few other laws specifically mentioned. There was some debate over excluding acts passed in aid of the rebellion, for some members thought it would be difficult to determine whether certain acts, for example the act in regard to the issuance of "cotton money" were actually in aid of the rebellion.<sup>70</sup> Other sections of this ordinance validated judicial decrees, court orders, marriages, and the acts of public officials since the date of secession.<sup>71</sup>

The convention took steps to restore state and local government as rapidly as possible, passing an ordinance providing for an election for all local and state officers and congressmen in early October 1865. [Robert] Hudson introduced an amendment to the ordinance, providing that the higher judicial and county officers who had been elected in October 1864 be reinstated for their unexpired terms on taking the amnesty oath.

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<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 223-25. Yerger felt it should be left to the legislature to consider the actual amount paid by the holders in settling the obligations.

<sup>67</sup> The convention considered or adopted these acts at various times, chiefly during the last two days. They are not discussed in chronological order.

<sup>68</sup> The report of the committee is in *Convention Journal*, 36-38, and the debate in *ibid.*, 243-47. The ordinance as finally adopted is in *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 26, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 73.

<sup>69</sup> The ordinance as originally reported by the committee used the word "revolution" rather than "rebellion," but the word was changed, evidently without opposition, in the substitute that was adopted. Apparently the delegates showed little hesitancy in referring to the late unpleasantness as a rebellion.

<sup>70</sup> One delegate pointed out that much of the cotton money was issued to be spent for the benefit of the indigent. The necessity for the issuance of the money arose from the rebellion, but was not necessarily in aid of it. A majority of the convention seemed to agree with Lock Houston that the question of which laws had been in aid of the rebellion, as well as which were in conflict with the constitution, was a matter for the courts to decide. *Convention Journal*, 236-37.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 36.

Hudson's amendment was defeated after William Yerger pointed out that such an action would certainly subject the convention to severe criticism in the North.<sup>72</sup>

Two amendments and one ordinance made slight changes in the court and judicial system of the state. One of the amendments allowed the high court of errors and appeals to meet elsewhere than in the state capital on direction of the legislature.<sup>73</sup> Another amendment changed the word "orphans" to "minors" in the section of the constitution which defined the jurisdiction of probate courts.<sup>74</sup> An ordinance recognize and defined the status of special courts of equity which the provisional governor had established.<sup>75</sup>

The convention passed other ordinances which were essentially organic in nature, or which made temporary changes in the constitution. One of these gave the legislature power to settle all indebtedness of the state, or its citizens, to the United States government arising under past, present, or future revenue laws, including the power to pledge the faith and credit of the state for this purpose.<sup>76</sup> Another ordinance made the section of the constitution which prohibited a legislature from raising its own pay inoperative for the next session, though the convention took no action on a proposal to inquire into the expediency of increasing the salaries of all state officials.<sup>77</sup>

The convention passed two resolutions of importance, other than those dealing with such matters as the printing of proceedings and providing for the expenses of the convention. One of the resolutions provided for the appointment of commissioners to confer with the authorities in Washington about rebuilding the Mississippi River levees and obtaining the necessary funds and labor force.<sup>78</sup> Under the provisions of another resolution, a committee was appointed to prepare and report to the legislature such laws and changes in laws that they might think expedient in view of the constitutional amendments made by the convention.<sup>79</sup>

The convention confined its actions almost exclusively to the business for which it had been called, and rejected, or declined to consider, two

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 166-73.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 254.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 248, 250.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 232, 248.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 265-66.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 253-55.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 268-70.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 232, 247, 266.

constitutional amendments which had no relationship to the primary purpose of the convention. The Committee on the State Constitution had included a statement in its original report that it was of the opinion that "it is not necessary or proper, at the present time to enter into other or further alterations or amendments of the Constitution . . ." <sup>80</sup> The Committee reiterated this stand near the close of the convention when it reported unfavorably on a proposed amendment which would have repealed the section of the constitution fixing the capital at Jackson. <sup>81</sup> Another amendment that was rejected would have empowered the legislature to increase the jurisdiction of justices of the peace in cases involving debts and promissory notes. Some who agreed that such a change was desirable opposed it because its passage might be the opening wedge to numerous general amendments to the constitution. <sup>82</sup>

The convention rejected several other amendments, ordinances, and resolutions. One resolution would have requested the state's congressmen to promote a scheme of colonization for the freedmen in order to prevent the prevalence of pauperism. <sup>83</sup> A proposed amendment would have given the boards of county police the power to make regulations relating to the rights and duties of apprentices, and to suppress vagrancy and punish vagrants. <sup>84</sup> The Committee on Ordinances and Laws recommended against the adoption of a resolution which would have made grand larceny, robbery, rape, arson, and burglary capital crimes. The committee was of the opinion that the subject matter of the resolution should be left to the action of the legislature. The convention evidently agreed with this view, and with the argument of William Yerger that the convention's powers were limited to the purposes set forth in the president's proclamation. <sup>85</sup> Early in the convention [Robert] Hudson introduced an ordinance which would have prohibited any future legislature from imposing punishment or disability on the citizens of the state for having participated in the late war, but the convention took no action on this proposal. <sup>86</sup> The adoption of any of the foregoing proposals would almost certainly have bought criticism on the convention from the northern Radicals, and their rejection

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 232, 248.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 42, 250-53.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 247.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 30, 266.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 258-65.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 28. There was no recorded vote on any of the proposals discussed in the above paragraph, and the only one that was debated was the resolution on the punishment of crimes.

was evidence of the moderate and conciliatory action of the convention.

Two proposals or actions of the convention were criticized as a result of being incorrectly reported or interpreted. The *New York Times* criticized the convention for memorializing the president to withdraw all Negro troops from Mississippi. Such a memorial had been suggested in the convention, but was not adopted.<sup>87</sup> The northern press also criticized the convention for appointing a committee to draw up a memorial to the president asking clemency for Jefferson Davis and Governor Charles Clark. [Robert] Hudson had offered a motion to appoint such a committee, but he withdrew the motion after some members pointed out that sending the memorial as the official act of the convention would prejudice the object for which they were convened, and probably weaken the cause of Davis and Clark. The members did, however, sign a memorial as private individuals, and later they agreed to forward to the president a similar memorial which had been signed by more than four thousand ladies of the state.<sup>88</sup>

The Committee on the State Constitution recommended against the passage of a resolution to submit the amendments and ordinances adopted by the convention to the voters of the state for ratification or rejection. They did not consider a referendum "practical or expedient . . . under existing circumstances." The committee report was agreed to by the convention without a recorded vote.<sup>89</sup> There was strong support, however, for a proposal to submit the abolition amendment to the people. An ordinance to provide such a referendum was tabled by a fifty to forty-four vote.<sup>90</sup>

On August 24, Governor Sharkey sent to the convention a telegram he had received from President Johnson. In this dispatch the president expressed his gratification that the proceedings of the convention were so favorable. Johnson said that the action of Mississippi would set an example for the other state conventions and exert a powerful influence on them. He promised to remove the troops from the state and to restore

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<sup>87</sup> *New York Times*, August 24, 1865. *Convention Journal*, 23-24.

<sup>88</sup> *New York Times*, August 24, 25, 1865; *New York World*, August 25, 1865; *Meridian Daily Clarion*, August 27, 1865; *Convention Journal*, 39-42, 256-58.

<sup>89</sup> *Convention Journal*, 225, 233. Governor Sharkey later said he had not thought it necessary to submit the amended Constitution to the people. The convention had been elected for the purpose of amending the constitution as they did, and he felt sure the people were fully represented and were satisfied with the result. *House Miscellaneous Documents* No. 53, 40 Cong., 3 sess., 42; *Report of the Joint Committee of Reconstruction*, Part III, 134. None of Mississippi's Conventions prior to this time had referred their work to a vote of the people.

<sup>90</sup> *Convention Journal*, 225, 233, 248-49.

the writ of *habeas corpus* as soon as he thought it safe to do so.<sup>91</sup>

The convention adjourned on August 24, after a session of ten working days. The motion for adjournment contained a provision that the president of the convention might reconvene it within six months “if the exigencies of the country require it.” If such a necessity did not arise, the convention would stand adjourned *sine die*.<sup>92</sup> On August 28, Governor Sharkey transmitted to Secretary of State William H. Seward a copy of the amended constitution and all amendments, ordinances, and resolutions passed by the convention. Seward acknowledged receipt of the constitution on September 8, and said the president would give it his early attention.<sup>93</sup>

The work of the convention met with general approval in the South and among the conservatives of the North. The conservatives pointed to the convention’s actions as evidence that President Johnson’s plan of reconstruction was now established and assured of success. They considered that the convention had acted with moderation, wisdom, and complete good faith, and that the Radicals would be silenced by its actions and have no further basis for criticism.<sup>94</sup> Even some of the Republican newspapers in the North approved much of the convention’s action.<sup>95</sup> On the other hand, there was much criticism. Some critics feared that the convention had failed to provide sufficient safeguards for the rights of the freedmen. They thought that such an important matter should not have been left to the legislature for action,<sup>96</sup> and feared that the wording of the latter part of the abolition amendment might authorize restrictive legislation against the Negroes.<sup>97</sup> Some criticized the amendment of the bill of rights, considering it a step toward attempted reenslavement of

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 265; Meridian *Daily Clarion*, August 26, 1865; Andrew Johnson to W. L. Sharkey, August 21, 1865, *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 26, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 229-30. Johnson’s dispatch was evidently in reply to a telegram from Sharkey which quoted the abolition amendment and predicted the convention would pass it by a large majority. W. L. Sharkey to Andrew Johnson, August 20, 1865, Andrew Johnson Papers, Library of Congress.

<sup>92</sup> *Convention Journal*, 267, 275.

<sup>93</sup> *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 26, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 60-61.

<sup>94</sup> Columbus *Mississippi Index*, September 12, 1865, quoting *Washington Chronicle*, August 25, 1865; *ibid.*, September 9, 1865, quoting *New York Express*; *New York World*, August 25, 1865; New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, August 23, 1865; Meridian *Daily Clarion* August 26, 1865.

<sup>95</sup> *New York Times*, August 29, September 6, 1865.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., August 26, 1865.

<sup>97</sup> Schurz, *Report*, 33-34.

the Negroes.<sup>98</sup> Perhaps the main fault the Radicals found was the failure of the convention to grant the Negro any political rights, and they used this as an excuse to attack the entire presidential plan of reconstruction.<sup>99</sup> President Johnson had foreseen this when he urged the convention to grant limited suffrage to the Negroes, but this proposition was not even discussed on the floor of the convention. It was evidently as unthinkable to [white] Mississippians of 1865 that Negroes should be granted even a limited right of suffrage as it was to most of their countrymen of that day, North or South, or as it was to many southerners of a later day.<sup>100</sup> Some conservatives considered it unfortunate that Mississippi's convention did not take the president's advice on the matter of Negro suffrage, and thus set an example for the other states to follow. Historians of a later date have agreed with them.<sup>101</sup> It is questionable, however, that such action would have had much effect either on other state conventions or on the subsequent policy of the Radicals.<sup>102</sup>

Apparently there was no criticism of the convention for its failure to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, for there was general satisfaction with the abolition amendment to the state constitution. The question of ratifying the Thirteenth Amendment did not come up in the convention; the members probably considered this to be the business of the legislature. The president had urged its ratification in his dispatch of August 15, but in a later message to Sharkey he said that either the convention could adopt the Thirteenth Amendment, or could recommend

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<sup>98</sup> J.S. McNeily, "War and Reconstruction in Mississippi," *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, Centenary Series, II (1918), 314; Samuel S. Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation* (Providence, 1885), 392.

<sup>99</sup> Charles Sumner used particularly violent language, in a speech before the Massachusetts Republican convention, in condemning the actions of the Mississippi convention, which he knew had been approved by the president. *New York World*, September 16, 1865.

<sup>100</sup> Several northern states did not permit Negroes to vote in 1865. Between 1865 and 1868, by legislative or popular vote, Negro suffrage was rejected by eight northern and mid-western states. C. Vann Woodward, "Equality: America's Deferred Commitment," *The American Scholar*, XXVII (Autumn, 1958), 469.

<sup>101</sup> Cox, *Three Decades of Federal Legislation*, 391; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, 8 vols. (New York, 1893-1919), V, 535-36.

<sup>102</sup> It should also be remembered that the president's proclamation had stated that either the convention or the legislature should prescribe the qualifications for voters.



its adoption to the legislature.<sup>103</sup>

The insistence on the repudiation of the rebel debt by the state conventions apparently did not become a part of President Johnson's plan of reconstruction until after Mississippi's convention had met.<sup>104</sup> The subject of repudiation was not an issue in Mississippi's convention as it was in those of the other states, and the convention does not seem to have been criticized at the time for its failure to repudiate the debts.<sup>105</sup>

There were other problems, mostly in connection with the freedmen and their rights, which the convention did not consider. These problems either had not come up as issues as early as August, or else the convention specifically or impliedly left them for the action of the legislature, which it considered the proper body to handle them.<sup>106</sup> The convention might be criticized for leaving these matters to the legislature, for as it turned out

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<sup>103</sup> Andrew Johnson to W. L. Sharkey, August 15, 1865 and August 21, 1865, *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 26, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 229-30. Sharkey had called the president's attention to the fact that "the amendment to the Constitution of the United States is referred by Congress to the Legislatures." Sharkey to Johnson, August 20, 1865, Andrew Johnson Papers, Library of Congress. After the convention adjourned Sharkey correctly predicted that the legislature would not adopt the Thirteenth Amendment because of its second section. Sharkey to Johnson, August 28, 1865, Andrew Johnson Papers.

<sup>104</sup> Johnson did not mention repudiation in his proclamation appointing the provisional governors nor in his messages to Sharkey before, or during, the convention. In messages to other provisional governors later in 1865, however, Johnson insisted that the conventions repudiate the debt. See, for example, Johnson's telegram of October 18, 1865, to Governor W. W. Holden of North Carolina, *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 26, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., 226. All the other state conventions except South Carolina's passed ordinances specifically repudiating the debts.

<sup>105</sup> The convention discussed the question of repudiation in connection with the repeal of the two ordinances of the secession convention which had provided for the issuance of treasury notes, but action on these ordinances was left to the legislature. The specific exclusion from the validated legislative acts of 1861-1865 of all acts in aid of the rebellion might be considered repudiation of the debt, but the convention apparently did not so consider it. Sharkey, in testimony before the Joint Committee on Reconstruction said: "You will find that in our amended constitution we have repudiated the most of our debt, with one or two exceptions. The truth is that none of it will be paid; we do not regard it as a binding debt." He pointed out that the state constitution prohibited the pledge of the faith of the state for any debt, unless the law was passed by two legislatures. Although the secession convention had changed this provision, the convention of 1865 had repealed the acts of the secession convention, and thus the obligations of the state created during the war were not binding or constitutional. *Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction*, Part III, 135. The constitutional convention of 1868 specifically repudiated the notes and bonds issued in aid of the rebellion. See John K. Bettersworth, *Confederate Mississippi, The People and Policies of a Cotton State in Wartime* (Baton Rouge, 1943), 129, on the subject of the extent of the debt and its repudiation.

<sup>106</sup> As early as August 26, however, a prominent Mississippian writing from Washington predicted that there would be four prerequisites for admission of the representatives of the southern states to Congress: adoption of a free ordinance, repudiation of state and Confederate war debts, permitting the Negro to testify in courts, and giving the Negro a limited franchise. James L. Alcorn to his wife, August 26, 1865, Alcorn Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

that body was not as wise or as moderate in its actions as the convention had been, and the passage of the Black Code gave the Radicals an added excuse for excluding the southern representatives from Congress.

In conclusion we may say that Mississippi's Reconstruction convention of 1865 successfully completed the task for which it had been assembled. The delegates did all that could have been expected of any group that might have been elected in Mississippi within three months of the close of the Civil War. They met all of the president's demands, and complied with all but one of his suggestions. A majority of the members took a narrow view of the powers of the convention. They confined their actions to necessary alteration and amendment of the constitution, to undoing the work of the convention of 1861, and to validating legislation and other official acts of the war years. Not only did the convention leave to the legislature matters of a statutory nature in connection with the freedmen's rights, but it also declined to make constitutional changes which were essentially statutory, or those which were not directly connected with the purpose for which the convention was called. The action of the delegates was characterized by circumspection and moderation, and there is no reason to believe that the vast majority of them were not acting in complete good faith. The members set a good example for other state conventions, and for the legislature of their own state. It seems unfortunate that the legislature which met in the autumn of 1865 did not display as much wisdom, moderation, and restraint as had been shown by the constitutional convention.

# Mississippi's Confederate Leaders After the War\*

*by William B. Hesseltine and Larry Gara*

Six years after the close of the War Against the States [Civil War], Jefferson Davis, Mississippi's most eminent ex-Confederate, sadly advised his friend Armistead Burt that "There is little left for us to do, but that little is of much worth: it is to preserve the traditions of our Fathers and to keep in honorable remembrance the deeds of our Brothers."<sup>1</sup>

Although both despair and pessimism crept into such advice, neither Davis nor his former Confederate associates were content with reminiscence. Economic necessity, revived ambitions, and even the desire to vindicate their past judgment combined after Appomattox to force the former leaders of the Confederate States of America into efforts to rehabilitate themselves. In the process they rebuilt the devastated South – and built into the New South much of the traditions of their fathers and the honored memories of their brothers' deeds.

Mississippi had furnished somewhat less than fair proportion of the top-ranking military and political leaders of the Confederacy. In the entire South, perhaps a thousand men occupied positions of

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This article was originally published in the April 1951 edition of *The Journal of Mississippi History*. Some of the language may be offensive because the article is a product of its time and place. The article is reprinted verbatim to reflect the scholarship as it was presented at the time.

\* Writers' note: The writers' thanks are due to Mrs. Elizabeth Twaddell Pope, research assistant at the University of Wisconsin who gathered much of this material, and to the Research Committee of the Graduate School of the University of Wisconsin who supported this study, in part, from special funds voted by the [Wisconsin] State Legislature.

<sup>1</sup> Davis to Burt, November 28, 1871. Jefferson Davis MSS, Duke University.

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leadership. Some held high executive posts in the Confederate and state governments. Some served in diplomatic missions, while others were congressmen, judges of courts, general officers in the army, or admirals in the Confederate Navy. Mississippi, with nearly 9% of the Confederacy's population, had but 7% of the leading civil and military officers.<sup>2</sup> Yet the chief executive of the Confederacy came from Mississippi, and the voice of the Magnolia State was never weak in Southern councils.

In the years that followed Appomattox, fifty erstwhile leaders of the Confederacy made significant contributions to Mississippi's economic and political life. Four of them had been major generals and twenty-two brigadier generals in the Confederate armies. One had been a commander in the Confederate navy. Eight had sat in the Confederate Provisional Congress and fourteen legislated in the Richmond Congress. One, Jehu A. Orr, represented his state in both capacities. Alexander M. Clayton was both a provisional congressman and a Confederate judge and Lucius Q. C. Lamar was minister to Russia and judge-advocate-general.

Many of Mississippi's prominent Confederates had demonstrated their capacities for leadership in the ante-bellum period. For the most part, they had had the advantages of an education in the better academies and colleges of their day. Eight had received a military education at West Point. Nineteen of them received the usual classical training offered in the colleges of the time while three terminated their work at the academy level. Some had studied law and other subjects without formal guidance while others, like Reuben Davis, prepared for professional careers under the tutelage of private instructors.

Experience had supplemented formal instruction in preparing Mississippi's Confederates for their war-time posts. Thirteen of them were planters, three had edited newspapers, and two had taught school in the years before the war. Besides three who were professional military men, there was one banker and one merchant. In a time when law was the usual stepping stone to a political career the majority—thirty-one—practiced at the Mississippi bar. Eighteen of those Mississippians who later achieved prominence in the Confederacy spent some of the prewar years in the state legislature, four served as chief executives of the state, and three donned the black robes of justice. Some had

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<sup>2</sup> James Wilford Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi* (New York, 1901), 20. Garner lists five major generals and twenty-nine brigadiers.

achieved recognition beyond the borders of Mississippi and were elected or appointed to positions in the national government. Ten represented the state in the lower house of the United State Congress and five in the Senate. Two meted out justice in Federal Courts, two prosecuted lawsuits for the Federal government and one acted as United States Indian Agent.

When the southern cause accepted the decision of force at Appomattox many of Mississippi's leaders still faced long years of active life and possible service. On that fateful day in 1865 the average age of those Mississippi Confederate leaders who survived the conflict was forty-five years. They were to live, on an average, nearly twenty-five years, and a few of them retained their vigor into the opening years of the twentieth century.

A few prominent Confederate leaders could not muster enough strength and energy to face life's vicissitudes in a conquered South. Mississippi's war governor, John J. Pettus, who had fought for the principle of States' Rights in war and peace, migrated to Arkansas at the close of the war and spent his two remaining years as a disillusioned recluse. Another Mississippi Confederate leader, John J. McRae, a pre-war governor who had served in the congress at Richmond, came to the end of the conflict broken in health and fortune. McRae, like some of his Confederate associates, preferred migration to submission. A planned future in Belize, British Honduras, was terminated when the fifty-three-year-old McRae died in 1868 shortly after arriving at his tropical escape.<sup>3</sup> However, only a handful of Mississippi's Confederates left their state after the war and most of them moved to other sections of the South where they again gained recognition as leaders.

While some who led their state during the trials of war were overburdened by the horrors of bloodshed and the prospects of life under the rule of their conquerors, a substantial number of Confederate leaders refused to accept personal defeat and lived to carve out important post-war careers in the new South. Not all prominent ex-Confederates fled to other lands, went into political seclusion, or died broken hearted in the months after Appomattox.

The part that Jefferson Davis played in the life of post-war Mississippi was, in a sense, symbolic of the roles assumed by many of the state's Confederate leaders. Denied opportunity to regain his political

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<sup>3</sup> Marcus J. Wright, *General Officers of the Confederate Army...* (New York, 1911), 169.

position, Davis gave his first attention after his release from prison to efforts to rehabilitate himself economically. For a time he served as president of the Carolina Life Insurance Company of Memphis. When inadequate finances brought bankruptcy to the firm, the Confederate chief executive tried to launch a steamship line between North and South America. Finally, despairing of success, he settled down to the life of a planter at Beauvoir, and gave his energies to preserving the traditions of the Old South and keeping alive the memories of Confederate deeds.

Lacking Davis's political handicaps, many of Mississippi's former Confederate leaders sought again, in the post-war era, to recapture their political fortunes. Of those who had led their state during the critical years of armed struggle three became governors of Mississippi after the war, five sat on the Mississippi courts, eight legislated in the halls at Jackson and seven were appointed to various positions in the state government. Mississippians also participated in the post-war work of the Federal government. Five who had helped their state serve the Confederate cause joined the "Rebel Brigadiers" in Congress, three representing Mississippi in the lower house, one in the Senate, and one, Lucius Q. C. Lamar, in both houses of Congress.

Lucius Q. C. Lamar, who had opposed secession in 1860, gave service to the Southern Cross in military and civilian capacity. Failing health forced his resignation from the Confederate army, but he was soon appointed minister to Russia and later, when that mission failed, he became judge-advocate-general of the Southern armies. A distinguished lawyer, educator and congressman before the war, Lamar resumed his activities with renewed vigor after the completion of the conflict. Immediately following the war, he again practiced law and taught metaphysics and law at the University of Mississippi. He also cared for his planting interests and practiced and preached diversified farming. In 1874 Lamar again traveled to Washington to represent his state in the House of Representatives. The same year the Mississippi congressman reconfirmed the faith of those who had effected removal of his political disabilities when he made a gesture towards national unity in his famed eulogy of Charles Sumner. In 1876 Mississippi voters promoted Lamar to a seat in the Senate where he served until 1885. Then President Cleveland acknowledged his political debt to southern Democrats by appointing Lamar Secretary of the Interior. While in the Senate Lamar maintained his interest as well as his faith in education and supported the Blair Bill which gave the Federal government power to set up and

aid common schools. Although Jefferson Davis contended the bill “can have but one end, if continued—the obliteration of State lines and the formation of one great and powerful State instead of many co-equal commonwealths,”<sup>4</sup> Lamar believed the bill to be “fraught with almost unspeakable benefit to the entire population of the South, white and black.” The act, Lamar proclaimed from the Senate floor, was the “first step and the most important step that the government has ever taken in the direction of the solution of what is called the ‘race problem’” which is but an end result of “ignorance, prejudice, and superstition.” After his congressional life and two years as Secretary of the Interior, Lamar was appointed [by President Cleveland] to the United States Supreme Court where he served for five years until his death in January 1893.<sup>5</sup>

Not all of Mississippi's Confederate leaders who followed post-war political careers achieved the recognition accorded Lucius Lamar, but many of them served with distinction in state and national offices. Just as they held varying opinions on debatable questions in the pre-war years, so Mississippi's ex-Confederates failed to agree on post-war policies. A few even advocated active political cooperation with their conquerors. Even though his Whig background led him to oppose secession prior to the outbreak of hostilities, James L. Alcorn served in the war as a brigadier general of state troops. At the end of the war Alcorn again changed political color and joined the Republican Party which sent him to the United States Senate in 1865. Although the Radical Republican Senate refused to seat him, he returned to Mississippi, sat in the radical constitutional convention of 1868, and became Republican governor one year later. From 1871 to 1877 Alcorn represented the carpet-bag government of Mississippi in the United States Senate and he was active in the state constitutional convention of 1890. As governor, Alcorn supported public education, with separation of the races, and in the Senate he opposed discriminatory economic laws and social legislation designed to force submission from the South. However, such concessions did not win sufficient good will within Mississippi to gain re-election and in 1877 Governor Alcorn retired from active political life to care for his economic interests as a planter and merchant.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> E. Polk Johnson, “Jefferson Davis at Home,” in *Southern Bivouac*, 2 (New Series): 143 (August 1886).

<sup>5</sup> W. A. Cate, *Lucius Q. C. Lamar* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1935), 398-399; *Congressional Record*, 48 Congress, 1 Session (1884), 2369-2370.

<sup>6</sup> *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi* (2 vols., Chicago, 1891), 1:291-295; *A Biographical Congressional Directory* (Washington, D.C., 1903), 355.

Although the vast majority of Mississippi's Confederate leaders carried on in the southern tradition during the turbulent post-war decades some, like Governor Alcorn, yielded to political expediency and counseled submission to the principles of Thaddeus Stevens. Another advocate of submission was Albert Gallatin Brown, who had vigorously promoted southern nationalism during his term as governor in the 1840s and later as United States Senator. Brown felt the verdict of force was final and urged Southerners to "meet Congress on its own platform and shake hands." He urged full acceptance of Radical measures, including the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment, but his compromise position brought no recognition from local carpet-baggers or Federal officials. Governor Brown never re-entered public life and died in obscurity fifteen years after the close of the war.<sup>7</sup>

The Republicanism of Henry Stuart Foote followed logically from his pre-war political ideas. In the decade preceding the armed conflict Foote ably promulgated the doctrine of Unionism and later as Confederate congressman opposed much of Jefferson Davis's program. After the war Foote practiced law in Washington and wrote vigorous anti-southern histories. The Hayes administration rewarded his apostasy by appointing him director of the mint in New Orleans.<sup>8</sup>

In contrast to the careers of Mississippi's scalawags was the post-war life of Brigadier General Benjamin Grubb Humphreys, who was elected governor in 1865. Humphreys, a consistent Democrat, won the title "Old Veto" because of his staunch opposition to any legislation which he believed unconstitutional. In 1868 the military commander of the Fourth Military District, General Irwin McDowell, removed the unreconstructed Humphreys from his office, but the obstinate governor, wishing to demonstrate the illegality of reconstruction methods, refused to leave his post until Federal troops forced him to march from the governor's mansion between files of special guards. After this "military pantomime," the ousted governor spent several years in Jackson and Vicksburg as an insurance agent before settling down to the life of a planter in Leflore County in 1877.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> *The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi* (Nashville, Tennessee, 1908), 140-142.

<sup>8</sup> *Official Register of Mississippi*, 145-147; *Congressional Directory*, 536-537.

<sup>9</sup> Dumas Malone, "Benjamin Grubb Humphreys," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1932) 9:372-373; Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, 215-216; P. L. Rainwater, ed., "The Autobiography of Benjamin Grubb Humphreys," in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 21:231-255, (September 1934).



Robert Lowry, who fought with Johnson [sic] and Hood, was the third Mississippi brigadier general to become governor of the State. Like Governor Humphreys, Lowry was too thoroughly steeped in Confederate tradition to exchange political banners after the war. Immediately after returning from the war Lowry served a term in the Mississippi senate and during that time acted under commission from Governor Humphreys to visit Washington and request the release of the imprisoned Jefferson Davis, who was then suffering from poor health. In 1869 Lowry campaigned unsuccessfully as Democratic nominee for attorney general and after years of constant agitation against carpet-bag domination of the South, he became governor of Mississippi in 1881, a position which he held until 1890.

Besides helping to re-establish the political power of southern leaders, Governor Lowry aided the perpetuation of southern ideas. While practicing law at Jackson, Lowry spent many hours with W. H. McCardle writing *A History of Mississippi*. A staunch defender of the Lost Cause, Lowry regularly donned the grey uniform at meetings of the United Confederate Veterans, which elected him state commander in 1903. Governor Lowry continued his active interest in Confederate veterans' activities until his death in 1910.<sup>10</sup>

Other Mississippi Confederate leaders contributed to the state's post-war politics and for the most part these men worked within the tradition of the Confederacy. Brigadier General Samuel J. Gholson, who resigned a position as Federal judge to serve the Confederate cause, resumed active political life after the war. Gholson, who had lost his left arm in battle, worked steadfastly for the political redemption of his state. He acted as speaker of the Mississippi [House of Representatives] in 1865 and 1866 and later, when the carpet-bag government had left the state, returned to that post in 1878.<sup>11</sup>

Brigadier General Winfield Scott Featherston lived twenty-six years after the end of the war and devoted much of that time to Mississippi politics. In the legislature Featherston moved the impeachment of Governor Adelbert Ames and prepared the prosecution which would overthrow the carpet-bag regime. After Ames escaped prosecution by resigning, Featherston turned his attention to the work of the judiciary commission and supervised the revision of the legal code in 1880. In

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<sup>10</sup> Wright, *General Officers*, 124; *Official Register of Mississippi*, 159-160.

<sup>11</sup> *Congressional Directory*, 551; Dunbar Rowland, "Samuel Jameson Gholson," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 7:232-233.

1882 General Featherston became a state judge and in 1890 he sat on the judiciary committee of the constitutional convention. Preserving memories of the Southern fight also occupied some of Featherston's time as state commander of the United Confederate Veterans.<sup>12</sup>

Still another major general, Will T. Martin, a Kentucky born Whig and opponent of secession, followed an active political life after Lee's surrender. Martin allied himself with the Democratic Party, served in the state constitutional convention of 1865, and attended every Democratic national convention held between the years 1868 and 1880. From 1882 to 1894 General Martin sat in the state senate, and he attended the constitutional convention of 1890. He was one of the three members of the convention who refused to sign the completed constitution because it forbade payment of principal or interest on Mississippi's long-since repudiated Union Bank Bonds or Planters Bank Bonds. Martin also helped in the economic reconstruction of Mississippi and promoted the building of the Natchez, Jackson and Columbus Railroad. When the line was completed in 1884 he became president of the company. Martin's interest in the educational life of the state led him to accept appointments to the boards of trustees of the University of Mississippi and of Jefferson College. When General Martin was eighty-two years old, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him postmaster of Natchez although he retired eighteen months later. He died in 1910 at the age of eighty-seven.<sup>13</sup>

A combination of political and other interests occupied the time and energy of some prominent Mississippi ex-Confederates. After the war Ethelbert Barksdale, who had served in both Confederate congresses, managed a plantation and editorially counseled southern submission to congressional reconstruction in the columns of the *Jackson Clarion*. Barksdale traveled to various national political conventions, was chairman of the Democratic state committee from 1877 to 1879, and represented his state in Congress from 1883 to 1887. Others who combined politics with plantation interest in the post-war times were Governor Alcorn, Governor Humphreys, Lucius Q. C. Lamar and Stephen Dill Lee.

Not all, of course, of Mississippi's prominent Confederate leaders aspired to political office in the years after the war. Some of Mississippi's

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<sup>12</sup> Charles S. Sydnor, "Winfield Scott Featherston," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 6:308.

<sup>13</sup> Wright, *General Officers*, 99; Clayton Rand, *Men of Spine in Mississippi* (Gulfport, Mississippi, 1940), 255.

leaders also made contributions to the work-a-day world of business. Thirteen preferred plantation life in the post-war period, five became railroad officials, three worked for life insurance companies, and two cared for private business interests. High places in the state's post-war professional activities also beckoned to those who had led during the days of the Confederacy. Twenty-five Mississippi Confederate leaders practiced law after the war's end, three taught school, one edited a newspaper and two exchanged their martial uniforms for ministerial garb.

Confederate Mississippians attained considerable post-war distinction in their professional pursuits. Josiah A. Patterson Campbell, a member of the Confederate provisional congress, practiced law before and after the war. He sat on Mississippi's courts until removed by military government in 1870 and filled the post of code commissioner the same year. In 1876 Judge Campbell returned to the bench as justice on the Mississippi Supreme Court. In 1878 Campbell became chief justice and held that position until 1894—with another year's service as code commissioner in 1880. Judge Campbell enjoyed speaking to appreciative Memorial Day audiences whom he told of the glories of the southern cause and the life and character of Jeff Davis.<sup>14</sup>

Another Mississippi Confederate, Jehu A. Orr, specialized in corporation law in the post-war South. Besides promoting railroad interests, acting as attorney for six large corporations and serving seven years on the bench, Orr sat on the board of trustees of the University of Mississippi. An ardent Presbyterian, Orr frequently lectured on *The Bible as a Textbook for Lawyers and Statesmen*.<sup>15</sup> John William Clark Watson, a senator in the Confederate congress, also combined Presbyterianism and law. Watson won fame by winning a United States Supreme Court reversal of a court decision which had declared Mississippi laws regulating railroads unconstitutional. The decision enabled the Mississippi Railroad Commission to continue its work of regulating rates.

Substantial contributions were made to the educational life of Mississippi by former Confederate leaders. Lucius Q. C. Lamar pioneered in teaching law by use of a thorough study and analysis of adjudicated cases—a method later developed by Christopher Langdell at Harvard. Brigadier General Francis Asbury Shoup followed careers in church

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<sup>14</sup> Franklin L. Riley, "Josiah A. Patterson Campbell," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 3:460-461.

<sup>15</sup> Dunbar Rowland, *Mississippi*, (3 vols., Atlanta, Georgia, 1907), 3:623-633.

and school after the war. With the end of the conflict Shroup traded his sword for a Bible and as an ordained ecclesiastic of the Episcopal Church he served in dual capacity of professor of mathematics at "Ole Miss" and rector of St. Paul's Church in Oxford. But when he approved a student's commencement address which violently denounced the Republican United States Congress the board of trustees forced him to resign from the University faculty. Thereafter he became chaplain at the University of the South, and taught at Sewanee from 1869 until 1875. After holding several pastorates he returned to Sewanee in 1883 as professor of mathematics, engineering, and physics.

Another ecclesiastical educator, Brigadier General Mark Perrin Lowrey, famed for his advice: "preach like Hell on Sunday and fight like the Devil all week," founded the Blue Mountain Female Institute in 1873. Besides acting as president of the college Lowrey taught history and moral science, revived numerous churches which had suffered during the war years, and presided for a decade over sessions of the Mississippi Baptist Convention. Lowrey also served on the board of trustees for the State University.<sup>16</sup>

Stephen Dill Lee, who served in the Confederate army with the rank of major general, divided his post-war years among political, educational, religious and cultural interests. In a varied career the energetic Confederate made tremendous contributions to the post-war life of Mississippi. For a short time after the war Lee worked for a life insurance firm. But his wife's ill health required his attention at home, and he became a planter. After a dozen years of plantation life Stephen Dill Lee entered politics and became a state senator. He was in the senate in 1878 when it created the Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College. General Lee was chosen as the college's first president and during 19 years of leadership President Lee trained the state's youth for agricultural and industrial work. His avowed aim was to provide "a thorough English education, with a practical knowledge of the sciences that underlie the Agricultural and Mechanical Arts." At the school students were compelled to work three hours a day for five days a week. This, reported General Lee, "makes labor honorable" and "inculcates and preserves industrial habits during that susceptible age, when the habits of boys are forming which will accompany them through life." Lee maintained that Mississippi's young people were ripe

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<sup>16</sup> Cecil Johnson, "Mark Perrin Lowrey," *Dictionary of American Biography*, 2:474-475.

for industrial education and it was his desire to train them “for the grand industrial future just ahead in Mississippi, and the Southern States.”<sup>17</sup> At the college Lee successfully resisted the introduction of the classics, philosophy or other subjects he believed distracting to his major educational objective. Instead he recommended setting up an electrical laboratory in the school, and preparing for the industrial development of the New South. President Lee also encouraged experiments with cottonseed byproducts, established at the college the first creamery in the Gulf States, and promoted diversified agriculture and drainage. Superior grasses were cultivated in the school’s farms and improved stock resulted from the college’s cattle breeding experiments.<sup>18</sup>

While still president of the A and M College, Lee went to the constitutional convention of 1890 as a delegate from Oktibbeha County. In the spring of 1899 Lee resigned his college position to accept an appointment to the Vicksburg [National] Park Commission.<sup>19</sup> In addition Lee was prominent in re-activating the Mississippi State Historical Society which made him president in 1898 and backed his efforts to form a Department of Archives and History for the state.<sup>20</sup> When the State Department of Archives and History was formed in 1902, Stephen Dill Lee [became] the first president of its board of trustees—an honor he held until his death in 1908. In his later years Lee also worked enthusiastically for the Baptist Church, both as Sunday School teacher and ardent promoter of religious revivals. General Lee proudly commanded the United Confederate Veterans, speaking with great fervor to numerous army reunions, state legislatures, colleges, historical societies and memorial gatherings. In his messages the aged warrior spoke of the glories of the Confederate Cause as well as the vision of the New South. His words were not designed to recreate sectional strife but he admonished his young audiences “to preserve and defend the record of your forefathers.” Such glorification, Lee said, “is not any way incompatible with true and loyal allegiance to our government as the

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<sup>17</sup> Stephen Dill Lee, “Report on Mississippi Agricultural and Mechanical College,” in *Biennial Reports of the Departments and Benevolent Institutions of the State of Mississippi* (Jackson, Mississippi, 1882-1883), 10-11.

<sup>18</sup> Rand, *Men of Spine in Mississippi*, 239-241.

<sup>19</sup> Donovan Yewell, “Stephen Dill Lee,” *Dictionary of American Biography*, 2:474-475.

<sup>20</sup> Dunbar Rowland, *The Mississippi Plan for the Preservation of State Archives*, (An address delivered, by invitation, before the General Assembly of Tennessee and the Tennessee Historical Society, January 10, 1905), 10-11.

issues of the great war are settled and accepted by all.”<sup>21</sup>

Although West Point trained, Lieutenant General A. P. Stewart, “Old Straight” to his soldiers, failed to contribute as much to education as Stephen Dill Lee, he did much to preserve Confederate memories. As a Tennessee Whig, Stewart had opposed secession, but the excesses of [Governor William] Brownlow’s reconstruction regime disgusted him and in 1870 he resigned a teaching post at Cumberland University to become secretary of the Mutual Life Insurance Company of St. Louis. Four years later he was appointed chancellor of the University of Mississippi. During Stewart’s administration women were first admitted to the school. In 1890 President Harrison made Stewart a Commissioner of Chickamauga National Park where the ex-Confederate general supervised road building and the erection of markers on the battlefield. Formerly a pious Presbyterian, the aged General Stewart became a follower of Pastor Tazewell Russell’s Jehovah Witnesses. Convinced that the biblical “great time of trouble” would soon come about the eighty-seven-year-old Stewart died in 1908, six years before the beginning of Pastor Russell’s predicted “Great Tribulation.”<sup>22</sup>

Besides teaching school, managing plantations, arguing fine points of law, and furthering the cause of religion, Mississippi’s former Confederate leaders put their ideas and findings into print. Confederate congressman Reuben Davis, who became noted as a criminal lawyer in the post-war years, published his autobiography in 1889. Major General Samuel Gibbs French also spent part of his old age writing reminiscences which he titled *Two Wars: an Autobiography of General Samuel G. French*. Stephen Dill Lee wrote many lengthy reports on the progress at A and M College, contributed accounts of battles to the publications of the State Historical Society and wrote “The South Since the War” for *Confederate Military History*. Brigadier General Shoup contributed to learning with his texts on the *Elements of Algebra* and *Mechanism and Personality*. One Mississippi Confederate congressman, Henry S. Foote, wrote books repudiating the cause to which he had given temporary adherence.

President Davis, who refused to request pardon from the government because he had not repented, became the living symbol of the Lost Cause, and his home, Beauvoir, was a gathering place for those who dreamed

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<sup>21</sup> William L. Lipscomb, *A History of Columbus, Mississippi* (Birmingham, Alabama, 1909), 148.

<sup>22</sup> M. Wingfield, “A Sketch of the Life and Campaigns of Lieutenant-General A. P. Stewart, C.S.A.,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, 3:99-130.

of a Southern destiny that might have been. After years of travel and unsuccessful attempts at regaining his lost fortune Jefferson Davis spent his later years writing, speaking, and reminiscing. Davis told his friend Jubal Early: "My motive in writing is the justification of the South in the act of secession and in the prosecution of the war; beyond this my hope was to add, whenever I could, another leaf to her crown of glory."<sup>23</sup>

Jefferson Davis spent four years preparing his monumental *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*. He also found time to write numerous articles, reviews and speeches in which he expounded the doctrine of States' Rights, the constitutionality of secession and the splendor of the Confederate Dream. Davis's post-war unpopularity in the South quickly disappeared with the suffering and humiliation forced upon him by vindictive politicians. In 1886 the aged Davis attended the unveiling of a war memorial in Montgomery, Alabama, where a crowd of 15,000 welcomed him. Despite a downpour of rain the faithful multitude listened to Jefferson Davis's address in which he reiterated "belief in the righteousness of our cause and the virtue of those who risked their lives to defend it."<sup>24</sup> Until his death in 1889 proud Jefferson Davis continued to justify the Confederacy.

The reconstructed Mississippi which took its place in the New South was partially the creation of those who had served in high positions during the Confederate regime. In the years following Appomattox these men of ability regained their positions of leadership in the political, religious, educational and cultural life of the state and made valuable contributions to their chosen fields of activity. Despite the decision of the sword and the power of the victors, those who fought and served under the Southern Cross remained to help rebuild the state and to direct its destiny.

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<sup>23</sup> Davis to Jubal A. Early, September 29, 1878. Davis MSS, Duke University.

<sup>24</sup> Robert M. McElroy, *Jefferson Davis* (2 vols., New York, 1937), 2:672.





# Logging and Rafting Timber in South Mississippi, 1840-1910

*by Nollie W. Hickman*

The economy of South Mississippi was in a state of transition during the late antebellum period. Prior to the 1840s cattle herding and hunting had provided a great majority of the settlers in that region with their livelihood. The cotton plantation system common to other sections of the state was in use there only in a few scattered localities where river valleys provided unusually fertile soil. In fact, more than ninety per cent of the land of twenty counties comprising the longleaf pine country was unsuited to the culture of cotton and corn, the two principal crops of antebellum Mississippi. Consequently, the inhabitants of this area made their living largely by grazing cattle on the open range. Their agriculture was limited to raising small quantities of foodstuffs on plots of land fertilized by their livestock. This pastoral economy was in rapid decline during the 1840s, however, because the open range that sustained it was being destroyed by increasing population, overgrazing, and forest fires. It was fortunate for the people of the Piney Woods at this juncture that they could find employment in a rapidly growing lumber industry.

Although logging operations had been under way on the Gulf Coast on a small scale since the eighteenth century, the modern South Mississippi lumber industry dates only from the 1830s. In the latter years of that decade several steam sawmills were erected at the mouths of streams emptying into the Mississippi Sound, and their demand for timber stimulated the development of a significant logging and rafting business in the interior.

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This article was originally published in the July 1957 edition of *The Journal of Mississippi History*. Some of the language may be offensive because the article is a product of its time and place. The article is reprinted verbatim to reflect the scholarship as it was presented at the time.

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NOLLIE W. HICKMAN earned his Ph.D. in history from the University of Texas in 1958. At the time he wrote this article, he taught at Florence State College (now the University of North Alabama). Hickman authored the book *Mississippi Harvest: Lumbering in the Longleaf Pine Belt, 1840-1915* in 1962. Prior to his death in 1987, he was professor of history at the University of Louisiana at Monroe.

Logging and rafting methods in the years 1840-1910 underwent few changes. Logging consisted of two basic operations: namely, felling the trees and hauling the logs to the banks of rafting streams. Until the late [1880s] axmen commonly known as “choppers” felled the trees. Their basic tool was a pole ax having a single cutting edge and weighing about five pounds. In the [1870s] a double-bit ax with two cutting edges supplanted the pole ax.<sup>1</sup> Using these axes, loggers cut through tree trunks at waist level, leaving three- or four-foot stumps. An axman notched a tree on the side where he wished it to fall, and then chopped away on the opposite side. At length, when only a small layer of wood separated the notches, the tree came crashing to the ground. It was then divided into the desired lengths.<sup>2</sup>

Expert choppers possessed great endurance and a high degree of skill. Many of them could cut the ends of logs with an ax about as smoothly as if they had used a crosscut saw. Axmen who could fell fifteen to twenty trees daily earned good wages. A few of the choppers employed by Calvin Taylor in the late [1850s], for example, made more than one dollar per day.<sup>3</sup> The average axman, however, considered cutting ten logs to be a good day's work.

Trees suitable for ships' spars probably were the first to be culled from the longleaf and slash pine forests of South Mississippi. As early as the mid-1840s, lumbermen searched the back country for long, slightly tapering trees so much sought after by European navies.<sup>4</sup> A special type of tree was required to meet the rigid naval standards for masts. Such trees had to measure 26 to 30 inches at the large end and at the smaller, 18 to 21 inches, with a length from 75 to 100 feet.<sup>5</sup> Thus the amount of timber that could meet these exacting standards was limited and, consequently, brought good prices.

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<sup>1</sup> Statement made to the author by Willmer Griffin, July 28, 1953. Griffin rafted logs and spar timber on the Pascagoula in the years 1890-1915.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Journal No. 9, 1856-1862, pp. 20-40, Taylor-Myer Partnership, Calvin Taylor and Family Collection, Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. The collection includes part of the Calvin Taylor Diary, all of the Sereno Taylor Diary, journals, letters, cash books, business papers, wills, land deeds, papers relating to slave purchases, and miscellaneous papers. Much of the material pertains to the Taylor sawmills located at Handsboro, Miss.; statement made to the author by Alonzo Miles, July 1, 1954. Miles cut logs with an ax for Henry Leinhard in the late 1880s.

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin L. C. Wailes, *Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi* (Jackson, 1854), 348-349.

<sup>5</sup> Statement made to the author by Willmer Griffin.

Hewing spar timber into the required octagonal shape demanded special skills of the axman. Some spars had eight sides for one-sixth of their length, and on the remainder, four sides.<sup>6</sup> In shaping these spars, workmen marked off lines on the logs and hewed away the excess wood with broad axes. It was said of experienced choppers that they could hew a surface as smooth as that produced by a planing machine. Only an expert could work up one stick of spar timber in a single day.<sup>7</sup>

“Square timbers” were logs of four equal sides hewn from the largest and finest trees. This timber usually was marketed in foreign countries where it was used in heavy construction or sawed by overseas mills into smaller dimensions. Sawn timber differed from square timber only in that it was sawed instead of hewed into shape. Square timber, while less valuable than spars, brought higher prices than saw logs. In the early [1880s] sawn and square timber sold from eight to thirteen cents a cubic foot; after 1900 the price never fell below seventeen cents.<sup>8</sup>

Scattered throughout the longleaf forests of the Coastal Plain were large quantities of standing deadwood. All the sapwood in these logs had been withered away by time, weather, and fire, and the remaining wood was all clear heart, often of heavy resinous content. Dead timber of this kind was excellent material for railroad ties, bridges, and other structures requiring great strength and durability. The Piney Woods people used dead timber which they called “light’ood” for sills, house blocks, fence posts, and rails, and they sawed much of it into lumber. Its most important use came with the construction of railroads. Then hundreds of thousands of cross-ties were hewed from the big light’ood logs with a broad ax in a business employing large numbers of people.<sup>9</sup>

In the late [1880s], crosscut saws replaced axes in tree felling. Their introduction into the area was a major event, and people often gathered for miles around to witness a demonstration of what the new tool could accomplish. The first saws had been unsuccessful; kerf had clogged and

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Statement made to the author by John F. Hickman. George Leatherbury brought a crew of skilled Negro spar getters from Alabama to northern Harrison County, Miss., in 1892.

<sup>8</sup> *Northwestern Lumberman*, XXX (July 16, 1887), 18; *Lumber Trade Journal*, LXIV (July 15, 1903), 24; statement made to the author by Walter Barber, July 1, 1953. Barber has been an official of the L. N. Dantzler Lumber Company for the past forty-three years.

<sup>9</sup> Observations of the author. Stringers and sills of one dwelling still in use were said to have been cut by the author’s grandparents in 1870. Shipment of ties to overseas markets from Mobile was of considerable importance. The American Railway Engineering and Maintenance of Way Associations recommended that ties be 8” by 8”, ten feet in length. *Lumber Trade Journal*, XLIV (April 1, 1902), 22, 29.

choked them, and resin in yellow pine logs had formed a thick layer of gum on the saw teeth that prevented them from cutting. Subsequent improvements such as the inclusion of cutters which removed sawdust, and the practice of sprinkling kerosene on the teeth and sides of the saw to eliminate the heavy film of gum, made the tool practicable for sawing the southern pine.<sup>10</sup>

The crosscut saw, which required no special skill to pull, trebled labor productivity and lowered logging costs. In using the saw a notch was usually cut in the tree with an ax on the side toward which it was expected to fall. On the opposite side of the tree, slightly above the notch, the saw entered the wood. Wedges made of hickory were inserted in the gash made by the saw in order to lift the weight of the tree off the blade. These wedges prevented the saw from binding and helped the sawyers fell the tree in the desired direction.<sup>11</sup>

Bringing logs from the forest to the banks of streams before 1900 was accomplished by "caralogs" pulled usually by four yokes of oxen. The date when the first caralog appeared in Mississippi forests is a matter of conjecture. In the [1850s] or earlier, however, they were being used by Biloxi River and Bayou Bernard logmen.<sup>12</sup> In 1852, for instance, Benjamin Wailes observed that logs were hauled to streams with large cart wheels pulled by oxen.<sup>13</sup> The original caralog wheels, according to Etienne Maxson, were of small diameter and had a tread width of about four inches. Modifications introduced somewhat later by Usan Vaughan, a slave of Nezan Favre of Pearlinton, Mississippi, made the wagon practical for hauling logs in Mississippi. Vaughan's changes consisted of widening the tread and increasing the diameter of the wheels to more than seven feet. Wider treads helped prevent the cart from bogging down in low wet land, and high wheels made possible the transportation of logs of any size.<sup>14</sup>

All the parts of the caralog except its iron treads were manufactured in pioneer blacksmith shops scattered throughout the Piney Woods. The frame of the draketail caralog was constructed of one pine pole. The small

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<sup>10</sup> Statement of Willmer Griffin; statement of John F. Hickman.

<sup>11</sup> Observations of the author in the years 1920-1930. Even the most skillful of sawyers were not always able to determine in what direction the tree would fall. Because of this ever present danger workmen always had to be alert to move swiftly out of the path of falling timber and limbs dislodged from nearby trees.

<sup>12</sup> Miscellaneous Papers, Calvin Taylor and Family Collection.

<sup>13</sup> Wailes, *Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi*, 348-349.

<sup>14</sup> Etienne Maxson, *Progress of the Races* (Washington: Murry Brothers Printing Co., 1930), 10.

end of this pole extended out in front to form the tongue, and the other end split into two sections extended to the rear where a windlass was attached to hoist the log. The framework was balanced on the axle of the two-wheeled cart, and grab hooks were attached to it. In loading, the cart was stopped astraddle a log, and these hooks were dropped down to encircle the timber. The windlass hoisted one end of the log to the axle to be fastened, while the other end was allowed to rest on the ground. The maximum carrying capacity of the cart was limited to three small logs, or two large ones.<sup>15</sup>

After 1900 the caralog was outmoded by an eight wheel log wagon developed by John Lindsey of Laurel, Mississippi. Lindsey's wagon retained the caralog's wide treads, but decreased the diameter of the wheels by more than one-half and increased the number of wheels from two to eight. Bolsters were built above the wheels to hold the logs on the wagon. Logs were conveyed to the wagon bed formed by the bolsters on skids, one end of which rested upon the ground and the other on top of the wagon. The windlass and grasping hooks characteristic of the old caralogs were discarded. Oxen were used to pull the logs from the ground to the wagon bed. Lindsey's eight-wheel wagon more than doubled the carrying capacity of the older caralogs.<sup>16</sup>

Ox driving was one of the oldest occupations in the back country. In this region it was not unusual to see a youngster twelve to fourteen years of age driving oxen hitched to a caralog before he possessed the strength to lift the log up to the axle with the windlass. Many drivers seemed to have a special knack in getting oxen to obey. By talking to their charges, and on occasion, hitting them with long leather plaited whips, they obtained maximum performance.

The driver walked on the right flank of the team, usually half the distance between the rear oxen and the leaders. In this position he had a clear view of the road ahead and could maneuver the tongue steers to avoid obstructions. A well-trained team would completely reverse the direction of travel on the command of the driver. At the repeated command of "whoa back" the team turned to the left; or at the word "back" moved in an opposite direction. The tongue steers were usually the largest and most experienced animals on the team, and many of

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<sup>15</sup> Statement of Willmer Griffin; Cyril Edward Cain, *Four Centuries on the Pascagoula* (Starkville, Miss.: Private Printing, 1953), 145; statement of John F. Hickman.

<sup>16</sup> *Southern Lumberman*, CXCI (Dec. 15, 1956), 134; observations made by the author in Stone County during the years 1920-1930.

them themselves guided the wagons to prevent stalling against trees and stumps.<sup>17</sup>

Ox drivers were equipped with ox whips and cant hooks, later known as peavies. The whip, made of plaited cowhide, eight to twelve feet long was mounted on a slender stick from six to eight feet in length called the whip stock. A “popper,” made of dressed deerskin, was attached to the free end of the whip and provided cutting quality. With this long whip a driver could strike a recalcitrant ox, regardless of his position in the team. But one writer has stated that:

The skilled use of the ox whip was not so much in its application to the beasts of burden to make them pull, though this was as much of an art as the use of the whip in driving loose herds, but was in its manipulation by the driver for his own entertainment and the enjoyment of whoever might be in hearing distance.

An individual skilled in the use of the ox whip could make it crack like a rifle or boom like a cannon.<sup>18</sup>

The ox driver’s cant hook, about five feet in length, consisted of a wooden stock with a hook fastened to one end. Its principal function was to turn and manipulate logs. In 1858 Joseph Peavey, a Maine blacksmith, invented the peavey by combining a spike pole and a cant hook. The peavey soon was universally employed in both logging and rafting in South Mississippi.<sup>19</sup> The spike pole with a length of about sixteen feet consisted of a heavy hardwood stock with a sharp pointed steel spike attached to one end. It was a tool designed to manipulate logs into position and to raise sunken logs to the surface.

Large log camps housing fifty workers or more were virtually unknown before the construction of tramroads; in this early period an

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<sup>17</sup> Statements made to the author in the years 1920-1932 by many of the old-time ox drivers. For hauling logs oxen proved superior to mules and horses with either the caralogs or the eight wheel wagons. In wet country and swamps they were less susceptible to bogging than were other types of livestock. They also required less feed and, when not actually working, could be turned loose on the open range to graze without cost to their owners.

<sup>18</sup> Cain, *Four Centuries on the Pascagoula*, 129.

<sup>19</sup> Agnes M. Larson, *History of the White Pine Industry in Minnesota* (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1949), 78; ox drivers, unlike choppers and sawyers, were paid a daily wage. In the antebellum period some of the drivers got \$1.25 per day. Journal No. 9, 1856-1862, pp. 25-26, Taylor-Myers Partnership. However, average wages for most of the years 1840-1900 were much less, averaging from \$1.00 to \$2.50 per day. Pascagoula *Democrat Star*, July 8, 1882; Babe Fairley, a Negro who drove an ox team for many different people for more than thirty years, stated to the author Nov. 1, 1953, that wages of ox drivers varied from 75 cents per day to \$2.00 in the years 1885-1920.

average logging operation required only a few choppers and drivers. The temporary camps built to accommodate the loggers were the work of only a few hours. Often, if logging operations were located near the homes of settlers, lodgings for laborers were obtained from them for small sums. When no such housing was available, crude camps were built near streams so that water was easily obtainable for the men and livestock. The low, flat temporary structures characteristic of these camps had neither doors nor windows and were built up to a height of five feet by placing notched pine poles one upon the other. These crude huts were roofed with shingles cut by the workers. As the spaces between the poles were usually unsealed, the structures gave little protection against the chill of winter's wind. Indeed, the huts offered only a place for man to sleep protected from rain and sleet.<sup>20</sup>

In these camps food was cooked outdoors in iron pots suspended above an open fire. Small logging crews included no regular cook, and the workers prepared their own meals, which consisted of johnny cake, corn bread, dried beef or pork, dry lima beans, and molasses. Toward the end of the [nineteenth] century cooks were hired in the larger camps, and the logger's diet accordingly became more varied.<sup>21</sup>

At dawn or before the men roused, put on their heavy brogans, slipped on their home-made jeans and shirts, and started the activities of the day. Immediately after dressing the drivers hastened to the woods in search of the oxen that had been turned loose to graze during the night. After penning and yoking the work animals, the drivers ate breakfast and prepared the noon meal to be consumed in the woods. At nightfall the long work day ended. Supper was prepared for the men, and the oxen were fed small amounts of cotton seed meal. Perhaps an hour or so after nightfall, the men ended a full day of work and were soon asleep on a bed of leaves inside the pole hut.<sup>22</sup>

After the logs had been hauled to the banks of streams by the drivers, they were given a distinctive brand by the owner. One logman might use a large number of different brands to indicate on what stream the logs were rafted or from whom his purchases of timber had been made. Ordinarily both logging and rafting operations were conducted by the same individuals, but not always. Many contracts covered only one phase

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<sup>20</sup> Statement of John F. Hickman; statement of Alonzo Miles; statement of Babe Fairley.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*



of the process of bringing timber from the forests to the mills.<sup>23</sup>

Timber was floated down to tidewater on most streams in the Gulf Coast country. Rafting logs was practicable on any stream with banks four or five feet high that was wide enough for logs to be maneuvered. On the Southern Coastal Plain where the average annual rainfall was from forty to sixty inches, streams were frequently flooded, and logs in large quantities moved to the mill in every season of the year. Many wet-weather streams were temporarily adequate for floating timber during seasons of heavy rain, and in almost every locality of the pine country there was at least one small stream suitable for rafting logs.

The date when timber was first sent to the coast cannot be fixed with certainty. By 1840 sawlogs and spars in small numbers definitely were being sent down the larger streams.<sup>24</sup> The expansion of lumbering occurring in the late [1840s] undoubtedly must have increased the gathering of raw materials in the back country. The consumption of 86,600 logs in 1850 by Harrison County mills alone required the labor of a sizable group of loggers and rafters.<sup>25</sup>

During the 1850-1860 period thousands of logs were brought from the interior and manufactured into lumber by the coast sawmills. Wailes in 1852 stated that the Biloxi rivers were filled with logs.<sup>26</sup> He noted that logs were rolled into wet-weather streams and floated to the mills after the rains came.<sup>27</sup> He observed also that in low, flat country where no natural channels existed, ditches were cut miles in length, deep enough to accommodate logs floating single file. When the rains filled the small canals, the logs were pushed along by hand to their destinations.<sup>28</sup>

In the late [1850s] a considerable number of back country inhabitants

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<sup>23</sup> Ibid.; L. N. Dantzler Lumber Company Records, Moss Point Lumber Company Log Books, Vols. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 1892-1901. The log tallies show that one logman might have logs bearing as many as twenty different brands. L. N. Dantzler Lumber Company Records, Log Brand Record Book. This book contains a list of over 5,000 brands used on the Pascagoula and its tributaries in the years 1865-1930.

<sup>24</sup> *U. S. Census*, (1840), 236.

<sup>25</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, Seventh Census, (1850), Schedule No. 5, Products of Industry, manuscript returns for Clarke, Copiah, Covington, Greene, Hancock, Harrison, Jackson, Jasper, Jones, Lawrence, Marion, Perry, Pike, Simpson, Smith, and Wayne counties, in Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss.

<sup>26</sup> Benjamin L. C. Wailes, Notes in the Field No. 4, Diary, 35, in Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, Jackson, Miss. [Z/0076.000/S].

<sup>27</sup> Wailes, *Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi*, 349.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.; presumably the logs thus floated were spars; for ordinary sawlogs were cheap and fairly abundant near rafting streams throughout most of the antebellum period. Moreover, low, wet meadows of considerable areas were common only in the three coastal counties.



were supplying the mills of Calvin Taylor, S. S. Henry, and John Huddleston with logs. It may be assumed that the timber business was of considerable importance since the board of police of Harrison County was empowered by the state legislature to use the proceeds derived from swampland sales to render the streams suitable for rafting and navigation.<sup>29</sup>

When the freshets came, hundreds of men dropped their everyday tasks, hastened to the streams, and started the timber moving down stream to the tidewater mills. Rafting methods were generally determined by the size of streams and swiftness of currents. In the small crooked streams, which after heavy rains arose and subsided quickly, the logs were run loose. The sharp bends and curves characteristic of small streams made rafting exceedingly difficult, causing numerous jams and making impossible the floating of timber in rafts or bull pens. The rafters either rode the logs or walked along the banks and with their long spike poles and peaveys broke jams and kept the timber moving.<sup>30</sup>

On larger streams more elaborate methods of running logs had to be devised. Above the mouth of Red and Black creeks on the Pascagoula River, prior to construction of the large boom at Moss Point, logs were assembled into large rafts for floating down to Moss Point. A raft of this kind was built by uniting a number of cribs containing from ten to fifteen logs each. The logs in the crib lay parallel to one another and were held in place by a binder usually made of a hardwood pole. In forming the raft, cribs were tied together by ropes, holes for which were bored in both ends of the outside log of each crib. The ropes of about three feet in length were inserted in the holes and held in place by wooden pegs. The small vacant spaces thus left between the cribs lent flexibility to the raft and helped to prevent it from breaking up on striking an obstruction.<sup>31</sup>

A system of controlling logs less complicated and expensive than rafts

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<sup>29</sup> Journal No. 9, 1858-1862, pp. 5-200, Taylor-Myers Partnership; L. N. Dantzler Lumber Company Records, Miscellaneous Papers. Some of the papers concern the business affairs of S. S. Henry and show that twenty-five logmen in Harrison County were selling logs to the millman in 1858-1860; Eugene Hilgard, *Report on the Geology and Agriculture of Mississippi* (Jackson, Miss.: Barksdale State Printer, 1860), 382, 385; Mississippi, *Laws*, 1860, 354-55.

<sup>30</sup> Statement made to the author April 6, 1953, by Anderson Blackwell, who rafted logs on the Biloxi rivers in the 1880s; statement made by Miles, who also rafted on the Biloxi rivers; statement of John F. Hickman; statement made to the author by Daniel G. McQuagge, June 1, 1953.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.; Cain, *Four Centuries on the Pascagoula*, 146; Willard F. Bond, *The Life of Jim Broom* (Cleveland, Miss.: 1950), 8; statement of John F. Hickman; statement of Alonzo Miles; statement of Babe Fairley.

utilized the “bull pen,” which probably got its name from the pens used by cattlemen on the open range for marketing and branding their stock. This method of sending logs to the mills was practical below the mouth of Red and Black creeks, on the Pascagoula, Escatawpa, Biloxi, Wolf, and Jordan rivers where stream currents were relatively slow. One of the main penning points was at the lower end of Dead Lake immediately below the junction of Red and Black creeks. There a boom made of large square timbers chained together stretched from shore to shore. In the center of the boom was a slot of about fourteen feet in length that could be opened and closed at will. Above the slot was a runway upon which two crewmen stood. As logs passed through the slot underneath the catwalk, these men revolved the logs with their feet until the brands could be read. They then called out the brands, and other rafters, standing on chutes, guided the logs into appropriate pens. These pens were constructed by tying the ends of several logs together to form an enclosure of about one hundred log capacity.<sup>32</sup>

In general, floating rafts and bull pens were satisfactory on rivers having a rise of five or six feet. Such streams remained within their banks. Their currents were strong enough to move timber quickly downstream, and their depth of water was great enough to carry the rafts and bull pens safely over snags in the river bottom. A crewman rode on each raft steering it with a long pole with a flat board attached to the end. Often, however, he was unable to control the raft because of swift current. Moving at a rapid pace, out of control, the raft then would sometimes break up into sections if it encountered hard obstructions. For this reason men were stationed at sharp bends along the river, called check points, [to] assist the crewman on the raft. When the floating timber approached the check points, a rope was tossed from the raftsman to a man on shore who tied it to a tree. If the maneuver was successful, the pressure exerted by the rope caused the raft to swing clear of the land. If such efforts of the crewmen were unsuccessful, the logs traveling at a rapid pace ran headlong into the shore and broke up.<sup>33</sup>

In the years when rafting was at its peak, thousands of rafts and bull pens, often moving by night and day, could be seen on the rivers. So thick were the moving rafts, that they were seldom out of eyesight of one another from the junction of the Leaf and Chickasawhay to Moss Point.

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Statement of John F. Hickman; statement of Babe Fairley; statement of Willmer Griffin.

Traveling at night they made an unusual scene, for on each raft was a burning fire. To one old-time raftsman, it seemed that the reflection of the firelight on the water made the river appear to be in flames.<sup>34</sup>

Occasionally high waters came with little warning. In 1874 the rivers arose to a height not previously seen by living man. All the booms located at the mouths of the Pearl and Pascagoula rivers were broken up by logs pushed along by the strong currents. The heavy timbers on their way out to sea battered down the railroad bridges that spanned the mouths of the rivers. When the freshet subsided, logs were scattered all over the Mississippi Sound and in the low marshes adjacent to the shore line.<sup>35</sup>

Log jams, although frequent, seldom required more than a few hours to break. But a jam at the Pascagoula boom in 1900 was unusual and probably the largest ever formed on the river. The weight of hundreds of thousands of logs pushed down many of the pilings that had been driven to form the boom. The height of the jam at its base was from fifteen to twenty-five feet, and logs piled upon one another for seven or eight miles upriver. Rafters with saws, axes, peaveys, and jam poles cut a passageway for boats through the mass of logs in about two weeks, but over forty days elapsed before all the stranded logs were removed.<sup>36</sup>

Rafting was seldom dangerous in the Mississippi pine country. Northerners writing of hazardous rafting in the Lake States have stated that the jams were broken by finding and removing the “key log,” and that to remove it was a dangerous operation. The southern rafters broke many jams, but were unacquainted with the “key log.” Drowning was about the only danger that threatened the riverman, and tragedies of this kind were few. Diseases caused by exposure to extremes of heat, cold, and rain accounted for more casualties among lumbermen than those resulting from bodily injuries.<sup>37</sup>

The number of logs sent down the streams grew with the years. One observer reported in 1880 that logs were being brought to Moss Point from as far away as southern Covington County. On the Pearl most of the timber at this time came from Marion and Hancock counties. In addition, large quantities were taken from Washington and St. Tammany parishes in Louisiana. He reported that superior trees were becoming

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Pascagoula *Democrat Star*, June 4, 1874.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., May 4, 1900; Hickman, who helped break the jam, stated that more than forty days elapsed before all the stranded logs were moved down the river; *American Lumberman*, (April 28, 1900), 38.

<sup>37</sup> Statement of John F. Hickman; statement of Babe Fairley; statement of Willmer Griffin.

scarce near many rafting streams, but that, in inaccessible areas, the quality and great abundance of virgin timber was astonishing. Many of the people of the Piney Woods had given up their agricultural pursuits for those connected with lumbering.<sup>38</sup>

By the early [1890s] the enormous amounts of timber coming downriver forced the Moss Point-Pascagoula lumbermen to devise a more elaborate method of booming and sorting logs. In 1893 all the large millmen at the mouth of the Pascagoula and a few up-country logmen were issued a charter of incorporation for the Pascagoula Boom Company. The boom extended up East River from Moss Point five miles. Piling spaced a few feet apart were driven midway in the river for the total distance. East Pascagoula River was then divided into two parts, one left open for navigable boats, the other enclosed for storage of logs. Sorting works adjacent to the boom were constructed so that logs might be separated according to owners. Almost all the logs except a small percentage that went down West River were caught in the boom.<sup>39</sup>

The hey-day of rafting was in the years 1890-1910. In some years more than a half-million logs floated down to the mills located in the Moss Point-Pascagoula district. Rafting as a means of log transportation began to decline after 1910. By that time most of the floating timber located near rafting streams had been cut and a large percentage of the remaining inferior timber sank when rolled into creeks and rivers. The sunken logs known as "deadheads" remained in a perfect state of preservation if totally submerged under the surface of water. Deadheads formed an important source of raw materials for the mills in the years 1915-1930. By 1930 only a small amount of timber was being rafted to the tidewater mills.<sup>40</sup>

Lumbering by the early [1880s] had become the main occupation of the back country people. Almost everyone either directly or indirectly had come to depend upon logging and rafting for necessities. Living on small farms which produced only enough feed for a horse and a few head of livestock, the back country inhabitants devoted most of their labor to timber work. Farming was something to engage in during a part of the

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<sup>38</sup> Charles S. Sargent, "Report on the Forest Trees of North America Exclusive of Mexico," *House Documents* No. 42, 47 Cong., 2 Sess., 531-32. Dr. Charles Mohr of Mobile wrote the report for Mississippi.

<sup>39</sup> Pascagoula *Democrat Star*, April 14, 1893.

<sup>40</sup> L. N. Dantzer Lumber Company Records, Moss Point Lumber Company Records; Log Books, 1892-1915; statement of John F. Hickman; statement of Walter Barber.

summer when lumbering was at a minimum. Bostick Breland, writing of the early [1880s], said:

Saw logs were the chief commodity of value, and they were floated down the various streams to Moss Point and other places where they were sold for a song. Few realized any cash money out of the business, but were satisfied if they got plenty of pickled pork, cheap family flour, coffee, brogan shoes, and a jug of joy.<sup>41</sup>

The physical hardships and discomfort that went with rafting were accepted without complaint. The spirit of adventure that came with running logs was felt by old and young alike. Youths looked forward with eagerness to the time that they would be permitted to ride a raft of logs to Moss Point. To be a member of a rafting crew and to participate in a log drive was to youngsters one of the steps on the road to maturity. Old men, after their rafting days were over, never tired of recounting the experiences that were so deeply mirrored in their consciousness. Most of them said of all the tasks that they had done, rafting was the best loved. A few were heard to say, after the last logs had gone down the river, that if they knew of another country like that which had once existed on the Pascagoula, they would go there immediately.<sup>42</sup>

The rafters were a vigorous and hearty breed. In the early days, after making the long exhausting journeys downriver to the mills, they returned to their homes, often more than a hundred miles, on foot. One logman claimed to have covered the sixty miles distance between Pascagoula and his home on foot between the hours of daylight and dark of a single summer day.<sup>43</sup> Rafters journeying to Covington County went by train from Moss Point to Mississippi City, and then walked the rest of the distance of more than one hundred miles.<sup>44</sup> After the construction of the New Orleans and Northeastern Railroad, the men went by train to New Orleans and then north by the new line. Those from Clarke County went by train to Mobile,

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<sup>41</sup> Bostick Breland, unpublished manuscript, 125, in possession of Houston Breland, Wiggins, Miss. [when this article was published in 1957]. Breland was a correspondent for the Pascagoula *Democrat Star* and the Biloxi *Daily Herald* during the years 1880–1940.

<sup>42</sup> Statement of John F. Hickman; statement of Babe Fairley; statement of Willmer Griffin.

<sup>43</sup> Statement of John F. Hickman.

<sup>44</sup> Statement made to the author by Melvin Pridgen, April 3, 1954. Pridgen's father, a resident of Covington County, rafted logs on the Bouie and Pascagoula rivers, 1870–1895.

thence to their homes on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad.<sup>45</sup>

Running logs, although at its peak in late winter and early spring, went on throughout the year whenever water was available. In the dead of winter, with temperatures below freezing, logs were ridden by men, usually ill-equipped to withstand the inclemency of the weather. But in spite of long periods of exposure to cold weather, few became seriously ill. Indeed, men suffered less in winter than in the summer season because sleeping at night during hot weather was all but impossible. In the low ground near creek and river banks millions of mosquitoes literally filled the air. Lack of protection against mosquitoes made malaria prevalent among the rafters; fortunate indeed were the few who escaped chills and fever. Occasionally when a yellow fever epidemic struck the coast, infected logmen carried the deadly scourge into the interior.<sup>46</sup>

In the years 1890-1910 hundreds of men were employed on the rivers and streams rafting logs and heavy timbers to the tidewaters mills. The logging and rafting business brought economic opportunities to the people of a large section of the state where ways of earning a livelihood had been previously limited to herding and hunting. Although the scale of wages was comparatively low, many of the Piney Woods people acquired considerable holdings of land and timber. A few of the loggers and rafters accumulated capital and a knowledge of the lumber industry that enabled them to become large-scale lumber producers. Marketing of timber bordering the streams was the initial step in the full-scale exploitation of the forests of the longleaf pine country.

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid.; statement made to the author Nov. 10, 1953, by Clyde Ward, who rafted logs on the Escatawpa and Pascagoula rivers in the years 1885-1912.

<sup>46</sup> Statement of Willmer Griffin; statement of Alonzo Miles; statement of Babe Fairley; statement of John F. Hickman.

# **Recent Manuscript Accessions at Mississippi Colleges and University Libraries, 2015–2016**

*Compiled by Jennifer Ford*

This is the thirty-ninth annual compilation citing manuscript acquisitions to appear in *The Journal of Mississippi History*. The collections listed below were acquired by libraries during 2015-2016. Unless otherwise noted, all collections are open to researchers.

103rd Infantry Division Association of WWII Research Collection. Accretion. [six additions] three cubic feet of materials were added to the 103d Infantry Division Association of WWII Research Collection by various association members. These materials include documents, photographs, morning reports, general orders, narratives, books, flags, and plaques. The 103rd Infantry Division was activated in November 1942 and spent nearly two years training in Texas and Louisiana. The division was comprised of three infantry regiments along with several supporting units. The 103rd landed at Marseilles, France, in October 1944 and attacked west through southern France and through the Vosges Mountains into Germany and assaulted the outer defenses of the Siegfried Line and prior to reaching the Rhine Valley. In April 1945, it liberated the Kaufering concentration camp, a sub camp of Dachau. The division next crossed the Danube River into Austria and linked up at the Brenner Pass over the Italian/Austrian border with the 88th Infantry Division which had been advancing north from Italy. After Victory in Europe Day, the 103rd performed occupational duties and returned to the U. S. to be deactivated in September 1945. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

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

Boyce Adams Collection. Accretion. c. 1900-1930. Four folders. Currently closed for processing. Primarily consists of correspondence, as well as newspaper clippings and ephemera related to this former UM student, WWI soldier, Cedar Mound Plantation, and the Mississippi Delta. Donated by Paul Grass. General Manuscripts, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Jennie and Lucia Adams Collection. Accretion. c. 1900-1930. Two folders. Currently closed for processing. Primarily consists of correspondence, as well as newspaper clippings and ephemera related to the Adams family, Cedar Mound Plantation, and the Mississippi Delta. Donated by Paul Grass. General Manuscripts, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Lee Annis Collection. Dr. Lee Annis is the author of *Big Jim Eastland: The Godfather of Mississippi* (2016), a biography of U. S. Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi. The six boxes in the collection contains Annis's research notes, including notes of oral interviews, recordings, and manuscripts of the book. Modern Political Archive, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

John Robinson Block-MaxxSouth Broadband Collection. Sixty books. 1801-1898. This collection contains Mississippi Territorial laws and early laws of the State of Mississippi. Seven of the volumes of Mississippi Territorial laws, all published in Natchez before 1816, are the only known complete existing copies. Gift of John Robinson Block-MaxxSouth Broadband. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Mississippiana.

Blues CD Collection. Accretion. Gift of nine CD's of blues bands from Argentina. Donated by Gabriel Grätzer and Martín Sassone. Blues Archive, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.



Blues Poster Collection. Accretion. 1987-2014. Consists of thirty-eight Blues posters donated by Bonnie Stebbins. Blues Archive, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Congressman David R. Bowen Papers. Accretion. One cubic foot. 1974-2015. Open collection: Additional materials in process. Correspondence, photographs, speeches, and calling cards collected by Congressman Bowen during his career in the United States House of Representatives. This addition also includes editorial columns authored by Bowen for various Mississippi newspapers. Donated by David R. Bowen. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Congressional and Political Research Center.

Sr. Thea Bowman Collection. .33 cubic feet. 1963-2002. Collection contains the card catalog for Bowman's library; research notes and correspondence; news clippings, periodicals. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

Herschel Brickell Collection. Accretion. Ca. 1930s-1950s. Collection currently closed for processing. Consists of original correspondence between Mississippi literary critic Herschel Brickell and author Margaret Mitchell. General Manuscripts, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Stewart "Bebe" Bridgforth Collection. Approximately three cubic feet. 1942-1959 and undated. Collection contains correspondence, two Nazi flags (one inscribed by American soldiers), photographs, periodicals. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

Broadside Collection. Accretion. Bill Dunlap Limited Edition Print. Hand signed print of "Mr. Faulkner's Defunct Apple Tree" Number 52 out of 200. Donated by Dr. Ed Meek. General Manuscripts, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Louis B. Brock Collection. 1950-2016. This collection contains 2,000 fine press and autographed books. Gift of Louis B. Brock. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Mississippiana.

Carl and Dixie Butler Collection. 1803-2011. This collection contains over 1,800 books and pamphlets. Strengths of the collection are Mississippi history, southern history, and southern architecture. No restrictions. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Mississippiana.

Dr. D. J. Canale Civil War Monograph Collection. Accretion. Gift of first edition of Edward P. Alexander's *Military Memoirs of a Confederate*. Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Dr. D. J. Canale Yellow Fever Collection. Accretion. Gift of an 1839 imprint of Pierre Louis' *Anatomical, Pathological and Therapeutic Researches on the Yellow Fever of Gibraltar of 1828* and an 1892 first edition of Benjamin Rush's *Old Family Letters Relating to the Yellow Fever, Series B*. Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Kalar Coody Memorabilia Collection. <1 linear foot. 1935-1980. Collection contains memorabilia, photographs, and clippings from Ms. Coody's college years at The W and Alumni Association material from subsequent years. Donated by Kent Jultz with no restrictions. Mississippi University for Women.

Demonstration School Record Group. Five linear feet. c. 1970s-2002. Collection contains office records, photographs, and memos from the Demonstration School, which was run by the Industrial Institute and College/Mississippi State College for Women/Mississippi University for Women from 1907-2005. Transferred from vacant Demonstration School Building with no restrictions. Mississippi University for Women.

Dixie Darlings Alumnae Association Historical Collection. Accretion. 2.25 cubic feet of materials that document the University of Southern Mississippi's Dixie Darlings from their inception in 1954 through their 2014 reunion. Two former Dixie Darlings, Anne S. Larman and Gwen Vanderfin, started this collection. They donated photographs, newspaper clippings and magazine articles, posters, display boards, and various memorabilia items that chronicle their participation in games, nationally televised events, the formation of the Dixie Darlings Alumnae Association, their trip to New York for the Macy's Thanksgiving Day Parade, and their trip to London to perform in the New Year's Day Parade. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Duncan and Blackwell Family Papers. Approx. Five cubic feet. 1803 - early 20th century (bulk mid-to-late 19th century). Consists of correspondence, wills, slave receipts, Bible, photographs, and other family papers. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

Farrell Family Papers. Approximately one cubic foot. 1906-1943. Consists of correspondence, clippings, periodicals, photographs, postcards. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

Gregory E. Favre Collection. Accretion. Twenty cubic feet of various materials, including newspapers, political campaign buttons, scrapbooks, and photographs, from Favre's career as journalist and media executive c. 1944-2015. Donated by Greg and Bea Favre. Favre grew up working on his family newspaper in Mississippi, *The Sea Coast Echo*. His first daily newspaper job was in the sports department of the *Jackson (MS) State Times*. His extensive career would eventually include positions as: assistant sports editor of the *Jacksonville Journal*, assistant sports editor of the *Atlanta Journal*, managing editor of the *Dayton Daily News*, editor of the *Palm Beach Post*, news director of WPLG-TV in Miami, editor of the *Corpus Christi Caller-Times*, managing editor of the *Chicago Daily News*, managing editor of the *Chicago Sun Times*, and executive editor of *The Sacramento Bee*. He was vice president/

news for McClatchy Newspapers from January 1990 until his retirement in 2001. Mr. Favre is a past president and director of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, past president of the California Society of Newspaper Editors, and a distinguished fellow at The Poynter Institute. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Bettye Forbes Collection. .33 cubic feet. 1788-1927. Contains sheet music, fashion periodicals, two printed legal books in Italian. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

Harriet Bynum Fourniquet Collection. .33 cubic feet. 1825-1879. Contains correspondence, photographs, clippings, artifacts. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

Judge John J. Fraiser Papers. Fifty-six cubic feet. 1942-2010. Closed collection: in process. This collection is comprised of seven cubic feet of Judge Fraiser's papers, which include personal information related to his education, his service in WWII, and his career as an attorney and judge in the state of Mississippi. There are two boxes of photographs spanning Judge Fraiser's years in WWII to his retirement from the Mississippi State Court of Appeals. Finally, there are more than forty boxes of books, primarily law and code books. In addition, the MSU Libraries conducted three oral histories with Judge Fraiser which are being transcribed. Donated by John J. Fraiser. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Congressional and Political Research Center.

The Tom Goode Collection (A2016-16). Twenty-nine cubic feet. 1958-2014. This collection contains plaques, photographs, playbooks, film, monographs, footballs, trophies, diplomas, uniform jerseys, and newspaper clippings of Goode's distinguished career as a professional football player that began after his graduation from Mississippi State University. In addition to honors as the Miami Dolphins' Most Valuable Player in 1967, the Most Outstanding Offensive Lineman in 1966 and 1969, and a Pro Bowler in 1969,

Goode became the first player from Mississippi State to win a Super Bowl—with the Baltimore Colts in Super Bowl V. Following his retirement from the National Football League, Goode served in a number of positions from offensive coach to head coach and athletic director for various athletic organizations until his retirement in 2003: Mississippi State University, the Calgary Stampeders of the Canadian Football League, Vanderbilt University, the University of Alabama, Ole Miss, and the East Mississippi Community College. Donated by Tom Goode. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Mississippi State University Archives.

William C. Grizzle Collection. 1861-1863. Currently closed for processing. Collection contains seven letters written between 1861-1863 by William C. Grizzle, a Calhoun County, Mississippi soldier serving in the 4<sup>th</sup> Mississippi Infantry Regiment, Company F. Donated by Mrs. Dorothy Grizzle Hodges. General Manuscripts, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

John Hailman Papers. Twenty cubic feet. 1970-2015. Closed collection: in process. Correspondence, speeches, legal testimony, and subject files related to the political, legal, and writing career of former United States Senator John C. Stennis staff member John Hailman. The collection also includes the research files for Hailman's numerous books on the history of wine-making at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello and his memoirs related to his work as a prosecutor in North Mississippi. Donated by John Hailman. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Congressional and Political Research Center.

*Harper's Weekly* Print Collection. 1.5 cubic feet. 1863-1968. A collection of complete issues and individual political cartoons from *Harper's Weekly* magazine from 1863 to 1868. Donated By Dr. George Rable, University of Alabama. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library.

Evans Harrington Collection. Accretion. c. 1950s-1990s. Currently closed for processing. Collection consists of correspondence, original

manuscript drafts, and ephemera related to this Mississippi author and University of Mississippi English professor. Donated by Donna Vinson. General Manuscripts, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Hattiesburg Historical Collection. Accretion. Four items were added to this eclectic collection by various donors. The accretion includes a leather coaster with the seal of the City of Hattiesburg, undated; show poster for Blair High School's presentation of "Annie Get Your Gun" in the Blair Center Auditorium, with artwork by Brian Blair, undated; land abstract prepared and continued for Lots 2 & 3 in Block 156 of Kemper and Whinery survey, extension and addition to the City of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, c. 1926-1956; and a photograph of three Hattiesburg citizens who attend Temple Baptist Church at a conference in Atlanta, Georgia, c. 1992. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Berch Henry Collection. .5 cubic feet. 1946-1974. This collection consists of correspondence, memos, telegrams, clippings, pamphlets, publications, and photographs from Forester, Berch Henry and United States Senator John C. Stennis regarding the Forestry Research Center in Mississippi, from 1946 to 1974. Donated by Bill Henry. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Congressional and Political Research Center.

Henry Emil Hoffmeister Research Collection. One linear foot. 2016. Personal notes and research about Henry Emil Hoffmeister, Professor of Photography and first head of Photography Department from 1901-1908. Donated by Emilie White with no restrictions. Mississippi University for Women.

Dr. A. B. Holder Collection. Approximately eight cubic feet. 1877-1894. Collection contains medical casebook, research files, photographs from Montana Crow reservation, diaries, artifacts. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

Captain Joel Hughes Collection. c. 1859-1862. One linear ft. Currently closed for processing. Collection contains correspondence, as well as images of Joel Hughes and his family. Hughes was a member of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Mississippi Battalion and would die during the battle of Shiloh. The correspondence is primarily between Hughes and his wife Elizabeth Hughes. Gift of Byrle Sims Murry, Lisa S. Sims, and Edgar Earl Sims. General Manuscripts, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Paul B. Johnson Family Papers M191. Accretion. One DVD user copy was made of a reel-to-reel audio tape that had been previously closed to researchers. The content is the Jack White Interview made in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, on March 26, 1964. It was previously thought to be a parole hearing for Jack White. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Charles McKeithen Collection. Accretion. Six items were donated by Mr. Charles McKeithen. Five of those are reprinted photographs of the operations of the W. M. McKeithen and Son Sawmill c. 1920s and 1940s. There is also a brief history of House, Mississippi, written in 1936 by Mrs. Sidney B. Schamber. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Arthur McKinstry Civil War Correspondence. .5 cubic feet. 1861-1988. This collection consists of thirty-seven pieces of correspondence from Arthur McKinstry, a private in the New York State Volunteers 72nd Regiment, Co. D during the American Civil War, to various family members. The other thirteen pieces consist of correspondence surrounding the death and burial of Arthur McKinstry. The bulk of the material spans 1861-1862, with additional correspondence from 1900 and 1988, respectively, concerning McKinstry's burial at Yorktown. Donated by Frances Oakley. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library.

Andrews (Alfred P.) Sylvester Magee Research Collection. Accretion. One DVD user copy was made of four audio interviews, each approximately two hours long, titled "The Sylvester Magee

Story” recorded in May of 1965 by A. P. Andrews. Topics include Sylvester Magee’s age, being born a slave, being Union soldier during the Civil War, controversy concerning his age, his 1965 124<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration, and his trip to New York. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Sylvester Magee Images. Eighteen digital images were donated in the name of Mrs. Sallie Mae Corley by her son, Mr. John Corley. These photographs were taken by the Corley family and friends when Sylvester Magee lived across the street from them, c. 1965-67. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Patricia Marton Collection. Accretion. One cubic foot of materials were donated by Patricia Marton including a student directory, yearbooks, *Tammy Howl* news magazines, photographs, scrapbook, correspondence, and memorabilia from her time as a student at Gulf Park College, c. 1953-54. Also includes correspondence between all four 1953-54 suite mates from Gulf Park College c. 1990-2015. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

The Ed Meek and Meek School of Journalism and New Media Collection. Accretion. c. 1960s-1970s. Currently closed for processing. Collection consists of photographs taken by Dr. Ed Meek. Many of the images are original photographs of William Faulkner, First Monday in Ripley, Mississippi, as well as other Mississippi scenes. Donated by Dr. Ed Meek. Visual Collections, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Dr. Ed Meek Exchange Club Collection. Three linear feet. c. 1967. Collection currently closed for processing. Contains photographs, ephemera, and correspondence related to a 1967 Exchange Club trip. Gift of Dr. Ed Meek. General Manuscripts, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Mississippi Association of Educational Office Personnel Higher Education Division Records. Accretion. Three cubic feet plus thirty-



three items were donated by Jewel Adams. These were photographs in print, negative and CD form, notebooks, publications and files from various meetings and conventions, c. 1998 – 2014. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Dr. Dennis Mitchell Collection. Two cubic feet. 2004-2006 and undated. Consists of correspondence and research files related to Junior Colleges in Mississippi, 1976-1997, and A/V materials related to renovations of the Grand Opera House. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

Bobby Moak Collection. A Democrat, Bobby Moak represented District 93 and District 53 in the Mississippi House of Representatives from 1984 to 2016. He chaired the Investigative State Offices Committee in 2000-2003 and the Gaming Committee from 2004 to 2011. Moak served as Democratic Minority Leader from 2012 to 2016. The thirty-three boxes in the collection contains files from his service in public office and his political campaigns. The collection is open to the public. Modern Political Archive, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

State Senator C. R. "Bob" Montgomery Papers. Accretion. Nine cubic feet. 1979-2015. Open Collection, Additional materials in process. Correspondence, news clippings, photographs, and other documents related to the political career of Mississippi legislator Bob Montgomery. This is an addition to the existing Bob Montgomery papers. Donated by Bob Montgomery. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Congressional and Political Research Center.

Kent Moorhead Collection. Accretion. Collection consists of photographs, slides, and research materials from photographer Kent Moorhead. Gift of Kent Moorhead. Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Willie Morris Small Manuscript Collection. Accretion. Two items. 1994. An original copy of a reading list and check created by

Mississippi author Willie Morris for Elizabeth Ogden Janke. Gift of Elizabeth Ogden Janke. General Manuscripts, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Hank Moseley Papers. Twenty-eight cubic feet. 1967-2015. Closed collection: in process. This collection consists of correspondence, news clippings, books, memorabilia, military regalia, and photographs related to the military and political career of Hank Moseley, congressional staffer to Congressmen G. V. "Sonny" Montgomery, Chip Pickering, and Gregg Harper. Donated by Hewett and Allen Moseley. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Congressional and Political Research Center.

Museum Collection. Accretion. Undated. Materials consist of swords and daggers from Brian Primack's African artifacts collection. The collection includes three full-size Tuareg Swords, Twelve daggers and knives, and one spear. Margaret Walker Center, Jackson State University.

Mystic Krewe of Zeus of Hattiesburg Records. Accretion. .25 cubic foot of memorabilia was donated by Garland Sullivan that pertains to the 2015-2016 coronation festivities of the Mystic Krewe of Zeus of Hattiesburg, Mississippi. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Mamie and Ellis Nassour Arts & Entertainment Collection. Accretion. c. 1950s-2016. The archival component of this collection contains signed Broadway posters, unsigned posters from the stage and screen, a theatrical mask, theatre publications, and collateral materials related to the entertainment industry. General Manuscripts, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Neilson's Department Store Collection. Sixty-three ledgers. c. 1870s-1990s. Currently closed for processing. The collection contains the accounting ledgers from Neilson's Department Store located in Oxford, Mississippi, since 1839. Donated by Will Lewis. General Manuscripts, Department of Archives & Special

Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Newspaper Collection M171. Accretion. One edition of *Harper's Weekly*, September 23, 1865, Vol. IX, No. 456, pp. 593-608, was added from Jim Magglos. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Congressman Alan Nunnelee Papers. Seven cubic feet. 1984-2015. This collection is comprised of materials related to the life and political career of former Congressman Alan Nunnelee. The collection includes correspondence, news clippings, memoranda, photographs, and memorabilia accrued during his time in the Mississippi Legislature and the United States House of Representatives. This collection also includes a number of electronic documents related to constituent correspondence and issue-related materials. Donated by Tori Nunnelee. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Congressional and Political Research Center.

Oak-Ayr Farms Collection. Approximately sixty cubic feet. 1943-1999. Collection contains correspondence, photographs, artifacts, farm and family records. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

Photograph Collection. Accretion. c. 1950s. Image of the first service station in Oxford, Mississippi. Donated by Barbara H. Duke. Visual Collections, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Sterling Plumpp Collection. Accretion. Gift consists of nine signed (some inscribed) books authored by Nadine Gordimer, manuscripts, and several additional inscribed first edition works. General Manuscripts, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Postcard Collection M36. Accretion. Fifty-nine postcards were added from various donors, most are contemporary from New Orleans, Louisiana; Denver, Colorado; and various places in

California. One is of a World War I officer standing with his horse in front of an unidentified building at Camp Shelby with caption on front "Acting Commanding General, Camp Shelby, Hattiesburg, Miss." William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

The János Radványi Collection (A2016-59). Eighteen cubic feet. 1957-2012. Consists of photographs, monographs, correspondence, business cards, awards, posters, manuscripts and newspaper clippings pertaining to Radványi's personal life and his work in the environment, diplomacy, and international security. A native of Budapest, Hungary, Radványi's distinguished career at Mississippi State University began shortly after his defection to the United States in 1967 while serving as the head of the Hungarian Embassy in Washington D.C. Founding the Center for International Security Strategic Studies and the Executive Lecture Forum at MSU in 1982, and working with environmental and diplomatic relations between many countries defined Radványi's life and efforts towards the improvement of global relations. MSU honored his lifetime achievement in 2012. Donated by the Radványi family. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Mississippi State University Archives.

John Rankin Collection. Accretion. The family of John Rankin donated photographs and memorabilia to the already held papers of this Mississippi member of the U. S. House of Representatives from 1921 to 1953 where he served on the Veterans' Affairs Committee and chaired the World War Veterans' Legislation Committee. The collection of 1,010 boxes is currently closed to researchers. However, as conditions of the original gift have been met, the archives intends to prioritize processing and open the collection to the public by the end of 2017 or early 2018. Modern Political Archive, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Recipe Collection. Accretion. .25 cubic foot of recipes from various donors, handwritten and clipped, c. 1980s and 1990s. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Reveler Social Club Collection. One linear foot plus two linear feet of oversize records. 1987-2011. Collection contains photographs, composites, ephemera, and other objects from the Reveler Social Club, one of numerous social clubs exclusive to Mississippi University for Women. Donated by Rachel Damms on behalf of the Reveler Social Club with no restrictions. Mississippi University for Women.

Lauren Rogers Museum of Art Postcard Collection. 4.6 cubic feet of an extensive collection of early twentieth century postcards from around the world was transferred from the Lauren Rogers Museum of Art. The majority of the collection is assumed to be from the collection of Mrs. Eugene V. Worth of Clinton, Iowa. A smaller portion is assumed to have been collected and arranged by Ella M. Bradley, Librarian, through donations to the Lauren Rogers Museum of Art. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Roy R. Ross Collection. One linear foot. Collection contains several items from University of Mississippi alumnus, Roy R. Ross, the first student in Mississippi to receive a BS PhC degree. Materials in this gift include Ross's University of Mississippi diplomas, campus fraternity photograph, as well as his Delta Psi certificate. Donated by Jean Moncrief, Beverly Bryant, Lamar Ross, and Barbara Ross. General Manuscripts, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

John Bishop Seavey Collection. Eight cubic feet and 257 rolled drawings. 1843-1989, bulk 1960s-70s. Collection contains architectural drawings and project files, architecture periodicals, one printed book. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

The Marian Seldes Actors Fund subseries. Accretion. This gift contains several Broadway posters, signed by their respective casts given by The Actors Fund. This donation is a part of the Mamie and Ellis Nassour Arts & Entertainment Collection. General

Manuscripts, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

William M. Shoemaker Collection. Accretion. c. 1890-1980s. Three linear feet. Collection consists of six scrapbooks containing assorted photographs of the Shoemaker family of Mississippi. Gift of Robert Hume. General Manuscripts, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.

Henry and Sue [Lorenzi] Sojourner Papers M502. Accretion. Currently closed. Nineteen cubic feet of materials which document the Southern Rural Research Project during the Civil Rights Movement in Holmes County, Mississippi, c. 1960s, was added by Sue Sojourner. This collection is currently being processed so it is closed at this time. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Southern Tourism Collection M448. Accretion. .50 cubic foot of various brochures, booklets, and maps pertaining to tourism in Mississippi and/or the greater southeastern region of the United States were donated by various donors. Includes brochures from the William J. Clinton Presidential Center. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Sarah B. Holder Stewart Collection. .33 cubic feet. 1904-1927. Collection contains correspondence, UDC publications and other materials, and a photograph. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

Eugenia Summer Collection. Two linear feet plus oversize. 1970-2002. New collection, no accruals expected. Collection contains correspondence, clippings, university publications, exhibit information, awards, college memorabilia, and other records relating to the collegiate, professional, and instructional life of the late Eugenia Summer, professor emerita of art at Mississippi University for Women. Donated by Beverly Joyce and Carolyn Pope with no restrictions. Mississippi University for Women.

Dr. Julius Eric Thompson Papers. Sixty-five linear feet. 1968-2007. Collection contains archival material, consisting of letters, manuscripts, personal items, newspaper clippings, books, teaching material, research material and other items that document the life and work of scholar, teacher, poet, Dr. Julius Eric Thompson. Margaret Walker Center, Jackson State University.

Neely Tucker Collection. Approximately twelve cubic feet. 1985-2016. Consists of reporter's notebooks, research files, clippings, photographs, datebooks, edited galleys, correspondence, printed books. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

Sidney E .L., Jr., Ed.D. and Martha Weatherford Collection. Accretion. One cubic foot of material was donated by Dr. and Mrs. Sidney E. L. Weatherford, Jr., both retired from the University of Southern Mississippi. Dr. Weatherford donated material from his father's, S. E. L. Weatherford, Sr., time as a student at Mississippi Normal College, c. 1920s. Mrs. Martha Weatherford donated yearbooks from the Faculty Wives' Club/USM Women's Club, c. 1961-1994. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

Weaver Insurance Agency Collection. Three cubic feet. 1916-1970s. Collection contains business and financial records. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

Wayne Weidie Papers. Accretion. One cubic foot, 2015-2016. Closed collection: in process. A collection of political columns written by Wayne Weidie. Donated by Wayne Weidie. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Congressional and Political Research Center.

Edward J. Welty Cartoons. 1.33 cu feet. 1960s. Collection consists of 648 golf-themed editorial cartoons. Mississippi State University Libraries Special Collections, Manuscripts Division.

Andrew A. Wiest Collection M498. Accretion. Twelve topographic maps of Vietnam and Laos showing roads, railroads, bridges, ferries, built-up areas, villages, monuments, boundaries, area names, airfields, water features and vegetation were donated by Dr. Andrew Wiest. Includes part of series L8020, 1501 Air, L7014, and L7015 with information as of 1965. William D. McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi.

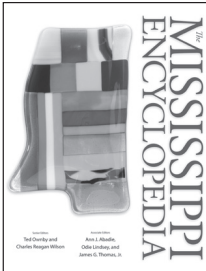
Jefferson Washington Wilkinson Correspondence. One item. January 4, 1862. A letter from Jefferson Washington Wilkinson, Sr. to his wife Amelia Rivanna Toler Wilkinson, written January 4, 1862, on the Mississippi Gulf Coast. Donated by Mike Anders. Mississippi State University Libraries, Special Collections, Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library.

Tyrone K. Yates/John F. Kennedy Collection. Accretion. This collection consists largely of John F. Kennedy campaign material and memorabilia and includes a number of items related to other presidents and political campaigns. The collection is open to researchers. Modern Political Archive, Department of Archives & Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries.





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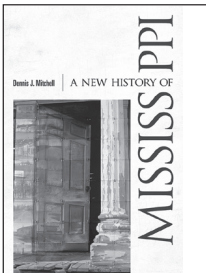


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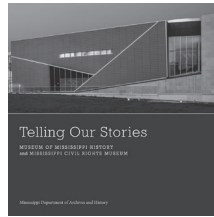
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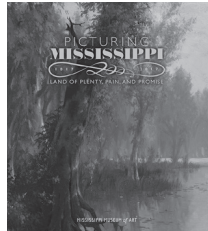
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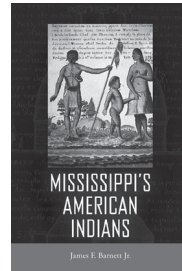
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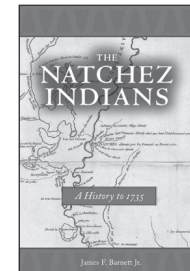
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### NOTE TO PROSPECTIVE CONTRIBUTORS

Initial submissions should be made to editor Dennis J. Mitchell, [dmitchell@meridian.msstate.edu](mailto:dmitchell@meridian.msstate.edu) or P.O. Box 571, Jackson, MS 39205-0571. Preferred manuscript length is 25–30 pages (double-spaced), exclusive of footnotes. The *Journal* encourages the inclusion of illustrations—photographs, drawings, maps, tables—that enhance the essay.

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

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