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COVER IMAGE - Francis Shallus Map, "The State Of Mississippi and Alabama Territory," courtesy of the Alabama Department of Archives and History. The original source is the Birmingham Public Library Cartography Collection.

Compiled by Jennifer Ford

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Introduction

By Dennis J. Mitchell

Nearing my completion of *A New History of Mississippi*, I was asked to serve as editor of *The Journal of Mississippi History (JMH)*. I accepted the invitation because in writing a history of the state, I relied heavily on the *Journal*, which contains a veritable gold mine of underutilized historical information and insight into the state's past. Ken McCarty, *JMH*'s longtime editor had retired, and an interim editor had resigned prior to his relocation out-of-state, which left the *Journal* behind in its publication schedule. Despite the best efforts of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History (MDAH) and the Mississippi Historical Society, the backlog of issues grew due to budget reductions, personnel changes, and expanded workloads associated with MDAH's role in the planning and construction of the Two Mississippi Museums (Museum of Mississippi History and the Mississippi Civil Rights Museum). Our efforts to address the publishing delay languished until Katie Blount, director, MDAH and *JMH* editor-in-chief, employed William "Brother" Rogers as director of the newly-established Division of Programs and Communication and assigned him the responsibility of serving as *JMH* managing editor. Brother has marshaled the resources at MDAH and enlisted the services of talented volunteers to help publish a flood of issues to address the backlog. Supported by Elbert Hilliard, *JMH* editor-in-chief emeritus and longtime secretary-treasurer of the Mississippi Historical Society, the MDAH staff and volunteers have assisted me in reviving the *Journal*.

I thank the authors of articles that have been published in recent *JMH* issues for their patience and support of the *Journal* and for allowing us time to bring their articles to press. Recently, members of the Mississippi Historical Society received a special *JMH* issue on the Civil War edited by the late Michael Ballard. Soon readers can anticipate more special issues that will be edited by Charles Bolton and John Marszalek, covering little-known Mississippi governors and President U. S. Grant's role in Mississippi history, respectively.

Brother Rogers presented the idea for the publication of several

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JMH “vintage” issues to the Mississippi Historical Society’s board of publications at the Society’s 2017 annual meeting. The board accepted this proposal, and we have begun with articles that I found especially useful in writing *A New History of Mississippi*. In selecting articles for the vintage issues, we decided to limit ourselves to using *Journal* articles published before the 1970s.

In this issue and the next two vintage issues, we have grouped our selections into issues covering early Mississippi, the Civil War, and Reconstruction. Student volunteers from Millsaps College (Emma McRaney, Angel Williams, Connor Dunne, Gwyneth McDonough, Braxton Thomas, and Madison Brennan) transcribed the 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. 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 danger of reprinting older articles is that some of the language used in the articles is not only outdated, but sometimes offensive, such as the use of the term “colored.” While the Mississippi Historical Society would never publish a new article with such language, we have reprinted these articles verbatim to reflect scholarship as it was presented at the time. Each article is a product of its time and place, but is included because it contains relevant information that I used to write *A New History of Mississippi*.

This first vintage issue revives four articles providing insight into the state’s history that was celebrated and commemorated during Mississippi’s bicentennial year, 2017. In his analysis of the state in 1817, W. B. Hamilton addressed the trends that were evident in shaping Mississippi history during the planter-dominated culture of the time. Hamilton laid the blame for the state’s future poverty at the feet of the planters and their extractive economic practices. Margaret DesChamps Moore chronicled the development of churches in early Mississippi and concluded that the future “buckle of the Bible Belt’s” churches claimed only twenty percent of the state’s population in 1817, leaving the reader to ponder how the state changed in later years. The third article is a rare *Journal of Mississippi History* publication of a primary source, a portion of John Hutchins’s journal. The son of

an early settler of the Natchez District, Hutchins provides the reader with wonderful insight in frontier Mississippi life from hunting tales to complicated master/slave relationships. In the final article, Dawson A. Phelps illustrated how one obscure English settler chose to leave his British-American culture to live among the Chickasaw.

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

Mississippi 1817: A Sociological and Economic Analysis

by *W. B. Hamilton*

The Mississippi that was granted statehood in what Churchill used to call the Great Republic can be portrayed on a small canvas. The portion that did not belong to the Indians consisted of the old Natchez District plus the piney woods and sandy plains south of the road from Natchez to Ft. Stoddert in Alabama. Not many people lived north of the 32nd parallel of latitude, nor south of the 31st. In fact, not a great many lived between them. A census made late in 1816, whose takers would have strained every effort to inflate the figures, counted about 47,000 of every color, except “Indians not taxed.” Possibly by late 1817 they numbered about one-fifth of the population of the Jackson metropolitan area 150 years later.

Let us analyze this little society. What were the origins of its members? We cannot say with accuracy, because no one except aliens was required to state whence he came. The latter came mostly from the British isles. The direct immigrants from Africa, who, appropriately enough, were not called aliens in Mississippi, probably came from the Gulf of Guinea. There was a small strain of French and French Huguenots in the ruling class and some French-speaking people, at least, on the coast; and there were enough Germans to mention. Courtesy of North Carolina, there was a colony of allegedly Gaelic-speaking Scots. The settlers came, white and colored alike, in colonies from Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and New Jersey. It is highly likely, however, that most of them came from the Southern states on the seaboard. In short, from the varieties of West Africans with

This article was originally published in the November 1967 sesquicentennial 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.

WILLIAM B. HAMILTON, a native of Jackson and graduate of the University of Mississippi, was an author and historian who taught at Duke University for thirty-six years until his death in 1972. Hamilton and William D. McCain conceived the idea for establishing The Journal of Mississippi History in 1939. Hamilton served as assistant editor of the Journal from 1939 to 1952. This paper was presented at the 1967 annual meeting of the Mississippi Historical Society in Natchez.

their quite differing physical characteristics and character traits to the conglomeration that DeFoe satirized in "The Trueborn Englishmen," Mississippi began with quite a mixture.

There was a wide spectrum of color, too. The Choctaws contributed blood to the Negroes and the lower strata of whites (or vice versa), and individuals from all the social classes of whites practiced miscegenation with the Negroes. It became increasingly difficult to do so, but men of means sometimes tried to emancipate their mulatto children and see that they were cared for.¹ The census schedules run only to white, free colored, and slaves, the red not being counted.

TABLE 1
COLOR
Natchez District

<i>Census</i>	<i>White</i>	<i>Colored</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percent Colored</i>
1792	2,672	2,034	4,706	43.22
1800	4,445	3,222	7,667	42.02
1810	15,630	14,423	30,053	47.99
1816	16,905	18,265	35,170	54.77
1820	21,620	26,326	47,946	54.91
East of Pearl River				
1816	8,542	3,175	11,717	27.10
1820	20,556	6,946	27,502	25.26
Total State				
1816	25,447	21,440	46,887	45.73
1820	42,176	33,272	75,448	44.10

Source: Spanish census 1792 under date of April 27, 1793, in transcripts in Mississippi Archives from the Archivs General de las Indias, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba; U. S. Censuses, sometimes supplemented or

¹ William Winans's MS Journal, October, 1822, and his MS Autobiography, *circa* 1825; Petition of sundry citizens of Jefferson County *in re*. M. Hagins, n.d.; Petition of Hugue Dubroca, October 26, 1813; Petition of William Barland, December, 1814 (all the petitions are to the legislature, all in Mississippi Territorial Archives, Series D, Volume 38); MS Journal of the House, M. T., December 29, 1813. All of foregoing in Mississippi Department of Archives and History; Will of James Fitzgerald, June 20, 1812, copy in Bisland Papers, Mt. Repose, Adams Co.; Will of Anne Savage, September 12, 1793; note about will of Timothy Terrell—both in Edith Wyatt Moore Transcripts, Duke Library.

corrected by schedules in [Mississippi Territorial Archives], Ser. A, Vol. 25, [Mississippi Department of Archives and History] where also is found the special census of 1816. The latter is printed in *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, ed. Clarence E. Carter, VI, 730.

For statistical purposes, we lump the colored together and find that in the Natchez District, for which we have five analytical censuses up to 1820, the percentage of colored, which was 43 in 1792, rose by 1817 to over half the population. The figure for the entire state was toned down by the great influx of whites into the east, where only a fourth were colored (see Table 1), but the presence of rapidly growing numbers of persons of color meant, as we can see with our 20-20 hindsight, that Mississippi was headed for acute social, economic, and political problems.

Statistical trends in Mississippi on age, sex, and rate of increase are made difficult to assess by the fact that large numbers of immigrants were pouring across the borders—borders boasting of no check points, no Ellis Island, so that we can only guess at their numbers. As for age, any theory that adults would predominate in a frontier migration is scarcely borne out by the figures. In the United States as a whole, 50 percent of the population in 1790 and 1800 was below sixteen years old, and by 1830 the figure had dropped to 45.² The whites in the [Mississippi Territory] were slightly younger than that in 1800, at 51 plus percent, and in 1820 still stood just over 50 in the Natchez District. East of Pearl River, the terminus of a huge and sudden immigration, they were very young: 53 percent under sixteen. The Natchez District in 1810 had been an exception. The children fell to 48 percent, for reasons unknown to me. We died young indeed in those days, but I am not aware of any unusual incidence of children's diseases in the decade from 1800 to 1810. It might be supposed that an influx of young men on the prowl for jobs and rich wives might have driven down the percentage. The percentage of persons in the prime range of sixteen to twenty-five did indeed go up 5 percent, but that of the females rose nearly that much too. The percentage of aged whites—that is, over twenty-five!—declined slightly from decade to decade, hovering around 30 percent for the entire twenty years. The colored population, for which we cannot show a trend because we lack data, was in 1820 perhaps slightly older than the white, but in measurable figures (see Table 2) for both entire groups, hardly enough so to be remarkable.

² Conrad and Irene B. Taeuber, *Changing Population of the United States* (New York: Wiley [c. 1958]), 27.

TABLE 2

AGE

Age Distribution of Whites

Area &	Census	First Age		Second Age		Third Age	
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Natchez Dist.	1792	1,209	45.25	1,143	42.78	320	11.98
		Under 16		16 thru 25		26 and over	
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Natchez Dist.	1800	2,293	51.59	721	16.22	1,431	32.19
" "	1810	7,501	47.99	3,405	21.79	4,724	30.22
" "	1820	10,827	50.08	43,431	20.09	6,450	29.83
East of Pearl	1820	10,889	52.97	4,008	19.50	5,659	27.53
		Under 21		21 and over			
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent		
Natchez Dist.	1816	10,165	60.13	6,740	39.87		

Age Distribution of Colored

Area &	Census	First Age		Second Age		Third Age	
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Natchez Dist.	1792	724	35.59	1,170	57.52	140	6.88
		Under 14		14 thru 25		26 and over	
		No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Natchez Dist.	1820	10,725	40.74	7,495	28.47	8,106	30.79
East of Pearl	1820	3,139	45.19	2,026	29.17	1,781	25.64

Source: Same as Table 1.

Comment: Author does not know [...] what Spanish ages mean; he assumes young, middle, old, in order, which would indicate raw and new society had relatively small young bracket, especially for colored. Data available for age in 1816 in only three counties east of Pearl River: Pike, 62 plus percent under 21, Marion 58 plus, and Jackson 58 plus.

As for sex, the tale seems different, simple, and, for the white girls, sad. (See Tables 3 and 4.) The figure for births is said to have favored males, nationally, and in 1830, the date for which I have a guess, female children constituted about 48.78 percent of the total children.³ Mississippi

³ Taeuber, *Changing Population*, 28.

whites did slightly better at the outset except in Spanish times: over 49 percent of the children were female in 1800. By 1820, in the Natchez District, they were slightly under, at 48.6. The white female children, then, survived infancy quite as well as the males. After sixteen, in the young adult stage, they lost ground fast. They ran, by decades, from 40.5 to 44.5 to 44.4 percent of that age group. In the total white population over twenty-five years old, they lost even more ground: 35.5, 34, 36.4 percent. Nationally, say authorities, in the thirties age range they should have amounted to over 48 percent.⁴ Was the Mississippi deficit because of an excess of male immigration? One tends to doubt it, because of the

TABLE 3
SEX
Natchez District

Census	White Males	Percent	White Females	Percent
1792	1,491	55.80	1,181	44.20
1800	2,518	56.65	1,927	43.35
1810	8,822	56.44	6,808	43.56
1816	9,029	53.41	7,876	46.59
1820	12,082	55.88	9,538	44.12
Census	Colored Males	Percent	Colored Females	Percent
1792	1,194	58.70	840	41.30
1820	13,609	51.69	12,717	48.31
East of Pearl River				
Census	White Males	Percent	White Females	Percent
1820	11,204	54.50	9,352	45.50
Census	Colored Males	Percent	Colored Females	Percent
1820	3,480	50.10	3,466	49.90

Source: Same as [Table] 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

TABLE 4
AGE AND SEX
Natchez District Only
Spanish Census 1792

Color	Sex	Age	Number	Percent of Sex	Percent of Females in Group
White	male	1st	629	42.19	
White	female	1st	580	49.11	47.97
White	male	2nd	666	44.67	
White	female	2nd	477	40.39	41.73
White	male	3rd	196	13.14	
White	female	3rd	124	10.50	38.75
Colored	male	1st	374	31.32	
Colored	female	1st	350	41.67	48.34
Colored	male	2nd	733	61.39	
Colored	female	2nd	437	52.02	37.35
Colored	male	3rd	87	7.29	
Colored	female	3rd	53	6.31	37.86
Census of 1800					
White males under 10			860	34.15	
White females under 10			811	42.09	48.53
White males under 16			1,167	46.34	
White females under 16			1,126	58.43	49.11
White males 16–25			429	17.04	
White females 16–25			292	15.15	40.50
White males 26 plus			922	36.62	
White females 26 plus			509	26.41	35.57
Census of 1810					
White males under 10			2,721	30.84	
White females under 10			2,657	39.03	49.40
White males under 16			3,815	43.24	
White females under 16			3,686	54.14	49.14

White males 16–25	1,890	21.42	
White females 16–25	1,515	22.25	44.49
White males 26 plus	3,117	35.33	
White females 26 plus	1,607	23.60	34.02
Census of 1816			
White males under 21	5,116	56.66	
White females under 21	5,049	64.11	49.43
White males 21 plus	3,913	43.34	
White females 21 plus	2,827	35.89	41.94
Census of 1820			
White males under 10	4,000	33.11	
White females under 10	3,661	38.38	47.79
White males under 16	5,569	46.09	
White females under 16	5,258	55.13	48.56
White males 16–25	2,413	19.97	
White females 16–25	1,930	20.23	44.44
White males 26 plus	4,100	33.93	
White females 26 plus	2,350	24.64	36.43
Negro males under 14	5,523	40.58	
Negro females under 14	5,202	40.91	48.50
Negro males 14–25	3,654	26.85	
Negro females 14–25	3,841	30.20	51.25
Negro males 26 plus	4,432	32.57	
Negro females 26 plus	3,674	28.89	45.32

East of Pearl River

Census of 1820

Color	Sex	Age	Number	Percent of Sex	Percent of Females in Group
White	males	under 10	4,104	36.63	
White	females	under 10	3,559	38.06	46.44
White	males	under 16	5,751	51.33	
White	females	under 16	5,138	54.94	47.19
White	males	16–25	2,147	19.16	

White females 16–25	1,861	19.90	46.43
White males 26 plus	3,306	29.51	
White females 26 plus	2,353	25.16	41.58
Negro males under 14	1,580	45.40	
Negro females under 14	1,559	44.98	49.67
Negro males 14–25	1,008	28.97	
Negro females 14–25	1,018	29.37	50.25
Negro males 26 plus	892	25.63	
Negro females 26 plus	889	25.65	49.92

Source: Same as Table 1.

constancy of the childhood figure and because east of the Pearl, the site of mass immigration, they showed some better in 1820, at over 46 percent in the prime age range, and 41.5 percent over twenty-five. One can only jump to the conclusion that, since they married at fifteen and sixteen, the hazards of pregnancy and childbirth claimed their toll, and that white women could not survive the diseases of the time as well as whites males. Colored women, to judge from the Spanish census, did no better, but with much larger figures in 1820, the story is significantly different. Of the colored children under fourteen in the Natchez District, 48.5 percent were females. By that time, they had already gone to work, and some of the females had started bearing children. Yet between fourteen and twenty-five the females outnumbered the males—over 51 percent, and they triumphantly survived the white women over twenty-five (36.4 percent of that age group) at 45 percent of their color in that bracket. East of [the] Pearl, their proportions are even more astounding. Under fourteen, nearly a half of the colored were females. In the next bracket they numbered 50 percent, and after twenty-five, after years of child-bearing and working in the fields, they still constituted about half their color—or colors. How does one explain this? Well, admittedly there was supposed to be a prejudice against the importation of adult male slaves. The populace was afraid of them, and even put forward proposals, from time to time, to prohibit their importation. The proposals were not acted upon, however, nor honored in practice. Were colored women more immune to the ravages of puerperal or malarial fevers than white women? Not knowing the answer, we should,

being Calvinist, flippantly say that hard work is good for you, and pass on to the next subject, if it were not for the fact that the white women worked hard too. There were more drudges than colonels' ladies.

There was by the time of statehood a redistribution of population under way. Within the Natchez District, whereas the center of population had almost as late as 1810 been Adams County, the rate of increase in the three counties to the north and the two to the south was larger than that of Adams, and Adams, as the censuses of 1816 and 1820 revealed, was not only losing white population relatively (nearly 9 percent between 1810 and 1820), but was actually incurring a small absolute loss, while all the other counties enjoyed absolute gains. Wilkinson gained more proportionately. (See Table 5.) The rate of increase in the District was, however, slowing down. (See Table 6.) Whereas it had been over 250 percent from 1800 to 1810 for the whites, and practically 350 for the colored, it fell in the next decade to 38 and 82 percent respectively, in round numbers. The Choctaw Cession of 1805 of the region east of the Pearl River and to a small extent the West Florida acquisition on the Gulf Coast in 1812 gave a pronounced twist to the population story. Immigrants were pouring in. The increase in the East from 1816 to 1820 alone was 140 percent for whites and 118 for colored. The center of population, particularly white population, was shifting rapidly, east by south.

TABLE 5
INTERNAL MOVEMENT POPULATION IN NATCHEZ DISTRICT

County	White 1810	Percent Whites	White 1820	Percent Whites	Total 1810	Percent Total	Total 1820	Percent Total
Adams	4,255	27.22	4,005	18.52	10,002	33.28	12,076	25.19
Jefferson	2,189	14.01	3,154	14.59	4,001	13.31	6,822	14.23
Claiborne	1,552	9.93	2,840	13.14	3,102	10.32	5,963	12.44
Warren	622	3.98	1,401	6.48	1,114	3.71	2,693	5.62
Franklin	1,268	8.11	2,277	10.53	2,016	6.71	3,821	7.97
Amite	3,312	21.19	4,006	18.53	4,750	15.81	6,853	14.29
Wilkinson	2,432	15.56	3,937	18.21	5,068	16.86	9,718	20.27
Totals	15,630		21,620		30,053		47,946	

Source: U.S. Censuses

TABLE 6
PERCENTAGE OF GROWTH

Natchez District							
Color	1792	1800	Increase	Percent	1810	Increase	Percent
White	2,672	4,445	1,773	66.35	15,630	11,185	251.63
Colored	2,034	3,154	1,120	55.06	14,443	11,289	357.93
Color	1816		Increase	Percent	1820	Increase	Percent
White	16,905		1,275	8.16	21,620	4,715	27.89
Colored	18,265		3,822	26.46	26,326	8,061	44.13
Color	1820 over 1810		Increase	Percent			
White			5,990	38.32			
Colored			11,880	82.25			
East of Pearl River							
Color	1816		1820		Increase	Percent	
White	8,542		20,556		12,014	140.65	
Colored	3,175		6,946		3,771	118.77	
Entire State							
Color	1810		1820		Increase	Percent	
White	23,024		42,176		19,152	83.18	
Colored	17,088		33,272		16,184	94.71	

Source: As in Table 1.

Comment: A few of the people in the 1820 boundaries of Mississippi were probably counted with Alabama in 1810. The increase east of the Pearl is not figured here for 1810 to 1820, as the percentage would be so large as to be meaningless. [Editor's note: Present-day Alabama would have been included in the 1810 census of the Mississippi Territory.]

Thereby hangs the central political tale. One of the main trends we could extrapolate into statehood from Mississippi's colonial history would be political sectionalism, east, west, north, south. Sectionalism does not need a large area in which to thrive. Before the Spanish had even departed you could raise terrific noise over the animosities of the people in one creek bottom against those in another. Or it could be city versus the country. A man living a thousand yards back from some shacks on Natchez Bluff, if he owed someone in one of the shacks money, could raise the good ole cry of country versus the city. In 1802 and 1803 a country party (backing

in part the real estate aspirations of one John Foster) took the territorial capital and tried to take the county seat away from the hamlet of Natchez and establish them at a wide place in the road called Washington, six miles inland.⁵ As late as 1810 Washington boasted 334 free white inhabitants of all ages, and 190 other souls. Natchez, incorporated as a city in 1803, counted in 1810 1500 inhabitants, about a third of them colored; ten years later it had amassed 2,184 persons all told. This row broke out ever and again, for example in 1808, in 1815, when there was a Natchez ticket and a Washington ticket in the race of assemblymen,⁶ and was going strong in 1817.⁷ In 1815 the Assembly almost moved the territorial capital to Bay St. Louis.⁸ This battle raged until the capital was moved to Jackson in 1821 and then on beyond.

Sectionalism on a grand scale helped shape the state itself. The Mississippi Territory, it is unnecessary to say, eventually included all of what is now Alabama. Sheer distance served just as well to alienate east and west as proximity did on the bank of the Mississippi. As early as 1803 settlers in the Tombigbee valley petitioned Congress for a government separate from that three hundred miles away across a "howling wilderness," declaring that the inhabitants of the two settlements were different in manners, customs, and interests.⁹ In 1809, the secession movement in the East was particularly busy. Again they petitioned: the East was a mere "cypher" in the government, and they prayed for the establishment of a new government over all territory east of the Pearl River.¹⁰ Thereupon the Territorial House forwarded a countermemorial which viewed "with the most marked disapprobation the objects and

⁵ Charles S. Sydnor, *A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1938), 28-29; Act of February 1, 1802, *The Statutes of the Mississippi Territory, Revised and Digested by Authority of the General Assembly*. By the honorable Harry Toulmin, one of the United States Judges for the Mississippi Territory (Natchez: Samuel Terrell, 1807), 14; Act of March 12, 1803, *Mississippi [sic] Herald*, May 28, 1803; Petition of citizens to the Legislature, October 27, 1803, M.T.A., Ser. D, vol. 36.

⁶ Natchez *Washington Republican*, May 10, May 17, 1815; three petitions to the General Assembly, without date, M.T.A., Ser. D, vol. 39.

⁷ Natchez *Washington Republican* and *Natchez Intelligencer*, January 15, 19, 1817.

⁸ MS Journal of the House, 1815, 310. Mississippi Archives.

⁹ Referred Nov. 25, 1803. Clarence Edwin Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, V and VI: *The Territory of Mississippi, 1798-1817* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937-1938), V, 290-292.

¹⁰ Petition enclosed in Harry Toulmin to Joseph B. Varnum, Fort Stoddert, May 20, 1809. *Ibid.*, V, 732-737.

views of said Petitioners”¹¹ In November, the residents of the lower Tombigbee and Alabama river bottoms sent delegates to a convention, which again petitioned against a state of such vast extent as that of the Mississippi Territory and prescribed for their area a very democratic government.¹² The territorial delegate to Congress, George Poindexter, representing Natchez District sentiment at the time, “felt it my incumbent duty to resist with firmness the attempt to divide the territory,”¹³ and was able to prevent Congressional action on the prayers from the East.

In 1812, Poindexter got a bill through the House for admission as one state, but the Senate stopped him. The Senate, indeed, was adamant on the subject, and the matter slept, or rather stewed, while the territory was busy with the bloody Creeks under Tecumseh. When it had gotten its wind back and could resume the sectional paper war, a remarkable change was evident. The Natchez people read the untaken census figures. With the coming of peace, immigration resumed with redoubled vigor. Citizens east of Pearl proclaimed that they now outnumbered the west, especially in free whites, and asked for a reapportionment of the territorial legislature.¹⁴ Indeed, in an election in 1815 Madison County, in the bend of the Tennessee, had cast more votes than Claiborne, Adams, and Wilkinson, on the River, combined.¹⁵ The special census of 1816 confirmed the handwriting on the wall for the old ruling section. Whereas in the Natchez District there were 17,000 whites, the section east of Pearl now in Mississippi counted 8500 and the Alabama side 19,500.¹⁶ Madison County alone turned in 10,000 free whites.

The sections simply reversed themselves. In 1815 the entire Adams County delegation in the Assembly voted against a resolution requesting admission as a state without division,¹⁷ while politicians in the southeast, scenting the sweet smell of power and in control of a convention at John

¹¹ July 5, 1809. Resolution in *Ibid.*, VI, 4.

¹² Two documents: A petition [Nov. 11, 1809] and a Memorial, referred December 26, 1809. *Ibid.*, VI, 26-30.

¹³ Circular by Poindexter in the *Weekly Chronicle* (Natchez), June 25, 1810.

¹⁴ Petition to Congress, referred December 14, 1815, *Territorial Papers U.S.*, VI, 601-605.

¹⁵ MS election returns. M.T.A., Ser. A, vol. 23.

¹⁶ These figures are of course in round numbers and differ slightly from those used above for the Census of 1816. The printed census (*Territorial Papers U.S.*, VI, 730), for example, gives for Greene County 996 whites, 729 slaves. The MS schedule in M.T.A., Ser. A, vol. 25, gives 1135 whites and 384 slaves—more believable figures.

¹⁷ MS Journal House, 1815, Nov. 27, 1815, 123. In Mississippi Archives. The memorial is in *Territorial Papers U.S.*, VI, 593-94.

Ford's on the Pearl River in October, 1816, adopted a memorial praying admission as a whole.¹⁸ When a majority of the legislature took the same stand,¹⁹ thirteen alarmed members from the river counties sent off a counter memorial: "It would seem evident that there ever will be two great and distinct interests in this Territory. We have formed the Deliberate opinion that Nature never intended the present Limits of this Territory to be embraced in one state . . . ,"²⁰ and so on.

The territorial delegate to Congress, Dr. William Lattimore, was in reasonable control in Washington, was inclined to be fair to all sides, and was therefore indignant when the Convention at Ford's sent Judge Harry Toulmin to Washington as their special representative. Having come to the conclusion that the Senate, which favored division at the Tombigbee, would never admit the entire area as a single state, Lattimore²¹ worked out the compromise which governed the settlement, leaving the Pascagoula River counties in Mississippi. A bill settling the limits and authorizing the western half to form a constitution and apply for admission was signed on March 1. The applicant was admitted on December 10, 1817.

How, and how well, did the people sustain themselves? As to "how," the climate, the geography, the richness of the loess soil on the river, and the nature of the immigrants all directed that the economy should be agricultural. There were considerable herds of cattle: In the Natchez District the Spanish census of 1792 listed more than 15,000 head, and the tax assessors in 1805 counted more than 26,500.²² In the eastern side of the territory a larger part of the economy rested on cattle-raising, a business especially profitable when large army garrisons were in the area. Cattle-raising was regulated by law, and there were efforts to quarantine

¹⁸ The Journal of the Convention, held October 29, 1816, was printed in the *Natchez Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, November 27, 1816, and reprinted in *Territorial Papers U.S.*, VI, 708-717.

¹⁹ December 6, 1816. *Ibid.*, VI, 731-32.

²⁰ December 6, 1816. *Ibid.*, VI, 732-735. See also Memorial to Congress, referred January 8, 1817, from members of the assembly, mostly easterners, against division (*ibid.*, VI, 744-46), memorial from seventy-eight inhabitants living west of Pearl for division; referred February 14, 1817 (*ibid.*, VI, 765-766); letters to the editor for division, *Natchez Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, November 6, 13, 20; December 11, 1816.

²¹ Letter to the editor, *Ibid.*, May 29, 1816. In fact, Lattimore's long series of letters to Andrew Marschalk, editor of the *Natchez Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, give a fine blow-by-blow account of the long preliminaries to statehood and the one printed in the issue of March 3, 1817, constitutes a history of the question.

²² [Mississippi Territorial Archives], Ser. D, vol. 17.

the territory against disease.²³ Timber was plentiful, for the river counties boasted the fastest-growing hardwood soil in the world, and the east had great, beautiful pine forests. Evidence on the marketing of timber is quite sparse, but not non-existent.

It was unfortunately the search for a staple crop that preoccupied the territory. When the Spanish moved into the area in 1778, one of their first steps was to provide for the inspection and governmental purchase of tobacco,²⁴ of which the production in 1787 was nearly 590,000 pounds.²⁵ But Mississippi tobacco was not of first quality; its growers prepared it for market carelessly and fraudulently; and the Spanish permitted competition from Kentucky. By 1792, production was down to 75,000 pounds, the planters were ruined, and the Spanish governor had to protect them from their creditors.²⁶ The planters tried to fill the void with indigo, but it was messy in its preparation, polluting water courses and attracting even larger hordes of flies than usual, and it required capital for equipment. In 1793 insects ravaged almost the entire crop.²⁷ The royal government had finally to suspend executions against debtors for five years.²⁸ All this set up an alignment of planter versus merchant which directed the course of territorial politics.²⁹

In this extremity, cotton came to the rescue and fastened its tyranny

²³ Acts of September 21, 1799, for example, Toulmin's *Digest*, 377-378. House bill prohibiting driving of cattle into the territory at all: MS House Journal, November 12, 26, 1814, in Mississippi Archives.

²⁴ Juan Dellavillebeuvre to Bernardo de Galvez, Ft. Panmure, December 12, 1778. *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVIII (March, 1932), 547.

²⁵ A. P. Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question, 1795-1803* (New York: D. Appleton Company, 1934), 281, n. 26.

²⁶ Exact figure 74,895 lbs. (Spanish census). Some of the documents are: Decree of July 18, 1791, copy in Claiborne Papers, Mississippi Archives (printed, with liberties, in J. F. H. Claiborne, *Mississippi, as a Province, Territory and State . . .* (Jackson: Power & Barksdale, 1880 [really 1881]), 139; testimony of Ebenezer Rees, in *Brooks v. Montgomery*, December 3, 1806, W. B. Hamilton, *Anglo-American Law on the Frontier . . .* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1953), 244; Representation of the Planters to Gayoso (I think November 20, 1792), copy in Claiborne Papers, Mississippi Archives (botched up by Claiborne, *Mississippi*, 139-140); Decree of Carondelet, February 13, 1792, and a memorial and proposal by the merchants, n.d., and decree of Carondelet and Vidal, October 18, 1792, and order signed by Gayoso and the merchants, December 5, 1792—all in Spanish records in Adams County Courthouse, Book F.

²⁷ Sydnor, *Wailles*, 12-13.

²⁸ Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana: The Spanish Domination* (New York: Redfield, 1854), 332-334; Claiborne, *Mississippi*, 137.

²⁹ W. B. Hamilton, "Politics in the Mississippi Territory," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XI (May, 1948), 277 ff.

on the colony and then the state. The Whitney-type cotton-gin arrived in 1795. By 1797 cotton was clearly the staple crop.³⁰ Having learned nothing from experience, the planters and ginnerers practiced frauds in the marketing of this product, and both the Spanish and territorial governments had to try to regulate and inspect the trade.³¹

Nevertheless, by the opening years of the nineteenth century the economy was beginning to struggle out of debt. There are no reliable figures on production. (See Table 7.)

TABLE 7
PRODUCTION OF COTTON

Year	Bales	Year	Bales
1800–1801	2,000	1809–1810	4,000
1801–1802	2,500	1810–1811	3,000
1802–1803	3,101	1811–1812	4,000
1803–1804	2,500	1812–1813	7,000
1804–1805	3,000	1813–1814	6,101
1805–1806	5,000	1814–1815	19,101
1806–1807	3,500	1815–1816	28,238
1807–1808	4,000	1816–1817	24,000
1808–1809	5,600		

Source: James L. Watkins, *King Cotton: A Historical and Statistical Review, 1790-1908* (New York: J. L. Watkins & Sons, 1908), 163, 166, 138.

Comment: Source of his figures unknown, perhaps from port records; they must be received with reserve, and he does not give the weight of the bales, which are usually reduced by reliable statisticians to a uniform 500 pounds. In the Mississippi Territory, the weight ranged from 250 to 350. In 1811, one planter shipped to Philadelphia fifty bales weighing 16,204 pounds—an average of just over 317 pounds per bale. Accounts in Bisland Papers.

Perhaps the figure in 1800 was around 1,200,000 pounds,³² and the

³⁰ William Dunbar to John Ross, August 21, 1797, Extracts [by Wailes] from the Letter Book of William Dunbar . . . , Wailes Papers, Library of Congress; Andrew Ellicott, *Journal* . . . (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1803), 134.

³¹ W. B. Hamilton, "Early Cotton Regulation in the Lower Mississippi Valley," *Agricultural History*, XV (January, 1941), 20-25.

³² William Dunbar's charge to a grand jury, 1800. Mrs. Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Life, Letters and Papers of William Dunbar* (Jackson: Mississippi Historical Society, 1930), 108; Daniel Clark, a planter, quoted in *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, I, 709.

price was around twenty-two cents. (See Table 8.) Production probably increased, although the price fell in the next few years, and the Territory's economic condition grew less dismal. The creditors could move in to sue, with the opening of American courts.

Then disaster struck, first from international politics and then from disease and floods. President Jefferson's embargo immediately impounded the cotton in storage³³ (if the planter had anywhere to store it). The courts immediately began to stay executions, and the Congress and the Legislature were bombarded with petitions for suspension of payments on land and debts. This went on for years, as the British blockade of the Continent of Europe, then their presence in the Gulf, and the Creek rising in the east made the situation worse. The price of cotton sank to twelve and even eight cents. In 1811, 1812, 1813,³⁴ and 1815,³⁵ there were floods that destroyed crops and buildings and drowned cattle.

In 1811 there appeared in the upland variety of cotton then planted a disease called the rot. One account dramatized its effects by saying that one plantation on which the production was seventy-five bales fell to forty in 1811, twenty-four in 1812, forty in 1813, fifty-four in 1814, forty-two in 1815 and 1816; and fifty-one in 1817.³⁶

By 1814 a disease-resistant strain was being imported from Tennessee,³⁷ which, however, had a shorter fiber, was hard to gin, and ripened too tightly in its boll, reducing the amount that could be picked in a given time. Even then Tennessee was being supplanted by a variety introduced from Mexico and improved by the planters around Petit Gulf [Rodney], from which it took its name, under the leadership of Rush Nutt.³⁸

There used, in my day, to be a custom in Mississippi when there was a depression in the price of cotton to talk more loudly than ever of

³³ Thomas Rodney to George Poindexter, Feb. 3, 1808. Claiborne Papers, B, Mississippi Archives.

³⁴ Winthrop Sargent's meteorological observations, printed in *Natchez Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer*, January 24, 1816.

³⁵ John W. Monette, "The Mississippi Floods," *Publications of Mississippi Historical Society*, VII (1903), 443. Monette said the 1815 flood was possibly higher than any since 1782.

³⁶ *State Gazette*, Oct. 31, 1818. B. L. C. Wailes, in *Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi* (Jackson: E. Barksdale, State Printer, 1854), 144-145, attributed the rot to an insect.

³⁷ Seed advertisement of John Henderson, *Natchez Mississippi Republican*, March 23, 1814.

³⁸ Wailes, *Agriculture and Geology*, 143; Claiborne, *Mississippi*, 141. William Dunbar planted some of the Mexican cotton experimentally, beginning in 1807; Dunbar to Green & Wainwright of Liverpool, Natchez, October 2, 1807; Samuel Postlethwaite (son-in-law) to same, November 22, 1810, and to Chew and Relf of New Orleans, November 21, 1810. Rowland (ed.), *Dunbar*, 356, 390, 388.

diversification of crops and enterprise. It is therefore rather comforting to find that this custom is hallowed by ancient usage. So it was in territorial days. Manufacturing and sheep-raising were suggested.³⁹ But all this was quickly forgotten, in the immemorial way, and the court of King Cotton once more crowded with courtiers, when the depression lifted swiftly in 1815, thanks to the end of the war [War of 1812]. By October of that year, the price was twenty-seven cents; two years later, it was twenty-nine. (See Table 8.) There is evidence that productivity per hand was increasing markedly. Whereas two witnesses hostile to each other agreed that a hand could produce from 500 to 800 pounds circa 1800, Sydnor in his *Slavery* (p. 13) put it at 2,000 or more in the 1830s.

TABLE 8
PRICE OF COTTON

	When	Where	Price	New Orleans weight- ed average
a.	1797	Natchez	20	
b.	1797, June	New Orleans	15	
c.	1799, May	New Orleans	25	
d.	1799, Dec.	New Orleans	28?	
e.	1800, Feb.	Natchez	25	
f.	1800	Natchez	22-23	
f.	1800	New Orleans	25-26	
g.	1801, Feb.	Natchez	21-22	
g.	1801, Feb.	New Orleans	24	
h.	1802, Sept.	New Orleans	19-20	14.7
	1803			15.0
	1804			19.8
	1805			23.3
	1806			21.8
i.j.	1807	Natchez	17	16.4
k.	1808, Mar.	Natchez	16	13.6
l.	1808, Mar.	New Orleans	12	

³⁹ *Louisiana and Mississippi Almanac for . . . 1813* (Natchez: Zadok Cramer, 1813), 47.

m.	1808, June	Natchez	14	
m.	1808, June	New Orleans	15	
n.	1808, July		12-½-14	
o.	1808, Aug.		12-14	
p.	1808, Nov.		12-14	
q.	1809, May	Natchez	10-13	13.6
r.	1809	Miss.	c. 15	
	1810			14.7
s.	1811, June	Philadelphia	13 (i.e., 10 at N.O.)	8.9
t.	1808-1811	Natchez	7-9	
u.	1812	New Orleans	10	
	1813			15.5
v.	1814	Port Gibson	11-½	16.9
w.	1815, Oct.	New Orleans	30	27.3
w.	1815, Oct.	Natchez	c. 27	
	1816			25.4
x.	1817, Jan.	Natchez	23	29.8
y.	1817, May	Natchez	26	
y.	1817, May	New Orleans	29	
z.	1817, Oct.	Natchez	26	
z.	1817, Oct.	New Orleans	30-32	

Source: The weighted averages by year at New Orleans are from L. C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (2 vols.; Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1933), II, 1027. The others, by letter: a. Supposed authority of Daniel Clark, Jr. for average price "lately," *A. S. P., Miscellaneous*, I, 709. b. Baily, *Journal of a Tour*, 310. He said this was low, usual price 20-25. c. John Steele to Samuel Steele, Natchez, May 24, 1799. Duke MSS. d. Same to same, December 12. Ibid. e. N. Hunter to W. C. C. Claiborne, Philadelphia, February 4, 1800. *Territorial Papers U. S.*, V, 101. f. James Hall, "History of Mississippi Territory," *Publications Mississippi Historical Society*, IX, 562. g. Green's *Impartial Observer*, February 21, 1801. h. *Mississippi Herald*, September 28, 1802. i. *Mississippi Messenger*, November 19, 1807. j. Ibid., November 26, 1807. k. and l. Ibid., March 24, 1808. m. Ibid., November 28, 1807. k. and l. Ibid., March 24, 1808. m. Ibid., November 28, 1807. n. Ibid., July 8, 1808. o. Ibid., August 10, 1808. p. Ibid., November 23, 1808. q. Rodney to C. Rodney, May 2, 1809. *Pennsylvania Magazine of Biography and History*, XLV (1916), 180. r. Figures in Steward's Book, Coles Creek

Circuit, Methodist Church, quoted in John G. Jones, *Concise History of the Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi and the Southwest* (St. Louis: P. M. Pinckard, 1866), 112. s. Joseph Lewis to Harman Blennerhassett, Philadelphia, June 21, 1811. Blennerhassett Papers, Library of Congress t. Petition of the inhabitants, September, 1811. *Territorial Papers U.S.*, VI, 226. u. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, II, 681-692. v. Account of Blennerhassett with J. MacQuillen of Port Gibson, Blennerhassett Papers, Library of Congress. w. David Holmes to White Turpin, New Orleans, October 21, 1815. M.S.A., Ser. N, vol. 30 (Wailes Papers). x. John Bisland to William Bisland, January 7, 1817. Bisland Papers. y. Same to same, May 5, 1817. *Ibid.* z. Same to Mr. James _____, "Mt. Airwell," October 25, 1817. *Ibid.*

The planters began to borrow more money to buy more land to grow more cotton to pay for more slaves to grow more . . . , and so on. They were mining and wrecking the soil. The loess soil of the Natchez District was harder to wreck than the clay hills of northern Mississippi, but the despoilers were by 1817 on their way. As Benjamin Wailes said in 1841, "We seem to have inherited from the pioneers of the land the principle of destruction, which they brought with them into the wilds which they invaded to conquer and subdue."⁴⁰ A traveler in 1817 found the land between [Old] Greenville [Jefferson County] and Natchez already pretty well worn and gullied.⁴¹ Someone had written of "worn out cotton fields" four or five years earlier.⁴² By the 1830s, J. H. Ingraham could give an alarming picture of the effects of leaching and erosion, with constant cultivation, when the soil in a heavy rain "dissolves like ice under a summer's sun. By degrees, acre after acre . . . presents a wild scene of frightful precipices and yawning chasms, which are increased in depth and destructively enlarged after every rain. . . . Natchez itself is nearly isolated by a deep ravine."⁴³ Some farmers attempted in our period, as they did later, to take measures to retain and renew the soil. William Dunbar is said to have adopted the practice of circular plowing on a hill

⁴⁰ Quoted by Sydnor, *Wailes*, 156.

⁴¹ Henry Bradshaw Fearon, *A Narrative of a Journey . . .* (London: Longman, et al., 1818), 317. The Committee on Ways and Means of the House of Representatives reported in 1823 that the lands around Natchez had deteriorated from long cultivation. MS Journal House, 6th session, January 14, 1823. Mississippi Archives.

⁴² *Louisiana and Mississippi Almanac for . . . 1813*, 47.

⁴³ Joseph Holt Ingraham, *The Southwest by a Yankee*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1835), II, 86-87.

to retard gullying,⁴⁴ and so are Francis Surget and Rush Nutt⁴⁵ and James Green, who used an instrument to take the level of the land.⁴⁶ Mostly, however, the practice was to mine the soil out, leave it to erode, desert the buildings, and move on.

There can be little doubt that the system was bad for the economy of the state. The question of profits for the individual is another matter, and of that more in a moment, but if he was making profits, very little of them were being reinvested in enterprises that would in the long run benefit the society as a whole, such as banks, reforestation, fertilizer and soil conservation, drainage, manufacturies, ships, roads, schools, public health, and insurance companies. It was all take and no give. Any profits, or apparent profits, were reinvested in more land to mine, or in slaves who bred for the owner more slaves to sell and for future society frightfully expensive problems of the drag of unskilled labor, of education, and of poverty and ignorance. Or some of the profits were spent on luxury goods imported, usually from abroad. The territory did not even feed itself or distill its own liquor, since it imported whiskey, pork, wheat and flour, and corn from the Ohio Valley. The balance of payments may not have been as grim as it was in the days when everyone ran a car and farm machine made in Detroit and run on gasoline from Texas, but it was bad enough.

As to the profitableness of slavery for the owner, the question has spawned a voluminous literature. To mention only two authors, whose footnotes will serve as guides to some of the rest, the late Charles Sydnor, in his *Slavery in Mississippi*,⁴⁷ concluded it was not profitable, whilst Kenneth Stampp, writing twenty years later, came down hard on the side of profitableness.⁴⁸ Depends on how you keep the books. Anyway, in 1820, the new state had about thirteen and a quarter millions tied up in laborers who were perishable, and for whom the owner had to pay social security for the aged and small children—maintenance, medicare, and shelter—none of them, it is true, on any lavish scale. On the other hand, with any luck the laborer was self-perpetuating, and there might even

⁴⁴ Edward Turner to Wailes, April 14, 1859. M.S.A., Ser. N, vol. 30.

⁴⁵ Claiborne, *Mississippi*, 141.

⁴⁶ Letter in the *Ariel* (Natchez), March 7, 1829.

⁴⁷ Charles Sydnor, *Slavery in Mississippi* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, [1933]), chapter viii.

⁴⁸ Kenneth Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), chapter ix. See citations to more recent literature on the subject in Charles B. Dew, "Two Approaches to Southern History," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LXVI (Summer, 1967), 316-318.

be a surplus for sale or rent.

For some persons, the system provided the good life, balls and teas, leisure, books, imported wall paper and furniture and wine. In 1801, for example, with costs translated into the price of cotton, twelve and a half pounds would fetch a gallon of French brandy; forty-five would get you a case of claret; two and a half pounds, a pound of coffee; seventeen and a half, a pound of a tea favored by a Scot immigrant; and exactly the same amount, a yard of cashmere cloth favored by his lady; or a hundred and seventy-five pounds would bring a table service of Queensware from England.⁴⁹ A businessman could afford to have an organ built for his house, at \$1000. The little village of Natchez, drawing on the settlements on St. Catherine's and Second Creek, could support a theater for both visiting and amateur performances, a jockey club and several race tracks, the Mississippi Society for the Acquirement and Dissemination of Useful Knowledge, and several ephemeral schools.⁵⁰ Some planters, too, could engage Philadelphia architects and English landscape-artists and gardeners, and build for themselves stately mansions, as we are fortunately able to see with our own eyes.

How many people shared in these amenities? Without statistics, we can dismiss a lot of them. Obviously the slaves, a majority of the population, although they had security of sorts otherwise lived the life of the desperately poor. The majority of the white inhabitants outside the Natchez District had no schools, no great houses, few luxuries, and a poor pastoral economy. In the Natchez District, Williams Winans in 1815 lived in a sixteen-foot log cabin, with a floor of unplanned planks and one window, which had no glass. He later duplicated this on the other side of a dog-trot. Thus sheltered, he declared himself fully as well-housed as nine-tenths of the citizenry.⁵¹ Winans at that time owned a quarter section of land and seven slaves. Many whites seem to have owned nothing. In drawing data from the tax assessors' rolls we have to remember how modest people are about their possessions when interrogated by a tax assessor, and that all the data may not have been preserved to be assembled. Furthermore, the last rolls we are using are those for 1815, the end of a depression. In

⁴⁹ Advertisements in *Green's Impartial Observer*, January 24, 1801, and bills in the Bisland Papers from Mt. Repose. I used twenty cents for cotton as easier to divide.

⁵⁰ See my "The Southwestern Frontier, 1795-1817: An Essay in Social History," *Journal of Southern History*, X (November, 1944), 389-403; and Sydnor's *Wailes*, chapter i.

⁵¹ Winans's Autobiography. Mississippi Archives.

addition, some persons were squatting on land for which their titles were not yet cleared, or for which they had not started paying the government. They would probably not claim ownership for tax purposes. Finally, many owners had property in several counties, not to mention Louisiana, which means they swell the figures for any single county, appearing in the census for one county, but on the tax rolls of say, three.

In short, with no faith in the figures, we shall try to see what they say for Adams-Franklin and Jefferson counties (see Table 9), using ownership in 1815, but the census of 1816 for adult white males only. There were more people, who were more prosperous, in that year than in the previous

TABLE 9

Ownership in Two Counties, 1805–1815

County	Census 1816			Assessors Rolls 1815			
	Adult White Males	Land- owners	Per cent	Plus town lots	Per cent	Slave- owners	Per cent
Adams	1,022	348	34.05	540	52.84	620	60.67
Jefferson	540	245	45.37	264	48.89	257	47.59
Adams and Franklin (created 1809)	1,367	453	33.14	656	47.99	749	54.79
	Assessors Rolls 1805			Plus		Slave-	
	Land- owners			town lots		owners	
Adams	314			414		301	
Jefferson	201			234		144	

Source: Assessors' Rolls, [Mississippi Territorial Archives], Series B, vols. 17 and 23.

one, but the skewing of our figures may be offset by the fact that adult white males did not own all the property, anyway. Women held large estates, and there was small ownership by free persons of color, such as "Free Mary," who was assessed in 1815 for four slaves, and the twelve Barland colored children, none of whom owned less than 320 acres. Furthermore, when we figure ownership on adults, we miss a number of

males under twenty-one who were already heads of families. With these caveats and qualifications, we can say that at least 60 percent of the adult white males owned no farming land and that, counting town lots, less than half owned real estate. Furthermore, the absolute numbers of owners of country land had remained just about static since 1805. Because the pre-emptioners already squatting in 1805 had not been permitted to begin purchase in 1805, there was a large increase in holders of between 50 and 349 acres paying taxes by 1815, but this is meaningless if it is interpreted as a spread of landholding. The growth of large estates—over 1000 acres—was at a temporary standstill between 1805 and 1815 (50-52 in Adams-Franklin, 33-31 in Jefferson), and male taxpayers owning no land were increasing (Adams-Franklin: 304-385). The number of persons owning only town lots in Adams nearly doubled (75-141).

The ownership of slaves, on the other hand, was increasing and spreading, but at a lesser rate than the total white population—160 percent in Adams-Franklin, half that percentage in Jefferson. Slave ownership in 1815 was 60 percent of the white adult males, 37 percent of the white adults, in Adams. But in Adams-Franklin in 1815 as in 1805, considerably more than half of the slave owners held five or less. The proportion of owners of larger numbers was growing, however, especially of owners of ten and more. In Jefferson County, for example, three-quarters of the owners held five or less in 1805 and less than 10 percent ten or more, whereas in 1815 more than half the owners held more than five, and the larger owners had nearly tripled in proportion and had quintupled in absolute numbers. (See Table 10.)

TABLE 10
Size of Slave Ownership

County	Year	Number Owners	Per cent		10 and more		Per cent	
			1-5	6-9	Per cent	Per cent		
Adams	1805	301	194	64.45	54	17.94	53	17.61
Adams-Franklin	1815	749	436	58.21	124	16.56	189	25.23
Jefferson	1805	144	107	74.30	24	16.67	13	9.03
Jefferson	1815	257	115	44.75	69	26.85	73	28.40

Source: Assessors' Rolls, [Mississippi Territorial Archives], Series B, vols. 17 and 23.

Aside from the artisans and small tradesmen of Natchez, who were these propertyless people? What did they do? What happened to them? If the pattern in other plantation areas was followed, the poor whites ultimately found themselves unwelcome, and moved on like the Oakies, but it is wiser simply to say that the history of the Natchez yeomen, to use a pleasant-sounding word, remains to be written. A Natchez lawyer, generalizing from his abstract work, drew the generalization that the later trend in the District was toward the assembling of large estates out of small farms.⁵² The trend may have begun before statehood: an account of the holdings of Thomas Marston Green, deceased, in Jefferson County showed his holdings were built up out of grants to a dozen persons.⁵³

One final economic tendency of the entire colonial period: the Mississippian expected the imperial government to set him up in business and to support his institutions. The settler expected British, Spanish, and American governments to give him land, to protect him from his creditors, and to forgive his debts and his unlawful intrusions upon the public lands. He expected the federal government to build his trunk roads and to protect him from the Indians and the Spaniards, upon whom he was forever intruding. He talked bravely of education as necessary in a democracy—that is, for the white minority; he was forbidden to teach more than half the population. It was the federal government, however, to which he looked for support for common schools and for his college. The feds obliged, and the Mississippians wasted or pillaged the sixteenth sections.⁵⁴ They even went so far as to ask for, and get from Congress, a subsidy for a Baptist Church at Woodville. This was too much for President Madison; he vetoed the Act.

Such were some of the economic and sociological patterns set by 1817. The child is father to the man. Yes, Virginia, there *were* magnolias and dogwood, and redbud, and miles of fences of Cherokee roses. The mockingbirds sang; I have no doubt the moon shone on lovers, but my documents do not say so. There were leisurely visits in the handsome houses, teeming with servants. In the months just before statehood, a Scot planter who had been there for thirty years found life good. Mississippi was

⁵² Gerard Brandon, "Historic Adams County," *Publications of Mississippi Historical Society*, II (1899), 215.

⁵³ Petition of J. Taylor, attorney for his widow, August 21, 1813. *Washington Republican*, August 25, 1813.

⁵⁴ See W. B. Hamilton, "Jefferson College and Education in Mississippi, 1798-1817," *Journal of Mississippi History*, III (October, 1941), 259-276.

“the land of promise, flowing with milk and honey.”⁵⁵ Eighteen-seventeen was “. . . the finest season I ever saw, peace and plenty, and the mony [sic] plenty . . . I think more of this Country and America than I ever did . . . [and] I thank the Great God that appointed my habitation in this place.”⁵⁶ And, undaunted by the recent long depression, he went out and bought another 100 acres of that good earth,⁵⁷ so he could grow more cotton, to buy more slaves, to buy more land, to . . .

⁵⁵ John Bisland to James _____, Mt. Airwell, October 25, 1817. Bisland Papers.

⁵⁶ Same to William Bisland, May 5 1817. Bisland Papers.

⁵⁷ Bisland paid \$600 for the 100 acres, planted seventeen of them in cotton that brought him \$500 in one season. Letter to James _____ above. I have used an unfair example, because Bisland was a diversifier, raising cattle, food, and feed.

Protestantism in the Mississippi Territory

by Margaret DesChamps Moore

The growth of Mississippi into a Biblical stronghold was a late nineteenth century development, perhaps foreseeable by the middle of the century, but hardly imaginable at its beginning. At that time missionaries and travelers found the people of the Old Natchez District far more interested in seeking riches in this world than in the next.¹ Few areas of the United States were characterized by so cosmopolitan a population, and its religious tendencies were almost as diverse as its people.

Free thought, skepticism, deism, or indifference to religion were characteristic of the upper class. Thomas Rodney, a territorial judge, had been a vestryman in Pennsylvania but seems never to have attended any religious service in Mississippi. Stephen Duncan, one of the most affluent and philanthropic citizens, made no profession of Christian faith. B. L. C. Wailes's biographer found that the geologist, planter, and historian, could hear ministers of varying beliefs and abilities with complete impartiality for one over another.²

Peter Little, business man and large landowner, could not be so indifferent as Wailes to the activities of Methodist circuit riders. He

This article was originally published in the November 1967 sesquicentennial 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.

¹ See Margaret D. Moore, "Religion in Mississippi in 1860," *Journal of Mississippi History*, XXII (October 1960), 223-238.

² William B. Hamilton, *Thomas Rodney, Revolutionary and Builder of the West* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1953), 58, 87; John H. Moore, *Andrew Brown and Cypress Lumbering in the Old Southwest* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 49; Charles S. Sydnor, *A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1938), 213-214.

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built “The Parsonage” where his young and devout wife might entertain Methodist itinerants, for he did not want to be bothered by them in his own mansion, “Rosalie.” His early sawmilling partner, Andrew Brown, was a skeptic who was probably educated at the University of Edinburgh and elected to membership in the American Philosophical Society. He too had trouble with a zealous member of his family. When his son and namesake grew to manhood he besought his father to desert rationalism and follow “a Newton or a Locke or a host of others who after treading the labyrinth of science and philosophy for years...threw all their research at the feet of Jesus.”³ An early Methodist itinerant said of such old and established settlers that while respectable in many ways they were so rich that they were “above religion, and religion ... above them.”⁴

These early financial and cultural leaders were inclined neither to establish nor to join Protestant churches; they were more likely to organize such groups as the Mississippi Society for the Acquirement and Dissemination of Useful Knowledge.⁵ Yet, ministers did not find them antagonistic toward religious endeavors. Some of them supported the American Colonization Society and the American Bible Society, both organized the year before the territory achieved statehood.⁶

Missionaries and travelers reported that the gentlemen of Natchez were hospitable and urbane. Jacob Young recalled that when he was a presiding elder for the Methodist Church men of “the first class” were “a great benefit” to his work.⁷ James Hall, who was accustomed to preaching to educated and affluent North Carolinians, spoke highly of the Natchez aristocracy after a missionary tour in 1800. He thought they possessed the highest morals of any class in the territory and only once did he hear a profane oath from one of them. A minister

³ John H. Moore, *Andrew Brown*, 47; Harnett T. Kane, *Natchez on the Mississippi* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1947), 264-277.

⁴ John G. Jones, *A Complete History of Methodism as Connected with the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1887), I, 173.

⁵ Sydnor, *Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region*, 125; Hamilton, *Thomas Rodney*, 87.

⁶ *Religious Intelligencer*, I (July 6, 1816), 103-105; Early L. Fox, *The American Colonization Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1919), 61-63, 122-123; P. J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 146.

⁷ Jacob Young, *Autobiography of a Pioneer; or, the Nativity, Experience, Travels, and Ministerial Labors of Rev. Jacob Young; with Incidents, Observations, and Reflections* (Cincinnati: Cranston and Curtis, c. 1857), 222.

who spoke equally well on Calvinism or natural philosophy, Hall was well received by the educated planters and urged to stay in Natchez.⁸ One of the few dissenting opinions on the aristocracy was entered by Thomas Ashe, an English traveler, whose writing was, to say the least, picturesque. The gentlemen of Natchez, he said, were sick with venereal disease and fevers, avid gamblers, horse racers, and dissolute drunkards. “The vice of Natchez,” he wrote, “is proverbial through America.”⁹

The vice that was proverbial, of course, was under the hill. Here congregated a truly mongrel and transient population. Jacob Young, trying to cross the Mississippi from Natchez to his preaching appointments in Louisiana in 1807, was detained under the hill for one-half day because of rough waters. He later recalled that the wickedness he saw surpassed anything he had ever imagined. Americans, French, Spaniards, English, Irish, Dutch, Negroes, and mulattoes mingled together, while Kentuckians lay on their flatboats “drinking, fighting, swearing, and acting like demons.” “I had often heard of Natchez under the hill,” he concluded, “but never saw it before, and I thought I should be glad never to see it again.”¹⁰

The reputation of the city under the hill, but more especially the widespread knowledge of the climate, discouraged ministers from entering the territory. As late as 1820 an English traveler reported that half the families of Natchez were in mourning because of deaths the previous year.¹¹ Earlier in the century attrition from fevers was even greater. When the Western Conference of the Methodist Church called for volunteers for the missionary station at Natchez in 1803, no one answered. On the last day of the session, Launer Blackman agreed to go, although he thought it a great cross “to go to a country said to be one of the most sickly countries in America and ... [where] I should

⁸ James Hall, *A Brief History of the Mississippi Territory, to which is Prefixed, a Summary View of the Country between the Settlements on Cumberland River and the Territory* (Salisbury: Francis Coupee, 1801) in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, IX (1906), 539-573.

⁹ Thomas Ashe, *Travels in America, Performed in 1806 ...* (London: E. M. Blunt, 1808), 317. For opposite views, see: Samuel R. Brown, *The Western Gazeteer; or Emigrant's Directory* (Auburn, New York: H. C. Southwick, 1817), 234; William Darby, *A Geographical Description of the State of Louisiana, the Southern Part of the State of Mississippi, and the Territory of Alabama* (New York: James Olmstead, 1817), 314-315.

¹⁰ Young, *Autobiography*, 223.

¹¹ Adam Hodgson, *Remarks during a Journey through North America in the Year 1819, 1820, and 1821* (New York: J. Seymour, 1823), 191.

be 1500 or 1600 miles from home.”¹² Jacob Young admitted that he was forced by Bishop Francis Asbury to follow Blackman to Natchez.¹³ A minister who succeeded them expressed doubt that people could “form an adequate notion of the resolution required to volunteer as an Itinerant Preacher in such a region.”¹⁴

Yet, as soon as the territory was organized hardy souls like these went to minister to the population. Richard Curtis, who had been forced to leave the Natchez area because of Spanish opposition to his ministerial activities, returned by 1789 to the Church of Jesus Christ on Coles Creek which he had served before the land passed to the United States. Curtis, with a group of South Carolinians, had made a settlement on the creek in 1780, and although an elder rather than an ordained minister, he had in the absence of regular clergy performed weddings, baptized believers, and buried the dead. During his exile, which he spent in South Carolina, he was ordained as a Baptist minister.¹⁵

For more than a decade after Curtis returned, additions to the Baptist faith came not so much from conversions as by emigration, especially from South Carolina. By 1800 Baptists had organized four congregations, but when the Mississippi Baptist Association published its first minutes in 1807 it claimed only 196 members. So slow was the growth of the church that the first circular letter sent by the association to its members compared the denomination in the territory to a barren fig tree. Its members, found chiefly among the poor and ignorant, were regarded by wealthier citizens with indifference or even contempt.¹⁶

A few Baptists, however, accumulated property and became relatively affluent. By 1810, the church on Bayou Pierre, the second oldest in the territory, inquired of the association whether it was necessary to wash the saints' feet. The association answered that footwashing was indeed a Christian duty, a practice which prosperous

¹² Albert E. Casey (ed.), *Amite County, Mississippi, 1699-1865* (Birmingham: Amite County Historical Fund, 1950), 496. Blackman is referred to as Launer, Learner, or Learned Blackman.

¹³ Young, *Autobiography*, 206.

¹⁴ Ray Holder (ed.), “The Autobiography of William Winans” (Unpublished Master’s thesis, University of Mississippi, 1936), 116.

¹⁵ John G. Jones, *A Concise History of the Introduction of Protestantism into Mississippi and the Southwest* (St. Louis: P. M. Pinchard, 1866), 19-48.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*; *A Republication of the Minutes of the Mississippi Baptist Association from its Organization in 1806 to the Present Time* (New Orleans: Hinton and Co., 1849), 3-6, 12-15, 364.

members of this church apparently had come to find displeasing. Another evidence of affluence in this congregation was the provision made by the Association for preaching to slaves on Bayou Pierre. A congregation of Negroes known as the African Church met once a month at Josiah Flower's sawmill on the bayou where, with passes from their owners or overseers, they could hear sermons from white Baptist ministers who volunteered to preach to them.¹⁷

As Baptists prospered, educated clergymen of that faith came to the territory. The most able of these were probably Moses Hadley, Thomas Mercer, and David Cooper. On behalf of the Association they wrote letters on problems of faith and government that were worthy of the best talent of the Presbyterian Church. Yet, no Baptist Church was built in Natchez until statehood was achieved, and its clergymen were not so successful as the Methodist in gathering middle class converts on the rivers, creeks, and bayous of the countryside.¹⁸

The Methodists should be credited with sending the first Protestant missionary to the Mississippi Territory, for the few ministers who preceded Tobias Gibson had not been sent by eastern churches but had moved there with congregations or family groups. In January of 1799, Bishop Francis Asbury appointed Gibson to the Natchez country, and he arrived later that year. In Washington he formed a congregation of eight persons. Three of these came from the family of his cousin, Randall Gibson, and four, including two slaves, from the household of William Foster. Randall Gibson had planned to join the Baptists and was waiting to be immersed when his cousin arrived.¹⁹

Foster, an old resident of the area, was a fortunate convert for the Methodists. Of taciturn disposition and devoid of preaching talents, he never became an exhorter as did Randall Gibson. His great contribution to Methodism was financial. He had no children, and as he prospered, he shared his wealth with the church. Almost every Methodist itinerant who wrote a reminiscence of life in the territory praised Foster for personal kindness. They recalled gifts ranging from overnight lodging to \$500 with which to pay personal debts. The first official meeting of the Mississippi Conference in 1816, where Methodists

¹⁷ Ibid., 20-21, 42.

¹⁸ Ibid., 12-72.

¹⁹ Jones, *A Complete History of Methodism*, I, 24-39, 451-460; Jones, *A Concise History of the Introduction of Protestantism*, 98-126.

effected a permanent organization of scattered churches, was held in one room of Foster's home. There members transacted business and stayed overnight. His financial support was also instrumental in the erection of the first Methodist church in Natchez.²⁰

At first they won few converts, but a number of Methodist itinerants followed Tobias Gibson. The minister most responsible for the perseverance of the Methodists in the Natchez area was Launer Blackman, presiding elder of the Natchez district from 1804 until 1807.²¹ William Winans, who came in 1810, was an outstanding itinerant who remained in Mississippi. At ease with all economic classes, he became the leading Methodist of the antebellum period. He married a woman with a modest amount of land and slaves, and then farmed, taught school, ran unsuccessfully for public office, and became a presiding elder of his church. His influence extended far beyond his own era, for he collected a voluminous file of correspondence, papers, and diaries which constitute our best single source for a history of Protestantism in Mississippi.²²

Itinerants, with the financial aid of William Foster, built a Methodist organization in the territory. When they began their work, Lorenzo Dow, surely the most colorful and controversial one of them, doubted that there were three Christians, Negro or white, in Natchez.²³ At the end of the territorial period they could claim less than two thousand white and Negro members in Mississippi and Louisiana, but they had outdistanced their Protestant competitors in winning numbers to church membership. Methodists were generally neither so poor as Baptists nor so prosperous as Presbyterians. With the opening of north Mississippi to white settlers in the 1830s, Methodism won the state; and the agricultural prosperity of the 1850s made the church one of influential planters as well as farmers.²⁴

The growth of Methodism was in measure due to effective use

²⁰ Ibid.; Young, *Autobiography*, 230-231; Holder (ed.), "Autobiography of William Winans," 265-266.

²¹ Young, *Autobiography*, 218-220.

²² The William Winans Collection is deposited in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson.

²³ Lorenzo Dow, *History of Cosmopolite: or the Writings of Rev. Lorenzo Dow: Containing the Experience and Travels, in Europe and America up to near his Fiftieth Year* (Cincinnati: Anderson, Gates, and Wright, 1860), 217.

²⁴ Moore, "Religion in Mississippi," *Journal of Mississippi History*, XXII (October 1960), 224-225, 231; *Methodist Magazine*, I (February 1818), 75.

of camp meetings. Dow, the greatest evangelizer on the American frontier, held the first encampment south of Tennessee in 1804.²⁵ Early Mississippi revivals were characterized by emotionalism and religious exercises common to the west. While the Methodist clergy took the initiative in arranging such meetings, Baptists and Presbyterians often helped with the preaching. Jacob Young recalled revivals where ministers warred with each other over predestination and immersion, and bands of ruffians on the outskirts of the camps tried to break them up. On one occasion a planter in the audience engaged in a shouting match with a preacher when he attacked the high living and ostentatious dress of some members of the congregation. In spite of such confusion, camp meetings resulted in additions to the church.²⁶

While these meetings were the most spectacular way of gaining converts, the Methodist itinerant system was probably more responsible for the growth of the denomination. Indeed, Winans regarded the meetings as detrimental to Methodism because ministers eventually became too dependent on them and thought it "a strange thing if any person were converted under the ordinary ministry."²⁷ The itinerant's regular preaching points were usually houses, since churches and public buildings were few. Their work consisted of preaching, holding prayer meetings, administering the ordinances of the church, catechizing, and teaching.²⁸

Penniless, poorly dressed, and half-sick, these men made their appointed rounds in all kinds of weather. While crossing swollen streams, all had narrow escapes from death by drowning, and felt fortunate indeed if they lived to recover their horses and saddle bags. Many people who listened to them never heard any other preaching in the new land to which they had moved. Sometimes Methodists were harassed and rudely treated by the populace; more often they were warmly welcomed by a poor and unsettled people who shared with them their crude homes and scanty fare. Where they could organize congregations, itinerants left behind laymen, known as class leaders, who oversaw flocks until they returned. By the time of statehood,

²⁵ Dow, *History of Cosmopolite*, 218; Charles B. Galloway, "Lorenzo Dow in Mississippi," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, IV (1901), 241.

²⁶ Young, *Autobiography*, 232-245.

²⁷ Holder (ed.), "Autobiography of William Winans," 136.

²⁸ Young, *Autobiography*, 232.

“local” ministers settled among the people and itinerants were less influential in the Methodist organization. William Winans regretted the passing of the days when itinerants traveled “as a band of brothers” and Methodists tried to stand apart as a people with distinct morals, manners, and dress.”²⁹

The only other church to develop a permanent organization in the territorial period was the Presbyterian. Three missionaries, James Hall, William Montgomery, and James Bowman, were sent to Natchez in 1800 by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. They did not remain, and so the first Presbyterian minister to settle permanently in the Natchez country was Joseph Bullen. Bullen, after a persistent but unsuccessful mission to the Chickasaws, moved to Jefferson County where in 1804 he organized Bethel, the first Presbyterian Church in Mississippi. Jacob Rickow and James Smylie soon moved to the territory and William Montgomery returned. Before statehood was achieved, these four ministers, with the help of Daniel Smith, a missionary, had established eight churches and organized them into the Presbytery of Mississippi.³⁰ Presbyterian clergymen were welcomed by the established settlers because they were well educated and able to exercise leadership in cultural activities. They came primarily to seek fellow churchmen who had migrated from the southeastern states, and they established congregations only where literate men of Calvinist persuasion had settled. These were usually composed of well-to-do people, although Union, settled by a group of Scots, was an exception.

Protestant pioneers met no active opposition from the Roman Catholic Church. Few Catholic families remained after the passage of the Old Natchez District to the United States. In 1806, a traveler observed that the Catholic Church in Natchez had been “stripped of ... its Spanish possessions” by the Americans and closed.³¹ Ministers who crossed the river into Louisiana found the Catholic influence there formidable, but the church did not effectively re-enter Mississippi until the 1830s. While a few Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Quakers

²⁹ William Winans to Joseph McDowell, August 31, 1830, Winans Papers; Casey (ed.), *Amite County*, II, 499-500; Jackson *Mississippian*, May 2, 1834.

³⁰ E. H. Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1864), II, 367-373; T. L. Hamer, “Beginnings of Presbyterianism in Mississippi,” *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, X (1909), 203-221; *Southwestern Presbyterian*, October 30, 1890, May 28, June 18, 1891.

³¹ Ashe, *Travels in America*, 316.

could be found in the territory, these groups were too small to organize congregations.³² The field was left to the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians.

Often ministers and members of these denominations quarreled with each other on matters of doctrine, but their areas of agreement were greater than their differences. By 1811, the Baptist Association sought to promote harmony and good will among Christians of all denominations. Moses Hadley, appointed to write a circular letter for the Association on the benefits of denominational union, stated that a union of all churches would “eternally shut out” controversies and bigotry, and enable Christians to “sit together in heavenly places.”³³ Baptists and Presbyterians in 1817 took the lead in organizing the Religious Convention of Christian Denominations. Participants in these meetings, to which ministers in good standing and official lay representatives of all Christian churches were welcomed, avoided discussions of doctrines and discipline. Instead, they concentrated on promoting Christian fellowship and raising the moral tone of the population.³⁴ Newly settled areas of the state continued to experience controversies, but in civilized Natchez inter-denominational relations had reached maturity.³⁵

Wherever Protestants established churches, schools usually followed. Probably the first classical academy in the territory was the one organized by James Smylie in Washington. The superior educational requirements of their church made Presbyterian ministers like Smylie the ablest teachers in early Mississippi. William Montgomery, who could recite Horace’s odes from memory and correct his students’ translations from Virgil without a text, became the first president of Jefferson College.³⁶

Montgomery was undoubtedly a better scholar than his Methodist contemporary, William Winans. Winans, who had little appreciation

³² Frances A. Cabaniss and James A. Cabaniss, “Religion in Ante-Bellum Mississippi,” *Journal of Mississippi History*, VI (October 1944), 191-224. A Congregational minister had formed a congregation during the Spanish regime, but it disappeared with his death in 1784.

³³ *Republication of the Minutes of the Mississippi Baptist Association*, 26, 30-34.

³⁴ *Religious Intelligencer*, II (March 21, 1817), 686-687; *Christian Herald*, V (February 6, 1819), 655-659.

³⁵ Moore, “Religion in Mississippi,” *Journal of Mississippi History*, XXII (October 1960), 230.

³⁶ Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, II, 370. Walter B. Posey, *The Presbyterian Church in the Old Southwest* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1952), 183-184.

for any literature that was not morally didactic, could not parse a sentence until he began to teach. He never advanced beyond the level of teaching a school for children in his neighborhood. Methodists, however, made a unique contribution to education when they opened Elizabeth Female Academy in 1818. At that time the education of women was generally neglected, even in eastern cities.³⁷

The educational advantages of Natchez were due entirely to the efforts of Presbyterians and Baptists. In 1817, Daniel Smith, a Presbyterian missionary, wrote back east: "A year ago there was not a good school in the place; now almost all the children are under the care of well qualified and pious instructors."³⁸ He found eighty students "from the most respectable families" in the new Presbyterian academy. The Baptists had begun to educate poor children by operating a Lancasterian school, where advanced students taught beginners. A charitable society formed by ladies had quickly raised \$2,000 to finance it. The teacher, Benjamin Davis, established the first Baptist congregation in the town. Between Presbyterians and Baptists cordial relations seem to have existed as they began their schools and churches in Natchez.³⁹

Ministers also helped spread Bibles and religious tracts among the people. After the publication of a report that five thousand families in the Mississippi Territory were destitute of the scriptures, the Massachusetts Bible Society and the New England Tract Society sent Daniel Smith to the Southwest as their representative. In 1816 he distributed Bibles from the Pearl River to Natchez using as his agents Baptist and Presbyterian clergymen as well as the Mississippi Bible Society which had been founded in 1813. Members of [the] Mississippi Presbytery, individuals along the Pearl River, and settlers in Amite County, helped him distribute tracts. A Presbyterian elder told him that "nothing set the people to reading like them [tracts];" while a small boy expressed gratitude for literature that did not merely entertain,

³⁷ Winans to Brother Scranton, July 1, 1820, Winans Letter Books; Winans to Nancy, September 16, 1820, *ibid.*; Holder (ed.), "Autobiography of William Winans," 3; Charles B. Galloway, "Elizabeth Female Academy—The Mother of Female Colleges," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, II (1899), 169-178.

³⁸ *Religious Intelligencer*, II (June 2, 1817), 15-16.

³⁹ *Ibid.*; Margaret D. Moore, "Early Schools and Churches in Natchez," *Journal of Mississippi History*, XXIV (October, 1962), 253-255; *Natchez Gazette*, October 28, 1826.

but told him how to die.⁴⁰

Aside from promotion of education, the greatest influence of clergymen was on the amelioration of slavery. The Methodist circuit riders were anti-slavery and were so appalled by the abuse of slaves by church members that at least one refused to court the daughter of a slaveholder.⁴¹ The first query brought before the Baptist Association was: "What steps would be most advisable to take with members of our society, whose treatment to their slaves is unscriptural?"⁴² Presbyterians, in whose congregations slaveholding was prevalent, were not outspoken in opposition to slavery. Indeed, James Smylie, by the decade of the thirties was the state's most articulate defender of the institution. Yet Presbyterians joined with Methodists and Baptists in support of the colonization movement, and in a united attempt to make masters aware of their obligation to Christianize slaves by providing family worship and religious services for them. Ministers of all denominations preached to slaves, and travelers found an occasional slave exhorter working on Sundays among his fellows. The effect of the clergy on slaveholding, however, was slight, for people had come to Mississippi to make money from slave-operated cotton plantations.⁴³

All churches disciplined members for breaches of moral codes. Dancers, drinkers of alcoholic beverages, card-players, Sabbath-breakers, profaners, and adulterers were frequently brought to judgment before Methodist classes, Baptist congregations, and Presbyterian sessions.⁴⁴ The churches were not yet so strong that they could exercise much influence beyond the confines of their own congregations. Later in the history of the state religious forces were so powerful and well organized that they brought about state laws limiting the sale of alcohol, prohibiting Sabbath desecration, and forbidding the teaching of evolution. During the territorial period in Mississippi, the churches were unable to exert as much influence against crime and

⁴⁰ *Religious Intelligencer* I (October 26, 1816), 364-366; (July 6, 1816), 103-106, (September 14, 1816), 256, (October 26, 1816), 362-363.

⁴¹ Holder (ed.), "Autobiography of William Winans," 131; Young, *Autobiography*, 240.

⁴² *Republication of the Minutes of the Mississippi Baptist Association*, 13.

⁴³ Henry Cogswell Knight, *Letters from the South and West* (Boston: Richardson and Lord, 1824), 111; Posey, *Presbyterian Church*, 79-80; *Christian Herald*, V (February 6, 1819), 657; *Religious Intelligencer*, I (October 26, 1816), 364-366.

⁴⁴ Casey (ed.), *Amite County*, II, is filled with examples of discipline cases. Also see: Moore, "Religion in Mississippi," *Journal of Mississippi History*, XXX (October 1960), 228-229.

disorder as they did elsewhere on the frontier. As William B. Hamilton has so aptly pointed out, "the single institution . . . that offered stability, that could cement the society together" in the early nineteenth century in Mississippi was Anglo-American law.⁴⁵

The minister, however, was often a tower of strength in combatting fear and superstition and in maintaining calm in time of crisis. A Methodist clergyman was a leader in allaying panic over an expected Indian uprising during the War of 1812. Another itinerant quieted a woman who thought she saw the devil on the wall in the shape of a big black dog. William Winans once ridiculed fears that a comet would hit the earth. Later he remained calm when even a fellow minister expected the fulfillment of a prediction that the countryside would be destroyed by storm and hail.⁴⁶ In a region where death was an ever present invader, the minister comforted the sorrowing and brought hope of immortality.

In the territorial period, the clergy did not win the battle over immortality; they did not convert the masses of the population; they did not bring churches and schools to all people in the territory. The Methodists lost their battle against slavery and worldly dress. The Presbyterians had little success in spreading an intelligent and unemotional doctrine. The Baptists were consigned an inferior position of work among the poor. When the territory entered the union not more than one person in twenty was a member of any church.⁴⁷ Yet, early Protestant ministers were not soon forgotten, for they possessed in abundant degree the daring, courage, and independent spirit out of which lands were settled and civilizations built.

⁴⁵ William B. Hamilton, *Anglo-American Law on the Frontier: Thomas Rodney and His Territorial Cases* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1953), viii.

⁴⁶ Casey (ed.), *Amite County* II, 499; Holder (ed.), "Autobiography of William Winans," 154-156, 170-172, 175-176.

⁴⁷ See "Documentary Material Relating to the Early History of the Presbyterian Church in Mississippi," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, XXI (December 1943), 186-208.

The Narrative of John Hutchins

Edited by John Q. Anderson

The hazards of pioneer life in Mississippi in the period of the American Revolution and the dramatic adventures of an exceptional young man are vividly described in a narrative written by John Hutchins, a document among the recently discovered papers of the Carson Family.¹ Hutchins was born near Natchez in 1774, and the following account is taken from reminiscences written for his grandchildren when he was about sixty years old.²

Between 1728 and 1730, John Hutchins (grandfather of the John Hutchins of the narrative) came from England with his wife, Margaret Pintard, a French Huguenot, to Long Island, New York, and later moved to Monmouth County, New Jersey, where a son, Anthony, was born and educated. Anthony Hutchins (father of the narrator) moved to the Peedee River district in South Carolina when he was twenty-one and married Ann White, daughter of an Irish father and American mother. Anthony served three years as sheriff and at the expiration of his term signed a bond for one of his deputies who was elected in his place. When the man defaulted, Anthony was held liable and had to sell his property to pay

This article was originally published in the January 1958 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.

¹ John Hutchins was the maternal grand-uncle of Dr. [James Green] Carson, subject of John Q. Anderson's "Dr. James Green Carson, Ante-Bellum Planter of Mississippi and Louisiana," *Journal of Mississippi History*, XVIII (October 1956), 243-267. The Carson Papers were loaned to me by Mr. Joseph Carson of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

² Excerpts from the Hutchins narrative appear in the large ledger book in which William Waller Carson, son of Dr. Carson, copied family information. It is not known whether he edited the manuscript as he copied it. Entries are given here as they appear in the Carson version. He omitted portions of the narrative, the original of which is thought to be among family papers in the possession of Mary Breckenridge, a descendant, and was not available to me.

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the obligation. By that time he had a family of four children. Concerning his father, John Hutchins later wrote:

Having the prospect of a large family with but a slender support he determined to try his fortune in a new country and with that view he left my mother and children and came by land to Natchez, sometime in the year 1772 He explored the surrounding country: his first location was on the bank of Saint Catherine Creek, near Natchez. The country at that time was a wilderness, yes, it was a dense and almost impenetrable canebrake, in his rambles through which he fell in with a young Indian of the Natchez Tribe. This young Indian became attached to my father and became his follower. He told my father that he had made a bad location as a residence; said he would soon die there and advised his leaving it, that he, Tom (that was the name given him by his new leader) could show him land of a better quality, and water, that if he drank of it, would make him live always. My father went to look at the land and water thus described.

With Tom and the four young apprentices, who came with him from Carolina, they set out for the land of promise and after twelve hours walk through the cane, they were brought to . . . White Apple Village, formerly occupied by the Prince White Apple, of the Natchez Tribe and within three miles of Ellis' Cliff After opening a small piece of land and building a few log cabins, he left his plantation in the care of Indian Tom and the four apprentices and returned to his family.

Early in 1774 Anthony Hutchins with his family, three slaves, wagons, saddle horses, and "horned cattle," started from South Carolina on the trek to the land he had bought in the Natchez area. Along the route through Georgia, they camped in a family tent and had milk and fresh meat from their own livestock. After about three months, the Hutchins family arrived at the new home in the wilderness in May, 1774. A few other families made the trek with them, and in response to letters written back to South Carolina others eventually came until about fifteen families were scattered over an area of one hundred miles. In that first summer in the wilderness, John Hutchins, the fifth child, was born on July 26, 1774, and within the next seven years four more children were born into

the family, all nine of them living to maturity.³

The difficulties of obtaining food and shelter in those early years were graphically recalled by Hutchins as follows:

Natchez was a wilderness, a canebrake, a hunting ground of the Indians and the white man, where the buffalo, the bear, the panther and the wolf had their hiding places, indeed the whole country was a thicket of timber and cane in tangled masses, there was not the footprint of a man on land, not a survey made of a single tract of land, not an ear of corn with the exception of an acre here and there planted by the hands of savages for present use Our houses were very rude and rough, built and covered without nail or hammer Very few farm utensils were brought by the emigrants. In consequence we opened the land slowly and were many years without bread, living on the wild roots and on the wild animals of the forest, which were in vast numbers

For several years we were almost without bread, or milk or butter. Fortunately the country was well supplied with wild game. Our board was composed of the Indian Potatoes which after being boiled were mashed and minced in about equal parts with dried and pounded venison and baked on a board before the fire: sometimes a little bear oil was mixed with it

There was no corn in the country, with the exception of a small quantity raised on my father's place. The wild animals and Indians were so numerous as to consume the whole crop, with the exception of a small part saved by the providence of Indian Tom. He would select the top of a ridge of land, there he would dig a hole, and line it with bark from a tree, in which he would deposit the corn. Then full bark was laid over it on which dirt was thrown, covering it with leaves. This gave the new colony that came with my father, seed for the next year when we began to get open land, so as to admit of raising corn, there was no mill to grind it in. If we wanted meal we had to grind it in a wooden mortar after night; the day was spent in clearing land, or

³ The children of Anthony Pintard Hutchins and Ann White Hutchins listed in the narrative were: Samuel and Mary (twins), Thomas, and Elizabeth, all born in South Carolina before 1773; John (the narrator), born in 1774, Nancy, 1776, Magdeline, 1777, Charlotte, 1779, and Celeste, 1781, all born in Mississippi. Entries in the Carson Family Bible show that Mary Hutchins, born February 4, 1768, married Abner Green in Mississippi on November 1, 1784. Their daughter Caroline, born October 8, 1794, married Joseph Carson in Mississippi on May 17, 1814. Their son, James Green Carson, born March 8, 1815, married Catherine Waller of Kentucky, July 28, 1835.

hunting wild game to supply our table My father built the first grist mill in Mississippi: every one in the country came to see it and to praise it. It gave signs of better times, of better living⁴

There was not one man in the country with money enough to buy a barrel of flour. We had to join purses to do so and divide the flour according to sums paid. Flour was very high and scarce. The price of flour in New Orleans was \$25.00; the freight to Natchez was \$5.00 making it \$30.00. This flour came from France, there was no boats then descending the river from above, the hostile Indians on the Ohio formed a complete barrier to all entrance. We were shut up and had to depend on ourselves I will give you a few items to let you know something about the price of articles of necessity in this country in early times. One pair of thin three print blankets \$12.00; one yard of Scotch Osnaberg, 75 cts.; one pound Brown sugar, 50 cts.; one pound coffee, 75 cts.; one pound tea, \$12.00 First cost of one barrel salt at New Orleans \$20.00

Clothing and covering were scarce and such as we had was of the coarsest and roughest kind made by our mothers and sisters from the spinning wheel and the loom. As soon as we had opened land enough for the purpose of raising bread there were cotton patches planted for clothing, the seed was picked out at night and carded and spun and woven on a loom, stuck up in an outdoor cabin on fork and stick If we went to visit a neighbor it was generally on foot, when the ladies would fill their aprons with cotton to amuse themselves with on the road by picking out the seed; then, we had no gins, our looms were made with great simplicity and any farmer boy could make a spinning wheel. All the looms and harness were made at home.

In addition to the difficulties of obtaining food and shelter in the wilderness, the Indians, though not hostile in the beginning, were a nuisance because they felt free to raid the corn patches and even to take food from the settlers' tables. "Very often it so happened," Hutchins said, "that after dinner was prepared and the family assembled to partake of it the Indians would step in and sweep the platter. We then had to submit, owing to the disparity in numbers. It was one in a hundred." Some years later when only his mother and sister were at home,

A large Indian came to the door and demanded a blanket, being

⁴ W. W. Carson omitted the description of the mill given in the original manuscript.

refused by my mother he stepped into the house and drew from a bed a blanket. At the same moment my mother ran to the fire place, picked up a large poker and belaboured him so stoutly as to make him drop his prize and retreat outside the door. He was a stout young fellow, full six feet high and as well made as an Indian. He was called Kentucky John, could speak very good English. There he stood heaping every epithet of abuse that he was master of on them; his object was to draw my mother outside the house while he could recover his prize. She knew Indians too well for such tricks to succeed. At length he went away.

Kentucky John shows up again in Hutchins's story as will be seen subsequently.

At least one time the Indians became more than a nuisance to the settlers. The narrative describes this incident as follows:

During all this time there was a small garrison of Englishmen at Fort Rosalie at Natchez. Our few horses were frequently stolen by the Indians, who always returned them by the offer of a large reward, but, by and by they demanded a price so high that our people refused to submit to such piracy. Five young men of the highest courage determined to pursue the Indians and take the stolen horses by the force of arms. They met the Indians about two hundred in number, a combat ensued, the Indians were driven back, the horses retaken. We lost a noble young fellow, he fell in the first on-set, three of the Indians were killed. To avenge their loss they determined on a general massacre under such circumstances we had to run to the post where we remained for eight months in a very suffering state, with very little provisions and almost naked. During this time the Indians destroyed all our domestic animals and burned our houses, consumed our corn and left us destitute of everything that we could not carry on our backs in our retreat.

When peace was concluded and we returned to our houses we there found no shelter, our houses were burned and to shelter ourselves we had to build bark camps, such as the Indians occupy. Our farming tools were gone, what could we do? During the dilemma we found one axe, one foot adz and one mattock. With the axe we cut saplings and built houses; with the mattock we could grub the cane and bushes, after which we turned it into a plow, by which means we could scratch the mellow soil. The foot adz we used as a hoe to cut the most stubborn

weeds and each child was furnished with a staff of hard wood to beat down the young cane and tender weeds among the corn. When our tools became dull we had once a year to send them to the smithshop above named.⁵ The way we used the mattock as a plough was as follows: a wooden stock was made in all respect like the common plough: near the fore end of the beam, a hole was made, through which the handle of the mattock was passed; this brought the axe fast in contact with the beam at about the right place to give the hoe the position of a shovel plough; the axe part was inserted in the beam.

The settlers had hardly recovered from this blow before a new problem arose when their area was transferred by the treaty of 1782* from British to Spanish rule, a move which affected the Hutchins family directly and almost brought disaster, as the narrative shows:

A change of government took place and in place of our British rulers, we had the Spaniards. Many of our citizens were persecuted by them, some were taken prisoners, while others escaped their clutches. Among the latter was my father . . . as well as I can remember the circumstances I will give you some account, how the English got possession of the Fort at Natchez, at the time I now allude to it was garrisoned by a Spanish officer and sixty men well armed. In the night my father and five men assembled on an elevated piece of the ground, having a commanding view of the fort and within cannon shot. Four of his men were placed, two standing in front of two, behind those and in regular order there was stuck up several stakes about the height of men, which were covered with military hats and coats giving them the appearance of soldiers. In front was placed a large log, which had the appearance of a cannon; several bright muskets were stacked in full view of the fort, near which the British flag was hoisted. All this preparation being made, a soldier was sent with a flag and a letter demanding a surrender of the fort, at the same time announcing that a mine had been sprung and combustibles sufficient to blow up the

* Editor's note: The Treaty of Paris that concluded the American Revolution was finalized in 1783. Under the provisions of the treaty, Florida, which included the Natchez District, was returned to Spain by Great Britain.

⁵ Hutchins previously stated: "The only blacksmith, then within the limits of the state, was located on the Bayou Pier [*sic*], then, as the path went past every man's house, it was distant about one hundred miles from the White Apple Village."

fort were deposited. They were commanded to lay down their arms and march out. This they did do. Then my father and his five men took possession, leaving his dummy men and cannon in their places.

The fort did not long remain in their possession; Pensacola, the metropolis fell into the hands of the Spaniards and with it the whole Country. Now you can readily see why the Spaniards were so hostile to my father. They persecuted him from that time forward. Finding that he had neither peace nor safety among them, he built wagons in which he deposited the few articles of clothing, bedding, and some provisions, with the family and his cattle and started for Georgia. I rode behind one of the stock drivers. I was without shoes or pants but on my head was placed my father's hat, and I wore his coat, which was red, with blue facing, with an epaulet on the shoulder. I suppose I would have fought like a soldier if necessary. When we had gone about two hundred miles on our road we were overtaken by a messenger from the Spanish Government, with a letter of apology to my father, advising him to return and promising him protection. We did return and things went on very well for a short time. My father had sent two ox wagons to Natchez to take in a load of meat, when, by order of the government, both of the oxen and drivers were detained and put to work on the road. He mounted his horse, rode to town and ordered his teams and their drivers home. This gave offense to the Governor. That, with several like offenses, caused them to persecute and pursue him from place to place until at length his friends advised him to leave the country.

His route was through the wilderness to Pensacola, living on snakes and worms and nuts. At Pensacola he got on board a British cruiser and was gone from his family about seven years. He did not return until a settlement of the two hostile governments by a treaty. After he returned things went on much better, people on both sides became more reasonable. The mad career of war and its consequences had ceased.

After the arrival of William Dunbar, called Sir William, who settled at the present residence of his estimable son Dr. William Dunbar [sic]. From that time forward Sir William and my father, by commission from the Spanish Government, had the settlement of nearly all the difficulties and disputes that occurred among the people and their estates.

Meanwhile, during the first months of Anthony Hutchins's absence as a refugee from the Spanish, the following incident occurred:

Shortly after he left we were visited by a band of robbers headed by a man named Willing, under a forged commission from the Government of the United States. I remember him well, when he demanded of my mother her gold and silver, and such other articles as he might wish to place his hands on. She refused to obey his orders, he lifted from his belt a pistol and pointed it at her breast. I remember well her reply, it was this—"Shoot coward, I am but a woman." This was a damper he returned his pistol to its place and seeing a large chest in one of the corners of the house threw open the lid and running his hand to the bottom he got hold of a leather bag of bullets. From the weight he took it for specie, he pocketed it, after which his countenance seemed to change: he ordered his men to cease searching the house, he took his illgotten spoil and after mustering twenty-three slaves, all we had, with the exception of one woman then in childbirth and marched them away. My mother and her children in a wilderness country with no protection and a large family to feed, surrounded by savages who, if they did not murder, would steal all they could lay their hands on: well, she was a woman of high mettle and was not to be discouraged; she saw her helpless situation; she gathered her children together and told us our situation. We told her that we could work and we did work; we all worked, the girls in spinning and weaving and the other household business. My mother and her three sons cultivated the field and when father returned we had supplied the place of the slaves taken away by Willing.

Interspersed throughout the Hutchins narrative is much personal detail which illustrates vividly what pioneer life in the early days of Mississippi was like for a boy and young man. This material has been selected and arranged chronologically to form the following account:

Every boy was raised with a gun in his hand, which he commenced using before he was strong enough to hold it in position, the young hunter carried in one hand a stick, one end of which had a sharp point to stick in the ground, a fork at the other to rest the gun on.

A boy of seven or eight years in this way used to hunt, often killing

bear, panthers, deer, and turkey. From the age of four or six years the boys were made useful in picking up brush in the clearing and kindling fires under logs until they were burned. And in that way boys did what is now performed by men

When a keel boat was expected from New Orleans it was my business to watch the landing to receive the freight: I generally went on foot. My father would say, "Now John, don't waste your time, you are wanted in the field." I always took my gun on my shoulder and on one occasion I took in my hand a spy glass. It was a pretty good telescope and very long when drawn to its focus. I found a large camp of Indians at the landing, suppose there might have been about one hundred. I sat my rifle down against a tree, drew out my spy glass, regulated it to its proper place, when a boat hove in sight from above. I pointed the instrument towards the boat when I was asked by the Indians if I was going to shoot the boat. I told them no, that I was only bringing her closer to me that I might look into her loading. I handed the glass to one of them, he looked and with a scream of terror pronounced the word medicine man. In less than five minutes there was not an Indian to be seen.

On another occasion, there was a large number of Indians; men, women and children encamped within a quarter of a mile from my father's house. I was told by my father to drive them away. I took my pony horse, which I used as a strek [?] horse to drive our cattle home. I was soon at the camp, the Indians looked formidable. I found their Chief with his large tin medal; I addressed myself to him, told him that my father had sent me to tell him that he must move his people off his land. He turned to me with a look of contempt and scorn and said, "The land is free to all, it is as much mine as it is your father's. Go home boy and tell your father that I say I won't leave this spot until I please." I remarked to him that he had a great number of dogs; his answer was, "Yes, bear dogs." I said "Say fat dogs. I think you feed them on white people's hogs and cows." "No, I feed them on venison," was his reply. I urged that Indians killed our stock; he protested that it was not true. I observed that if I was right by sunrise next morning his dogs would begin to die. "Let it be so," was his reply. "If my dogs die by that time I will move."

With that understanding I rode home. At that period of time our country was infested with wolves in great numbers; we trapped some,

shot others and resorted to poisoning with *nux vomica*. I soon had a quantity prepared, inserting a dose wrapped up in a small piece of thin paper in a mouthful of fresh meat, at least to the amount of one hundred pieces, and at twilight that evening I rode around the camp, dropping piece after piece, until my sack was empty. On the next morning at the appointed hour I made my appearance on horseback at the camp, all was bustle and confusion and hurry. They were packing up as if to move. I soon found the chief and asked him what was the matter. "Going away," says the Indian holding his head down and exclaiming, "Dog die too fast." I asked if I had not told him so, he said, "Must be some bad Indians, I go away." The above circumstances confirmed them in their opinion that I was a great medicine man

I remember when I was about ten years old that two of our hunters were in the woods and saw an Indian shoot down one of our cows. They instantly caught the Indian and gave him a sound thrashing. The next morning we got information that he had lodged a complaint with his Chief, Spaniky, who gathered about him three hundred young men with an intent to demand and enforce satisfaction. Our spy gave us but short notice of their intentions. My father's house was the place of rendezvous on all alarming occasions, all the inhabitants that were near, both white and black were soon collected. The Indians soon came, our men were ready, about fifteen men in number: our women and children were put in the house and the doors closed. The Indians took their stand in front of the house and about fifty yards distant. Our men, some with guns, some with axes and others with hoes, formed a line in front of the door. So matters stood for sometime: at length my father directed our interpreter to state to Chief Spaniky, the circumstances relative to the shooting of the cow by one of his men. During their conversation on this subject, I saw, among the Indians, a boy and the only one among the hostile Indians. He was well armed with a bow and a small quiver of arrows and as I thought there was war, I thought I would have a hand in it, so I stepped up to the Chief's son, the boy, and snatched from his hands his implements of war and before he had time to attempt its recovery I shot him in the abdomen. This mad act caused an immediate rush and the Indians advanced. They were checked by a word and the pointing of a finger towards me at the same time crying out medicine man. I stood firm by my father's side: the presence of a medicine man in the person of a small boy upset all

their courage. A few blankets were given them and peace was restored. From that day forward I did assume the place of a medicine man. I had but to give an order it was immediately obeyed

At the age of thirteen, having studied the character of the Indians, I became expert at all their games and particularly at handling the hatchet. I also learned their weak points and much about their superstitions. I soon became with them what they call a medicine man. I worked on their fears, until I could command them at pleasure and as I practiced my talents improved until I was so well known as to make my name a terror to them

I will try to amuse my grandchildren with a panther story⁶ that occurred when I was about thirteen years of age. My father had two small tobacco plantations, distance from each other about one mile. I had the management of them both. We sometimes worked at one, then at the other as circumstances required it. The country was covered with cane, and the neighborhood scattering, our nearest neighbor was four miles from us. We had two large barns; one on each place in which we hung up our tobacco to dry. Our house was built of small poles or split punchins from a large tree. The cabins were all connected and under one roof with an oaken door to each apartment, which was hung by wooden hinges and fastened at night by a wooden latch on the innerside. On this occasion my father was with me, our people were left on the western place, the cooking and provisions and cooks were all there. After supper was over my father and myself went to bed. After he had fallen asleep I recollected that I had omitted giving an order for the next day's business. I quietly got up, put on my moccasins and clothes, but having left my gun and dogs with the men at the other place, I hesitated going unarmed and without protection or means of defense thru a wilderness of tall cane with only a narrow road filled with stumps and cane stubble and from each side the tall cane bent its tops like a saloon over the road and the night as dark as pitch. While a slight fear disturbed me and caused me to hesitate I was encouraged in the performance of my duty by the recollection that a brand of fire would assist in lighting the road and perhaps driving off wild animals. I did not deliberate long. I had not been otherwise than accustomed

⁶ A copy of this story was given to renowned Texas folklorist, J. Frank Dobie, who is collecting panther stories. Mr. Dobie used the tale in his weekly column in the Austin *American-Statesman*, the Houston *Post*, and other newspapers on Sunday, October 23, 1955.

to do my duty. With this I stepped into the old cook's apartment and took from the embers an oaken chunk. The noise I made waked the old African who hollowed [sic] out, "What mischief now Massa John?" On I went and I had not gone one hundred steps, after crossing the fence, when hearing a shrill scream behind me, I turned round and shook the fire brand. It threw off many sparks which discovered to me the glaring eyes of a panther in a crouching position. I shook the fire, I put my other hand up to push my hat down as it appeared to rise, I moved sideways, first looking at the panther, then the stubble and stumps fearing that if I fell that the animal would be immediately upon me. I moved on cautiously but slowly. I had not gone far in the way before it gave several hideous screams and came bounding at me as though it would tear me in pieces. I shouted aloud and shook my fire with violence, when again it assumed its couchant position. It was so near me that I could see every part of it. Oh! how terrible was its eyes and gnashing teeth and the movement of its tail, giving indications of its springing on me. I sweated like a horse. Every hair on my head appeared to rise, but still I shook the fire and again began to move slowly, when all of a sudden it bounded thru the cane and placed itself in front of me. I was now almost filled with despair. If I turned back there was my aged father and an old African woman without weapons. I at once determined to make an effort to reach my gun and dogs, and with this forced resolution I made a rush at the panther. It sprang from the road. I passed it on, it did not stop there. It followed me up and at twenty or thirty steps would spring at me as it did at first. At length when we came to within one hundred yards of the negro cabins, it then appeared to venture on a nearer approach, when I threw the fire brand in its face. I then took to my heels. I was not slow. I ran with my best speed, jumping against one of the cabin doors. I burst it open, immediately closing it. I felt the stroke of its paws against the door, against which I placed my back holding it fast and at the same time calling to all in the house to secure the doors telling them that a large panther was in the yard. As soon as everything was all fastened I inquired for the black men, the answer was that they had gone out to hunt coons and opossums. It was not long before my dogs came in. When they made an attack on the panther who fought well before they could drive him from his intended victim. Very soon the black men came in with my gun when we all started out in pursuit of the

dogs and panther. They gave him, or her rather, a chase some time around the field, when at last they came near the spot where I threw the fire in its face. It was in a thicket of cane and brushwood among which was a large hollow poplar tree that had fallen. It was about five feet in diameter and was hollow. In this hollow my panther had crept, the tree was open at one end only. We were impressed with the belief that she had young ones, so we went to work and got rails and poles and stuffed them in the end until we filled it up. Then with axes we drove in others until it was wedged in tight and secure. She was now safe as if she had been in an iron cage. We lit up several torches of dry cane and with an axe we cut small holes in the top of the log, through which we introduced lighted torches. As soon as the lights were introduced she would spring at them and extinguish them. You could hear her crunching the cane as a dog would a tender bone. In her frequent and quiet movements from place to place to attack the lights, she hurt one of her young. It set up a catish cry, which appeared to arouse her anger to a high degree. She tore the log with her paws and gnawed and gnashed her teeth. At one time we had determined to let down a rope and to enlarge an opening as to let her head out, then by fastening two ropes to bring her out, but we wisely thought of the danger that would attend such an experiment. So we concluded to fill the log with dry cane and set fire to it, which we did. When we introduced the fire she appeared to redouble her efforts to escape. She gnawed at our stoppers, but all in vain. The cane burnt with such rapidity that she was soon suffocated. All was quiet now and we returned home to get a little sleep. We were all up pretty early in the morning. Our log was burned to ashes. We could see the skeleton of the panther. It was large. We found near where we had heard the cry of one of her young a pile of burnt bones, which would have measured two or three bushels. The panther is a very dangerous animal

Sometime in the year 1788 or 9, I was then between 14 and fifteen years old, my father made two little improvements at about one mile distance apart and five miles from his own dwelling place, on which he cultivated tobacco. At that time this country was but partially settled, particularly the surrounding lands for a large extent were covered with heavy timber, under which was an almost impenetrable canebrake, through which was open a cart road, the cane hanging over it so as to form a canopy.

A few huts were built at each place, in which the negroes resided. The country abounded in wild game, such as bears, deer, panthers, cats, and many smaller quadrupeds. I had from necessity become a hunter and was accustomed to roam at large through the woods in quest of game, having on such occasions several fine dogs, a good rifle, a tomahawk, and a butcher's knife. With such arms of defence I always felt perfectly secure and would roam through the woods for days together, sleeping near some brook or pond. If the season was wet, I would erect a camp which was the work of only a few moments, particularly if I had a bear or deer skin. If not cane tops tied in bundles with the bark from some tree into a few poles, and a comfortable house was soon made, where I would remain as long as game was plentiful in the neighborhood.

The flesh of the bear or of the deer was cut from the bones into thin slabs and salted in a sack made of the bear or deer skin, with thongs of the same. This was suspended to the top of a sapling until a sufficient quantity was obtained, when with a butcher's knife I would cut a part large enough to pass a loaded horse thru, in this way our meat and skins were taken home. The bear's oil was rendered out and the bladder and intestines after being well cleansed were filled with oil. I had on such occasions, a camp kettle for the purpose of rendering the oil and for cooking, but the most common practice among hunters was to stick a strong cane in the ground, leaning it toward the fire, on the end of which a piece of meat was stuck to broil three canes placed in that way one above the other. On the upper one was placed a piece of fat bear's meat, on the next a turkey and under that a loin of venison, as the heat of the fire would cause the rich gravy to fall from the bear meat to that under it, plunging a knife in them so as to spread the gravy. Cover each of them occasionally, a little salt thrown. As soon as the outside was done our meal was ready and a delightful meal it was. Our appetites were fine. We ate heartily, generally three times a day and once at mid-night. In those days we knew nothing of the present fashionable complaint called 'Dyspepsia.' We had neither aches nor pains, no sleepless nights, a bear skin for our bed, a limb of a tree for our pillow, a worn and threadbare blanket as our covering, a large fire at our feet and we wanted no more. At the break of day our faithful dogs would give us their signal yelp. We were already clothed, a leather hunting shirt and pantaloons was our dress in which

we generally slept, our moccasins the only changeable part, then put on and well secured about the ankles, and then all was ready for the delightful day hunt.

My father's black man, the first and most faithful slave he ever had, was my constant companion and brother hunter. He taught me my first lessons in hunting. When our dogs started a bear, he would say, "Well, Massa John, didn't I tell you so? I know how my dream would turn out, we shall kill one or more large fat bears today." The very bark of the dogs told him what they were after. "Look sharp, he is a large fellow, he won't climb a tree, he fights the dogs, old scampering, if run after us, mind and pop him through the heart, give him certain shot. You shoot first, if you don't kill him, den old Toney give him a pop. I be bound he no tar old man ball." In this way we amused ourselves, often killing from one to four or five in a day; to save, as, we could not take it to camp, from the wolves, we would bend down a sapling and suspend our meat until we could salt and carry it to camp. During the winter seasons we would kill and save meat enough to last the family as salt provisions until next winter. Venison could be killed at any season and was always good. The spring, summer and fall of the year was spent in laboring on the plantation, cultivating tobacco and corn

The largest winter hunt ever made was one hundred and seven bears. As to the deer and turkey and other game we kept no account We hunted and killed and brought in the meat during the day and cut up, salted and dried and stretched the skins at night and, if there was any spare time after our business was over, then I got my class board, which was shaved smooth and with a piece of charred wood for a pencil, the old man would teach me to write and cipher

In the month of May, 1789, I had cleared the timber from several acres of land situated on the North fork of Coles Creek, and had a few log buildings finished for the negroes and also one for myself, which was floored with hard ash puncheons. A day had been appointed to give a few select young ladies a fish fry. The spot selected was distant about a quarter of a mile from the house. After the company had met and took some refreshments, we concluded to have the horses put up and walk to the fishing grounds. The road, or path led through a beautiful shady grove of ash and elms. The company consisted of several young ladies, four lads from twelve to fourteen years old. I was

the only male adult in the company, excepting one stranger, a person uninvited. After accommodating all the ladies with hook line and bait, taking their positions along a smooth beach ten or fifteen feet apart. All had thrown their line in the water, cheerful, jocose conversation was going on when Miss _____ drew up a large sunfish. At that moment a large tiger cat sprung on her shoulder and commenced the work of destruction. He had tasted her pure blood and to beat him off was no easy matter. I ran to the rescue with no better weapon than a piece of drift wood which I picked up. I drove him from his prey. Collecting the scattered people together, I got them in the road leading to the house. No sooner than the first move was made, he sprang into the crowd and commenced tearing the shoulder of Miss P. I beat him off again and finding that she was his intended victim, I placed myself between him and having picked up a sounder stick was able by frequent blows to keep him off. I had no assistance whatever, Mr. _____ keeping himself at a distance. At length we reached the house and threw the door open until the ladies and children got in, then I entered. The cat kept close and crept under the floor. I attempted to remove the slabs, which were not joined or fastened down. I got a hatchet from my tool box which was in the house, prized two planks apart far enough to allow him to get his head thru, when with one blow I sank it into his brain.

Miss P. was badly lacerated about her neck and face, from which she never lost the scars. No one but herself received the slightest injury. Sometimes he would jump over me to get at her, his eyes were like balls of fire and his large sharp teeth would chatter and strike against each other, like the panther when about to jump on his prey.⁷

When John Hutchins was about eighteen years old, the incident occurred in which the Indian named Kentucky John attempted to steal a blanket from the house when only John's mother and sister were present. The outcome of that event as John Hutchins described it follows:

In the evening I went for my mother, she told me all about the Indian, I really believe I could have shot him if I had seen him on that day. I knew Johnny well and had often hunted in his company. I did not forget John's abuse; I prepared a whip, put a twisted vine last to it and loaded it with lead in the handle, carried it wherever I went. Several

⁷ Hutchins's story of the wildcat also appeared in Mr. Dobie's column on November 13, 1955.

months after, I was in the tobacco field I espied John stealing water-melons: the tobacco was nearly as high as my head, John had filled a large sack which he fastened to his back and taking up a large one on one arm and his gun on the other (I had no gun with me) Indian like I followed John, overtook him and with the butt end of my whip I felled him to the ground, seized his gun, threw out the priming and sent it as far from the scene of action as I could, used on his naked skin my vine lash. When John would rise I would down him with the butt end of my whip, and flog him with the other end. John could not stand it, he broke ground, I after him. I had the speed of him and that he well knew. He reached the fence and sprung at the top rail; it broke when I gave him a little more timber, and suffered him to leap the fence. I returned to him his gun, after rendering it incapable of present use and threw it over the fence to him. I really believe it cost my father a full half acre of tobacco which was broken in the scuffle.

Several years later I was descending the Mississippi River in a large flat boat loaded with flour, sent down by one of the contractors for some United States Troops from Pittsburg. One stormy night I had landed the boat for safety and as there was but little room, for our oars were then worked on the outside of the boat, we had kindled a fire on the shore and were drying our wet clothes when who should I see advancing with a quiet step but this same Kentucky John with his rifle in hand. I had but little time to think what was to be done. I placed my right hand on a good sized stick that had been burned leaving it two or three feet long. The blaze of the fire lit up on his face and I could see his eyes. I watched his every motion, intending to do the only thing in my power, that was if he should present his gun I intended jumping to one side and by so doing defeat his aim and then, if I could to have made the best possible use of my stick. He halted within ten feet of me, and dropping the butt of his rifle to the ground and exclaiming, "John Hutchins, how do you do?" He held out his hand, I received it, and from the hearty and long shake he gave me I was sure I had nothing to fear. We had a long talk, he told me that from the time of our tobacco field exploit that he had absented himself from the gaze of human eyes, as he was ashamed of the marks left on his back; that he had lived ever since in the swamps and alone. He invited me to his camp, I excused myself inasmuch as I had the charge of a valuable boat load belonging to one of my friends, intrusted to my

care. This seemed to satisfy him that I did not distrust him. He went to his camp and soon returned with a quantity of venison for which I gave him the bacon and flour in return and, when parting, I gave him what was of great use in the place where he lived, a mosquito bar. I left him that night since when I have never seen Kentucky John

I had applied to my father for permission to leave him. I had worked all the previous part of my life in supporting my mother and as he was now rich, having at that time about one hundred slaves, I had a wish to settle myself and go to work and marry a wife and do something for myself; like King Pharoah he did not like to part with me. I urged my cause before him, observing that at a much younger age he had given my elder brother a large fortune and that I was dragging out my time in a service that was not really necessary. My mother also opposed my leaving them on the ground that I was a speculator and would soon spend my little property that might be put in my possession. When I found that all I could say amounted to nothing, I told my father that I must leave him; he told me, "Go, if you will I have nothing to give you." I replied, "I go," and taking his hand bade farewell to both my excellent parents. I had gone but a short distance when he called me back, I obeyed the call, he said that I might occupy the land that my youngest son now lives on. It was a fine piece of land, with a few log cabins and a barn with about fifteen acres of cleared ground and one mile from that place, but on the same tract, was another field of about twenty acres of open land and a fine frame tobacco barn. That place now belongs to James G. Carson.⁸ I thanked him and left him. I went to see one of my brothers-in-law to consult him about the course I ought to pursue. He told me to accept my father's proposition. I asked him what one man alone could do? He said that something might turn up and that I had better try it and laughingly offered to sell me one of his black men, then in the woods as a runaway. I told him that I had no money to pay him, however, we soon struck up a bargain for his runaway man, Tim. I saw and conversed with several of his slaves who told me that if I would buy Tim, he would immediately come in. I bought him and gave my note to the amount of five hundred dollars, payable when I was able. Well, Tim came in and I bought at the same

⁸ W. W. Carson notes at this place in the narrative that his father, Dr. Carson, left Mississippi in the winter of 1845-46 and states that the Hutchins account was written before that time. Hutchins was sixty years old in 1844.

time a small pair of hand mill stones. x x x x⁹

There was on the plantation one milk cow, one ox some pigs and I bought on credit from my father's negroes some poultry; and among other things, I bought a small pot to boil meat in. We brushed up our cabin, which was a double one, I occupied one room and Tim the other. Until we could set up our mill, we pounded our corn in a mortar and baked our bread on a board before the fire. We were content, I milked the cow; our milk vessels were calabashes, our plates were made of wood and homemade at that. A cane fork and a hickory bark spoon with our hunting knives, such was our poverty. I had one horse, I had raised him from a colt: he was given me by a traveler who did not wish the trouble of taking care of him on his journey. He was a noble horse. My father had, not long before I left him, given to each of his children an English saddle and bridle, richly plaited. One day I had returned from town, I was very much fatigued, so I hung my saddle and bridle under the shed of the barn, fed my horse and left him at liberty to go about the field. Supper over I went to blanket, bed I had none. In the morning I walked out to see my usual business, when I missed my saddle and bridle. The first thing I did was to look for tracks. I stepped back to the house to get my rifle and knife, that done I looked to see if my horse was safe. Of that I had little doubt, as he would only be caught by his master. I called to my side my trusty dog, pointed to the Indian foot marks, he soon understood me, on we went, he with his nose to the ground and I with my eyes on all sides. Some hours were spent and miles walked, when Lion, for that was my dog's name, made a loud growl, he was under fine command, I looked to where I saw his eyes directed and there was my Indian. I was on one ridge, he on another distant about one hundred yards. He was moving along in a walk, astride my fine saddle. I did not want to kill him so I raised my rifle and took aim at his thigh knowing that if I should miss him my bullet would strike his horse's neck. I fired, his horse sprung forward and fell, my Indian raising at the same time a tremendous whoop. My dog seized him and held him fast while I, with a small cord, made him fast to a tree, his horse was dead, I had broken his neck. I cut some switches which I used in teaching Indians to let me alone. I took my

⁹ In this way W. W. Carson indicated omissions he made in copying the Hutchins narrative. His method of showing ellipses has been retained in order to distinguish them from my own, conventionally shown with periods.

saddle and bridle and the Indian's gun and went home.

Tim and myself worked hard all day and cooked our victuals at night, so as to save time. x x x x I planted a little orchard and made a garden, and now I will tell you how I made a substitute for sugar. I planted a large patch of watermelons and when many of them were ripe I borrowed from one of my neighbors several kettles and had plenty of fire wood to make fires and a bag ready. We brought in about three hundred ripe melons, cut them open and strained the juice through the bag; it was clear and beautiful, as we strained and poured it into the pots, so we boiled it as fast as we could, skimming when necessary and conveying it left to right to our largest kettle and filling up the empty ones with fresh juice. Our finishing kettle was the largest. I did not attempt to bring it to sugar, but we had fine thick molasses and of an excellent quality.

In those days we had no honey bees in this part of our country, but it was not many years before they came and when they did they were very thrifty as it was a country of flowers. x x x x

We ginned out our crops, put it in round bags and sold it in New Orleans and I had the pleasure of paying all my debts

It may have been on the money received from his first cotton crop that John Hutchins, probably not yet twenty years old, sailed from New Orleans for New York with his money hidden for safekeeping "in a keg of butter." His narrative covers only the latter part of his year's adventure:

From New York I went to see the birthplace of my much respected father. I found it in the possession of one of my half uncles. Everything about the place was quite familiar to me; my old hunting companion who was the first slave my father ever owned, had described everything with accuracy. I could tell my uncle where the spring was, where his woodland lay and the direction and distance to Washington, Lookout Mountain, and describe the big rock behind which he used to stand when viewing the English and American armies. I remained one month with my uncle, he harnessed up a pair of fine horses and hitched them to his wagon. He accompanied me as far as Princeton. I stopped there to look at the College buildings. Now my sons, had I been wise I would have used my money at that place in acquiring an education, I did not do so. From thence I went to Philadelphia. x x x I did not remain but

a few days when I set out for Baltimore.

I had in New York exchanged my specie for bank notes, which I fastened around my waist. While at that place I became acquainted with the High Sheriff and he was so kind as to invite me to a room in his house. I had occupied it for some time and he assisted me in the purchase of some colored people. He had a son by his first marriage, he was grown to manhood, appeared to be pleased with my society, he was an intelligent young man. At length he proposed taking a part of my [room] to which I made no objection. My room was on the second floor and at one side of the top of the steps. We went to bed talking until we, or I at least, fell asleep. I at length awoke and felt the young man's hand on my purse, supposing it to be an accidental thing, I turned over. The next day he appeared more kind and friendly than ever. At the night we went to bed, I was aroused from sleep by a severe cut on my ribs, our windows were up, the street lights shone through them; the young man's hand instantly grasped my throat, a scuffle ensued and I got him under me. I could see blood and felt the pain of a mangled side. I throttled him and dragged him to the door, which with one hand I closed and bolted. Our noise awoke the family. His father came to the door and demanded entrance, which I refused. I threatened calling the watch if he persisted in coming in. I suspected the father as an accomplice. He protested that he was innocent. At length I told him if he would leave my door I would turn his son out, he did so and as soon as I heard his foot touch the floor below I opened my door with one hand and dragged my unworthy friend after me and hurled him down the steps. After closing my door securely I went into an examination of my wound. He did not intend taking my life, he only wanted my money, which was enclosed in a leather case which resisted his knife, cutting through a part only and sliding over and making a gash in my side several inches long. I took off my belt and dressed my wound, sitting up the balance of the night.

Next morning I met the old man, his father, and the old lady and their three grown daughters all in tears. The occurrence of the night was talked over, I promised them that I would not speak of it, so as to make them known. I have been as good as my word. I left the house and found other lodgings. I now completed my business and with several servants and a horse set out for Pittsburg.

On the first day while journeying my horse took sick and died. I

had no money to spare to buy another, we all footed it. I had with me a pair of first rate belt pistols and hung to my side was a leather scabbard in which was a hunter's butcher knife. I did not shackle or chain my people, as was the custom, they walked side by side with me on our long, rough road. When our journey was about half over I was met by five men, they stopped me and protested my taking blacks further and at the same time ordering them to leave me, on which I drew both my pistols and cocked them, one in each hand, declaring that the first man who resisted me, I would shoot him down. This was a [word left out]. I saw that they quailed beneath my eye, so I ordered my people to proceed, and on we went. The next day I was so unfortunate as to fall down and cut my right knee on a rock. I had to bind it up with a handkerchief and walk with a stiff knee. It was a rugged road, in those days. At length I reached Pittsburg and put up at the sign of the Bear. I soon made arrangements with one of the contractors to take charge of a boat load of flour. While things were preparing for the voyage I was told by one of my black men that at twelve o'clock that night a white man would make his appearance and they all agreed to leave me. I turned the matter over in my mind. I was not long at a loss how to proceed. I had no friend, was a stranger to every one. My people occupied a large vacant house near the stable. I went in the evening to an apothecary shop and bought some laudanum. I also purchased a bottle of whiskey. I knew how to make this medicine, having compounded medicine for two years under some doctors that had lived in my father's family. I mixed a portion of each together and at ten o'clock I gave each man a portion, at eleven I repeated the dose according to circumstances required. I did not give Solomon any part of the dose, he was a trusty fellow. They were all now in a pleasant sleep, I kept a light burning in the room and the door left half open, behind which I took my station. Now the clock struck twelve, which was the appointed hour for running way; soon the white man made his appearance, he gave the signal, it was answered by Solomon, he came in, then I shut the door and stood with a pistol pointed at his head. Before I let him out I made him swear on the Cross which I made on the floor, aye, and made him kiss it, that he never would in any manner or form whatever interfere again with anything that concerned me or mine. The oath taken I let him out; the next day I embarked on the boat and in thirty days I landed at St. Catherine's Creek, near Ellis Cliff.

It was on that trip that I had my best adventure and also met with Kentucky John

I had been absent from home twelve months and my friends had never heard one word from or about me, until I entered my father's door. The family were at the table, I was like a ghost to them, they had mourned like affectionate parents at my untimely death. I had sailed from New Orleans in the ship Olive, this my parents knew. About the time that our ship, in the usual voyage ought to have reached New York, a vessel in the docks of that place was burned, where all on board had perished. They never expected to see me again, but like a bad penny I did return

x x x Three years elapsed and I determined I would visit England. I embarked at New Orleans on board a brig, which was chartered and loaded with cotton, belonging to two of my brothers-in-law. I went as a super-cargo and passenger free. I took with me one hundred bales of very superior cotton on my own account. We had a long voyage, nothing occurred on our road worth relating. On the seventy-fifth day we went into the harbour of Liverpool. x x x x

At length our stage reached London. The next morning I waited on a gentleman to whom I had a letter from my father, he received me with much kindness. I also had a letter with me from Captain Percy of Louisiana to a Mr. Middlemast, his brother-in-law, he was a lawyer with whom I lived. I was quite at home in his house, I had two large fine rooms, one a parlor, the other a bed-room on the second floor. He had a fine wife and several children. With them I lived six months. x x x x

I spent my time as pleasantly as could be expected. Considering as I was from the backwoods. I became much attached to Mr. Middlemast and family, they watched over me as though I had been their son and I must say of London that it is so large and so many curious things in it to crowd my mind that I am prevented from saying more about it. The time came for me to think of leaving for home.

x x x There was great excitement in England. Bonaparte [*sic*] had threatened to invade England with a large army, which was to be transported in a flotilla made by chaining a fleet of boats together, in which his army was to cross. I remember there was one hundred thousand militia wanted and a draft was ordered, when three hundred thousand offered their services, I concluded that these people were not to be whipped. Wherever I went in England I was treated with the

greatest kindness. There was but one American ship in Shrevesport [?] Harbour, not one at London. The old ship Thomas Chalkley of New York. I supposed her to have been of 700 tons burden, she had taken in her lading. We immediately applied to her Captain for our passage, she was to clear for New Orleans, we immediately wrote to London for passports. At this moment an embargo on all foreign vessels was decreed, things remained so for three months, during which our ship lay in the docks with her cargo on board, which was principally cheese and cordage, the rats were attracted by the cheese in such numbers that all times both day and night you could see and hear them in great numbers. At length our passports came and our vessel was permitted to hoist sail. x x x x

The leakage increased with the storm and the pumps were manned and after three days driving before the wind the storm abated and was succeeded by a dead calm. Our rudder became useless and every moment we expected to founder and go to the bottom. At length it was suggested to the Captain to fasten some board planks to the end of a long spar and by running it over the stern and roping it well, we could steer the ship as the Kentuckians do their boats. In this way we got her around with her bow to the waves, which were running very high. We at length got our rudder in its right place, but the leaking increased fast and the hands were nearly worn out. There were now but three passengers on board, one of whom was very ill, and so weak a state of health as not to be able to leave berth, the other an Englishman and myself. We went to the pumps, we worked manfully and after the sailors got a little rest, it was proposed that we should undergird the ship, as St. Paul's ship had been and with the use of the deep sea lead, which has a strong ring attached to it, we raised 700 lashings around the body of the ship and several from stern to stern, longwise and heaved up tight by the power of blocks but after all this work our ship still leaked badly.

We had all worked and labored until we were nearly exhausted from constant pumping and loss of sleep, when the weather became more mild we brought our ship on her course again and spread our sails to the wind, but soon had to shorten sail, owing to her fresh leaks. As we did this the leaking ceased, just now a ship hove in sight. It was a French cruiser of thirty-six guns and three hundred people. They boarded us and after examining our papers took from us four casks of

water and then left us, after which, fearing we would be short of that indispensable article, we examined our cask and our water had nearly all been wasted. We had it drawn off and put into demijohns. There was at that time thirty-five gallons all told; this when divided was to each man on board not quite two gallons per man. It was all put under lock and apportioned daily at the rate of one gill per day. We had no wine or beer on board the ship: no fresh provisions, no tea nor coffee, and no water for any use as above stated. In this way we sailed on for seven days, when in sight of the Island of St. Domingo, two barges left the shore, merging from a cove in the land and under care directed their course for our ship. The wind was light, we were sailing about two miles per hour. There were seventy-five men in each boat, we soon discovered that they were pirates. Our Captain called all hands on deck and apprised us of our situation, putting it to the vote whether we would submit and walk the planks or would we defend ourselves. We unanimously answered we would fight to the last man. We prepared for defense first by crowding all the sail we could, we then arranged ourselves on deck, some with guns and pistols, others with hand and two strong sailors were furnished with crow bars of iron, to which was fastened a rope to each, intending with them to drive holes through the boat, pulling them back with the ropes and repeating the blows. I had my rifle. I put a bullet in my mouth and filled my pockets with others. I was to fire at the officers and begin to fight as soon as they came in gun shot. We intended to sell our lives as dearly as possible. Suddenly the pirates turned their boats toward the shore and rowed back from whence they came. We were for some time at a loss for this strange movement, when one of our sailors cried out, "A ship astern." It proved to be a British 74. x x x x

Thus the narrative of the exciting life of John Hutchins breaks off. He, of course, returned to Mississippi, married, and became one of the respected citizens of the state. It is fortunate that he recorded his reminiscences since they so vividly describe a way of life in a significant period of the nation's history. As John Hutchins wrote, "I can tell you my young friends that the times then tried what stuff men were made of."

Tockshish

by Dawson A. Phelps

JOHN McINTOSH

Tockshish, a name with romantic overtones, must have intrigued the ears of the men and women who traveled the Natchez Trace, 1800-1825, as it does modern travelers who read it on [a] map or roadside sign. It derives from a Chickasaw word which was variously spelled *E, tok, shish, Estokish* or, *Estokshish*. T. L. McKinney, who went to the Indian country as an inspector for the Office of Indian Affairs in the 1820s defined it as meaning the “root of a tree.”¹ He may have been right for there is in Choctaw, a closely related language, a word *itakshish* having the same connotation. Whatever its original meaning, the word, changed to Tockshish, became a place name—either the home of John McIntosh, or the settlement in which he lived. So far as now known, it first appeared in writing in 1805.² In 1822 it became the name of a station of the Chickasaw Mission, and still later a community.

Tockshish is one of the few places in North Mississippi, or for that matter, in the entire state, associated with British activities during

This article was originally published in the July 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.

¹ T. L. McKinney, *Memoirs, Official and Personal, with Sketches of Travel Among Northern and Southern Indians*, 2 vols., 1946, I, 158.

² Rush Nutt Diary, in Jesse D. Jennings, “Nutt’s Trip to the Chickasaw Country,” *Journal of Mississippi History*, IX, ([January] 1947), 41. Cf. also B. L. C. Wailes, Field notes, MS. Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

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the years 1763-1783. During the French and Indian War, John Stuart was appointed as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Southern District, to handle all colonial and imperial relations with the tribes of the region. Within a short time, he had appointed agents to the various tribes of the Old Southwest.

John McIntosh, one such agent, is one of those shadowy figures whose name would scarcely appear, even as a footnote in local history, except for the fact that he had elected to live his obscure life on an Indian trail which became a historic road. Some time prior to 1770, Stuart had appointed him to be "Commissary for Indian Affairs for the Chickasaw and Choctaw Nations." For a time [McIntosh] lived among the Choctaws, but for some reason moved to the Chickasaw country where, there is reason to believe, he set up a plantation or farm and made it his permanent home.³

[McIntosh] was present at a conference held at Mobile, December 31, 1771 – January 6, 1772, between the Governor of West Florida and the principal chiefs and warriors of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. The minutes of the conference fail to reveal that he took an active part in the proceedings. Several Choctaw chiefs mentioned him during the proceedings. From their remarks we gather the impression that a commissary was a sort of public defender of the Indians. He was supposed to exclude unlicensed traders, to enforce honest weights, and see that the natives were not overcharged, or otherwise cheated.⁴

For a brief glimpse of the man, we are indebted to a single extant letter from him to Stuart, dated "Chickasaw Nation 3d September 1772." [McIntosh] described conditions among the Indians, the attitudes of the chiefs, and the prospects for maintaining peace among them. It shows that McIntosh returned to his post after the Mobile conference, and describes the activities of an Indian agent. The letter reveals some of the man's qualities. He obviously was a man of some education.

³ Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, "Peter Chester," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, Centenary Series, V (1925), 149. Cf. also the Purcell map of the Indian country, published in John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Nation and Their Neighbors*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 73, 1922, plate 7. This map, compiled not later than 1770, shows "Commissary McIntoshes Plantation" to be located on an Indian trail, obviously the future Natchez Trace, about twenty-five miles southwest from the Chickasaw Old Fields, in approximately the same location as that shown on the first township plat, sixty-two years later.

⁴ Rowland, "Peter Chester," 155.

His writing was characterized by good grammar, few misspellings, and clear and concise explanations of rather difficult matters. It furnishes no clue, however, as to why he should have settled among the Indians and adopted their way of life.⁵

The brief appearance of John McIntosh in the history of the Old Southwest was followed by a period of twenty-five years during which the name does not appear in any written record. In 1797 a British traveler, Francis Baily, noted in his journal that a Mr. McIntosh was living in the Chickasaw country.⁶ From another source we learn that this man's full name was John McIntosh.

According to local tradition, as reported by several Mississippi writers he was the John McIntosh who had settled among the Chickasaws before 1770. However, Samuel Mitchell, the United States Indian Agent, specifically said that John McIntosh who had lived at Tockshish in 1803 was "a natural son of John McIntosh the agent for his Britannic Majesty in this Nation."⁷ Apparently his mother was a white woman since he is never mentioned as a half breed. From the few known facts of his career, it is virtually certain that the elder McIntosh continued to live in the Indian country until his death. When this occurred we have no means of knowing.

The son continued to live in the Indian country, and became a well-known figure in the Chickasaw Nation during the years 1797-1803. That the father had provided the younger McIntosh with some education is certain. It is most unlikely that an illiterate man should become a United States postmaster.

Local tradition, however, has preserved the memory of only one John McIntosh. It has credited him with being the man who persuaded the Chickasaws to scatter from their central villages and settle on individual farms.⁸ Whether one or the other, or both McIntoshes may be credited with having initiated such a change is a debatable matter. That the change was in process, around 1800 and

⁵ Ibid., 163.

⁶ Francis Baily, *Journal of a Tour in the Unsettled Parts of North America, in 1796 & 1797* (London: Baily Brothers, 1856), 370.

⁷ Samuel Mitchell to W. C. C. Claiborne, August 15, 1803, RG 2, Territorial Governors' Calendars, Series 488, Administration Papers, 1769-1817, Mississippi Department of Archives and History.

⁸ Henry Warren, "Missions, Missionaries, Frontier Characters," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VIII (1905), 585.

later, is not. Chickasaw families are known to have abandoned their historic villages prior to 1800, and to have settled, individually, or in small groups, at many places throughout their country. The original township plats, made during the 1830s of the Chickasaw lands show a widely dispersed population. One such community was centered near Tockshish which was, during the last years the Chickasaw remained in Mississippi, an incipient cultural center from which some civilized influences radiated.

A HOUSE OF ENTERTAINMENT ON THE NATCHEZ TRACE

In 1797, twenty-five years after the elder McIntosh was last heard from, his son appeared on the stage of written history. Many things had happened in the interim. Great Britain had lost control of the Old Southwest; the United States was now solidifying its control. Settlements at Natchez and Nashville had proved their stability and were growing. Both river and overland traffic between them was increasing. Tockshish lay directly on the overland route connecting the two towns.

Under such circumstances the younger John McIntosh, whatever his own wishes may have been, found himself operating a house of entertainment providing food and shelter of a kind to an ever increasing horde of tired hungry men. Frontier travelers were not modest in requesting food and shelter, and custom required compliance.

In 1797, [Francis] Baily rode from Natchez to Nashville. Forewarned, he had carried food for the journey. He preferred sleeping in the open rather than in the rude frontier houses along the way. Consequently, he did not seek the hospitality of McIntosh, but briefly characterized the man and his abode:

We arrived there before sundown, and, kindling a fire, and fixing our encampment about a quarter of a mile from the plantation, walked down to see the possessor of it, Mr. McIntosh . . . He had early imbibed the habits of the Indians, and wandering into the country, had set himself down here. The Indians had given him as much land as he wanted, and he cultivated part of it in a loose and slovenly manner, though much better than the Indians themselves. He has got several negroes under him, whom he employed on his plantation

Because he feared an impending attack by the Creeks,

Mr. McIntosh was fortifying his plantation with a regular stockade, raised about twelve feet high, and formed of thick planks. This surrounded the house at a convenient distance so as to allow free room for the besieged within; and was constructed upon nearly the same plan as those places which are called 'stations' in the United States. We entered his habitation, which was a poor sorry place, little better than an Indian hut . . . and appeared to have everything which such a country affords in the greatest abundance . . .⁹

Among other travelers who saw McIntosh was the Rev. Joseph Bullen, a Presbyterian missionary to the Chickasaw, who reported:

This day we came to Mr. McIntosh's, who talked in a discouraging manner, and deems it a weakness in any man to think of making Christians of Indians . . . On being further acquainted with this man, we found him an honest, agreeable man, and useful, as he talks good Indian, in helping me to hold good talks to the Indians, who continually frequent this place and wish to know the beloved speech.¹⁰

That Tockshish, after considerable traffic between Nashville and Natchez had developed, became a recognized stopping place on the Natchez Trace is apparent from the fact that it is frequently mentioned in records left by travelers. William Stanley, who retraced Baily's steps a year later, mentioned "arriving at McIntoshes in the Chickasaw Nation."¹¹ Philip Buckner, a Virginian, reported:

Thursday [May] 28 [1801] . . . to Mackintoshes about daylight shut in, got corn for our horses; all well Friday 29th Stayed all day at Mackintoshes . . .¹²

Aside from the meager information provided by Baily, almost all that we know of the younger McIntosh is learned from [Samuel] Mitchell, the Chickasaw Agent.

The 4th instant William Mcintosh [sic] arrived here with a letter

⁹ Baily, *Journal*, 370-372.

¹⁰ "Extracts from the Journal of the Rev. Mr. Bullen, missionary to the Chickasaw Indians from the New York Missionary Society," *New York Missionary Magazine and Repository of Religious Intelligence*, I (1800), 267.

¹¹ "Diary of William Stanley 1790-1810," Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, *Quarterly Publications*, XIV (1932), 31.

¹² William Buckner McGroarty, ed., "Diary of Captain Phillip Buckner," *William and Mary Quarterly*, VI (July 1926), 192.

from Col. Hawkins a copy of which I inclose you, to claim the property of John McIntosh of this nation lately deceased—I appointed the 6th to meet at Mrs. McIntoshes, after stating the business to the widow. She named to me that most of the property was her own prior to the departure of Mr. McIntosh and that the residence was given her by Mr. McIntosh before he left the Nation, in case he should not live to return, he was going to the warm Springs west of the Mississippi . . .¹³

The widow, the second wife of McIntosh, was the mother of James Colbert.¹⁴ James was a brother or half-brother of three influential Chickasaw chiefs, all of whom were closely associated with the Natchez Trace. They were: George, who operated a ferry where the Trace crossed the Tennessee River; William, who as a partner of John Gordon operated a ferry at Duck River; and Levi, the proprietor of Buzzards Roost Stand.

Because of the facts stated to the agent, supported by the affidavits of two white men, James Allen and Thomas Love, and because he, McIntosh, was a natural son in whose estate other relatives had no legal right, the property passed to the widow. She, it may be assumed thenceforth operated the stand, or, and this is more likely, turned it over to her son. That this is what happened is indicated by the fact that from 1812 to 1822 a place was listed as James Colberts, nine miles north of the Chickasaw Agency, in the roster of Natchez Trace stations published in the *Louisiana-Mississippi Almanac*.

Dr. Rush Nutt, traveling the Trace in 1805, does not mention stopping at Tockshish, but he does add a brief description of the place and of the community.

. . . E,tock,shish, the residence of Mr. McIntosh a high and beautiful situation. fine springs, timber, blackjack, hickory, undergrowth shoemake & hickory, near Mrs. McIntosh's are six well improved farms, made by white Men & Natives who are in the habit of farming after the mode of whites; & vend surplus to travellers.¹⁵

¹³ Mitchell to Claiborne, as cited in note 7. There is a strong possibility that the William McIntosh mentioned in the letter was the Creek chief who was an important figure in the early history of Alabama and became a brigadier-general in the United States Army. Cf. article entitled, "William McIntosh" in *Dictionary of American Biography*.

¹⁴ Letter of the Rev. T. C. Stuart, September 7, 1861, in E. T. Winston, "*Father Stuart and the Monroe Mission*" (Meridian, MS: Tell Farmer, Printer and Binder, 1927), 86.

¹⁵ Jennings, "Nutt's Trip," 41.

Another occasion on which Tockshish appeared in the records of the Natchez Trace as a stand was in 1807. Harman Blennerhassett, writing to his wife from “Tockshish, in the Chickasaw Nation (310 miles from Natchez),” remarked, “I rest here today under the most severe embarrassments [sic] I have suffered since I left you . . .”¹⁶

William Richardson, en route from Nashville to New Orleans in 1815, was not too favorably impressed with his treatment at Tockshish. This may have been due to the presence on the Trace at that time of the long column of Jackson’s army, victors of the Battle of New Orleans, returning home.

I kept company with the mail all day and arrived at 2 at J. Colberts, who after much persuasion admitted us to his home, not, however until we had tried every other in the village. We here met with the same difficulty of getting corn for our horses. As for ourselves, we fared equally bad but could bear as our little stock had not quite exhausted.¹⁷

There is reason to suppose that Tockshish continued to operate until 1822 when through traffic between Nashville and Natchez abandoned the Natchez Trace and henceforth passing through Florence, Alabama, followed the Military Road to Columbus, Mississippi, and the Robinson Road to Jackson.

McINTOSHVILLE

Two years after the organization of Mississippi Territory in 1798, that is in 1800, the Congress of the United States designated the Indian trail running from Natchez to Nashville as a post route. The Postmaster General, anticipating this action, had, even before the enactment of the law, contracted to have the mail carried regularly for a period of one year.¹⁸ During that year he doubtless assembled data concerning the necessary facilities to ensure prompt carriage of the mails through 500 miles of wilderness.

¹⁶ Blennerhassett to his wife, June 14, 1807, William H. Safford, *The Blennerhassett Papers: embodying the private journal of Harman Blennerhassett . . .* (Cincinnati, OH: More, Wilstach, Keys and Co., 1861), 232.

¹⁷ [William] Bell Wait, foreword, *Travel Diary of William Richardson from Boston to New Orleans by Land, 1815* (New York: Valve Pilot Corporation, 1938), 14.

¹⁸ Postmaster General to Abijah Hunt, November 20, 1799, Letterbooks of the Postmaster, MSS., National Archives. All references to letters from Postmaster General are from this collection.

I take the liberty to suggest that the establishment [sic] of a Block house near Hoalky Creek which is about halfway between Nashville and Natchez would be a great accomodation [sic] also to the public, as the mail carrier might keep spare horses there & travellers might furnish themselves with refreshments if the Officer was allowed to make provisions for that purpose at his own expense and profit.¹⁹

The Postmaster General probably foresaw War Department refusal to build blockhouses, for the same day he sketched another plan for the operation of the route. In it Tockshish, or as he termed it McIntosh's, was the most important intermediate point between Nashville and Natchez. He proposed the following schedule:

Leave Nashville ery other Sunday at 9 A.M.	
Arrive McIntosh's the next Friday by 8 P.M.	
	230 miles
Leave McIntosh's the next Sunday by 5 A.M.	
Arrive at Natchez the next Saturday by 2 P.M.	
	270
	500

Returning

Leave Natchez the next day Sunday by 5 A.M.
 Arrive at McIntosh's the next Sunday by 8 P.M.
 Leave McIntosh's the next Monday by 5 A.M.
 Arrive at Nashville the next Saturday by 5 P.M.

It will be necessary to employ two Riders one to start from Nashville & the other from Natchez on the same day, they ought to meet at Hoolky Creek about sixteen miles to the southward of McIntosh's—it will require six horses to do the business well, one should be stationed at Nashville, one at Natchez, two at McIntoshes . . . It is supposed that horses may be faithfully kept a [sic] McIntoshes but not a [sic] Hoolky Creek, it would therefore be necessary that the rider from Nashville should lead the fresh one from McIntosh's to Hoolky and bring back the fatigued one from Hoolkey to McIntosh's²⁰

¹⁹ Postmaster General to Secretary of War, March 12, 1801.

²⁰ Postmaster General to Matthew Lyon, March 12, 1801.

That the postal authorities should have selected Tockshish as the relay station, necessitating the clumsy arrangement outlined by the Postmaster General, suggests the esteem in which McIntosh was held by those with whom he had come in contact. Further proof of this came a few months later when on June 30, 1801, he was appointed postmaster to operate a post office established the same day in the Chickasaw Nation.²¹ This was the second post office to be located in Mississippi, the first having been established at Natchez January 21, 1800. He continued to serve as postmaster until his death in 1803. A neighbor, James Allen, then assumed the duties of the office and held the place for more than a year.²²

Even though McIntosh had ceased to be postmaster, his place continued to be a relay station as late as April 1804.²³ In 1808 the name of the post office had become McIntoshville, and it still was a relay station.²⁴ It continued as a post office until the route of the Natchez-Nashville mail was changed in 1822 from the old Natchez Trace to pass through Florence, Alabama and Columbus, Mississippi. The next year, fortnightly mail service was established from Columbus to Monroe Mission station,²⁵ two miles south of Tockshish.

McIntoshville appeared on maps of Mississippi during the 1830s, but fell into disuse after the removal of the Chickasaw and the opening up of the region to settlement.²⁶ Tockshish never became an officially recognized place name, but continued in local use.²⁷ When the Rev. T. C. Stuart established the Chickasaw Mission in 1821 he visited Tockshish. In 1825, that name was given to one of the stations of the Mission. After the removal of the Chickasaws the name as applied to the community continued in use. Sometime during the 1830s or 1840s, the settlers organized and established Tockish Baptist Church which is still in existence.

The location of Tockshish was in the NE¼, S 16, T 11 N, R 3 E,

²¹ Postmaster General to John McIntosh, June 30, 1801.

²² Postmaster General to James Allen, July 8, [1803].

²³ Postmaster General to the Comptroller of the Treasury, April 7, [1804].

²⁴ Postmaster General to Henry Toulmin, March 11, 1808.

²⁵ Postmaster General to J. P. Neale, February 11, 1822.

²⁶ Postmaster General to Christopher Rankin, January 7, 1823.

²⁷ Three of the many maps of Mississippi that show the location of McIntoshville are: John Dutton, 1805; Anthony Finley, 1830; and M. S. Tanner, 1833. The name does not appear on maps published after the late 1830s or after the settlement of the former Chickasaw lands was well under way.

Chickasaw Cession, as shown on the original plat of the township surveyed in the fall of 1832. It is on the old Natchez Trace, near a travelled road, about two miles east from Highway 15. The traditional site of the buildings is occupied by the various structures of a modern farm.

Recent Manuscript Accessions at Mississippi Colleges and University Libraries, 2014-2015

Compiled by Jennifer Ford

This is the thirty-eighth annual compilation citing manuscript acquisitions to appear in the *Journal of Mississippi History*. The collections listed below were acquired by libraries during the 2014-2015 year. Unless otherwise noted, all collections are open to researchers.

Adelson-Strong Collection. Contains memorabilia related to Maurice Benard Adelson given by his daughter, Linda Strong; one certificate of promotion to Merigold, MS high school, May 27, 1921; one Merigold Consolidated High School diploma, June 4, 1925; one pair of track shoes worn while in high school; one photograph of Pauline Fink Adelson at the train depot in Merigold, MS. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Alfred P. Andrews Sylvester Magee Research Collection. .5 cubic foot collection containing A. P. Andrews's correspondence, newspaper clippings, and handwritten notes concerning Sylvester Magee. Topics include Sylvester Magee's age, his claims to having been born a slave and being a Union soldier during the Civil War, controversy surrounding Sylvester Magee concerning his age, Magee's 1965 purported 124th birthday celebration, and Magee's trip to New York. Donated by Dr. William K. Scarborough from Mrs. A. P. (Zetna) Andrews. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

E. A. Allen Leaf River Masonic Lodge No. 19 Letter. Original letter, encased in hard transparent plastic, for E. A. Allen, member of Leaf River Masonic Lodge No. 19, located in Jones County dated January 8, 1873. Donated by Alan L. Edwards. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Col. Grover Ashley Papers. One cubic foot of files from Col. Ashley's time as Director of Cook Library at the University of Southern Mississippi, c. 1970s-2000s. Donated by Kaylene Behm. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Atkinson/Maud Morrow Brown Papers. c. 1930s-1940s. Collection of the research papers for Maud Morrow Brown's 1940 publication, *The University Greys*. Contains manuscript pages, galleys, correspondence, photographs, and ephemera related to this publication. Currently closed to researchers. Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

James A. Autry Collection. c. 1980s-2000s. Collection of correspondence, manuscripts, promotional materials, and other items related to the life of author James A. Autry. Collection currently closed to researchers. Donated by James Autry. Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

Haley Barbour Collection. Twelve linear feet. 1974-2012. Accretion. Personal papers of Haley Barbour who served as chair of the Republican National Committee from 1993 to 1997 and governor of Mississippi from 2004 to 2012. Anticipate opening collection to researchers in 2016. Currently closed to researchers. Donated by Haley Barbour. Modern Political Archive, Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

George Alfred Bell Letters. Five letters written by George Alfred Bell to Miss Alice Rebecca McCulloch prior to their marriage in 1909. Two are written on The Hotel Hattiesburg stationery while Bell was in Hattiesburg on a timber purchasing trip. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

James Berry Family Scrapbook. Scrapbook of photographs and memorabilia for the April 2015 ceremony during which donor's family planted the four magnolia trees on-campus to represent the family's three generations of attendance at Southern Miss, as well as the four Berry children who grew up living on-campus in the old Vann Hall in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Donated by Virginia Dolder. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Biggs, Weir, Chastain Architectural Records Collection. 1 book. Williams, Wayne, *Recreation Places*. New York: Reinhold Publishing, 1958 (contains an inscription by William White, 4-20-11. 1958/2011). Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Donald Blank Documentary Film Collection. One cubic foot of fifteen items of various media types that contain either complete or portions of several documentaries such as: *How to Become Sheriff When Born Poor & Black in Segregated Mississippi*, *Standing Tall*, *MISSEducation*, MS Roads, Folk Artists, unfinished fishing documentary. Donated by Donald Blank. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Blumenfeld & Fried Papers. .33 cubic feet. Business papers and letters. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Florence Box. 32 cu. ft. Early to mid-twentieth century. History of the Oktoc and Box family, including 4-H materials. Early to mid-twentieth century. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Virginia Neville Boyd and Dr. and Mrs. George M. Neville Collection. 2 linear ft. Master tapes and film for the documentary *Jimmie Rodgers, Father of Country Music*, as well as the documentary source material and interviews. Blues Archive, Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

Boy Scout Troop 007 Papers. .25 cubic foot of office files of Troop 007 from Hattiesburg, Mississippi, 1983-1988. Donated by Kaylene Behm. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Bramuchi Collection. 2010. Collection contains one American flag flown over the United States Capitol on June 9, 2010, at the request of the Honorable Bennie G. Thompson to commemorate Joe and Margie Bramuchi's 60th wedding anniversary on August 20, 2010; on permanent display in the Veterans Atrium in Jobe Hall. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Brown & Noonan Paid Draft. Paid draft to Brown & Noonan in

Canton, Mississippi, on January 4, 1861, for \$90.50 signed by W. S. Rushing. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Rebecca Bryan Book Collection. < 1 ft. 1926-1927. New collection. Two etiquette textbooks used at Industrial Institute and College and panoramic photo of class of 1927. Donated by family of Rebecca Bryan with no restrictions. Mississippi University for Women.

Charles David Butte Memoir. "*Grampa*" A *Memoir* chronicles the life of Charles David "Bud" Butte from his birth on March 17, 1921, until 1997. It covers his three careers of military service, teaching and World War II unit research. It details his family life with his wife Velma Louise Gill Butte, son Chuck and granddaughters Jacqueline, Danielle, and Meredith. Donated by Mike Sledge. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Johnnie Byrd Collection. Nine cubic feet. 1916-2013. Correspondence, photographs, albums, newspaper clippings related to military service. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Camp McCain Soldier Letters. Letter written by Johnny to "Darling," while Johnny was stationed at Camp McCain, Mississippi. The handwritten date on the letter is September 25, 1943. The letter is written on Camp McCain, Mississippi, embossed stationery. He describes activities during his bivouac on September 24, 1943, and the trip back to Camp McCain. He describes their rations, a box of personal supplies he received, someone stealing his money from his wallet, and the weather. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Camp Shelby History Collection. Addition of a translation by Elena Azadbakht of one handwritten letter by a prisoner of war held at Camp Shelby to an individual in Switzerland. The letter is written in German and is postmarked March 22, 1946. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

James and Patsy Causey Collection. Five photographs taken of people, buildings, and scenes at State Teachers College in the 1920s. Includes a class in poultry, an etymology class, an original classroom

building, a cottage, and four people in a car (two are identified). Donated by Mr. and Mrs. James Causey. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Civil Rights in the South. Additions included: five articles and letters referencing racial issues in the south circa 1960s; one circular containing Public Law 88-352 88th Congress, H.R. 7152, July 2, 1964 (cited as the “Civil Rights Act of 1964”); .25 cubic foot of newspaper clippings added concerning various Civil Rights events in the Southeast and events held at the University of Southern Mississippi for the 50th anniversary of Freedom Summer in 2014; three items from the *Hattiesburg American* and the *Clarion Ledger*, circa 2014-2015; items for Mississippi Archives Month October 2014 provided by the Mississippi Historical Records Advisory Board (poster contains images from three of our collections: Herbert Randall Freedom Summer Photographs Collection, Zoya Zeman Freedom Summer Collection, and Kathleen Dahl Freedom Summer Collection). Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Clark Family Collection. This collection contains campaign buttons, coin, and name badges from Dr. Charles Clark. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Gloria Clark Freedom Summer Photographs. Digital copies only of twelve photographs that Clark took during her time in Mississippi during Freedom Summer, 1964 and four sheets of photocopies of seventeen photographs documenting the Civil Rights Movement and Freedom Summer in Holly Springs in 1964 and 1966. Donated by Gloria Clark. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Lena Simmons Clark Collection. One item. Contract with Freedmen, 1866. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Cleveland Woman’s Club Collection. Accretion. Collection contains the 2011-12, 2012-13 and 2013-14 Cleveland Woman’s Club scrapbooks. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Sam and Gwen Clinton Papers. .25 cubic foot of personal files concerning Temple Baptist Church, Quilter associations, USM Alumni Hall of Fame and political correspondence, 2003-2009. Donated by Kaylene Behm. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Thad Cochran Collection. 2,322 linear feet. 1978-current. Accretions. Thad Cochran has represented Mississippi in the U.S. Senate since 1978 and chairs the Committee on Appropriations. The collection is closed to researchers. Donated by Senator Cochran. Modern Political Archive, Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

Hunter Cole. 1996. One oversize folder. Page proofs and jacket proofs for Eudora Welty's *One Time, One Place* (Silver Anniversary Edition) 1996. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Bettie Cox Katrina Research Collection. One cubic foot of various publications from the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, includes newspaper articles, church newsletters, magazines, and other ephemera, 2005-2006. Donated by Bettie Cox. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

General R.W. (Bill) Crossley Collection. Two cubic feet. 1992-2004. Collection contains two books- "The Air Force Wife Handbook; "The Army Wife Handbook, as well as uniforms (2 coats, 3 pants, 2 caps) 1992-2004. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Dr. Doris A. Derby's Interdisciplinary Africana Collection. 144 books. Book collection related to Dr. Doris A. Derby's lifelong interdisciplinary pursuits in Education, Anthropology, the Arts, History, and Culture of the African Diaspora. Also included in the collection are printed materials and ephemera. Donated by Dr. Doris A. Derby, September 23, 2015. Margaret Walker Center.

Drew High School Class of 1957 Collage. One collage photograph of the Drew High School Senior Class of 1957 in Drew, Mississippi. It was an insert in a 1955 yearbook, *The Deltaneer*, which was also donated. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Duncan High School. 1938-1941. One folder. 1940-1941 yearbook from Duncan High School, Duncan, Bolivar County, MS. Photograph of students in 1938, labeled on reverse by Ruth Comfort, the donor's mother-in-law. The yearbook and photograph belonged to Ruth's brothers, twins Frank and Bob Comfort. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Dunn Family collection; manuscript and artifact memorabilia related to the J. W. Dunn family grocery store, which had been in Pace, MS, before the family moved to Memphis, TN. Some items relate to the family's activities and store business conducted in Memphis. Other items in this collection also include a small portion of objects that had belonged to the previous owner of the grocery store, Mr. K. C. Lou. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

"The Experience of Lesbians at Mississippi University for Women Oral History Collection." One foot, plus some digital material. 2013. New collection, with accruals expected eventually. Materials re: three oral history project interviews with lesbian students and alumnae by Nicole Larson for honors project, with secondary research and presentation. Donated by Nicole Larson with no restrictions. Mississippi University for Women.

Gregory F. Favre Collection. The fifteen cubic feet of files, four scrapbooks, and numerous photographs, microfilms and digital records document Mr. Favre's extensive career in the newspaper industry (ca. 1935-2015; mostly 1958-2015). He 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. Mr. Favre was the December 2015 Commencement speaker at USM. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Ann Fisher-Wirth Collection. c. 1980s-2000s. Collection of periodicals and other materials related to the career of Dr. Ann Fisher-Wirth. Currently closed to researchers. Donated by Dr. Ann Fisher-Wirth. Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

Fong Department Store Sign. This is a ten-foot neon sign from a department store in Hughes, Arkansas. It has been restored and is on permanent display in the Mississippi Delta Chinese Heritage Museum, Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Papers of Judge John J. Fraiser. Fifty-six cubic feet. 1943-2001. The Fraiser papers consist of clippings, correspondence, memos, law books, and legal files related to the legal and political career of Judge John J. Fraiser. The collection also includes material related to his service in World War II and his time as a student at Mississippi State University. The collection was donated by Judge John J. Fraiser. Mississippi State University, Congressional and Political Research Center.

Morgan Freeman. One cubic foot. 1993, 2015. Accretion of textiles. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

George R. Frisbee Collection. Contains one scale model of "The Three Soldiers" commemorating the Vietnam War; on permanent display in the Veterans Atrium, Jobe Hall. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Edythe Evelyn Gandy Collection. Addition of fifteen cubic feet of photographs, newspaper clippings, programs, scrapbooks, VHS tapes, and other memorabilia. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Susan Victoria "Vicky" Garraway Collection. One cubic foot of material including photographs, printed material, and other

memorabilia collected by Susan Garraway, mostly dealing with Hattiesburg local history, 1972-2001. Donated by Kaylene Behm. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Roxana Chapin Gerdine Collection. Circa 1860-1863. Accretion. Silver christening mug of Emily Sarah Chapin Gerdine (known as "Pet"). Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

P.F.C. Herbert E. Glaze Photograph Collection. Photograph of P.F.C. Herbert E. Glaze and two fellow soldiers who were in Company D 152nd Infantry 38th Division at Camp Shelby, Hattiesburg, Mississippi, in 1941. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Gong-Powers WWII MS Chinese Veterans Collection. This collection is in digital format and consists of a final manuscript as well as the digital files of all of the images included in the final book. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Ulysses S. Grant and Family Correspondence. .5 cubic foot. 1865-1902. Accretion. This addition to the U.S. Grant and Family correspondence consists of a letter book compiled by Frederick Grant eldest son of the president, checks written by President and Mrs. Grant, and correspondence from President-elect Grant, John Minor Botts, Secretary of War William Endicott, and President William McKinley. Donated by Ulysses Grant Dietz in memory of his mother Julia Grant Dietz. Mississippi State University, Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library.

John Grisham. .5 cu ft. Undated. Accretion of three framed photos. Closed collection. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Sarah Wilson Groves Photograph Collection. <1 ft. Late 1930s-late 1940s. New Collection. Two scrapbooks and one photo album from college years of Sarah Groves, class of 1939. Donated by Nancy Arndt Brown with no restrictions. Mississippi University for Women.

Gulf Park College for Women Collection. Addition of one *Gulf Park by the sea* newsletter from Gulf Park College for Women for September 2014. Donated by Diane Ross. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Esther K. Gunn Retirement Letter. Letter announces Mrs. Gunn's retirement from being a Jones County Extension Home Economist. Her career began in 1938 and ended in 1978, from the end of the Great Depression and through WWII. She saw the T.V.A. create electric power for families and the flood control project take away entire communities. Donated by Marsha Hester. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Jack Gunn Collection. Accretion. Collection contains manuscript materials related to the Hold, Brown & Wafford families. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Mrs. H. H. McClanahan Calloway Hall History Collection. <1 ft. 1928. New collection. Program, clippings, speech drafts re: rededication of Main Hall as Calloway Hall. Donated by Jan McClanahan with no restrictions. Mississippi University for Women.

Ed Hamlett White Folks Project Collection. Addition of one undated item, photocopy of "Poor Whites and the Movement, A Working Paper" by Emmie Schrader, published and distributed by Southern Student Organizing Committee. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Cpl. N. V. Hannegan Letters. Four letters written by Cpl. Norbert V. Hannegan to Miss May Hannegan, his sister, while Cpl. Hannegan was stationed at Camp Shelby, Mississippi in 1943. They are descriptive of the activities going on at Camp Shelby such as basic training, CQ or charge of quarters, range training, convoy trips, bivouac, getting sergeant stripes, and furlough issues. They also describe the bugs and heat in Mississippi. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Dr. W. H. Harris, Jr. Letter. Handwritten to Doctor Glenn Pearson of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, in 1964, by Billy Harris on office letterhead for Drs. Harris & Friedrichs, Pathologists in the Maison Blanche Building in New Orleans. Donated by Kaylene Behm. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Mary Ellen Becker Hatcher Card Collection. Collection of fourteen cards that include Christmas, Easter and birthday greetings circa 1920s and 1930s. Donated by Bettie Hatcher Cox. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Hattiesburg Area Rose Society. .25 cubic foot of files from the Hattiesburg Area Rose Society meetings and sample official Hattiesburg Rose Society stationery, 1993-1998. Donated by Kaylene Behm. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Hattiesburg American Photographs. Addition of fifty photographs, many depicting Hurricane Camille in 1969, the Forrest County Courthouse in 1989, and various flood scenes in 1990. Donated by John Cox. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Hattiesburg Historical Collection. Addition of the *History of Hattiesburg Coloring Book* published by the Hattiesburg Area Historical Society. This edition is from the first printing in 1976. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Hays Collection. Collection contains one framed print of Joe DiMaggio, Mickey Mantle and Ted Williams taken in 1951; this piece is on long-term display in the Dave "Boo" Ferriss Baseball Museum. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Duncan Heron. Digital copies only of ten photographs of the Johnson (Paul) Family, ca. 1940s. Donated by Heron (photographer). Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Historical Recipes. Addition of newspaper clipping and three cookbook recipes, circa 1920s and undated. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

History Department records -- World War II Oral History and Exhibit Series. C. four linear feet, plus some digital material. 2000-2003. New collection. Photos, cassette tapes, digital files, and exhibit material re: oral histories of World War II veterans in Columbus

interviewed for history course and exhibit showed at Columbus-Lowndes Co. Public Library. Donated by Thomas Velek, Professor of History, MUW with no restrictions. Mississippi University for Women.

History Department records – Desegregation Oral History Series. <1 ft., plus digital material. 2015. New collection. Audio and transcriptions, with attendant forms, of oral interviews with people involved in desegregation at MUW for history course. Donated by Erin Kempker, Associate Professor of History, MUW, with no restrictions. Mississippi University for Women.

Rebecca Hobbs. seven cubic feet. Nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Collection contains theological material, Sam Patterson. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Tony Howe Railroad Map Collection. Addition of thirty-two logging railroad maps drawn by Mr. Tony Howe and used in Dr. Gilbert Hoffman's book *Steam Whistles in the Piney Woods*, Vol. 2. The maps portray railroad operations, timber holdings, and other aspects of lumber companies that proliferated in south Mississippi during the latter years of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. The maps are drawn on 8.5" x 11" paper and are color coded with handwritten notes. Donated by Dr. Gilbert Hoffman. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Howell Family Collection. First National Bank payment receipt dated 1924 and a Military Training Certificate for Basic Training at the Citizens' Military Training Camp in Fort Barrancas, Florida, 1932. Donated by the Howell family. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Dr. Altra Howse Papers. One cubic foot of files from Dr. Hamman's involvement with the Mississippi Council on Family Relations, as well as being a faculty member in the Home Economics Department at the University of Southern Mississippi, ca. 1950s-1990s. Donated by Kaylene Behm. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

T. J. Hudson Letter. One letter written by T. J. Hudson to a friend in California on The White House, Biloxi, Mississippi, stationery dated December 19, 1911. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Hurricane Camille Photograph Collection. Photographer Fred Hutchings added approximately 2,000 negatives on rolls in sixty-five canisters all taken along the Mississippi Gulf Coast beach after the devastation of Hurricane Camille in August 1969. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi

Hurricane Katrina Research Collection. Addition of newspaper insert titled *Katrina 10 Years Later* supplement to the *Hattiesburg Post*, Thursday, August 6, 2015, edition, subtitle is *A Look Back at the Storm of the Century*. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Pat Iupe Poster. Poster to thank the volunteers who helped clean the coast after Hurricane Katrina in August 2005. It is lime green and says "Thank y'all." Donated by the poster's artist, Pat Iupe. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Felton M. Johnston Collection. Thirty linear feet. 1925-1972. Accretion. Personal papers of Felton M. Johnston who served as Secretary of the United States Senate from 1955 to 1964. From 1965 to 1969, he was a member of the American Battlefield Monuments Commission. Accretion donated by Felton M. Johnston, Jr. and Wanda Putnam. Modern Political Archive, Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

Jon Kennedy Cartoons. Collection of seven poster prints that were designed for the "Light Up Your Life – READ" campaign. All answer the question "What turns YOU on?" with book topics of science fiction, wheels, self-improvement, star-struck, romance, sports, and mysteries. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Robert Khayat/*Education of a Lifetime* Collection. c. 2012-2013. Collection of correspondence, outlines, promotional materials related

to Dr. Robert Khayat's 2013 publication *The Education of a Lifetime*. Currently closed to researchers. Donated by Mr. Neil White and Dr. Robert Khayat. Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

Jason Noel "Jay" Kutack Collection. Two photographs, one is a head shot of Lt. Colonel Kutack and the other is a group of eleven USAFR members, including Lt. Colonel Kutack, both from WWII and appear to be taken in France; two postcard flipbooks from the Mississippi coast; .25 cubic foot of material containing information belonging to his wife and him about Blair High School from 1968-1970, the Forrest County Junior Miss Pageant in 1969, The First Baptist Church Final Report from the Building Committee on March 31, 1954, titled *The Story of the Building of a Church*, Directory of South Mississippi Art Association, Inc. 1995-96, several Carey Dinner Theatre signed programs circa 1980-90s, and a slide presentation with narration titled *International Paper in Mississippi*. Donated by Kaylene Behm. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Lampson Collection. .25 linear feet. 1962. Letter from U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to federalized border patrol agent Joseph G.N. Chenette wounded during 1962 University of Mississippi riot. Open to the public. Donated by Alan P. Lampson. Modern Political Archive, Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

League of Women Voters of Mississippi Collection. Fifty-four linear feet. 1946-2014. Accretion. The collection contains the official records of the Mississippi division of this national, nonpartisan organization which encourages citizens to actively participate in the government. Open to researchers. Donated by the League of Women Voters of Mississippi. Modern Political Archive, Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

Leflore County 1971 Sample Ballot. Sample ballot for the State of Mississippi General Election held November 2, 1971, distributed by the Leflore County Citizens Council as a public service. All of the African American candidates are indicated with "Negro" beside their name. Donated by Marsha Hester. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Dr. William D. McCain Papers of Heritage Organizations. 112 bound volumes of letters, reports, and printed items for several heritage and/or lineage organizations and societies: the National Society of the Washington Family Descendants, Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims, My Letter as Lieutenant Commander of the John B. Gordon Camp. 46, S.C.V, My Command Letters of John B. Gordon Camp No. 46, Captain William A. Fuller "The General" Georgia Society Order of Stars and Bars, War of 1812 in the State of Tennessee, Clans, Royal Line and Elizabeth I, Descendants of Early Quakers, General James W. Longstreet Camp No. 1289 – Sons of Confederate Veterans, Georgia Branch, National Society Sons and Daughters of the Pilgrims, Georgia Division Letters, The Georgia Division of the National Society Magna Charta Dames, A Georgia Patriot. Sexta Eavenson Strickland – La Cavera, Georgia Division Sons of Confederate Veterans, Knights of Garter, Knights of Garter Windsor Castle, St. George Chapel Windsor Castle, Magna Charta and Historic England, The Huguenot Society of Tennessee, Headquarters – Sons of Confederate Veterans, Order of St. John of Jerusalem Gulf and Central States Grand Priory, Hospitaller Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of Confederate Veterans, National Society of Confederate Veterans, Sons of Confederate Veterans Letters, Sons of Confederate Veterans and Military Order of the Stars and Bars, The Military Order of the Stars and Bars and the Sons of Confederate Veterans, National Society Military Order of the Stars and Bars, National Society Stars and Bars. 1957-1991. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Oseola McCarty Collection. Addition of her doctoral regalia worn in 1998 when she received the first honorary doctorate awarded from the University of Southern Mississippi. It consists of the gown with velvet panels and sleeve chevrons, tam with tassel, and hood. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Sara Craig McCorkle Collection. Several items including: Governor William A. Allain's proclamation declaring September 6, 1986, "Sara Craig McCorkle Day"; the proclamation was issued on her 90th birthday and lists many of her lifetime achievements; program to the All American Forum III held at the University of Southern Mississippi

on July 17-21, 1972; seven photographs of Sara Craig McCorkle and her family circa 1930s through 1980s; six audio cassette tapes of Sara McCorkle which include a history of Madison County made in 1985 and Christmas in the 1970s; 3 DVDs made from the cassette tapes. Donated by Renee McCraine Taylor. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Charles McKeithen Collection. One cubic foot of family papers and memorabilia of donor's father (Matthew McKeithen) and grandfather (W. M. McKeithen). The family had business activities in Meridian and the counties of Kemper and Lauderdale, and the collection covers the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A scrapbook also contains newspaper accounts, letters, handwritten journals, documents and pictures, which tell the story of the Mississippi sawmill that was constructed in Ecuador in 1975 by Charles McKeithen's father, Rev. Edward McKeithen, in conjunction with the Agricultural Missions Foundation. Donated by Charles McKeithen. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Arthur McKinstry Civil War Correspondence. .5 cubic foot. 1861-1862. The Arthur McKinstry Civil War correspondence collection consists of fifty total pieces of correspondence; thirty-seven of these pieces were written by Athur 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 collection was donated by McKinstry Family descendants. The collection is open for research use. Mississippi State University, Ulysses S. Grant Presidential Library.

Jim McLain Forrest County Papers. .25 cubic foot of letters, postcards, and a diary from 1906-1915. Donated by Jim McLain. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Neil R. McMillen Professional Papers. Addition relating primarily to Dr. Neil R. McMillen's career as professor of history at The University of Southern Mississippi. Donated by Dr. Neil R. McMillen. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Dr. James H. McPhail Collection. CD copy of Dr. James H. McPhail's StoryCorps 2007 oral history interview and his obituary. Dr. McPhail, former faculty member of the University of Southern Mississippi, worked to facilitate relations between Mississippi school districts and the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare during the implementation of court-ordered desegregation in the early 1970s. Donated by Meredith McPhail. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Carole McReynolds-Davis Collection. One cubic foot. Undated. Peach hat, decorated with pink and peach artificial flowers and ribbons; Brown and tan hat, decorated with yellow and orange artificial flowers, and yellow, pink, orange and maroon ribbons and a yellow green, orange bird. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Ray Mabus Collection. 771 linear feet. Undated. Accretion. Personal papers of Ray Mabus who served as governor of Mississippi (1988-1992), U.S. Ambassador to Saudi Arabia (1994-1996), and U.S. Secretary of the Navy (2009-present). Closed to researchers. Donated by Ray Mabus. Modern Political Archive, Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

John Marszalek Papers. Accretion. 1941-1945. One folder. War Ration Book which belonged to John F. Marszalek (father of donor). Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Ben F. Martin III & Cordelia Leach Fant Collection. Accretion. Facsimile of the 1863 Vicksburg newspaper, *The Daily Citizen*; multi-use ledger book containing handwritten account of former Confederate soldier. Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

Gordon A. Martin Jr. Collection. Four linear feet. 1962-1963. Accretion. A U.S. Department of Justice attorney during the 1960s, Gordon A. Martin, Jr. participated in civil rights and voter registration litigation in Mississippi. Open to the public. Donated by Gordon A. Martin, Jr. Modern Political Archives, Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

J. H. Meyer Contract. 1916. One folder. Architectural record, contract. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Mississippi Association of Education Office Personnel Higher Education Division Records. Addition of one cubic foot of materials. Six binders contain yearly business meeting and board meeting minutes beginning with 2002-2003 and a binder with minutes beginning August 7, 1993, ending June 18, 2004; Past President Geraldine "Boots" Owen's scrapbook for 2010-2011. Donated by Melissa Carpenter and Mary Sumrall. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Mississippi Book Festival Ephemera Collection. Ephemera, the inaugural poster, stickers and a map, from the first Mississippi Book Festival held at the Mississippi State Capitol in Jackson, Mississippi, on August 22, 2015. The festival title was "A Literary Lawn Party" with John Grisham and Greg Iles being two of the featured speakers. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Mississippi Library Association (MLA) Collection. Additions included: Ken Chapman files, 2 cubic foot boxes, from 1970s and 1980s; MLA Program Files, .5 cubic foot, from 1990s and 2000s; .25 cubic feet of files from the Special Collections Roundtable donated by Shugana Williams; 1.5 cubic feet of various program files such as minutes from the Consortium for Library Automation, Automation and Networking Round Table 1979-1988, ANRT Bylaws 1979, Membership Directories and lists, conference programs and flyers, various publications by MLA and pictures of MLA Conference 2001 from Henry Ledet; binder containing managerial information concerning *Mississippi Libraries*, circa 1980s-1990s and 2008; scrapbook concerning Peggy Jane May, In Memoriam, December 26, 1937 – September 16, 1974; materials generated during Ann Branton's time as editor of *Mississippi Libraries* 2000-2002; back issues of *Mississippi Libraries*; thirty photographs from a MLA Poster Session possibly from the 2000 conference, all are unidentified and undated. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Mississippi Menu Collection. Additions include one menu from the Asian Bistro Red Bowl located on Old Hwy 11; one menu from Java Werks Coffee & Tea at 2902 Hardy St., Hattiesburg; three menus from Oishi Hibachi & Suchi Bar, Mellow Mushroom, Steve's Marina Restaurant and Bar all in Hattiesburg. Donated by Jennifer Brannock; eight menus from restaurants located in downtown Hattiesburg donated by Karen Rowell (many of the restaurants are now closed). C. 1940s-2000s. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Mississippi Science Teacher Association Collection. 2013-2014. Accretion of one binder of minutes. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Mississippi Writers, A Portfolio of Portraits. A purchased packet titled *Featuring Twenty Noted Authors from the Cradle of Storytellers Mississippi Writers A Portfolio of Portraits*. Contains two sets of twenty black and white portraits and a list of biographical facts of nineteen of the authors, copyrighted by the University Press of Mississippi in 1981. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Mystic Krewe of Zeus of Hattiesburg Records. Additions included memorabilia pertaining to Mystic Krewe of Zeus of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, coronation festivities during 2014-2015, and photocopies of a photograph from an unknown banquet held at the Forrest Hotel in 1950 of the Mystic Krewe of Zeus of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, festivities. One photocopy contains identification of members present at the banquet. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

New Hebron High School Class 1954 & 1955. Six collage photographs of the New Hebron High School Senior Classes of 1954 and 1955, plus reunion information for both classes. All of these materials were inserts in the 1954 & 1955 yearbooks, *The Growler*, which were also donated. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Newspaper Collection. Additions included: 2.4 cubic foot transfer from the Sojourner Collection of newspapers from Holmes County, Mississippi, circa 1965-1969; the 1st Edition of *The Hattiesburg Post*, October 3, 2013, Vol. 1, No. 1, 52 pages; One edition of the *Pittsburgh*

Sun-Telegraph Extra, August 15, 1945, Vol. 37, No. 14, sixteen pages, headline reads "PEACE Shooting Ends In Pacific;" *Mississippi Oil Review*, December 16, 1939, Vol. 5, No. 13 and April 16, 1940, Vol. 6, No. 24; *National Enquirer*, September 20, 1977, Vol. 52, No 6. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Dennis Nordin Collection. One cubic foot. Undated. Clippings and correspondence. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Papers of Congressman Alan Nunnelee. Twenty-five cubic feet. 1963-2015. The Nunnelee Papers consists of correspondence, memos, speeches, press releases, artifacts, ephemera, and memorabilia related to the political career of United States Congressman Alan Nunnelee. The collection was donated by Congressman Nunnelee's wife, Tori Nunnelee. The collection is in process and is open for research use. Mississippi State University, Congressional and Political Research Center.

Hamer Ogden Methodist Hospital Superintendent's Log. Log book maintained by Hamer Ogden, superintendent of Methodist Hospital, from 1921 to 1958. It contains a brief summary of the business of the hospital for each fiscal year beginning in 1922 and ending in 1958. It also contains a list of funds given to the Mississippi Methodist Annual Conference each year. Donated by Alfred G. Snelgrove, Jr. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

103d Infantry Division Association of WWII Research Collection. Thirty-two cubic feet of mixed materials circa 1940s – 2000s, including photographs, memorabilia, and books. Additional accessions include: 1.45 cubic foot of mixed materials circa 1940s; four DVD presentations of 103d Division Photos - Claiborne to Austria, Flynn Twins – 3rd Bn. HQ Co & Co A, KIA and G.I. Portraits (including 1-page article on last man KIA); 410th, I&R Platoon Photos; eleven boxes of various materials and memorabilia circa 1943-1945; one folder, one manuscript and nineteen photographs circa 1945; three photographs with descriptions taken in France and Austria circa 1945. Donated by the Association or its members. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Oral Histories of the Cleveland Airport conducted by Eagle Scout candidate Marshall Jones: Nevin Sledge (OH 455); Ray Meeks (OH 456); Andy Jones (OH 457); Kell Lyons (OH 458). Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Fun Pang Collection. Contains one Order of the Arrow sash and one badge sash given to Fun Pang who is considered the first Chinese American in Mississippi to have received this special award through the Boy Scouts; two Eagle badges, one earned while at Camp Tallaha (June – July 1948); set of Boy Scout badges; one Webb School Letterman's jacket; one black and white photograph of the Webb High School football team, 1945 Delta A Champions. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Laurie Parker. 2.33 cu. ft. 1996-2014. Manuscripts, illustration and publications that were created by Mississippi author, Laurie Parker. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Howard and Bennie Patton Collection. 0.84 linear feet. Howard and Bennie Mae Patton married shortly before World War and Mr. Howard Patton spent the last years of the war stationed primarily in the Pacific Theater. After the war, the couple settled in Dayton, Ohio. The bulk of the collection consists of correspondence between Howard and Bennie Mae Patton while he was stationed in the Pacific during the last years of World War II (1944-1945). The collection was presented to the Margaret Walker Center by Mr. David Hoard on May 8, 2014. Margaret Walker Center, Jackson State University.

Aron and Karen Primack African Art Collection. Twenty-one artifacts donated by Dr. Aron Primack and Mrs. Karen Primack. Artifacts originated in West, East and Southern Africa and include three drums and a guitar which are the first musical instruments in any African collection housed on the main campus of Jackson State University. African Artifacts donated by Dr. Aron Primack and Ms, Karen Primack May 2015. Margaret Walker Center.

Political Campaign Collection. Addition of two items regarding Gene Taylor's U.S. Congress 2014 race and Dave Ware's Hattiesburg

mayoral 2013 race. Donated by Danielle Bishop. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Moran Pope Collection. Nine items of memorabilia and photographs from Mississippi Normal College, State Teachers College, as well as the University of Southern Mississippi, circa 1913 – 2010; booklet titled “Demonstration School Reunion at The University of Southern Mississippi” dated August 17, 2002. Donated by Moran Pope. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Postcard Collection. Additions include three postcards depicting New Orleans scenes donated by Jessica Clark; two postcards depicting San Francisco, California, and Austin, Texas, donated by Lauren Stealey; five items depicting Zion National Park and Celestial Seasonings donated by Janet Vital; seventy-seven items from various places around the world, some used and some unused/many are correspondence to or from someone stationed in the military, circa early 1900s, donated by Kaylene Behm; one item from the Crosby Arboretum in Picayune, Mississippi, donated by Jennifer Brannock; black and white photograph of “Adams County Court House – Natchez, Mississippi 4-D-112”, postmarked on July 29, 1953, to Mrs. F. Iv. Stone in Ohio; postcard from the Jackson Holiday Inn on U.S. Highway 80 at Interstate 20 donated by Kaylene Behm; B. F. Goodrich tire advertisement. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

William A. Powe Article. Photocopy of article titled “He Left a Fortune in Cuba,” originally printed in *Alumnus*, Mississippi State University Fall 1979, Volume 55, Number 3. This article tells of Bill Powe who spent forty years in Cuba as a sugar machinery magnate until Fidel Castro took over. Donated by Frances Evans Rogers. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Panthea Reid/Ellen Douglas Collection. C. 1990s. Collection of correspondence, galleys, and materials related to Dr. Reid’s research about the Mississippi author Ellen Douglas. Donated by Dr. Panthea Reid. Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

Ann O’Cain Rushing Collection. Four cubic feet. Mid-to-late twentieth century. Collection contains VHS tapes, U-Matic tapes, 2” spool of magnetic tape, audio cassette, newspaper clippings, cookbook, magazine, slides. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Fong Pang Collection. Contains two Webb High School Wildcats football letterman’s jackets. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Piney Woods School Collection. Addition of one business card of Neff Chastain, The Original Dry Boiled Peanut “King,” with inscription “Peanut stand at the entrance to Piney Woods School.” Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Playbill Collection. One folder. Playbills, 1983-1997. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Quinton Collection. Collection contains one full set of Boston Red Sox home and one full set of Boston Red Sox travel uniforms worn by 1946 Rookie of the Year Red Sox pitcher, Dave “Boo” Ferriss. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Railroad Exhibit 1939 World’s Fair. Promotional card for the Railroad Exhibit at the 1939 World’s Fair with original envelope. Donated by Kaylene Behm. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

St. Thomas Catholic Church Collection. Various publications from the St. Thomas Aquinas Catholic Church located at 3117 West 4th Street in Hattiesburg, circa 2000-2014. Included are weekly bulletins, newsletters, resource guides, event posters and brochure, and various other publications. Donated by Maria Englert. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Mitchell S. Salloum Scrapbook. c 1926-1927. Scrapbook containing correspondence, newspaper articles, and photographs related to University of Mississippi alumnus and noted athlete, Mitchell S. Salloum. Donated by Helen Catherine Werby, Mary Werby Alexander,

Isabell Salloum Haggar, and Mitchell S. Salloum. Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

Dorothy Sample-Shawhan Collection. Established to honor and remember the long-time professor of English at Delta State University, this collection consists primarily of Ms. Shawhan's personal library, manuscript and photograph materials related to her friends and family, scrapbooks, news clippings on topics of interest to Ms. Shawhan, unpublished manuscript pieces as well as portions of manuscripts which eventually were published, U.S. presidential campaign buttons, memorabilia related to her time as a student and as an alumni of Mississippi University for Women; 2,000 copies of her book, *Lizzie*. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Emma Lou Martin Sanders Memorabilia Collection. <1 ft. 1956-1959. New collection. Photographs, Gamma Sigma Epsilon and Beta Beta Beta material, graduation material, and other memorabilia from MUW. Donated by Ginny Manguno and Lisa J. Sanders with no restrictions. Mississippi University for Women.

Mrs. Doris Saunders. 131 books on topics of African American history and literature. Mrs. Saunders served as director of the Book Division of Johnson Publishing and helped develop the Department of Mass Communications at Jackson State University. Donated to the Center by Ms. Ann Saunders, daughter of the late Mrs. Doris Saunders, October 2015. Margaret Walker Center, Jackson State University.

Seid-Gruberg Collection. Collection contains one circa 1968 festival Dragon Dance costume worn in parades held in New York City; this piece is on long-term display in the Mississippi Delta Chinese Heritage Museum, Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Joe and Charlotte Sharp Cotton Gin Ledger. Original ledger from a cotton gin in Newhebron, Mississippi, owned by Joe and Charlotte Sharp. This cotton gin was used by most of the farmers in northern Lawrence County. The ledger documents the amount of each delivery as well as who delivered the bales circa 1947 to 1952. Donated by Jo

Ann S. Baker. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

William Millard Shoemaker Collection. c. 1940s-1980s. Accretion. Contains correspondence, photographs, and documents related to the life and career of Mississippi IHL member, William M. Shoemaker. Donated by Robert Hume and William Shoemaker, Jr. Collection currently closed to researchers. Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

Joyce Sidorfsky Collection. 1.5 linear feet. 2010-2015. Accretion. Collection contains an assortment of mailings and newsletters from Mississippi and national conservative political organizations. Open to researchers. Donated by Dr. Joyce Sidorfsky. Modern Political Archive, Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

James Silver/Doris Bain Thompson Collection. c. 1968. Papers attributed to Dr. James Silver from his 1964 enlarged edition of *Mississippi: The Closed Society* collected by his former student Doris Bain Thompson. Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

Gary Sisco Collection. Thirty-three linear feet. Accretion. Papers related to the career of Gary Sisco in politics and government service, including records related to his tenure as United States Secretary of the Senate (1996-2001). Closed to researchers. Donated by Gary Sisco. Modern Political Archive, Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

Elva Smith Collection. .25 cubic foot of materials collected by Elva Smith when she was a student at State Teachers College (now USM) in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, in the early 1930s. This collection includes her diploma, her teacher's license, photographs, scrapbook pages, and STC entrance information. Donated by Ann Sigrest Williams and Betty Sigrest Kendrick. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Southern Tourism. Additions include portfolio titled "an invitation from the Buena Vista, Biloxi" sent to Mr. Ben M. Stevens, Sr., District Governor of Rotary International, and Richton, Mississippi, on March 26, 1958; nine items including various Civil Rights brochures, a circa

1950s Alamo Plaza Hotel brochure from Gulfport, Mississippi, and a "Sweet Home Alabama" postcard; View-Master reel, 7 three dimension full color pictures of Natchez "The Old South" Mississippi USA; one cubic foot of various brochures and pamphlets for the southeast region of the United States. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Charles Sowerwine Freedom Summer Collection. Addition of a photocopy of a letter addressed to "My dear friends and helpmates" dated July 20, 1964, from Charles "Chips" Sowerwine of Summit, New Jersey, mailed from Shaw, Mississippi. It gives a chronological narrative of his time from the training sessions in Oxford, Ohio, the bus trip through Memphis, their stop in Ruleville, Mississippi, and finally to his work in Shaw, Mississippi. Donated by Lisa Anderson Todd. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Starkville Area Business and Professional Women's Club Records. One cubic foot. 1979-1987. Accretion. Collection contains budget, membership and scholarship information. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Starkville/ MSU Symphony Association Records. Undated. One folder. Plaque, correspondence, and other records. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Starkville Rotary Club Collection. Undated. One folder. Plaque, correspondence, and other records. Special Collections, Mississippi State University.

Tom Tardy, Jr. Collection. Packet of information sent from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in January 1967 to Tom Tardy, Jr., trustee of the Winona/Meridian Separate School District. There are five sample letters and notices for the school district's use in disseminating information regarding "choice of schools" and two speeches, one marked "Negro Speech" and the other marked "White Speech." Donated by Dr. Charles Tardy. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Paul Terrell Freedom Summer Collection. Five photographs and digital images documenting Terrell's work at Morningstar Freedom School in Hattiesburg during 1964. Three printed items were included: "Brief Submitted by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party" 1964, *Mississippi from Within* by Shirley Tucker, 1965, and *The Movement: Documentary of a Struggle for Equality*, text by Lorraine Hansberry, 1964. Donated by Paul Terrell. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Christopher J. J. Thiry Sports Card Collection. Thirty-nine sports cards of former University of Southern Mississippi students, including Ray Guy, Brett Favre, Sammy Winder, Louis Lipps, Jerrell Wilson, Tony Smith, Michael Jackson, Todd Pinkston, Don Hultz, Norris Thomas, James Henry, Thomas Roberts, Cedric Scott, Maurice Oliver, Simmie Carter, Clarence Weatherspoon, and Tommy Davis. Donated by J. J. Thiry. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Dr. Julius Eric Thompson. 1,822 books and periodicals processed and cataloged as part of the Dr. Julius Eric Thompson Manuscript Collection. Dr. Thompson served as director of the Black Studies program at the University of Missouri. Donated to the Center by Ms. Lee Ethel Thompson, sister of the late Dr. Julius Thompson. Margaret Walker Center, Jackson State University.

J. Dale Thorn Ayers Case Research Collection. <1 ft. 1973-2001. New collection. Articles, correspondence, and clippings of Thorn, journalism professor at Louisiana State University, re: Ayers case and desegregation at MUW. Donated by Jan Wardlaw McSpadden with no restrictions, but copyright not transferred to archives. Mississippi University for Women.

Tonymon Collection. This collection consists of much of the supplies and materials needed to run a fully operational pharmacy. Oscar Tonymon was a pharmacist. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Union County Women's Oral History Project. A collection of ninety-three mini-cassettes, eighty CDs, and seventy-three transcribed interviews of women from Union County. Special Collections, University of Mississippi.

Vadney Quarter Boat Collection. October 2, 1898, June 15, 1898, and April 2, 1898. Contains three original letters from "Loving Husband and Papa John S." while aboard a U.S. quarter boat along the Yazoo River, MS. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Veteran Oral History Project sponsored by the American Legion Post #1776. The oral histories, which have been collected and deposited in the oral history collections within the DSU Archives, include: Joe Bramuchi (OH 442); Cecil Barnett (OH 443); Nancy Gerard (OH 444); DiTieshay White (OH 445); Al Cummins (OH 446); Davlon Miller (OH 447); James Bowen, Jr. (OH 448); James Breland (OH 449); Kent Wyatt (OH 450). Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Pete Walker Photograph Collection. c. 1970s-1990s. Accretion. Collection contains photographs, proof sheets and negatives taken by Pete Walker. Subjects include schools, roads, agriculture, river scenes, rural life, etc. Detailed information on each image is not always available; however, some identifying information is on most images. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Sidney E. L. Weatherford, Jr. Ed.D. Collection. Addition of two published books by Dr. Weatherford: *With Love, Respect, Honesty, & Integrity* a novel by Sidney E. L. Weatherford, Ed.D. Copyrighted 2015, printed by Bourne Brothers Printing, Inc., and *Remembrances of a University Professor and Administrator*, the memoirs of Sidney E. L. Weatherford, Jr. Ed.D., Assistant to the president and Professor Emeritus of Educational Leadership and Research at the University of Southern Mississippi, copyrighted 2015, printed by Bourne Brothers Printing, Inc. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Eudora Welty Bookstore Poster. Poster contains the quote "As you have seen, I am a writer who came of a sheltered life. A sheltered life can be a daring life as well. For all serious daring starts from within." donated by Kaylene Behm. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Ed Wheeler Photographs. Addition of two framed color photographic prints. Donated by Wheeler (photographer). Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Andrew A. Wiest Collection. Three cubic feet of personal research files, documents, books, photographs, slides, DVDs, VHS tapes, medals, etc., concerning his books and papers donated by Andy Wiest. Contains information from WWII through the Vietnam War. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

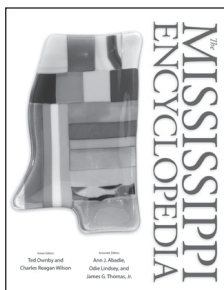
Helen S. Wilroy Travel Journals. Six, handwritten, travel journals kept by Helen S. Wilroy documenting vacation trips from 1973 until 1992. Donated by Helen Sanderfer Wilroy. Special Collections, University of Southern Mississippi.

Wilson-Fisher Collection. c. 1960s-1970s. Collection consists of approximately thirty-six reels of 8mm film (home movies) taken by Joe Wilson; rare footage of Delta State, Cleveland and Lake Bolivar as well as family vacations and holiday celebrations; each canister is labeled but does not always mean that that is the only footage on that film. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Raymond Wong Family collection. Mahjong table and memorabilia related to the family's restaurant, "How Joy," which opened in 1968. Established by Henry and Pon Wong, How Joy was one of the first Chinese restaurants to open in the Mississippi Delta serving the area until it closed in 2008. The majority of the materials donated relate to the artwork from the restaurant and some print material related to the history of the restaurant. Delta State University Archives & Museum.

Richard Wong Collection. Contains one tapestry of General Chiang Kai-shek, which is on permanent display in the Mississippi Delta Chinese Heritage Museum, Delta State University Archives & Museum.

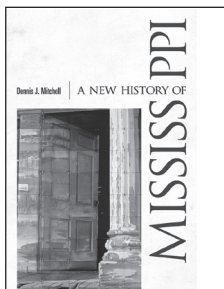
Tyrone K. Yates/John F. Kennedy Collection. Nine linear feet. 1956-2009. Accretion. Collection consists largely of John F. Kennedy campaign material and memorabilia, as well as publications by and about the thirty-fifth president of the United States. It also includes a number of items related to other presidents and campaigns. Donated by Tyrone K. Yates. Modern Political Archive, Special Collections, University of Mississippi.



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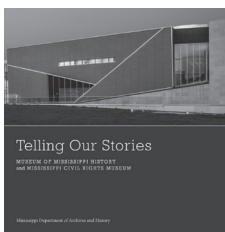
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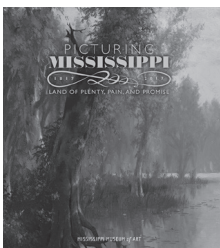
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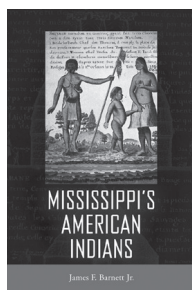


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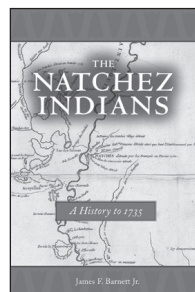


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The Chicago Manual of Style (latest edition) should be followed, with some exceptions (primarily dates: the *Journal* prefers “December 1, 1866,” to Chicago’s “1 December 1866”).

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