

Chapter XVII

The People: Origins and Characteristics

What manner of people were the pioneer spirits who came into the wild Indian land to find little towns along the Yalobousha river, and to carve out small farms and large plantations in the lands adjacent to that stream? Generally speaking, they were people seeking something: better economic, political or social status, or perhaps, all three of these things. They came from many sources, and along a number of different trails, to converge on that part of the Choctaw Cession which is now embraced within the boundaries of Grenada County. The system of primogeniture as practiced in Virginia, along with the exhaustion of its soil by long years of tobacco cropping, caused an exodus of Virginians from their home state into the newer states to the west. Some of those leaving Virginia were younger sons who were given slaves and other personal property, and advised to seek new lands and establish new homes in areas other than Virginia. Then there were those Virginians who were tired of trying to work their worn-out acres at a profit, and who sold their land for what they could obtain for it; gathered up their slaves and other personal property, and moved west. Some of these families made two or three moves before reaching the Choctaw Purchase lands. In some cases these moves represented three generations of the same family. In their migration west some of the families first stopped in the Carolinas; then in Georgia or Alabama, and finally in the new Indian lands of Mississippi. Others settled in Tennessee and moved westward, generation by generation, until finally they left Henry County, Tennessee, and came into Yalobousha and the other counties carved out of the land acquired by the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. A few of the early settlers came directly from their old homes to the area which is now Grenada County. Many of these came by water; down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and then up the Yazoo and the Yalobousha. Some of those who came by this water route made brief stops at Natchez before moving on up the Yazoo-Yalobousha route. Most of the people came by the dim overland trails leading into the area. They came down the Natchez Trace from the Nashville area of Tennessee; some came down the Tennessee River to the point where the city of Florence, Alabama is now situated, and there joined those people who were going down the trace. Others came up from the area of South Mississippi which had been settled after earlier treaties had removed the Indians from that area. Those coming from this region came over the Rankin-Memphis road which began near the point where the present city of Jackson is located and traversed the land now embraced in the counties of Hinds, Madison, Holmes, Carroll, Tallahatchie and Yalobousha, and then on through the counties which were to be carved out of the Chickasaw Cession brought about by the Treaty of Pontotoc Creek, to the then small town of Memphis, located on the Chickasaw Bluffs bordering the Mississippi River. It is quite probable that Tennessee contributed more settlers to North Mississippi than any one of the other states mentioned. A great many of the settlers came direct, or as second generation people from the Piedmont region east of the Appalachian mountains. This long stretch of foot hills of that mountain system had early drawn its inhabitants from the states along the South Atlantic sea-board as those states became well settled and land more costly. After several generations of cropping, these hilly farms became exhausted and unproductive, and their inhabitants began to look for new lands in the west. The Indian troubles which brought General Jackson and the militia of the western settlers into the territories of Mississippi and Alabama, and eventually to the Battle of New Orleans, gave those soldiers an insight into the agricultural possibilities of a large region still occupied by the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians. Many of these soldiers remembered the region. About 1830 the agricultural economy of the Piedmont Region, still depending on tobacco for its money crop, began to suffer from the exhaustion of the soil of the tobacco fields. A type of inland cotton which was adapted to separation of the lint from the seed had been developed, and cotton planters in the southwestern part of the state around Natchez were becoming wealthy.

When it became known that the Indians were being removed from the north two thirds of the state of Mississippi, and that land made available, many people of Piedmont connection, directly, or by parents who had moved out toward the area a generation before, began to move into the area which was to become the counties organized from the Choctaw and Chickasaw land cessions. A good example of the Jacksonian soldier coming to the area was George W. Martin who, at one time, acted as secretary to General Jackson. In the battle of New Orleans he served as a staff officer to General Coffee. He came into the Grenada area in 1833 to act as the "locating officer" to locate land for Choctaw Indians who chose to remain in Mississippi. He married a niece of General Jackson and became the paternal grandfather of the late W. B. Hoffa. His Auvergne plantation, located near Obury, was a good example of the extensive plantation development which took place in the quarter century prior to the outbreak of the Civil War.

While doing some research on a project other than this history of Grenada and Grenada County, the writer had occasion to run up on some records which are a good indication of the movement of people from the Piedmont region into the area which is now Grenada County. The records concern three families which lived in Montgomery County, North Carolina. The Crump, Willis and Kendall families lived near the little village of Center which is located near the Pee Dee River. Evidently some members of the three families remained in the area since, as we drove over the area, we found many people living there with the same family names as the three mentioned. Many had given names which are found in the names of members of the three families which came to Mississippi. The Kendall family is a good example of the Tidewater people who moved into the Piedmont area; lived there for a generation or so, and then came by stages into Mississippi. In 1788 several members of the Kendall family moved from their tidewater lands along the Tappahannock River to the area about the town of Center. Later, members of the family moved to Henry County Tennessee, and after remaining there for a few years came on into Mississippi-some settling in Tallahatchie county and others in Yalobusha. It seems that the three families had intermarried while living in North Carolina, although they evidently did not move out together. Members of the Crump family settled near the land office town of Chocchuma about 1834. Members of the Willis family were in the area during the early years of settlement as is shown by early land records. George Washington Kendall, who came to this area later than his uncle James Kendall, was the son of George Kendall who had moved from Virginia to North Carolina. Dr. William T. Willis, who came into the area of the old town of Graysport, is an example of a man who was born in Virginia and came with his family first to Alabama, and who later made the move into Mississippi. Two South Carolina families who seem to have come directly to the Grenada area from their old homes were the Perrys and Ingrams.

Many of the people who were early settlers, in and about Grenada, were people of property, culture and education who came into the new region for purposes which have been related above, but some of the people were less fortunate. They, because of misfortune, lack of opportunity, or economic failure were looking for pioneer lands where they could begin a new life. To them, the rich Indian lands which could be purchased at very little cost was the end of the rainbow where they might find the pot of gold. It would be interesting if we knew what brought each early settler into the Grenada area. For instance what brought Jacob Poirtevent who was born in Brunswick County, North Carolina in 1818 and his wife Mary Jane to Grenada? Both were to die in the Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1878. What was Robert Louis Jones, born in Nottaway county, Virginia during the year 1825, seeking as he came into the new area? We wonder the same about Maria Robbins Buffaloe, born in Raleigh, North Carolina May 2, 1818; Maria Ward Parmel, born in New York in the year 1809, and William H. Winter, born near Huntsville, Alabama. Not all of the early settlers were native Americans. Robert Stevenson and his wife Janet Thompson

Stevenson, born in Ayrshire, Scotland, migrated to this country and died in the Yellow Fever Epidemic. Duncan McKinlay, a native of Kintrye, Scotland, migrated to South Carolina in 1820, became a citizen of Mississippi and died here in 1870. Robert Mullin, born in Belfast, Ireland in the year 1818, arrived in Kentucky in 1820 and came to the old town of Troy in 1838. There was Elder Moore, born in the year 1800 at some place unknown to us, who was to become the father of Jennie Moore, wife the the Grenada Dentist and Mayor who was an early victim of the fever epidemic. Elder Moore died of the same disease.

During the very early years of Grenada, Dr. E. Cahn came to the town and set up a business which was continued many years. He was the first Jewish settler in the area so far as we can ascertain from available records. But others of his race were to follow within a few years. Political disturbances in the German states during the decade beginning in 1840 brought many middle class Jewish people to the United States. Grenada was fortunate enough to attract a number of these cultured, intelligent and thrifty people who became an important factor in the economic development of the area. They came, and for many years were a part of the cultural, economic and social life of the town. At one time there were enough Jewish families living in the town to set up a sabbath school. Nathan Haber was born in the German state of Bavaria in the year 1818. His wife Pauline Kahn, a native of France was born in 1845. We do not know what attracted them to Grenada, but we do know that for several years they operated a hotel located where the Grenada Theater now stands. The building, erected by Colonel W. N. Pass was first known as the Pass House. After the Habers took charge of the hotel it was known as the Haber House and was operated by the Habers until shortly before the death of this Jewish couple, both of whom died in 1888. Meyer Wile, born in Ichenhauser, Bavaria in the year 1828, and his wife Isabella Wile who was born in New York State in 1838 came to Grenada and set up a merchantile business. Mr. Wile was another victim of the Yellow Fever Epidemic. A few years before the death of her husband, Mrs. Wile invited her nephew Max Ginsburger to come to Grenada and become a clerk in the Wile store. After the death of her husband, Mrs. Wile entrusted the operation of her business to her son and her nephew. Later Ginsburger became a partner in the business and soon thereafter established a business of his own. In the same little area in the Odd Fellows Cemetery where the Habers and Wiles are buired there is a grave stone with the simple inscription; "Joseph Streng. Born in Bavaria March 28, 1802. Died August 27, 1878." This is all we know of this Bavarian who came to this country, found his way to Grenada, died in the fever epidemic, and was placed to rest in the little cemetery area along with four of his Jewish kindred or friends. The headstones in the cemetery give much interesting information relative to the diverse areas and states from whom came the people who built Grenada, but the names mentioned above are representative of the people who converged from many different places to share in the development of Grenada.

Characteristics

Most of the people who settled in Grenada were religious. They were fundamentalists in beliefs, and convinced, beyone the shadow of a doubt, that their own particular church denomination had the most correct and authoritative interpretation of the Holy Writ. Their Churches were the center of both spiritual and social affairs. Since the early churches were the only buildings with any considerable seating accomodations it was natural that many meetings of various sorts took place in or around these church buildings. All of the early churches were called Protestant Churches. They consisted of the Methodist Episcopal Church, The Missionary Baptist Church, The Primitive Baptist Church, The Regular Presbyterian Church, The Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and The Episcopal Church. So far as we have been able to determine the Jewish people never had a synagogue in Grenada, nor a separate cemetery. The church people, particularly the Methodist and the Baptist, placed great stress on, and stood by,

what were called "protracted meetings." Today we term meeting of that kind revivals. These meetings ran for ten days or two weeks, and were almost always held in the summer season of the year. Each church would have its own meeting, but on occasion, most of the churches in town would get together and organize jointly, or union meetings. For these joint meetings a well known professional revivalist would be invited to do the preaching. On one occasion, Sam Jones, the most popular revivalist of the day was chosen. Since no church in town was large enough to accommodate the crowds expected, a rough tabernacle was created. The several churches would underwrite the expense of the construction; the honorarium for the revivalist, and all other expenses incident to the meeting. Sometimes there would be a deficit which would have to be met by the several churches; at other times there might be money left over after expenses were paid. Of course the meetings were financed by the collections taken up at the services. The liberality of the people in contributions varied with the eloquence of the minister and the amount of spiritual emotion which had been aroused by the services. On the few occasions when there was a surplus left over after payment of expense, there was more dissention relative to the distribution of the surplus than there was when it was necessary to assess churches their share of any deficit which might have occurred. The people were prone to discuss and debate various theological questions and church doctrines. During the early years of the Baptist denominations in and about Grenada there was a split in the church on the question of foreign missions. At a later date there was another split when a Texas evangelist came for a meeting; preached doctrine contrary to the belief of a majority of the church members; convinced the pastor of the church as to the authority of the doctrine which he was preaching and brought about a division by which the pastor and part of the flock left the First Baptist Church and established the Central Baptist Church. A little later there was a division of opinion in the Presbyterian church-partly over the question of the educational qualifications of ministers. This division resulted in the establishment of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. There was a Cumberland Church in Grenada for a time.

The Episcopal church was a relatively late comer into the religious life of Grenada. Generally speaking, this church drew its members from families of Virginia Tidewater background. Of course the Episcopal church was the state supported church in Virginia during colonial days, and descendants of those early families had reverence and affection for that church, and were use to the dignity of the church ritual. Many of the settlers who had come in from the Piedmont region had no affection for the Episcopal church-in fact they had resented being taxed to help support that church. Most of these people were inclined to be members of the various other so-called protestant churches. Some of the pre-Civil War churches allowed negro slaves to attend certain services and some of them had negro members. Of course these were more or less inactive members who had no part in the policies and doctrines of the church. After the war negro members of the local Baptist church decided they wanted a church of their own and George W. Ragsdale and other Baptists helped them to build a church house. Ragsdale gave the lot on which the building was to be erected.

Perhaps because of the presence of some Revolutionary soldiers in the community; memories of the not too distant Indian wars and the Battle of New Orleans, and the growing anticipation of trouble with Mexico which was sure to result from the flood of American migration into the Mexican province of Texas, there was much military spirit among the people of Grenada. This military ardor was early indicated by an article appearing in the newspaper The Grenadian in December 1838: "PRESENTATION OF THE BANNER: Many of the citizens of Grenada assembled at the Presbyterian Church on Saturday evening, the 17th ult., to witness the rich donation prepared by the chivalrous female spirits of our town to the gallant Volunteer Company recently organized among us. At 3 o'clock the soldiers were paraded, and a most beautiful and elegantly executed a Stand

of Colors, with the following appropriate and soul-stirring address: "Gentlemen and soldiers: the Ladies of Grenada, animated by a love of independence, thrilling as that which propels the vital current through the heart of the most enthusiastic patriot, are ambitious of fostering your martial spirit by the only public reciprocation etiquette allows them. Accept, then, their banner of Liberty as a pledge of their confidence in your loyalty, in sustaining a cause alike precious to every descendant of 'Seventy Six'. Soldiers! Limit not its glorious aspirations; check not its soarings, entwine its emblem with the thread of your mortal existence." This company was a part of the 1st Brigade, 4th Division Mississippi Militia. The Brigade Court Martial Headquarters was in Grenada. The report indicates the use of an early church building for non-religious meetings; the flowery type of oratory in which so many speakers of the period delighted, and the patriotic spirit of the ladies, which spirit carried over into the Civil War Period. It would seem that Grenada was a center of Militia activity. On October 8, 1842, the newspaper Weekly Register ran the following notice: "The Sixteenth Regiment of Mississippi will parade at Ingram's at six or seven miles east of Grenada, on the Fourth Saturday in October, armed and equipped as the law directs, for the purpose of Regimental Review, at 10 o'clock A. M. "From the same paper of September 24, 1842: "The Company 'D', Sixteenth Regiment of Miss. Militia, will parade in Grenada, on the Second Saturday in October next, at 9 o'clock A. M., armed and equipped as the law directs. This notice inserted by the order of the Captain. Septimus Caldwell, Orderly Sergeant." On November 20, 1839, just about a year before W. G. Kendall had made his flowery speech to the Grenada Pioneers, the Southern Reporter had reminded the people of the presence in their midst of many people who traced their ancestry back to soldiers of the Revolutionary army: "The Revolutionary War could have but little effect on Grenada, for Indians still roamed undisturbed through its forests. Later, when the county was opened to settlement by white, a number of ex-soldiers must have come looking for land, for many Grenada county families trace their ancestry back to soldiers from Virginia. John Hollon, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, died at the residence of his son, Assa Hollon, near Troy, on November 20, 1839, in his ninety second year. The deceased was born and reared in Bedford, Virginia, and from there entered the Colonial army."

Many people in Mississippi were interested in the struggle by which Texas secured its independence from Mexico. Some had sons, and others neighbors, who had migrated to Texas and been a part of the war which had gained Texas independence. Most of them felt that eventually there would be war between the United States and Mexico. Rumors were prevalent that the war was almost at hand. Acting on these rumors, an American Naval officer occupied a California town, and was forced into a red-faced apology to Mexican officials when he learned that these rumors were false. This happened in 1842. The people in Grenada were excited at these rumors of impending conflict. On February 1842 the Weekly Register reported: "A party of three gentlemen have arrived from Corpus Christi: They state that some Mexican robbers have again been making attempts to raise enough men to rob Rancho Corpus Christi, but have not succeeded. Colonel Carns is in the vicinity with a good company of their men, and with them residing at the rancho, they feel able to meet any assault which may be made upon them" Again, on April 9, 1842, the same paper had another comment on the Mexican situation: War and rumors of war, are constantly coming. The many questions between this country and Great Britain most imminently threaten, perhaps compel it. When it comes it will involve France, Mexico and Texas immediately. Every energy of the government ought to be directed to preparation for war, and if declared by this country the declaration should be delayed long enough for that purpose. A tariff for revenue ought at once to be imposed to raise means, 2,000 Paixhan guns ought to be prepared, musket, bombs and ammunition; our forts man'd, repaired and reprovisioned, privateers commissioned, the regular army increased, proclamation be made for volunteers, and then war

may be declared to some purpose, backed by a million soldiers, a thousand privateer vessels, and a thousand steam-boats with each a Paxhan gun on board." It will be remembered that both Great Britain and France were interested in annexation of the Independent Republic of Texas at a time when the United States, for political reasons, hesitated to accede to the wishes of the people of Texas for annexation by the United States. This explains the rather bombastic statement of the editor relative to preparation for war with either, or both of these powers if they intervened when the United States did act to annex Texas.

On July 26, 1845, the paper *Harry of the West* noted; "From all appearances a little spec of war is likely to call us to action. Fifteen hundred U. S. troops, it would seem however, well fed and well armed, can do the work of Mexico; if they cannot the Grenada Guards may hold themselves in readiness." This rash assumption that fifteen hundred U. S. soldiers could handle the Mexican war is reminiscent of the pre-Civil War boast that one Southern soldier could whip five Yankee soldiers. When the Mexican war came, it took many more soldiers, including a volunteer regiment from Mississippi, to end that conflict in a satisfactory manner. The Confederate soldiers were to find a few years later that one Confederate Soldier could not always whip five Union soldiers. On June 10, 1846, The Grenada Hornets, under the command of Captain Judson were taken into a Mississippi regiment intended for use in the war. Of course at the time of the Mexican war Grenada county had not yet been organized, so that it is probable that men, living in what is now Grenada County, fought in units formed from Carroll, Tallahatchie, Yalobousha, and possibly from Choctaw - the four counties which were to contribute of the territory which eventually became Grenada County. The Coffeenville Guards were under the command of Captain Ephraim Fisher, a lawyer who later became a judge on the Mississippi Supreme Court. The Yalobousha Guards were under the command of Captain A. H. Davidson. There were men by this name living in Grenada and it is possible that some men from Grenada may have been in that unit. Carroll County organized four units: Carroll County Volunteers, Volunteer Company, Carroll County Guards, which was an infantry company, and the Carroll County Guards, a cavalry company organized at Middleton, then in Carroll County, but later to become a part of Montgomery County when that county was organized. Middleton was a town of some importance until the Mississippi Central Railroad was constructed, and then most of the inhabitants moved a few miles east to the place where the new town of Winona was being established on the railroad line. The men in these several companies were assigned to the army of General Taylor and placed in a brigade with John A. Quitman as commander. Through the recommendation of Jefferson Davis, these men were armed with rifles instead of the musket which was the standard infantry arm at that time. The Mississippi troops engaged in the Battle of Buena Vista and also in the capture of Monteray. We know that Boyd Doak, Dr. John Gage and Mather Robinson fought in the Mexican War, but do not know the unit in which they were enlisted. Mather Robinson lost his life in one of the battles of the war.

The early settlers were very much interested in social, political and miscellaneous affairs, and the newspaper men of that period attempted to give their readers the kind of information which they desired. There were no society editors on the small newspapers, but the editors did the best they could in reporting weddings. On October 8, 1842, this report was published by the *Weekly Register*: "HYMNEAL: Married, on Thursday evening, the 29th ult., by Rev. Asbury Davidson, Mr. E. F. Moore to Miss Pauline Melton, daughter of Michael H. Melton, Esq., all of this place. With the above notice we received a big slice of as rich a cake as we ever smacked our lips over, and a bottle of claret (Bingham's best) which we would praise, but for the reflection that we might be suspected of throwing away our temerance stopper. A health to the bride, whether we drank it or not; and to the bridegroom. Oh take thou this young rose and let her life be prolonged by the breath she will borrow from

thee; For while o'er her bosom the soft notes shall thrill she'll think the sweet night bird is courting her still." As an example of the way another editor handled the news of a wedding we quote from the July 6, 1884, issue of the paper Harry of the West: "MARRIED: On Thursday evening last, at the residence of Mistress John Williams in this county, by Rev. T. J. Lowery, Mr. James T. Williams to Miss Eliza Lowery both of this county. So much for Leap Year: Truly, the good work has fairly commenced, and we hope that it will go blithely on; we were not forgotten: consequently, as in duty and pleasure bound, we wish the young couple all imaginable good luck. May their voyage down the stream of time be as much exempt from the snags, sandbars and blow-ups incident to humanity as may be consistent with its proper diversification; may their highest anticipation of future happiness be more than realized: and may the evenness and beauty of their conduct present a shining example of wedded love and conjugal felicity." People today probably would not like this type of reporting, but people of that far distant day much have loved it. We note in each of the reports the editor has received some token of appreciation for his anticipated writeup.

As early as 1842, the people of Grenada were at odds on the question of the sale and use of alcoholic liquors. From the Weekly Register of June 25, 1842, we find a notice of a Temperance Celebration to be held on Independence day: "The Temperance folk are making real preparations for good eating and good drinking too, on the 4th. First the mind will be feasted by an address from the Hon. D. C. Shattuck; and 2nd, the physical man will be presented with a groaning board of good things and a bountiful supply of the fluid elixir-cold water. There will be cakes, pudding, pies, tarts, preserves, fruits, jellies, confections, lambs, shoats, fishes, turtle soup, beef, veal, squirrels, partridges, hams, chickens, turkeys, and every variety of meats, vegetables, and pastries. Having feasted the soul, we will eat heartily, wash all down with cold water, smack our lips and be as merry and blithe as the birds, with a good relish." We gather from the tone of the report that while the editor was ready and willing to indulge in the great variety of good things to eat, he was not too interested in the drink which was a part of the celebration. The arrangements for the celebration were rather elaborate. Eight men composed the committee which made the plans. They were A. Gillespie, J. J. Choate, G. D. Mitchell, A. C. Baine, J. C. Abbott, W. H. Stephens, J. A. Wilkins and E. F. Gibbs. President of the day was Col. John C. Abbott. Vice Presidents were Daniel Robinson, Esq., John A. Wilkins, and John R. McRae, Esq. Orator of the day was F. A. Tyler, Esq. Reader of the Declaration on Independence was W. G. Robb, Esq. Rev. E. J. Fitzgerald acted as Chaplain, while Col. G. D. Mitchell, R. D. McLean, Esq., and Levin Lake served as Marshals. N. S. Neal, Esq., was Bearer of the National Flag, and D. M. Beck was Bearer of the Temperance Flag. The badge for members of the Temperance Society was a white ribbon worn on the left arm. The officers wore a scarlet ribbon and the Marshals wore a red scarf. The Sabbath School of the Methodist Church with James Sims as Superintendent, were at the head of the procession which formed in Line street in front of the Presbyterian Church. We wonder if the absence of the Baptist Sabbath School was any indication of the attitude of the Baptist Church members in regard to temperance? We observe that the people were very fond of ceremony and that several of the officers had military titles. We wonder if these were actual titles or merely honorary ones. We also wonder why some of the men had the term Esquire after their names, while others did not have this distinction. Many of the men named as being participants in the procession have been identified in previous chapters of this work.

Other Independence Day celebrations were of a different nature. The June 15, 1844, issue of Harry of the West gave notice of an event which was to be forthcoming: "We have been requested to note coming events by an invited guest: A grand and social candy stew will come off shortly between this and the fork; probably the 4th of July. The Ladies, of course, will be there and

we consider it is the only fit place to spend the 4th of July in this state; young gentlemen of sentiment and thoroughly moralized are respectfully invited to attend." The editor seems not to have been in accord with the people who arranged the affair if we can judge by the following editorial comment which appeared in the July 6, 1844, issue of his paper: "The Anniversary of our National Independence passed off in quietness in this place owing to a fair that was held at the Presbyterian Church. This we did think and yet do think was wrong, as it would in no way have interfered with that matter. On this glorious day party differences, both small and great, should be laid aside; and the pure offerings of the patriot should be placed upon the altar of our country." This statement leads us to wonder if the editor was one of those men not "thoroughly moralized".

Editors then, as now, were critical of the conduct of city business. On December 2, 1843, The Morning Herald had this reprimand for some citizens of the town: "We quietly stepped out of our office yesterday and saw not less than 20 poor perishing cows drooping about the streets. It is a shame that owners of cattle should let them starve in a country like ours." On November 30, 1844, the editor of Harry of the West gave faint praise and considerable advice to the City Fathers: "We are glad to see our town authorities are beginning to pay some attention to our streets. We hope they will not forget Line Street, as our churchgoing people and our school children, as well as others, will be benefited by having that street put in good order, and having a good walk made over the drain." In the December 14th issue of the same paper the editor had this comment: "Sad Accident; Last Sabbath as Miss..... was coming from church in attempting to cross the drain across the street, for want of a foot-way, she unfortunately fell with one foot in the middle of the drain and wet her kid slipper, silk stocking, and foot. We are glad to hear that nothing serious is anticipated from the accident; but we do hope that our town authorities will put a foot-way over the drain as bad colds, coughs and consumption are the consequences of wet feet."

A neighboring newspaper man expressed his dislike of things in general in stronger terms than did the editor of Harry of the West. Soon after Coffeeville was made the county seat of Yalobusha county, E. Percy Howe became editor of a paper published in the new town. For some reason he became angry with some of the people in the town and gave vent to his displeasure in this manner:

"Upon a hill near Durdens mill
There is a place called Coffeeville;
The meanest town I ever saw,
Save Plummer's town Oakchukamau."

As might be expected Howe did not remain long in Coffeeville. He moved to Tuscahoma where he was editor of The Tuscahoman. Later he moved to South Mississippi where he continued active in newspaper work.

As in other communities of the period, men were very touchy about any question regarding courage, honor or integrity. Then, as now, some parents resented efforts by teachers to discipline children. In the year 1889 a local newspaper reported that Professor Phillips, head of the Grenada Free White School whipped Authur Dubard, fourteen-year old son of L. C. Budbard who was employed as a clerk in the store of Roane & Son. When Phillips went to the store to explain the cause of the punishment inflicted on the boy, the father assaulted Phillips. Dubard was fined twenty five dollars when the case came up in the Mayor's Court. Again, about the same time, the paper reported that: "Mr. Dunbar Duncan whipped Joe Cahn with a hickory stick because of a dispute over a seat at a minstrel show." During the same period Captain W. P. Towler shot and mortally wounded Rev. C. F. Stivers who was holding a series of services

in the Episcopal church. Towler was a former Grenada druggist who, at the time of the shooting, was a traveling salesman. At the trial relative to the shooting, Mrs. Towler claimed that the minister had made improper advances to her during her husband's absence, and while the minister was a guest in the Towler home. It was reported that when her husband returned home she met him at the carriage house and began to tell him about the conduct of the minister. Towler testified that when the minister saw this meeting and realized that Mrs. Towler was informing her husband relative to the conduct of the minister, Stiver advanced on him with a gun, and that he, Towler, shot in self defense, and in defense of the honor of his home. After this testimony the authorities who held this preliminary trial agreed that Mr. Towler was justified in his conduct. A strong point in favor of Towler was the deathbed statement made by Mr. Stiver that Towler was justified in his action.

There was much criminal activity in the community in the years following the Civil War as, no doubt, there had been during the earlier years of the history of the area. The first Grand Jury to be impaneled in Grenada after the county was created in 1870, was composed of the following men: R. Coffman, S. H. Garner, John P. Flippin, J. G. Gibbs, R. W. Rosamond, J. R. Williams, John Parker, W. B. Willis, G. F. Ingram, F. G. Long, William Bell, B. C. Harrison, R. L. Jones, W. H. Aldridge, James Loring, Richard Holland, John Crump, R. N. Hall, Thomas Koon and J. M. Duncan. This was indeed a "blue chip" jury, consisting as it did, of many of the outstanding citizens of the county. Most of these men had been strong factors in the development of the town and county. The descendants of many of them still reside in Grenada county. This first Grand Jury was quite in contrast with one impaneled in 1890 when the Grenada Sentinel reported; "Three negroes and two white men on the Grand Jury cannot read and write." It will be remembered that it was in the year 1890 that the state adopted the Constitution which made it possible for local white citizens to regain control of local affairs. The make-up of the 1890 Grand Jury is an indication of the need for respectable white men to be in control of public affairs once again. In 1889, just a year before the Grand Jury mentioned, which had five illiterates, there were seven men, two white and five negroes, awaiting trial for murder. During the same year M. J. Cheatham, a white man, was convicted of the murder of a negro, and was sentenced to hang for the crime. The sentence was carried out, and Cheatham became the first white man in the county to be sentenced to death for murder of a negro. In 1887 two negroes who had been accused of murdering a back peddler were taken from the Grenada jail by a mob; carried across the Bouge and hanged from a tree in the vicinity of Futhyville. During this same year rival cotton weighers in Grenada became involved in a dispute, relative to which man should weigh a certain lot of bales of cotton, and the dispute resulted in B. L. H. Wright and his son B. L. H. Wright, Jr. killing A. Melton. Later the father and son were acquitted of the charge of murder. Convictions were hard to obtain in affairs such as the one mentioned above. Perhaps the make-up of the juries was responsible. In 1886 one jury trying a case in the Circuit Court was made up of six whites and six negroes. Because of a lack of educational opportunities before the Civil War, very few negroes had adequate training for jury service, and white men who could be induced to serve on juries loaded with illiterates were probably no fitter jurymen than the illiterates with whom they served. It would seem that fights, quarrels and occasional shootings were a matter of great public interest, and that in times of calm about such matters, the newspapers were bad off for news. In 1883 The Grenada Sentinel, in the absence of more exciting news reported that a big fight took place on Main street the previous day.

Wills made by individuals are oftentimes indicative of the faith, fear, aspirations and frustrations of the person who makes the will. In December 1865, at the beginning of the bitter period of readjustment by the people of Mississippi to the hard results of the Civil War defeat, John Duncan of Jackson, Mississippi made a will which reflected both the uncertainty of the time, and

the deep sorrow which had come to him previous to the time when he made the will. He was a property owner in Grenada, hence the presence of the will in the court records of Grenada county. A part of the will reads: "It having pleased almighty God to dissolve my Earthly Household by taking to himself all my worldly treasure; Walter my first born; Lucy, the young, the bright and intellectual, the beloved wife of my bosom; Mary, my peerless daughter, and Jannett, the last and youngest of all, and being myself in good health of both body and mind, yet far distant from my home and constantly exposed to peril, I do hereby make and publish this my last will and testament." It is quite probable that this will was made while Mr. Duncan was in military service and only dated after he had returned from such service.

In a previous article on the Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1878 we indicated that the telegraph office in Grenada was closed, and that all telegrams sent to Grenada people were received at a station a few miles north of town. The will of Wyatt M. Redding, dated August 30, 1878, and probated in November of the same year, certainly indicates the resignation of a victim of the dread disease, as well as a possible explanation of the absence of a telegraph operator in Grenada. The will reads: "I, Wyatt Redding being of sound mind but sick of yellow fever do make the following bequests which are my last will and testament. To mother, Mrs. A. Senton of Waterford, Mississippi, (near Holly Springs) two thousand dollars (\$2,000) this being secured by a life insurance policy in Protective Lodge Number 2, A. O. W. W. located at Waterford, Mississippi. To my brother A. S. Redding two hundred and thirty dollars, or thereabouts, this sum secured by a deed of trust on Peter Kirby's lot located in Grenada (This deed is in my trunk). To my sister Mrs. W. P. Ford who lives at Laws Hill near Waterford the sum of money due me by the Cincinnati Enquirer, about (\$100 - one hundred dollars) also the sum of money due me from the New York Times, about fifty dollars (\$50), also the sum of money due me from the St. Louis and N. O. Railroad and the M & T Railroad, about two hundred dollars (\$200) from both companies, also the money due me from the W. U. T. Co., about one hundred dollars (\$100). I desire my burial expense to be paid out of the sum of money in my trunk, about one hundred dollars (\$100). Out of the balance I give to Mrs. Anne Ives ten dollars (\$10) for kind attention during my last illness. To Jack Collings, Colored, ten dollars (\$10) for faithful services to me during my illness. This money to be a part of the money in my trunk, the balance of which money and all my personal effects, or any other property which is, or may be mine, to be given to my mother." Reading between the lines of the will we conclude that Redding was a telegraph operator serving the Western Union Company, as well as the Chicago, St. Louis and New Orleans Railroad and the Mississippi Central Road. The first named road later came to be known as the Illinois Central line. From the sums of money due from newspapers in Cincinnati and New York we might surmise that the operator, up until overcome by fatal illness, was sending in to those papers reports of the progress of the epidemic.

Another man, bravely facing death which was to come to him before the end of the Yellow Fever Epidemic, dated his will August 27, 1878. The will was probated on November 27th of the same year. The will was made by Dr. W. W. Hall. It read: "In view of the unprecedented fatality of the present epidemic of yellow fever, I deem it proper to make this my last will and testament. If my wife survives me I bequeath to her my insurance policies of two thousand dollars each, minus so much as may be necessary to pay my honest debts. If my wife should not survive me, I bequeath to my parents, if living, fifteen hundred dollars; to my brother C. M. Hall five hundred dollars, and to Mrs. Elizabeth Korn of Colliverville, Tennessee, the remainder of any monies remaining after my debts are paid. To the children of John C. and Elizabeth Stokes I bequeath my interest in house and lot on Main street. If my parents do not survive me, I bequeath the amount set aside for them, one half to the children of my brother F. K. Hall, and the other half to the children of Mrs. E. Hamilton,

to be used by the latter for her and their support. I bequeath to my brother C. M. Hall, my horse, buggy, library and instruments, enjoining him to use them for the good of humanity. It is well to state that I am indebted to the late firm of F. K. Hall in amounts to me unremembered, but aggregating several hundred dollars and that I wish them paid. I bequeath my notes and accounts to the children of my late brother F. K. Hall and to the children of my sister E. L. Hamilton equally. In the event of the death of all my family (immediate family?) I direct that my estate revert to my nearest relatives, except as provided for Mrs. Korn. I bequeath to my professional brethren an example which I enjoin them to follow in epidemics." Just how excellent an example Dr. Hall set for his professional brethren is recorded by a simple inscription on a head stone in the Odd Fellows Cemetery which inscription reads: "Dr. William Wood Hall, born August 17, 1839. Died The Christian's Death at his post of Duty August 27, 1878. Buried near his grave, all victims of the epidemic, are the following named family members mentioned in his will: Mary Koen Hall (his wife), Finley Hall and C. M. Hall (brothers), Eliza Hall Hamilton (sister) and his parents Rev. and Mrs. James G. Hall.

Not all of the people who made wills in anticipation of death by the yellow fever plague were people of large means, or of professional training. For instance the Non-Cupative will of O. P. Saunders, dated during the dread days of the fever epidemic of 1878, reads: "The last request of Pa to me when dying, writing them as he spoke them. Willie I am going to die. I want you to keep the land that.....(name illegible) was to deed to us as yours forever. The eighty acres of land next to Mr. Moss. I want the children to have ten dollars each in money. I give you everything that I own or have any right to - oxen, wagons, cows, hogs, horses, plows and all debts owing me and all lumber I own. I want you to take the children, move up here and do the best you can by them until they are able to do for themselves, unless Sis Carrie wants some of them. If she does let her have Lena and Clara as Sallie will soon have another babe on her hands. If Sis Carrie does not want them I want you to keep them all and do what you can for them. I know you are not able to do much till you get that debt off your hands, but I hope that you will have no trouble paying that off. I owe two debts to Snyder and Jimmie Fletcher. I want you to pay Snyder. Get the watch and keep or sell it as you think best for your interest. Jimmie F. you can pay or not as you wish. I do not think he has treated us right...Pay the children the ten dollars as soon as you get the place paid for. Make the children mind you as if they were your own and help you as they can. I believe that is all I have to say. Farewell Willie."

Dr. J. L. Milton, Grenada Dentist, who was Mayor of the town at the outbreak of the epidemic, and who was to die during the early days of this time of trial, wrote a letter to Robert Horton, a lawyer friend: "Mayor's Office. Robert Horton Esquire. I wish you to take charge of my business. You will find one note for \$300 on Dr. Wilkins, one on Wilkins & Greenhow, one on L. C. Dubard, and some others I don't remember. Also some accounts. You will find one policy in the Equitable Life, one in the N. Y. Life, one on the Mobile Life now the hands of Mr. Kunkindall at Lake Bros., one in the Knights of Honor, the last one is for the benefit of Miss Mollie Poitevent and she is hereby authorized to sign for it. There is also a watch and chain in my upper drawer that I wish given her. You will please, and you are hereby authorized to look after, as guardian, my children and their interest. I wish them to follow such business as their inclination should point. I owe but few debts all of which you will please pay. The last deposit at Lake Bros., of 460 some odd dollars, Martin & McCall of Nashville are entitled to one sixth, \$76 or more. My boys and the Judge own land in Dyre County Tennessee, E. G. Sugg Esq. is the agent, Martin and McCall are entitled to one sixth of the running amount, my boys two and one third and the Judge one third of the balance." Judging from the fact that Dr. Milton wrote his wishes in a letter to Lawyer Horton, and the awkward way in which he expressed some of his wishes, we are inclined to believe that

he had already contracted the disease which was to claim him a victim within a few days of the date of the letter. When the will offered for probate, the presiding judge accepted it as a legal will, basing his decision on the sworn testimony of William C. McLean, Ben C. Adams Jr., George Y. Freeman and Samuel Lacock. The first three were lawyers practicing in Grenada, and the last was a Grenada merchant.

L. R. Stewart, former Sheriff and Tax Collector of Yalobousha County died a few months before the fever epidemic, but had a troubled mind when he made out the will which was probated February 2, 1878. After appointing "My son, Eugen Henry Stewart, who has suffered great afflictions in early youth" as the executor of his estate, Mr. Stewart touched on family troubles: "To my married daughter Marcella Stuart, wife of F. M. Freely I have given stock of all kinds horses, cattle, hogs, sheep and goats besides other personal property to the value of three hundred and fifty dollars, also maintained and supported her and her husband F. M. Freley, and children for nine or ten years in my house-also gave him, the said F. M. Freley, the free use of as much land as he and what hands he hired could cultivate and plenty of teams to cultivate the same, fed the teams and hands, all for the benefit of my daughter Marcella G. Stewart, wife of F. M. Freley, as aforesaid beside paying annually heavy store accounts of his, Freley's, contracting. Having spent all the property I gave my daughter Marcella, another draft on my estate bequeathed to my son Eugene must be made for the benefit of my daughter Marcella and her children, and over which the said Freley is to have no interest or control whatsoever, I therefore request that my son Eugene, Executor as aforesaid, pay annually out of the estate bequeathed by me to him, fifty dollars for six years amounting to \$300 if it can be done without selling any property to do so; if not said annuity to be paid when convenient without any interest whatever. The ingratitude and disrespect shown me by the said F. M. Freley has lessend my respect for the said F. M. Freley and increased my love and regard for my daughter Marcella and her children." Mr. Stewart thus tells off his son-in-law in a manner which he would probably liked to have done during the long years when he was supporting this seeming near do-well son in law. But Mr. Stewart was also displeased with his daughter Pauline as evidenced by this excerpt from his will: "My daughter Pauline Josephine Stewart, I am sorry to say it, but it is nevertheless true, has not been to me an obedient and respectful child, but has brought my grey hairs with sorrow to the grave by using harsh, insulting and disrespectful language to an aged parent over three score years and ten. May God have mercy on her. To her, the said Pauline J. Stewart, I will and bequeath the following property (to-wit) the horse bridle and saddle that I have already given her, the gold watch and chain valued at one hundred and thirty dollars, I also bequeath to her one hundred dollars to be paid by my executor aforesaid when it shall suit his convenience and ability to do so. If Pauline desires to spend her single life at the old homestead with her brother Eugene she is welcome to do so." This will, which was probated in the early months of 1878, gives the skeleton outline of an unhappy family situation. Was the father unduly partial to his afflicted son? Was his son-in-law Freley as trifling as he is made out in the will? Was the younger girl, Pauline, as bad as her father believed, or was Mr. Stewart just a grouchy old man seeing things with a jaundiced eye? Of course we can never know the answer to these questions, but they do arouse interesting speculations.

On September 16, 1878, Nathaniel Howard, the transplanted native of New England and descendant from an ancestor who came over in the Mayflower to Plymouth, faced the very present danger of contracting yellow fever. It had been thirty nine years since he first reached the area where the little towns of Pittsburg and Tullahoma were to be established. In business he had advanced from an itinerate trader, dispensing his limited wares under the shade of a canvas tent, to an important business man and Director of the Mississippi & Tennessee Railroad line. At this date anyone reading his will would not

sense that he was disturbed, perhaps frightened, of the disease which was to soon claim his life. Of all the wills we have found which reflect the urgency of their composition, and the need for immediate recording of the wishes of the testator in the race against the effects of the epidemic, none, other than this one, shows the calm and disciplined emotional nature of a person who does not panic. Mr. Howard was careful to have his will attested by three persons; Panola E. Davis, J. F. Rosoborough and Lea Williamson. He then writes: "I, Nathaniel Howard a citizen of Grenada, State of Mississippi, being sound in mind do make and declare this my last will and testament: I hereby give, devise and bequeath to my daughter Helen Howard Williamson and her heirs all my property, real, personal and mixed of ever nature and character whatsoever, whether situated in Mississippi or elsewhere, and I hereby constitute and appoint her, the said Helen my daughter, my sole executrix and I hereby direct that she do qualify as such without giving any bond as executrix, or otherwise, and I expressly relieve her from any accounting with the Chancery or any other court in this or any other state, of and concerning any or all of my property herein devised, it being my will that the said Helen, my daughter, shall immediately upon my death enter upon the enjoyment and possession of all my property. I request my executrix to pay immediately after my death all just and legal debts that I may then owe. In testimony thereof I have herewith set my hand and seal the 16th day of September of 1878." With his keen New England developed sense of values, Mr. Howard didn't want his estate diminished by court and legal fees; he wanted his daughter at once to enter into "the enjoyment" of the property devised to her, and wanted his debts paid "immediately" after his death. Mrs. Howard had died some years before the date of the above quoted deed so it would seem that his daughter mentioned in the will was the only close relative who survived him. Like so many other New Englanders who came into the new frontier area of North Central Mississippi seeking to improve their economic status, perhaps expecting to return to their native soil, Mr. Howard made his contribution to the economic, civic and political affairs of the town and remained to die of the dreadful scourge which all but wiped out the town which he had helped establish.

A letter written during the height of the fever epidemic by Henry C. Stokes and quoted in the book, A CHRISTIAN HERITAGE, gives about the best description of the people of Grenada as they reacted to the challenge of illness and death: "Grenada, Miss. Sept. '78. My Dear Uncle: When you wrote me the other day I was still in bed, having a relapse of yellow fever. But I am now up and improving, as is all the rest of our family. It pains me to talk of our great misfortunes - but as it was God's will, we must console ourselves in the happy thought that we can meet them again. Mother and Jimmie (a brother) died of neglect. We had some nurses that got drunk and went to sleep and neglected us all. They (the nurses) not being satisfied with that, stole every rag I had, 2 good suits, didn't leave me a shirt, pair of drawers or anything else and I can't get in a store to get any. Will you let me have some of Charles? They will do me as much good and I'll pay you for them when you come down. I am getting strong and if I can do anything for you, I'll gladly do so. Dr. Ray is up walking around and Bettie's fever has left her. Aunt Mary's sister (Nannie) who came down to nurse her, is at our house with fever and dangerously ill - little hope for her. We are ever so much obliged for the nice things you sent us and enjoyed them hugely. We managed to get along now pretty well in way of eatables, if we can just keep up. There were only two whites died last night, Dr. Ringgold and a stranger, and about six negroes. It (the fever) is gradually dying out here now. I think, since it has no other to pray upon, and those who are sick, seem to be getting well. About half the people who died, died from neglect. Most of the nurses seem to have come here merely to benefit themselves by stealing everything they can lay their hands on, and I have not seen one, who did not get drunk. Down at the Chamberlain House yesterday there was a great crowd of nurses drawing champagne (sic) for the sick-sitting in the parlor drunk - eating cake and drinking up what they

had drawn for the sick, while in every room, you could hear the sick crying for water etc. and nobody to go near them. Among our business men, there's only a few that still live. It (the fever) seemed to be more fatal among them than others. Everything looks fearful gloomy down here - not a store open, and nobody on the streets. Nearly half the people who left here died. Some went to the country and died without any nursing etc. Many got sick and were bro't back in wagons to die. Uncle Jim, I feel as if I could never be happy again - so many of our dear relatives gone, and my dear mother oh! that I could have taken her place. Our home will never be happy again - no never. But she lived and suffered long here on earth and one consolation is that she wears as bright a crown as there is in Heaven. But I must close. Hoping this will find you, Aunt Bell and little baby well, I am, Yr. Aff. Nephew Henry C. Stokes." This young man of twenty three years of age was the grandson of Rev. James G. Hall who served as an early pastor of The Grenada Baptist Church, now called The First Baptist Church. Both Rev. and Mrs. Hall had died during the epidemic as well as several of their children. It is natural that young Mr. Stokes, in his grief at the loss of loved ones, should have resented any neglect of which those nursing his deceased relatives might have been guilty, but his feeling that all the nurses, men and women, white and colored, were guilty of such neglect is not born out by the letters and expressions of others who had great admiration for, and appreciation of, the fine services rendered by many of these nurses. It is conceivable that a number of them did prove unworthy of the trust imposed in them, but it will be recalled that in the chapter of this work on Grenada Newspapers and Newspaper Men, the editor of the Grenada Sentinel, defended the character of the nurses, particularly the female ones, and contrasted their conduct with that of some of the preachers and doctors who, in the opinion of the editor, had not proved worthy of the ethics of their professions.

World wide attention was fastened on the epidemic of 1878 as it struck not only Grenada, Memphis, New Orleans, Mobile, but many other smaller places throughout the South. Evidently there was good newspaper coverage of the suffering of the people. The Book, A Christian Heritage, mentioned above, printed a tribute which the London (England) Standard paid to the spirit of the people who lived in the stricken cities and towns: "It is these people, the flower and pride of the English race, on whom a more terrible, more merciless enemy has now fallen. There can be now no division of sympathy, as there is no passion to excite and keep up courage for the occasion. Yet the men and women of the South are true to the old tradition. Her youth volunteer to serve and die in the streets of plague-stricken cities as rapidly they went forth, boys and grey haired men, to meet the threatened surprise of Petersburg as they volunteered to charge again and again the cannon - crowned hills of Gettysburg, and to enrich with their blood, and honor the name of a new victory, every field around Richmond. Their sisters, mother, wives and daughters are doing and suffering now, as they suffered from famine, disease, incessant anxiety and alarm through the four years of civil war. There may be among the various nations of the Aryan family one or two who would claim they could have furnished troops like those which followed Lee and Johnston, Stuart and Stonewall Jackson, but we doubt whether there be one race beside our own that could send forth its children by hundreds to face, in towns desolated by Yellow Fever, the horrors of a nurse's life, and the imminent terms of a Martyr's death." The end of the Civil War was just thirteen years in the past when the London Standard printed the tribute quoted above. Evidently the writer had a very high regard for the soldiers of the Confederacy and their general officers.

Of all those who came to Grenada to help during the dread days of the fever plague it is probable that none deserved more credit than a young thirty three year old minister. Rev. Hiram T. Haddick, who had attended Mississippi College and the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, came to Grenada in 1875 as pastor of the Grenada Baptist Church. The minister was away from Grenada

on vacation when the epidemic broke out. Some members of the church wrote him and advised him to stay away from Grenada until the epidemic had run its course. Disregarding this advice the preacher returned to Grenada and ministered to his people. He contracted the disease and a few days later, on August 28, 1878, died a death which could have been avoided had he listened to the advice of his friends to remain away from his post of duty. What supported Mr. Haddick in this seeming rash action? We will let the minister tell us in his own words. In a letter found on his desk after his death the minister had answered our question. He left for his members the following statement of his reason for coming back to his people: "I came because I felt it my duty to be in the midst of my afflicted, suffering and dying flock. God knows the anxiety I have felt and do now feel for my own preservation, Nothing but the stern dictates of my duty, with the hope of God's special providence in my behalf, ever brought me to the post of suffering and danger. I feel that I have done my duty; I leave the result with God. I am in God's hands; by his help I will trust him, though he slay me. If it should please him to spare me, I shall bless him, and by his grace I will serve him more faithfully hereafter. Should it be his will to take me, I shall cling to his blessed cross as my only hope of salvation. In my hands no price I bring, simply to his cross I cling. For almost eighty eight years this minister has slept in a grave far from his kindred, but marked by a tall shaft erected by the ladies of the church who pledged themselves and others "to keep his grave green forever!"