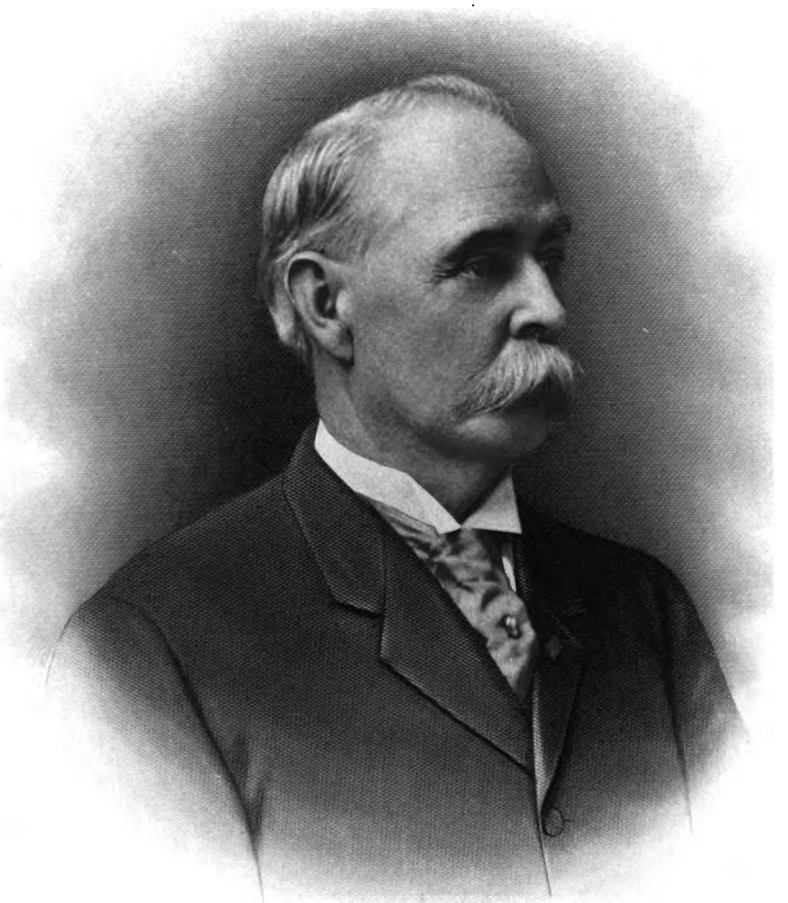

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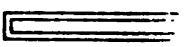

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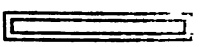

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# INTRODUCTION

Patriotism or devotion to one's country is a sentiment. It is not due to self interest nor other sordid motive, but is born of the story of her origin and of the achievements of the brave and enterprising ancestral stock, which, out of small beginnings, established and organized and wrought a nation. Every great city is in semblance a small nation, both in government and the loyal co-operation of its people for the common good. And the same patriotic devotion, born of the same sentiment does, or should prevail in every city as in every nation.

As our civilization grows older our larger cities are taking more interest in the story of their own origin and development, and concerning some of them many historical volumes have been written, dealing with almost every incident of fact and legend that could be traced. And in many notable instances of cities the greater the knowledge of her history, the greater the pride and love and devotion of her people.

Our own City of Memphis, though rated young among her Eastern sisters in America, is yet one of the most ancient, considering the discovery of her site, and the building of the first habitations of the white man here, on the whole American continent. When it is recalled that the adventurous Hernando De Soto built a cantonment for his troops here and established a little ship-yard, in which he constructed four piragues or barges, large enough to transport across the Mississippi River in time of high water, five hundred Spanish soldiers, as many more Indian vassels and one hundred and fifty horses, with baggage and other military equipment, in a few hours, and that all this occurred seventy-nine years before the landing of the Mayflower at Plymouth Rock and twenty-four years before the building of the first hut and stockade at St. Augustine, Fla., it will be realized that our story dates far back in ancient American history.

Following up this fact much space has been given to the wonderful march of De Soto from Tampa Bay, Fla., to the Chickasaw Bluffs, literally hewing his way as he came with sword and halberd through swarming nations of brave Indians; and to showing that he marched directly from the Chickasaw towns in northeast Mississippi to the Chickasaw Bluffs; and to presenting in fullest detail from the Spanish Chroniclers what De Soto and his people did while on the Bluffs where Memphis now stands. And it was deemed proper also to tell with equal detail of the voyages of Marquette and Joliet and La Salle, past the lonely Chickasaw Bluffs, and of the coming of Le Moyne Bienville with a large army and the construction of a great fortress here, heavily mounted with artillery, in the endeavor to overcome the heroic Chickasaws who resented the French invasions in the effort to conquer their country and to found a great French Empire in Western America. And the story also is told of the effort of Governor Don Manuel Gayoso to establish in like manner a Spanish Empire west of the Mississippi River before the Americans could take hold.

Indeed few American cities possess so romantic a story and the archives, not only of the United States, but of France and Spain also are yet rich in historical material awaiting the historian with time and opportunity for investigation.

When the American pioneer came to the Chickasaw Bluffs and began to plan a city and then to cut away the forests and build, the narrative became more complex. The records at a frontier post, where the printing press had not yet appeared, were few and tradition is unreliable. To weigh and compare the fantastic legends and stories from memory that have come down to us, with the official records and authentic documents that survive, required patient care and discrimination and much that has been heretofore published as history has been rejected when found to be doubtful at least, or actually untrue.

With the founding of newspapers the story became more lucid. But to collect and edit the great mass of undigested material and weave it into a connected story, has been a herculean task that should not have been crowded into a year of time. There are necessarily imperfections and omissions in such

a work which a generous public, we trust, will overlook. It has been the purpose of the editor to collect, in condensed form, as much of all this story as could be compressed into one volume, leaving to the future historian the enlargement of the concise outline into the several volumes that would be necessary to convey the narrative in fullest detail. Our present beautiful city, with its wonderful river and parks and driveways and libraries and public buildings is worthy of far greater efforts than we have been able to bestow upon it in the work.

If the people of Memphis shall be inspired by any part of the story, written in this book, to greater and more patriotic endeavors, not only to enlarge and adorn their already beautiful city, but to elevate her whole population to the highest plane of intellectual and moral progress and civic righteouness, the editor will feel richly paid for his humble but laborious work.

The editor desires to express the obligation he is under for the cheerfully rendered assistance of all the citizens of Memphis, and the city authorities to whom he applied, for use of documents and records. And especially does he desire to express his obligation to Miss A. R. James, Assistant Writer and Compiler, to whose intelligence, aptitude and energy the public is indebted for much of the story of municipal progress since the founding of the city, as well as of the sanitary and educational development of Memphis and the growth of classical, musical and histrionic art among her people.

J. P. YOUNG.

Memphis, Tenn., August 29, 1912.

# DEDICATION

**To the pioneers who founded and the brave sons who builded and loyally stood by Memphis in her hours of adversity and pestilence as in her days of victory and triumph, this volume of her history is affectionately dedicated.**

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CHAPTER XXVII

# ILLUSTRATIONS

# CHAPTER I

The Chickasaw Bluffs and the Aborigines. The Great, Silent Continent. Habits and Customs of the Indians. Choctaw Legend of the Bluffs. The Story of DeSoto. With Pizarro in Peru. He Plans the Conquest of Florida. DeSoto's Dream of Gold. His Army and Knightly Commanders. The March Through Florida. Cruelties of the Spaniards. Toils and Sufferings of the Troops. On the Savannah River. DeSoto Turns Westward. The Battle of Mauvila. DeSoto Enters Mississippi. He Winters at Chicaça. Terrible Battle with the Chickasaw Indians. Sad Plight of the Spaniards. The Battle of Alibamo. The March to the Chickasaw Bluffs. DeSoto Discovers the Mississippi River. Chisca's Fortress on Jackson Mound. Story of the Discovery by the Spanish Chroniclers. DeSoto's Sojourn Here. He Builds Huts and Then Boats. He crosses the River and Disappears in the West.

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WHEN the light of history first began to illumine the story and traditions of the lower Chickasaw Bluff on the Mississippi River on the day that DeSoto arrived, May 8, 1541, the civilization of western Europe was yet young. Henry the Eighth was king of England and Queen Elizabeth still a young child. Shakespeare was yet to be born twenty-three years later, Galileo and Kepler, the fathers of modern astronomy, twenty-three and thirty years later respectively, Cromwell after fifty-eight years, Milton after sixty-seven years and Sir Francis Bacon, the proposer of inductive reasoning, the basis of all modern science, was not to open his eyes upon the world for yet twenty years to come.

For centuries America had slept, a great, silent continent, undisturbed by the boom of guns or the crash of arms. There was no traffic along highways and rivers and her stillness was

unbroken by any sound louder than the yell of the savage or the bark of the wolf. Her inhabitants were red nomads, of savage habits, but great mentality, and popularly known as Indians, as they were supposed at first to be connected in some way on the west with the East Indies. These were thinly scattered throughout the territory now occupied by the United States, living for protection mostly in groups of villages, constructed of upright logs or poles, the huts being covered with sections of bark taken from certain trees and sometimes defended by stockades of logs laboriously chopped down with the stone hatchets of the Indians and buried deeply at one end in the ground. These Indians possessed no iron out of which to forge tools or weapons, the tips to the latter, usually arrows only, being wrought as in the stone age, of flint and their hatchets in many instances being made of green porphyry brought from great distances, but more often of flint ground or rubbed smooth.

Their villages were commonly imbedded at some central point in the country occupied by the tribe and between the borders of their territory and that of the next tribe was usually a neutral strip of considerable and sometimes vast extent, claimed by one or both contiguous tribes as a hunting ground, but never permanently occupied. About their villages were extensive cleared fields in which they raised crops of maize, called by the Indians mahiz, which means Indian corn as now known. They likewise grew large quantities of beans, pumpkins and squash, which, together with nuts and dried meats prepared from the wild game of the forest, afforded them subsistence. The southeastern Indian tribes, and probably others also, prepared oils from the nuts of the woods, such as walnuts, pecans and hickory nuts, which were pronounced by the early Spaniards to be a very fine relish, and they made large quantities of oil from the fat of bears, which they used as lard. The family ties were very strong with most tribes of Indians and their tenderness and affection for their children was a striking trait of these people.

Confining our inquiry to those tribes which had relations with the Chickasaw bluffs, that part of the United States

between the Savannah River and the Mississippi and south of the Tennessee River was, in 1541, covered by a distinctive racial population known as Appalachees. Between the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, and southeastward into North Alabama and Georgia and in East Tennessee the Cherokees were then located. The Appalachees were divided into a number of tribes which were bound by no political ties and were very exclusive. Among these were the Seminoles of Florida, the Uchees in Northern Georgia, the Mauvila or Mobilians in Southern Alabama, the Chickasaws in North Mississippi and West Tennessee, the Creeks or Muscogees in Georgia and Southeastern Alabama, the Choctaws in Central Mississippi and Alabama, and the Natchez in Southern Mississippi and Louisiana. The Akansas and Quapaws, of Siouan stock and of the same blood as the Omahas, occupied the west bank of the Mississippi opposite Memphis and at the date of DeSoto's arrival the large tribe occupying, with its chief town and fortress known as Chisca, the site of modern Memphis, seemed to be subject to the tribes across the river under a great chief known as the lord or chief of Pacaha or, by other chroniclers called Capaha, probably the Spanish for Quapa, which was likewise the name of a town. This tribe at the lower Chickasaw bluffs was not related to the Chickasaws and was probably a colony of the trans-Mississippi settlers. The brave Chickasaws whose northern resident limit was in part the Tallahatchie River were then, as always afterwards, though few in numbers, the dominant race of Indians south and west of the Tennessee River and indeed, of the present Eastern Gulf States, though West Tennessee was in the time of DeSoto, as in the days of LaSalle and Bienville claimed, but used only as a hunting ground by them.

All these tribes kept up a pretty constant communication with each other, their embassies or delegations of chief men, passing over vast distances, undisturbed by the tribes through whose territory they traveled, always on foot, as they possessed neither horses nor cattle. But they would frequently, through some real or fancied slight or injury, go to war with each other and they always guarded their well-known boundaries,

as well as their more vaguely defined hunting grounds, with jealous care and determination.

Choctaw legend gives to the site of Memphis a fantastic interest in its narrative of mythical events of great antiquity. The legend relates that many centuries ago the Choctaws and Chickasaws, led by two brothers, Chacta and Chicsa, came from the far west. On crossing the Mississippi River they found the country occupied by the Nahonla, giants who were very fair and had come from the East. There was also a race of giants here who were cannibals and who kept the mammoths, animals whose great bones are found everywhere in the clay and gravel deposits of the lower Mississippi Valley, herded, and used them to break down the forests, thus causing the prairies. At last all the cannibals and their gigantic mammoths, except one of the latter, which lived near the Tombigbee River, became extinct. The Great Spirit attempted to destroy him with lightning, but he foiled the bolts by receiving them on his head. Finally being hard pressed by the Great Spirit, he fled to the Socta-Thoufah, "steep bluffs," (now Memphis), cleared the river at a bound and hied him away to the Rocky Mountains.*

It was through tribes like these above described that DeSoto hewed his bloody way from Tampa Bay, Florida, to the Mississippi River, lured by that "auri sacra fames," the accursed thirst for gold, undergoing the most dreadful toil and suffering, but never finding the gold, El Dorado the Golden, or the riches embodied in the wild dream of Cabeza de Vaca. He was moreover unconscious of the fact as he journeyed and toiled that the soil of the lands beneath his feet has proven one of the world's greatest sources of wealth, and that a single cotton crop raised on these same lands now produces more gold than existed in all Europe during his era.

As the lower Chickasaw bluffs first came into prominence in the world's history on the arrival of DeSoto, a brief abstract of his journey and exploits will be here given, derived from

*One may readily discover the origin of this legend in the coming of DeSoto with his horses and guns across the Tombigbee and his crossing the river at Memphis.

FERDINAND DE SOTO.

original narrative of 'The Portuguese Gentleman,' Ranjel, DeSoto's private secretary, [illegible] de la Vega all, except the last named, [illegible] and whose writings have come down to us [illegible] several splendid translations.* But this will be preceded by a short sketch of his life.†

Hernando DeSoto, frequently [illegible] Ferdinand DeSoto, was, according to the narrative of the Portuguese Gentleman, or the Gentleman of Elvas, the author who was a companion on his great march thro[illegible], born at Xeres de Badajos in Spain, but the date of [illegible] is not by him given. Garcilaso de la Vega, commonly known as the Inca, gives his birthplace at Villa nueva de Barcarota, and Herrara assigns the same town as the birthplace and the date is fixed at about 1501. Buckingham Smith asserts that he was born at Xeres in the province of Estremadura and the Encyclopedia Britannica names Xeres de Caballeros in Estremadura as the place where he first saw the light and the year 1496 as the date. He was said to have been of gentle birth on both his father's and mother's side, but was without means, his whole possessions, according to the Knight of Elvas, being his sword and buckler. DeSoto was indebted to his patron Pedro Arias de Avila, generally written Pedrarias Davila, whose attention he had attracted, for the means of acquiring his education. With Davila he went when a mere youth, to the "Indies of the Ocean,"‡ or the West Indies, of which his patron had been appointed governor and was by the governor appointed to the command, as captain, of a company of cavalry. Soon after, by order of Davila, he took part with Pizarro in the Conquest of Peru. Here he greatly distinguished himself and attracted

*The editor gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness, in obtaining correct data, to the splendid translations of the narratives of the Knight of Elvas, Biedma and Ranjel, collected in the Narratives of the Career of DeSoto by Edward Gaylord Bourne and published in the Trailmakers series in two volumes, A. S. Barnes & Co., New York, 1904, and to the earlier works of Theodore Irving.

†The editor does not apologise for this sketch of DeSoto and his long march from Tampa Bay, Florida, to the Chickasaw Bluff. It is logically the initial story in the History of Memphis.

‡Portuguese Narrative, page 7.

FERDINAND DE SOTO.

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the attention of that shrewd but accomplished cut-throat who "soon singled him out from the hardy spirits around him and appointed him his lieutenant. Was there a service of special danger to be performed, DeSoto had it in charge; was there an enterprise requiring sound judgment and careless daring, DeSoto was sure to be called upon."*

DeSoto, narrates Garcilaso de la Vega, commanded one of the troops of horse which captured the Inca, Atahualpa and put to rout his army. He finally shared in the spoil wrung from this unfortunate prince and in the looting of Cuzco. He is alleged in the Spanish chronicles to have been the officer who indicated on the wall of the great room in the Inca's palace, by the reach of his arm and sword, the line to which the room was required to be filled with gold for his ransom, by the unfortunate monarch. He later returned to Spain laden with wealth, his share amounting to 180,000 cruzados or crowns of gold.† Here he lived at the court of the emperor in almost imperial style and loaned of his money to the shrewd Charles V. Soon after he was married to Dona Ysabel, daughter of his former patron Davila and was appointed by the emperor, Charles V, Governor and Captain General of Cuba and Florida with the more exalted civic title of Adelantado or President of Florida.

DeSoto, after some delay, determined to attempt the conquest of Florida, chiefly by reason of the reports brought from there by Cabeza de Vaca, one of the four survivors of the ill-fated Narvaez expedition, which led him to believe that the land contained rich treasures of gold.‡ DeSoto for this purpose organized at his own expense an expedition composed of six hundred hardy adventurers,§ including many knights and soldiers of distinction and a brilliant escort of Portuguese hidaljos or gentlemen under Andre de Vasconcelo, and with these he sailed in seven ships April 6, 1538, from San Lucar de Borrameda for Santiago de Cuba and after nearly a year's sojourn in that island sailed May 8, 1539, for Florida and landed May 25, at Tampa Bay.

*Irving's Conquest of Florida, page 36.
†Portuguese Narrative, page 8.
‡Portuguese Narrative, page 8.
§Garcilaso says this force was 950 strong. Irving, page 41.

DeSoto had, besides his foot soldiers, 224 horses, having lost 19 at sea. He also drove with his command a herd of hogs, partly for the support of his army, if meat should not be found, and partly with which to stock a colony if he should deem it expedient to found one. His march is one of the most remarkable for its toils and hardships and barrenness of results in all history, and strongly emphasized the imperious will as well as the greed of the adventurer. By some historians it is called DeSoto's crazy march, but if he did not discover "El Dorado, the Golden," which he is believed to have sought, he unquestionably found what is to us vastly more important, the site of our splendid city. He also gave accurate information to all Europe of the nature of the interior of the country now constituting the East Gulf States of the American Union, with its rich plains and forests and mighty water courses, as well as of its brave aboriginal inhabitants, for the mastery of which Spain, France and England struggled for more than two centuries, when it was finally wrested from all of them by the young American Republic.

DeSoto lost no time in getting off on his long march from the landing place at Tampa. The landing was made May 30, 1539 at a village called Ocita and the march was begun June 1. The Spaniards on June 4, recaptured a Spanish captive named Juan Ortiz, who became their guide and interpreter. The Indians were brave and resentful and attacked the detachments of Spanish soldiers wherever found and this in turn moved the Spanish soldiers to reprisals and they inflicted the greatest cruelty on the brave Indians. The Spaniards killed many wantonly, running them down with their horses and spearing them when overtaken and also chased them with their Irish greyhounds, a species of large fierce dog, and caused the dogs to tear numbers of them in pieces. The line of march was through a rough, swampy country and the midsummer sun was hot, causing great suffering to the troops. The route from Tampa was in a long sweeping curve to the eastward and northward through many Indian villages, among others

Mocoço. Urri-Barra-Caxi* and Ocali to Vitachuco, where the Spaniards had a fierce battle. Here DeSoto turned northwestwardly and probably crossing the Suwanee River above the old town of that name, reached, after a long march and many vicissitudes, the site of the modern city of Tallahassee. This was called Anhayca by the Gentleman of Elvas and Iviahica by Ranjel. Here DeSoto wintered in the Province of Apalachee.

The journey was resumed March 3, 1540,† in a northeastwardly direction, the line of march taking them almost in a straight line from Tallahassee, Florida, to the Savannah River some miles below Augusta, Georgia, crossing in their route the Ocmulgee and the Oconee, probably not far above the junction of these rivers, and the Ogeechee. The march was attended with much toil and sometimes almost with starvation. The principal Indian towns passed were Achise, Cofaqui and Cofachiqui, the latter thought to be about twenty-five miles below Augusta on the east side of the Savannah River.

On May 13, 1540, DeSoto left Cofachiqui and marching northwest he crossed the country of Achelaque or Cherokee, a very poor and unproductive district, and reached the province of Xualla or Choualla, skirting the Savannah River and its northern tributaries, and rested May 21, in a town of the same name, probably in the vicinity of Clarksville, Georgia. Thence turning westward they marched through a rich province and across a chain of low, uninhabited mountains. They now passed through Conasaqua to Chiaha where, June 5, 1540, they again rested. Leaving Chiaha June 28, they followed the course of the Coosa River southwestward through the village of Acoste July 2, and the present city of Rome in the extensive and fertile province of Cosa, or Coça, according to Ranjel, and reached Ulibahali September 2, 1540, and thence moved forward to Talisé, reaching there September 18.

DeSoto's march was now continually down the Coosa River and he finally reached the fortified town of Tuscaloosa

*Ranjel calls this place Orra-Porra-Cogi, and the Portuguese Gentleman, Paracaxi.

†Ranjel.

or "Black Warrior," which Ranjel calls Athahachi, October 10, and still proceeding he arrived at the great Indian fortress of Mauvila, about twenty-five miles above the junction of the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers. The Spaniards since leaving Cofachiqui on the Savannah River had been received in a friendly spirit by the Indians and had had little fighting. But under the inspiration of the great Indian Chief, Tuscaluza, the storm broke at Mauvila, into which town some of the Spaniards, including DeSoto, had been cunningly decoyed by Tuscaluza under pretense of showing them greater hospitality, and a terrible battle followed. This short sketch will not permit the details of this great conflict. After nine hours fighting DeSoto succeeded in burning the town, with its lightly built straw-thatched houses, and slew 2,500 or 3,000 of Tuscaluza's warriors. DeSoto lost only twenty-two of his own protected and mail-clad knights and cross-bowmen, killed, but one hundred forty-eight others received six hundred eighty-eight arrow wounds, while seven horses were killed and twenty-nine others wounded. The Spaniards also lost all their baggage which they had carelessly carried into the town and deposited in a building.

Resting here a month to recuperate DeSota left Mauvila, determined in a dare-devil spirit to spy out the whole land and marching northwestward and conforming to the course of the Tombigbee River he again encountered the Indians, this time probably Choctaws, at the Black Warrior River a short distance above its mouth. He was delayed several days to build two rafts or piraguas, with which to cross. Finally effecting a crossing here December 9, he moved forward and entered the state of Mississippi a short distance east of the present city of Columbus. He reached the Tombigbee, called by the Spaniards the River of the Chicaças, probably between the present town of Waverly and the mouth of Tibbee Creek, a short distance above Columbus. The Indians here, still of the Choctaw tribe, again opposed the crossing and DeSoto was delayed until he could build another raft or flat with which he ferried his men over the wide, deep stream. Baltasar de Gallegos was sent with thirty horsemen up the stream to find a ford

and turn the Indian position, which he did, but not before DeSoto had forced a passage with his footmen. Gallegos crossed almost certainly at the old Choctaw crossing or ford at or near Lincacums shoals. Claiborne says, "DeSoto probably entered the present state of Mississippi at Columbus, and followed an Indian trail or buffalo path some five miles up to Lincacums shoals, just about the mouth of the Tibbee and a little below the present town of Waverly. The Tombigbee here is bifurcated by an island, the first obstruction below Buttahatchie. The gravel discharged from this stream lodged against the island and rendered both channels fordable a great part of the year, and this is the only point where the Spaniards could have forded in December. It was the crossing used by the Choctaws when going to the villages and hunting grounds east of the Tombigbee. The trail struck here a stretch of prairie, between Tibbee and Hanging Kettle creeks, and crossed the present Mobile and Ohio Railroad at Lookhattan, thence a little west of the railroad by Mulden, Prairie Station and Egypt.

"The early settlers of this portion of Mississippi remember the well-worn, beaten trail, long disused but distinctly defined, and can to this day trace it from plantation to plantation.

"On leaving Egypt the trail tended northwest up the ridge known as Featherstone's ridge, through a series of glades three or four miles west of Okolona, and up the second bottom on the east side of Sookatonchee Creek. There it struck Pontotoc ridge four miles east of the ancient Chicasa council house. Near this point stood the first Chicasa town, and in this vicinity the Spaniards went into winter quarters.

"At that period a portion of the Chickasaws still resided in the mountain region of East Tennessee, but a large body of them had taken possession of a territory where DeSoto found them, and their principal settlement or town, or series of villages, was on the ridge from the ancient council house (near Redland) north fifteen miles (near Pontotoc) and northwest on the 'mean prairie' eight or ten miles, within a few miles of Tallahatchie River. On the southern bluff was the Alabama

fort or town, the stronghold of the tribe of that name, in alliance with the Chickasaws.

"Four miles east of the ancient council house on the Pontotoc ridge, near the source of Sookatonchee Creek are the vestiges of a fortified camp, evidently once strongly entrenched, after the European style of that day, with bastions and towers. Leaden balls and fragments of metal have been often found in these ruins. The inclosure was square and the whole area, as evidenced by the remains, would have afforded shelter to the Spaniards and their live stock.

"The ancient chronicles described the Chicasa town near which DeSoto halted, as containing two hundred houses, shaded by oak and walnut trees and with rivulets on each side. These requisitions are filled in the locality referred to. Beautiful groves of oak and hickory (which the Spaniards called walnut) abound, and living streams running west to the Yazoo and east to the Tombigbee."*

Professor Theodore Hayes Lewis, in his article on the route of DeSoto, in Volume 6, Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, furnishes this data: "Chicaca was a town of two hundred fires and was situated on a hill extending north and south, which was watered by many little brooks. It was located about one mile northwest of Redland on the S.½ of the S.W.¼ of Section 21, and the N.½ of the N.W.¼ of Section 28, town. 11, range 3, E., in Pontotoc County."

The crossing was effected by DeSoto December 16, 1540 (Ranjel), in all likelihood at or in the immediate vicinity of Columbus. He immediately rode forward to find a suitable town for winter quarters, as the weather was becoming cold, and late at night entered a small, deserted village of twenty houses (Ranjel), where Baltasar De Gallegos joined him the next day. This was not the capital of Chicasa as some assume from the somewhat confused accounts of the narrators. Garcelaço says, (Richelet's translation, tome 2, p. 352) that after he crossed the river they marched four days and reached the capital of the Chicaças, a town of two hundred fires, and

*Claiborne's Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State, page five.

Ranjel says that they spent that Christmas at Chicaça. This was, as above stated, near Redland, Pontotoc County, Mississippi.

Here snow fell heavily at Christmas and the weather became very cold and DeSoto constructed for his army a fortified camp, building his huts with material and straw obtained from the neighboring villages. (Richelet, tome 2, p. 353.)

Here he remained comfortably cantoned until March 4, 1541, when, designing to march to the Mississippi River, he demanded two hundred carriers or porters from the Chicasas. The proud tribe rebelled at this menial service and that night attacked his camp from four directions, set fire to the straw-thatched huts and burned the whole camp, destroying the baggage and clothing of the Spaniards, who were caught unawares, and rendering useless most of their weapons. DeSoto lost twelve men and fifty-nine horses in this combat.

DeSoto now removed to a small village three miles distant called Chicacilla or little Chicasa, near Pontotoc, where he improvised a forge of bear-skins and gun-barrels and retempered his burned weapons and made new saddles and lance-handles or staffs and again repulsed the Indians who attacked him March 15th. On Tuesday, April 26, DeSoto, having learned from captive Indians of the character of the country to the northwestward, left the vicinity of Pontotoc and began his march to the Mississippi River at the lower Chickasaw Bluffs, the site of Memphis. Following the beaten trail and bearing to the northwest, he reached the Tallahatchie River near Rocky Ford on April 28, and found the Indians of another tribe entrenched in a strong stockade on a bluff overhanging the narrow, deep river, the fortress being called Alibamo or, as spelled by Ranjel, Alimamu, and had here another severe conflict with the Indians, driving them from the stockade across the river on some fragile log bridges which they had improvised. Unable to cross there with his horsemen DeSoto, desirous to punish the brave Indians for defending their homes, rode up the river a short distance to Rocky Ford and crossing, pursued them with great slaughter for a league with a loss to

himself in the battle of eight killed and twenty-six wounded. (Biedma).*

Providing litters for his wounded, fifteen of whom died on the way, DeSoto set out April 30, 1541, for the lower Chickasaw Bluffs, called by the Portuguese Gentleman and Biedma Quizquiz, by Ranjel, Quisqui and by Garcilaso, Chisca. Of this march, which consumed eight days, and the arrival at Chisca, the site of the city of Memphis, May 8, 1541, the editor will use Richelet's version of Garcilaso de la Vega, 1731, translated by Mr. Robert B. Goodwin, of Memphis, as it differs in several

*It seems certain that DeSoto found the Indian fortress Alibamo and made his crossing of the Tallahatchie River at Rocky Ford. No other point in the river suits the description given in the Spanish narratives. Garcelaso De Vega says of the fort, "In the last stockade were three gates or portals opening upon a narrow and very deep little river which flowed in the rear of the fort and over which was thrown some bad conditioned bridges. The banks of the stream were so high that they could not be climbed by horses." The fort is on a direct line from the Chickasaw town near Redlands, Mississippi, to the Chickasaw Bluff at Memphis, also on an ancient Indian trail. In confirmation of this conclusion the editor gives this letter from Mr. Chas. Lee Crum, an attorney of New Albany, Mississippi and an old resident of that vicinity:

"Your favor of 20th to hand asking for information as to the character of the country at Rocky Ford, in the west end of this, Union County. In reply I have to say that there is not probably a man in this country that is more familiar with every part of Tallahatchie River from New Albany west to the LaFayette and Marshall counties line than I am.

"Rocky Ford is now Etta, that is, the post office is called Etta, and you will find it on the maps of Mississippi this way. There is a hill at least 100 feet high that comes in from the southwest and abruptly stops at the river. There is a precipitation almost perpendicular probably 50 feet high and not more than 150 yards below the old ford from which the place took its name. The hill is largely composed of very large lime rocks, and when I crossed this ford 35 years ago there was at least one large rock in the ford that probably would have weighed 60 tons or more, besides a number of smaller rocks. This ford has not been used for a public road for thirty years, I suppose, there having been a bridge made over the river half mile below.

"I have always been of the opinion that DeSoto crossed Tallahatchie one-half mile below New Albany, Miss., and that the Indian trail you mentioned also crossed here. This crossing has existed as far back as the white man can remember, and the bottom of the river here is a solid rock. I have always thought that this crossing gave the river its name which, I understand, means 'rock-river.' At this point there is a point of land above overflows that reaches to the river, and the bottom on the north or west side at this place is not more than 400 yards wide. However, at Rocky Ford, we have the only bluff that I know of on the river west of New Albany."

important respects from the version of Theodore Irving, 1851. Richelet says:

"I return to where I was in my history. The Spaniards in leaving Alibamo, marched across a waste country bearing always towards the north in order to get further and further away from the sea, and at the end of three days they came in view of the capital of Chisca, which bears the name of its province and of its ruler. This town is situated near a river which the Indians called Chucagua, the largest of all those encountered by our people in Florida. The inhabitants of Chisca, unaware of the coming of the troops, by reason of the war which they were waging with their neighbors, were taken by surprise. The Spaniards plundered them and took several of them prisoners. The rest of them fled, some into a forest between the village and the river, and others to the house of the Cacique, which stood upon a high mound commanding a view of the whole place. The Cacique was old, and then sick upon his bed, in a condition of great weakness. He was of such small stature and of such meagre visage that in that country the like had never been seen. Nevertheless at the sound of the alarm and being surprised that his subjects were being plundered and being taken prisoners, he arose, walked out of his chamber with a battle axe in his hand and made the threat that he would slay all who might enter his lands without his leave. But as he was about to go forth from his house to confront the Spaniards, the women of his household, aided by some of his subjects who had made their escape from the Spaniards, restrained him. With tears in their eyes they reminded him of the fact that he was feeble, without men at arms, his vassals in disorder, and not in condition for fighting and that those with whom he had to do were vigorous, well disciplined, great in number and, for the most part, mounted upon beasts of such speed that none could ever escape them. That it was necessary, then, to await a favorable occasion for their revenge and to deceive their enemies in the meantime by fair appearances of friendship, thus preventing the destruction of himself and his subjects.

"These considerations caused Chisca to pause, but he was so chagrined by the injury which the Spaniards had done him,

that instead of being willing to listen to the envoys of the general in their demands for peace, he declared war upon them, adding that he hoped within a short while to cut the throat of their captain and all those with him.

"DeSoto, however, was not astonished at this, but sent others and they made excuses for the disorder created upon their arrival, and repeated the demand for peace.

"For it was clear to DeSoto that his men were discouraged on account of the constant skirmishing, and were encumbered with sick men and sick horses; that in less than six hours there had come to the side of the Cacique not less than four thousand men, quite well equipped; that in all probability he would get together a very much larger number; besides, that the lay of the land was very favorable to the Indians, and very unfavorable to the Spaniards, on account of the thicket surrounding the town, which would make it impossible to use his cavalry; that finally, instead of making progress by fighting, the Spaniards were working their own destruction from day to day. These were the considerations which induced the general to offer peace.

"But the larger part of the Indians who were assembled to deliberate upon the subject had quite contrary views. Some were for war, believing that to be the only means of recovering their goods and delivering their companions from the power of the Spaniards. They declared that there need be no fear of such people; that such earnest demands for peace as the Spaniards made afforded certain proof of their cowardice; finally, that it was fitting to apprise them of the courage of those whom they had just attacked by giving battle in turn, to the end that no stranger in future would have the temerity to enter their domain. But the other side contended that peace was their only means of getting back their property and their imprisoned countrymen; that if there should be a battle their misery would only be increased by reason of fire and the loss of their crops, (which were still unharvested), resulting in ruin to the entire province and the death of many of their people.

"For they said inasmuch as their enemies had come as far

as their country, through so many trials and perils and through so many fierce tribes, their courage could not be fairly doubted. Thus they said that without any other proofs, peace ought to be made, and that if they were afterwards dissatisfied they could break the truce to a much better advantage than they could on that day make war. This opinion prevailed and the Cacique, dissembling his resentment, asked the envoys what they thought to gain by this peace, which they seemed to desire so much. They answered, their lodging in the town, together with supplies for passing on. Chisca agreed to all on condition that they should set at liberty those of his subjects whom the Spaniards held prisoners, return all the goods that they had seized, and not enter into his house; and he warned them that the only alternative would be war of extermination. The Spaniards accepted peace on these conditions and released the subjects of Chisca, for they had no lack of Indian servants, and returned all the booty—consisting only of some sorry deerskins and clothing of small value. Thereupon the inhabitants abandoned the town with the supplies which they had and the Spaniards remained six days, treating their sick. On the last day DeSoto got leave from Chisca to visit him in his house, and after he had thanked him for the favor done his troops he withdrew, proceeding the next day upon his journey of discovery."

Besides Garcilaso, whose narrative has just been given, three companions of DeSoto also told the story of the approach to and occupation of the town of Chisca on the lower Chickasaw Bluff, now the site of Memphis. Inasmuch as some writers have endeavored to show from these narratives that DeSoto probably reached the Mississippi River at or about the thirty-fourth parallel of latitude and not at Memphis, the narratives will be given here in full* in order that the reader may judge for himself of the correctness of the conclusion drawn by the editor in common with Ramsey and Claiborne, that the lower Chicasaw Bluff, with its big mound, was the place where DeSoto first saw the great inland river.

The first of these narratives to be quoted is that of the

*By permission of the publishers, A. S. Barnes & Co., N. Y.

Gentleman of Elvas, usually referred to as the Portuguese Gentleman. This narrative is as follows:

"He accordingly set out for Quizquiz and marched seven days through a wilderness having many pondy places, with thick forests, all fordable however on horseback except some basins or lakes that were swum. He arrived at a town of Quizquiz without being descried and seized all the people before they could come out of their houses. Among them was the mother of the Cacique; and the Governor sent word to him by one of the captives to come and receive her with the rest he had taken. The answer he returned was that if his lordship would order them to be loosed and sent, he would come to visit and do him service.

"The Governor, since his men arrived weary and likewise weak for want of maize and his horses were also lean, determined to yield to the requirement and try to have peace; so the mother and the rest were ordered to be set free and with words of kindness were dismissed. The next day, while he was hoping to see the chief, many Indians came with bows and arrows to set upon the Christians, when he commanded that all the armed horsemen should be mounted and in readiness. Finding them prepared, the Indians stopped at the distance of a cross-bow shot from where the Governor was, near a river-bank, where, after remaining quietly half an hour, six chiefs arrived at the camp, stating that they had come to find out what people it might be; for they had knowledge from their ancestors that they were to be subdued by a white race; they consequently desired to return to the Cacique to tell him that he should come presently to obey and serve the Governor. After presenting six or seven skins and shawls brought with them they took their leave and returned with the others who were waiting for them by the shore. The Cacique came not, nor sent another message.

"There was little maize in the place and the Governor moved to another town, half a league from the great river, where it was found in sufficiency. He went to look at the river and saw that near it there was much timber of which piraguas might be made, and a good situation in which the camp might be placed. He directly moved, built houses, and settled on a

plain a cross-bow shot from the water, bringing together all the maize of the towns behind, that at once they might go to work and cut down the trees for sawing out planks to build barges. The Indians soon came from up the stream, jumped on the shore and told the Governor that they were vassals of a great lord named Aquixo, who was the suzerain of many towns and people on the other shore; and they made known from him that he would come the day after, with all his people to hear what his lordship would command him.

"The next day the Cacique arrived with two hundred canoes filled with men having weapons. They were painted with ochre, wearing great bunches of white and other plumes of many colors, having feathered shields in their hands, with which they sheltered the oarsmen on either side, the warriors standing erect from bow to stern, holding bows and arrows. The barge in which the Cacique came had an awning at the poop in which he sat; and the like had the barges of the other chiefs; and there from under the canopy where the chief man was the course was directed and orders issued to the rest. All came down together and arrived within a stone's cast of the ravine, whence the Cacique said to the Governor, who was walking along the river bank with others who bore him company, that he had come to visit, serve and obey him; for he had heard that he was the greatest of lords, the most powerful of all the earth and that he must see what he would have him do. The Governor expressed his pleasure and besought him to land that they might the better confer; but the chief gave no reply, ordering three barges to draw near wherein was a great quantity of fish and loaves like bricks, made of the pulp of ameixas (persimmons), which, DeSoto receiving, gave him thanks and again entreated him to land.

"Making the gift had been a pretext to discover if any harm might be done; but finding the Governor and his people on their guard the Cacique began to draw off from the shore, when the crossbowmen, who were in readiness, with loud cries shot at the Indians and struck down five or six of them. They retired with great order, not one leaving the oar, even though the next one to him might have fallen and covering themselves

they withdrew. Afterwards they came many times and landed; when approached they would go back to their barges. These were fine looking men, very large and well formed; and what with the awnings, the plumes and the shields, the pennons and the number of people in the fleet, it appeared like a famous armada of galleys.

"During the thirty days that were passed here four piraguas were built, into three of which one morning three hours before daybreak, the Governor ordered twelve cavalry to enter, four in each, men in whom he had confidence, that they would gain the land, notwithstanding the Indians, and secure the passage or die. He also sent some crossbowmen on foot with them, and in the other piragua oresmen to take them to the opposite shore. He ordered Juan de Guzman to cross with the infantry, of which he had remained captain in the place of Francisco Maldonado; and because the current was stiff they went up along the side of the river a quarter of a league and in passing over they were carried down so as to land opposite the camp; but before arriving there at twice the distance of a stone's cast, the horsemen rode out from the piraguas to an open area of hard and even ground, which they all reached without accident.

"So soon as they had come to the shore the piraguas returned, and when the sun was up two hours high the people had all got over. The distance was near half a league; a man standing on the shore could not be told whether he was a man or something else from the other side. The stream was swift and very deep; the water always flowing turbidly brought along from above many trees and much timber, driven onward by its force."

The narrative of Biedma is much briefer than the other two and is thus given:

"We traveled eight days with great care in tenderness of the wounded and sick we carried. One midday we came upon a town called Quizquiz and so suddenly to the inhabitants that they were without any notice of us, the men being away at work in the maize fields. We took more than three hundred women and a few skins and shawls they had in their houses.

There we first found a little walnut of the country (pecans), which is much better than that here in Spain. The town was near the banks of the river Espiritu Santo (The River of the Holy Spirit.) They told us that it was, with many towns about there, tributary to the lord of Pacaha, famed throughout all the land. When the men heard that we had taken their women they came to us peacefully, requesting the Governor to restore them. He did so and asked them for canoes in which to pass that great river. These they promised, but never gave; on the contrary they collected to give us battle, coming in sight of the town where we were; but in the end, not venturing to make an attack, they turned and retired.

"We left that place and went to encamp by the riverside to put ourselves in order for crossing. On the other shore we saw a number of people collected to oppose our landing, who had many canoes. We set about building four large piraguas, each capable of taking sixty or seventy men and five or six horses. We were engaged in the work twenty-seven or twenty-eight days. During this time the Indians every day at three o'clock in the afternoon would get into two hundred and fifty very large canoes they had, well shielded, and come near the shore on which we were; with loud cries they would exhaust their arrows upon us and then return to the other bank. After they saw that our boats were at the point of readiness for crossing they all went off leaving the passage free. We crossed the river in concert, it being nearly a league in width and nineteen or twenty fathoms deep."

The last of these narratives is by Ranjel, the secretary of DeSoto, who thus narrates the occurrences at the Chickasaw bluffs:

"Saturday, the last of April, the army set out from the place of the barricade and marched nine days through a deserted country and by a rough way, mountainous and swampy, until May 8, when they came to the first village of Quizqui, which they took by assault and captured much people and clothes; but the Governor promptly restored them to liberty and had everything restored to them for fear of war, although that was not enough to make friends of these Indians. A

league beyond this village they came to another with abundance of corn and soon again after another league upon another likewise amply provisioned. There they saw the great river. Saturday, May 21, the force went along to a plain between the river and a small village and set up quarters and began to build four barges to cross over to the other side. Many of these conquerers said that this river was larger than the Danube.

"On the other side of the river about seven thousand Indians had got together with about two hundred canoes to defend the passage. All of them had shields made of cane joined so strong and so closely interwoven with such thread that a cross-bow could hardly pierce them. The arrows came raining down so that the air was full of them and their yells were something fearful. But when they saw that the work on the barges did not relax on their account, they said that Pacaha, whose men they were, ordered them to withdraw and so they left the passage free. And on Saturday, June 8, (June 18), the whole force crossed this great river in the four barges and gave thanks to God because in His good pleasure nothing more difficult could confront them. Soon, on Sunday, they came to a village of Aquixo. Tuesday, June 21, they went from there and passed by the settlement of Aquixo, which is very beautiful and beautifully situated."

Comparing these four narratives, which are in peculiar agreement with each other, except the last, it can readily be seen that Ranjel, in speaking of the villages a league apart to which the Spaniards moved in turn for the purpose of obtaining provisions, was merely describing the usual group of villages which went to make up a settlement among these Indians such as the Spaniards found at the Chickasa towns in Pontotoc County, Mississippi, and in no way contradicts the other narratives. The fact seems to be that DeSoto came upon the town of Chisca where the great mound was and still remains, which was near the wide river with a forest between and then, without reaching the river, he moved from village to village on the bluff for more convenient access to corn or maize, by which his army was supported, and finally pitched his camp

under the bluff at the foot of a ravine probably near the mouth of Wolf River and within cross-bow shot of the water, where he constructed and launched his boats. Again the Gentleman of Elvas narrates that: "The Rio Grande being crossed, the Governor marched a league and a half to a large town of Aquixo, which was abandoned before his arrival."

And this statement again tends to locate the crossing at Memphis, as, from the opposite bank, it is four and a half miles or a league and a half to the high point at Mound City, Arkansas, where a great mound still stands and which was the site of another Indian village in ancient times. And from Mound City westward in a winding course a ridge extends which affords probably the only dry crossing through the swamps from the river west to the highlands, during high waters which usually prevail at that season of the year, between Cairo, Illinois and Helena, Arkansas.

# CHAPTER II

The Chickasaw Bluffs Under Spain. The Coming of the Frenchmen. Voyage of Marquette and Joliet. The Journey of LaSalle. The Site of Fort Prudhomme. The Town of Mitchigamea. The Mouth of the Mississippi River. The Country Claimed for France. Bienville at the Bluffs. The Voyage up the River. The Building of Fort Assumption. War with the Chickasaws. Failure of Bienville. Diary of his Sojourn on the Chickasaw Bluffs. Terrible Indian Customs. Again Under the Dominion of Spain. Cession of the Country to Great Britain. The Province of Carolina. Grant of Charles II to the Lords Proprietors. Once More Under the Dominion of Spain. Don Manuel Gayoso De Lemos. Fort San Fernando de Barancas. Trouble with the Spaniards. Arrival of Captain Isaac Guion. The Americans Take Possession. The Chickasaw Bluffs Become Part of Tennessee. Our Chickasaw Allies. American Forts Here.

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DE SOTO was Adelantado of Florida and all interior America was Florida to him, so that he left no record of having claimed by virtue of discovery for his sovereign the vast wilderness which he traversed on his way from Tampa Bay to the Mississippi River. But by international right Spain was the owner and her king the sovereign of these great solitudes until dispossessed by later adventurers of other nations.

After the departure of DeSoto the Indians lived undisturbed on the lower Chickasaw Bluff and roamed the surrounding solitudes in quest of game or in warfare with their neighbors for one hundred thirty-two years. In the meantime the Atlantic coast line had been settled and the French were extending their dominions beyond the Great Lakes in the northwest, but no white man since DeSoto's time had ventured

down the great inland river. In May, 1673 Father Marquette, a noted Jesuit priest and missionary of restless energy and wandering proclivities, with a Quebec trader named Louis Joliet and five other Frenchmen began ascending the Fox River from Lake Michigan in two canoes and about the tenth of June made a portage to the Wisconsin River and, descending that stream, on June 17, 1673, entered the Mississippi. Rowing slowly down the stream past the mouth of the Pekitanoui or Missouri, and the Ouabouskigou, or the Ohio, which they noted, the voyagers passed the lower Chickasaw Bluff early in July, 1673, but made no stop. Soon after they passed the village of Mitchigameas, now Helena, Arkansas, below the mouth of the St. Francis River, and finally stopped about the site of the last of the villages of the Akansea below the mouth of the river of that name and about latitude 33° 40′, but Father Marquette's map shows this village to be on the east side of the Mississippi River.* Remaining here until July 17, the missionary and his party began their journey northward again and once more passed the lower Chickasaw Bluff but no record is made of a stop here. His map, however, contains certain symbols indicating high lands on the east bank about this latitude.

Nine years later a more important personage, Sieur Robert Cavelier de la Salle, also attempted the exploration of the Mississippi River and carried out his enterprise with perfect success. He had with him twenty-three Frenchmen, including Sieur Henri de Tonti, and Father Piere Zenobé Membré, a recollet missionary, eighteen Indians, ten Indian women and three children, in all fifty-four persons. Reaching the Mississippi River by way of the Seignelay or Illinois River, on February 6, 1682, he left there in canoes on February 13, and rode slowly down to the mouth of the Ohio, stopping at intervals to hunt. Father Membré, in his narrative of the voyage, says: "From the mouth of this river you must advance forty-two leagues without stopping because the banks are low and marshy and full of thick foam, rushes and walnut trees."

*John Gilmary Shea's translation and authentic map of Father Marquette voyage, 1852. The original map was preserved at St. Mary's College, Montreal.

Forty-two French land leagues is equal to one hundred five miles, the exact distance from Cairo to the first Chickasaw Bluff, ten miles above Randolph, Tennessee, which stands on the second Chickasaw Bluff, and forty-two miles above Memphis by land courses.

Here LaSalle stopped to hunt on the first high ground below the Ohio River, and one of his men, Piere Prudhomme, got lost in the woods on February 24, according to Father Membré.

Finding some Chickasaw Indians in the vicinity LaSalle became alarmed and thinking they had captured his hunter and that they might attack his little escort he threw up a "fort and intrenchments," probably a stockade with a low parapet around it, and set out with a party to hunt for Prudhomme. Having at length found the lost hunter and some of the Indians, from whom he learned that their villages were four and a half days' journey of twenty-five or thirty miles each to the southeast, he finally left Fort Prudhomme about March 3, and proceeded on his journey down the river.* Proceeding forty French land leagues or one hundred miles further after leaving Fort Prudhomme, but making no stop at Memphis, or the lower Chickasaw Bluff, LaSalle reached the village of the Mitchigameas, now Helena, Arkansas, about March 12, and remaining there two days took possession of the country on the west bank of the Mississippi River in the name of his sovereign,

*Narrative of Father Membre, by John Gilmary Shea, 1852. The distance from the mouth of the Ohio River, forty-two leagues or 105 miles, and the fact of its being the first highland after leaving the Ohio, shows that the site of Fort Prudhomme was at the first Chickasaw Bluff and not at the fourth or lower bluff, as some writers allege. This fort was indeed a landmark for many years at the first Chickasaw Bluff, where the Confederates during the Civil War built Fort Wright, ten miles above Randolph and not far above Fort Pillow. A map in Abbe Prevost's History General of Voyages and Discoveries, 1749, shows the fort at the first Chickasaw Bluff; and the diary of a French officer who was with Bienville at the lower bluff in 1739, reprinted in Claiborne's History of Mississippi, refers to Prudhomme Heights several times as being on the river above Fort Assumption on the lower Chickasaw Bluff, where Memphis now stands. The statement that LaSalle established a trading post at Fort Prudhomme is a pure fiction. When returning up the river in June, 1682, he was taken ill at or about the site of Fort Prudhomme 100 leagues below the mouth of the Illinois River, (land courses), and remained there forty days.

the King of France, March 14, 1682, and erected a cross there.* Leaving on the seventeenth of the same month, LaSalle stopped as he passed down the river at the other villages of the Akansea, beginning fifteen miles below Mitchigamea, and occupying the adjacent country on the west bank of the river to latitude 33° 40′, below the mouth of the Arkansas River.

Having finally reached the mouth of the Mississippi River, or the passes, where the river divided itself into three channels, April 6, 1682, LaSalle erected a column on which was affixed the arms of France, with this inscription:

Louis le Grande,
ROI DE FRANCE ET DE NAVARRE, REIGNE;
Le Neuvieme Avril, 1682.

The notary Jacques de la Metaire has left this description of the ceremony which followed, by which LaSalle took formal possession of the great Valley of the Mississippi in the name of his sovereign:

"The whole party chanted the Te Deum, the Exaudiat, the Domine salvam fac Regem; and then after a salute of firearms and cries of Vive le Roy, the column was erected by M. de la Salle who, standing near it, said with a loud voice in French: 'In the name of the Most High, Mighty, Invincible and Victorious Prince, Louis the Great, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, fourteenth of that name, this ninth day of April, one thousand six hundred eighty-two; I, in virtue of the commission of his Majesty, which I hold in my hand, and which may be seen by all whom it may concern, have taken and do now take, in the name of his Majesty, and of his successors to the crown, possession of this country of Louisiana, the seas, harbors, ports, bays, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries, streams and rivers, comprised in the extent of the said

*Narrative of Father Membre, who calls this a village of the Acansea, but as we have seen above, Marquette gave it its true name of Mitchigamea, which it retained for many years. The Mitchigamea Indians, however, were an offshoot or colony of the great Acansea tribe. When it migrated westward before DeSoto's arrival, it broke in two parts. The right wing crossed the Mississippi River and went up the Missouri and were called Omaha, "up the river." The other branch went south and were called Quapaw, "down the river." Of these were the Mitchegamea.

Louisiana, from the mouth of the great river St. Louis, on the eastern side, otherwise called Ohio, Alighin, Sipore, or Chukagona, and this with the consent of the Chaouanons, Chikachas and other people dwelling therein, with whom we have made alliance; as also along the river Colbert or Mississippi and rivers which discharge themselves therein, from its source beyond the country of the Kious or Nadouessious and this, with their consent, and with the consent of the Motantees, Illinois, Mesigameas, Natches, Koreas, which are the most considerable nations dwelling therein, with whom also we have made alliance either by ourselves or by others in our behalf; as far as its mouth at the sea or Gulf of Mexico, about the 27th degree of the elevation of the North Pole, and also to the mouth of the River of Palms; upon the assurance which we have received from all these nations, that we are the first Europeans who have descended or ascended the said River Colbert; hereby protesting against all those who may in future undertake to invade any or all of these countries, people or lands, above described, to the prejudice of the right of his Majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations herein named. Of which, and of all that can be needed, I hereby take to witness those who hear me, and demand an act of the notary, required by law.' To which the whole assembly responded with shouts of Vive le Roy, and with salutes of firearms. Moreover the Sieur de la Salle caused to be buried at the foot of the tree to which the cross was attached, a leaden plate on one side of which was engraved the arms of France, and the following latin inscription:

LVDOVICVS MAGNUS REGNAT.
NONO APRILLIS CIↃ IↃC LXXXII.
ROBERTVS CAVELIER, CVM DOMINO DE TONTY, LEGATO, RP. ZENOBIO MEMBRE, RECOLLECTO, ET VIGINTI GALLIS, PRIMVS HOC FLVMEN, INDE AB ILINEORUM PAGO, ENAVIGAVIT, EJVSQVE OSTIVM FECIT PERVIUM, NONO APRILIS, ANNI CIↃ IↃC LXXXII."

It was by this form of procedure that the country where Memphis stands became a province of France and so remained until the year 1762.

After thus solemnly declaring the rights of his sovereign Louis XIV, of France, to the whole of the Mississippi Valley lying between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains, LaSalle returned to Canada, passing up the Mississippi River to the Illinois and thence to Lake Michigan, not stopping at the lower Chickasaw Bluff but at the first Chickasaw Bluff or Fort Prudhomme, where he was seriously ill for more than a month.

Other Frenchmen, after LaSalle's return, made voyages down the Mississippi, notably De Tonti, who passed down in 1686 and again in 1700, in an endeavor to find his friend LaSalle, who had sailed from France with ships and a colony to enter the mouth of the Mississippi, but failed to find it and landed further west.

The next white man who is certainly known to have visited and taken possession of the lower Chickasaw Bluff after DeSoto left here was Jean Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville, a distinguished French colonial governor and soldier, who arrived here in 1739. Bienville, then Governor of Louisiana, became involved in a war with the unconquerable Chickasaw Indians, whose group of villages were still where DeSoto found them, scattered in a long line from Redland near Pontotoc, Mississippi, to a point about three miles northwest of Tupelo in Lee County, Mississippi. Moving with an army up the Tombigbee River from Mobile, Bienville had ordered D'Artaguette to support him with a force from the post at the Illinois fort to be landed at Fort Prudhomme on the first Chickasaw Bluff and to march thence and form a junction with him in the vicinity of the Chickasaw villages. Bienville was delayed and D'Artaguette arriving at Fort Prudhomme May 10, and at the objective point six days before Bienville reached there, attacked the Chickasaws May 20, 1736 and was terribly defeated, being himself wounded and captured and with thirteen companions, burned at the stake. Bienville arriving on May 26, and unaware of the defeat of his lieutenant, attacked the Chickasaw towns and was himself disastrously defeated and compelled to retreat to Mobile. But Bienville possessed the nature of a bulldog and burning with shame and thirsting for vengeance,

he induced the French court to send him fresh troops. With these, Bienville, in July, 1739, proceeded up the Mississippi River in a fleet of pirogues, with a large force of troops and auxiliaries, including a contingent of about sixteen hundred Indian allies. Another force from the Illinois and Canada, under De la Buissonniére and three hundred northern Indians under Sieur de Longueuil had arrived first by his order and a fort was built on the face of the bluff in the middle of August, called Fort Assumption. Bienville is estimated to have brought here twelve hundred white men and twenty-four hundred Indians, though from the details given by subordinate officers of the decimation of his army by malarial fevers, and the desertion of considerable bodies of Indians, it is not probable that he had here at any one time more than two thousand men. Bienville himself was delayed in collecting other Indian allies among the Akanseas and arrived here on November 14, 1739.

In a journal kept by a young French officer under De Noailles d'Aime, Bienville's chief commander, and reprinted in Claiborne's History of Mississippi, from a translation of the original French manuscript, many interesting and curious details are given of the sojourn of Bienville's forces on the site of the City of Memphis. Before quoting from his journal it may be stated that Bienville's intention was to collect an overwhelming force here and marching overland to the Chickasaw villages, the scene of his first defeat, to avenge himself for his overthrow and that of his lieutenant, D'Artaguette, in May, 1736. He had been misled by his engineer, Deverge, who induced him to believe by his rudely constructed map that the Chickasaw towns were only about half the distance that they really were from Fort Assumption. Bienville spent the fall and winter here in laborious but futile endeavors to discover or cut out a practicable highway to the Chickasaw towns, the main group of which were, as above stated, about ninety-seven miles from the Chickasaw Bluff in an airline, but one at least of which must have been, from the descriptions of the French and Indian scouts, on the south side of the Tallahatchie River near the site of the Indian fort called Alibamo, or

Alimamu, attacked by DeSoto on his approach to the bluff, as above described. There was a trail, in fact, from the first Chickasaw Bluff to the Chickasaw towns which was used by D'Artaguette even for his baggage wagons. This passed some distance east of Memphis and was the trail sought but never discovered by Bienville. It probably crossed the Tallahatchie River at New Albany, Mississippi.

The young French officer, whose name has not been preserved, among other things in his diary, describes Fort Assumption as constructed on our bluff. He says:

"This fort has been constructed at the foot of the steeps of Margot River (Wolf River), three-fourths of a league to the right and in the middle days of August, which latter circumstance has been the origin of its name Assumption. It is constructed of piles, three bastions bearing on the plain and two half bastions on the river, which is reached by seven different and wide slopes of one hundred and forty feet each. In the center of these slopes have been constructed bakeries and ovens scooped out of the walls of earth. The right was occupied by the battalion of regulars, and the left by various stores and the Colonial and Swiss troops. The remainder of the forces were encamped on the exterior, including the Canadians and savages, who encircled the whole of our left to the river."

This description does not leave us in any doubt as to the location of this fort. It was described as being three quarters of a league to the right, that is from the head of the bluffs or steeps, which was in the vicinity of the south bank of Bayou Gayoso, near its mouth and just beyond our county jail. Three-fourths of a French land league at that date was about one and eighty-seven hundredths of an English mile, and this would put the site of Fort Assumption on the edge of the bluff and somewhere between Georgia Street and Jackson Mound, which point is also just west of the site of the Indian village of Chisca, first captured by DeSoto on his arrival.

The diary further along proceeds as follows:

"On the 27th there was found at a distance of one-fourth of a league from our camp a reed, through which had been

passed a piece of English cloth in the shape of a pouch and filled with tobacco. At the top was an ear of corn, and beneath a bear skin, the whole encircled by a ring of some kind. Five Chic. savages had recently brought these enigmatical emblems which signified peace, both, according to the interpretation of our savages and the people of the colony. By the ear of corn they mean that they desire to eat of the same bread; by the tobacco, smoke together; and by the bear-skin within the circle, sleep under the same roof. This is a sufficient indication that they are much impressed with their own weakness, although we must give them credit for much hardihood and intrepidity, for not fearing to approach a spot about which five hundred savages are continually roaming."

Other paragraphs describe the darker side of the savage nature. The narrator says: 1739

"On the 24th of November, we dispatched a party of fifty men upon the tracks of the 'Chicachat.' On the same day, at seven in the evening, we received a courier from a body of our Indians, who had fallen upon the 'Chics' and captured one man and two women (one of the latter being quite young), and killed another man whose scalp, ears, tongue and a portion of the heart they had sent us, the courier in the meantime having eaten a small portion of the heart whilst announcing the arrival of his comrades in the course of the next morning. * * * * * As they had decided firstly to put the man to death, they placed him opposite their cabin upon a couple of deer-skins, and between three fires to shield him from the coldness of the night, during which they sang and danced around him, occasionally throwing themselves upon him like rabid dogs and biting him in the thighs to keep him awake, assuring him in the meanwhile that as soon as the sun appeared he would be tied to the stake. Notwithstanding the awful treatment he neither complained nor spoke one word. * * * * * On the 26th, at nine in the morning, he was tied to a stake, which consists of two poles or trees four feet apart, to each of which was fastened one arm and a cross piece below on which rest the feet. They then applied bars of red hot iron upon all the most sensitive parts of his body. He was

exposed to these atrocities for three hours, at the end of which he expired."

The greater part of the succeeding narrative is taken up with the various endeavors to find a feasible way to the Chickasaw towns which would admit of the usual army transport and with the description of the incidents connected with the life of the army here with their brutal Indian allies. On the 24th of December a French engineer, Saucier, endeavored to find the road made by D'Artaguette on his march from the first Chickasaw Bluff to the Chickasaw towns, but without avail. On the 14th of January, a scouting party reported having discovered "a body of one hundred men to the north of our fort in the direction of the Prudhomme Heights," and another scout reported having found a Chickasaw canoe on the bank of the river in the direction of Prudhomme Heights, which is convincing proof that Fort Prudhomme was not at the lower Chickasaw Bluffs.

And so the winter wore away without action, which greatly disgusted the Indian allies who were becoming very restless at the delay. On the 6th of February Bienville finally dispatched Mons. de Celeron with two hundred Frenchmen and three hundred Indians to attack the Chickasaw towns, but in fact that commander had secret instructions to make peace with the Chickasaws. Bienville was reluctantly forced to admit to himself that by reason of the disintegration of his forces from sickness and desertion he could not hope to successfully overcome the determined Chickasaws, and when on the 20th of March, Celeron returned with his whole force, after having treated with the Chickasaws for peace, bringing with him three of their chiefs as envoys, and three Englishmen, who came to claim damages for horses which had been killed by the savages, Bienville eagerly summoned a council to make peace with the Chickasaw commissioners. This was done, the Indians agreeing to surrender five Natches refugees whose domicile with the Chickasaws was the real beginning of the first war, and being the only remnants of that tribe still with them, and the French agreeing on their part to appease and withdraw their ferocious Indian allies, whose swarming scouting parties

had kept the Chickasaw towns in a state of siege for many months and prevented their hunting for game, which had caused great distress among them. By the 31st of March all of Bienville's troops had departed from the bluff, spitefully carrying the three English traders with them as prisoners of war, and on April 9, Bienville reached New Orleans with his whole force, the sole trophies of his great movement to overwhelm the Chickasaws being the five Natchez prisoners and the three English captives. The aged Bienville never recovered from the last crushing failure, and returning to France, was coldly received by the French court and spent his remaining days in quiet retirement after forty-four years of laborious work for his colony and king. He finally died in Paris in 1768.

After this second failure of Bienville to conquer the Chickasaws, that virile tribe was left to its freedom again, which they employed for the next fourteen years in committing depredations along the shores of their great river on the boats of traders and other French voyagers from the chain of forts on the upper river and its tributaries to the French forts in the Natchez district and below.

The new French governor of Louisiana, Marquis de Vaudreuil, made a final effort to destroy them by an expedition on the line of Bienville's old route, the Tombigbee River, in 1754, but signally failed as his predecessors had done and the Chickasaws were thenceforward left undisturbed by the French. This noted tribe of warlike people had broken lances with and foiled DeSoto, fought desperate battles with the Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws and several French armies and defeated all of them. But with the English and after them the Americans, they had always been friendly and because of this fact the final settlement of West Tennessee and North Mississippi by the Anglo Saxon race was accomplished without a recorded massacre or racial tragedy between the settlers and the savage but proud tribe.

On November 3, 1762, eight years after De Vaudreuil's unsuccessful venture the French king, wearied with the costly struggle to maintain colonies in America, by a secret treaty ceded without consideration all his colonial possessions on

this continent to Spain, which act of cession made the locality of Memphis again a part of a Spanish province. But on February 16, 1763, a general treaty of peace was made in Paris between Great Britain, France and Spain, by which France, joined by Spain, ceded to Great Britain all her enormous possessions on the east side of the Mississippi River, including both Canada and Louisiana, except the small district known as the Island of New Orleans, which went to Spain. Besides this, Spain obtained all the vast domain west of the Mississippi River except the "Oregon country."

Thus our district first came under the actual dominion of the English crown. Great Britain had indeed claimed this territory long before La Salle seized it in behalf of his sovereign, Louis XIV, in 1682. Queen Elizabeth had granted it to Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584 and Charles I, had granted it to Sir Robert Heath. On March 24, 1663, Charles II constituted the whole territory from the Atlantic seaboard to the "South Seas," and from the 31° to the 36° of north latitude as a province, called Carolina in honor of himself, and granted it to Lord Clarendon and others, designated as the "Lords Proprietors." By a subsequent grant dated June 30, 1665, which refers to the letters patent of March 24, 1663, Charles enlarged the grant so as to embrace all the territory "within the dominion of America," etc., from north latitude 29° to north latitude 36° 30′. This remarkable grant embodied an imperial domain, including North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Arkansas and parts of Florida, Missouri and California.*

However, North Carolina, later the northern division of the province of Carolina, never claimed under this grant any further west than the Mississippi River. But the French got possession of the west end of the province and held it until the treaties of 1762 and 1763 above mentioned. By the treaty of 1763 the crown of Great Britain came into its own again and the title of the province of North Carolina to its western lands beyond the Alleghenies, accrued to it in full under its

*Goodspeed, History of Tennessee, 1887, p. 166.

old grants of 1663 and 1665. By the treaty of 1783 at the close of the Revolutionary War, Great Britain ceded this western appendage of North Carolina to the United States and subsequently the state of North Carolina, by virtue of an act of cession passed by the Legislature, December, 1789,† made a formal deed of conveyance through its national senators, Samuel Johnson and Benjamin Hawkins, of this western extension of its public lands from its present western boundary to the Mississippi River, to the United States. And on April 2, 1790 Congress accepted the deed and constituted, May 26, 1790, of the imperial domain thus acquired, the "Territory South of the Ohio River." This territory was finally admitted into the Union as the sixteenth State on June 1, 1796.

But though taken into the bounds of the State of Tennessee, constituted in June, 1796, the site of Memphis on the lower Chickasaw Bluff was yet to undergo some vicissitudes before it came absolutely under the control of the United States.

Florida had been taken from Great Britain by the Spanish admiral, Galvez in 1781, during the Revolutionary War. By the treaty of peace between Great Britain, the United States and Spain in 1783, the former had recognized the conquest of Florida by Spain and ceded the territory which it had laid off as Florida and West Florida to that country. The cession of West Florida by Great Britain was made with an indeterminate northern boundary and Spain consequently claimed the land far to the north of the 31° of north latitude, Great Britain's original boundary of West Florida. Spain also endeavored to control the navigation of the Mississippi River. This incensed the western American settlements. Spain endeavored to pacify them by advantageous commercial privileges on the Mississippi River and sought by intrigue to acquire the western portion of the United States as it existed at that date and to separate it from the Atlantic States. To this end Baron Carondelet, the new Spanish governor of Louisiana, 1792, bent his endeavors. But the French, now at

†The first Act of Cession was passed by North Carolina at Hillsborough, in April, 1784 and repealed October 22, 1784.

war with Spain, also endeavored to incite an invasion of Louisiana and Florida, by the western frontiersmen and to, if possible, separate the western states from the Union and form with them an alliance with Louisiana under the protectorate of France. This French movement, engineered by the French minister at Washington, Genet, alarmed Spain and she began to strengthen her forts on the west side of the Mississippi River as high up as New Madrid, Missouri. She also entered into a treaty with the Chickasaw Indians and obtained permission to establish a fort on the east side of the river at the lower Chickasaw Bluff near the mouth of Wolf River and the bluff was ceded to Spain by the Chickasaws for that purpose, the alleged purpose being to protect Louisiana from invasion by the United States. This fort was erected in 1795 by the then Spanish Governor of Louisiana, Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, Ramsey says, "Upon the peninsula formed by the junction of the Margot (Wolf) River and the Mississippi" and was called Fort San Fernando de Barancos. Is it now definitely known that this redoubt, as well as Fort Adams built two years later by Captain Isaac Guion, the first American commander here, occupied the present site of the Shelby County jail, below the mouth of Wolf River.

This bold act of aggression by Gayoso constituted an invasion of the territory of the United States and was not to be endured. The American government claimed the whole territory on the east side of the Mississippi River down to the 31° of north latitude and being also inspired by the urgent appeals of the western frontiersmen, at once took steps to secure it.

General Wilkinson, who had succeeded General Anthony Wayne in command of the United States army, wrote this letter to Captain Isaac Guion conveying instructions to that accomplished officer as to securing the territory of the United States bordering on the Mississippi River below the mouth of the Ohio. The letter is furnished by Claiborne in his History of Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State, page 178, as follows:

"Fort Washington, May 20, 1797.

"It being deemed essential that the troops of the United

States should take possession of the certain military posts on the Mississippi, within our territorial limits, heretofore held by the Spanish garrison, I have thought proper to appoint you to this very honorable and important service, relying, with entire confidence on your intrepidity, talents, zeal, patriotism and discretion.

"You are to embark for this place on the 26th instant, with such party as may be assigned to you, in charge of your ordinance, stores and implements of every kind, and to proceed, without halt, to Fort Massac. Arrived there you will report to the commanding officer (Captain Z. M. Pike), and deliver the orders for him which accompany these instructions. These orders are to be promptly executed, and so soon as the detachment provided for can be organized and mustered and the additional ordinance and stores, to be taken from Massac, can be put on board, you will proceed on your voyage.

"You are to sail under the flag of the United States, displayed conspicuously on your barge, and on approaching any Spanish post, on the side of Louisiana, you are to give seasonable information by a subaltern, of the object of your movement and announce your disposition to offer a salute provided you are assured it will be returned gun for gun. No objection to your further progress can justify you in halting, unless it amounts to an official prohibition in writing, covering a menace of opposition by force of arms or a shot fired into your flotilla or across your bows.

* * * * * * * * * *

"It may, however, be presumed that no impediment will be thrown in your way, and that you will proceed without interruption to Wolf River, at the head of the lower Chickasaw Bluff, where you are to halt and distribute the goods intended for the Chickasaws. This being done you are to proceed to the Spanish post at the Walnut Hills and if it shall have been evacuated you will take possession. Should it be found in the occupation of the Spaniards you will demand possession in the name of the United States, in conformity with the treaty."

The letter then proceeds with explicit instructions to Captain Guion as to the necessity of the utmost vigilance and

circumspection in his intercourse with and treatment of the Spanish military forces and the inhabitants of the country in the Natchez district. A few days later Baron Carondelet wrote to General Wilkinson in relation to these ominous movements, which had been ordered and rumors of which had reached him, urging the general to suspend the advance of his troops, "whose presence might possibly disturb the tranquility of the province and the good understanding that now prevails." But the movement of the troops was not withheld.

Reverting to the occupation of the lower Chicasaw Bluff by Governor Gayoso in 1795, Claiborne, the Mississippi historian, quotes a letter written by Governor Gayoso to his wife, from Fort Ferdinand at the mouth of Wolf River May 31, 1795, as follows:

"Yesterday I passed from my post of Esperanza over to the Chicacha Bluffs, where I now write. I hoisted the King's flag and saluted it in the most brilliant manner from the flotilla and the battery. It being St. Ferdinand's day (the name of my Prince), I gave the post that name. It was a pleasant day, and withal my birthday, and nothing was wanting to complete my happiness but your presence. The chiefs are to visit me tomorrow, and then I shall count the days, the hours and moments until I can be with you."

Thus affairs stood at the Chickasaw Bluff, the fort being under command of Captain Bellechasse, a Spanish officer, when Captain Guion received his instructions to go there and take possession of it. Captain Guion proceeded promptly from Fort Washington, now Cincinnati, and stopped at Fort Massac to take aboard his artillery. When he reached New Madrid he was halted by the Spanish commandant, who objected to the further progress of his expedition but who finally consented to his going as far as Fort Ferdinand at the lower Chickasaw Bluff, on Captain Guion's agreement to proceed no further until the matter should be referred to the Spanish officials. Captain Guion, having been instructed to be very discreet in dealing with the Spaniards on the west bank of the river or, as derisively put by the frontiersmen, "do nothing to offend the dons," made the best he could of this permission, gave his

pledge and proceeded down the river. He reached the lower Chickasaw Bluff on July 20, 1797. He there found that Captain Bellechasse, the Spanish commandant, had dismantled the Spanish fort, Ferdinando de Barancos, and taken position at Hopefield, then called Esperanza, on the west bank of the river and just above Memphis. It may be further noted here that the Spanish troops left Esperanza and floated down the river on September 1st following, thus abandoning both their eastern and western fortified posts at the Chickasaw Bluffs, though they continued to own the territory west of the river.

Captain Guion found great unrest prevailing among the Chickasaw Indians in their territory to the southeast of Memphis. As part of this early history of Memphis under American rule this letter of Captain Guion to General Wilkinson, dated August 14, 1797, is quoted from Claiborne's History of Mississippi:

"Owing to apprehensions of an attack by the Creeks on their town, the Chickasaws did not appear here until the tenth instant. Yesterday Piamingo, the mountain leader, arrived in bad health. The Wolf's Friend preceded him two days and is here with all his people and a very disorderly, turbulent and troublesome clan they are. Great discord prevails in this nation, owing probably to the intrigues of the Spaniards, and the want of information and energy somewhere else. General Colbert, who was here a few days since, with about one hundred of his people, manifested a very friendly disposition, and gave me permission to remove my troops and stores from this bank to the bluff where the Spanish fort recently stood and to erect there such works as I thought fit, observing that it would be extraordinary to deny to us, who were born on the same side of the water, a privilege that had been granted to those born on the other side of it. I immediately set a party to get pickets for a temporary cover for our stores and camp, a very heavy job, for they had to be got a mile up the River Margot (Wolf), rafted down and drawn up the bluff by hand. I have, however, inclosed a sexangular stockade, of which the plan is transmitted.

"The Wolf's Friend, who has great influence is by no

means inclined to the United States. There is an evident coolness between him and the mountain leader. I do not know how it will end. I shall use every exertion to reconcile these discords. I despair however of effecting anything with the former without using a more potent argument than words. A few hundred dollars is the best 'talk' for him.

"On the twelfth Colonel Howard, with five galleys and about one hundred Spanish infantry, arrived from above at the post of Hopefield on the opposite bank of the Mississippi. They have been very civil and a salute has been received and returned. Our troops are daily falling down with intermittents, the prevailing malady of this country."

Another letter quoted by Claiborne and further illustrating the early relations between the American troops and the Chickasaw Indians at the bluffs, is as follows:

"Fort Adams, Chickasaw Bluffs, Oct. 22, 1797.

"Contrary to my expectation the Mountain Leader, (Piamingo), the King, and the Wolf's Friend, with their followers, did not present themselves here to receive their goods, until the twelfth instant. Piamingo apprehended an incursion by the Creeks and had remained at home to repel it. Wolf's Friend, who is a warm partisan of the Spaniards, and a cunning, mischievous fellow, regulated his movements by their advices and arranged to come in about the time the Spanish galleys and troops from St. Louis were to arrive at the post of Esperanza, opposite this. A supply of goods from New Orleans for the Chickasaws, had for some time been stored at Esperanza, but they had delayed the distribution, believing that our lot was very inferior to theirs, and that the contrast would make its impression, which would be supported by the new arrival of soldiers. The Wolf's Friend had assured the commandant at Esperanza that we should not be permitted to remain. August 12th, Colonel Charles Howard, with one hundred men and five galleys, arrived at Esperanza from St. Louis. Wolf's Friend immediately crossed over. On his return he said he wished to make a talk, and desired that his friend Colonel Howard should be present. I appointed the 16th to give time to have William Colbert and Piamingo

present. Colonel Howard with two of his officers came over in the morning. He apologised for his visit and said it was only to gratify Wolf's Friend, who had insisted upon it, and he hoped that when he distributed the presents at Esperanza, I would be his guest. This I promptly declined but observed that I had no objection to his presence, as I had no secret intrigues or policy to carry out with the Indians and should merely recommend them to observe order among themselves and peaceful relations with both Spaniards and Americans. William Colbert, anticipating Wolf's Friend's design, opened the conference with a bold and animated talk. Addressing himself to that chief he said, 'I know your object is to expel the Americans and bring back your friends the Spaniards. But this shall not be while I live. The works now being built here were begun with my consent. I and my people gave our consent and our promise and I would like to see the man or the chief who can make that promise void. The Americans may go away if they choose to go. I hear you talk of force. You will do well to count the warriors of this nation. Before you can drive the Americans you must first kill me and my warriors and bury us here.'

"This was followed by a brief but pointed talk from Piamingo to the same purpose. Wolf's Friend remained moody and silent and his Spanish friends, who had come to hear a very different story, were greatly disconcerted. Next day our goods were distributed and as they were more liberal in quantity and more substantial and valuable than the Spanish distribution, the effect was fine.

"I find at this place four white families who came here two and three years ago. The man of most consequence is Kenneth Ferguson, a Scotchman and agent of Panton, Leslie & Company, of Pensacola—very active in the Spanish interest. He is extensively engaged in the Indian trade and sells at most exorbitant rates. Another of these people is William Mizell, a native of North Carolina, who was at Pensacola, under British protection, when it surrendered to the Spaniards. He is no friend to them, and I find him very useful as an

interpreter, as he has resided fifteen years among the Chickasaws and speaks their language well."

When Captain Isaac Guion set out from Fort Adams at the Chickasaw Bluff in November, 1797, to go down the river and take possession of the Natchez district, he left a detachment of artillery under Lieutenant Campbell in charge of the fort. The fort was in 1801, removed from its site at the present jail to the bluff near Jackson Mound, by order of General Wilkinson on account of the excessive malarial sickness prevailing among the garrison at the mouth of Wolf River and a new fort was erected between Jackson Mound and the present big Mississippi River bridge, which was called Fort Pickering in honor of Honorable Timothy Pickering, President Washington's secretary of state. Additional troops were sent there, namely, one company of artillery, commanded by Captain Pierce and also one company of infantry, commanded by Captain Meriwether Lewis, the lieutenants being Steele and Fero. Before this, however, Captain Zebulun M. Pike was in command here and about 1800 a fort had been erected near the old site of Fort Adams called, in his honor, Fort Pike. Captain Sparks of the Third United States regiment, was in command at Fort Pickering on November 23, 1801, when that post was visited by Governor W. C. C. Claiborne of the Mississippi Territory at that date, as reported by him to President Madison and in the same letter Governor Claiborne recommended the expediency of more military posts on the Mississippi River, saying that boats were often stranded or sunk or disabled by the illness of their crews and, except at Fort Pickering, there were no stations where relief could be obtained. The Governor added, "A few posts to render aid in such cases, with hospital stores for the sick, would greatly promote the commerce and the peopling of this remote territory. The humanizing effect on the Indians of such stations would soon be felt." He also reported in that letter that opposite the lower Chickasaw Bluff there was a small blockhouse garrisoned by a sergeant and twelve men, meaning the Spanish post of Esperanza.

These excerpts from Claiborne's History of Mississippi

illustrate the character of the military post and its appointments, maintained at the Chickasaw Bluffs on the Mississippi River from their occupation by Captain Guion in 1797, until the purchase of West Tennessee from the Chickasaw Indians by Governor Isaac Shelby of Kentucky and General Andrew Jackson, commissioners on behalf of the United States, on October 17, 1818, at which time West Tennessee and the lower Chickasaw Bluff were first formally and officially opened to settlement by the American pioneer. The brave Chickasaws, who were always friendly to the Americans, had seen to it that no part of their ancient territory should be appropriated by the white man until their own title had been legally extinguished by a purchase negotiated with them by the United States.

In the Navigator, a little book published first in Pittsburg in eleven editions from 1801 to 1811, a map of the river at the lower Chickasaw Bluff is given and among other things these notes:

"Fort Pike formerly stood just below Wolf River; but a better situation was pitched upon and a fort built two miles lower down the bluff, called Fork Pickering. It occupies the commanding ground of the fourth Chickasaw Bluff on the left bank of the Mississippi. The United States have a military factor here, with a few soldiers. The settlement is thin and composed of what is called the half breed; that is, a mixture of the whites and Indians, a race of men too indolent to do any permanent good, either for themselves or society. A landing may be had a little above Fort Pickering but it is not a very good one."

# CHAPTER III

Land Grants by the State of Tennessee. John Rice and John Ramsey Grants. Purchase of West Tennessee from the Chickasaws. Judge John Overton Purchases Rice Grant. Takes in with him Andrew Jackson. Sketch of John Rice. The Birth of Memphis. Map of New Town. Appearance of the Surroundings. Narrative of Colonel James Brown. The Name of Memphis. Establishment of Shelby County. The First Court of Laws. The First County Tax Levy. The First Marriage.

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LONG preceding these events the State of North Carolina, as we have before seen, claimed this western territory north of the thirty-fifth parallel and embracing the present district of West Tennessee, by virtue of its grant from the Crown of England, as far as the eastern shore of the Mississippi River, and before its cession to the United States of its western territory in December, 1789, it had made to various people sundry grants in this territory of lands, regardless of the unquestionable title of the Chickasaw Indians, who were the actual owners of the ground and had never parted with their rights.

So we find that on the 23rd of October, 1783, a tract of five thousand acres of land abutting on the Mississippi River and embracing the landing at the mouth of Wolf River at the lower Chickasaw Bluff was entered by John Rice, a citizen of North Carolina, in the land office in Hillsboro, North Carolina. We further find that this land was surveyed by Isaac Roberts, deputy surveyor for the Western District, State of North Carolina, on December 1, 1786, by virtue of a land warrant from the state entry taker, Number 382, dated the 24th day of June, 1784. Upon this entry and survey a grant was

made by the State of North Carolina, Number 283, on the 25th of April, 1789, evidenced by a formal written document signed by Sam Johnson, Governor, Captain General and Commander-in-Chief, and attested by J. Glasgow, Secretary, which document is the celebrated John Rice grant, the land granted embracing a large portion of the site of the present city of Memphis.

On the same day a land warrant, Number 383, was issued to John Ramsey, by John Armstrong, entry officer of claims for the North Carolina western lands, for five thousand acres, entered on the 25th of October, 1783, said five thousand acres adjoining on the south for part of its depth the John Rice grant, above referred to, but a grant in pursuance of this entry was not issued until the 30th of April, 1823.

As these several grants of lands, made in violation of the ownership and title of the Chickasaw Indians who were then in possession of the same, constitute the original title or titles of the people of the present city of Memphis to all of their lands and holdings within such limits, and as there were no conflicting Spanish or French grants of the same lands, it is deemed proper to here give them in full as a part of the history of the city.

The Rice grant is as follows:

"State of North Carolina, No. 283.

"To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

"Know ye, that we, for and in consideration of the sum of ten pounds for every hundred acres hereby granted, paid into our Treasury by John Rice, have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant unto the said John Rice, a tract of land containing five thousand acres, lying and being in the Western District, lying on the Chickasaw Bluff. Beginning about one mile below the mouth of Wolf River, at a white oak tree, marked J. R., running north twenty degrees east two hundred and twenty-six poles; thence due north one hundred and thirty-three poles; thence north twenty-seven degrees west three hundred and ten poles to a cottonwood tree; thence due east one thousand and three hundred and seventy-seven

and nine-tenths poles to a mulberry tree; thence south six hundred and twenty-five poles to a stake; thence west one thousand three hundred and four and nine-tenths poles to the beginning, as by the plat herewith annexed doth appear, together with all woods, waters, mines, minerals, hereditaments and appurtenances to the said land belonging or appertaining; To hold to the said John Rice, his heirs and assigns forever—yielding and paying to us such sums of money yearly, or otherwise as our General Assembly from time to time shall cause. This grant to be registered in the Register's office of our said Western District within twelve months from the date hereof; otherwise the same shall be void and of no effect.

"In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent and our Great Seal to be hereunto affixed. Witness Samuel Johnson, Esquire, our Governor, Captain General and Commander-in-Chief, at Halifax, the twenty-fifth day of April, in the XIII year of our Independence, and of Our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

By his Excellency's command,

J. Glascow, Secretary. Sam Johnson."

This grant was based upon an entry and survey made in 1786, as follows:

"State of North Carolina,

Western District.

"By virtue of a warrant from the State Entry Taker, Number 382, dated the twenty-fourth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty four, I have surveyed for John Rice five thousand acres of land, lying on the Chickasaw Bluff; beginning about one mile below the mouth of Wolf River, at a white oak tree, marked J. R., running north twenty degrees east, two hundred and twenty-six poles; thence due north one hundred and thirty-three poles; thence north twenty-seven degrees west, three hundred and ten poles to a cottonwood tree; thence due east one thousand three hundred and seventy-seven and nine-tenths poles to a mulberry tree; thence south six hundred and twenty-five poles

to a stake; thence west one thousand three hundred and four and nine-tenths poles to the beginning.

"Surveyed December 1st, 1786.

Isaac Roberts, D. S.

John Scott,
Thomas Jamison, } S. C. C."

"Orange County, Register's Office,
August 14th, 1789.

"The within grant is registered in Book M, Folio 117.

By John Allison, P. R.

"State of Tennessee, Shelby County,
Register's Office, 14th May, 1820.

"The foregoing grant is duly registered in my office this 5th May, 1820. Thos. Taylor, R. S. C."

The John Ramsey grant, Number 19,060, for that part of the city lying south and adjoining the Rice grant for part of its length is as follows:

"The State of Tennessee:

"To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

"Know ye, that in consideration of Warrant No. 383, dated the 24th day of June, 1784, issued by John Armstrong, Entry Officer of Claims for the North Carolina Western lands, to John Ramsey, for five thousand acres, and entered on the 25th day of October, 1783, by Number 383, there is granted by the said State of Tennessee, unto the said John Ramsey and John Overton, assignee, etc., a certain tract or parcel of land, containing five thousand acres by survey, bearing date the first day of March, 1822, lying in Shelby County, eleventh district, ranges eight and nine, sections one and two, on the Mississippi River, of which to said Ramsey four thousand two hundred and eighty-five and five-seventh acres, and to said Overton seven hundred and fourteen and two-sevenths acres, and bounded as follows, to-wit: Beginning at a stake on the bank of said river—the southwest corner of John Rice's five thousand acre grant, as processioned by William Lawrence in the year 1820—running thence south eighty-five degrees east, with said Rice's south boundary line, as processioned aforesaid, one hundred and seventy-five chains to a poplar marked R; thence

south two hundred chains to an elm marked F. R.; thence west, at sixty-two chains, crossing a branch bearing south, at seventy chains crossing a branch bearing southeast, at one hundred and nineteen chains, crossing a branch bearing south, and at one hundred and sixty chains a branch bearing south —in all two hundred and seventy-three chains to a cottonwood marked F. R. on the banks of the Mississippi River; thence up the margin of said river, with its meanders, north seven degrees east eleven chains, etc., etc. (Here follows the magnetic bearings of the east bank of the Mississippi River), to the beginning; with the hereditaments and appurtenances appertaining.

"To have and to hold the said tract or parcel of land, with its appurtenances, to the said John Ramsey and John Overton and their heirs forever.

"In witness whereof, William Carroll, Governor of the State of Tennessee, has hereunto set his hand and caused the great seal of the State to be affixed, at Murfreesboro, on the 30th day of April, in the year of Our Lord, 1823, and of the Independence of the United States the forty-seventh. By the Governor. William Carroll.

Daniel Graham, Secretary.

"I, Alexander Kocsis, Register of the land office, for the District of Middle Tennessee, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of Grant No. 19,060, of the State of Tennessee, to John Ramsey and John Overton, as the same stands recorded in my office, in Book V, page 415. Given under my hand, at office, this 15th day of June, 1867. Alexander Kocsis, By A. Gattinger, Deputy. Register Land Office."

State of Tennessee, Shelby County."

"The foregoing instrument, with Clerk's certificate, was filed in my office for registration on the 6th day of March, 1872, at 10:40 o'clock a. m., and noted in Note Book No. 7, page 120, and was recorded on the 7th day of March, 1872.

John Brown, Register.

By J. C. Buster, Deputy Register."

The area covered by the territory south of the Rice grant and lying between Bellevue Boulevard, the east line of the Ramsey grant, Trezevant Avenue on the east and the present

city limits on the south, was made up of several small grants to the following people, to-wit: Anderson B. Carr, Thomas Hickman and Nicholas Long.

It will be observed that both the Rice and Ramsey grants were conveyances by the State of North Carolina of all the rights which it claimed or possessed under the old grant from the Crown of England, in 1762, of all territory west of its then western limits to the "South Seas," which were supposed to lie far to the west of the Mississippi River. But these lands, insofar as West Tennessee is concerned, were at that time the private property of an unconquered and unconquerable Indian race, the Chickasaws, which were then friendly towards the United States, and North Carolina had no legal right to grant away their territory, either to John Rice, John Ramsey or the United States of America, which she had actually done as we have before seen at about the same period of time. The United States, however recognized this valid title of her Indian friends, the Chickasaws, and appointed a commission to negotiate with the Indians for the sale of all their lands lying between the Tennessee, Mississippi and Ohio Rivers and north of the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude, which commission negotiated with the Chickasaw Indians at their treaty grounds two or three miles west of Tupelo, Mississippi, October 19, 1818, a sale and cession of all these lands to the United States for a consideration of $300,000, to be paid in fifteen annual installments of $20,000 each. Besides this gross sum the Indians, with cunning craft, insisted on and secured from the commissioners certain additional sums which, under their untutored process of reasoning, were due them, growing out of the following train of incidents, viz: Debt of Chief (General) William Colbert to Captain John Gordon, $1,115; debt due Captain David Smith for supplies furnished to himself and soldiers who had helped the Chickasaws in a war with the Creeks; due Oppassantubbee for a tract of land reserved for him under the treaty of 1816, $500; due Captain John Lewis for saddle lost in the service, $25; due Chief John Colbert for sum stolen from him in theatre in Baltimore, $1,089. There were also certain reservations to various members of the tribes and annuities

to the chiefs. They also overreached the commissions in trading about the last or 15th annuity of $20,000. Colbert begged for another "cent" when the fourteenth annuity had been agreed upon which Jackson, much puzzled, granted. The Indians then claimed that that agreement meant another $20,000 annuity. Governor Shelby became angry and refused and the treaty came near failing. But Jackson, by giving his personal bond for the $20,000, if Congress failed to provide for it, appeased the angry governor and the treaty was signed.

The commissioners on the part of the United States were General Andrew Jackson, later one of the proprietors and founders of Memphis, and later still President of the United States, and Governor Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, one of the heroes of the decisive Battle of King's Mountain, North Carolina, the turning point in the American Revolution. Having previously, in 1796, admitted the State of Tennessee to the American Union and designated its western boundary as the Mississippi River, and its limits as embodying all the lands thus purchased from the Chickasaws, the United States made no claim of proprietorship in these lands except in a national sense, and left Tennessee to deal with the question of original title as between itself and the early settlers. Tennessee never questioned the grants of North Carolina to Rice, Ramsey, Hickman, Carr, Long and numerous others in the ceded territory made before the Indian titles were extinguished and the land ceded to the United States by the Chickasaws and those five first named grants to John Rice, John Ramsey, Thomas Hickman, A. B. Carr and N. Long, are today and have always been recognized as the original and legal muniments of title to all lands on which Memphis is now situated, the title of the Chickasaws merging in the title derived from the State of North Carolina.*

John Rice, the grantee of the first grant above named, never lived to realize the value of the splendid domain which

*The State of North Carolina, however, in her deed of cession of the territory now covered by the State of Tennessee, to the United States, reserved to her grantees the title to all lands theretofore granted by her to sundry individuals in the ceded territory. This deed of cession was made in December, 1789.

Andrew Jackson

he had obtained from the State of North Carolina. He migrated from North Carolina to Nashville soon after obtaining his grant of this and other large bodies of land in Middle and West Tennessee and later engaged in large commercial enterprises, according to the standards of that day, and was killed by the Indians in 1791 while transporting his goods up the Cumberland River, at a point about where the city of Clarksville now stands. He had left a will devising to his brother, Elisha Rice, his grant of five thousand acres on the Chickasaw Bluff, and this grant was in 1794 conveyed by Elisha Rice to Judge Overton for a consideration of $500.00, though his brother John had originally paid to the State of North Carolina ten pounds for every one hundred acres of the grant, a sum amounting in all to five hundred pounds sterling or about twenty-five hundred dollars. Judge Overton made certain his title by also obtaining conveyances from the other three surviving brothers of John Rice, who were the remaining heirs of his estate. The day following the purchase of this land Judge Overton conveyed an undivided one-half interest in the Rice grant to his warm friend and almost lifelong companion, General Andrew Jackson.

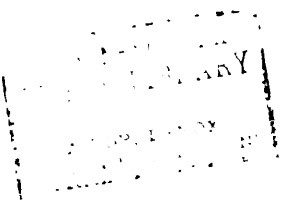
John Rice with great sagacity had located his grant so as to embrace the mouth of Wolf River and the then only available landing on the Mississippi River, although the lands were rough and broken to a considerable extent at and near the Mississippi River front on that part of the lower Chickasaw Bluffs, although he might, if he had chosen, have entered the lands embraced in the Ramsey grant next adjoining him a little lower down and obtained much smoother and more elevated property. But as he foresaw the development at that early period must begin where the landing facilities were greatest and this actually followed, as every student of the history of Memphis now knows.

Immediately upon the extinguishment of the Chickasaw title to West Tennessee lands in 1818, immigration began to flow towards the Mississippi River, the hardy pioneers by hundreds seeking homes in that nature favored territory. Among the first to come was Judge John Overton and soon after,

General Jackson. The latter had disposed of portions of his half interest, William Winchester obtaining one-fourth and General James Winchester one-half, a half of which he held in trust for the heirs of a deceased brother, and General Jackson retained one-fourth. Judge Overton and his colleagues, General Winchester and General Jackson, immediately became very active and proceeded to lay off a town on the river front section of the Rice grant as soon as the correct lines of the grant could be ascertained. There was some difficulty in determining the actual bounds of this land which was described as beginning "about one mile below the mouth of Wolf River at a white oak tree marked J. R.," but after numerous measurements and surveys, by reason of the fact that the mouth of Wolf River was a shifting point from time to time, owing to the alternate encroachments and recession of the low water line of the Mississippi River in the alluvial lands under the upper end of the Chickasaw Bluffs, it was finally determined about May, 1819, to locate the town first from Auction Street on the north to the present north line of Union Avenue on the south and from Front Street on the west to the alley east of Second Street on the east. This plan of the new town was wrought into shape by William Lawrence, the surveyor, and a map prepared of the town, subsequently to the first draft of which an extension was made of the territory from Auction Street northward to Bayou Gayoso, which new territory was likewise divided into lots and streets. A copy of this map is here published, showing the exact location and plan of the town of Memphis and its extension, and showing its streets, alleys, squares and blocks, its splendid system of parks or public squares and grand promenade on the river front and the then relative positions of the mouth of Wolf River, the course and curves of Bayou Gayoso near its mouth, and the outline of the bluff, which then overhung the water-line of the river from a point near the foot of Jackson Street southward.

The partition of the lands which the proprietors of Memphis then held as tenants in common, which took place in 1829, and the ratification of the dedication to public use forever of

F MEMPHIS IN 1827.



the squares and promenade will be treated further along in this narrative.

Colonel James Brown, an early locater and surveyor of lands in the western district of Tennessee, thus tells of some of the important events which immediately followed the laying out of the town of Memphis in the early part of the year 1819. He says:

"Judge John Overton, of Nashville, Tennessee, one of the proprietors of the new town of Memphis, was here with his plan of the upper part of Memphis, (now Pinch), and on several days had offered some of his lots for sale; very few were sold and they for small prices, I rather think from thirty and forty dollars to one hundred dollars would cover the range of prices. I was well acquainted with the Judge (grandfather to our present State Senator), and well recollect his estimate of the ultimate value of the location as a town, saying that it would some day be the greatest city in the United States, and rival the ancient city of Memphis on the River Nile, for which it was named.

"Judge Overton did not seem to be discouraged at the low prices and short sales, and only offered the lots for sale to afford all who might be disposed to invest, an opportunity to do so. He said that he knew it took many people to make a large town and the country contiguous must be settled before it could grow much.

"He was quite liberal in donating lots to nearly all of the old settlers. To T. D. Carr he gave two lots whereon to build a tavern for the accommodation of the persons attending the land office. It consisted of six or eight one-story round-pole cabins, very low, and floored with old boat plank, the cracks daubed with clay, after the manner of Indian huts. To A. B. Carr he gave one lot for the location of a horse-mill and one lot out on Bayou Gayoso for a tan-yard site."

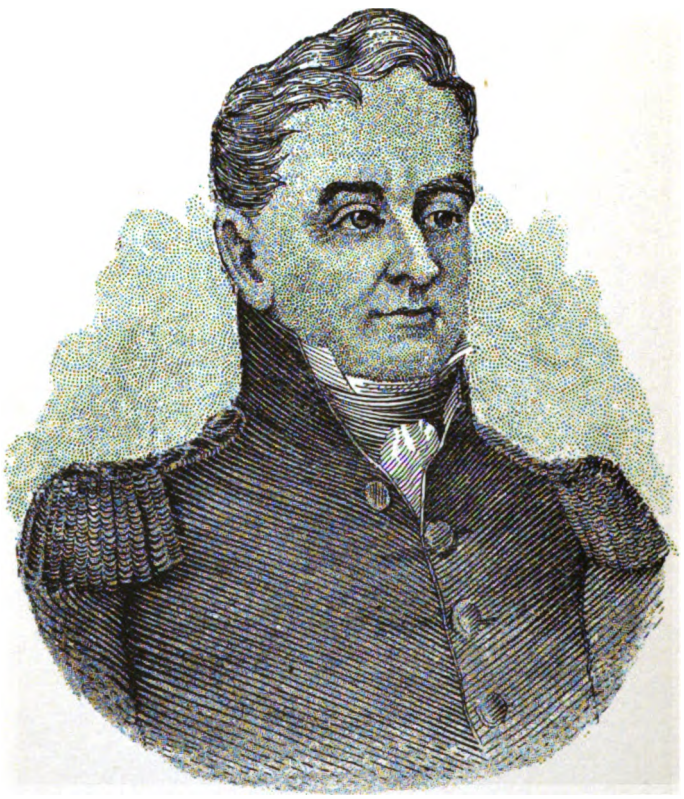
To this excerpt taken from the June number, 1875, of The Old Folks Record, a historical mazagine then published in Memphis, will be added other quotations from the same narrative and reminiscences of Memphis and West Tennessee, by Colonel James Brown, the pioneer surveyor of this locality,

which describes with extreme vividness the condition of affairs existing at the lower Chickasaw Bluffs during the year 1819, in May of which year the original town of Memphis was first laid off, as before stated.

Colonel Brown says, in his extremely interesting narrative:

"On the 19th of October, 1818, Isaac Shelby and Andrew Jackson, as commissioners on the part of the United States, made a treaty with the Chickasaw Indians for all that part of their territory north of the southern line of the State of Tennessee, beginning on the 35th parallel of north latitude, where the same crosses the Tennessee River; thence west with said line to where the same strikes the Mississippi River at or near the Chickasaw Bluffs; thence up the Mississippi River to the mouth of the Ohio; thence up the Ohio to the mouth of the Tennessee River; thence up the Tennessee to the beginning. This treaty was forwarded to Washington City for the consideration of the Executive of the United States, and was approved by the President, James Monroe, and proclaimed as such on the 7th of January, 1819. At this time I was associated with my uncle, Joseph B. Porter, and his son, J. T. Porter, for the purpose of locating land warrants and establishing North Carolina grants surveyed some thirty years previous. As soon as the news reached us, (then residing in Maury County, Tennessee), we set out for the newly acquired territory.

"The southern boundary of Tennessee not having been as yet extended any further west than the Tennessee River, we began at that point, it being the northwest corner of the State of Alabama previously established and the lands in Alabama had been in market. Here we ascertained the variation of the dividing line between Tennessee and Alabama, as accurately as we could, and extended the same westwardly to the Mississippi River, striking nearly opposite the lower end of President's Island, about four miles south of old Fort Pickering, arriving there, part of us on the sixth and part on the seventh of March, 1819. This line was run for our own information and not as an established line, but some time in the summer following the official line was run by General James



Winchester as commissioner of the United States, with whom James Blakemore, I believe, was the surveyor.

"At this time there were but three white men residing in this part of the purchase, Thomas D. Carr, A. B. Carr and a hired man named Overton, excepting those who were connected with the Indians, Tom Fletcher (who was raised in the Nation), Pat Meagher and his family, Joab Bean, a blacksmith and resident gunsmith, to repair the guns for the Indian hunters. No roads led to or from the Chickasaw Bluffs, as it was then called; only an Indian path or trail, called the Cherokee trace, leading from Tuscumbia, over which the Cherokees emigrated west of the Mississippi River a few years previous by the use of pack-horses entirely; also an Indian trail leading out southeastwardly to the Indian towns on what is now called the Pontotoc Ridge and formerly the Chickasaw agency.

"This entire country and part of North Mississippi was never occupied by the Indians as residents, but only as hunting grounds. The town of Memphis was laid out about the month of May, 1819.

"In Book A, of the Records of Shelby County, page 133, Andrew Jackson, John Overton and James Winchester conveyed to trustees the five thousand acre tract originally entered in the name of John Rice, including the mouth of Wolf River, on a part of which they designed to lay off a town, south of Wolf River and within one mile of the Mississippi River. In the same book, page 201, is recorded a deed from Memphis proprietors to B. Fooy for Lot Number 53, in accordance with title bond dated the 22nd of May, 1819, for lot Number 53, in the town called Memphis.

"From the records referred to, it is evident that the town of Memphis was established, surveyed and named about May, 1819, and as shown in the last number of your record, the county was organized first of May, 1820; at which time I doubt whether there was twenty actual settlers in the county, or within any other settlement within seventy-five miles. I did not know of any nearer than the middle fork of the Forked Deer River, some ten miles northeast of where Jackson is now,

there was one or two settlers that raised corn during that year, 1819. The Messrs. Carrs had arrived at this place but two or three weeks previous to our arrival. They were traveling in a small boat from Virginia to Louisiana and on the way heard that the Chickasaws were negotiating for the sale of their country. They stopped here to settle, if it was true, and our arrival gave them the first reliable intelligence of that fact, which was soon affirmed by the arrival of other parties on the same business that we were. Among them that I now recollect was Gideon Pillow, (father of our General G. J. Pillow), William Bradshaw, J. C. McLemore, James Vaulx, R. Hightower and sons.

"At this time, March, 1819, the Mississippi River current set very strong into the then mouth of Wolf, which was some one hundred yards north and about the same distance west from the northern termination of the high ground, with a narrow bench of low bottom extending down the river some 150 to 200 yards to where the current struck the bluff. The bank all along there was giving way rapidly and soon all disappeared to the bluff but in a short period the current slackened about the mouth of Wolf and struck the bluff lower down and a sandbar formed along the upper part of the bluff and mouth of Wolf, and in the course of fifteen to twenty years formed the bar now called the Batture and Navy Yard, and thereby throwing the mouth of Wolf over a quarter of a mile into what fifty years ago was the main channel of the Mississippi River. The landing at the mouth of Wolf was very difficult for flatboats, owing to the strong current but the landing at, or a little above Fort Pickering was very good, having a gentle, smooth current passing along the bank without caving.

"The descent from the top of the bluff was down a gentle sloping hollow. The old fort, or rather blockhouse, was still standing. The road from Fort Pickering to the mouth of Wolf was a narrow path along the top of the bluff, through a dense forest of timber and cane, some places very thick and others thin cane; in one place, perhaps half way between the points, there had been a recent slide or caving in of the bluff,

taking off the road for some hundred yards or more, and perhaps two or three acres of land."

And thus it was that twenty-nine years after North Carolina ceded her claim to the United States and Tennessee was made a territory, and twenty-three years after she was admitted to the Union as the State of Tennessee, Memphis was laid out.

Several names had been suggested for the new town: "Jackson," for General Andrew Jackson, one of her founders; "Chickasaw," which was thought by some to be the most appropriate name for this site and "Memphis," on account of her situation on the river being so similar to that of old Memphis in Egypt, on the Nile. The last was chosen by "Old Hickory" himself, it is said, who claimed for the new town such future greatness as the past greatness of the other Memphis. This controversy over names took place in 1819, when the city was laid out, but Memphis was not finally decided upon until May, 1819, the meaning of the name pleasing the founders and really gaining the choice more than the signification of her situation. This meaning, variously interpreted, is "The Good Place," "Good Abode," or "The Abode of the Good One."

It seems that the first joint conception of a town on the lower Chickasaw bluffs took place in January of the year 1819 and was embodied in the instrument referred to by Colonel James Brown, in the excerpt quoted above, as recorded in Book A, page 133 of our Shelby County records. The clause in question is as follows: "Andrew Jackson, John Overton and James Winchester agreed on the sixth of January, 1819, the same being filed for record on January 1, 1823, probate being in person by Jackson in open circuit court, Davidson County, Tennessee and by Overton and Winchester in open circuit court Williamson County, Tennessee, relative to laying out a town on that part of premises described in Number 1 herein, lying south of Wolf River and within one mile of the Mississippi River, provided, that in case of the death of one or two of the parties hereto, the survivors shall have full power to lay off and dispose of lots in said town, and that no

future transfer of interest in said plan shall affect the terms in this agreement which is to remain in force for ten years."

Just at the time that the town of Memphis was laid off and received its name, ignoring the wretched group of aboriginal huts and Indian traders who swapped blankets, beads and tobacco and whiskey for pelts with the Chickasaw Indian hunters at the old landing by the mouth of Wolf River, the Legislature thought it wise and progressive to establish a county extending eastward from the Chickasaw Bluff so that the state would not be hampered in its administration of the new and promising territory. It is not so historically stated but there is little question that the far-seeing mind of Judge John Overton of Nashville, suggested this legislation. On November 24, 1819, the General Assembly of Tennessee passed an act establishing a new county on the Mississippi River, to be called Shelby County in honor of the great Kentucky governor and Revolutionary soldier, Isaac Shelby who, together with General Andrew Jackson, and on the 19th of October of the preceding year negotiated with the Indians the purchase by the United States of what is now West Tennessee and Western Kentucky.

And so, just one year after the plans of the future city were drawn and the lots staked off on the bluff, Honorable Jacob Tipton, as commissioner of the State of Tennessee, appeared May 1, 1820 at the site of the new town, produced his commission and caused proclamation to be made for the organization of a court of pleas and quarter sessions for the County of Shelby and then proceeded to the qualification of Anderson B. Carr, Marcus B. Winchester, William Irvine, Thomas D. Carter and Benjamin Willis as justices of the peace, administered the oath of office to them as such justices, and then made proclamation of the opening of the court. The above named gentlemen, together with Jacob Tipton, ex-officio member, at once elected William Irvine as chairman, John Read, clerk *pro tem* and Major Thomas Taylor, sheriff.

These gentlemen having qualified and entered upon their duties on the same day, the County of Shelby was born. The court at once proceded to business, the first item being to authenticate a deed of conveyance from William Thompson to

Anderson B. Carr. The next day the court proceeded to the appointment of permanent officers for the county and qualified William Lawrence as clerk; Samuel R. Brown, sheriff; Thomas Taylor, register; Alex. Ferguson, ranger; William A. Davis, trustee; Gideon Carr, coroner; William Bettis and William Dean, constables; and John P. Perkins, solicitor.

A few other items of their legislative work will be referred to. On the 3rd of May, John Montgomery and John P. Perkins were admitted to practice in the court, and were thus the first recognized lawyers in West Tennessee. Joseph James was the first man licensed to keep an ordinary or house of entertainment in the country and William Irvine was authorized to keep a public ferry at the river landing, known as Irvine's, being forced to give bonds for keeping the river banks in proper order and providing suitable boats, and thus Mr. Irvine was likewise the first wharf-master. The rates of board and lodging at the public houses for man and beast was fixed by law, by the order of the court, and the tax-levy for the year 1820 was laid as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| On each 100 acres of land | $ .18¾ |
| On each town lot | .37½ |
| On each white poll | .12½ |
| On each black poll | .25 |
| On each wholesale and retail store, peddler and hawker | 5.00 |

This levy was made August 3, 1820 and on the same day the court tried its first prisoner under indictment, Patrick Meagher, for retailing spirits, who pleaded guilty and was fined one dollar and costs.

The court then turned its attention to the question of a courthouse for holding its august sessions and ordered that T. D. Carr, Esquire, be authorized and empowered to contract with some workman "to build and erect a temporary log courthouse, jury-room and jail on Market Square in the town of Memphis, and hereby appropriate one hundred and seventy-five dollars for erecting and building the same."

As compared with our modern million and a half dollar courthouse, this structure was indeed primitive, but the laws seem to have been enforced inside those log walls with a

vigor and determination that forms a model for all time to come.

Mr. James D. Davis, in his Old Times Sketches, says that the first court was held at a log house on the north side of Winchester Street in the rear of the brick building which now stands at the northeast corner of Main and Winchester Streets, but it being questioned as to whether a court should be held elsewhere than in Court Square, the $175.00 building was built in that square, where it remained for many years and was used for a long time as a school-house. But the records of the court show that on February 5, 1821, the court met at the house of William Lawrence and that on May 7, 1821, the court met in the courthouse in the town of Memphis; also that on May 9, the order for building the courthouse, jury-room and jail was rescinded and $125.00 was appropriated for building a jail. Where the courthouse was first actually erected, the record does not show, but the court did provide on November 7, 1821, the prison bounds as "beginning and running so as to include the public square on which the courthouse now stands."

On May 1, 1820, the first authorized marriage in Memphis was celebrated, the contracting parties Overton W. Carr and Mary Hill, the marriage rites being performed by Jacob Tipton, Justice of the Peace.

The Chickasaw Bluffs were now occupied by a town in name at least, which was also the county seat of the County of Shelby, and all they seemed to lack was a sufficient population to make good their claims. In 1825 the town of Memphis is alleged to have shown a census return of 308, but this included of course, both the Indian and Negro population, the former being more or less transient and occupying the bluffs from time to time on trading expeditions, in which they camped in the usual style in the vicinity of the landing near the mouth of Wolf River. There were some Indian residents and some of these had sold their huts or shacks to enterprising immigrants, who did not otherwise possess the means of building themselves homes. This species of squatter sovereignty, though the titles of the purchases were undoubtedly legal, caused some trouble between the proprietors of Memphis and

Wm. Overton

the holders of these lots or patches of ground, as they occupied in many instances more or less of the city lots, as designated on the new map of Memphis.

It will be remembered that John Rice received his grant and sold his tract to Judge John Overton while the lands on the Chickasaw Bluffs were still held by the aboriginal inhabitants who had up to that time never parted with their titles and when, in 1818, these Indians ceded their territory in West Tennessee to the United States Government the grantee of course obtained the only actual and legal title to the land. The United States made no grants or conveyances of these lands and the Indian residents, who had not abandoned their lands under this cession to the United States, but retained and occupied their tenures, beyond question had a better title to the ground than did John Rice, whose grant was from the State of North Carolina, before the Indians had parted with their titles, not to North Carolina, but to the United States, and neither John Rice nor his grantees had ever got possession of the ground so occupied by the Indians. But the matter was ultimately settled by the conveyance of certain of the town lots by the proprietors to the claimants.

# CHAPTER IV

Incorporation of Memphis. Resentment of the Inhabitants. Sketch of First Charter. First Board of Mayor and Aldermen. Limits of the Corporation Fixed. Outline of First Tax-Levy. Second Board of Aldermen. Memphis Made a City. Isaac Rawlings Mayor. City Divided into Wards. Fire Department Established. Citizens Oust the Gamblers. Young Memphis a Free Soil Town. Removal of the Indians to the West. Rivalry Between Memphis and Randolph. Mississippi Claims Site of Memphis. Tax Assessment of 1840. War With the Flatboatmen. Memphis Gets the Great Navy Yard. The City Limits Extended. "South Memphis" and "Pinch." Incorporation of South Memphis. The First Telegraph Line. Troubles Over Slavery. The Wolf River Canal Project. The First Bond Issue. The Charters of 1848 and 1849.

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THE Legislature of Tennessee passed an Act December 9, 1826, incorporating the town of Memphis. As only a few of the inhabitants,—chiefly the younger and more progressive men,—had been consulted with regard to this incorporation as a town, the new charter came as a surprise to most of the people. In consequence it met with considerable resentment from some of the unconsulted and offended members of the small community. Among these indignant men was Isaac Rawlings, one of the most influential men of the locality, but one of the old-time sort, ever suspicious of innovations of any kind that might disturb the ease of people prone to remain in a rut. But often excellent people remain in narrow pathways because there is no incentive to turn them aside, but when persuaded to leave the old trail, they find new and better ways and learn that they can add to their own comfort and profit by branching out, as well as to their

usefulness to others. So it later proved with this worthy old pioneer, Mr. Isaac Rawlings.

A public meeting was called and speeches were made for and against the new corporation. Isaac Rawlings was made chairman of this meeting and he made a speech against the new act, denouncing it as "a trick of the proprietors." He held that the small community could not support a city government; that it must grow in population and wealth before such an act should be considered. He said that it would be an advantage only to the proprietors and well-to-do class, while the poor on the outskirts of the proposed town would suffer hardships thereby. Speakers on the other side put forward the advantages of a corporation and offered to leave out the poor "on the outskirts" to satisfy Mr. Rawlings and his partisans.

One of the strongest supporters of the new charter was Marcus B. Winchester, a young man of education, refinement and progressive spirit. His energetic methods of doing business and pushing affairs had disturbed Rawlings and his followers from the advent of that young gentleman to the "Bluff," but as time progressed and the city enlarged, becoming more and more important and flourishing under the new charter, Mr. Rawlings saw the benefits and was big enough to acknowledge it, though he harbored a feeling of resentment and jealousy toward Marcus Winchester for a long time.

O. F. Vedder gives the substance of the first charter of Memphis, as follows:

Section 1, incorporated the town and conferred upon it its name, but fixed no boundaries. Section 2, gave the town authorities power to pass all kinds of needful legislation for the government of and preservation of the health of the town. Section 3, required the sheriff of the county to hold an election on the first Saturday of March, 1827, and on the same day in every subsequent year, for members of the board of aldermen, at which election any person holding a freehold in the town, who was entitled to vote for members of the general assembly should be qualified to vote for mayor and aldermen. Section 4, read: "That the seven persons having the highest number

of votes at any election shall be taken to be elected, and the sheriff of said county shall within two days thereafter, and a majority being present, proceed to elect a mayor from their own body for said corporation for the time the aldermen were elected."

On account of the delay of the charter the election of 1827 did not take place until April 26, instead of the first of March as specified in the charter. This election was held at the old courthouse and the first board of aldermen elected for the city of Memphis were: M. B. Winchester, Joseph L. Davis, John Hooke, N. B. Atwood, George F. Graham, John R. Dougherty and William D. Neely. This board held its first meeting May 9, 1827 and they elected for the first mayor of the infant city, Marcus B. Winchester, who had been so largely instrumental in having it made a town. His administration confirmed all that his former conduct toward the little town had bespoke, that he was one of her best friends and most earnest workers.

At this first meeting of the board the certificate of election was presented, signed by Nathan Anderson, Isaac Rawlings, A. Rapel and S. F. Brown, sheriff.

The first resolution passed was to the effect that it was important to the interest of Memphis that ordinances be adopted for the government of the town. An election was announced for May 12, when the treasurer, recorder and town constable should be elected. At the appointed time the election took place, when Isaac Rawlings was elected treasurer, Jacob L. Davis, recorder, and John J. Balch, constable.

Another meeting of the board was held May 30, at which time the question came up of the legality of their organization. The charter had set the first Saturday in March for the election and it had not taken place until April the 26th. The matter was exhaustively discussed and finally dismissed, with these reasons or pleas: "That the charter did not reach Memphis until after the first Saturday of March; that it was evidently the intention of the Legislature that the corporation should be organized during the current year; that the judges held the election legal, and the sheriff had so certified; hence, it was declared proper on the part of the board that they consider

themselves a legal body, and proceed to pass the ordinances needed by the new town."*

There is no record nor tradition that this action of the board was ever disputed.

The first ordinance passed was for the classification of property into taxable and non-taxable possessions. Those liable to taxation were classed thus: "All town lots; all free males between the ages of twenty-one and fifty; all slaves between the ages of twelve and fifty, wholesale and retail stores, including medicine stores, peddlers and hawkers; members of the learned professions, who practice the same for profit; tavern keepers; retailers of spirits; stud horses and jacks. Taxes were levied in the following proportions: Improved lots with buildings, ten cents on the one hundred dollars; unimproved lots ten cents; each free male inhabitant, twenty-five cents; each slave twenty-five cents; each wholesale and retail store, eight dollars; each trading boat, peddler or hawker, ten dollars; each lawyer or doctor practicing for profit, two dollars; each tavern keeper, three dollars; each retailer of spirits, without tavern license, ten dollars."†

An ordinance fixed the corporation limits as follows:

"Beginning at the intersection of Wolf River with the Mississippi River; thence with Wolf River to the mouth of Bayou Gayoso; thence with said bayou to the county bridge; thence with the line of the second alley east of and parallel with Second Street to Union Street; thence, at right angle to Second Street, to the western boundary of the tract of land granted to John Rice by the grant number 283, dated April 25, 1789; thence with the said western boundary up the Mississippi River to the Wolf River."‡

At this meeting of the board a public printer was chosen and bonds were required of the recorder to the amount of $500, and the treasurer was to give bond for double the sum likely to come into his hands during the current year. All ordinances passed at this meeting were signed by all the members of the board, including the mayor.

*Vedder. †Vedder. ‡Vedder.

The two first years of her existence Memphis had a population of 53, which increased rapidly until, by 1827, the year she received her first charter, there were estimated to be more than 500 inhabitants.

The first board of mayor and aldermen of this little western town started to work under difficulties, with little money and many needs, as Memphis, like other infants, needed much expenditure to bring her to useful maturity. As the town grew the authorities appropriated what they could for public benefits and at a meeting held in October they gave eighty dollars for improving Chickasaw Street and one hundred and twenty dollars for building a wharf at the lowest steamboat landing.

When the second election was held in the city the aldermen elected were M. B. Winchester, Samuel Douglass, William A. Hardy, John D. Graham, Augustus L. Humphrey, Joseph L. Davis and Robert Fearn. They again chose Marcus B. Winchester for mayor. During this year the office of town surveyor was created and provision made for a superintendent of graveyards.

When Memphis had enjoyed two years of corporate government it was conceded to be successful and improvements were manifest. In the second corporate year the charter was amended, giving Memphis all the powers of the older city, Nashville, thus constituting it a city. The charter of this year also provided that the mayor should not hold office under the United States Government, and on March 4, 1829, when another municipal election took place, Winchester could not be elected mayor, as he was postmaster. The mayor elected for this year was Isaac Rawlings, he by this time being one of the staunchest supporters of the corporation that he had so vehemently fought two years before. His service was so satisfactory that in 1830, he was again elected by his fellow aldermen as mayor. During this administration a town hall was erected on the southeast corner of Market Square and was a great pride to the little city on the Mississippi.

In August of this year Memphis was divided into three wards: "Ward No. 1 comprising all that part of Memphis

northeast of a direct line from the Mississippi River to Overton Street; thence with said street to the Bayou Gayoso. Ward No. 2, all that part of the aforementioned line to Overton Street, to Bayou Gayoso and northeast of a direct line from the Mississippi to Winchester Street, and thence with Winchester Street to the eastern boundary of the town. Ward No. 3, all that part of Memphis south of the last mentioned line."

The next year Seth Wheatley was elected mayor and the year following, 1832, Robert Lawrence. The succeeding election brought Isaac Rawlings back to the head of the aldermen's table as mayor, which seat of honor he held for three consecutive terms.

Improvement of streets, paying bills and assessing taxes chiefly occupied the august city board during this administration, but one other important accomplishment was the organization and equipment of the city's first fire-engine company, a vital addition to the town's safety but, as was common with fire companies in those days, this organization became a political power, largely influencing the control of municipal elections.

Early court proceedings and justice in the young city were often crude, as the citizens and people to handle affairs were themselves often so. For instance, once in the early twenties a jury was trying a man for his life. Six were for acquittal and six for conviction. Finding that they could not come to an agreement it was proposed that a game of "seven-up" decide the question. The game proved a close and exciting one and ended for acquittal. Such was justice with men accustomed to gambling. As men's lives trend, so their viewpoints are formed.

Gambling was prevalent all along the Mississippi River in those days and continued to be so for a number of years. The gamblers multiplied and became such a power for evil that towns began driving them out forcibly unless they would agree to leave peaceably. In 1835 many of them had gathered in Vicksburg, Mississippi, where they became such a menace that they were ordered by the town authorities to leave, and those who refused to do so were hung. That drove the survivors from the Mississippi town and they were also ordered

to leave other places, after which Memphis became overrun with them. Human birds of prey are as great a menace to a community as are eagles and hawks to unoffending domestic fowls, and the respectable citizens of Memphis felt outraged that this class of society should prey upon the decency and good government of the city. Efforts were made to oust them to no avail until there was finally a public meeting of reputable men, after which the gamblers were ordered to leave or expect the treatment received by some of their fellows in Vicksburg. That threat, which bade fair to be carried into effect, had the desired result and for a while Memphis was freed from that element.

In 1834 candidates for the state constitutional convention in Memphis were all abolitionists and the man elected, Adam Alexander, was strong in announcing his views against slavery, but he was opposed to emancipation until a scheme of practical colonization had been determined upon. The fact that he was elected proves that his was the sentiment most prevalent in the community at that time. Another proof of the feeling in favor of emancipation in that period is that "many petitions were sent to the convention from a number of counties, praying that some system of gradual emancipation be agreed upon."

But acts of extremists did much to reverse the prevalent feeling and to embitter the white people in the South. One of these was the uprising of Nat Turner in 1831 in Virginia, and was really the beginning of intensified feelings of hatred between the two races and between the North and South. The slavery code became more rigidly enforced in Southern States, as a means of protection to the whites, although many influential Southern people continued to plead for emancipation, declaring slavery to be a drawback to any country, harmful both to whites and blacks. Most people favored Jefferson's plan of gradual emancipation in order that the negro should thereby be fitted for life in a civilized country, where customs were so different from those of the savagery they had left in the jungles of Africa.

One resolution adopted in a Southern meeting for emancipation, read:

"Resolved, *That slavery is morally, politically and economically wrong,* and that its abolition by the approaching convention will be proper, expedient and practical." But this sentiment for justice gave way to feelings of resentment and revenge as fanatics in the North and South tried to stir up negro insurrections, and it became common for such agitators to be whipped and driven from the South. But not in the South alone did this treatment endure. It is well known how Garrison, for his extreme abolitionism and scathing sentences, was dragged through the streets of Boston and all but killed. For like offences MacIntosh was burned to death in St. Louis and Lovejoy murdered by a mob in Illinois. In Connecticut, Prudence Crandall was imprisoned for teaching colored children to read, while at that time Frances Wright had the permission of Shelby County and the help of Memphis people to do the same thing as extensively as she chose, in her colony at Germantown, Tennessee. Miss Crandall was afterwards mobbed and ordered to leave the State of Connecticut and was in danger of her life.

It was an outcome of this bitterness of feeling being brought to bear that caused Tennessee about this time to take away from free negroes the privilege of the ballot, in opposition to Section 8, of the Bill of Rights, "that no free man shall be disseized of his freehold, liberties or privileges, or outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed or deprived of his life, liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land."

The question of race supremacy seems to have been a strong one in United States History, and many dissensions arose in those days of the first half of the Nineteenth Century concerning dealings between the whites and negroes and between the whites and Indians. The Indians were driven back, back, as white men advanced and became numerous and in 1835 the Chickasaws, who had held the bluffs on the Mississippi River many generations before white men knew these heights at all, were removed from their Mississippi reservation farther

west, to what was called the Indian Territory. This action of the Government was strongly opposed by many white people and stands "as one instance of the white man's perfidy and oppression."*

The population of Memphis by this time had increased to 1,239.

In the early thirties a strong rivalry sprang up between Memphis and Randolph, a town forty-two miles northeast of Memphis, situated much like the latter on a high bluff on the Mississippi River. This was the second formidable rival of Memphis, the first being Raleigh Springs in the same county and eleven miles northeast of the Bluff City.

In 1827 the county-seat had been changed from Memphis to Raleigh, which had made the latter a rival to be feared. Many people moved from Memphis to the new county seat, but its situation for business was not so good as that of Memphis, and this in time told in favor of Memphis, as she grew again while Raleigh dwindled, business being a greater force in the building of a city than capitalship.

But Randolph, equal in situation—and some said better—became formidable indeed, and for years Memphis suffered greatly from the preference of traders for Randolph, many ignoring her entirely for the landing higher up the river. Randolph continued to grow and flourish until the great financial calamity of 1837. That crash, brought about by "wild-cat" banking, carried disaster all over the country. That year's sufferings, brought on by speculators trying to carry on banking without convertible security, is a matter of history and many business houses and individuals were financially ruined.

At the time of this disaster, Randolph was a rapidly growing little city, having twenty-two business houses, all of which were doing well, the town being at that time the real business center of this section of the country. But this crash so affected her business interests that a decline commenced from which she never recovered. By degrees her trade came to Memphis

*Keating.

and her misfortune became the latter's good fortune. This disaster, carrying failure and ruin in all directions, really started the flow of business to Memphis. From that time the substantial commerce of our city really began and she made such rapid strides that soon Randolph ceased to be a competitor at all.

Young Memphis also had three rivals on the Arkansas side of the river—Mound City, which flourished for a while; Hopefield, really giving for a time the hope that its name implied but ending in hope; and Pedraza, formerly Foy's Point, which had in still earlier days been an important landing and trading center. Still another rival had birth in Mississippi, founded by Mississippi planters, who objected to paying fifty cents a bale for storing, handling and insuring cotton in Memphis, but "Commerce," as the Mississippi town was named, was not a success and Memphis continued to handle, store and insure Mississippi cotton.

Sectional jealousies did much to retard progress in the early history of Memphis. Jealousy was displayed between some of the leading citizens; it was much in evidence between sections of the city; rival towns sprang up and even the State was charged with slighting the western city. In January, 1830, $150,000 of unappropriated funds from the sale of Hiawassee lands was placed at the disposal of the state. Of this amount $60,000 was appropriated to Middle Tennessee, the same to East Tennessee and for West Tennessee only $30,000.

West Tennessee chafed at such slights and while Seth Wheatley was mayor of Memphis—1831-1832—the city expressed much dissatisfaction at her standing in the state. The discontent took on such proportions that discussions of the advantage of forming a new state arose. This new state was to include West Tennessee, all of Kentucky that was bounded by the Ohio, Tennessee and Mississippi Rivers, and that part of Mississippi known as The Indian Reserve. The names suggested for this new state were the same as had been discussed for naming the infant Memphis in 1819—Jackson, Chickasaw and Memphis—the last leading in popularity.

General Andrew Jackson favored the idea of this new state, but the discussion was dropped and no action ever taken.

During this same administration Tennessee, Mississippi and the Chickasaw Indians had a wrangle about the ownership of Memphis. Tennessee claimed that the town was within her territory, Mississippi that it was within hers and the Indians that it was on part of their reservation. A new survey was made which left the city four and a half miles further north of the boundary line between Tennessee and Mississippi. This put the city wholly in Tennessee and entirely out of the Indian Reserve.

Although many rough characters came to Memphis in her youth, as is usual with new settlements, she was fortunate in having some most excellent leaders. Among these was a quartette of men, entirely different as individuals and sometimes antagonistic, but always one on the subject of Memphis and her advancement, namely, Andrew Jackson, the rugged hero of that time, nicknamed "Old Hickory;" Isaac Rawlings, sometimes narrow but ever stanch and honest; Marcus B. Winchester, an unselfish citizen and a finished gentleman; and Judge John Overton, the scholarly lawyer and shrewd man of business. These were four friends of which any town might boast, and much of the city's importance was built upon the foundation laid by these men. Judge Overton was a close friend of Jackson's and often helped the less learned old hero with papers and other things that required the scholar more than the soldier and pioneer. And as the Judge was a close and unselfish friend to the other man, so was he as unselfish and true to the young city whose fortunes he had undertaken to share and to uplift.

Up to 1840 the growth of Memphis was very slow but the decade beginning with that year was a healthful one for the struggling city. Property had increased a great deal in value and the mayor, Thomas Dixon, and aldermen had more money at their disposal for civic improvements. The census showed a population of 1,799.

O. F. Vedder gives the tax list of 1840, as follows: "Four hundred and ninety-nine town lots, value $552,425, taxes

$4,143.18; two hundred twenty-one slaves, value $107,500, taxes $268.75; three hundred twenty-four white polls, $324.00; six carriages, $24.00."

By 1841 the duties of the mayor had so increased with the growth of the city that the sentiment of the people was taken in regard to making the office one with monetary reward, the mayor previous to that time having given his services to the city. The vote was in favor of paying the chief officer for his services and in November of that year it was decided to allow $500.00 per year for this purpose.

William Spickernagle was the first to occupy this salaried position and he entered upon his duties with a determination to straighten out a number of city affairs. One of these was a difficulty with flatboatmen heretofore unmastered. In the early days of Memphis most of her traffic was carried on by flatboats, consequently much of the city revenue should have been from this source. The flatboatmen were usually a lawless set who objected to the small wharfage exacted and refused to recognize any authority of the wharf-master to collect it from them, banding together to resist him, even using violence when necessary to gain their end. Mayor Spickernagle realized how much was lost to the city treasury by this species of lawlessness from men who enjoyed city privileges as much as any other class of people here and made their own living from Memphis trade, and took the matter in hand.

A dauntless wharf-master, Colonel G. B. Locke, was appointed, to be paid twenty-five per cent of all his collections. These collections were to be made by force, if necessary, and two volunteer military companies offered their services. The boatmen, seeing that a wharf-master noted for fearlessness, a city government and the military were organized against them, succumbed and paid the trifling tax required, but a few desperadoes continued to resist and openly defied the wharf-master. The military was called out. Citizens also came to his aid and, although outnumbered by the boatmen, after a severe encounter in which the leader of the beligerants was killed, order was restored and Memphis thereafter profited from her flatboat revenue. It is told that the wounded leader

before dying said that he wished he had paid the tax, as he would not have missed the money and most of his profits were gained from Memphis, but that he did not want to "give in."

It was in this year that Congress appointed commissioners to locate a navy yard somewhere in the Mississippi Valley. Public-spirited citizens of Memphis became alert and advocated their city as a suitable site for this navy yard, which bespoke progress and success for the place where it should be located.

On September 23, 1841, a meeting was held by the board of mayor and aldermen to take action on the navy yard, and the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

"*Whereas,* the government of the United States has passed an act promising the establishment of an armory on the western waters, and believing the local situation of Memphis is advantageously situated for such an establishment, therefore

"*Resolved,* That the mayor be authorized to appoint a committee of five citizens, to draw up a memorial to the President of the United States, setting forth the claims of Memphis and the advantages she possesses for such an establishment."

The commissioners, after examining the Mississippi River from the mouth of the Ohio down, reported the best location to be at the mouth of Wolf River at Memphis, Tennessee. Memphis considered this a great honor and advantage and was glad to convey to the United States, for $25,000, the tract of ground surveyed by the committee appointed by Congress for a navy yard and depot, provided the same should be required within three years for the establishment of such navy yard and depot. In December, 1844, the transfer was made and the Government took possession of the property. A rope walk and the neccessary buildings were constructed, all being completed in 1846. This addition promised to be a vast benefit to Memphis, and the navy yard became a busy place. A great iron steamship, the "Alleghany," was built and equipped here, except her hull. She cost the Government $500,000 but

did not prove satisfactory. Some other work was carried on but the navy yard was never a success.

By that time feelings of enmity between the South and the North had begun to be strong and this Southern navy yard was neglected by the government to such an extent that it never repaid the outlay in fitting it up. The appropriations made for its support were so small that they barely paid the officers' salaries, and later the government refused to keep it in operation. In 1853 Congress passed a resolution "to donate the entire navy yard property at Memphis to the city authorities," a gift Memphis did not want, although it had cost the United States $1,500,000. It was impossible for the little city to keep a navy yard operative, so the property was used for shops, storing cotton, and a few other purposes, by rapid degrees going to decay.

But Memphis had not depended upon this navy yard for her progress. She had plodded on, ever adding to her business and civic improvements. In 1842 her charter was amended, by which act the city was divided into five wards, each ward entitled to elect two aldermen. This act also changed the city's boundaries and gave to the people the power of electing the mayor. The boundaries were given as follows: "North by Bayou Gayoso, east by Bayou Gayoso, south by Union Street, west by the main channel of the Mississippi and Wolf River to the mouth of the Bayou Gayoso."

Memphis had wretched streets and the city authorities seemed never able to spend enough to improve them much, but in 1845, when J. J. Finley was mayor, action was taken for their improvement and considerable work on them was accomplished, as well as provision made for an annual appropriation for the same purpose.

During this part of the century citizens all over the country were imbued with the spirit of improvement and in November, 1845, the great International Improvement Convention met in Memphis, presided over by the Honorable John C. Calhoun, the noted South Carolina statesman. This important meeting gave Memphis more eclat than she had before enjoyed and among her guests were some of the most prominent men in the

United States. One of the improvements discussed at this meeting was making a deep waterway from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. This meeting benefitted Memphis and brought many of her citizens to realize the advantages that might be gained by a united and harmonious city.

It has been told that from her earliest days rivalry between the sections of Memphis existed, and this state of affairs did not improve as the years continued to pass. Some bitterness was first brought about by the proprietors, or early owners of Memphis property, each of whom wanted the city planted on the spot most advantageous to himself, and the people of each section would wrangle for roads and other improvements to be brought to their parts of the town. Bitterness grew until rivalry became a retarding influence in the city's growth. North and South Memphis people became so rancorous that in either section it was considered degrading to live in the other. South Memphis people dubbed North Memphis "Pinch," derived from what some South Memphians termed the "pinched" condition of some of the poor families living on Wolf River; the name was afterwards applied to all Wolf River inhabitants and then to all of North Memphis. In retaliation the Pinchites called South Memphis "Sodom," because of the alleged wickedness of the place.

Memphis first had her greatest strength in the northern part of the city, but by 1835 quite a community occupied the section south of Union Street and antagonism there grew severe against North Memphis or "Pinch." The growth of each section, as well as the growth of the enmity between them, was at white heat for about a decade from this year when a crisis came and it was thought necessary to form two cities. So in 1846 the Legislature passed an Act incorporating South Memphis, with a mayor and eight aldermen, the city to be divided into four wards, laid off into blocks, 1 to 67, all south of Union Street and east of Bayou Gayoso. This charter was afterwards amended and included Fort Pickering as far as Jackson Street and eastward to LaRose Street. January seventeenth of this year an election for the new town officers was held, when Sylvester Bailey was elected mayor and A. B.

Shaw, H. H. Means, George W. Davis, Wardlaw Howard, J. E. Merriman, John Brown, J. P. Keiser and James Kennedy, aldermen.

In September of this year Joseph Wright took a census which showed the population of Memphis to be, including South Memphis, Chelsea in North Memphis and all divisions of the city, 7,782.

National as well as municipal dissensions arose when, in 1842, trouble with Mexico came. People became much excited. Memphis raised a company of soldiers to go to Texas and these, together with a company from Randolph, left on the steamer "Star of the West," amid shoutings, farewells and Godspeeds of the people.

South Memphis grew and property increased much in value in that section of the city. The Gayoso House, destined to be one of the greatest hotels in the South, was begun in 1842. This hotel was beautifully situated, being built in a stately grove, overlooking the Mississippi River. Churches and other buildings were going up rapidly and the board of mayor and aldermen made appropriations for street improvements, which were much needed. A steamboat wharf had been graded and the Market Street wharf was completed.

The first telegraph line to New Orleans was completed in 1843, which made the people of the two Mississippi River cities feel much closer drawn together. This telegraph was erected and owned by a Memphis company, Thomas H. Allen, a substantial citizen of Memphis, being president.

Strangers with money having heard of the possibilities of Memphis, came to "look around" and some of them being favorably impressed, stayed to invest their money and make their homes in Memphis.

The following year saw the Gayoso House completed and opened to the public and it was during this same year that the United States made the big appropriation for a navy yard that promised so much and fulfilled so little.

During this same year, 1844, James Knox Polk, a Tennesseean, was elected President of the United States by the Democratic party, his defeated opponent being Henry Clay, the

great Whig leader. Polk was known to favor the annexation of Texas.

This campaign brought out more sentiment in regard to slavery than had yet been done and abolitionism grew in the North and declined in the South. The annexation of Texas became a tremendous question. The slave states wanted the additional power that the big new territory would give them and the abolition states did not want the annexation for the same reason. Slavery became the greatest bone of contention in the country, becoming an important question in politics, churches and the social world and remained so for many years to follow.

The idea had been conceived that a canal from Wolf River above Stanley's Ford, about eleven miles east of Memphis, dug westward to the Mississippi River or to the mouth of Wolf River, would be a great advantage to Memphis in that it would furnish water for the city and power for manufacturing and other purposes. This canal was hotly discussed by the papers and people and on November 4, 1842, the *Appeal* published a map showing the proposed route and the specifications of Colonel Morrison, who had made a survey. Colonel Morrison asserted that a canal eleven miles long, forty feet wide at the top and twenty-six feet wide at the bottom and four feet deep, could be dug for $50,000. It was to have a permanent dam at Wolf River and a fall of forty-two and seventy-two one-hundredth feet, equal to four hundred horse-power. This, he said, would furnish power to the then proposed armory and navy yard and would run eight pairs of six feet millstones, five hundred thousand spindles for spinning cotton and one hundred power looms. Mayor Hickman and the aldermen advocated this project and many of the people became enthusiastic over it, though others opposed it. The Legislature took it up and in 1843 passed an act empowering the corporation of Memphis to build the canal and the mayor and aldermen were authorized to levy and collect a tax for the purpose of putting it through. It really seemed that the contemplated improvement would become a reality but the scheme lagged along until 1845, when it was again revived and Mayor J. J. Finley adver-

tised in the *Appeal* "for bids for the construction of a canal from Wolf River to the city of Memphis; sealed proposals to be received up to the twentieth of July; the work to be paid for in the bonds of the corporation, having twenty years to run, the interest to be paid at Philadelphia semi-annually." Another survey was made and enthusiasm again aroused but that was as far as the matter went, though interest continued to be manifested at intervals.

Mayor Finley announced to the public that the city was out of debt and that its revenue had increased forty per cent per annum for the past four years, amounting to $25,000. The population by this time had increased to 3,500.

When General Andrew Jackson passed from this life on June 8, 1845, the whole nation mourned his loss, none more than little Memphis, whose beginning was largely due to his efforts, though later, when his private affairs became so strictly national, he had ceased to have connection with the town of his early interest and love.

Texas was admitted to the Union in 1845 and April 24, 1846, when war was declared by Mexico with the United States, Memphis became the center of much martial excitement. Almost nothing but war was discussed and Colonel Keating says that an earthquake on May 7, received only two lines mention in the paper. Military companies were formed both by native and foreign citizens and troops of soldiers left here for the scene of action, effusively patriotic and showered all along their route by attention from patriotic ladies and other citizens.*

As the war progressed most of the battles proved victorious for the United States, each of these successes receiving Memphis enthusiasm. In February, 1847, the battle of Buena Vista was won by General Taylor, after which that leader became a popular hero. Following this victory came Cerro Gordo, April 18, 1847, and in August of this same year Contreras and Churubusco were taken. August also gave the United States Santa Fé and New Mexico. September 14, the City of

*See chapter on the Military History of Memphis for the deeds of these volunteers.

Mexico was captured, all these making the year 1847 rich in victories for the United States. The following year a treaty of peace was obtained between our country and Mexico, President Polk proclaiming peace between the two countries July 4th. This war had cost the United States one hundred million dollars and the lives of thirteen thousand soldiers,† but it gave her a great increase in territory. Besides Texas and that which came from the victories of war, this country paid three million dollars at the close of the war and pledged herself for twelve million dollars in three annual installments and assumed three million, five hundred thousand dollars of debts due from Mexico to American citizens.

The new accessions gave to us Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, Kansas and California.

Despite the excitement and interference of business caused by this war, in Memphis, the city continued to grow and her people to agitate business and general improvements, some of which were carried out and some others of which are still agitated, more than half a century later.

As already stated, the great Commercial Convention of 1845 held in Memphis, had given to the city a dignity not before felt and told the country at large of her advantageous situation for a city of importance, while it awoke the residents to the futility and even absurdity of the sections pulling apart, and so did much toward bringing about a feeling of municipal harmony.

John Timothy Trezevant, who was elected mayor of South Memphis in 1847, was an unselfish, public-spirited man and while in office used his influence and arguments to bring about an amicable feeling between Memphis and South Memphis. He urged that their interests were the same and that unity would be more advantageous to both. The new town of South Memphis had not been a success, standing alone as most of the merchants still preferred "Pinch," so that mutual interests ought to bring the sections together. His

†Hart's Essentials in American History.

efforts and those of other broad-minded citizens bore fruit which ripened rather slowly but did finally come to full maturity.

Memphis kept getting deeper into debt and by September, 1847, her indebtedness amounted to $80,000, which caused considerable discontent. This delinquency and the fear of more debt caused the Wolf River canal project not only to be deferred but almost abandoned, although at a meeting of the board of mayor and aldermen January 26, 1847, it was learned that they had received five bids for contracts for building the canal, the lowest being $104,000, to be paid in bonds. Of course none of these was accepted. But, despite debt, civic improvements went forward. Bonds were issued this year by Mayor Banks to the amount of $92,000 for various improvements. There was some irregularity about the issuance of these bonds, they having been irregularly numbered on the Register's books. They were issued for grading Center landing; for a medical college; for grading and graveling streets; for plank roads leading in different directions from the city and for the Exchange Building. The bonds for this building were issued to W. A. Bickford who, with this assistance from the council, erected a block of buildings on Exchange Square, from Poplar to Exchange Streets. In this important addition to Memphis, accommodations were provided for a city hall and court rooms, a council chamber and mayor's office, besides a hall for the medical college and other accommodations. In consideration of these municipal betterments Mr. Bickford was given a lease on the ground, part of Exchange Square, for ninety-nine years.

A telegraph was completed between Memphis and Nashville, bringing these two cities closer together and making their interests more at one. About this same time papers all over the country were getting the New York dispatches to Cincinnati concerning foreign affairs, and in this way they got foreign news in about twenty-two days. This was important to Memphis as it increased the prominence of her market and cotton dealers were especially benefitted.

Again the charter of Memphis underwent a change, the

Legislature, January 21, 1848, passing an act that reduced all previous charters of Memphis into one. This new Act defined the city limits as "Beginning at a point in the middle of the Mississippi River, opposite to the center of Union Street; thence eastwardly with a line passing through the center of Union Street to the western bank of Bayou Gayoso; thence down said bayou with the western bank of the same to the point of its intersection with Wolf River; thence down Wolf River with its northwesterly bank to its intersection with the Mississippi River; thence down the Mississippi River to a point opposite the north side of Market Street; thence to a point in the main channel of the Mississippi River opposite to the said north side of Market Street; and thence down the said main channel of the said river to the place of beginning."

The charter of this date also limited the tax-levy to "three fourths of one cent upon all property taxable for State purposes and the city council was given authority to borrow money to the amount of the annual revenue of the city, and no more in any one year, to establish hospitals." It also authorized the establishment of a system of free schools, the first free schools of the city. Ward boundaries were also changed in this year in order to more equally distribute city representation in the board of aldermen.

A year later this charter was thrust aside for an entirely new Act of the Legislature, incorporating both Memphis and South Memphis into one city, under the name of the city of Memphis, as by 1849 the desire for unity of all the sections had grown strong. A few were not pleased with this union and even fought it, but in all communities may be found stubborn and near-sighted natures that will not give up a first opinion even when shown by actual failure that their methods are retarding the public good. But a year later, when a vote was taken for the consolidation of the city it was almost unanimous in favor of union.

Sectional strifes continued even after the union was made but perfect harmony could scarcely be expected to follow immediately on the trail of recent bitter dissensions. The board of mayor and aldermen sometimes had difficulty in

appeasing the different sections and sometimes in agreeing among themselves.

The first city council included all the former aldermen of the two cities, making twenty-four in all, and this same number was continued in the election of the following year, 1850, when Edwin Hickman was elected mayor.

The boundaries of the newly united city were given as follows: "Beginning in the middle of the Mississippi River, opposite the mouth of the Bayou Gayoso; thence due east to and with Bayou Gayoso to Auction Street; out Auction and Raleigh Road to Avenue east (Dunlap), of town reserve (Manassas); thence south with said avenue to the South Memphis tract; thence with its east line to its southeast corner; thence west with the south line to the east line of Butler tract, thence to its southeast corner; thence with its south line to center of the Mississippi River; thence with the river to the place of beginning, excluding the navy yard."

# CHAPTER V

The Census of 1850. The Building of Plank Roads. Rapid Growth of the City. Extension of the Telegraph System. The First Railroad to the Atlantic. Great Railroad Jubilee in Memphis. The Financial Panic of 1857. Crime in Memphis. Uprising of the People and Mob Violence. Rescue of Able by N. B. Forrest. The Problem of Street Paving. The Bust of Andrew Jackson. More Troubles Over Slavery. The John Brown Raid and Its Consequences. The First Paid Fire Department.

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THE new decade and half century seemed auspicious for the united city. She had then a population of 8,841, of these 6,355 being white. The board of mayor and aldermen seemed wide-awake and they issued bonds in 1850 to the amount of $119,000 for civic improvements. Plank roads were constructed or extended to the most important points in Tennessee and Mississippi and the river trade was, one writer says, "doubling upon itself every year."*

Memphis people realize more and more the benefits derived from the union of the two small towns and the Bluff City was beginning to really be a power. The states around her were settling rapidly. Tennessee, Mississippi and Arkansas had become important cotton states and Memphis was their central market. The city showed progress and improvement in all directions and Colonel Keating says of her growth in the early fifties, "Business grew in volume and value to an extent not then surpassed by Cincinnati, St. Louis or even New Orleans herself."

*These plank roads, or more properly, planked roads, the roadway being laid with heavy planks, were constructed to Big Creek and Raleigh in Shelby County, LaGrange in Fayette County, Tennessee, and to Holly Springs and Hernando, Mississippi.

Memphis had been fortunate in her leading men and at this period she had some of the best. People who had her interest at heart had always been very much in earnest, sparing neither themselves nor their money in her behalf. These friends had realized the possibilities of a great city, despite the drawbacks that came up so frequently and worked to overcome the latter and make the possibilities grow into realities. This was recognized beyond the city too, and papers of other cities frequently had favorable paragraphs about Memphis or her citizens. The Nashville *Banner,* in 1850, had these words for a Memphis man of business: "Memphis can boast of a single citizen who in the past eighteen months has aided public enterprise more liberally in proportion to his wealth than perhaps any individual in the South," meaning R. C. Brinkley. A few others were quite as liberal as Mr. Brinkley and Memphis seemed on the upward bound.

But Memphis and the country had a curse—slavery! Slavery had been introduced into the land as a convenient and profitable form of labor. The negro had been enslaved from time immemorial, both by more enlightened races and by victorious tribes of his own race, so when he was introduced into the United States as a slave it was in accordance with a custom then pervading the world. Slavery had been a matter-of-fact institution when the human race had been chiefly physical and physical might was power, but as spiritual life grew and broadened human minds began to look up and beyond self and selfish comfort to a respect of the rights of others. People were learning the Golden Rule and slavery could not endure with this advancement. But though the world as a whole had made great moral strides and freedom for all men was asserting its right and being advocated in all civilized regions, people were very human still, and by degrees the cause of slavery in the New World grew to be more a theme of antagonism and enmity than the freeing of a race.

Abolitionists had formerly been as common in the South as in the North, but as murder and other evils grew out of abolition fanaticism in slave states, Southerners lost sight of the original cause of abolitionism to free the slaves, in the feel-

ing of defense for state rights and home. So, while the abolitionist was elected to office in Memphis in 1834 and chiefly on account of his avowed tenets, such an election in the fifties would have been impossible. This bitterness between the sections increased until such hatred existed that in the South to be called a Northerner was an opprobrium of the direst sort and vice versa. Politics of the two sections became rapidly antagonistic and speakers on both sides used strong denuncitory language. The territory gained from Mexico had become the source of fiery controversy as to whether it should be entered slave or free.

But the time for final outburst had not yet come and above the surging undercurrent of prognostication and unrest Memphis continued to grow and prosper and her people to think of strictly home subjects. Nor was charity for the poor forgotten and in 1850 Memphis women gave a "Fair" in Odd Fellows Hall, from which they netted two thousand dollars for the unfortunates. Other enterprises, charitable and civic, went forward with the decade.

Mayor A. B. Taylor, in his first message, in 1852, stated the annual expenses of the city to be $75,000.

In 1853 the judiciary bill was amended so as to provide "that the qualified voters of Shelby County shall elect a judge of the Common Law and Chancery Court of the City of Memphis." Also, that "the qualified voters of the counties of Shelby, Fayette, Tipton and Henderson, shall elect a judge for the eleventh Judicial Circuit, composed of said counties," and "the qualified voters of the fifth, thirteenth and fourteenth Civil Districts in Shelby County, in which Memphis and Fort Pickering are situated, shall elect a judge of the Criminal Court of Memphis and also an attorney-general for said Criminal Court."

Another new city charter came to Memphis in 1854, the Legislature of that year having passed an Act for such a measure, including the navy yard in the corporation. And with increased territory came increased population; the inhabitants numbered this year 12,687.

As this decade advanced Memphis made tremendous strides

in business and the city fathers made big plans for improvements, some of which were accomplished. Whole blocks of business buildings were erected and so great was the demand for the houses under construction that much of the labor on them was done by gaslight. The first five-story building in the state was erected in Memphis in 1856.

New residences sprang up all over the city too to supply the many new residents who came to make Memphis their abode. Telegraph lines continued to draw Memphis into closer touch with other cities; in 1857 Henry A. Montgomery, an enterprising citizen, completed a telegraph line between Memphis and Tuscumbia, Alabama, and the year following he completed another line to Little Rock, with a branch line at Helena, Arkansas. The railroads were causing much of the rapid advancement going on. These brought towns into closer communication and made traffic easy on the land, while steamboats in increasing numbers continued to ply the river north and south, conveying passengers and traffic.

In 1857 the Memphis and Charleston Railroad was completed and its completion brought great rejoicing in Memphis, in Charleston and in towns all along the road. In May a big celebration in recognition of this feat was held in the Bluff City when prominent men from both the ocean and river cities took part and hundreds of visitors came to witness the ceremonies. Senator James C. Jones, who had driven the first spike in the first rail of the road, was also honored by being allowed to drive the last, and this completing spike was driven amid very enthusiastic demonstrations. Senator Jones addressed the crowd, presaging a great future for Memphis, now joined to the Atlantic Ocean. The *Appeal* stated that over twenty-five thousand people participated in the celebration. Many speeches were made in Court Square, all full of enthusiasm over connecting the Mississippi River with the ocean and of bringing "the ancient and chivalrous city of Charleston on the sounding shores of the Atlantic," to Memphis, the vigorous and growing younger city on the Great River. The *Appeal* said, "We rejoice at the annihilation of distance and the approximation of neighboring districts which hitherto, moun-

tain, river and slow locomotion have kept apart and sundered." The paramount ceremony of this day's exercises was the pouring into Mississippi waters of two hogsheads of ocean water brought from Charleston for the purpose. This was managed by the fire companies, firemen of the Phoenix Company using their engine, gorgeously decorated for the occasion. Visiting firemen were tendered the honor of using the hose and throwing the salty water into the river. As the stream shot through the air and then mingled with the waters of the river, a great shout went up from the throats of thousands of people witnessing the scene from wharf, bluff, boat, Front Row windows or other places within sight, where human beings could find accommodation. Later in the month Mayor William Porcher Miles of Charleston invited the Memphis mayor and all who would go, to Charleston to another celebration in honor of the completion of the road where, when the demonstration took place, enthusiasm proved quite as rousing as it had at Memphis.

The Memphis and Charleston Railroad had been the cause of agitation for twenty-five or more years, or ever since the first railroad—the Memphis Railroad Company—had been chartered by the State in 1831, changed in 1833 to the Atlantic and Mississippi Railroad Company, so the final completion of the line was of course a cause of much satisfaction to the projectors, the owners and the people who were to be benefitted. The president of this road was Mr. Samuel Tate.

Crops of the South were abundant, each successful year adding to Memphis growth and prosperity and continuously adding to her importance as a market. In 1857 this rapid growth had a check, brought about by bank failures throughout the country. There was a great decline in railroad stocks and State stocks in the eastern cities fluctuated eight per cent in a single week. All securities except those of the Federal Government, felt the tremendous force of depression and the business outlook of our little city on the Mississippi took a tumble with its real estate, which had been booming and now went down with a crash. But the government called in its securities for payment, hoping thus to relieve the stringency of the market by throwing upon it $20,000,000 in gold,

and when this call came from the Secretary of the Treasury, there was rejoicing by the Democrats, who contrasted the condition with that of 1837, when the Government money was locked up in suspended banks in every part of the country.

But this money depression, while it necessarily affected business, did not stop civic improvements in Memphis, though they continued more slowly for a time.

Several murders and other crimes brought about by drinking and gambling, aroused the people to a determination to put such outrages down, so an organization was formed, as had been done in an earlier period of Memphis history, to drive the gamblers from town. Gamblers and debauchees, like other evils, are not easily eradicated when once they seem to get a grasp, but they can be defeated by determined citizens, if the paid officers fail in their duty, and this organization of respectability annoyed the gamblers of Memphis to such an extent that many of them left town and those remaining were not so sure of the firm footing they had before enjoyed—at least for a time.

Some murders had been committed in the vicinity and gone unpunished so, during this time, when people were incensed over the manner in which crimes were being perpetrated, John Able shot and killed one Everson, the community was in no mood to let it pass lightly. Able's father had killed a man in a saloon not long previous to this killing of Everson and both the senior and junior Able were gamblers and considered undesirable characters. Young Able was arrested and taken to jail but a large crowd had gathered round the Worsham House on the corner of Main and Adams Streets, where the killing had occurred. As the men increased in numbers their dispositions increased in resentment which grew into revenge and then to fury. Cries arose of "Mob him!" "Kill him!" "He'll be turned loose!" "Take the law in our own hands and get rid of murderers and gamblers!" These men, seeking justice and desirous of ridding their town of crime grew as murderous as the object of their revenge and were willing to hang him without a trial, in the name of justice! Oh, Justice, how many evils have been done in thy name! Such inconsistencies

occur along the pathway of civilization with a people seeking but not yet grown to a full knowledge of what real civilization is.

Just when the men had allowed their anger and excitement to reach white heat and were ready to rush to the jail for their unlawful purpose, a large, handsome, commanding figure appeared on the balcony of the hotel and raised his hand for silence. This man was not accustomed to making speeches but he comprehended the necessity of quick action here and his appearance and commanding attitude silenced that mass so completely that every high-pitched word he uttered could be distinctly heard. In a few terse sentences he pointed out the unlawfulness of the act contemplated and emphasized that it would make matters much worse to mob the criminal than to allow him to have a fair trial. Objections were given utterance that there was no justice to be had in the courts but the man in the balcony said, "There is to be a mass meeting at the Exchange Building tomorrow evening for the purpose of reasonably discussing a plan for enforcing the laws and putting down crime. Wait until then and do not increase the city's burden by restoring to mob law, that is no law at all!"

Strange to say, that furious mass dispersed almost immediately and awaited the meeting of the following night.

When the evening for the mass meeting of citizens came the hall of the Exchange Building was filled and overflowing before the time appointed. When the proceedings commenced the crowd had grown restless and the mob spirit of the previous day was again manifesting itself. Mayor Baugh stated the object of the gathering to be that of providing means for enforcing laws and preserving peace and order in the city. He made a few remarks but could feel the undercurrent of impatience through the crowd and before the meeting had made much headway cries burst from the audience for revenge and taking the law into the hands of the people. A man from Mississippi arose and offered to lead any hundred men to the jail to get Able and hang him. Before officers could arrest this disturber of the peace, one after another offered to join him until the whole throng in and out of doors caught the

spirit of disorder and got beyond control. The mayor and other men on the rostrum tried in vain to restore order and reason. They found themselves helpless as well as the policemen who put forth their puny efforts to quell the mob. The men rushed forth and straight toward the jail. Alderman Hughes and Colonel Saffrans tried desperately to quiet the crowd but their words were wasted or not heard.

"They must be stopped, but how can it be done?" exclaimed the helpless mayor. A vice-president of the meeting —the same man who had quelled the crowd before the Worsham House twenty-four hours before—asked the mayor why he did not stop the crowd at the jail. The officials looked at this questioner as though they thought he might be insane and one asked why he did not do it himself, as he was a citizen. Turning quickly to the mayor this big man asked, "Does being a citizen give me authority to rescue Able?" The chief officer told him that it did, but that one man or even their whole body would be helpless before that furious mob. "All right," responded the man with set jaw, flaming eyes and face red with determination. "I'll try," and he rushed from the building.

When he reached the jail the jailer had been forced to give up his keys, Able's cell had been opened and the culprit rushed in his night clothes to the navy yard, where the rope had already been placed around his neck. Able's mother and sister were frantically pleading with the mobbers to spare the young man and he was trying in a feeble way to plead his cause and to soothe these relatives. He was allowed five minutes to speak and he used the time trying to point out the justice of a trial, but his words were drowned to all except the few nearest him and they were not to be moved from their purpose. The rope was thrown over a beam and men were pulling it to draw up the unfortunate man when the tall, brawny citizen rushed through the crowd straight to the victim, the flash of a keen knife-blade was seen and it severed the rope. After this bold act the citizen grasped the criminal by his arm and facing the astonished crowd exclaimed, "I am going to take this boy back to jail and keep him there

until he has a trial!" The very daring of the act kept the crowd back for several seconds but as soon as a realization of the situation came to them there were cries of revenge and urgings to kill both the victim and his rescuer. "Give us the murderer!" yelled several, "we'll get him anyhow!" "If you do," defiantly answered the recapturer, "it will be over my dead body!" and the man stood like a bulwark between Able and that raging crowd. "I came to turn him over to the proper authorities," he continued after other requests and threats, "and I'm going to do it or die in the attempt!"

The intrepidity of this one daring soul actually awed some of the mobbers and they moved away but others rushed at him and only by quick thrusts and dodges did he escape being severely wounded or killed. He saw between himself and the jail an impassable jam of people determined on keeping him away. Glancing around his quick mind conceived the idea of eluding the crowd in the dim light and almost as quick as his thought followed the act of rushing suddenly forward and taking shelter between two piles of lumber. There he thrust Able behind him and with his powerful left arm and hand parried the blows of his pursuers. His scheme succeeded; those nearest him, that saw his act and knew the place of shelter were swept forward by the rushing crowd behind, who did not know what had become of Able and his rescuer, but supposed they were in close pursuit of the lost object of revenge, and actually rushed madly over or around the men they meant to catch.

When the press had left him free to move the man hurried to the jail where he succeeded in getting the prisoner locked safely in his cell. But the mob was not long learning the truth and then their rush was for the jail. The jailer and other inmates were terrified at the ominous sounds without, but if the rescuer felt terror he did not show it. Ascertaining that his pistol was in proper order he stepped out onto the jail steps and facing that seething mob of three thousand human beings, threatened to shoot the first man who approached. Almost unreasonable as it may seem, that one man could stand against three thousand furious rioters, this hatless, disheveled,

torn, cut, determined man did that very thing. Some stones were thrown and a shot fired toward the man on the steps, but the determination for right and justice won and by degrees the whole three thousand dispersed and the man on the steps stood alone, the murderer behind him safe in his cell and the mob retreating before him. That man was Nathan Bedford Forrest, who, at a then not far-distant year was to be selected a leader and general in defense of his state and country and to be followed into battle by many men of that very mob.

The Adams Express Company opened offices in Memphis in 1858, and established agencies in all the surrounding towns that could be reached by river or railroad. So now, with railroads, steamboats, telegraph and express privileges, the town had become a city, destined to be the greatest, said the people and papers, on the "artery" of the country, the Mississippi River.

During the legislative session of 1857 and 1858 two more wards were created in Memphis, making eight in all.

Memphis had an enormous problem,—her streets. Much money had been spent by the city for graveling, but the clay was so deep and soft that a foot of gravel would sink in a few years. In 1858 the graveling was covered by two feet of mud on Main Street and in some places had gone to a depth unknown, leaving mud-holes great enough to swallow a team. It was a common occurrence during wet weather for men, boys and slaves to lend helping hands and shoulders to unfortunate animals and vehicles that had become stalled on business and residence streets and it is recorded that a mule was drowned in a mudhole at the corner of Main and Monroe. There are also stories told by reliable citizens of oxen, mules and horses being prized out of mud on Main Street near Madison, and of a white boy being barely saved by a negro. That is a queer picture for us to contemplate today as we see electric-cars, carriages, and automobiles traveling easily and safely along that busy part of the city on asphalt streets. We who enjoy the easy travel of solid streets and roads today have small conception of the trials of our forefathers battling with the mud that swamped Memphis in those early days, and later.

But we owe the comfort of eventual good thoroughfares to their continual paving, mending, filling, experimenting.

We are wont in this life to go easily along, enjoying the comforts built for us by our predecessors, rarely thanking them; usually, if thinking of their efforts at all, smiling at their crude improvements, boasting, in our supercilious way, of our superiority over all that has gone before. We forget, or perhaps some of us have never been thoughtful enough to know that without the hard work, the discoveries, the blunders, the successes of our forefathers, our present advantages and luxuries would have been impossible.

The heavy traffic of Memphis made it necessary for something substantial and lasting to be done with the streets so the city fathers of 1858 consulted engineers and other authorities of different parts of the country. After much discussion of granite cobble-stones, cedar blocks and other materials, gravel was again decided upon, though there was protest against it, and uptown Memphis was newly graveled to be in a short time again covered by mud and slush. Two years after this $500,000 was appropriated for the streets and wharves, this time up-town paving to be of cobble-stones.

So Memphis struggled and progressed, as circumstances allowed, her people fighting their mud and other inconveniences, ever striving to bring the town to the dignity of cityhood.

Politics kept pace with business, Whigs and Democrats strenuously advocating their different views, but on the birthday of Henry Clay, who had so lately been an idol of the country, both these parties met in amicable hospitality at the Commercial Hotel to commemorate the day and do honor to the orator and statesman who they alike admired, though all there had not agreed with his politics.

In August of 1858 the yellow fever became so serious in New Orleans that many Memphis citizens felt the necessity of quarantine and agitated taking measures to that effect. The question was brought up before the board of mayor and aldermen and a resolution to lease ground on President's Island for quarantine buildings was discussed, but some of the members

opposed it. One of them said, "I never knew any good to come from quarantine. If Providence intended the fever to come here, it would come in spite of all we could do."

But the awful yellow plague continued to spread and, despite the opposing aldermen, the mayor was authorized to lease property on Bray's Island at $600 per annum for quarantine purposes, but the ground was never used. Alas, Memphis! If your people could have foreseen the future with its terrible yellow-fever days, would they have been so indifferent, and would they have thought that a kind Providence does not bring disease and suffering, but allows neglect and carelessness to be punished by plagues and other *effects*? The disease that year became rampant and spread to Natchez, Vicksburg and other towns above New Orleans, defying all treatment, and as there were many refugees in Memphis, the outlook for the city was alarming. But she escaped that year.

The same August in which so many victims succumbed to the yellow demon brought world-wide rejoicing over the success of the Atlantic cable. The man who brought this great invention to a successful issue, Cyrus W. Field, had toiled long and thanklessly, having met with two failures that had caused the world to lose faith in him, but the world is usually a disheartening step-mother, not sympathetic enough to encourage unless she sees that success is inevitable. But success came to Field in 1858 and Memphis was not behindhand in honoring the patient and triumphant inventor, who had been born in the year of her own birth. Mayor Baugh of the little city on the Mississippi, directed by the board of aldermen, sent this message to the mayor of Manchester, England: "The city of Memphis on the shore of the Mississippi, the largest interior depot of cotton in America, sends her greetings to the city of Manchester, the largest manufacturing city of that staple in Great Britain, and desires to mingle her congratulations with those of her trans-Atlantic sister upon the successful establishment of the ocean telegraph."

By 1859 the country was in a state of sectional upheaval, but in January of that year many patriotic citizens and guests were brought together in Court Square in Memphis to witness

the unveiling of the marble bust by Frazee of Andrew Jackson,—"Old Hickory,"—whom Memphians loved for the services he had rendered to their city in her infancy; whom Tennesseeans loved for his devotion to the State; and whom Americans loved for his untiring allegiance to his country. His country had meant more to him than life. For her he had suffered the horrors of war, having with him, to share those trials, many of Tennessee's brave sons with equally brave sons from other states of his beloved motherland. Those true men suffered, as is the soldier's fate, but they won for the country they defended more security and a stronger union. The result of the Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, where six thousand soldiers under Jackson against twelve thousand under Pakenham, secured that important stronghold to our Country and made lasting our possession of the great Father of Waters. So this marble bust, unveiled in Memphis fourteen years after the hero's death, was turned with its face to the river which he loved, defended and secured.

Several times during Jackson's career secessions had been threatened for various causes by different states, and that hardy American had abhorred such a possibility. "Our Federal Union, it must and shall be preserved," were his well-known words and, in 1859, when feeling had grown bitter between the sister states, these words were placed below the bust of this great Southerner.*

Strange inconsistencies occur along the generations, and this inscription, chosen for that monument at that time, was strange. Not that all the witnesses of that day's ceremonies approved of secession, for indeed, the majority of them did not and approved with all their hearts the inscription, "The Federal Union, it must be preserved," but turbulence was fast gathering and in a little over two years from that time the general Southern feeling had changed and war was in the land.

*The words on the pedestal of the Frazee bust "The Federal Union, it must be preserved," were a careless misquotation. See History of Andrew Jackson by A. C. Buell, (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1904) Vol. II, page 241, where will be found the full story of the Jefferson banquet and the language used.

Had Jackson lived a score of years longer, would his sentiment have changed too? That of course cannot be known; he loved his country and he loved his native and adopted Southern States. Thousands who served bravely and honorably in the war between the states had, during Jackson's lifetime and later, said that the Union must be preserved, and then fought to sever it. During the four years that brothers waged that fearful war, and hatred and vengeance routed love and peace, the solemn bust of "Old Hickory" stood in Court Square in Memphis, calmly facing the West, as though he would say that there lay much of the future greatness of his country when the bitter family quarrel should be over, but he looked out over the words: "The Federal Union, it must be preserved." It was preserved, but, oh! the cost!

Municipal prosperity and interest gradually lessened and gave way under the terrible pressure of national turbulence. Worse and worse became the hatred between the North and the South, more and more did Northern abolitionists rant against slavery and denounce Southerners as tyrants, barbarians, etc., and more and more did Southern "fire-eaters" shout against intrusion and oppression and for secession and independence.

Many Southern people, before antagonism between the sections became so rank, had advocated, planned, and some had worked to bring about a gradual emancipation whereby the slaves would be freed as they had been in other states and countries, and yet their owners not be left impoverished. The slave's condition compared more than favorably with that of other laborers of the world's various systems, and so the accusation of universal cruelty practiced in the South was not calmly received. Slavery had been introduced into the United States by a former generation and had *grown* to be part of the condition of Southern living, and, as a tumor, or other abhorrent excrescence that has been accumulating for years is not dissipated at once, so many thinkers North and South, notably Abraham Lincoln, advocated gradual emancipation.

Memphis, in the heart of the cotton-belt, contained naturally all "Southern institutions, and no other Southern city was in more danger from the unsettled state of affairs than she.

Here came also abolition agitators and occasionally Memphis sent some such offender from her precincts with instructions not to return on penalty of harsher treatment for a second offense. It was common at that time for fanatical members of the abolition brotherhood to insinuate themselves into Southern homes and then at any opportunity presented,—usually at night after the family slept,—try to incite the negroes to uprisings against their owners, or persuade them to run away.

In October of 1859 all former deeds of abolitionists were cast into shadow by the bold daring of one in Virginia, John Brown. This fanatical old man made a raid on Harper's Ferry and his boldness, though failing in its aim, shook the whole country, intensifying bitterness and making the Mason and Dixon line one of live electric wires.

This impracticable old man, after committing and suffering from much bloodshed in Kansas, where he had obtained the sobriquet of "Ossawottamie Brown," from his deeds committed at the place of that name, moved to Harper's Ferry, Virginia. He laid a deep plot to incite the negroes to insurrection, and had sent to him there at intervals boxes of pikes made expressly for arming the slaves. He also had boxes of guns, ammunition, blankets and other army equipment sent to Harper's Ferry, ostensibly as household goods. He posed as a farmer wishing to locate, and as a geologist interested in the minerals of that locality. He carried out this deception by often wandering about the mountains with hammer and chisel. He lived in that way some time, receiving support from abolition friends in New England and elsewhere, and had some confederates with him, men who had been making a business of mingling with the people and learning the neighborhood. Brown thought that if the negroes were once aroused and armed they would make war on their owners, subdue the whites and so be free. After freeing the slaves in this state he hoped to push his warfare on and on, gathering recruits as he went, until the slaves should all be freed. By the 16th of October he must have felt sure of his readiness for the remarkable mode of warfare contemplated, for on the morning of that day, before dawn, he seized the United States

arsenal with part of his force of twenty-two men, having sent some of them to different parts of the neighborhood to get slaves and take some influential white men prisoners, that he might use them as hostages. Several men were killed by the insurgents near the arsenal, one of them a free negro. When daylight came and an understanding of his actions dawned on the people, militia was called out and the whole surrounding country was aroused. Brown kept his captives imprisoned and armed the negroes with pikes with instructions to use the same for their defense, but the slaves for whose benefit all these plans had been laid, were not in the least enthusiastic, most of them refusing to do any fighting or even arm themselves. It was afterward noted that not a single slave rallied to the old man's cause and the chief object of those he had brought to the arsenal seemed to be to get back to their homes, some of them even running away for that purpose.

The engine house was used as a prison for the captives and for a fort, which Brown refused to surrender when ordered to do so, barricading the doors and shooting into the troops surrounding the arsenal at intervals during the day. Colonel Robert E. Lee was sent from Washington with a batallion, but he did not reach Harper's Ferry until evening. Nothing was accomplished that night and the people in the engine house spent a very uncomfortable time, but at daylight of the next day Colonel Lee demanded the surrender of the insurgents. Brown refused and the marines selected by Colonel Lee, under their commander, Lieutenant S. G. Green, stormed the engine-house and after several lives had been lost, among them Brown's son, and the old man himself badly wounded, the insurgents were captured. They were first turned over to the authorities at Washington to be tried for seizing a Federal arsenal and resisting Federal troops, but Virginia demanded the disturbers as her prisoners for killing some of her citizens and trying to incite insurrection among the slaves, and they were surrendered to her.

John Brown's raid was a failure that ended in the hanging of the leader and several of his confederates at Charleston,

Virginia, after a trial in which they were defended by Northern attorneys.

Brown's wife was allowed to visit him in Charleston where she was courteously received and treated during her stay. She was with her husband before his death and, accompanied by some abolition friends who had gone with her to Virginia, took the body to North Elba, New York, the trip, after crossing the Mason and Dixon line being one of ovation all the way.

The feeling engendered by Brown's bold attempt did not die with him on the scaffold. Enmity that had existed between the North and South before was after this occurrence intensified to an alarming degree. The North in general looked upon Brown as a martyr and some enthusiasts placed his scaffold by the cross of Christ in importance, while at the South and in Memphis he was considered an incendiary of the most vicious sort and was as much abhorred as he was adored in the North. All Northern strangers were looked upon with suspicion and the South was never sure of her safety from invasion while abolitionists in the North increased and continued to incite the people with assertions of the barbarisms of the South.

The decade of the sixties brought very different results from anything of which the builders of the fifties had dreamed. Municipal affairs had been poorly managed in Memphis and people were dissatisfied and becoming indignant. In 1860 the taxable wealth of Memphis had increased to $21,500,000, having been only $4,600,000 ten years previous, and yet citizens contended that it was impossible to see where the city was being benefitted. The men in office were accused of bungling in every way, especially in not using the city's money to the best advantage. These men, said to be good managers in their own affairs, seemed incapable of managing the affairs of the city and were getting her deeper into debt all the time. The population of this year, as shown by the United States census, had increased to 22,643, more than double the census of 1850.

Streets were in bad condition, street lights unsatisfactory and the fire department was so poorly managed that much

property was thought to be unnecessarily burned. In a single fire $100,000 worth of property had been destroyed, the fire service not having been adequate.

The first fire brigade of Memphis had been composed of volunteer citizens with pails of water. As Memphis grew this primitive mode of putting out fires was insufficient, but the town was small and money not plentiful enough to buy a fire-engine. But the subject was frequently discussed; some of the citizens wanted a tax for the purpose of having a fire department, and others said the proprietors ought to furnish it. The discussions and occasional losses by fire continued until 1830, when a second-hand engine was purchased in Cincinnati by George Aldred, at the time acting as an alderman of Memphis. The bringing of this small instrument to Memphis was quite an event, though some pranks were played by making it "squirt" muddy water on people and in buildings, which actions did not add to the respectability of the men who took it from the river up the bluffs. On all public occasions there are some people who will carry their enthusiasm to the point of license.

James D. Davis says that the "Little Vigor," as the new engine was named, was not "over three feet high, worked by two long cranks extending from her sides and capable of furnishing room for eight men, by which power she could throw water over the tallest house on the bluff, and although somewhat defaced, seemed very substantial, and made quite a handsome appearance, while the general opinion seemed to be that she was just the thing we needed."

Firemen continued to be volunteers but they had a better method for extinguishing the flames. This was the only safeguard from fires until 1838, when the "Deluge," a larger and better engine was bought by the city authorities, and the still volunteer servers of the public hurried from their business or beds at sound of the fire alarm, to the engine-house, where they as quickly as possible got the engine and apparatus, rushed to the scene of conflagration, themselves hauling the engine, and proceeded to throw the stream of water upon the flames.

As Memphis grew there were of course more and larger

buildings, closer together, and this fire service became as inefficient as the old bucket brigade had been in earlier years. Occasional destructive fires caused the people to cry for an up-to-date fire department and by the latter part of the fifties this cry was loud, especially after the $100,000 loss above mentioned. So in January of 1860 the board of mayor and aldermen organized a paid fire department and ordered steam fire-engines, despite the fact that the city was deeply in debt.

By November of this year the city's debts amounted to $596,742, besides railroad stock subscriptions for which she was responsible. A comptroller had been considered for some time so in November of 1860 one was appointed and he, the last of the year, began to investigate financial affairs.

# CHAPTER VI

Mutterings of the Coming Civil War. Secession Activities in Memphis. Great Torch Light Processions of the Unionists and Secessionists. Secession Defeated at the Polls. Resolutions of the Secessionists. The Leaders of the Disunion Party. The Call of Mr. Lincoln for Troops. Secession of Memphis from State. Tennessee Finally Secedes. The Vote in Memphis. Preparations for War. The Southern Mothers.

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AS MONTHS advanced bitterness between the North and South increased to such an extent that interest in private and municipal affairs was almost entirely supplanted by the absorbing questions of Union and Secession, the organizing of military companies, etc. The Union spirit which had been so strong a few years before in Memphis was giving place to the spirit of Southern independence and men who had formerly been strong for Union were making speeches for Secession.

Secessionists and Unionists vied in speeches and other demonstrations and on many nights both forces held forth in different parts of the city. Business came almost to a standstill and the absorbing theme of everybody's thoughts was "Secession" or "Union." Influential men on both sides were invited to address the masses and many able speeches were made.

At a secession meeting held in January, 1861, the following resolutions were drawn up by the committee appointed for the purpose:

"*Whereas,* all attempts to settle the question of slavery have been rejected by the Black Republicans during the present session of Congress, and, whereas, we despair of obtaining our rights in the Union, therefore be it

"*Resolved,* That the convention of the people of Tennessee, to assemble on the 25th of February, should, immediately after its organization, prepare to pass an ordinance declaring the State of Tennessee no longer a part of the United States of America, and thereafter take immediate action for the formation of a confederacy with our Southern sisters.

"*Resolved,* That ours is a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the people governed and it was never contemplated that its laws should be enforced or its institutions maintained by standing armies; and the doctrine of coercion, by which a seceding state, if conquered, would become a subjugated province, is wholly repugnant to the spirit of the Federal compact, and meets our unqualified disapprobation.

"*Resolved,* That we most heartily and earnestly deprecate any plan which looks to a union of the border slave and non-slaveholding states for the formation of a central confederacy, and that we regard the only true position for Tennessee to occupy is in a Southern confederacy, which shall have for its bond of union the present federal compact."*

When the committee that formed these resolutions returned to the crowded hall the resolutions were read and adopted unanimously, a circumstance that would have been improbable a month earlier and impossible six months before. This committee comprised M. C. Galloway, Andrew Taylor, N. B. Forrest and John W. Somerville, at least two of these men having been formerly in favor of adhering to the Union.

Lincoln's election was a terrible shock to the South, as he was head of the Republican party and that party had been formed for the purpose of opposing the South and her institutions.

During the campaign of 1860, the Republican party, which had been considered insignificant in the beginning, had made rapid strides and ended by electing its first president. This was taken by the South as a challenge and she accepted it.

Southern States began to secede in February of 1861, and delegates from the seceded States met at Montgomery,

*Memphis *Appeal* of Sunday, January 27, 1861.

Alabama, to organize a provincial government. Before the Republican President was inaugurated Jefferson Davis had been elected by the Southern Convention and installed into office as President of the new Confederate States of America. This installation took place on the 18th of February. Alexander H. Stephens was elected Vice-President and Mr. Davis selected his cabinet. A constitution was modeled on that of the United States, a few changes being made to suit the conditions of the new Confederacy.

Of course all this made the South and especially Memphis, a troubled hive and people were in a frenzy of excitement, enthusiasm and expectation.

The city was much interested in the daily proceedings of the new Government at Montgomery and many Memphis men and women went to attend the inauguration of Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens. Both these men had been strong advocates for the preservation of the Union but upon the secession of their respective states they had cast their lots with their homes. When the secession of Mississippi was pending, Jefferson Davis had plead before the United States Senate for a compromise to arrest the proceedings, had acknowledged himself ready to vote for the Crittenden Resolution and to stand by the Union; but when all hope for a compromise was over and Mississippi joined the Confederacy he withdrew from the United States Senate, making upon that occasion a calm and logical speech justifying his action.

February 6, 1861, the Unionists of Memphis had a big street demonstration, to witness which thousands of Memphis people gathered. Many stores and residences were brilliantly lighted and large and small United States flags floated all along the line of the torch-light procession. This procession was led by a double file of torch-bearers and following them was a band playing "My Country 'Tis of Thee." Then came transparancies with mottoes for the Union and another band played "Star Spangled Banner." More transparancies followed and torch-bearers came, bearing flags as well as torches. One flag was so large that it took several bearers to keep it upright.

Some of the mottoes to be seen were: "Union is good for the Constitution." "Our Rights in the Union." "Tennessee's Strength is in Union." "Secession is Treason." "Don't Run Away from your Independence." "Reason and Compromise." "United We Stand, Divided We Fall." There were many others, as well as cartoons bearing on subjects of the time.

One feature of this procession was a large skiff fitted up as a brig and profusely decorated with flags and lights. Carriages held business and professional men who bowed and waved their loyalty as they rode along.

Two nights after this manifestation the Secessionists had a parade and demonstration even greater than that of the Unionists had been. Their participators were, said the *Appeal,* "from the laborer and mechanic to the merchant and capitalist." The illuminations of this night were elaborate, gas-jets in many places formed into beautiful designs, torches flaring, spitting and spilling in all directions, candles doing their modest part behind window-panes and huge bonfies roaring at street-crossings.

This night's parade was headed by six decorated marshals on spirited horses. Following them were many torch-bearers; big transparencies with secession mottoes; an immense decorated skiff; color draped omnibuses filled with people, one of these containing seven young girls dressed to represent the seceded States; a train of carriages bearing ladies with flags and behind them was a long line of horsemen riding in column of twos. A band played "Dixie," an air then becoming popular, and was wildly greeted. The Star of the West was represented; "Bleeding Kansas" was pictured and South Carolina was represented by a palmetto flag and the words: "Southern Independence;" and there were many devices on wheels to attract the throng gathered along the streets.

A few of the mottoes used in this procession and on the store-fronts, were: "We have exhausted argument, we now stand by our arms." "A United South will Prevent Civil War." "Secession our Only Remedy." "Anti-Coercion." "Southern Rights and Southern Honor before Union." "Appeal, Avalanche and Enquirer all go for Secession." "People's Candi-

dates for the Convention: Marcus J. Wright, Humphery R. Bate, Solon Borland and D. M. Currin." "Vote Tomorrow for White Man's Rights."

But though Tennessee was much divided in her sentiment she was only slowly growing in the spirit of secession. At the election in this state, held February 9, 1861, to pass upon the question of secession and to determine the question of "Convention" or "No Convention" for that purpose, the convention was defeated by a vote of 91,803 to 24,749, and in Memphis, where secession had seemed assured, a Union candidate for the State Convention was elected by a majority of 722 votes. The Unionists voted down the convention while electing delegates to represent them in such convention.

This defeat was a sore surprise and disappointment to the Secessionists but failure in this instance did not dampen their ardor. Meetings and speakings continued and Memphis papers had such daily announcements as "Secession Meeting of Merchants and Business Men." "Mechanics and Workingmen's Southern Rights Association." "The Irish Against Coercion." "Mass Meeting of German Adopted Citizens." "French Citizens Meet to Down Foreign Dominion in their Adopted Country."

Many citizens wanted Memphis to have an independent ballot for secession and then, if the vote was in favor of secession, have the city made part of Mississippi, that she might belong to the Confederacy, whatever the state did. Trade had given place to the excitement of the time. Local affairs held little interest for the people, even so important an affair as the opening of the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, which made an important connecting line, claiming only a lukewarm interest, says Colonel Keating, from people who had been all but wild over such improvements before.

The Secessionists held a great mass meeting February 13, 1861, when the following resolutions were passed and signed. As this was the leadership of the revolutionary party in Memphis which ultimately brought about secession in Tennessee and embraces many prominent names of that and a

later day, the resolutions and some of the names are here given:

"MEMPHIS SECESSION DIRECTORY.
For 1861.

"The following was copied from the Memphis Weekly *Avalanche,* of February 26, 1861.

"The following is a complete copy of the names signed to to accompanying resolutions which were adopted at a meeting held at Odd Fellow's Hall, on the 13th day of February, 1861:

"*Resolved,* That those who, on the 9th of this month, cast their votes in favor of the Secession ticket in the State of Tennessee, hereby ratify and confirm, in their full length and breadth, the principles and opinions to which the Secession party stood pledged in the late canvass.

"*Resolved,* That having perfect confidence in the judgment and patriotism of the citizens of Tennessee, and believing that a vast majority thereof are unalterably opposed to a submission to, and union with, an incoming administration, elected by a sectional majority, whose success was based upon a platform denying the slave states an equal right and just protection to property guaranteed by our Constitution; and that the honor and interest, and safety of Tennessee, demand that she should not separate from her sister slave-holding States, we do hereby pledge ourselves to the citizens of Tennessee and to the whole South, that we will not submit to any other than the rights demanded by the seceding states.

*Resolved,* That deploring the result of the recent election in this state, and believing that very many of our citizens who, by their vote, contributed to that result, are as fully imbued with patriotic pride and devotion to the rights of the South, as those who differed with them as to the best mode of vindicating the same, we cordially request all such and particularly all those whose votes on the 9th instant pledged them to sustain the Secession party to enroll their names on the tables of the secretaries of this meeting, to the end that no encouragement to Northern aggression, and no concession of Southern rights can be inferred from the result of the recent canvass.

"*Resolved,* That we believe that when our Union friends of Tennessee, whose tardy action we regret, shall be convinced

that their rights and the sacredness of slavery, will not be recognized by the non-slaveholding States, or the policy of the next administration, we trust that they will make good their pledges and unite with us in a cordial effort to place Tennessee in a proper situation in a Southern Confederacy.

"*Resolved,* That all opinions in favor of any coercion to be used against any portion of the South, whether the same come from Abe Lincoln, his Black Republican cohorts, or elsewhere, receive our unmitigated contempt and the defiance of every true Southron.

"We, the undersigned citizens of Memphis, most heartily endorse the resolutions above:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| J. W. Armstrong, | F. M. Anderson, | T. J. Allen, |
| R. B. Brow, | J. W. S. Browne, | R. D. Baugh, |
| J. H. Botto, | W. F. Boyle, | W. C. Bryan, |
| W. S. Brooks, | G. R. Bridges, | F. G. Capers, |
| D. Caldwell, | J. W. Frazer, | M. A. Freeman, |
| H. Ferguson, | T. R. Farnsworth, | T. A. Fisher, |
| T. J. Finnie, | R. M. Flournoy, | F. M. Gailor, |
| D. F. Goodyear, | J. H. Goodbar, | B. Graham, |
| T. H. Logwood, | F. M. Leath, | A. H. Lake, |
| H. C. Lewis, | B. M. Massey, | A. D. Morrison, |
| W. H. Malone, | M. Magevny, | W. W. McLemore, |
| G. McFarland, | C. A. Newton, | J. H. Oliver, |
| B. J. Olmsted, | John G. Pittman, | B. K. Pullen, |
| W. G. Richardson, | George R. Redford, | Thos. Randolph, |
| W. Speckernagle, | J. Speckernagle, | S. C. Snyder, |
| R. H. Taylor, | A. Julius Taylor, | Jas. T. Titus, |
| F. Titus, | S. C. Toof, | A. C. Treadwell, |
| Hugh Tate, | J. J. Williams, | J. D. Williams, |
| W. S. Williams, | C. L. Williamson, | S. A. Wills, |
| M. J. Wright, | Robt. Wormly, | H. C. Young, |
| Jas. Young, | Chas. W. Quinn, | S. S. Clark, |

and about eight hundred other Memphis names, all of which can be seen on the original paper, published in 1861.

Such was the state of feeling in Memphis—one of unrest, uncertainty and almost revolution. Military companies were

organizing, as war seemed inevitable, especially after Fort Sumter was taken at Charleston, which event threw people all over the South and North into a fever of disquiet and expectation.

Ammunition, fire-arms and other army equipments were being collected in the Bluff City and by April 28, 1861, Mr. W. G. Ford secured from Louisiana a battery of thirty-two pound guns, three thousand Mississippi rifles and five hundred thousand cartridges.

On April 10, 1861, the steamer H. R. W. Hill arrived at Memphis and her captain, who had hoisted a Confederate flag on his yawl while in St. Louis and had been rudely handled for his daring, was received by a throng of people at the Memphis bluff. He was saluted by many rounds of cannon and presented with a handsome Confederate flag.

On April 15th President Lincoln had called upon the states for 75,000 volunteers for three months' service, demanding that each state furnish its quota. Tennessee, not having seceded, was required to furnish 2,000 of these soldiers, but the spirit of Tennessee had undergone such severe tests during the past few weeks that the majority of her inhabitants felt indignant at being demanded to help coerce the South, even though the state was still in the Union. Governor Harris sent answer to Washington, "Tennessee will not furnish a single man for coercion, but 50,000, if necessary, for the defense of our rights and those of our Southern brethren."

This response accorded with the general sentiment of the people and was received with wild enthusiasm in Memphis. The citizens had a mass meeting in the Exchange Building to settle the question of secession, where it was unanimously resolved that if Tennessee should remain in the Union Memphis would secede from the state and give herself to Mississippi. Speeches were plentiful and fiery at this meeting, in which many men declared themselves turned from Unionists to Secessionists. The sentiment of these was expressed by Mr. J. G. Holland when he said, "I was a Union man up to two and a half o'clock p. m. today—an ardent and zealous one,—but now I will raise my voice for the Union of the *South.*"

Col. R. F. Looney, a former Union man, responded to a

call for a speech in which he said, "I am forced now, as a true Southern man, to repudiate all allegiance to the Lincoln government and henceforth raise my cry for resistance against despotism or coercion for the Southern Confederacy."

Major Bartlett advocated establishing a battery on the bluff for the city's defense, which proposition was met with enthusiasm. One speaker referred to Jefferson Davis as "the chivalric leader of the Southern forces," and the walls shook from thunders of applause.

Mr. Hill of Illinois said, "I pledge the people of Southern Illinois to oppose the war scheme of the abolition despot and assist in driving back his minions from the crusade of Southern subjugation," and he expressed the feeling of many Northerners living in the South at that time.

A committee was appointed at this meeting to inform President Davis "That the city of Memphis has seceded from the late United States forever—and that she places herself under the government of the Confederate States and will respond to any call for aid from him." There was great enthusiasm on the reading of this resolution, three thousand men making a roar that sent its thunder far and lasted many minutes.

The call of the Northern President for 75,000 soldiers caused the Southern President to give a counter call for 35,000 volunteers, and the response to this later call was quite as tempestuous as that at Washington, and Montgomery became another seething camp of soldiers, many more than the required 35,000 pouring in from all the Southern States.

President Lincoln's demand for troops was followed a few days later by a proclamation which ordered the blockade of Southern ports and suspended the writ of *habeas corpus,* This added gunpowder to the flames and caused many more Unionists to turn to the Southern cause. Numbers of soldiers and officers left the United States army and one day twenty men left the ranks at Washington to go to Montgomery and enlist there. A recorder said that this score made an aggregate of two hundred and eighty army recruits for the Southern government from the Federal capital up to that date. Many

people throughout the Northern States held to state rights and there were public speeches and Northern editorials denouncing the President's action as tyrannical and beyond the power of that officer. Some preachers in Northern pulpits omitted their usual prayer for the President of the United States, which caused a sensation among church-goers that ended in divisions of the different orthodox churches.

Of course all this stir made it necessary for the slave states to decide whether or not they should remain in the Union and within the next two months several states withdrew from the United States and joined the Southern Confederacy. Virginia seceded April seventeenth and on the twenty-third Robert E. Lee, who had refused the tender of Commander-in-Chief of the Federal forces, and entered the cause of his birthland, was assigned to the command of the Virginia troops. Arkansas withdrew May 6, and North Carolina May 20.

On June 8, Tennessee cast her last vote on secession and this time the opinions of her voters had undergone serious change since the time of her previous vote. Then, the majority had been in favor of remaining in the Union and now the vote of the people stood 108,418 for separation and 53,336 against.* In Memphis only five votes were cast against secesssion. As the figures for the State vote show, there still remained many Unionists in the state, and perhaps it will not be amiss to precede events by stating that 37,000 of Tennessee's sons joined the Union army, most of these being from East Tennessee, and 100,000 the Confederate Army, many of these also from the eastern part of the state.

Memphis, recognized as a strong strategic point, by June had become a military center and the headquarters of Major-General Pillow, commander of the Army of Tennessee. By Kentucky remaining neutral it was evident that this state would be one of the fields of action and that it was necessary to prepare for defense. Tennessee was poorly equipped for war but her people set to work to do what they could. Bureaus of military supplies were established and armories were created. As many of the skilled mechanics had fled

*Number afterward declared by the Secretary of State.

north at war's certain approach, Southern men and women took up their work and soon doctors, lawyers, mechanics, planters, merchants and women of many classes of society were trained in the gun-making craft, casting cannon and manufacturing percussion caps, powder and balls. Colonel Keating says: "Merchants, planters, doctors and lawyers found themselves possessed of forces hitherto latent, which were speedily turned to account, and the result was not only the formation of depots of supply, but the partial equipment of the hurriedly improvised army which a suddenly precipitated revolution had called forth."

In August the Confederate Congress ordered two gunboats built for the defense of Memphis, appropriating $125,000 for the purpose.

Memphis received news of the Battle of Manassas July 21, the day of the battle, and for several days particulars continued to come in. The victory caused great rejoicing in the city and many Memphians said, "I told you the North could not fight and that we would soon make them run." A street in Memphis was named Manassas, as a memorial of that victory, and the people were still enthusiastic over the conquest, when news came of another victory at Belmont. More demonstrations and rejoicings were indulged in and Southern people were now convinced that the "Yankees can never whip." They read the papers eagerly to learn how their soldiers under Generals Cheatham, Polk and Pillow drove Grant's men to their boats in the greatest confusion, and how the Federals hastily retreated to Cairo, Illinois, but these rejoicings were greatly reduced by the sad letters which followed, telling of the dead and wounded. Boats were sent up from Memphis and returned loaded with wounded men who were immediately taken to the hospital of the "Southern Mothers" in the Irving Block, to a Catholic hospital conducted by the Sisters of St. Agnes Academy and to many homes. Actual contact with the suffering, dying and dead took away much of war's glory for our women who attended the unfortunate soldiers day and night.

Thankful for the victories that the South had won and

realizing that more carnage was to come, President Davis proclaimed November 15th a day of humiliation, prayer and fasting, and services were held in churches in Memphis and throughout the Southland.

More calls were made by the Confederate States for volunteers and each state's call received ready response, but by the close of 1861 those in authority realized that their reserve supply of men had grown small and one-third of those enlisted were unarmed, while the North had tens of thousands in reserve and almost the world to call upon, besides a powerful navy and unlimited supplies of war equipment. Thus, even so early in the war the South stood frightfully exposed and almost tottering, but she did not know it.

The new Confederate States of America, with eleven states and a population of 9,000,000, was opposed by twenty-three states with a population of 22,000,000. But the precipitation had come and the South thought herself strong enough to resist any power.

Memphis, on account of her situation, became a dependence of the Southern and a desire of the Northern country. She was a military center and furnished many soldiers and supplies to the cause her state had espoused. Her officials, ministers, and citizens in general became almost entirely absorbed in the country's trouble at the expense of private and civic affairs. Many of the churches took up subscriptions for the Confederate Treasury and this letter to one of the said churches shows the gratitude felt at these efforts:

"Treasury Department, C. S. A.,
Richmond, June 19, 1861.

"I. B. Kirkland, Esq., Memphis, Tenn.

"Sir:—This Department acknowledges with pleasure the receipt of your letter of the 15th inst., inclosing $250, and more to follow, a portion of the amount subscribed to the Treasury of the Confederate States by the congregation of the Second Presbyterian Church of Memphis.

"The sympathy of the Christian denominations of our country is highly appreciated by the Government which

acknowledges its dependence for success upon the 'ruler of nations.'

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

C. G. MEMMINGER,

Secretary of the Treasury."

As men neglected business, so women forgot home duties in their work for the army and wounded. At a meeting of the Southern Mothers Association June 24, 1861, some of their work was reported in the minutes of the previous week, as follows:

"On Monday afternoon the called meeting of the secretary assembled, about twenty being present. Mrs. S. C. Law, president, took the chair, and the secretary, who had been absent for several meetings on account of family affliction, resumed her duties. The meeting being called to order, the secretary read the minutes of the previous two meetings. The secretary stated that Thos. Gallagher, of the Crockett Rangers now in camp at Randolph, had died at the house of one of the members, J. N. Patrick. He accidentally received a wound in camp and was taken by a comrade to the house of Mrs. Magevney, on Union Street. Moved by his captain to the house of his mother, where he died. He was buried in Elmwood Cemetery, Mr. Flaherty furnishing, without charge, coffin and hearse, and the 'Mothers' who had nursed him attended to the grave.

"The President reported that a telegram had been received by surgeon general of Tennessee that an Arkansas regiment, Colonel Hindman, would return from Virginia with thirty sick. The surgeon requested the society to receive them. Hurried preparations were made about ten o'clock at night and the meeting informed that the men were then at the rooms, receiving every care from visiting and standing committees and our noble and most indefatigable surgeon Dr. G. W. Curry, to whom the ladies are under many obligations for disinterested and efficient service and excellent advice. The standing committee consisted of Mrs. Law, Mrs. Shanks, Mrs. Greenlaw and Mrs. Vernon and was reinforced by a visiting committee for the week consisting of Mrs. Doyle, Mrs. Kirk and Mrs. Gondar. A

committee of two ladies for each day was appointed to send food prepared to the rooms.

"A call was made through the papers for increased contributions, which was promptly responded to by donations of money, furniture, food and other necessaries. The meeting adjourned to meet every week during the summer, at the residence of the secretary."

The following report was read:

"Since fitting up rooms seventy-two soldiers have been received into them, receiving the best medical attention and kindest and most efficient nursing. Seventeen have been discharged, one died and buried by the Mothers. Eighteen removed from rooms to private homes* * * Conduct of men has been, without exception, manifestation of gratitude for services and high appreciation of motives of those engaged in the work. A large number of ladies relieve each other day by day in nursing and arrangements are rapidly approaching the perfection of system to which their officers hope to attain. Ladies in the country can aid by sending chickens, fresh meat, fruit, milk and butter to the rooms. Dr. Erskine has given efficient attention to the sick in the house of the secretary. Drs. Hopson and Shanks have also offered to attend the sick at the houses of some of their patrons. The military board have given medicine. Both ice companies large quantities of ice. The gas company is giving gas and putting up fixtures. Many merchants have contributed money and goods. Mr. W. G. Proudfit authorized the President to draw upon him to any amount, and the use of rooms is the donation of Messrs. Greenlaw. All these things show that the great heart of Memphis is in the work, and soldiers brought here may rely on the Mothers for attention."

This report partly shows where the "great heart of Memphis" was throbbing, so is it any wonder that municipal affairs were cast into the background and that such matters became more and more tangled?

The board of mayor and aldermen continued to have meetings but did little work and were still under opprobrium for poorly managed city affairs. It is recorded that at a meeting of the board June 6, 1861, one of the aldermen objected to

charges to the city of whips, gold pens, silver pencil-cases and pocket-knives, and at this same meeting it was shown that the chain-gang cost Memphis more than it was worth to city work. On the 13th of this month the board could not meet the first draft of $1,000, of the $75,000 that had been voted for the city's defenses, but by the 19th they paid this first draft, which was needed to meet the expenses of the miners and sappers who had been employed on the fortifications. At this same time they refused to pay $262.00 for sixty-four tent-spikes which had been made by order of the mayor at the request of the military board.

On July 3 of this year John Park was sworn in as mayor and three days later the city council reduced school expenses $12,000, the school tax having been struck from the levy.

In August Comptroller Lofland, who had been appointed the previous year to straighten out Memphis finances, gave his report, showing an excess of receipts over appropriations, which was said to be the first time in such a report in the history of Memphis, but two months later he reported an outstanding indebtedness of $307,000, for which no provision had been made. This year the board of mayor and aldermen reduced city property assessments fifteen per centum.

Even this early in the war many people had become inpoverished, so the mayor was authorized to distribute fifty dollars a week among the poor. In addition to this help different organizations of the city gave concerts and other entertainments for the benefit of widows and orphans of soldiers.

Nearly all the voting population was in the army, so when, this summer, Isham G. Harris was elected Governor of Tennessee, Memphis had only 731 votes for him, that being nearly the full extent of the vote cast.

# CHAPTER VII

Memphis Captured by the Federal Fleet. Exciting Scenes in the City. Memphis Under Military Law. Sherman in Command. His Cruelty and Tyranny. Seizure of the Municipal Government by Military Commander. Close of the Civil War. Reconstruction Measures. Trouble with the Negroes. Great Riot in the City. The Freedman's Bureau. Brownlow's Militia Police. The Ku Klux Klan. Peace at Last. The City Begins to Grow Again. Trouble About Finances. Small Pox, Cholera and Yellow Fever Appear.

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BY 1862 the South realized that the war was a much more serious matter than she had dreamed. When, in the beginning, she asserted that the North would not fight and the first victories seemed to confirm the assertion, she did not remember that her enemies were largely of the same Revolutionary stock as her own people and that failure to them only meant more determination to win. The Northern President called for more troops for three years' service and they came.

The great plan was to reach the heart of the Confederate States and, as the closing in upon them went gradually on, Memphis saw her precarious position, especially after New Orleans was taken and the upper river defences fell. On came the Federal fleet down the river, few men and boats to impede its progress, until June 6, Memphis was reached. The battle of that day and the taking of Memphis by the Federals is told in another part of this work.

After the new order of Affairs the Memphis board of mayor and aldermen found little work to do and soon none at all. Military rule became the government of the city and Federal soldiers, well dressed and well provided for, remind-

ing Memphis people of her own scantily supplied soldiers, were to be seen on all sides.

The little city that had so lately been aiding the Confederate cause in every way she could, was now subjected to severe punishments for all such aid detected. But her spirit remained the same and the Federals, who had been told they would receive a warm welcome from the "many subdued Unionists" in the Bluff City, found only "a dead city and a stiff-necked people," as one of them expressed it.

After the river battle before Memphis and the victors had taken possession of the town, business houses were closed and the people kept aloof from the enemy. When a squad was sent to remove the Confederate flag from the mast on Front Row, the crowd refused to let it be done until two companies of marines were marched from one of the transports to the spot. Then, after a hot dispute of several minutes which threatened to be a riot, it was cut down amid hisses and execrations of the crowd and huzzahs for Jeff. Davis and the Confederacy.*

A correspondent of the Cairo *Gazette* who came to Memphis to note the state of affairs, wrote: "There has not been the slightest manifestation of Union feeling. The stores are all closed * * * * As yet the extraordinary Union welcome we were to receive has not been accorded." And later this same correspondent wrote: "In all Memphis there is only one flag to be seen, and that is the Union flag in front of a saloon." Later a Union flag was hoisted over the Union and Planters Bank. A telegram sent North June 11, had these words: "The *Argus* is still quite outspoken in its secession sympathy. The *Avalanche* is more guarded." The *Appeal* had moved to Grenada on the approach of the Federals, as told in another chapter.

Soon, however, merchants from the North came and with them came provisions such as Southern people had not seen for many days. June 16, the postoffice, which had been closed, was reopened, but was very quiet at first. Later one hundred and thirty lock-boxes were engaged and one report gave 1,200 letters as the number mailed.

*Memphis *Appeal*.

On the twenty-sixth of June Colonel Slack, who had been placed in charge of Memphis by the Federal Government, gave his permission for an election to be held in Memphis for electing municipal officers. The voters in this election were required to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. There were about seven hundred votes cast and John Park was reelected mayor.

In July General Grant took command. He issued an order that expelled from the city all persons in any way connected with the Confederate civil or military government. He also expelled from office "all persons holding state, county or civic offices who claim allegiance to the said so-called Confederate Government, and who have abandoned their families and gone South."

Grant was succeeded by General Alvin P. Hovey and he added to Grant's order the requirement that "every man between the ages of eighteen and forty-five take the oath of allegiance, or leave the city."

These measures forced many into the Confederate Army and created feelings of hatred toward the new Union rule.

The Irving Block, which had been used as a Confederate hospital, was now converted into a prison, where Confederate soldiers or other persons caught aiding the Confederate Army were confined.

When General Sherman came to control the city July 21, he was so unreasonably displeased because Southerners did not take the Federal soldiers to their hearts and homes that he made harsh and strict laws, adhering to them even when it took cruelty to do so. The history of this officer's mode of warfare shows that he never stopped at cruelty. Writing of the feeling of the people here at that time he said: "It is idle to talk about Union men here: many want peace and fear war and its results; but all prefer a Southern, independent government, and are fighting or working for it."

With all the patriotism he felt for his own cause he seemed utterly uncomprehensive of this feeling of Southerners, and resented it most vindictively. Again he wrote, after his arrival in Memphis: "When we first entered Memphis, July

21, 1862, I found the place dead; no business doing, the stores closed, churches, schools and everything shut up. * * I caused all the stores to be opened, churches, schools, theatres and places of amusement, to be reestablished. * * * * I also restored the mayor (whose name was Parks) and the city government to the performance of their public functions and required them to maintain a good civic police."

But General Sherman, and not the mayor, governed the city. On August 11, he wrote: "There is not a garrison in Tennessee where a man can go beyond the sight of a flagstaff without being shot or captured."

Upon receiving numerous complaints from citizens and farmers of useless destruction of their property by his soldiers he replied in the *Bulletin,* September 21: "All officers and soldiers are to behave themselves orderly in quarters and on the march; and whoever shall commit any waste of spoil, either in walks of trees, parks, warrens, fish-ponds, houses and gardens, cornfields, inclosures or meadows, or shall maliciously destroy any property whatever belonging to the inhabitants of the United States unless by order of the commander-in-chief of the armies of said United States, shall (besides such penalties as they are liable to by law) be punished according to the nature and degree of the offense, by the judgment of a general or regimental court-martial. * * * * When people forget their obligations to a government that made them respected among the nations of the earth and speak contemptuously of the flag which is the silent emblem of that country, I will not go out of my way to protect them or their property. I will punish the soldiers for trespass or waste, if adjudged by a court-martial, because they disobey orders; but soldiers are men and citizens as well as soldiers, and should promptly resent any insult to their country, come from what quarter it may. * * * * Insult to a soldier does not justify pillage, but it takes from the officer the disposition he would otherwise feel to follow up the inquiry and punish the wrong-doers.

"Again, armies in motion or stationary must commit some waste. Flankers must let down fences and cross fields; and when an attack is contemplated or apprehended, a com-

mand will naturally clear the ground of houses, fences and trees. This is waste, but it is the natural consequence of war, chargeable to those who caused the war. So in fortifying a place, dwelling houses must be taken, materials used, even wasted, and great damage done, which in the end may prove useless. This, too, is an expense not chargeable to us, but to those who made the war; and generally war is destruction and nothing else."

While in Memphis General Sherman was vigilant in keeping supplies of all kinds from passing out of the city to supply the Confederates, but sometimes the guard was eluded and articles necessary for the comfort of Confederate soldiers were taken through the lines. When these performances were detected the offenders were severely punished or, if the offender could not be found, military laws were made more rigid and often innocent people made to suffer. At one time Sherman ordered forty persons to leave Memphis because they had husbands or sons in the Confederate Army, or because they were "Rebel" sympathizers. Citizens who would not take the oath of allegiance to the United States were forced to pay rent for their own dwellings and stores. He also issued an order to the effect that heads of families nearest whose residences the dead body of a Federal soldier or a Unionist might be found, were to be held responsible and punished accordingly.

When the relish of war had penetrated this stern soldier's nature it glutted him and he knew no quarter, no mercy, no pity for one in distress, if that one, man, woman or child, was an enemy. Such was the spirit of warfare with Indian and other savage natures long ago. One writer said of Sherman:* "I challenge the world to produce a person who will say that Sherman was ever touched by the pleadings of any woman, even though she asked for what belonged to her. Like the cobra, he plunged his deadly fangs into everything that moved within his reach." He expressed his own insatiableness in a letter to Brigadier-General J. A. Rawlings:† "I know that

*Captain James Dinkins. †September 17, 1863.

at Washington I am incomprehensible, because at the outset of the war I would not go it blind and rush headlong into a war unprepared and with an utter ignorance of its extent and purpose. I was then considered *unsound;* and now that I insist on war pure and simple with no admixture of civil compromise, I am supposed vindictive. You remember that Polonius said to his son Laertes: 'Beware of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in, bear it that the opposed may beware of thee.' What is true of a single man is equally true of a nation. * * * * I would make this war as severe as possible, and show no symptoms of tiring till the South begs for mercy."

General Sherman used the slaves during his rule in Memphis for public work. He ordered that "all negroes who apply for work shall be employed as laborers on the fortifications, and draw rations, clothing, and one pound of tobacco per month, but no wages will be allowed until the courts determine whether the negro is slave or free. Officers are forbidden to employ them as servants. The negroes employed as laborers will be allowed to return to their masters at the close of any week, but owners are not allowed to enter the lines in search of slaves. The post quartermaster is also authorized to employ negroes on the same conditions and, when necessary, to take them by force. Division quartermasters may employ negroes to drive teams and attend horses. Commanders of regiments may cause negroes to be employed as cooks and teamsters, not exceeding sixty-five for each regiment. In no case will any negro employed under the above conditions be permitted to wear arms or wear uniforms."

The mud in Memphis at this period was terrible, the streets being almost impassible. An English press correspondent named William H. Russell, then touring the South, wrote of our unattractive city:

"I wonder why they gave it such a name of old renown,
This dreary, dismal, muddy, melancholy town?"

A letter from a woman in January, 1863, written to a friend away from Memphis, describes the city as desolate in appearance and in reality. She wrote: "All residences between Tennessee and Shelby Streets from Vance out toward

Fort Pickering, have been destroyed, and their former site is now filled with fortifications and tents of the enemy." The trees and shrubbery were also destroyed in this district.

The illness and fatality of Federal soldiers in Memphis was great in 1863 in the hospitals, 112 deaths being reported for the week ending March 14th. Many residences were demanded for hospitals and other uses of the soldiers, and the above mentioned lady writing to a friend, describes the situation thus:*

"An officer walks in and says: 'Your house is wanted for General ———'s headquarters. He gives you three days to move out and orders that no provisions or stores, or furniture be moved.' All slaves, carriages and horses are taken possession of, and sentinels placed round the house to enforce obedience to orders. When the premises are no longer needed, the silver plate, queensware and best articles of furniture are packed up to grace the mansions of the plunderers in the North. In this way many have been stripped of everything. * * * * Books, pianos, music and many other things which these generals and colonels have no use for, are destroyed. Books are used for waste paper and pianos are beaten to pieces with axes. * * * * Negro men are taken to work on fortifications and their families are crowded into uncomfortable and unwholsome quarters to suffer and die of neglect and despondency. * * * * Few people have the possession and use of their own property. Nearly all the stores and warehouses are either used or rented by the Federal government, which makes no repairs and pays no taxes. * * * * Union meetings are frequently held, and sometimes processions, but nearly everybody engaged in them are newcomers and strangers."

As 1863 advanced, Memphis was filled with Northern men and women and all of her conditions were so changed that she had little resemblance to the city of two years previous. The newcomers received little social recognition from the native residents and some of them resented it, giving expression to their resentment in revengeful acts and words.

**Appeal*, March 26, 1863, published at Grenada.

Others, of course, of higher caliber, understood and even sympathized with the invaded, proud and impoverished Southerners.

Some of these new residents petted negroes to such an extent that both the black and white Southerners would get disgusted. One negro woman said to her mistress, "Dose Yankees overdoes!"* It was common for a Federal soldier to step aside to give passage to a negro woman and then crowd by a white woman, even pushing her aside. It was also common for school girls and others to be forced to step into the mud to allow soldiers, afoot and on horses, to pass on the sidewalks, despite an order against riding on side-walks. But some of the newcomers were as extreme in their hatred of the negroes as was the other class in their sentimental love. Southerners were often engaged in taking up for their servants and defending them against this unreasonable loathing. A Federal beat a negro man unmercifully and vowed he would give every other negro who crossed his path the same kind of treatment. After this quarrel a Memphian told the negro he had not been well treated by his Yankee friend. The negro replied, "Oh, Massa, de Yankee's is jes' mad caze dey cain't take Vicksburg."†

In this same year a lady went to one of the fortifications to ask for her servants. The provost-martial did not see her but a subordinate told her that she might get them if they would go with her. She went to the slaves and told them that she needed their help and wanted them to go home but they refused. She urged them further but made no threats, all the communication being before the guard sent with her. They refused again so she went away with the guard who had conducted her there. After she was gone one of the negroes said braggingly, "She couldn't make me go!" A guard hearing what the man said reported it immediately and an officer was sent to arrest the woman. She was put under arrest before reaching home and told that she was to be taken to the Irving

*Told by a lady who lived here at the time.
†*Appeal*, April 17, 1863.

Block. She asked to be allowed to first get her baby but was refused.*

Sherman's reign did not last always and when Major-General Hurlbut was sent to relieve him in December, 1862, Memphis people felt thankful. This change of officers did not mean that harsh rule was at an end but conditions were somewhat relieved and, as Colonel Keating says, "the people breathed more freely."

Hurlbut was replaced by General C. C. Washburne. Both of these officers adhered to the military laws that had been laid down for the government of the city.

People came continually from the North and the Southerners were subjected to continual oppression. Colonel Keating says of this period: "The experiences of Memphis during the Federal occupation were bitter beyond belief, and the humiliations put upon her citizens were some of them as brutal as they were careless and wanton. She was a conquered city, and her citizens, such of them as remained, were in their own homes by permission, seemingly in the Federal view as suspects; but this did not justify the extremities of petty and exasperating annoyances, the denial of any rights whatever but that of merely living, a compulsory restraint being put upon every man and woman who desired to earn a living, and pursue any avocation for profit or for gain."

After Andrew Johnson was made military governor of the State, laws against disunionists became iron-clad. An oath to support the Union was necessary before a man could be an officer in the State, or vote. The numerous Union men who had come to Memphis and were living here agreed with these measures, but it must have been difficult to put the native residents entirely under subjection for July 2, 1864, after more than two years of military discipline and limited municipal government, Major-General Washburn set aside the civil government and its newly elected officers and issued this "Special Order:"

**Appeal*, January 26, 1863.

"HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF WEST TENNESSEE,
(Special Order No. 70.) Memphis, Tenn., July 2, 1864.

"1. The utter failure of the municipal government of Memphis for the past two years to discharge its proper functions, the disloyal character of that government, its want of sympathy for the government of the United States, and its indisposition to coöperate with the military authorities, have long been felt as evils which the public welfare required to be abated. They have grown from bad to worse until a further toleration of them will not comport with the sense of duty of the commanding general. The city of Memphis is under martial law, and municipal government, existing since the armed traitors were driven from the city, has been only by sufferance of the military authorities of the United States. Therefore, under the authority of general orders No. 100, dated War Department, Adjutant General's office, April 24, 1863:

"It is ordered that the functions of the Municipal government of Memphis be, and they are hereby suspended until further orders.

"The present incumbents are forbidden to perform any official acts or exercise any authority whatever; and persons supposed to be elected officers of the city at an election held on June 30, 1864, will not qualify. That the interests and business of the city may not be interrupted, the following appointment of officers is made:

"Acting mayor, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas H. Harris, assistant adjutant general United States volunteers; recorder, F. W. Buttinghaus; treasurer, James D. Davis; comptroller, W. O. Lofland; tax collector, F. L. Warner; tax collector on privileges, John Loague; chief of police, P. M. Winters; wharfmaster, J. J. Butler, who will be fully respected in the exercise of the duties assigned them; and all records, papers, moneys and property in any manner pertaining to the offices, governments and interests of the city of Memphis, will be immediately turned over by the present holders thereof to the officers above appointed to succeed them. Said officers will be duly sworn in the faithful discharge of their duties and will be required to give bonds to the United States in the sums at present pre-

scribed by law and the city ordinances for such officers respectively.

"The officers herein named and appointed will constitute a board which shall discharge the duties heretofore devolving upon the board of aldermen, and the acting mayor shall be chairman thereof; and their acts, resolutions and ordinances shall be valid and of full force and effect until revoked by the commanding general of the district of West Tennessee, or superior military authority.

"By order of Major-General C. C. Washburne.

W. H. Morgan, Maj. and Asst. Adj't-Gen'l.
Official: W. H. Morgan, Asst. Adj't-Gen'l."

July 16, "Special order No. 83," modified Order No. 70, by providing for a provisional board of mayor and aldermen, thus:

"I. Paragraph I of special orders No. 70, from these headquarters, dated July 2, 1864, is hereby so modified as to constitute the persons hereinafter named, a council to discharge the duties heretofore devolving upon the board of mayor and aldermen of the city of Memphis, and they, with the acting mayor, are hereby invested with all the powers heretofore exercised by the said board of mayor and aldermen, and shall receive the usual compensation, and be known as the provisional mayor and council of the city of Memphis"

Then followed a list of all the officers appointed.

This patched-up sort of government was not beneficial to the city and Memphis degenerated, lack of improvements and general neglect naturally leading to decay and a dreadful condition of streets and property. Taxes were only partially collected and those collected were not judiciously spent.

In January, 1865, at the Union convention held in Nashville, among other disabilities imposed upon Southerners, voting was restricted to

"(1) Unconditional Union men; (2) to those who since the war had come of age; (3) to persons of proved loyalty from other states; (4) to Federal soldiers; (5) to loyal men who had been forced into the Confederate Army; (6) to persons known to the election judges to have been true friends of the

United States; (7) it disfranchised ex-Confederates of high rank for fifteen years and others for five; and (8) it imposed the test oath on all voters. A bill was also passed declaring that negroes had a right to vote under the Constitution, which was the same as that of 1796, under which free negroes had voted."*

In April of this year the war ended. That should have been the beginning of better times for the South as well as for the North, but alas! Many politicians who had not served their country in the war were eager to pack their carpet-bags and hie to the devastated country where most of the best people were disfranchised and the childish negro men had been lifted to the pinnacle of voting, a height they little comprehended, and which their new masters—in reality, though not in name—the "carpet-baggers," took advantage of to the end of serving their own purposes.

April 14, Abraham Lincoln was killed. That tragedy and the death of one who had so faithfully studied the problem of the readjustment of the States, proved a greater loss to the South than to the North. History tells us how vengeance was visited upon the already stricken country and how innocent persons were put to death, martyred and otherwise punished for that terrible killing and the whole Southern country made to suffer hardships even as great as those of the war.

On July 3, 1865, military rule in Memphis ended, Major-General John E. Smith, who then commanded the troops stationed here, revoking special orders 70 and 83, and turning over all books, papers and authority to the new city officers. These recently-elected officers were John Park, mayor; John Creighton, recorder; B. G. Garrett, chief of police.

Memphis started under this new government with conditions so changed that it was difficult for the officers to know how to conduct affairs. Labor was different, citizenship was different and business seemed to be unbalanced.

Business was chiefly carried on with Northern capital as Southerners had become impoverished, especially all those who had taken part in the Confederate Army or had in any

*Keating.

way aided that cause. Property of all such actors or sympathizers was consumed by the direct war-taxes that had been levied by the Federal government. The owners could not pay these taxes and the property was sold at public auction. Many of the carpet-baggers of that time, as well as respectable Northern people became rich from the misfortunes of Memphians who were unable to retain their property and powerless to prevent the sales.

Lawyers who had been Confederate soldiers could not practice in the courts and most of the respectable element of the town was disfranchised. Negroes had been given the franchise and other men who enjoyed this privilege were largely of a low element who had come into Memphis. Many of these came in from the river and afterwards proved to be very undesirable citizens.

James F. Rhodes speaks of the legislation in the South of that time as "enfranchising ignorance and disfranchising intelligence," and he continues, "It provided that the most degraded negro could vote while Robert E. Lee, Wade Hampton, Alexander H. Stephens and Governor Joseph E. Brown could not. * * * * It followed that the ignorant Congo Negro was a better citizen for the upbuilding of the new State than a man of the highest intelligence and largest political experience, who had sided with the Confederacy. Obviously this view was more partisan than patriotic."

There were many foreign laborers in Memphis at this time, these being chiefly of the fixed foreign type. The Irish laborer had an unreasonable hatred for the negro and rivalry between them became so great as to be another problem in the city's welfare.

Though Memphis was said to have returned to civil government, Major-General Stoneman was stationed here with white and negro troops and the latter proved a source of much annoyance to Memphis people.

Policemen had been largely appointed from the Irish voters and they and the negro soldiers became avowed enemies.

Some of the white Northerners who had come to Memphis to teach or preach to the colored people, with no knowledge of the

negro character, still in a childish stage of development, were continually firing their students with the idea that they were better than their former owners and that they must assert their rights and their superiority on all possible occasions. Many of the Northern whites were above this, of course, and many of the negroes could not be induced to injure or even speak against their "white folks," but the lawless part of the community grew in strength until life for respectable people, white and black, became a problem difficult to be solved.

Many of the rabble part of discharged soldiers from the Union army had gathered in Memphis and some of the negroes, intoxicated with their new freedom, and intoxicated with liquor much of the time, did not make a desirable element in a community and their lawlessness found many vents. Living in the country or even suburbs was really dangerous at that time. Numbers of homes of ex-Confederates were burned for no cause except the spite of the incendiary, and on several occasions white people were shot down by drunken and sober negro soldiers. Many families were compelled to abandon their country homes and move into town for safety.

The Freedman's Bureau, originated for a worthy purpose, and at first conducted in a manner beneficial to blacks and whites, became a machine of much corruption. Mr. G. S. Shanklin, writes of the Freedman's Bureau as "the manufacturer of paupers and vagabonds, the fruitful source of strife, vice and crime," and Colonel Keating states: "It assumed to regulate labor, substituting for the free will of the late slave the one-man direction of officials who cloaked their rapacity and money-greed behind a zeal sustained by sectional hate, and the hot fanaticism of the abolition furies whose passions were not satisfied with the manumission of the negro, and could only be so by the degradation of the whites. Many of the agents of this Bureau made a fence of the Redeemer's name, behind which to caricature his compassion and humanity, and enact, surrounded by all conceivable devices, sham sympathy, which for a time only concealed their villanies long enough, however, to enable them to maintain their ill-gotten and ill-

managed political power, and by it rob the victims of their pseudo-philanthropy."

President Johnson, through whose agency so many "reconstruction" hardships had come upon the Southland, with his talent for changing views, again became the South's friend and then used his power to raise it from misfortune. He said now that he wished the South to "be remitted to its former status in the Union, with all its manhood."

The year after the war Memphis was truly an afflicted city. In the throes of carpet-bag misrule, the best of her population unable to take any part in public affairs, officers and voters mostly made up of comparative strangers and riffraff, and all city matters in chaos,—it was depressing to think of the outcome. A bomb goes its distance and then bursts. So it was with the Memphis political and social bomb at that period. It was speeding its way from the mortar of confusion, and in May, 1866, exploded its destructive casing and shrapnel, scattering death among innocent and guilty alike.

In Fort Pickering there were 4,000 negro soldiers, pervaded with an exaggerated idea of their own importance, who were continually insulting white women as well as white men, and the fact that they were being encouraged by white people, aroused the indignation of respectable white Southerners toward them and the hatred of ignorant classes of white people toward all negroes. Thoughtful people of Southern and Northern birth tried to prevent outrages arising from the fast-crystalizing hatred, by petitioning the President of the United States for their removal. President Johnson referred this petition to the secretary of war and he to General Thomas, who declined to grant it. When this fact became known it only increased the insolence of the black troops. General Stoneman was in charge of the department of Tennessee, with his headquarters at Memphis. He tried to enforce discipline and did to a degree, but his own attitude toward Southerners was not especially friendly.

In April of that unfortunate year the four negro regiments causing most of the disturbance were mustered out of service, but after their discharge they continued to lounge

around the fort, awaiting their pay, and wandering through the city, more dangerous under the loose discipline they now enjoyed than before. They frequented low houses, drank a great deal and so annoyed the poorer class of white people that some of them resented it to the point of chastising several of the obstreperous blacks. This aroused the negroes to fierce wrath and they swore vengeance.

On the afternoon of May 1, 1866, one hundred or more of these soldiers were "on a spree" and making great disturbance in South Memphis, not far from the fort. About three o'clock a policeman arrested one of the negroes who had been very unruly and the soldiers rescued him, for which they cheered loudly and made great threats about what they meant to do to white people and to the policemen especially. An hour later six policemen went to the neighborhood and two of them arrested two particularly boisterous soldiers. This caused the others to crowd about with yells of "Stone 'em!" "Shoot 'em!" "Club 'em!"

As these officers went along the four who had dropped behind joined them and the six kept the crowd off, but soon about forty of the soldiers began to fire their revolvers, while others threw rocks or missles or brandished sticks. The officers then turned and fired into the crowd. One of the policemen was shot and soon after one of the soldiers, which caused them to make a rush down Causey Street for the police. Many shots were fired on both sides. After dark the negro soldiers went into the fort and were not out again that night, but the police and white people of the class that make up a mob, gathered in numbers and fury. About ten o'clock they returned to the scene of the former trouble but found no negroes abroad with hostile intent. Then they broke up into squads and some of these passion-aroused creatures wreaked their vengeance on innocent negroes, burning their homes, robbing and killing many of the inmates.

The next morning, Wednesday, May 2, the mob broke loose again and committed deeds as disgraceful as those of the night before. Sheriff Winters had got together a posse, after having failed to get military assistance from Major-Gen-

eral Stoneman, and tried, with the police, to put down the riot. However, a large number of them joined the mob, flagrantly deserting the cause for which they had been called out. These deserters, made up largely of foreigners, now had an opportunity to vent their spite on the negroes and did it, without regard to the innocence or guilt, sex or age of their victims, the only offense needful being a dark skin. The sheriff rescued one colored man from four men and tried to quell the general disorder, but was powerless with his handful of men.

Wednesday night the mob was out again. Seeing Mr. M. C. Gallaway, editor of the *Avalanche,* a paper Southern in its sympathies, some of the men tried to lift him to their shoulders and persuade him to lead the mob to the office of the *Post,* a republican paper, and demolish that office. He refused and appealed to the men not to attempt such a thing, trying to make them comprehend how harmful such a proceeding would be. Mr. Gallaway afterward testified that he did not know a man in the mob. After the crowd left him they shot at two negroes. The colored population was very scarce that night, the mass of them being secreted by white people in their homes. A striking fact connected with this riot was that of the two thousand or more ex-Confederate veterans resident in the city, not one raised his hand against the negroes but, in hundreds of instances, sheltered them in their homes.

By Thursday the mob was under control, though there were a few spurts of feeling on that day.*

This riot, like other occurrences in Southern cities during that strained period of "reconstruction" was the outcome of extreme prejudice on both sides. It was disgraceful in itself, as all passionate revolutions are, but did not brand all Memphis people, as was claimed by some papers and political parties. At the time of its outbreak there was extreme antagonism between the negroes and a large element of white people, especially the Irish laboring class, who have never been known

*This description is taken from the testimony of Major D. Upman, a United States officer and strong Union man; Dr. S. J. Quimby, a five months' resident of Memphis, from Center Harbor, Mich., who served in the Union army from 1862 to the close, part of the time commanding colored troops; and others.

to affiliate with people of an inferior race. From one-half to two-thirds† of the better class of white men were disfranchised, so that the men in political power were largely from the inferior class of society, such officers frequently being unequal to their duties and not men who would have been selected by the two thousand or more disfranchised Confederate officers and soldiers living in Memphis at the time.

The Memphis police force in 1866 comprised 180 men, of these 167 being Irish, 8 American and 5 of unknown nationality. The firemen in April and May, 1866, numbered 46, of whom 42 were foreign born, 3 Americans and one unknown. As this was the official material the sheriff and mayor had for their posses, the futility of their efforts can be understood. It was much like taking a troop of lions to guard a herd of unruly cattle.

Mr. G. S. Shanklin, member of the Select Committee, afterward selected by Congress to investigate the Memphis riots, said: "It is most conclusively shown by all the testimony in this investigation that this mob was exclusively composed of the police, firemen, rowdy and rabble population of the city of Memphis, the greater part of whom are voters in the city of Memphis, under the franchise law of the State of Tennessee, enacted by what is known and called the 'radical Brownlow party,' and intended to disfranchise all persons in that State, who had in any manner aided, encouraged or abetted the late rebellion, and thereby place the political and civil power of the State in the hands of and under the control of those they call true loyal men."

The mayor and sheriff have been harshly criticised for not quelling the riots, and even accused of abetting it, but both these officers tried to get the coöperation of the military in restoring order on the first day. At the breaking out of the riots Tuesday afternoon, May 1, Sheriff Winters appealed to Major-General Stoneman for troops but that officer refused aid, saying that he wished to see if the city could govern herself and stop disturbances, as Southern people had boasted she could, if the United States troops were removed. The

†Shanklin.

same afternoon, shortly after the sheriff's call, Mayor Park sent this communication to Major-General Stoneman:

"Mayor's Office, City of Memphis, May 1, 1866.

"General: There is an uneasiness in the public mind, growing out of the occurrences of today, which would be materially calmed if there was an assurance of military coöperation with the civil police in suppressing all disturbances of the public peace. I should be happy to have it in my power to give this assurance at once. It would intimidate the lawless, and serve to allay the apprehensions of the orderly. I therefore request that you will order a force of, say, two hundred men, commanded by discreet officers, to be held ready to coöperate with the constabulary force of the city in case of any further continued lawlessness.

"I am, general, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

John Park, Mayor."

General Stoneman responded, as follows:

"Headquarters Department of Tennessee,

Memphis, Tennessee, May 1, 1866.

"Dear Sir:—I am in receipt of yours of this instant. In reply I have the honor to inform you that the small force of regular infantry stationed at this post, in all not more than one hundred and fifty strong, will be directed to hold itself in readiness to coöperate with the civil authorities of Memphis in 'case of further continued lawlessness.' This force is in camp at the fort, where you can communicate with the commanding officer in case you shall find that you need his assistance and support. I should prefer that the troops be called upon only in case of an extreme necessity, of which you must be the judge.

"I am very respectfully, your obedient servant,

Geo. Stoneman, Major-General Commanding."

Two days later, May 3, some Memphis citizens had a meeting at the courthouse, after which this letter and resolutions were sent to Major-General Stoneman:

"Memphis, Tennessee, May 3, 1866.

"Sir:—I am requested by the citizens composing a meeting held this morning at the courthouse to lay before you

the following resolutions which passed unanimously, and to request from you your coöperation in any measures that may be taken in pursuance thereof,

Respectfully yours,

R. C. Brinkley."

"*Resolutions.*

"Resolved, That the mayor of the city and the sheriff of the county together with the chairman of this meeting, (W. B. Greenlaw,) be authorized to summon a force of citizens of sufficient number to act in connection with the military, which shall constitute a patrol for the protection of the city, to serve such time as the mayor, sheriff, and chairman of the meeting shall direct.

"Resolved, That the chairman, (W. B. Greenlaw,) J. H. McMahan, S. P. Walker and R. C. Brinkley, be requested to wait upon General Stoneman and inform him of the proceedings of this meeting.

W. B. Greenlaw, Chairman.

R. C. Brinkley, Secretary."

Major General Stoneman, U. S. A.

Commanding Department of Tennessee."

In his testimony afterward taken by the Select Committee, appointed by Congress to investigate the riots, General Stoneman said, "When this resolution was transmitted to me, I told them I had determined to take the thing into my own hands, and that I should have to set all civil government aside."

His written response to the above communication, was:

"Headquarters Department of Tennessee.

Memphis, Tennessee, May 3, 1866.

"To the Mayor, City Council and all civil authorities of the County of Shelby, and City of Memphis:

"Gentlemen: Circumstances compel the undersigned to interfere with civil affairs in the city of Memphis. It is forbidden for any person, without the authority from these headquarters, to assemble together any posse, armed or unarmed, white or colored. This does not include the police force of

the city, and will not so long as they can be relied upon as preservers of the peace.

"I am, gentlemen, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

Geo. Stoneman, Major-Gen'l Commanding."

General Stoneman seemed to be somewhat vindictive in his conduct. In his testimony he said that Union officers were not welcome in Memphis society and that Southern people were less loyal than they had been six months previous to that time. He also complained that they were ever ready to cheer "Dixie" and to hiss "Yankee Doodle," and that the only flags to be seen in the city were the one at his headquarters, one at the Freedmen's Bureau and one in front of the Republican paper, the Post. He sent word to the manager of the theatre that he would interfere if national airs were again hissed. He showed little understanding of human nature in condemning a feeling that had been part of the nature of Southern people for over four years and he seemed not to comprehend that it had taken just such treatment to make Southern people "less loyal than they had been six months before."

Mr. Shanklin wrote:

"No city in the Mississippi Valley can claim a more intelligent cultivated and refined society, or more active and efficient business men can be found, than in the city of Memphis. The growth of the city is rapid, the masses of the population are industrious, orderly and moral, and with these classes the sentiment of condemnation of the riot is universal; then why should they suffer reproach or condemnation? They were deprived by the law, in the enactment of which most of them had no voice, civil or legal power; they had but recently emerged from military control and government. The military was then present for the purpose of aiding in the enforcement of the law and preventing disorder; and whilst they in a large body offered their services to General Stoneman, and to be under his control, and such officers as he might appoint over them, to aid in suppressing the mob, these proffered services having been declined by General Stoneman, it is fair to pre-

sume that they came to the conclusion that it would have been improper for them to interfere in the matter."

The outlook for Memphis was not promising. Leaders of the government misunderstood conditions in the South, were unable to grasp them or felt only rancor toward ex-Confederates. The best material of Southern citizenship,—the men who were capable of the best feeling, best reasoning and judgment, and who, since they knew the cause they had fought and suffered for to be lost, were the sort to look the inevitable in the face and go to work on new lines to readjust affairs to suit the changed conditions, were, according to the law, placed lower than the ignorant, the childish and rabble material of the community. James Ford Rhodes, writing of this period, says: "It may be affirmed with confidence that there was nothing in the condition of the South which required the stringent military rule provided for in the Reconstruction acts."

All Northern men were not in sympathy with these "stringent" measures, and Mr. Rhodes quotes Governor Andrews of Massachusetts as saying: "The true question is now, not of past disloyalty, but of present loyal purpose," to which he himself adds: "On the practical question of loyalty the Southern men were sound."

Abraham Lincoln must have realized the state of disruption that would be brought about by the mismanagement of reconstruction when he said in his last public speech, April 1, 1865, "We shall sooner have the fowl by hatching the egg than by smashing it." This just man also said: "We can't undertake state governments in all these Southern states. Their people must do that, though I reckon that at first they may do it badly."

Insults to Confederate soldiers continued at intervals but, as inharmony is not the true and God-given state of man, it cannot always last, and adjustment was slowly asserting itself. In June of this chaotic year of the riots and other race and political disturbances, it was decided that all criminal cases in which negroes were parties were to be turned over to the civil authorities of Memphis, and these officers were also

authorized to take charge of the medical and other hospital stores which had been under the charge of the Freedmen's Bureau.

But the Bureau was only dying, not dead. On the thirteenth of this month Brigadier-General Runkle, who was in charge of Bureau affairs at Memphis, issued an order that "all contracts with negroes must be registered and approved by the Freedmen's Bureau, otherwise they would have no binding force."*

This order retarded adjustment between the races and was the indirect cause of more bad feeling. The police of the city were organized into a force that amounted to militia and they and the citizens became very antagonistic. Later, officers and police became implicated in crimes that brought them into even more disrepute. The unscrupulous among these men used, so far as possible, the power given them by the "Brownlow radical administration." The commissioner† was charged with "forgery, bribery and robbery, and with two of his detectives,‡ was placed under bonds, and the grand jury found two bills against them,"§ but this case, with others against the "radicals" could not be sustained, especially after November, when the Legislature passed an act "disqualifying and prohibiting all Confederate soldiers and sympathizers serving as jurors."||

The "radicals," "carpet-baggers," or "scalawags," as they were variously called, usually narrow and fanatical, could not grasp the true status, and so Southern respectability was forced into the background while those in charge officially had full sway. They succeeded in getting the entire country into a muddle, deeper into debt and filling their own pockets. Again quoting Mr. Rhodes: "Military government at the South may be described as possessing all powers and no responsibilities."

John Park was continuously elected mayor of Memphis until after the war and when the conflict came to an end he remained in office a year longer than his expired term, owing

*Keating. †Beaumont. ‡Pratt and Norton. §Keating
||Old Folks Record.

to the fact that no election was held that year. On October 15, 1866, W. O. Lofland was elected to the office for two years, that time being determined the following year, 1867, by the Legislature for the term of mayor's office.

This same Legislature enlarged the boundaries of Memphis as follows:

"From mouth of Wolf River to Brinkley Street, thence east to Mosely Avenue, thence south to old Raleigh road. thence east to Brinkley Avenue, thence south to its termination, thence to Dunlap Street, thence to west boundary of Elmwood Cemetery, thence to Walker Avenue, thence west to Bayou Gayoso, thence to Gaines Street, thence by this street to Mississippi River, thence by the river to the beginning. The added territory to compose the Ninth and Tenth wards, Madison Street dividing them."*

The county seat was also moved from Raleigh this year back to Memphis.

The city debt was all this while increasing enormously. The papers tried to make the people realize the seriousness and detriment to the city of this debt, but affairs were in too much turmoil generally and too much distrust was abroad for matters to be set straight or even attempted by the people then. However, this very state of affairs was waking citizens to more determination to get the city government into their own hands, and some of the state senators and representatives were beginning to work to the end of placing the people in power over the State.

President Johnson, with all of his erratic behavior and unpopularity was at this time doing what he could to lift the white man's burden in the South. In Memphis he became as popular as he had been unpopular, and a mass meeting was held in Court Square, where his new policy of restoration was publicly sanctioned and delegates elected to a convention that was to be held in Philadelphia for the purpose of uniting in a "National Union Party," all in favor of the President's policy. Forty-one Democratic members of Congress signed

*Old Folks Record.

an address to the people of the United States, approving the call of this convention, the aim of which was to bring harmony to the distracted country. These signers endorsed all of its principles, Southerners accepting much that was distasteful and even humiliating, for the sake of bringing about a more livable condition of government in their land.

This National convention, held in June, helped to break down the barrier between the sections and gave a blow to the rabid radicalism which was threatening even the Constitution.

Soon after this Memphis gave her first public greeting to a Union soldier,—General Frank P. Blair. He was cordially received by the mayor and aldermen and was warmly greeted as he arose to address the people.

Confederate soldiers, who had so long remained silent, began to show interest in affairs and when General Blair again visited the city they gave him a hearty welcome and General Forrest this time introduced him to an audience.

Colonel Keating says of these pacifying events, "The ice was at last broken. Brownlow and his Legislature were no longer to have things their own way."

But this change for the better was only beginning. Continued night stealing, burning and other depredations by negroes was rarely punished, which gave them more and more a sense of license and insolence, and had become such a nuisance and even terror that strategy was resorted to by men who understood their superstitious natures. A secret order for frightening them into their homes at night was formed and became known as the Ku Klux Klan.

The object of the organizers of this order was to bring tranquility and safety to the community, nor was their method new, though their particular klan was. Numerous such orders have come down to us through history, notably the Nihilists of Russia, Alumbrados of Spain and other orders organized for religious freedom.

The Ku Klux Klan was secretly and mysteriously conducted and its members could not be caught. These men would ride about the country at night in fantastic garb, pretending to

be the spirits of departed Confederate soldiers, come back to avenge outrages on their people. Some of them had a method of seeming to elongate themselves and others had concealed bags into which they would empty one or more buckets of water, seeming to the astonished onlookers to be drinking it. Soon the colored population could not be induced to leave their houses at night and some white people were quite as much afraid.

L. C. Lester and D. L. Wilson give this explanation of the object and results of this peculiar order:

"Whatever may be the judgment of history, those who know the facts will ever remain firm in the conviction that the Ku Klux Klan was of immense service at this period of Southern history. Without it, in many sections of the South, life to decent people would not have been tolerable. It served a good purpose. Wherever the Ku Klux appeared the effect was salutary. For a while the robberies ceased. The lawless class assumed the habits of good behavior."

After the Klan has achieved its purpose it went out of existence in 1869, and its members ceased their self-imposed discipline. The Ku Klux Klan has often been maligned and men were arrested, after the order had disbanded, for misconduct done under the guise of the former Klan. Lester and Wilson say of this: "No single instance occurred of the arrest of a masked man who proved to be—when stripped of his disguises—a Ku Klux."

At a Ku Klux convention held in Nashville in 1867, where numerous and prominent Memphis men were in attendance, their principles were thus stated:

(1) To protect the weak, the innocent and the defenseless, from the indignities, wrongs and outrages of the lawless, the violent and the brutal; to relieve the injured and the oppressed; to succor the suffering, and especially the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers.

(2) To protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, and all laws passed in conformity thereto, and to protect the States and people thereof from all invasion from any source whatever.

(3) To aid and assist in the execution of all constitutional laws, and to protect the people from unlawful seizure, and from trial except by their peers in conformity to the laws of the land.

Instead of having treasonable designs, as had been preferred against them, their creed is additional proof of fidelity to the United States.

*Creed.*

We, the order of the * * * , reverentially acknowledge the majesty and supremacy of the Divine Being, and recognize the goodness and providence of the same. And we recognize our relation to the United States Government, the supremacy of the Constitution, the Constitutional laws thereof, and the Union of States thereunder.

But behind it all was a determined purpose to rid the "reconstructed" Southern States of carpet-bag government and misrule, and this was ultimately accomplished.

The last of this decade of the sixties, with its war effects, was as disastrous for Memphis as the war itself. Municipal and financial affairs were in deplorable condition, an epidemic of yellow fever in 1867 claimed 550 victims and several big fires added to the stress of losses already experienced.

The people were discouraged, but were sustained by the greatest gift to human beings,—Hope!

Each year seemed to strengthen affairs a little and better feeling between Northerners and Southerners was making its way. Carpet-bag rule was weakened and the South was beginning to stand up again. By 1870 all her states had been readmitted to the Union and she was avowedly and really ready to take her part in the welfare of the common country.

The year 1870 started with John W. Leftwich as mayor, he having succeeded W. O. Lofland. In that year the Memphis board of rulers was changed from that of "Mayor and Aldermen" to "Mayor, Board of Aldermen and Board of Common Councilmen," all these together denominated the General Council. Each ward was entitled to one alderman, elected for two years, and two councilmen, elected for one year. The city boundaries were also reduced at this time thus:

Beginning at a point on the west line of the State of Tennessee, where the center of Kerr Street, produced, would strike the Mississippi River; thence eastward on a line with the center of Kerr Street, if extended, would strike the town reserve; thence southward, along the said east line of the town reserve, to the middle of the old Raleigh road, or Johnson's Avenue; thence eastward along the middle of the old Raleigh road to a point where the center line of Dunlap Street, produced, northward, would intersect the same; thence southward along the said produced line, and the middle line of Dunlap Street to the middle of Union Avenue; thence westward along the middle of Union Avenue to the middle of Walnut Street; thence southward along the middle of Walnut Street to the middle of the old Fort Pickering Railroad; thence westward along the middle of the old Fort Pickering Railroad, or Broadway, to the middle of Bayou Gayoso; thence southward, up said bayou, and along the middle of the same, to Jackson Street; thence along the middle of Jackson Street and the prolongation of said street, to the west line of the State of Tennessee; thence northward with the west line of the State of Tennessee to the beginning.

The valuation of real and personal property in Memphis for this same year, was:

"fixed at $24,783,190, upon which was levied a tax of $486,881, divided as follows: For schools, $74,359; interest tax, $239,049; city tax, $173,482. The value of real and personal property in the city of Memphis as returned by the assessor from and inclusive of 1860 and 1870, was as follows: 1860, $16,897,000; 1861, $21,153,000; 1862, $18,297,000; 1863, $16,693,000; 1864, $15,026,000; 1865, $15,574,000; 1866, $17,823,000; 1867, $30,819,900; 1868, $28,564,000; 1869, $28,528,000; 1870, $24,783,000."*

In January of 1870 John Johnson was elected mayor of the city and served two terms, or four years. The Federal census of this year gave Memphis a population of 40,226. Of this number 24,755 were white; 15,471, colored; 6,780, foreign; 3,371, Irish; 2,144, German.†

*Vedder. †Keating.

This showed an increase of nearly 18,000, although the Ninth and Tenth wards had been taken from the corporation. This official census encouraged the people as it proved that the town was at least active and they trusted to its becoming sane and harmonious soon.

"Reconstruction," so called, was ended in Tennessee and although carpet-bag rule had depleted Memphis, the people felt relieved, took heart and hoped to do their little part in the working out of the Nation's welfare.

The Charter Amendment provided that day and night police, exclusive of the chief, should consist of one policeman to every 1,000 inhabitants under the Federal census. The Board of Commissioners were to elect the chief of the Fire Department, and to adopt rules of discipline, which they required the chief to enforce. There were to be enough firemen to manage all the equipment and to extinguish fires, but no more, and they were also to be employed by the Commissioners.

One of the first duties imposed on the General Council was to establish work-houses and houses of correction.

Municipal enterprise was going forward. Work was being done on the streets and the Popular Street turnpike was nearing completion. Two railroads that had been discussed and agitated in former years were begun,—one to Selma, Alabama, and the other to Paducah, Kentucky.

The new mayor was much handicapped by the condition in which he found affairs. In his first report he stated that the city was "without a dollar of cash in her treasury and her credit so impaired that she was really paying at least two prices for all services rendered, or supplies purchased; her bonds, authorized to be issued to fund due outstanding indebtedness, having been and being disposed of by her own officers at less than fifty cents on the dollar to pay current expenses; and though ostensibly the pay of the city employees and supplies obtained were at cash rates, yet, by allowances thereon in various ways, and for heavy interest on loans, and fabulous discount on bonds sold, the cost to the city was eventually more than double the amount nominally paid. Her floating debt,

then over $600,000 in excess of all assets applicable for its liquidation, was being increased in the ratio of 100 to 65, by being exchanged for her own six per cent bonds, so that, in taking up $65 of debt in one shape, she issued to the fortunate holders thereof, $100 in a much better form. The floating debt at that date being, in round numbers about $1,200,000, with assets applicable to its reduction to only half that amount, and that inequality between debt and means continuously and rapidly increasing, it must be obvious to any one who will impartially examine this matter, that this pretense of merely taking up floating indebtedness by issuance of six per cent bonds when in the exchange there was really so great an increase, would, by a continuance of the system (the city's credit rapidly depreciating as her necessities increased) soon have led to financial ruin and actual bankruptcy."

The city's total debt July 1, 1870, amounted to $4,785,000, her assets, all told, to $882,488.*

Mr. Johnson considered this state of affairs appalling, as well he might, and proposed that the city be run on a cash basis until finances were in better condition, but the people did not join with him and he was "hampered and hindered by ward politicians."†

$500,000 more of bonds were issued for funding purposes. Taxes were high but debt increased and poor management was fast hurrying Memphis to bankruptcy and humiliation. Distrust was felt on all sides and the mayor himself was charged with fraud in regard to "the payment of some Memphis coupons in the hands of the state,"‡ but he was exonerated by Mr. William M. Farrington, president of the Union & Planters Bank, in a manner so satisfactory to the public that he was reelected mayor at the next municipal election.

Crimes were so numerous during this time that many arrests were made and it became necessary to hold so many criminals that in August of 1871 Judge Flippin lectured on the state of affairs and warned those in charge of the jail to be vigorous "in preventing criminals from escaping and mur-

*Keating. †Ibid. ‡Keating.

derers too much freedom in the jail and from preventing women from having free access to them."

The levy of taxes became so heavy that citizens protested strongly, even appealed to the Supreme Court and Legislature for redress, but the Supreme Court sustained the city government and declared their legislation constitutional. But even the excessive taxes could not meet expenses and suits were brought against the city for debts. One contractor brought suit for $448,000, for Nicholson pavement, and obtained judgment.*

In the midst of her own troubles news came to Memphis of the terrible Chicago fire and she raised over $50,000 for the benefit of the thousands made homeless by that catastrophe. Little did she think then that the sufferers from that great conflagration would, in a few years, be called upon to help her own stricken people.

While this burden of excessive taxes was being borne by the people, who were striving to build up their unfortunate city, the fact was published by the grand jury that the County Court had not been spending as much for public improvements as the city and county had been charged for. The tax-collector was declared to be a defaulter to the amount of $100,000 and the amount was afterwards found to be three times that sum.

When their officials could not be trusted the people knew their troubles were not decreasing. While they were taxed beyond the rates of larger cities, still municipal affairs were woefully neglected. The streets were in poor condition, filth was allowed to accumulate in yards, alleys and even streets, and sewerage was scarcely regarded at all. As effect is sure to follow cause, Memphis paid the penalty for this neglect.

The beginning of 1873 seemed to point to an unraveling of municipal tangles and to city prosperity, but plans of men are as naught when Nature punishes. It is then that we realize that merely human existence is very uncertain, and that to be well in this span of life we must regard the laws of decency and right as pointed out to us by Mother Nature herself. The unsanitary conditions of Memphis, the foul air that had been

*Ibid.

allowed to hover over her homes and streets,—all the general neglect, brought their lesson to Memphis.

As the last decade had been one of war and poorly managed reconstruction, this one seemed to be destined for one of pestilence. Before the winter of early 1873 was over small-pox laid seize to the city; in June and July it was followed by a "malignant type of Asiatic cholera,"* and in August came yellow fever.

When yellow fever was pronounced epidemic, September 14,† the people were terror-stricken and in a very short while the population was reduced to 25,000, and many of these left later. Business of course was almost entirely suspended, the law of self-preservation usurping all other interests. Of those left 4,204 were stricken with the disease, of which number 1,244 died.‡

Memphis was in poor condition to care for an epidemic, but a Citizens' Executive Committee was organized and they set valiantly to work to care for the stricken, soliciting aid from abroad. All the states responded to this call and several European countries sent large subscriptions. The Howard Association, which had been formed for the especial purpose of aiding yellow fever epidemics, called its forces together the day after the announcement of the epidemic. Only eight of its original members responded to the roll-call, but more joined the association and they were soon engaged in their noble work. The eight members on hand when the meeting was called were: J. G. Lonsdale, Sr., Dr. P. P. Frame, A. D. Langstaff, W. J. B. Lonsdale, J. P. Robertson, E. J. Mansford, A. G. Raymond and Fred Gutherz. The new members were: W. J. Smith, J. J. Murphy, B. P. Anderson, J. G. Simpson, W. P. Wilson, G. W. Gordon, J. H. Smith, E. B. Foster, A. E. Frankland, W. S. Rogers, W. A. Holt, F. F. Bowen, J. F. Porter, R. T. Halstead, T. R. Waring, S. W. Rhode, W. J. Lemon, W. G. Barth, L.

*Father D. A. Quinn.

†According to Dowell. He also says that the first case appeared August 1, and the last November 9.

‡Dowell gives these figures as the nearest estimate, not including those that died before September 14, and after November 9, although there were deaths both before and after those dates, but no official record was kept of them.

Seibeck, J. E. Lanphier, J. H. Edmondson, John Johnston (attorney), J. W. Cooper, F. A. Tyler, Jr., C. A. Laffingwell, H. D. Connell, P. W. Semmes, D. E. Brettenum and D. B. Graham.* They only had $130 in the treasury but their call for aid was quickly responded to by contributions of money, clothing and provisions of all sorts from all over the country.

Several physicians who had had experience with the disease came to the city and many other helpers came at the call of distress. Besides the workers of the Howard Association and the Citizens' Committee, the Odd Fellows, Masons, priests and sisters of the Catholic church, and others volunteered service, and contributions from Protestant, Catholic and Jewish churches, from the secret organizations, trade organizations, police, firemen, city, county, State and all states, came pouring in. Ministers of all denominations could be seen among the patients, some having come from afar to take part in allaying the suffering. All feelings between the North and the South were forgotten and "carpet-baggers," "scalawags," foreigners, —all classes and nationalities thought only of the suffering and became brothers.

Women of station in society joined in the work and often beside them and the religious workers, would toil a former "outcast," tending the needs of patients, closing the eyes that were blind to earthly scenes, or otherwise assisting in their self-sacrificing and volunteer work for others. Many of these unselfish ones laid their lives on the altar of sacrifice, perhaps after bringing to convalescence many others.

When, in November, the epidemic was declared to be a horrer of the past, the General Council passed resolutions of thanks to all the states and countries that had sent succor during the disheartening seige.

People came back much depressed, but Colonel Keating tells us that the merchants were only inconvenienced and almost uninjured.

When the year ended confidence had been regained and 1874 showed noteworthy increase in business improvements, but the city government was still a cause of complaint. A

*Keating.

writer in "Old Folks Record" in 1874, said: "We need legislative reform. Our city government should be simplified. As it is, too many members of our city legislature have axes to grind, and they are ground at the expense of their fellow citizens." This writer advocated one tax-collector instead of four or five, and continued: "We could dispense with some of our courts and incidental expenses. We could reform our jury system, and in this particular save thousands of dollars.

"Let our city and county be managed as a frugal farmer manages his farm, and there will be no drawback in their progress.

"Let our people be persuaded that our offices and courts and government are for them, and not for the officers."

The city's monthly outlay at that time was said to exceed $35,000, much more than the depleted and debt-encumbered corporation could afford. Taxes continued to be a great burden and for 1873 amounted to $4.00 on the $100, on a tax valuation of $28,217,000, and in addition to this extortionate levy, the mayor was demanding the collection of $977,000 of back taxes. For this purpose the General Council issued distress warrants, after the United States court had issued a writ of mandamus against the city for $514,900, for the Nicholson pavement contractor before mentioned.

Crime still stalked through the town, but the officers had grown very determined and were doing what they could to lessen its evils by enforcing strict laws against carrying concealed weapons and bringing all criminals to justice. Judge Flippin again lectured to the city and appealed to the sense of civic pride and right in the citizens to do all in their power to eradicate crime and build up poor Memphis, who had had many terrible experiences to hold her back on the road to progress.

Confidence between the white people and negroes was gaining ground and the latter had learned to a great extent that their former owners were not enemies, though many of them had never thought so. Occasional riots were threatened and a serious one in 1874 occurred in Gibson County in which several negroes were killed.

Memphis people held a mass meeting to denounce this affair and try to establish harmony, especially now that the state had returned to Democratic government and conditions generally had improved or, at least were improving, in the South. At this meeting were many former Confederate soldiers and some of the speakers were ex-President Jefferson Davis, Isham G. Harris and General Forrest.

Finances did not improve and the city debt loomed, a bigger obligation than Memphis could pay, and it was growing greater all the time.

# CHAPTER VIII

John Loague, Mayor. Financial Difficulties. Census of 1875. New Charter. The Flippin Administration. Schemes to Retire City Debt. Sale of Navy Yard. Surrender of Charter Considered. Great Epidemic of Yellow Fever Begins. Panic and Stampede of Citizens. Terrible Scenes of Suffering and Death. Howard Association and Relief Committees. Heroism of the Workers. The Tragedy of Death and Burial. The Daily Press Faithful. Generosity of Non-Residents. Loyal Negro Militia. Death Roll of the Howards. End of the Epidemic. Thanksgiving for Relief.

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JOHN LOAGUE, who had succeeded John Johnson as mayor, was a good financier and his most earnest work in his new office was to reduce Memphis' debt and the overwhelming burden of her taxes. In his first message to the General Council he set forth in plain figures the enormity of the debt which was crushing the town. In a second message he questioned the legality of some of the bonds and thought the courts could not force Memphis to pay more than she had received from them, which would be about forty-two per cent. A few months later this determined mayor issued another message in which he "urged the appointment of a commission of eminent citizens to unite with the creditors of the city in a convention to consider the debt and agree and determine upon a plan by which it might be refunded at a rate, below its face value, that would bring it within the reach of the city to pay."*

This plan was agreed upon and Mayor Loague recommended G. A. Hanson, I. M. Hill, E. M. Apperson, P. C. Bethel, J. M. Keating and A. J. Keller for such commissioners. They were appointed by the General Council and given power to act.

*Keating.

The total debt of the city amounted to $5,651,165.* These commissioners went to New York to consult some of the creditors, but failed to get them to agree to anything less than the face value of the bonds. This failure was discouraging but the mayor set to work to use strenuous means to lessen the city's burdens. After much controversy by and between the General Council, even sometimes almost to the point of combat, it is recorded, Mr. Loague was authorized "to issue scrip for the certificates held by the tax-payers who had paid the Nicholson pavement tax."†

There were suits then pending in the United States court against the city and William M. Randolph was employed to defend Memphis.

Financial difficulties of the Nation coming on at this time, the Memphis officials found their task of straightening out home affairs all the more perplexing. Of the Country's trials during this decade James Ford Rhodes says: "These five years [1873-1878] are a long dismal tale of declining markets, exhaustion of capital, a lowering in value of all kinds of property, including real estate, constant bankruptcies, close economy in business and grinding frugality in living, idle mills, furnaces and factories, former profit-earning iron mills reduced to the value of a scrap-heap, laborers out of employment, reductions of wages, strikes and lockouts, the great railroad riots of 1877, suffering of the unemployed, depression and despair."‡

Financial complications occupied the General Council at the expense of other city needs, but some attention was paid to sanitation. The neighborhood where yellow fever had started in 1873 was cleaned up and the Board of Health exerted itself in various directions.

The County Court, despite the County's financial misfortunes, purchased the old Overton Hotel for a courthouse and voted $20,000 for the building of a new insane asylum, to be conducted upon more thoughtful and humane methods than formerly.

A census was taken in 1875 and gave 40,230, an increase

*Ibid. †Ibid.
‡Rhodes' History of the United States—Volume VII.

Wm. M. Randolph

of only four in five years, the smallest gain Memphis had ever made in any other five or even one year since her beginning. Had it not been for the disastrous epidemic of 1873 the city would no doubt have grown as she had heretofore, and as her physical situation indicated that she should. But sickness, war, misgovernment, abnormal taxes, debt, had discouraged the people and they were not as alert and energetic as they should have been. After the experience of 1873 the place should have been put in thorough sanitary condition, but as one summer passed after another and the fever did not return, premises, alleys, vacant lots and other localities became unclean and general neglect grew from bad to worse with only an occasional spurt of activity on the part of the Board of Health.

Memphis seemed to be rushing pell-mell into ruin from many causes. Property-holders were growing or had grown indignant at the looseness of municipal management and were beginning to assert themselves through the public press and otherwise. Most of the office-holders were not tax-payers and the majority of the voters owned no property. These, it was claimed, thought more of personal gain than of the city's good. The rent derived from property in many cases did not pay taxes, repairs and insurance. In consequence, persons not already property-holders, preferred renting to investing their money in Memphis real-estate. Manufacturers were driven away and no inducements were held out to others to come. Few buildings were erected and mechanics were idle or left the city. Capital and labor both suffered as one necessarily affects the other.

Citizens came to the conclusion that if the city was in such a deplorable condition under existing circumstances, surely a change was needed. A people's Protective Union was formed, and the members recommended reforms for the city government, affecting such items as taxes and their collection, salaries and fees of city officials, juries and jury-service, vagrancy, the establishment of a reformatory prison and other needs.

The new charter contained some reforms. For instance, a Board of Fire and Police Commissioners were to govern and control the police and fire departments and the members were

prevented from taking any part, as formerly, in politics, more than casting votes at elections. It limited the city tax to $1.60 and prevented city officials from having any interest in city bonds.

This revised charter was approved by Mayor Loague but opposed by the Council, and brought up lively controversies. City Attorney G. A. Hanson and Comptroller Newsom did not agree in their figures as to the city's indebtedness. Hanson reported the debt to be $6,500,000 in round numbers, with an interest of $390,000, while Newsom reported it to be $5,522,362.22, against which he said were assets amounting to $1,675,208.39. The Council was opposed to Attorney Hanson and a committee, appointed by it, endorsed Newsom's statement and disputed Hanson's, whereupon the latter resigned.

The People's Protective Union sent a request, through a committee, to the Council to employ a city attorney of high grade to handle efficiently the suits and mandamus proceedings that hovered as dark shadows over the city. Besides this request for the appointment of an able lawyer, the committee set forth the grievances of the people thus:

"The financial condition of the city of Memphis has reached a crisis, threatening wholesale confiscation, and the expulsion of the people from their homes, alarming to every citizen having the interest of the city at heart. The remorseless Shylocks who speculate in city bonds at twenty-one cents demand their payment dollar for dollar and expect by the writ of mandamus to override the law limiting the rate of taxation and compel the collection of a tax sufficient for its immediate payment. If this is the law, and it is to be enforced, it amounts to virtual confiscation, and the people, especially the poor, will be turned into the streets, and their humble homes, the fruit of years of hard toil and frugality, will pass for a mere song into the hands of greedy speculators in city bonds. It is well known that a large amount of the debt of the city is illegal, and was imposed upon a people having no voice in its creation through military rule and through the instrumentality of elections held in violation of law, and conducted in fraud and violence, while a large majority of tax-payers were disfranchised and denied

the right of voting upon the very proposition to issue the bonds. In the election for the million dollar issue in 1868, some man who paid thousands of dollars of taxes annually, was driven from the polls with insult when he offered to vote against the issue of bonds. A large amount of the debt of the city has been created not only without authority, but in positive violation of law. Every dollar of the scrip issued by the military government, and subsequently funded, is illegal. * * * * Those who speculate in the life-blood of the city, and some who esteemed it no dishonor to neglect the payment of their private debts, prate about the honor and credit of the city, and insist upon the 'pound of flesh,' though the operation reduced the people to penury and serfdom to the bondholder. Such people talk of the innocent holder, as if none but bondholders were innocent, and the people a set of knaves, seeking to evade the payment of just debts. We proclaim and insist that the victimized and plundered people are the innocent parties, and the bondholders were bound to know of the fraud and outrage perpetrated upon a helpless people."

Mayor Loague appointed Judge Sam P. Walker to the position of city attorney, that able lawyer resigning the chancellorship to accept it. He took matters seriously in hand and won several suits that saved the city thousands of dollars.

Mayor Loague, in his last report tendered to the city, showed how the expense of city government had lessened, and the mayor succeeding him, Judge John R. Flippin, and his new council, started in with determination for even stricter economy and reforms for bringing the city out of her difficulties. These new officials found affairs worse than Comptroller Newsom's report had led them to believe, and nearer the condition that ex-City Attorney Hanson had declared. Mayor Flippin in his first report gave the city a debt at $5,600,000, of which $600,000 was matured coupons bearing interest at the rate of seven per cent. The annual interest of the city amounted to $350,000, while annual expenses were $300,000. In order to meet all the indebtedness for the year and pay expenses it would require $1,400,000, and the city was not equal to it.*

*Figures quoted in Keathing's History of Memphis.

Mayor Flippin proposed "to retire all the debt over $5,000,000 by delinquent taxes; then from the gross sum deduct one third, leaving $3,333,333, fund this in $100 bonds due in 30 years, interest on them payable when drawn, as per schedule given. From these draw annually paying four per cent on numbers drawn, using not less than $140,000 for the last ten years."*

The mayor's plan was much discussed but was thought not feasible and was not adopted. Judge Flippin then went to New York for the purpose of making a settlement with the bond-holders. They agreed to scale at sixty cents on the dollar.

After this compromise the General Council authorized the mayor to prepare a bill for the next Legislature for the purpose of carrying it out.

The Navy Yard was sold during this administration, in 1876, to Amos Woodruff and J. J. McCombs for $117,000, they being allowed to give notes from date of purchase, bearing six per cent interest. This sale terminated long discussions and litigation which had cost Memphis $540,000.†

The Board, though running on economical lines, allowed a few civic improvements. The levee was repaired and added to, Main and Madison Streets were partly paved and numerous bridges were built throughout the city. But the population did not increase, those remaining grew poorer, taxes were extortionate without much to show for expenditures, property continually decreased in value, the funding of the big debt was discouragingly slow, the United States court mandamus writs had become urgent and city conditions were as bad as could be.

Mayor Flippin worked zealously trying to get rid of the city debt and carried on much correspondence with the bond-holders and talked to them personally when possible, making trips to Charleston, Baltimore and New York for that purpose. By the close of 1877 he had succeeded in funding more than

*Keating.

†Keating.

$1,000,000 of the obligations, but even this great accomplishment was small when compared with all that was to be done.

Several meetings were held by the Chamber of Commerce and the Cotton Exchange to weigh affairs and try to bring about a solution and remedy. These meetings brought forth suggestions of dissolving the corporation of Memphis, and by consulting with able attorneys, Judges J. W. Clapp and H. T. Ellett, it was learned that "Public corporations are but part of the machinery employed by the sovereign power of the State for the purposes of government, and as they are created and exist only by law, they may be changed and destroyed by law." Also, "The city of Memphis, then, is but the creature of the Legislature, and though our State Constitution is peculiar in its provisions as to the creation and destruction of corporations, which may or may not include public corporations, yet its corporate franchises may, by proper legislation, be suspended or taken away; its corporate limits extended or curtailed; its name changed, and its legal existence annihilated at the pleasure of the Legislature, and with or without the consent of its inhabitants."

To the questions of citizens as to the consequences ensuing from such dissolution, the attorneys responded that the city's "personal estate vests in this country in the people, and in England in the crown, and the debts due to and from the corporation are totally extinguished."

In such case franchises, they said, are taken from the corporation dissolved, still, "This rule has been repudiated as to private corporations in this state, and almost universally, and whilst the franchises of a corporation that has forfeited its charter are taken away, the existence of the corporation is prolonged by the statute until its debts are paid or its effects disposed of for the benefit of its creditors."

These lawyers gave much study to the questions in controversy and handed in quite an elaborate document, over their signatures, of the digested law, In continuation of the matter already quoted, they replied in part:

"Whilst the Legislature may accept the surrender of its charter by a municipal corporation and terminate its legal

existence, it can enact no law that impairs the obligation of any contract which the municipality has, by authority of law, entered into. * * * * Whilst the Legislature may abolish the charter of the city of Memphis, it cannot disannul its contracts, nor cancel its debts, nor can it deprive its creditors of the remedies to which they are entitled under their contracts. It may change the form of the remedy, and may, perhaps, substitute one less stringent and efficient, but unless a substantial remedy be left, it is apprehended the act would be held void by the courts. * * * * When a creditor deals with a municipal corporation, he knows that it is the creature of the legislative will and may therefore be presumed to take the risk of the repeal of the charter and the loss of his remedy as a part of the law of his contract. * * * * The municipal officers, who were such at the time of the passage of the act annulling the charter, might be judicially determined to be still in office and subject to the mandates of the courts as to the levy and collection of taxes for the purpose of paying the debts of the city. * * * * Were the city charter abolished, the Legislature, in the exercise of its unrestrained power of taxation, except as limited by the State Constitution, could, we presume, by special legislation for the territory now within the city limits adopt a plan of local taxation sufficient to meet the expenses incident to such public regulations as might be necessary for the protection of the persons and property of the inhabitants, and might, perhaps, if it chose to do so, levy a special tax upon such inhabitants, or upon their property and pursuits, for the purpose of providing a fund to pay off the indebtedness of the city at the time of the repeal of its charter."

After this answer was received and considered a committee consisting of W. P. Proudfit, F. S. Davis, J. W. Clapp, H. T. Ellett, B. Bayliss and D. P. Hadden, was appointed to formulate a plan of action in conformity therewith. The city attorney, S. P. Walker, was requested to draft a bill, which he did and presented at a meeting of the Chamber of Commerce, Cotton Exchange, citizens and officials. The caption of this bill gives its purport and is as follows:

"AN ACT to repeal the charter of certain municipal corporations, to remand the territory embraced within the corporate limits of such municipalities to the government of the county courts, to enlarge the powers of such county courts and to levy and dispose of special local taxes upon the persons and property located within the territorial limits of such municipalities."

This bill was approved by three of the committee and many others, but the mayor and many with him, repudiated such a step on the part of the city. Men spoke for and against such action and on a vote being taken the bill was defeated by nearly two to one. This vote was reconsidered, however, and the committee instructed to have five hundred copies, together with the legal opinion of Judges Clapp and Ellett, printed and sent to the senators and representatives for their consideration. The bill was opposed in the Legislature and those members attempted to pass another bill appointing a receiver for Mempihs, but this failed, as the Governor did not sign it.

The General Council, most of whom were against dissolving the city government, passed resolutions opposing the bill. They were of the opinion that Mayor Flippin was handling the enormous debt problem efficiently and that with time, judicious perseverance would lift the incubus from Memphis.*

This by no means ended considerations of dissolving the charter and the subject continued to be agitated, especially after the United States court issued a peremptory order for the Nicholson pavement debt of $200,000 to be paid immediately, the money to be obtained by levying a special tax. This order aroused the people to frenzy. Indignation meetings were held and Major Minor Meriwether, representing the People's Protective Association, addressed the General Council, explaining how impossible it was for the people to meet this and other enormous demands. He urged a repeal of the charter as a necessity for getting city affairs settled and perhaps keeping the people from rebellion.

Following this were weeks of altercation and reasoning,

*The description of these proceedings was obtained chiefly from Colonel Keating's History of Memphis.

during which time it was decided to cut down the salaries of city employes from ten to twenty per cent, reduce salaries of school-teachers and take salaries entirely away from the Sinking Fund Commissioners.

Collection of back taxes was again agitated and the people wrangled and planned and blundered until the stealthy yellow enemy that had remained away five years, giving the city time to rid herself of dirt, came back in the midst of the financial confusion, political wrangles, dirty streets, filthy alleys, open vaults of putrefaction, stench, and said, "Stop your human chatter! After your sinful neclect of God's first law and a city's highest need, order and cleanliness, I claim this town as mine!"

Dr. R. W. Mitchell, president of the Board of Health, who had been urging and pleading for quarantine and appropriations for sanitary precautions, discouraged by failure to obtain any assistance from the General Council, resigned his position. When the first suspicious case of fever appeared in the city, the officials became alarmed, refused the resignation of Dr. Mitchell and agreed to meet his demands. The whole city went to work with feverish energy to clean up. Politics, debt, disagreements, amusements, business,—everything else gave way before fear and efforts to prevent an epidemic. It was too late!

Reports came daily from New Orleans and other places, showing a constant increase in the spread of the disease and mortality. Memphis people became excited. Quarantine restrictions were enforced and the Board of Health, that had so lately begged in vain for assistance and coöperation, now had their hands upheld by the General Council and the citizens. Merchants, who a short while before, had thought they could spare no money for anything, subscribed liberally to supply the means that the city lacked.

A steamboatman at the city hospital had a suspicious case of illness and on August 2, it was pronounced yellow fever. Other cases occurred but were kept suppressed until August 14, when an Italian snack-house keeper, Mrs. Bionda, was reported as having a well-defined case of the dread disease.

This caused general alarm and many sought safety in flight.

The day after Mrs. Bionda's case twenty-two others were announced and panic ensued. On the following day, the sixteenth, thirty-three new cases were reported, and the people rushed from the city like mad. Fear, more contagious than the disease, possessed men and women, and the predominant impulse was to flee. Houses were not only left in haste, but many of them were left open, with silver-plate in dining-rooms, elegant rugs, curtains, pictures and other valuable furnishings forgotten and barely enough clothing taken to supply immediate needs, while the owners rushed for trains that could not supply all the demands. Seats, aisles, platforms and roofs of all cars were crowded and men who could not obtain entrance by doors climbed through car-windows, despite all protests from people in the packed seats. Courtesy was forgotten and often, even the common feelings of humanity. Self preservation reigned as law.

Policemen were stationed at trains to enforce order, but when men found their entrance to cars interfered with they cared not for law and order; they considered that life hung in the balance, and many obtained admittance for themselves and families by the use of fire-arms. The officers saw the futility of trying to keep people back and they, themselves in sympathy with the crowd, simply tried to keep order until the trains would push out. And push out they did, more packed than they had ever been before, as fast as managers could get them ready, though all too inadequate was the service.

Those who could not get away on trains left in carriages, buggies, wagons, vans,—even drays were pressed into passenger service, while others walked, not even knowing where they were going, their only object being to get away from the pestilence. Many who would have gone could not because themselves or families were overtaken by the now striding plague. Some, however, were not even held by family ties and one of the saddest pictures of the whole horrible time that we contemplate at this distant day is that of persons leaving relatives and friends to suffer and die unattended save by the noble strangers who stayed or came to help while others

fled. It is recorded that even men left their wives and fathers their families and a few, away at the time of the stampede refused to come to afflicted wife or children or both. It is pitiful when narrow human nature supplants the nobler nature of man made in God's image, but when we do behold that Image, the contemplation exalts even human nature in our minds. Though there were a few deserters, we are told that no wife deserted her husband and, at a later time Governor Marks, in his address made at the laying of the corner-stone of the Memphis Custom House, said: "In the history of the pestilence I read that parents deserted their children, children their parents, husbands wives, but that no wife deserted her husband. * * * * When you erect your monument to commenorate the heroes of the pestilence of 1878, in justice to the noble women of Memphis, let it be written upon that monument that 'Thermopylae had her deserter, but the wives of Memphis had none.'"

As the disease spread here other towns and cities became alarmed for their own safety and quarantine laws caused many Memphis refugees to be turned away, in some places even shot-guns being used to show the determination of the inhabitants. Many of these rejected and helpless safety-seekers camped in the woods, without necessary equipment for the crudest comforts, or later joined one of the camps provided for refugees.

By August 26, the rush from the city was over, though some still sought safety in unquarantined places. The panic being over, those left settled down to the inevitable. Business and traffic of course, were paralyzed, streets deserted, houses desolate, many standing open and none properly protected against dust or thieves. Politics, the $5,000,000 debt, inadequate or extortionate taxes, cries of people for improvements or justice,—these and all other things were forgotten, and only the alleviation of human suffering or the saving of human life was considered.

In one week the population had been reduced to 19,600, 14,000 of these being negroes. Of the less than 6,000 white people 4,204 died, and of the negroes 946 died. Up to the

epidemic of this year colored people had been thought to be immune, and even then the purely African type usually escaped and when they had it the disease did not prove fatal. The hybrid part of the population was not so fortunate and many of them succumbed. About two hundred and fifty white people escaped the disease, most of these having had it in previous epidemics.

On the 17th of August the Citizens Relief Committee organized and its members were soon doing what they could to relieve the stricken, keep order and take systematic charge of all money and provisions sent to them. The Howard Association was called together and these good men were soon hand in hand with the Relief Committee in their brave work.

Many people of this generation do not even know what the Howard Association was and it is but fair to devote a little space to them in passing. This organization originated in New Orleans in 1853, among the clerks of N. B. Kneass. The mother of two of these young men had been a resident of San Domingo where yellow fever was a common malady and she had learned to treat it successfully. When the epidemic afflicted New Orleans in 1853, these young men went about distributing the medicines prepared by this good woman, giving much relief, though that year claimed 7,970 victims in the Crescent City. Other young men joined these, some from wealthy families, and they organized under the name of the Howard Association, choosing the name of the greatest philanthropist, John Howard. As the Association grew, physicians, nurses and medicine were furnished by it and agencies were formed in all towns where there with liklihood of the yellow pest. The sole purpose of the association was to aid in this one disease and whenever it made its appearance Howard members assembled for work. In 1867 a call was made in Memphis for this association and members met to form a working order in the Bluff City. These first Memphis members were: R. W. Ainslie, William Everett, H. Lonergan, John Heart, C. T. Geoghegan, J. K. Pritchard, A. D. Langstaff, J. B. Wasson, J. P. Gallagher, Jack Horne, E. J. Mansford, John Park, Rev. R. A. Simpson, Dr. P. P. Fraime, J. P. Robertson, T. C.

McDonald, J. T. Collins, E. M. Levy, W. A. Strozzi, E. J. Corson, Dr. A. Sterling, A. A. Hyde, G. C. Wersch, W. S. Hamilton, A. H. Gresham, Fred Gutherz, W. J. B. Lonsdale and J. G. Lonsdale, Sr.

As soon as these men were organized they notified the public that they were ready to furnish necessities, which they did as long as the fever lasted. When that year's pestilance was over the members adjourned, subject to call whenever yellow fever sufferers claimed their services again. A charter was not granted to the Memphis association until 1869.

As has been related, these self-sacrificing men were next called together for work in 1873, when the few members remaining responded, new members joined and they went to work.

The next call came in 1878, when, on the fourteenth day of August, the members again answered roll-call, added new names to the roll and, under the first vice-president, A. D. Langstaff, launched upon their duties, to face the worst epidemic the heroic men of any of the Howard associations had yet encountered. According to the Howard custom, the city was divided into districts and members assigned to each. Cases from each district were reported at headquarters, each investigated at once and the necessary supplies were furnished.

The first week after the fever started in Memphis in 1878, 1,500 were reported sick, ten dying every day. The second week registered 3,000 cases, with fifty deaths a day. The following week showed a still greater mortality, which continued to increase until the middle of September, when the average deaths per day were two hundred, with between 8,000 and 10,000 sick. September fourteenth was the day of greatest mortality, when considerable over two hundred deaths were reported.

The plague had a fearful hold and threatened to depopulate the town. As such stupendous increase came fear seized physicians and nurses, which caused them to succumb more easily to the disease than at first, and so their ranks were rapidly thinned. There were much uncertainty about methods. Some patients died under treatment that seemed to cure

others. Doctors consulted, but there were many disagreements and much of the treatment was guess work or experiment, but they worked conscientiously and did the best they could.

Dr. Robert W. Mitchell, an experienced and scientific physician, had a corps of efficient workers under him and they had great success in treating the disease. Dr. G. B. Thornton, in charge of the City Hospital, was much overworked, as well as those who aided him. How those faithful hospital doctors and nurses did work, stopping only when the disease they were fighting claimed them for its own. Doctors, nurses, the organization workers, ministers, priests, church sisters and other volunteers worked, forgetting exhaustion and their own needs in trying to make up for the inadequacy of their forces.

By the last of August the workers were falling rapidly, some of them going until they fell prostrate. By the middle of September nineteen Howards were dead or sick. The noble President of the Association, Butler P. Anderson, who had gone to Grenada to help the sufferers there, had returned to Memphis, taken the fever and died. Mr. Langstaff was stricken and his place was filled by ex-Mayor John Johnson. Early in October only three officers of the Howard Association were on duty and many members of the other working orders were down or gone to rest after giving their lives for others.

The Citizens Relief Committee was conspicuous for its broadcast work, as were the Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Knights of Honor, the Father Matthew Society, the Hebrew Hospital Association, the Typographical Union, Telegraphers, Southern Express Company, the railroad companies and many private volunteer workers,—physicians, nurses and ministers of all denominations.*

Poor and rich alike accepted the services of these laborers and indeed were at their mercy. The patients were no longer patrons, they were all the children of the relief societies and these organizations were supplied by the world.

*Out of ten members of the Odd Fellows Relief Committee by the sixth week of the epidemic only one was left, John A. Linkhauer, and he carried on the relief work alone.

Memphis seemed a doomed city. Her streets were deserted except for the nurses, doctors and occasional other pedestrians, and it has been said that even dogs, cats, rats and other animals became so oppressed by the general gloom that they left by hundreds. Many of course starved, as the few people left were so intent in their ministrations to human charges that they usually forgot the animals.

At midday the streets showed life when negroes and some white people went to the relief headquarters for daily rations. When they were gone the death-like silence fell again and one man said his own footsteps on the pavement would sometimes startle him.

Doctors met at night for consultation and this put a bit of social refreshment into their overworked lives. Their days were ghastly enough with the moaning, dying and dead on every hand, the deserted, hot, dusty streets, the oppressive atmosphere, even worse than that of a battle-field after the battle, the sorrowful, hopeless faces of convalescents, bereft of whole families, perhaps, little children left orphans and penniless, who so lately had been blest with homes, with all that that word implies,—gloom, devastation, pall,—it was more terrible than any of the other discouraging experiences these heroic men and women had been through during the past two decades. Human life seemed so pitiful, so useless at times, and yet they worked, these men and women, hoping for the end and for brighter days after all the horrible gloom. Can Memphis ever be grateful enough to those devoted souls who dropped at their posts, succumbed or rose from their beds, still weak from the ravages of the pest, and went to work again. Occasionally they met in the silent streets, spoke, shook hands, compared notes, laughed, maybe shed tears, saw the wagon-loads of piled-up coffins go by to await their turns at the cemeteries for interment, paid little heed to the irreverence with which these were treated, passed on and worked!

Sometimes it was many hours before bodies could be buried, owing to the difficulty of getting men to dig the graves. These grave-diggers were a courageous few and their work during the dark days of 1878 deserves to be remembered by

J. M. Keating,

Memphis people. All day bodies were deposited in the graveyards, sometimes buried with funeral rites and sometimes without. Catholic priests were vigilant in this respect and many bodies Catholic and Protestant, received a last religious service from watchful priests, that would otherwise have gone into their last earthly beds unattended.

Colonel Keating says that the Elmwood Cemetery bell "was for a long time tolled by a lovely girl, who for weeks was her father's only help. She kept the registry of the dead, and knew what the havoc of the fever was; yet she remained at her self-selected post, her father's courageous clerk, until the fell disease overcame her physical energies. But she recovered, and after a few days resumed her place, keeping tally of the dead until the plague itself was numbered with the things that were. No bell save that of death was tolled. The churches were closed."

While these awful tales told of the past harrow us to a degree, there was a time when they were in the present,—now! and the now of a horrible time is much more terrible than future generations, told of the happenings, can realize.

Many other places were visited by the plague that same year, notably New Orleans and Grenada, Mississippi, but Memphis paid the greatest penalty of all. Colonel Keating calls this 1878 epidemic "the horror of the century, the most soul-harrowing episode in the history of the English-speaking people in America," and he had reason to know of it as he stayed through the whole terrible siege, being one of the few who escaped having the disease.

This splendid man, who has preserved a history of the plague for future generations, is one of the heroes of Memphis. If he had done nothing else for this city than what he did during the epidemics she has endured, he would deserve a monument.

In this particular year, as the populace fled for safety and the disease progressed, Colonel Keating felt that it was essential to keep the world informed of each day's occurrences, so he kept his paper alive in addition to his offices as member of the Citizens Relief Committee. Men stayed with him on

the press work, brave men, deliberately facing danger that the outside world might be served. Colonel Keating says of this class of workers: "The printers and telegraphers suffered more than any other classes. * * * * The nature of their employment exposed them more than any other classes, save the doctors and nurses, to the fever poison. They fell very fast. Only one of all those employed by the telegraph company escaped, and of the editors, compositors and pressmen of the daily press, only one escaped of the *Ledger,* four of the *Avalanche* and two of the *Appeal.* Their numbers thus so rapidly decreased, these heroic men continued not only to fulfil the duties expected of them by a public, impatient for every fact and incident of the epidemic, but nursed their sick and buried their dead. Though often wearied to exhaustion, ready to fall for want of strength, they continued to send messages, and print papers and to succor those who had claims upon them."

This is a tribute to his co-workers, truly earned, but he fails to tell of his individual work. He also was often "wearied to exhaustion," but he did not falter. His history does not record the day that he went to the *Appeal* office and found that of the force he was the only one left. Other duties as well as press work were demanding him but he said, "The paper must be printed, and I am the only one who can do it." His message was one that the world was expecting and he felt the urgency of giving it. Memphis refugees looked for it as they did for nothing else. Each day the readers learned what was being done in the unfortunate city and the lists of dead and convalescent were eagerly scanned in Canada and all the states. People wept or rejoiced as they read names of relatives or friends in one list or the other and waited impatiently for the next day's intelligence. Colonel Keating did not allow them to be disappointed. He wrote his editorial, the reports and all matter needed, set the type, worked the press, printed the sheets, folded them and gave his small but valuable sheet to the waiting world that day and other days.

"Worse indeed," says James Ford Rhodes, "than the desolation of the war was that of the Negro-carpet-bag rule

from 1868 to 1874," and poor Memphis, who had suffered them all, in 1878 could say, "and even worse than carpet-bag rule is this awful pestilence!"

But the heavier the gloom the more beautiful are the rays of good that filter through its depressing weight. The rays in those dark days that made themselves manifest were unselfishness and brotherly sympathy. Selfish humanity goes on in its daily business, considering only its own welfare, but when a great human crisis comes the merely human, selfish nature is replaced by the god-nature that asserts itself. At such times people become brothers in the true sense.

In 1878, when our country and the world learned of the terrible strait Memphis and the South was in, all animosity, all sectional feeling and every other sentiment save that of sympathy, were forgotten and help such as the outside world could give, poured in to strengthen the efforts of those brave souls who had sacrificed themselves to the cause of suffering humanity. Money was sent from near and far. The Howard Association alone used $500,000 during that one epidemic. They employed 2,900 nurses and furnished doctors, nurses and supplies to 15,000 people. The Citizens Relief Committee spent $93,914.11 and issued 745,735 rations. Altogether during that siege Memphis received nearly a million dollars in money, clothing Medicine and other supplies. The world contributed to the entire South that year $4,548,700, for the relief of yellow-fever patients.

One train came to Memphis loaded almost entirely with coffins, a grewsome but very acceptable gift at that time. All sorts of people and all sorts of institutions were interested in the various contributions. Many were collections of mayors of cities and towns, others of churches of all denominations, of secret societies, men's and women's clubs and church societies. Lecturers gave lectures and artists gave concerts or other entertainments for the sufferers. Contributions came accompanied by letters from "young ladies;" "young men," "the children;" "little girls;" "colored contributions;" "employees;" "ministers;" "soldiers;" "Jews;" "Quakers;"

and some of the contributions were the proceeds of special sales for the purpose.

Nashville came to the aid of the children who had been orphaned and these little ones were put into her asylums or into private homes, where some have grown up as the adopted and loved children of the people who took them.

Some misguided human beings commit depredations even in the midst of distress, but fortunately these are a minority. Some of these weeds of humanity appeared in Memphis during those direful days, and planned for much mischief to gain their selfish ends. The negroes, the ignorant mass of whom had been given such false ideas of their importance, were now instigated by a few white men to take possession of the commissary department and to overpower the white people. They were told and made to believe that the fact of their not having the fever as white people did, proved that God meant for them to have the land and that they could take it now that the white people were so weakened and helpless. It is easy to imagine the added horrors if these fiends and foragers could have got the upper hand. But they reckoned more foolishly than they knew and were defeated by the vigilance of the Citizens Relief Committee and the Howard Association, both of which organizations were most looked to for succor and protection.

The police and fire forces were so reduced that the associations had to provide for guarding the city. Some thieves stole Howard nurse badges and so were enabled to enter homes and looted them, but steps were quickly taken by the Relief Committee to drive them from town. The police were instructed to arrest all persons on the streets after nine o'clock at night, unless the pedestrians could give satisfactory reasons for being abroad. At Court Square were stationed two negro military companies composed of trustworthy members of the race. At Camp Joe Williams the Bluff City Grays were placed with instructions to be ready to take the train kept for them immediately, if they were needed. The highly trained Chickasaw guards were ordered to Grand Junction, where they were to be in readiness if called. A Raleigh company of over a hundred volunteered their services when needed, and another

company south of Memphis volunteered and kept in readiness for the call. In the city were not more than one hundred white men that could have been mustered but they were to be relied upon. If the necessity arose for their services the signal was to be three taps of the fire-bell, when they were to hasten to the express office on North Court Street.

One day, when men and women were lined up for their daily apportionment, a bullying black, instigated by a white ruffian, and several of his own color near, attacked the colored sentry at the commissary entrance. It was probably the beginning of a general rush to overpower the small force at headquarters, but the sentry was not to be intimidated, and immediately shot his assailant. Then arose a wail of women and howl of men that portended trouble, but the negro soldiers rushed to the scene. The mob soon comprehended that these soldiers were for order, and in nowise inclined to join in any irregularity, so they were checked in the very beginning of their uprising. The disturbance brought out the members of the Relief Committee who were in the building, and General Luke E. Wright, one of the most earnest of the self-sacrificing band of workers, raising his voice above the Bedlam of tongues, thanked the sentry for his prompt action and then, turning to the soldiers, commended them for their soldierly behavior. He then told the crowd that any depredations from thieves or any other attempted mob violence would be met as summarily as in this case, and that in a very short while military enough could be called to destroy their whole force. It is recorded that the white man who urged the negro to make his attack, disappeared, and was never heard from again.

This occurrence, with the assurance that court, or no court, lawlessness was not to be tolerated, brought about a beneficent result and the would-be looters knew that although the respectable element was small they were determined and able to defend themselves.

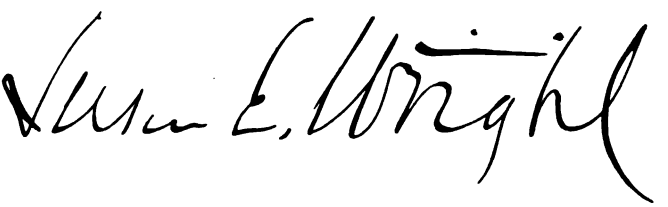
It was unfortunate that those who were working so unselfishly to save their fellows and the life of the city, and who were so sorely needed for their daily tedious rounds, should have the additional responsibility of keeping order. One can

not but wonder that at such a time there could be human beings so low as to add crime to universal sorrow and helplessness, but weeds flourish in all sorts of soil. There seems to be no doubt that if it had not been for the vigilance of the Relief Committee a riot would have added to the horrors of the city, perhaps ending in its total destruction, for when useless, non-producing ignorance gets the upper hand, temporary liberty is only license and during the period of such license it knows no cessation nor feeling of compassion or order.

Memphis can scarcely realize the debt of gratitude she owes to such men as General Wright, Colonel Keating, Mr. Langstaff, Dr. Mitchell, Dr. Thornton, and the scores of noble souls who stayed and actually saved the city for future usefulness. Fortunately Colonel Keating has preserved for us the names of the men and women who worked and died and worked and lived for Memphis in those strange dark days.

The commissary department was so well managed and the outside world so generous that all the patients and others in the city were supplied with necessities and even luxuries such as ice, fruit, wine and other sick-room supplies were not wanting. The efficient men who had distribution in charge so directed that, as Colonel Keating says, "every pound and ounce of food or bushel or cord of fuel or suit or part of a suit of clothes was accounted for." By this system the bounty of the states and Europe was not wasted and nourishment and supplies went where it was intended that they should. The commissary clerks died rapidly but, as in the ranks of battle, their places would be filled, though the recruits would often have to serve day and night to supply the demands. The men who gave their time and sometimes their lives to this work had no recompense save that of the consciousness of doing what they could to help others.

By October 7, new cases of the fever had fallen to fifty-seven and deaths on that day to twenty-four, so the Howards having, what with other organizations, more supplies than were needed for the Memphis demands, President Langstaff organized relief trains to be run on the Memphis & Charleston,



Mississippi & Tennessee, and Louisville, Nashville & Great Southern, to supply calls from surrounding towns. These trains carried physicians, nurses, medical supplies and provisions. The Association had done some work for outsiders before, but not until the plague had abated in the larger city had they been able to take many supplies for other places.

As October advanced the fearful heat abated, cases continued to diminish and the faithful few who had been keeping the world informed were able to say that the siege was almost over. On the twenty-ninth of this month the Board of Health declared the epidemic at an end. The nurses were paid and discharged; the physicians also dismissed; the medical department and its agencies closed. Some cases occurred later but they were scattered,—just remnants of the awful visitation. However, so long as there was a need for help it was supplied, although organized work of the associations was closed.

The Howards who reported for duty and then faithfully fulfilled that duty were, as given by Colonel Keating: A. D. Langstaff, W. J. Smith, J. H. Edmundson, J. H. Smith, John Johnson, A. M. Stoddard, J. W. Cooper, B. P. Anderson,* W. D. McCallum,* Louis Frierson, D. G. Reahardt, W. S. Rogers, F. F. Bowen, J. G. Lonsdale,* E. B. Mansford,* N. D. Menkin,* J. T. Moss, S. M. Jobe,* R. P. Waring, J. Kohlberg, Charles Howard, J. W. Page, T. R. Waring, P. W. Semmes, W. A. Holt, E. B. Foster,* J. W. Heath,* Fred Cole,* A. F. C. Cook,* W. S. Anderson, C. L. Staffer, W. Finnie. The honorary members who reported for duty were: Dr. Luke P. Blackburn of Kentucky, Major W. T. Walthall, Captain P. R. Athy, and the Reverends W. E. Boggs, S. Landrum* and E. C. Slater.*

The surviving members of the Relief Committee were: Luke E. Wright, D. T. Porter, J. M. Keating, James S. Prestidge, Ed. Whitmore, W. W. Thatcher, Casey Young, C. F. Conn, D. F. Goodyear and Captain J. C. Maccabe. The members of this committee who gave their lives were: Charles G.

*Died from the fever.

Fisher, J. G. Lonsdale, Jr., William Willis, S. M. Jobe and the Reverend Doctor Slater.*

The ordeal was over but there was another ordeal to come! People began coming home. Nearly all of them wore black and the crowded cars were as sombre in appearance as in feeling. The city was more desolate than ever before and the inhabitants hardly knew how to take up the threads of life again. So many homes were wrecked, all had borne losses. Thanks to the vigilance of the good people who had stayed, few houses had been molested and many that had been left open had been found closed and so saved from thieves, dust and weather.

The order of the time was sadness, but human nature is plastic and easily shapes itself to circumstances. Interests came back, threads that had been entirely lost were taken up again and Memphis became an active community once more, though much reduced in the number of her inhabitants. Once more the business wheels began to revolve and city officials turned from the work of getting their homes started again to municipal affairs. If these had been staggering before they seemed dead now.

On Thanksgiving Day, November 28, a mass-meeting was held, when public acknowledgment was made and thanks tendered to the world for the help so lately extended to stricken Memphis, and especially to those noble men and women who had given their lives and labors.

*The account of this epidemic is gathered chiefly from Colonel Keating's history of that year's dreadful experience, a remarkable record valuable to Memphis for all time, and from conversations with people who remained here during the siege or were among the refugees. It would take a volume like Colonel Keating's own to do justice to the terrible catastrophe.