SOUTHERN MANSIONS: A Tradition Larger Than Reality

An Honors Thesis (ID 499)

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Spring 1980

Note: Student graduation date - February 1981
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Appendix I.
SOUTHERN MANSIONS: A Tradition Larger Than Reality

Architecture is to the historian as the fossil is to the anthropologist. Each freezes a unique society in time. We may, therefore, study architecture and gain knowledge of the society it has frozen.

Every town and city can be said to have influenced the architectural styles of their region and time period. Columbus, Mississippi, had such an influence on the southern architectural styles during the Pre-Civil War period.

Columbus is located in Lowndes County which is near the northeast corner of the state of Mississippi. Many factors which influenced the development of Columbus' architecture specifically also influenced the whole state generally.

The land types in and around Columbus were of two varieties, Black Prairie and Tennessee Hills. The favorable land types would influence the development of the towns, henceforth, the architecture as well. Rich lands generally attracted wealthy planters; and, wealthy planters often built grand, white-pillared homes.

Because the land surrounding Columbus was originally inhabited by Choctaw and Chickasaw Indian tribes, the development of the land by white settlers was delayed until the removal and relocation of the Indians. Because the land was "rich and the state was rapidly expanding, after the land cessions, Columbus experienced a rapid growth. Its location on the Tombigbee River also aided in its expansion.

Columbus soon became a backcountry version of the Natchez district. Natchez, at the time, was well known for its grand architectural styles; therefore, it only seems logical that Columbus would also build such homes.

Influences to Columbus's architectural styles of the Natchez district are discussed in greater detail later (see "Influences on Columbus' Architecture").
Columbus also has an advantage that few other cities of equal or greater importance can boast in that it, during the war, was never attacked by Union forces. The majority of the homes, therefore, still remain for the historian to explore.

There is an old adage which goes "Nothing is ever new; the interpretation each generation gives is the only thing that changes." Many historians' viewpoints in regard to Pre-Civil War southern architecture can also be seen in such a light. Each generation of historians, armed with more knowledge, has provided another interpretation of southern architecture.

The first generation's interpretation declared that the southern architecture was entirely composed of white-pillared mansions and slave quarters. The next generation of historians discounted the previous interpretation as fantasy. This new generation's interpretation of the southern architecture declared that the majority of structures were simple log cabins and the white-pillared mansions were definitely the exception to the rule rather than the rule. The existence of the slave quarters was mutually accepted. As the new generational interpretation, I propose that a combination of the two other interpretations would probably be the best.

Although the white-pillared mansions were not the most numerous structures built, the ones built were usually located close together in the wealthier regions. The grandness of these structures also led to the romantic myth that they were the sole architectural structure of the south. Lewis Mumford seems to feel that just as historians must build on the past and add to it, the southern architects of that time also built onto the past to form a unique interpretation. As Mumford states in his book, The South in
The great lesson of history -- and this applies to all the arts -- is that the past cannot be recaptured except in spirit. We cannot live some other person's life; we cannot, except in the spirit of a costume ball, choose to relive any part of the past. If we imitate the past, we do not by that fact resemble the past: we only declare to the world what we are at present, namely, people of enfeebled imaginations and limited capacities, who are given to mechanical imitation. But when one examines the buildings, the decoration, the furniture and silverware and china and costume of another period, not in order to obtain replicas or copybook reconstruction, but in order to understand the pervading purpose of that age, one overcomes this mechanical and materialistic worship of dead forms, and one achieves something that is actually precious for our self-understanding and our self-development.1

Mumford implies that the mansions of the south, incorporating architectural styles of previous civilizations, are not new but a different interpretation leading to "our self-understanding and our self-development."2

The Natchez region in the southern part of Mississippi has been excessively researched because of the abundance of the white-pillared mansions in that region. There is another region in Mississippi where these mansions are abundant although still on a smaller scale. The northeast corner of the state endowed with rich soil (considered an extension of the Alabama Black Belt) and the presence of the Tombigbee River (navigable from Mobile, Alabama, on the Gulf Coast, to Lowndes County in Mississippi) encouraged wealthy planters and businessmen to settle in the Lowndes County region. These men, like the planters of Natchez, also built large white-pillared mansions. The majority of these mansions were built as townhouses in Columbus, a major exporting town in Mississippi (highly unusual because it was not located on the coast but in the backcountry).
Because of its smaller size (as opposed to Natchez) and the fact that it has not been overly-researched (as Natchez has), Columbus, Mississippi, will be used as the basic proving ground of the new generational interpretation of the southern architecture in the Pre-Civil War era. The relationships of the soil, the history of the people, the politics, and the typical architectural styles will be discussed in general in the total southern context and then specifically in regards to Columbus and how each proves the new historical interpretation to southern architecture.

Architecture is not just the planning of a home or its landscape; it expresses emotional feelings. As Mumford states:

"...architecture inevitably reflects the deeper beliefs of an age; it bears witness to current feeling about nature, about society, about the very possibilities of human improvement."

Because architecture is not merely a mechanical act but an expression of ideas and feelings, it seems inevitable that the grandness of the white-pillared mansions would create a tradition larger than reality itself.

We will begin our study of southern architecture by discussing the soil types of the land which influenced the type of settlers and in turn influenced the kinds of homes built. Although a rich soil type did not mandate the wealthy men of a region to build white-pillared mansions, the majority of mansions built were built in regions containing rich soil types.

Neither wealth nor rich soil types mandated men to build white-pillared mansions; many wealthy men who owned rich soil lands lived in log cabins but few poor men with poor land built white-pillared mansions. The soil types of the state can be matched with the existence of white-pillared mansions and a correlation can be found where the poor soil
There are eleven major divisions of the land according to soil types in Mississippi. (See Appendix I.) 1. The Delta has rich black soil caused by floods from the Mississippi River. It is described as Mississippi's last frontier because the heavy settlement of it did not occur until after Reconstruction. (Pre-Civil War mansions could not be found in this area so it will not be used in our study but it is noteworthy in that after Reconstruction it would become prominent in Mississippi history.) Of the early settlers, the majority of the population were the hundreds of black slaves controlled by a small number of white plantation owners. 2. The River Lowlands (Natchez District) had rich soil and was well suited to plantation farming at first but three disasters early in the 20th century made cotton farming unprofitable. These problems were the soil being worn out, the infestation of the boll weevil and the repeated floods. This is the area where the most white-pillared mansions can be found but this area is also over researched. 3. The Loess Hills are a strip of hills covered by loess and loam which stretches from one end of the state to the other. Land was first used as cotton plantations until the land wore out. This section, however, is not known for its architecture but, as Loewen implies, is known for the two legacies it got from the plantation days, "a relatively large black population, and leftover feelings of segregationism in some members of the white population." The section like the Delta region would make its impact in Mississippi history later. 4. North Central Hills consist of narrow ridges and valleys settled primarily by small farmers. The farmers tried to grow cotton but the soil was too poor so they later switched to corn, livestock, and dairy cows. Few white-pillared mansions are found in this area of the state. 5. The Black Belt, located in central Mississippi, is well drained which is why it remains forest. There are no
largely unsettled. 6. Pontotoc Ridge has good soil but the area is divided by streams and valleys. It is the leading section of the state in educational progress. This area was not near any large body of water or navigable river and therefore even though it had a good soil type, at the time before the Civil War it offered no means of transportation for the farmers and planters to take their goods to market. This section therefore had to wait for more improvements in the transportation system of the state before it could become prosperous. 7. Black Prairie (Tombigbee Prairie) is considered an extension of the Alabama Black Belt. The soil is fertile, black and loamy. The area was settled by white planters and has a large black population. The area's main export was cotton which was shipped down the Tombigbee River. This is the soil type which covers most of Lowndes County and all of Columbus. The rich soil and the Tombigbee River led many to settle here and soon became a major region where white-pillared mansions could be found. 8. Tennessee Hills (Tombigbee Hills) land consists of sand and gravel hills settled by independent farmers. There were no plantations and few slaves. There were, however, many large cattle and dairy farms in this region. This led to prosperity just as cotton production did. 9. Jackson Prairie (Central Prairie) consists of low, broad hills best suited for farmlands. Because of transportation problems this area also steered clear of cotton production and was therefore late to be settled. 10. Piney Woods has soil which is sandy and poor and that is the major reason for the area's low population. It was settled by "hardy pioneers, who made a living through a combination of lumbering, small farms, and commerce." The population, therefore, was mainly white. The soil being poor and the majority of Coast is the sandy lowlands along the Gulf of Mexico. The
poor soil type hindering the building of white-pillared mansions. Because of its location and makeup, each division of land determined how many and what kind of people settled there. The land near major rivers and bodies of water was the most expensive and the best suited for cotton farming.

Land was the deciding factor; without it, there would have been no towns like Columbus and no home like the ones in Columbus. The acquisition of land, and its importance, therefore, must be explored before the years immediately preceding the Civil War era.

The land of what would later become Mississippi belonged to various Indian tribes. A discussion of the acquisition of the land, therefore, should begin with the first contact between the Indian tribes and the white man.

The earliest account of the white man visiting "Mississippi" country was the expedition of the Spaniard Pánfilo de Narváez, in 1528, which failed because of a storm at sea. But one survivor, Cabeza de Vaca, brought back glowing accounts of the country along the Gulf Coast. The report created so much enthusiasm that Hernando de Soto was placed in command of an expedition formed to establish a settlement in 1538. His overland journey took his company through the present states of Georgia, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Texas.15

In his book _Mississippi: A History_, John K. Bettersworth describes DeSoto's treatment of the Indians as consistently harsh. Unable to find gold, DeSoto had to settle for pearls; but he refused to establish a settlement or retrace his steps until he found the legendary city of gold. During his travels, DeSoto became ill and died. Bettersworth describes the irony of his death and burial:

He died on May 21, 1542, leaving Luis de Moscoso in charge. DeSoto was buried secretly; and, although the Indians were told he had ascended to the sun,
later dig up and desecrate his corpse, the Spaniards removed DeSoto's body and wrapped it in animal skins; then, weighting the bundle with sand, they took it to a spot about ten miles south of Helena and dropped it to the bottom of the river DeSoto had "discovered." DeSoto never found his gold, but the skins he was wrapped in gave DeSoto's story an ironic twist. Later it was to be the trade in pelts that was the Mississippi Valley's "gold." The major significance of DeSoto's expedition, as Bettersworth sees it, was that the expedition had:

raised serious doubts about the existence of golden cities in the lower Mississippi Valley -- a factor which discouraged the Spaniards from sacrificing any more expeditionary forces in the wilderness for some decades to come. But DeSoto's expedition had also fixed the Mississippi River firmly in the white man's geography, and it had bolstered Spain's first claim to the Gulf Coast area.

The fact that the Spaniards had first explored the Gulf Coast would later become a problem as to the ownership of the land but for the time being the Indians were free of the white man's involvement for about 200 years.

In the 17th century, when the first Europeans arrived in what is now called Mississippi, there were three major Indian tribes: the Natchez Indians with a population of about 6,000; the Chickasaw Indians with a population of about 8,000; and the Choctaw Indians with a population of about 20,000. Other smaller tribes included the Tunics, the Ofos, the Biloxis, and the Pascagoulas.

Although all three major tribes were similar in aspects of their culture, the Choctaw and the Chickasaw were more closely related. All the major tribes were good farmers. The best farmers were the Natchez and Choctaw tribes, however. Because of their relatively small populations, these tribes
gathering, and recreation. This gave the land a chance to rest and replenish itself. (Had many of the plantation farmers used this method, the land would not have worn out so fast.) The Natchez, as well as the other tribes, did not believe in private ownership of land. As James Loewen states in his book, Mississippian Conflict and Change, "They felt that the land was like the air or the sun, provided for the benefit of all people." The Natchez life was dominated by religion. For them there was one Supreme Spirit who lived in the sun. Loewen states that because they believed in life after death, "when a great leader of the tribe died, relatives, servants, or others might volunteer to be put to death in the funeral ceremonies." This was done so the leader, when entering his new life, would have a loved one to keep him company. This practice is one which may have led the Europeans to believe the Indians were savage and needed "saving."

The Choctaw and Chickasaw lives, however, were not dominated by their religion such as the Natchez were. Little is known about the social structure of the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes except for the fact that the Choctaws were a settled farming people and the Chickasaws were a more warlike people. Because so much is written about the Natchez Indians and so little is written about the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, one may infer that the social structures of the Choctaws and Chickasaws may have been somewhat similar to the European social structure. The social structure of the Natchez was so different that writers felt compelled to explain their social structure but the social structure of the Choctaws and Chickasaws were so similar to the writers' own social structures that they felt the social structure of the Choctaws and Chickasaws was normal, therefore did not
According to legend, both were one nation led by two brothers Chacta and Chicksa. The nation decided to move to another area using a sacred pole to guide them. Loewen describes the way in which the combined nation became two tribes:

Every night they stood the pole straight up in the ground, and each morning they moved in the direction that the pole leaned.

They followed the pole east until they crossed the Mississippi River and reached what is now Winston County. There they stopped during a heavy rain. The band that became the Chickasaws crossed a creek and moved away from the main group. The next morning, still in the rain, these people continued on their journey. However, the Choctaws found that the pole stood upright, meaning that their journey was over. In this way, one people became two.

Whether the legend is entirely correct, or only partially correct, matters not. What matters is that it is the history of these two tribes from their own point of view.

The Natchez Indians were the first of the three tribes to deal with Europeans, the French, who planned to colonize the New World. The French built Fort Rosalie on St. Catherine's Creek (where the city of Natchez is now). Under the leadership of Sieur de Chopart in 1729, the French tried to force the Natchez Indians to give up their land. The Natchez, however, revolted and took 300 prisoners and killed Chopart. The next year, the French recovered the fort and the Natchez civilization essentially came to a close. The French controlled nearby land until the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

The cession of Choctaw and Chickasaw land (which would greatly affect Columbus) and the removal of the tribesmen did not occur until 100 years after the fall of the Natchez civilization. During this 100-year period, the British had control of the southern part of "Mississippi" which it called New Orleans.
British gave both the Americans and the Spaniards (who had been American allies) their rights to West Florida in the Treaty of Paris in 1783.

The area of land was disputed until 1795 when the Spaniards signed over the land to the United States in the Treaty of San Lorenzo. In 1798 Spain finally withdrew and Mississippi was organized as a territory. The Louisiana Purchase in 1803 added the territory of the Spaniards and in 1812 Louisiana was incorporated as a state.23

After the statehood of Louisiana became official, wealthy leaders of the Mississippi Territory began to consider the possibility of statehood. The possibility of statehood for the Mississippi Territory had been discussed already by leaders of the poorer sections of the territory. These people, however, wanted the territory separated before statehood (in order to obtain needed political power); but the wealthy population had wanted statehood without separation (in order to maintain their strong political power). The wealthiest and most powerful men resided in the western portion of the Mississippi Territory particularly the Natchez District. Dividing the territory would decrease their power. Twice, therefore, when the eastern section of the territory petitioned Congress for separation they were refused. As the eastern section of the territory grew, particularly Mobile and Huntsville and the Tombigbee settlements, the Natchez leaders began to worry about their ability to control the large territory. Rather than be dominated by the eastern section, the Natchez leaders also decided to encourage Congress for separation. As Loewen states:

Natchez leaders at first opposed the division of the territory. However, as the population in the eastern river valleys grew, Natchez realized it could not dominate the entire territory. In December 1816 Congress decided in favor of two
The western half of the Mississippi Territory became the state of Mississippi on December 10, 1817; the eastern half became the state of Alabama on December 14, 1819. Mississippi, however, still had major areas of land owned by the Indian tribes.

Since 1800 the Choctaw and Chickasaw tribes (realizing that they could not defeat the United States in war) tried to adopt the white man's pattern of life. This process, known as acculturation, failed.25

In 1820, the Choctaw tribes signed the Treaty of Doak's Stand which gave the United States one-half of the Choctaw land in exchange for land in Oklahoma. There was no demand made for the Indians to leave Mississippi at that time but eventually public opinion would change.

In 1829 and 1830 the jurisdiction of Mississippi laws was extended to include the Indians and the Indian land holdings within the state's boundaries. Previously the Indians governed themselves and their lands. But the white man wanted the Indians removed and wanted possession of their lands. Pressure began to increase on the politicians to remove the Indians from Mississippi. Richard McLemore describes the uneasy relations between the whites and the Indians in his book, A History of Mississippi:

Although relations between early settlers and the Indians in the state were generally friendly, it was conceded by both whites and Indians that an ultimate confrontation would develop through inexorable encroachments of whites into Indian territories and expanding settlements in frontier Mississippi. Most responsible officials came early to recognize that Mississippi's problem would eventually lead to removal or possibly expulsion of the Indians from the boundaries of the state.

The election of Andrew Jackson would lead to the fulfillment of the Indians in the state. In his book, Indian Removal, describes the role Jackson played in the
He had appeared in the negotiations to procure many of the Indian treaties of cession; his dominating personality impressed the Indians, and he beguiled many into the conviction that he was their friend; so that with the tremendous influence which he exercised over them he became the outstanding exponent of the white man's relentless contest for the lands of the Indian. Logically one of the first important measures to be urged by Jackson after his election was what became known as the Indian Removal Bill.

On May 28, 1830, the Indian Removal Bill was enacted into law with strong support from Jackson and the general public many of whom wanted to relocate to the new lands the removal would bring about. The mass population was in agreement with Jackson for the removal of the Indians and the few who were against this action went along to protect their political reputations. McLemore describes the magnitude of the public opinion in relation to the political careers of these leaders:

A major force in Mississippi throughout the ten or twelve years preceding the Constitutional Convention of 1832 was a national phenomenon commonly referred to as "Jackson Democracy."

...In most cases to oppose or criticize Jackson in the 1820s was to invite political disaster.

Most politicians liked their jobs so they tried to refrain, as much as possible, from voicing their opinions against Andrew Jackson too loudly.

During this upheaval period, the leadership of the Choctaw nation was divided into three districts led by Mushulatubbe in the northeast, Nitakechi in the south and Greenwood Leflore in the northwest. Leflore had ambitions to become the tribe's only chief. He called together tribes friendly to him and they voted for one nation and as the leader he wrote and negotiated a treaty for the cession of Mississippi land. The other chiefs, however, wrote letters...
In order for the negotiations to proceed, the commissioners had to establish peace between the two factions. George S. Gaines, a merchant who had consistently dealt honestly with the Indians, was chosen to represent the Indian nations in a search for suitable land which would be given to the Indians in exchange for their lands in Mississippi. Forman describes the plan proposed:

"The adopted plan...was to promise the Indians that Mr. Gaines would be asked to conduct a party of them to examine the western country; if they found it satisfactory they were to remove and Gaines would be entrusted with the management of the removal, for the Indians said they knew that Gaines would not drive them through the mud like animals."

The expedition resulted in the "mutual" agreement of the lands to be given to the Indians. The treaty known as the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek was signed on September 27, 1830.

In proposing to relocate the Indians, the government was executing a plan which was and would continue to be rejected for the Negro population. Relocation of the Indian population would net a definite advantage to the white man namely the acquisition of Indian lands. The relocation of the Negro population, however, offered no such tangible advantage; the "advantage" the Negro's relocation offered was the removal of an "inferior race." The disadvantages (i.e. the loss of property, income, and work force) greatly outweighed the "advantage." Slavery was the South's evil but a necessary evil--which is the reason it has been termed, the peculiar institution. Mclemore gives the reason why Negro relocation was not feasible as the Indian relocation was:

Though most Mississippians in the twenties seem to have accepted slavery as an economic necessity, they seem to have regarded it also as an evil—a necessary evil. Many planters hoped some day to find a way out of the system. In 1816, the Ameri-
fell into disrepute because of the Abolitionist threat to the South, which put an end to most of such activity in the state.31

The relocation policies of the United States government would greatly affect Columbus as well as most of the other cotton producing towns in Mississippi. The relocation of the Indians provided the white man with needed land and the fact that Negroes were not relocated gave planters a valuable commodity to work the land. Relocation for the Negro population quickly became a thing of the past but the relocation of the Indian population was proceeding unfortunately slowly for the wishes of much of the white population.

The relocation of such a large population (at one time) was a major production. Unfortunately it had many problems which hurt the government as well as the Indians. As Foreman describes it, confusion was just the beginning of the problems:

The year 1831 opened with the whole Choctaw tribe in confusion; though the treaty had been made it was not yet ratified. The Indians not knowing whether they were going to be removed or when, planted no crops...32

The Indians while waiting to be relocated used the money they received for their lands not for materials needed to plant crops but for survival products purchased from stores and for whiskey. As Foreman explains the United States government passed laws to help the Indians in trade situations:

Legislation was enacted for the regulation of intercourse and trade between the whites and the Indians and to protect the latter in the possession and enjoyment of their lands.33

But the whiskey peddlers ignored the laws and seized on the ignorance of the Indians. Foreman describes the atmosphere the Indians found themselves at the start of the relocation
The latter in utter demoralization, were wasting their little substance in the purchase of whiskey, and many of them became so impoverished that they were compelled to live on roots or starve.\textsuperscript{34}

Approximately one-fourth of the Choctaw population was involved in the first round of relocation which was burdened with many problems. The whiskey peddlers were just another of the problems the War Department and the Indians had to contend with. Other problems included the winter blizzards, which were the worst in that region's history, and the lack of necessities (food, clothing, and shelter), which the Indians had been instructed not to bring. These provisions were to be provided by the United States government. The food was delivered too early and it spoiled. Not enough steamboats were ordered and winter weather held up others. In 1832, both the Choctaws and the War Department were better prepared but many deaths occurred still because of a cholera epidemic and heavy rains.

Immediately after the Choctaws signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, the government began pressuring the Chickasaw nation for removal. In 1832 the Chickasaw signed the Treaty of Pototoc Creek. Foreman describes the provisions of the treaty:

By the terms of this treaty the tribe ceded outright all of its land to the United States, to be put on the market and sold as public lands, the proceeds of which were to be held by the government for the Indians.\textsuperscript{35} The government was to proceed at once to survey its land and the Indians were to decide on a location in the West. It was provided that the Indians were not to be disturbed in their homes while considering the matter of a new location.

The clause allowing the Chickasaw to remain at home while considering the new location enabled them to delay their departure until 1837, when they finally began their march to Oklahoma.\textsuperscript{36}
With the removal of the Indians and the acquisition of their lands, population in Mississippi began to grow rapidly adding to the development of the new state. (With the Chickasaw land Columbus also began to grow.) This development can be most clearly seen through the changes in Mississippi politics. The political power began in the wealthy Natchez area. Gradually, however, power spread to other regions of the state.

Originally politics in Mississippi during the territorial period and early statehood years was essentially two parties, the Whigs and the Democrats. The older, wealthier counties, such as the Natchez District, were Whig and the newer, less wealthy counties were Democratic. The strategic location on the Tombigbee River and the rich soil content made Lowndes County (Columbus was also the county seat of Lowndes) a major exporting county in northeastern Mississippi; therefore, the political loyalties of Lowndes County were more closely related to the Natchez District than its own surrounding counties. Columbus, as a major exporting town and as county seat of Lowndes County, was also similar in its political loyalties to the Natchez District.

Political loyalties, however, changed often in Mississippi. John K. Bettersworth gives a glowing account of the political changes in early Mississippi history:

So far, however, most of Mississippi's planters were still young men with fortunes to make, and they cast their lot with the more democratic-minded Republicans.\(^37\)

The Republican power, however, soon began to grow "old and undemocratic" as Bettersworth describes it; thus paving the way for the frontiersman, Andrew Jackson to bring in his party to the limelight. Bettersworth continues:

In 1824, the Republican party began to fall apart. Westerners refused to accept the caucus nominee for the presidential election. But the old planters of the backwoods, all Mississippians except the more genteel Natchez element, was Andrew Jackson.\(^38\)
John Quincy Adams became the President in 1824 (not without a lot of controversy, however) but the election of 1828 saw Andrew Jackson as the new president. He was determined that a defeat, as in 1824, would not happen again in 1828 so he campaigned hard. The landslide victory made the heavy campaigning worthwhile.

Jackson represented the rougher element in the country which the genteel Natchez district viewed with much distaste. Bettersworth describes the situation between the two parties:

The chief issue between the two (the Whigs and the Democrats) was Andrew Jackson, whom men either hated or worshipped; there was no middle ground. But in politics the Democrats were really a return to Jeffersonianism, with its appeal to the average man and the democratic-minded planter. Whiggery was essentially just a revival of Federalism; and in Mississippi there were Whigs wherever there had once been Federalists—mostly in the Natchez area. ...However, when Mississippi opened up its remaining Indian lands for white settlement in the early thirties, allowing an influx of pioneers into North Mississippi, the dominance of the Natchez Whigs was soon to come to an end.

During the time 1833 to 1852, forty-four counties were organized in Mississippi. These counties would become a basis for more political fighting between the two parties; each new county added to a party meant more power. McLemore describes the necessity for favorable seatings of the counties in regards to the life of the Whig party:

It would be difficult for the Whigs to survive unless they could recruit new Whigs from among the planters of the northern area. This was possible in Washington County in the Delta and in Monroe and Lowndes counties in the Tombigbee area; but by far the majority of north Mississippi voters would be Democrats.

Thus the political power in Mississippi was being evened out (even though Columbus and Lowndes county had joined the Whig
As Bettersworth describes it, the increasing power of the Democrats in Mississippi can be seen in the Constitution of 1832:

The 1832 constitution was a triumph of Jacksonian democracy; but, in the peculiar fashion of Mississippi politics, the state had a Whig governor at the very time it was revising its constitution along Democratic lines. Moreover, the very convention that made such a show of democratic reform chose not to submit the new constitution to the people for ratification. It was simply declared to be in effect, and that was that.41

Obviously the legislature could not totally abandon its Whig background even when it was of a Democratic majority. The Whigs were not totally disappointed either because the 1832 constitution they ratified was destined to remain until the Civil War period. The longevity of its existence seems to indicate approval of the constitution as Bettersworth sees it:

The 1832 constitution was the most democratic in the state's history. It was as good as a vote for Jackson, so closely did it follow the political ideas of the president.42

For almost a decade Andrew Jackson would influence the national political scene as well as the Mississippi political scene. Jackson's position on Indian relocation was so favorable to the average Mississippian that the Mississippi politicians did not strongly oppose Jackson on some of his legislative proposals which they found unfavorable. Two such unfavorable pieces of legislation were the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832. South Carolina had voted to nullify these tariffs and there was much political concern over this matter. Jackson had the power to give the Mississippian what they wanted, land, and the Mississippian had the power to give Jackson what he wanted, political support. McLemore describes the case of "you scratch my back: I'll scratch yours":

To most residents of Mississippi the most important event of 1833 concerned neither the tariff nor nullification. They were interested in Indian lands. The first public auctions of Choctaw lands were held that year and Mississippians, grateful to Jackson for his efforts to open these lands, supported "Old Hickory" in his fight with South Carolina. Thus, the priorities of the average Mississippian were set—first was the acquisition of Indian land; and then the tariff and other issues.

As a result of the Indian land settlements Mississippi experienced a boom period in its economy. Bettersworth describes the boom period and the host of new problems it created:

...by doubling the land resources of the state, the Indian cession had enabled the Cotton Kingdom to move into North Mississippi, particularly into the northern reaches of the Brown Loam Area—that was to be popularly spoken of as the Old Black Belt—and into the fertile Tombigbee Prairie. Suddenly there arose a host of new problems: (1) slave control in an expanding plantation order; (2) the need for internal improvements (transportation facilities) in the new frontier; and (3) the financing of a boom economy without cash and with limited banking facilities.

Jacksonian democracy (and the Constitution of 1832) led to the resolution of these new problems. The problem of slave control in the expanding state was dealt with in the Constitution of 1832. It prohibited the introduction of slaves into the state for sale. Congress was thus trying to combat the problem where unruly slaves or convicts were "sent down the river" as a form of punishment.

The need for internal improvement was to be combated with an "Enabling Act" which was passed when Mississippi was admitted as a state. The act "...provided that 3 percent used for banking matters instead."
aid the monetary situation ("the financing of a boom economy without cash and with limited banking facilities") the Mississippi Congress failed to resolve the problem of internal improvement and because the funds were still inefficient, did not resolve the financial situation either. Along with the monetary problems and internal improvements problems, the boom period, also, led many planters into overspeculation.

Overspeculation and falling cotton prices led to the Panic of 1837 during which many farmers and planters went into debt or even worse went bankrupt as McLemore explains it:

The mettle of Mississippi agriculturists was tested severely in 1837 when a spectacular reversal of federal land policies combined with plummeting cotton prices to produce an economic depression which lasted a dozen years.46

However, not all planters became bankrupt. By not concentrating solely on cotton and adding machinery to their operations, some farmers and planters were saved from financial disaster. John Moore, in his book, Mississippi: A Student’s Guide to Localized History, describes the changes these men were forced to make on their farms or plantations:

Instead of buying most of their foodstuffs and all of their manufactured goods as they had formerly done, they had to produce most of these necessities upon the premises. Consequently, farms and plantations became almost as self-sufficient as medieval manors. In order to compensate for reduced prices of the staple crop, cotton growers resorted to mechanization to minimize costs and increase production.

Through their unfortunate experiences during the depression, many farmers and planters came to realize that in order to survive, they would have to become almost completely self-sufficient. This knowledge set an example for Mississippi farmers and planters which when followed led to unprecedented prosperity in the area.
Farmers and planters in Mississippi, for the most part, incorporated this new knowledge into their operations. A social and agricultural study by Herbert Weaver, historian, analyzes Mississippi farmers and planters in 1850 and 1860 to show this increasing prosperity. The great prosperity Weaver finds in his sample counties—Adams, Bolivar, Harrison, Hinds, Assaquena, Jefferson, Jones, Lowndes (where Columbus is located), Marshall, Scott, Tishomingo, and Wayne—could also be found in most of the other counties of the state as well. This can be seen from the census records of 1850 and 1860 (which Weaver used as a basis for his research) for the state.

His research seems to indicate that the majority of the new immigrants to Mississippi were from the older southern Atlantic Seaboard states. Only along the river (meaning the Mississippi River system) and the coast was the percentage of immigrants from foreign countries higher than the older southern states. Based on William A. Love's article entitled "Lowndes County, Its Antiquities and Pioneer Settlers," published in the Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, VII (1903) on page 362, Weaver states:

"The only town of importance which was neither on the Mississippi system nor on the coast was Columbus, and it too had a large portion of businessmen and tradesmen from the North or from foreign countries."

One speculation why the majority of immigrants were from the older southern states may be that the land in the older southern states was depleted and the newer southern states, especially Mississippi, boasted both opportunity and fresh land. Weaver is not the only historian to have these ideas either.

Weaver's analysis of the population's general pattern of westward movement correlates with John Moore's reflections on the local governments in Mississippi. In his book, Mississippi: A Student's Guide to Localized History, Moore writes:
While the people of Mississippi were building a surprisingly sophisticated economy during the first six decades of the nineteenth century, they also developed social and political institutions conforming to their pattern of culture. In general these institutions were duplicates of older models in the South Atlantic states.\textsuperscript{49}

The new immigrants settling in Mississippi brought with them their previous social institutional ideas (politics, religion, etc.) and because the majority of persons were from the seaboard states, it is natural that the social institutions in Mississippi were duplicates of the seaboard states'. Continuing further in the local government's role, Moore states:

The activities of the county boards touched the daily lives of the people of the state in many ways, while the state government was remote and largely inactive in so far as the average citizen was concerned.\textsuperscript{50}

Moore describes the local Mississippi governments' roles as being much more active than the individual state's government; states rights had become an ideal not a working system. Reality often has a way of breaking down common ideals in society. States rights is just one of the southern ideals.

Another southern ideal is the white-pillared home or what is commonly called the ante bellum home. The actual number of planters who were wealthy enough to afford and maintain such a home was quite small. The typical southern traveler found few homes built in the antebellum or white-pillared style. But these few, Wendell Stephenson writes, was enough to create a tradition:

Only a few of the planters lived in white-columned mansions, but the few were enough to establish a tradition. Travelers sought and often received invitations to tarry for a visit, and thus witnessed gracious living in a cultured environment.\textsuperscript{51}

The large self-supporting plantations with white-pillared mansions were not as abundant as people used to believe. As Bettersworth states, "The average Mississippian could not enjoy the leisure and luxury of the plantation, the city,
and the resort. There was work to do, and much of it was hard.\textsuperscript{52}

If the average Mississippian had to work, who were the planters of the state or were there any planters? A classification system is needed to determine what level the majority of Mississippians fell into. With a classification, one can then begin to realize how small the planter class actually was and understand why some historians renounce the idea of the white-pillared mansions being anything but a fantasy.

Many writers have formed a system of classification for the population; D. R. Hundley and U. B. Phillips were just two. They, however, classified the white population according to slave ownership with no real regard to landownership.\textsuperscript{53} Weaver's study, however, uses both slaveownership and landownership as factors for classification of the general population. He feels that:

Any attempt to divide the population into social or economic classes involves the drawing of arbitrary lines which did not really exist, but a more accurate classification can be made by combining ownership of slaves with ownership of land.\textsuperscript{54}

Weaver's population classification system gives a more generalized classification. Using only slaveownership or landownership as the determinant for classification would greatly narrow the scope of the classification system.

Weaver's classification of the white population is broken down into four groups: big planter, middle-class planter or small planter, small farmer or yeoman, and poor white. In his study, Weaver describes each group in detail:

The term "big planter" will therefore be used to designate owners of at least fifty slaves and upwards of five hundred acres of improved land; the term "middle-class planter," or "small planter," will be applied to those who owned at least two hundred acres of cleared land and twenty or more slaves; "yeoman," or "small farmer," will apply to the owners of improved land up to two hundred acres whether or not they owned any slaves, and to slaveless and landless farmers who for various reasons
could not be properly classified as "poor whites." The majority of Mississippi's population were small planters and small farmers. Based upon Weaver's standards, there would have only been one or two big planters in Columbus and in most other cities. This leads one to conclude that one did not have to be a big planter to build the white-pillared mansions of the south; otherwise, there would not have been so many of them around.

A planter or farmer needed only security and the desire to own such a home as incentive to build a white-pillared home. One key to economic security was landownership. Another key to economic security was the degree of accessibility to major markets in relation to the level of landownership. Smaller farmers tended to be more self-sufficient and thus not need the degree of accessibility to markets as did the larger farmers and planters. Weaver relates the agricultural system and accessibility as both affecting the farmers:

Accessibility to markets was also a powerful influence in the fashioning of the agricultural system. Plantations were dependent on the sale of a money crop and needed ready access to markets. Small farms were more nearly self-sufficient, and marketing was less important. Perhaps as the region developed and roads were built towns would have sprung up in other places, but during the formative stage through which the state was passing just prior to the war they were almost invariably located on navigable streams.

If a town, therefore, was to become prosperous, it had to be located on or near a navigable stream or body of water. Fortunately Mississippi has many rivers and navigable streams. As Bettersworth states, "next in importance to the Mississippi was the Tombigbee River, which served the back-country settlements by way of the Gulf and the city of Mobile." These waterways caused Mississippi in general and the town of Columbus specifically to grow rapidly. With economic growth
Columbus was experiencing came growth in the building of white-pillared mansions.

In addition to the waterways, roads also played a major role in the development both of Mississippi and Columbus. The most notable of these roads were the Natchez Trace (running from Nashville to Natchez); the Gaines Trace (running from North Central Alabama at Muscle Shoals to Cotton Gin Port); the Three-Chopped Way (running from Natchez through Fort Stoddert to Milledgeville, Georgia; a portion also went from Natchez to Fort Stephens); and, the Jackson's Military Road (running from Columbia, Tennessee, through Muscle Shoals and diagonally across Mississippi to Madisonville, Louisiana). 58

Towns located on these waterways and roads soon became social centers as well as economic centers of Mississippi. Columbus being both an inland river port and a county seat was just one example of an economic center which increased into a social center.

Although towns such as Columbus became social centers, for most planters a visit to such a center was very rare unless he lived very near. Weaver explains:

Social life among the planters in most localities was generally restricted because of the distance between establishments, but hospitality was not lacking. Possibly because of the comparative isolation of some of the plantations, chance strangers were welcomed, and almost invariably they were given food and shelter. 59

Not all planters were isolated from social life, however.

The social center of the average Mississippian was his own plantation. Therefore, the social center of most planters was in direct proportion to the amount of hospitality he displayed to strangers. Hospitality, therefore, also became a watchword for the average Mississippian. Bettersworth describes how one Columbus planter valued his right to show strangers his hospitality:
Since any respectable person could get lodging for the night with a planter or a farmer, hotels and inns often did very little business. At Columbus, when there was talk of building a hotel in the fifties, one old planter objected on the grounds that he himself would put up any decent folks that came to town. Obviously this was not the case in all towns nor with all people but enough similar hospitable people could be found to make hospitality a "southern tradition". Some travelers such as Frederick Law Olmsted even had to pay for the "southern hospitality" received while traveling through the slave states. The old Columbus planter would have recoiled at this knowledge.

Columbus citizens had the advantage of residing in a town small enough to have hospitality as a motivating force yet large enough to be considered a social center for the surrounding "suburbs" as well. The Tombigbee River is the major reason Columbus grew this large. Dunbar Rowland editor of the Encyclopedia of Mississippi History explains the effect the Tombigbee River had on Columbus.

The Tombigbee river was navigable throughout the year for large steamboats to this point, and the beautiful high plateau sloping eastward from the bluff, and possessed of perfect natural drainage, was a natural and healthful location for a large commercial city. Here has grown up one of the most attractive, wealthy and substantial towns in the state.

Because it had grown so large and yet had not been on the Mississippi River system or the Gulf Coast, Columbus became an interesting town in and of itself. Although it is not as spectacular as Natchez, Columbus did add its own stories to the history books of Mississippi.

The local history of Columbus can be traced back to the Choctaw and Chickasaw land sales. Rowland describes the relationship between the Indian land sales and expansion:
When the Choctaw and Chickasaw lands were thrown open to sale and settlement in the early 30's, the "Military" road, built by General Jackson on his return from New Orleans, and connecting with the "Natchez Trace" and "Gaines' Trace," was the great highway through Lowndes county from northeast to southwest, and at certain seasons was thronged with emigrants and travelers. The result was a rapid increase in the population of both the county and the town of Columbus.

Earlier land cessions had opened the extreme eastern part of the county, and the subsequent land cessions later on opened up the rest of the county. These roads helped bring in new settlers; therefore they aided the prosperity of both the county and Columbus.

Originally the southern part of Monroe county, Lowndes county was erected on January 31, 1830 and was named after William Jones Lowndes. The county seat was established in Columbus where the first County Court convened "April 12, 1830, and consisted of Thomas Dawson, President, and Micajah Brooks, Samuel B. Horgan, Associate. Other county officials the same year were R. J. Haden, County Clerk; Nimrod Davis, Sheriff; John H. Morris, Assessor and Collector; C. F. Brown, County Treasurer, and William I. Moore, County Surveyor." These officials were just a few of the high caliber of planters attracted to Columbus.

Although Columbus attracted many "seated" people in the area, it was still a backcountry town on the river, and therefore, had its own "seedy" side as well. Rowland describes a delightful tale of how the town disposed of its "seedy" side:

In 1837, the influx of gamblers to the town became so great and resulted in such a scandal, that the authorities feared to a threat of military force to bring about the expulsion of the disorderly element, and set a time limit within which they must leave the town. This had the desired effect and the town was thoroughly cleansed of its un-welcome members.

Whether or not the town was thoroughly cleansed of its "rough element" is not nearly as significant as the fact that it had
grown large enough for such a thing to occur (scandal bringing about action from public officials). The town, in fact, was growing very fast. Rawland states that "By the year 1840 the town had a population of more than 3,000 inhabitants." He goes on to list the many business establishments of the town; the abundance of them attests to the fact that Columbus was not just a planter's town but an economic center.

It is not, however, the abundance of churches, stores or banks which makes Columbus interesting to the historian but the abundance of ante-bellum homes which make it a dream for the historian, offering colorful glimpses into the past. Jozefa Stuart in his book Great Southern Mansions describes what these homes offer to the traveler of today:

Today, for the most part thriving, it [Mississippi] offers remarkable glimpses into its colorful past through its many old houses, which range from the small and unostentatious to the astonishingly large and grandiose. Both types await the visitor, and most of them are in superb condition—beautifully maintained right down to the original silver, china, books, and paintings.

These homes were built with practical as well as beautiful features.

Builders took into account availability and personal preferences as guidelines for what forms and materials to use. Different regions often displayed different classical styles. The comparative wealth of the planter also affected the style used to build his home. The wealthier a planter was the more glamorous he could build his home. As McElmore states:

From the viewpoint of architecture most well-to-do planters in Mississippi were drawn to the Greek Revival form. They erected their two-story mansions because they were not only impressive looking but also well-suited to the climate.

Many homes also had a lot of windows to provide a natural light source and also to provide needed ventilation. Jib doors were often used to enlarge a room to a ballroom capacity.
The white columns "protected the walls from the sun's slanting rays." Specific details were added or subtracted from a style to meet the wishes and needs of the owner.

To really understand the significance the white-pillared mansions had on Mississippi history, three things must be explored: the architects involved, the style of influence used, and the homes themselves. As Joseph Smith states in his book, *White Pillars*, there were few professional architects during the Pre-Civil War period:

Local historians usually declare there was no professional designer or add, "Colonel Tucker was his own architect; he designed and built his own house." This theory of the owner-architect is so frequently repeated that it must contain an element of truth.

Although many historians agree with him, they also agree that there were some professional architects around.

Mary Wallace Crocker lists just a few architects and the towns they were generally associated with; some of these are in Natchez—Juan Scott, Levi Weeks, James Griffen, James Hardie, and Samuel Sloan; in Jackson—William Nichols; in Raymond and Vicksburg—Seldon Brothers; in Columbus—James Jull, and William O'Neil; in Oxford—William Nichols, and Colvert Vaux; in Carrollton—James Clark Harris; in Canton and Amundale—Frank Wills; in Ocean Springs—Louis Sullivan, and Frank Lloyd Wright; and in Aberdeen—Daniel H. Burnham.

A big-name architect, however, is not necessarily mandatory for a white-pillared mansion to be important historically. Many thoughts about important historical architecture are limited because well-known architects are felt essential to the importance of a home. Tony Wrene in his book, *America's Forgotten Architecture* describes this faulty way of thinking:

A structure is significant, they believe, only if it has been designed and constructed under the supervision of an important architect. Vernacular or folk architecture is not considered of major
importance. The problem with such a view is that most of the American architectural heritage has been given to us by unnamed people who left traces only in ethnic building techniques or decoration.72

Each home whether it was built by the owner or an architect was unique because of the individuality of the maker not his notoriety.

The need for individuality also affected the styles. The home is just a physical symbol of what the builder and the owner feels. As Wrenn states because the need for shelter is universal it would seem that all homes would have been built totally alike; but, we find, this is not so:

Yet, most American communities contain a great variety of building types and styles bearing the imprint of the people who built them and use them. For the main influences on what a building "says," besides its materials, site, and intended use, are still the builder and the owner and user.73

Although most people have similar needs, it is and was their differences in wishes that led to the different styles.

The variances of the styles used depended on the builder's creativity, as well as, his ability to mix details of different styles into one. Advice flowed freely to the builder which he had to sift through to construct the best possible home to fit the needs and wishes of the owner.

This advice matured throughout the ages from simply personal knowledge of individuals (for example, the friendly neighbor's advice), to pattern books (collections of plans and advice from skilled craftsmen), finally to the professional architect as we know them today. Smith states:

In the more complex localities, there were a few imported architects, but frequently the advice of building manuals or the builders' rule-of-thumb practices prevailed until the hey-day of the ante bellum era when the South developed its own professional architects. We may be fairly sure that few good houses were erected after 1820 without some kind of architectural advice, textbook or professional.74
Each builder was able to take details made popular by the pattern books or other architects and add them to the style he wished to use.

The styles incorporated when building a southern home were not completely new ideas but imitations of older styles. Some builders even combined various aspects of the older styles to create a "new" style. As Bacon states, "Each generation must rework the definitions of the old symbols which it inherits from the generation before; it must re-formulate the old concepts in terms of its own age." These combined styles were the South's way of reformulating the past.

Many historians have tried to classify these combinations under one title such as Southern Colonial, Georgian, Greek Revival, Gothic Revival and/or Italianate. Southern architecture, however, was not solely influenced by one particular style but by all the styles. Joseph Frazer Smith maintains that the total structure must be the same for it to gain a particular style name not just details of the structure:

If it can be established that an historic style maintained its form, materials and functional qualities, and in so doing exerted sufficient influence to outweigh the inside influences, then Southern architecture is of that style and should assume its name. On the other hand, if an historic style is recognized only in detail, has lost its material and functional qualities, is clearly dominated by the plan arrangement and materials of the South, then Southern architecture is not of that style and should not be known by its name.

Southern architecture was a reformulated style more than an older classical style. Details were added to the southern home according to practicality and beauty.

In his book, Smith explains each of the classical styles and why none had sole influence over the architects' designs in Mississippi. To label a home under just one style would often be untrue and unfair to reality.
The Southern Colonial style was rejected because the southern home was built as an individual not in accordance with others in the town as a colonial style would have mandated. Although the Georgian style added details such as windows, doors, and mouldings, it also was rejected because details cannot convey the entire essence of the style. Smith does not try to say that the classical styles had no part in formulating a style of southern architecture; he just tries to emphasize that each classical style added only a portion of itself not its total self.

The Greek Revival influence was probably the closest of the classical styles to apply to the southern architecture style but this also is more the addition of details than the addition of a total style. The idea of incorporating details but using different materials to make the details was also used in the imitations of the Gothic Revival influence. White pillars during the Pre-Civil War period were very popular therefore whether they fit into a particular style such as Gothic mattered not--they were simply added to the style to create a different style, a reformed style.

To the Italianate style, builders also added and substituted available materials for the standard materials used in the style. The scoring of wood and the decoration of plaster to simulate materials unavailable at a reasonable price shows the imagination and ingenuity of the southerner to provide, almost exactly, the look he wanted.

Thus Smith rules out all the styles as having totally influenced the southern style of architecture but maintains that each style added its own particular details to create a unique style of architecture which if it had been allowed to build upon itself and grow it would have been just as individual and popular. Time, Smith describes, was the essential factor:
The War-between-the-States put an end to the slavery system upon which was based the South's entire social and economic background. The civilization was never fully developed, but was cut off so abruptly that within four years it was only a memory. Had the South been permitted to continue its particular way of life to full development, probably today it would have developed an architecture unmistakably characteristic, and its style would be known by a specific name. 78

It is up to each historian to determine for him or herself whether the Civil War and its subsequent abolishing of the southern way of life stopped planters and farmers from building the white-pillared mansions or whether the white pillar "craze" in architecture had begun to fade before the Civil War.

If the Civil War did, in fact, bring about the close of the uniquely southern type of architecture, then the historian can deduce that the white-pillared mansions of the South were very much a part of that society; if, however, the white-pillar "craze" was fading, then the white-pillared mansions tell the historian nothing of the society.

Smith's conclusion that the Civil War (or the War-between-the-States) brought to a conclusion the advancement of the white pillared type of architecture has many credits to substantiate it. With the abolishment of slavery, the deep South lost its "peculiar institution" and also a way of life which had been there since its beginning. The "loss" also created financial difficulties for many planters and farmers so that large scale building came to an abrupt halt. Another fact which points to the possible correctness of Smith's conclusion is the term often given to the white-pillared mansions of the South—ante bellum, meaning pre-war.

An in-depth study of the ante bellum homes in Mississippi conducted by Mary Wallace Crocker features valuable facts about many of the homes, the owners, and pictures of the homes. Columbus is just one city in her book whose homes are studied.
The white-pillared homes evident in Columbus were, for the most part, town houses instead of plantation houses. But they were of the grandiose style nonetheless. In her study Crocker goes into great detail about most of the individual homes. Below is a list of just a few of the Columbus homes she writes about, the approximate construction dates of each, when possible the person's name whom the house was built for and the name of the present owner.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOME:</th>
<th>DATE:</th>
<th>BUILT FOR:</th>
<th>PRESENT OWNER:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Cedars</td>
<td>1810</td>
<td>Captain Edward B. Randolph</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pratt Thomas Home</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Adolphus B. Weir</td>
<td>Mr. and Mrs. W. Pratt Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelve Gables</td>
<td>1838</td>
<td>John Morton</td>
<td>Mr. and Mrs. W. E. McClure, Sr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homewood</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Mr. W.M. Cozart</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitehall</td>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Judge James W. Harris</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Themerlaine</td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>Elias Fort</td>
<td>Mr. and Mrs. J. Merle Graham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shadowlawn</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>John W. Spears</td>
<td>Dr. and Mrs. S. B. Flatt, Sr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colonnade</td>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Dr. William Baldwin</td>
<td>Dr. William C. Sanders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snowdown</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Gov. James Whitfield</td>
<td>Mrs. Thompson Daniel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amzi Love House</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>Amzi Love</td>
<td>Mrs. Edith Woodward</td>
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<tr>
<td>Franklin Square</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Sidney Franklin</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen D. Lee Home</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Major Thomas G. Blewett</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOME</td>
<td>DATE</td>
<td>BUILT FOR</td>
<td>PRESENT OWNER</td>
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<tr>
<td>Riverview</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Colonel and Mrs.</td>
<td>Dr. and Mrs. John A. Murfee,</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Charles McLoran</td>
<td>Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosedale</td>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Dr. William Topp</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Arches</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Jeptha V. Harris</td>
<td>Mr. and Mrs. Ned Hardin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosewood Manor</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Mr. and Mrs. Dewitt T. Hicks,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Errolton</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Beteman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisteria Place</td>
<td>1854</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>Mr. and Mrs. Harris Wallace,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waverley</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>Colonel George</td>
<td>Mr. and Mrs. Robert A. Snow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hampton Young</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Lehmquen</td>
<td>1834</td>
<td>George Clayton</td>
<td>Mrs. Augusta Lehmburg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table was compiled through information from:


And various postcards--published by Deep South Specialities, Inc.: Jackson.

The southern white-pillared style of architecture typifies a once grand society brought to an abrupt close. These homes are to the historian as the fossil is to the anthropologist. Each freezes a unique society in time. We may, therefore, study it and gain knowledge of a society which would impress itself in America's folklore so much that it would become a legend larger than reality and just as beautiful as it is large.
FOOTNOTES


2. Mumford, p. 16.


5. Loewen, p. 18.


8. Loewen, p. 20.


11. Loewen, p. 22.

12. Loewen, p. 23.


16. Betterworth, pp. 53-54.

17. Betterworth, p. 54.

18. Loewen, p. 31.

19. Loewen, p. 32.

20. Loewen, p. 34.


22. Loewen, p. 40.

Footnotes (continued)

24 Loewen, p. 30-81.
25 Loewen, p. 41.
28 McLemore, p. 274.
29 Foreman, p. 52.
30 Foreman, p. 27.
31 McLemore, p. 192.
32 Foreman, p. 44.
33 Foreman, p. 44.
34 Foreman, p. 44.
35 Foreman, p. 197.
36 Loewen, p. 55.
37 Bettersworth, p. 170.
38 Bettersworth, p. 172.
39 Bettersworth, p. 172.
40 McLemore, p. 285.
41 Bettersworth, p. 173.
42 Bettersworth, p. 173.
43 McLemore, p. 286.
44 Bettersworth, p. 175.
45 McLemore, p. 267.
46 McLemore, p. 310.
Footnotes (continued)


50. Moore, p. 6.


52. Bettersworth, p. 280.

53. Weaver, pp. 34 & 37.

55. Weaver, pp. 37-38.

56. Weaver, p. 44.

57. Bettersworth, p. 146.

58. Bettersworth, pp. 148-149.

59. Weaver, p. 48-49.

60. Bettersworth, p. 277.


63. Rowland, p. 134.

64. Rowland, p. 134.

65. Rowland, p. 480.


Footnotes (continued)


73 Wrenn, p. 61.

74 Smith, p. 220.


76 Smith, p. 214.

77 Smith, p. 214.

78 Smith, pp. 215 & 217.
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APPENDIX I

Land divisions—Loewen, p. 16.

KEY

| Delta             |
| River Lowlands    |
| Loess Hills       |
| North Central Hills Flatwoods |
| Pontotoc Ridge    |
| Black Prairie     |
| Tennessee Hills   |
| Jackson Prairie   |
| Piney Woods       |
| Gulf Coast        |
### Counties--Bettersworth, p. 5.

<table>
<thead>
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31. Harrison

82. Jackson