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JEFFERSON'S INDOMITABLE RICHARD PHILLIP CRUMP

T. C. CHADDICK

Stubborn, adamant, obstinate, recalcitrant, tenacious, resolute, persistent, obdurate, inflexible, dogged, mulish—use any of these words and you have a good one-word description of Richard Phillip Crump. "Indomitable" was used in the title to suggest one of his better and historically more acceptable characteristics. He faithfully reflected the harsh virtues and faults of his time so far as the known facts may be representative. Few of the qualities of a hero are discernible in him. Yet to many of his day he was heroic; his resolute doggedness and persistence that defied insuperable opposition even now excites admiration, perhaps grudging, but admiration nevertheless.

Remarkably handsome—black eyes, black hair, a full beard, a lithe six-footer¹—Phil Crump first appeared in 1842 at Clarksville when Red River County encompassed all the Northeast corner of Texas. A good naturedly sly expression, enhanced by regular, agreeable features, gave him a pleasant, disarming personality that was calculated to generate a feeling of acceptance in others. But first to last, his career demonstrated that the understructure of this pleasing exterior was a cunning brain and an inflexible will.

The complex, even contradictory aspect of his character was probably little noticed by his contemporaries. The complexity and contradictions more readily come into focus at this distance in time. So far as is known, being a member of the Baptist Church and a professional gambler presented Crump with no cries of conscience; in his day those that disapproved of his gambling probably thought it was a very fine thing that he belonged to a church. The accoutrements of the majesty of law and order, such as that of the Sheriff's office and that of a field officer in the Confederate Army, or that of a leading citizen were his during most of the time we know him; but a casual observer will see that he was usually a law unto himself and practiced but little self restraint. It may be fairly concluded that any apparent inconsistency in action that is seen now bothered him not at all and much less his fellow citizens.

The early days of the Republic were anything but tranquil, for Texas had been an independent republic but six years when two forays were made by Mexican armed forces into the interior. A Mexican cavalry force under General Rafael Vasquez entered the City of San Antonio on March 8, 1842, and later that year on September 11, a force commanded by Mexican General Adrain Woll occupied the city. The size of the Mexican forces pointed to a conclusion that the incursions were not made with an expectation of reconquering Texas, but were intended only to terrorize and plunder its people. Retaliation and a show of sovereignty were thought justified by Sam Houston's government.

The Republic of Texas claimed its boundary enclosed a large portion of what is now the states of New Mexico and Colorado. There was a long established flow of commerce between Santa Fe and Saint Louis, Missouri. Mexican merchants in Santa Fe frequently moved valuable merchandise-laden wagon trains along the route between these frontier cities. The road, commonly called the Santa Fe Trail, crossed territory claimed by Texas. In an exercise of sovereignty that would at the same time be self-supporting and retaliatory, Sam

Houston authorized an expedition to the far Northwest territory of Texas to prey upon the Mexican commerce along the Santa Fe Trail.² Colonel Jacob Snively, a surveyor by profession, was commissioned to recruit 200 cavalrymen for the enterprise. The commission specified that the cavalrymen would furnish their own arms, horses and subsistence. Remuneration for service would be one-half of the spoils captured. All contraband was to be delivered to the Republic's agents and thereafter individual shares apportioned to the participating soldiery.

Recruitment proceeded throughout the Republic, and 200 were enrolled by March 1, 1843. Rendezvous was set for April 1 at Old Georgetown, some six miles south of Coffee's Bend on Red River in North Texas. Thirty-five recruits left Clarksville and reached the rendezvous point on April 8. Among this number was a young, twenty-six year old Virginian, Richard Phillip Crump. The scanty regiment was formed and Houston's instructions made known to the men. There was great dissatisfaction with the part of the order that limited participation in the spoils to one-half of what might be taken. The regiment did not agree with Houston's proposed disposition, but decided to leave the matter open to be dealt with at a more propitious time.³ "Snively's Expedition" numbering finally 175 mounted men, thereupon began its westward march. The tentative objective of the movement was the area where the Santa Fe Trail crossed the Cimarron River in present day Northeast New Mexico. Phil Crump's activities are not recorded, except the events on the day the expedition's remnant acknowledged failure and turned back empty handed.

In brief, the expedition was a fiasco. No wagon trains were immediately encountered in the area where expected, and dissension and disillusionment spread. Many of the disaffected, seventy or more, began the long journey toward home the day before Captain Phillip St. George Cooke,⁴ with 300 U. S. Army Dragoons, marched up ahead of a Mexican wagon train. Captain Cooke was an energetic and experienced frontier army officer. On encountering Snively's Texans and ascertaining to his own satisfaction that the expedition was in territory between the Cimarron and the Arkansas claimed by the United States, he invited Snively to a parley. While the commanders talked, the much better equipped U. S. troops took positions and emplaced heavy guns that pinned the Texans against the river. Outmanned by a ratio of 3 to 1, and outgunned even more ominously, the Texans reluctantly agreed to surrender their rifles. Disarmament was not total, however, as some surreptitiously avoided surrender of their weapons. Captain Cooke and company departed.

The evidence of a Mexican wagon train in the near vicinity guarded by some 400 Mexican troops was laid before the reassembled regiment. Colonel Snively resigned. A new leader was elected, and seventy-five of the expedition agreed to pursue the wagon train. The others turned toward the interior of Texas. After the new commander found evidence that the Mexican armed guard was between the small body of Texans and the wagon trains, he gave up the project. At this point a vote was taken on the question of proceeding against the wagon train or returning home. Colonel Warfield, successor to Colonel Snively, announced his decision by saying: "All who want to go home, follow me," and rode off. Ten men refused to follow him. Prominent among those ten was Richard Phillip Crump.⁵ But these ten bitter-enders could do nothing. Empty-handed, they too journeyed back to their starting point.

The expedition failure was naturally a subject of intense interest and, of course, a center of controversy. When Crump returned to Clarksville he found that reports had been published in Texas newspapers which he considered derogatory to the leadership of Colonel Jacob Snively. He and five others signed an account of the expedition's operations and misadventures, and the *Northern Standard*, a weekly newspaper in Clarksville, Texas, published the story in its issues of September 21 and 28, 1843. The account is well written and presents a rather balanced recital of the undertaking. It was critical of Warfield and another of Snively's subordinates, and bitterly denounced the perfidy of Captain St. George Cooke of the United States Army. The Snively Expedition episode in Richard Phillip Crump's life exposed a strata of courage that blinded him to overwhelmingly unfavorable odds, and brought to surface a glimpse of that loyalty to those he considered legitimately placed over him that he exhibited frequently throughout his life.

The City of Jefferson, then burgeoning as a commercial port on the navigable waters on Big Cypress, attracted Crump to it some time before 1845. Some twenty-five miles east of Jefferson, Robert Hughes, Sr., several of his sons and other kinsmen (the city of Hughes Springs is named for his best known son, Reece), had taken up land as early as 1838.⁶ The several families of Hughes then in that neighborhood were well established settlers with large plantations. William V. Hughes had a marriageable daughter, Martha. This young lady became the bride of Phil Crump. Marriage into the Hughes family suggests that Crump's winning manners and lively prospects were well received in the general community. The union had been blessed with a daughter of four and a one-year-old son when the enumerators made their rounds for the 1850 census.

Texas was admitted as one of the United States in 1845. The Texas Legislature at its First Session subdivided the area bounded by present day Bowie, Cass, and Marion Counties by forming the south half into a county to be named Cass. (Marion County was severed from Cass in 1860). Phil Crump's good connections, authoritative bearing and affable demeanor assured him election as Sheriff of Cass County the first time the polls were opened for that purpose. His tenure continued through 1850. After leaving the Sheriff's office it is probable that he engaged in the building trade. It is known that he operated a saloon, billiard parlor and shooting gallery. He was regarded, in the euphemism of the day, as a sportsman. He was a horseman, wagered on and rode in stakc races;⁷ and court records show that at different times charges were preferred against him for public gambling. His occupational undertakings were not narrowly confined, as exhibited by this advertisement in the March 5, 1856, issue of *The Southwestern*, a weekly newspaper:

"NEW ORLEANS AND RED RIVER PACKET. The substantial, fast running steamboat, GRENADA, R. P. Crump, Master, having been thoroughly overhauled and put in complete order, will run during the season as a regular packet between New Orleans, Shreveport, Albany, Benton, Port Caddo, Smithland and Jefferson, receiving and landing freight or passengers at all intermediate points and plantations. The Grenada is a large and commodious boat, with superior accommodations for passengers, and her officers will make use of every exertion to give satisfaction to shippers and travelers. For freight or passage, apply on board."

The length of time Phil Crump devoted to his occupation as a river boat master can not now be determined with any more accuracy than the time he was engaged in his other callings. He probably regarded himself primarily as a building contractor, but his venturesome spirit was limited only by his opportunities. The political plum of U. S. Census enumerator in Marion County was his in 1860. In the census return he gave his occupation as "grocer." This term was frequently used by purveyors of whiskey to distinguish them from saloonkeepers who sold by the drink. Martha Crump died in 1859, and Phil soon married her sister, Cynthia Caroline. Cynthia had the responsibility of rearing Martha's children, as well as those born to her marriage.

The energy with which Phil Crump embraced the opportunities afforded by secession from the Union and the hostilities that followed leaves little doubt where his sympathies lay. Official reports and dispatches during the Civil War outline his career as an officer in the Confederate States Army. He was at Wilson Creek and Elkhorn Tavern (Pea Ridge). The following extracts⁸ show his progress:

Jefferson, Marion County, Texas, Nov. 3, 1861, Wm. C. Young, Col. Comdg. Regt. Texas Vol. Cav. C. S. Army, to Hon. J. P. Benjamin, Sec. of War, Confederate.

"Immediately after furnishing the transportation of Col. Sims' regiment, I left for this place, at the urgent request of Maj. R. P. Crump, to muster his battalion of cavalry, raised by the order of Sec. Walker for Missouri. By Wednesday next I shall be able to complete his muster, and they (the battalion) will march immediately to join General McCullough"

Near Ft. Smith, Nov. 29, 1862: To Brig. Gen. J. S. Marmaduke, Comb. 4th Div. Olivers Store. Lt. Col. R. P. Crump with Lane's regiment Texas Cavalry about 600 strong was ordered to you last night.

Report of Lt. Col. R. P. Crump, First Texas Partisan Cavalry, Camp on Cove Creek, Dec. 9, 1862.

"Attack at Prairie Grove Church; killed 40 enemy; Captured 200 prisoners, including Major Hubbard, 40 wagons, several Negroes, 200 stands of arms, 200 horses."

The last report bears the following endorsement by Crump's superior:

"I would call your attention particularly to the daring chivalry of Col. Young and Crump."

Ft. Smith, Ark. Jan. 14, 1863, Col. Speight reported 20 of his men captured by Capt. Martin D. Hart, a renegade Texas . . . Many sympathizers scattered through country.

The lawless band operating in vicinity of Ft. Smith under command of Martin D. Hart, formerly a member of the Texas Senate from Hunt County and who now represents himself as a captain in the First Texas Regiment (Federal) Communication is being kept up between Hart and abolition sympathizers in Northern Texas.

Under leadership of Martin D. Hart, several most respectable citizens of Valley of Ark. murdered and numerous robberies committed by these outlaws.

Be careful not to let persons with Negroes or otherwise to pass your lines.

Ft. Smith, Ark. January 19, 1863, Lt. Col. R. P. Crump ordered to report to Col. Monroe commanding Carroll's Brigade, Ark, Cavalry for orders to be given him.

Lt. Col. Crump's command sent in pursuit of lawless bands who were murdering and laying waste to country.

Report of Gen. T. C. Hindman, Little Rock, Feb. 15, 1863. "Left Lt. Col. R. P. Crump at Dripping Springs, 9 mi. No. of Van Buren. Col. Crump's train captured."

To: Col. W. P. Lane, Jefferson, Texas, From Brig. Gen. Wm. Steele, Ft. Smith, April 18, 1863. "Lane's Regiment under Crump gave up Red River."

Fort Gibson, Ind. T. May 9, 1863: Col. R. P. Crump of Texas with a command of Texans arrived at Ft. Smith last Friday, Report Wm. A. Phillips, Col. Commanding.

July 7, 1863. Ft. Smith; Col. Crump ordered to Red River for subsistence for his horses and to collect stragglers.

Forces at Ft. Smith, Feb. 15, 1864, R. P. Crump had remnant of Lane's Texas Partisan Rangers:

150 men
no change of clothing
nor average of blanket to man
1500 in hospital.

Sept. 13, 1864, from Ed. P. Turner: "Crump attacked at Mount Elba."

Camden, Ark. Oct. 10, 1864. "Lane's Brigade, Col. Crump commanded to attack at Mount Elba."

State Senator Martin D. Hart of Greenville, Texas, organized a unit of cavalrymen called the Greenville Guards at the inception of hostilities in the Civil War.⁹ His election as Captain was certified by the Chief Justice of Hunt County on July 6, 1861, and the company's muster roll duly returned to Governor Clark of Texas. Why Hart switched sides is unknown. In August of 1862, Capt. Hart with a small number of companions left Texas for the vicinity of Fort Smith, Arkansas, ostensibly to raise troops for service in the Confederate Armed Forces in Northwest Arkansas. His journey, however, carried him to Springfield, Missouri, and perhaps St. Louis. He possibly secured a commission as a captain with Federal Armed Forces, though no record of an appointment has been found. Colonel John W. Speight, First Division, First Corps of the Army of the "Trans-Mississippi", CSA, reported on January 14, 1863, that Hart and thirty followers had captured twenty men from Speight's command. Colonel Speight on January 19, directed Lieutenant Colonel Crump to pursue Hart. Crump's entire unit moved out of Ft. Smith on January 20 over ground covered with six inches of snow. Captain A. R. Reiff commanded the advance guard, and his officer induced a boy, out of a family of Hart partisans, to lead him to where Hart's band was camped in a mill. After brief action all but three of Hart's men were made prisoners. One of Hart's partisans was killed, two escaped and the remainder were carried back to Fort Smith and imprisoned. Lieutenant Colonel Crump convened a court martial to try Hart and his First Lieutenant J. W. Hays; the other twenty-two prisoners were transferred to headquarters at Little Rock.

The Hart partisans had murdered at least two prominent civilians living near Charleston, Arkansas, and had threatened and generally terrorized those loyal to the Confederacy in Fort Smith's environs. Hart and Hays were convicted of murder and sentenced to be hanged. Captain Reiff's Company had charge of the execution. A relative of one of the murdered civilians was given the privilege of placing the noose around each condemned man's neck and securing the rope to the gallows tree. The condemned stood, each on his own coffin, at the rear end of a wagon with the noose in place, and at that juncture was permitted to make a last statement. Captain Hart met death with dignity. He assumed responsibility for all that his partisans had done, he asked nothing for himself, and declaring he was ready to meet his fate, but asked leniency for Hays and his men on the grounds that they had merely obeyed his orders. The two executed prisoners were buried. Federal forces later removed their bodies to the National Cemetery at Fort Smith.

The capture and execution of Hart and Hays give Phillip Crump undeserved notoriety. Rumors and word-of-mouth reports of the incident, wrongly on the basis of existing evidence, built up a myth that Colonel Crump executed Hart's whole band of twenty-three to twenty-seven bushwackers. Correspondence and memoirs of men who were present mention only the execution of Hart and Hays. A Fort Smith newspaper, *The New Area*, reported on January 16, 1864, that Lieutenant Pratt, 14th Kansas Cavalry, USA, a Federal force then stationed at Fort Smith, was circulating a subscription list for funds to re-inter the bodies of Captain Hart and Lieutenant Hays, who, the paper said, had been executed by rebels, a year previously. The tone of the article showed a strong Union bias, and had more than these two been executed, the paper would have flaunted the fact,¹⁰ Crump's personal responsibility appears to have been no more than that

of a field grade officer in charge of military operations where the incident occurred.

The aftermath of the Hart affair is shown by a news story in the *Texas Republican*, published at Marshall, Texas, under date of Friday, August 25, 1865:

Col. B. P. Crump and Lt. Col. W. P. Saufley recently of the CSA were arrested here last Sunday by order of General Hawkins and placed under guard on the charge of having caused the execution of certain Union prisoners in Arkansas during the Winter of 1862-63. It was understood the arrested parties were to be taken to Fort Smith for trial, but on Monday they slipped away from the guard and have not been heard from since.

It seems probable that Colonel Crump persuaded his guards to permit him to visit his home. A great-granddaughter wrote in 1966:

I remember my grandmother telling me about Col Crump and Col. Saufley being at home when the Northern troops came to the house, and the slaves pulled the piano out on the veranda and she played and her little (half) sister danced to entertain them while her Father and Col. Saufley got away, going out the back of the house.

There is no record that Crump was re-arrested after this escape, or that charges were thereafter pressed against him.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Major Crump recruited for membership in his mounted battalion young Cullen Baker.¹¹ This young man at that time was building a local reputation as a scofflaw. He was with the command in Missouri and northern Arkansas in the early days of the war. A mission for the army brought him back to his home area, and he never returned to his unit. For the remainder of the war, Baker's activities so nearly approached those of a Confederate-oriented guerilla that he and his few followers were endured, if not approved, in his small area of operation along the Texas and Arkansas line. For what it is worth, folklore persists that Baker was in communication with Quantrill's Missouri guerillas. One of them, Jesse James, is said to have swapped horses with Baker. For a short time after hostilities had ceased, Baker's brushes with and flouting of Federal authority gave him sanctuary among East Texans, but as time wore on his personal vendettas and offenses against local inhabitants began giving him more the reputation of a renegade than a Robin Hood.

By 1867 his standing had deteriorated to such extent that he was compelled to take and remain under cover. It was in November that his former Commander, Lieutenant Colonel Crump, and a deputation of prominent citizens arranged a meeting with Baker in Cass County. Crump urgently advised Baker to quit the area and allow public sentiment against him to subside. How well his advice was received is not known, though it does not appear that Baker resented it. The concrete result of the meeting was a letter Baker wrote a local newspaper declaring himself innocent of outrages that had been laid at his door, and asserting his belief in and support of law and order. Crump's effort to remove Baker peacefully as a detriment to the community did not succeed; it took stronger measures and in early January, 1868, he was killed by a posse that included a brother-in-law.

Jefferson and East Texas were spared the terror, suffering, humiliation and degradation of an invasion by a hostile Union Army prior to Appomattox. The spirit of the people was not broken and submission to reconstruction authority was galling beyond measure. Brigadier General George P. Buell, USA, in a report to the Fifth Military District Headquarters under date of July 8, 1869, says: "I do not believe Northeastern Texas will average over twenty-five white men to the county who have any love for the United States of America, its laws or officials — or for those who are loyal to it." The passion, resentment, the trauma of defeat, the desperation of people who staved off invasion only to be submerged in the final collapse of a cause dear to them, along with spite, bravado and opportunism went into the emotional mix that exploded one Saturday night in Jefferson back in 1868. But for this setting the simple recital of the factual basis of the trial of Richard P. Crump and twenty-two co-defendants would appear vacuous or perhaps the machination of insensible criminals rather than a manifestation of people's will to govern themselves in freedom.

After the end of the hostilities in 1865, George W. Smith, late a Captain of U. S. Volunteers, was a prominent figure in Jefferson.¹² He headed an organization known as the *Loyal League*, made up of an element the community would characterize as freed slaves, sealawags, and carpetbaggers. The community was shorn of its best leadership by the Federal Reconstruction Laws, and opportunities such as George W. Smith became its political representatives and spokesmen. Smith was elected to a Constitutional Convention that met in Austin in the year 1868 to re-write and replace the 1866 State Constitution with one more agreeable to the radical element in control of state government. On return to Jefferson that fall his baggage, referred to in the records as a "carpetbag", and also as "saddlebags," was stolen. A Negro reported that the stolen property might be found at the home of Richard A. Figures, about three miles distant from Jefferson. The Figures place was near that of Judge Colbert Caldwell, then a Justice seated by Reconstruction authorities on the Supreme Court of Texas.

Talk of search for the stolen property at Figures' residence reached Figures, and he called on members of the "Knights of the Rising Sun" to stand guard. Richard P. Crump and several others, including a man by the name of Haggerty and another by the name of Thurman, answered the call for help. About 10:00 o'clock, on the night of October 3, Crump and his companions were confronted by Smith and several Negroes near the Judge Caldwell place. A shooting affray resulted, Smith and his companions wounded Haggerty and Thurman slightly, and killed a horse. Major James Curtis, Tenth Infantry Division, U. S. A., commanding the Jefferson post, was on the ground with a force within a few minutes, and Smith came out of concealment and surrendered himself. Crump explained that had his gun not misfired, he would have killed Smith. Fully armed local citizens were turning out in large numbers. Perhaps by this turnout of citizens the Mayor of Jefferson and the Marshal of Jefferson were allowed to take charge of Smith and the three Negroes. Major Curtis was assured that a fair investigation and prosecution would be made. The city calaboose was only a block and a half from military headquarters, and Major Curtis saw little reason to be apprehensive about the safety of the prisoners, in view of the cooperation he was receiving.¹³ As a precaution he posted one commissioned officer, one sergeant, one corporal, and eight privates inside the jail yard and three outposts of two men each at street corners some fifty yards away.

A rumor spread that Negro freedmen were conspiring to seize the city jail and free Smith and his accomplices. The rumor, according to later testimony, inspired a large number of local citizens, including Crump, to agree to assist the City Marshal in guarding the jail on Saturday night, October 4. A number of prominent citizens joined the City Marshal and the Federal troops guarding the jail, but Crump was not among them. Shortly after dark on October 4 a well organized group of more than seventy men, masked and disguised, stealthily descended on the jail and disarmed all guards, including the Federal troops. Four former slaves, Grant, Stewart, Wright, and Turner, were taken from the jail; the bullet-riddled body of George W. Smith was found inside a cell. A short distance away the bodies of Louis Grant and Richard Stewart were also found. Anderson Wright and Cornelius Turner escaped the mob.

Richard P. Crump and Ludwig P. Alford, William H. Magill, Mark H. Joplin, Silas H. Nance, Charles L. Pitcher, John A. Richardson, Mathew D. Taylor, John C. Murphy, Jr., Henry A. Steeley, Walter L. Marshall, John M. Vines, William A. Hightower, David E. Carpenter, Richard Batie, William D. Hannagan, George Gray, Oscar Gray, Henry M. Woodsmall, William L. Crawford, Horatio N. Geer and Nathaniel McCoy, and Richard Davis, freedman, were arrested and lodged in the Federal stockade. The first charge against them was "conspiracy to oppose the authority of the Government of the United States and to prevent the execution of the acts of the Congress to provide for the more efficient government of the rebel states, . . .," and "feloniously and forceably" resisting "the United States' Military engaged in the execution of said laws." The second court charged them with the murder of George W. Smith, Louis Grant and Richard Stewart. The Specification named as conspirators with those charged the following: Marion T. Slaughter, William B. Saufley, Harrison Thurman, A. A. Spence, George O'Neil, James Alley, Charles Hotchkiss, William Alley, William Rose, James Knox, Jacob Bates, David Castlebury, Richard Sedberry, John Hopperty, William Ochiltree,¹⁴ Bud Connor, Clem Galloway, Stephen Sullivan, William Nichols, Theo Nichols, James Cotton, Theodore Lewis, John Lewis, Bud Lewis, —Hagarty, —Cotton, —Thomas, —Gorman, —Monan, —Campbell, John Penman, Pink Barnes, —Kirkland, —Pratt, Theodore Scott, John Muse, John Chambers, —Wallace, —Dobbins, John Brightwell, —McCarthy, and freedmen John Brooks.

Major General J. J. Reynolds, United States Army, issued an order from his headquarters at Austin on April 22, 1869, directing that a Military Commission convene at Jefferson, Texas, on May 15, 1869, to try Crump and those charged with him. The presiding officer was designated as Brevet Major General Edward Hatch, with Colonel W. R. Schafier, Colonel S. H. Starr, Major Lyman Bissell, Colonel A. M. Dudley, Lieutenant Colonel George A. Gordon, and Lieutenant Colonel Samuel K. Schwenk completing the Commission. At the day appointed for trial a Minute was entered showing that "all the prisoners except Henry M. Woodsmall then applied to have the assistance of the followed named counsel in their defense: Messars. B. W. Gray, D. B. Culberson, Samuel F. Mosely, R. A. Reeves, W. E. Penn, John Burke, T. J. Campbell, W. H. Mason, R. R. Haynes, George T. Todd, J. C. Todd, and John Clarke."

A General Order (175) issued out of the Headquarters of the 5th Military District (State of Texas) on October 2, 1869, shows that the commission found Crump *not guilty* on all charges and specifications and acquitted him.¹⁵ The District Commander would not approve the verdict, but ordered Crump released

from confinement. While in the stockade Crump became ill and the military authorities permitted his wife to remain in the stockade as his nurse. The following funeral notice dated Friday, October 15, 1869, records Crump's death: "The friends and acquaintances of the late Colonel R. P. Crump are invited to attend his funeral this afternoon at 4:00 o'clock. The procession will form at his residence and proceed to the city cemetery." Crump's body was interred beside that of his first wife.

Richard Phillip Crump was a man of his environment. Tragedy was a commonplace ingredient. Phil Crump's tragedy was that he lived in times of turbulence and violence. That he was courageous is beyond question. His loyalty was to a consensus, to the indefinable and illusory standards, as he understood them, extolled or professed by what he considered to be the better class in his community. To him this class, the established, the respectable, the responsible element of the community, and the angels were on the same side. No danger to himself nor the prospect of defeat daunted him or stayed his hand. Fate preserved the high dramatic quality of his life to the very end. His entry into public consciousness was inconspicuous, but the role he created thrust him to the front stage center, and he departed riding "high, wide, and handsome."

AFTERWORD

It has been the good fortune of the Jefferson Historical Society and Museum to have had Lucille Bullard (Mrs. Jack Bullard) as one of its most avid and industrious sponsors. She has done a prodigious amount of research into Jefferson's past. Perhaps her favorite character of local historical interest was Richard Phillip Crump. She very kindly made her notes and files, and those of the museum available to me. Not less than ninety-eight percent of the research underlying this paper must be credited to her. The facts stated here are hers, only the conclusions are mine.

Terrell W. Connor, Jr., President, East Texas Historical Association, invited me to read a paper at the Society's meeting at Marshall, Texas, on March 22, 1969. Phil Crump seemed a likely subject. It was soon apparent, however, that my subject in the context of this time would not fit into the time allotted. Omissions and condensation was imperative. It is with regret that the military trial and its *dramatic personae*, defendants, judges, prosecutors, parties and lawyers could not be sketched in detail — they deserve more extensive treatment than is possible here. This, of course, is true of all persons and events from beginning to end, but paring down was unavoidable. Limitations or not, the result should have been better.

FOOTNOTES

¹T. U. Taylor, *Cullen Montgomery Baker* (Typescript, Archives Department, Jefferson Historical Society and Museum). This manuscript reflects meticulous investigation and research by Dean T. U. Taylor of the University of Texas. The original manuscript is in the University of Texas Library. Dean Taylor's description of Colonel Crump, together with a photograph in the possession of the museum, is the authority for this description.

²Mrs. Jack Bullard, *Snively Expedition*, (Archives Department, Jefferson Historical Society and Museum). This is a compilation by Mrs. Bullard. It contains a typed extract from *Ford's Memoirs, Volume 2*, and a xeroxed extract from H. Yoakum, *History of Texas, Volume 2*. Apparently the manuscript of the first mentioned work and a printed copy of the second are in the Texas State Library. The condensed version of the Snively Expedition recounted here is based on Mrs. Bullard's compilation and the account appearing in the *Northern Standard*, the newspaper at Clarksville, Texas, mentioned in the text.

³*Ford's Memoirs* is the authority for this view. Yoakum says that the expedition members voted unanimously to reject Houston's arrangement.

⁴Douglas Southall Freeman, *Lee's Lieutenants*, (Charles Scribners Sons, New York, 1944), I. This officer was a Virginian by birth, and is best remembered as the father-in-law of Major General J. E. B. Stuart, CSA. After the outbreak of the Civil War, Cooke was promoted to Major General in the Union forces, and served as McClellan's Chief of Cavalry early in the war. His son, Brig. Gen. John Roger Cooke, CSA, chose to stand with Virginia and the South. Bernard DeVoto's *1845—The Year of Decision*, says that the Mormons on their trek to Utah came to dislike Capt. Cooke, and regarded him as one of Satan's own.

⁵*Ford's Memoirs* lists these holdouts as Jacob Snively, David Snively, John Moore, Zac Moore, James O. Rice, James P. Crump, James A. Mitchell, and Hugh F. Young, but fails to recall the names of the remaining two.

⁶H. R. Hughes, "*Life of an East Texas Pioneer*" (manuscript). The author of this memoir was a son of Reece Hughes of Hughes Springs, Texas. The manuscript is in possession of a Reece Hughes granddaughter, Mrs. H. D. Ashley of Hughes Springs. The arrangement of the account indicates it was probably written for and published in a local newspaper. Limited research does not disclose a relationship between William V. and Robert Hughes, Sr., but the Crump great granddaughter quoted in the text says William V. Hughes' plantation was near Hughes Springs, Texas.

⁷John H. McLean "*Recollections of Jefferson, Its Vicinity and Folks*" (Typescript, Archives Department, Jefferson Historical Society and Museum). The author of this memoir was a well-known early day Texas Methodist preacher. He authored a number of papers of historical interest.

⁸*War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1880-1901). This monumental work is in many volumes and it is impractical here to cite each volume and page where the document extracted may be found. The index should be consulted by anyone wishing to go to the source of these quotes.

⁹William E. Sawyer, *The Martin Hart Conspiracy* (Typescript). This work appears to have been a dissertation written while its author was a student at East Texas State University. A carbon copy is in the Archives Department, Jefferson Historical Society and Museum. The Sawyer paper is the basis of the episode related here.

¹⁰A footnote in the *Martin Hart Conspiracy* quotes an editorial of the *Fort Smith New Era* in its issue of January 16, 1864. Referring to Captain M. D. Hart and Lieutenant Hays, one sentence suffices to show the editor's bias, to-wit: "Those patriotic adventurers in the cause of their country, suffered death by the hands of vile traitors then in authority at Fort Smith".

¹¹See Footnote No. 1. The account here is based on Dean Taylor's manuscript.

¹²*Records of the War Department, Office of the Adjutant General* (Record Group No. 94, National Archives of the United States, 1934). The record group cited and stories from the *Times and Republican*, a newspaper published at Marshall in 1869, as reflected by extracts copied from the newspaper and preserved in a notebook in the Archives Department, Jefferson Historical Society and Museum, are the basis of the account of the events that resulted in the Military Commission trials that are given in the text. The testimony at the trial was preserved and is now in the National Archives. The expense of securing microfilm copies of the witnesses' testimony rendered it unavailable.

¹³Subsequently Major Curtis became very apprehensive and called upon his superiors for reinforcement as he feared that the mob might harm Judge Caldwell and Don Campbell; Campbell was afterwards Lieutenant Governor of the 1873 administration of Governor E. J. Davis.

¹⁴William Beck Ochiltree was one of the authentic founding fathers of the Republic of Texas. He was a District Judge, and sat as a member of the Supreme Court of the Republic. As late as 1860 he was a major candidate for Governor of Texas, contesting Sam Houston for the office.

¹⁵Ludwig P. Alford, George Gray, Oscar Gray, John A. Richardson, Matthew D. Taylor, and Charles L. Pitcher were found guilty on several specifications in the charges. The first three were sentenced to life terms in the penitentiary, and the others to terms of four years. It is doubtful that any part of the sentences was actually served. Inconclusive research has not turned up a record in that respect. Taylor is to be found serving a third term as Speaker of the House of Representatives, Texas Legislature, Regular Session, 1873, an alltime record in that office. The district court records of Marion County show that H. P. Mabry was acquitted of the murder of George W. Smith in the State Court in 1869. Mabry was a former district judge removed from office in 1866 by reconstruction authority; he was a Confederate officer, and commanded a brigade, though never confirmed in rank as Brigadier General. Limited investigation has not shown a connection between the Military Commission trial and Mabry's trial by civil authority, nor an explanation for Mabry's omission as a defendant in the military trial.