East Texas Historical Journal

Volume 28 | Issue 1 Article 5

3-1990

A People at War: East Texans during the Civil War

Ralph A. Wooster

Robert Wooster

Follow this and additional works at: http://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj



Part of the United States History Commons

Tell us how this article helped you.

Recommended Citation

Wooster, Ralph A. and Wooster, Robert (1990) "A People at War: East Texans during the Civil War," East Texas Historical Journal: Vol. 28: Iss. 1, Article 5.

Available at: http://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj/vol28/iss1/5

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by SFA ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in East Texas Historical Journal by an authorized administrator of SFA ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact cdsscholarworks@sfasu.edu.

A PEOPLE AT WAR: EAST TEXANS DURING THE CIVIL WAR

by Ralph A. and Robert Wooster

Like most Texans, the people of the eastern part of the state were deeply troubled by the sectional controversies that divided the nation during the 1850s. While most East Texans had a deep attachment to the Union, they were increasingly concerned over the attacks upon the southern way of life by northern political leaders. The people of the region viewed with alarm the election of Abraham Lincoln as president of the United States in November 1860. When it was known that Lincoln and the Republican Party had won the election, demonstrations for Southern independence occurred throughout East Texas. Sam Barron, a recent arrival from Alabama and later a member of the Third Texas Cavalry, was in Cherokee county when news of Lincoln's election was received. When Barron entered the town of Rusk, "the Lone Star flag was floating over the court-house and Abraham Lincoln, in effigy, was hanging to the limb of a sweet gum tree that stood near the northwest corner of the court yard.""

Most East Texans favored immediate action. Citizens attending a mass meeting in Houston adopted resolutions requesting Governor Sam Houston to call a convention of the people to consider the question of Federal relations. The editor of the Marshall Texas Republican denounced Governor Sam Houston for excessive timidity and joined the call for a state convention to consider secession. Charles DeMorse, editor of the influential Clarksville Standard, argued that the Union was being fragmented. "He who cannot see it is blind politically." "It is past hope," he lamented. Even J.W. Barrett, editor of the Harrison Flag, who personally favored a more cautious policy of waiting until Lincoln committed some overt act hostile to the South, agreed that the people demand action.²

Governor Houston reluctantly gave approval to the calling of a state convention in late January 1861. In this convention East Texans played a prominent role. Among the better known East Texas delegates were John H. Reagan, United States congressman from Anderson County; Joseph L. Hogg, former congressman of the Republic, delegate to the 1845 constitutional convention, Mexican War veteran, and future Civil War general; William P. Rogers of Harris County, successful attorney, state legislator, and friend of Governor Houston; William B. Ochiltree of Harrison County, popular attorney, judge, and former Whig candidate for governor; William T. Scott of Harrison County, wealthy plantation and slave owner, former congressman of the Republic, and long-time member of the state legislature; Haden H. Edwards of Nacogdoches County, son of

Ralph A. Wooster, a past president of the East Texas Historical Association, is Associate Vice President at Lamar University, Beaumont.
Robert Wooster is Assistant Professor of History at Corpus Christi State University.

a prominent Texas empresario, general in the army of the Republic, former congressman and state legislator; and George W. Chilton of Smith County, Mexican War veteran, state legislator, and successful attorney. Supreme Court Judge Oran M. Roberts, formerly of San Augustine and now a delegate from Smith County, was chosen presiding officer of the convention. Another East Texan, wealthy landowner, former empresario and revolutionary leader Thomas Jefferson Chambers of Anahuac, was appointed chairman of the powerful Committee on Federal Relations.³

Although most of the East Texas delegates supported secession, seven of the eight convention delegates who voted against the secession ordinance came from northeast Texas. Three of the seven represented Lamar County, two were from Wood County, one from Titus County, and one, James W. Throckmorton, was from Collin County. Throckmorton, a thirty-five year old Tennessee-born lawyer and state legislator, was particularly defiant of those in the gallery who hissed when he recorded his "No" vote. "Mr. President," he remarked, "when the rabble hiss, well may patriots tremble."

The convention did provide that the secession ordinance be submitted to the voters of the state in a popular referendum. In this election, held on February 23, 1861, voters in only one of the thirty-five counties included in the *Handbook of Texas* definition of "East Texas" cast a majority of their ballots against secession. This one county, Angelina, is located in the heart of deep East Texas. Here, the voters, mainly herdsmen and small farmers, rejected secession by a vote of 184-139.6

Most East Texans were avid secessionists. In thirty of the thirty-five east Texas counties included in the arc running from Red River County through Leon County on down to include Harris and Galveston counties on the coast, over seventy-five percent of the voters approved secession. Only in Angelina, Hardin in the Big Thicket, and Titus, Wood, and Red River counties in the extreme northeastern tier did more than one-fourth of the voters reject immediate separation from the Union. In many East Texas counties the vote for secession was overwhelming; in Anderson, Galveston, Harrison, Newton, Polk, Panola, Smith, Trinity, and Tyler counties over ninty-percent of the voters endorsed secession. In Marion County in the northeast section of the state, 467 voters were recorded for secession; none were reported in opposition.

Opposition to secession was stronger in the counties located just beyond the Red River-Wood-Leon arc that are frequently considered a part of "greater East Texas." Voters in Lamar, Fannin, Grayson, Cooke, Montague, Collin, and Jack counties joined ten German hill country counties in which a majority of voters rejected secession. At least forty percent of the voters in Wise, Denton, Hunt, and Van Zandt counties, all included in the "greater East Texas" sphere, cast their ballots against secession. Voters in these counties were much under the cultural influence of the upper South, as opposed to the other areas of East Texas which

were under the cultural influence of the lower South, where support for slavery and secession was strong.8

East Texas enthusiasm for secession carried over into the war effort. When the news of the firing on Fort Sumter reached East Texas in mid-April, 1861, leading citizens called upon the youth of the region to join the Confederate army. The editor of the Marshall Texas Republican, Robert W. Loughery, believed there would be no difficulty or delay in recruiting East Texans. Charles DeMorse, editor of the Clarksville Standard, was equally confident that the people of East Texas would support the war effort. "We cannot think the contest will last long," he wrote. "Without authority of Congress - with a Treasury bankrupt - with the heart of great bodies of Northern People all adverse, how can it last," he asked. The attempt by the North to subdue the South he believed "the most supreme folly of the age - the most superlative foolery."

Recruitment and enrollment of troops was the main activity in East Texas during the late spring and summer of 1861. Almost every community formed some type of military unit. The young men underwent a routine of drill, attended an endless round of public ceremonies, and received varying degrees of military instruction. Some East Texans, who eventually formed a large part of Hood's Texas Brigade, were in the capable, if not always popular, hands of drill instructor Colonel R.T.P. Allen, a West Point graduate and former commandant of Bastrop Military Academy. The Roan's Prairie encampment in Grimes county resembled the summer olympics, according to historian Harold B. Simpson, as men from Montgomery, Grimes, and Walker counties competed against one another in running, jumping, wrestling, boxing, and other games.¹⁰

As companies were formed and rudimentary instruction completed, citizens of the area participated in public ceremonies in which the units were given a farewell as they departed for war. The highlight of such ceremonies was the presentation of a Confederate or company flag by the local citizenry. The first such affair occurred in East Texas on April 20 as the W.P. Lane Rangers, the first company in the area to be raised and sent off to war, received its flag."

One of the most enthusiastic send-offs received by any East Texas unit was the one given the Henderson Guards, commanded by Captain William K. "Howdy" Martin. The Guards, officially designated as Company K, 4th Texas Infantry, gathered at the small town of Fincastle in southwestern Henderson County before leaving for Camp Van Dorn on Buffalo Bayou. In this ceremony, attended by hundreds of citizens, the Guards were presented a Confederate flag by Miss Ann Tindel. After a large barbecue, members of the Guards and local citizens listened to Martin deliver a colorful speech. Martin, who acquired his nickname because he greeted one and all with a rousing "Howdy," was one of the best stump speakers in the state. According to one account he spoke "with a voice like thunder," and "as he spoke he would shake his long hair and

look like he was mad enough to eat a Yankee raw."12

East Texans marched off to war wearing a wide variety of uniforms. Comrades advised John W. Stevens of the Polk Rifles to "get just what suited his fancy and have it made up in any style he chose - jes' so it was a uniform." Cavalrymen selected an especially colorful array of clothing in the early days of the war. Captain Sam Richardson of the Lone Rangers wore gaudy leopard skin pants when he led his company off to war. Coats were both single and double breasted, with great diversities of color and style. Most East Texans, whether infantry of cavalry, wore wide-brimmed felt hats or gray caps with visors.¹³

Often local citizens were called upon to provide uniforms and equipment for the new recruits. The "Texas Hunters," a company formed in eastern Harrison County, for example, were given cadet gray uniforms and new repeating rifles by local citizenry. Citizens of Larissa provided a horse, bridle, saddle, and blankets for the bugler recruited for the Lone Star Defenders. Malachiah Reeves of the "Crockett Southrons," officially Company I of the 1st Texas Infantry, noted that citizens of Crockett contributed money for tents and uniforms for his company. Others carried what equipment they could provide for themselves. San Augustine's O.T. Hanks recalled: "Evry fellow (was) equiped as he considered with the best Accouterments of war. There arms Consisting of Almost evry Conceivable Kind of Gun that Could be Colected in the Country."

Not knowing what pitfalls the future might bring, East Texans often overburdened themselves with equipment and clothing in the early days of the war. W.W. Heartsill, a clerk in Marshall before the war, recalled that his horse "Pet" carried the following items when he embarked for war in April, 1861:

myself, saddle, bridle, saddle blanket, curry comb, horse brush, coffee pot, tin cup, 20 lbs. ham, 200 biscuit, 5 lbs sugar, one large pound cake presented to me by Mrs. C E Talley, 6 shirts 6 prs socks, 3 prs drawers, 2 prs pants, 2 jackets, 1 pr heavy mud boots, one Colt's revolver, one small dirk, four blankets, sixty feet of rope, with a twelve inch iron pin attached; with all these, and divers and sundry little momentoes from friends.¹⁶

Most East Texans believed the war would be of short duration and result in a decisive Confederate triumph. When the war continued after the Confederate victory at Manassas in July 1861, it became increasingly obvious that the struggle would be longer than most East Texans had anticipated. Indeed, East Texans already were collecting woolen goods, blankets, and warm clothing for troops in Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Arkansas prior to an official call in September by the Confederate Secretary of the War for such items.¹⁷ In addition, ladies volunteer relief associations were formed in the various towns of the region not only to aid in the gathering and packaging of items for the army, but also to provide aid and assistance to families of Texas servicemen.¹⁸

The indecisive nature of the military campaigns of late summer and fall of 1861 displeased many East Texans. Robert A. Loughery, editor of the Marshall Texas Republican, was especially critical of the army's failure to launch a more aggressive campaign. Quoting from the Charleston Mercury, he argued "if there is to be war, let the enemy be made to feel it where he is most vital! Let him enjoy the spectacle of his own towns and villages in flames, behold his own people - men, women, and children - flying in terror, than suffer him to thrust this terrible spectacle again before our eyes, in our homes, at the expense of the people." "We have never been able to appreciate the wisdom of the Fabian policy adopted by our government," Loughery declared. "The destruction of Harrisburg, Philadelphia, and Zanesville, Columbus, and Cincinnati, and laying waste all that portion of Pennsylvania and Ohio contiguous to Virginia, would bring the Lincolnites to their senses. The war must be brought home to them; they must be made to feel and fully realize its horrors. Then, and not until then, will they be sollicitious (sic.) for peace."19

In February, 1862, Loughery again called for a general offensive. "Shall we wait until the war is brought home to our doors, before we advance?" he asked. "In Heaven's name, and the name of humanity, we say no!" 20

As the war entered its second year, the economy of East Texas increasingly was devoted to producing goods and materials necessary to support the war effort. One of the most ambitious undertakings was the ordnance works located at Tyler. In the spring of 1862, J.C. Short, a local gunsmith, was asked by the Texas Military Board to supply .577 caliber Mississippi rifles for the use of Texas soldiers. Short formed a partner-ship with William S.N. Briscoe, another Tyler gunsmith, and George Yarbrough, a local businessman who put up most of the \$80,000 required to build an armory. One hundred acres of land located south of Tyler was purchased, where the new firm of Short, Briscoe and Company began construction of a brick building to serve as an armory. The partners signed a contract with the Texas Military Board to produce 5000 Mississippi rifles at \$30 cash.²¹

The Tyler firm soon found itself bogged down in bureaucratic red tape and lack of materials and skilled gunsmiths. Consequently, the Tyler works had produced only one rifle for the state when the plant was purchased by the Confederate government.

Once the Confederacy purchased the Works, additional machinery, some from Arkansas, was installed and over 200 workmen were employed under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel G.H. Hill. Colonel Hill added a tin shop, carpenter shop, laboratory, and shoe shop to the works. Between the fall of 1863 and May 1865, thousands of rifles, cartridges, musket balls, ammunition boxes, canteens, and a vast area of miscellaneous items were produced at the Tyler works.²²

Although the Tyler works was the largest, and ultimately the most successful, supplier of weapons in East Texas, it was by no means the only ordnance facility in the region. The firm of Whitescarver and Campbell. located eight miles south of Rusk, produced several hundred rifles for the Confederate army. Gunmakers Billups and Hassel had a factory in the town of Plentitude in Anderson County where they manufactured 600 Mississippi rifles for the Confederacy. A large arsenal and percussion cap factory was established in Harris County at a point on Buffalo Bayou known as "Arsenal Bend." The owner of the factory, J.C. Wilson, also operated the Texas Sword Factory which made edged weapons for the Confederate army. Another Houstonian, G. Erickson, produced a popular percussion Derringer at his shop in the Bayou City, E.B. Nichols, superintendent of the railroad linking Houston and Galveston, produced several rifled cannon used in coastal defense. Percussion caps, primers, and rockets were manufactured at a munitions factory located in Galveston.23

Confederate and state authorities frequently failed to take advantage of civilian offers to produce military equipment. East Texan Jefferson Nash, founder of the first iron foundry in the state, offered to produce rifles, cannon, shot, and shells at his Marion County facility, but received no governmental encouragement or assistance. Nash did produce some cannon balls for the army but there is no record that any rifles or cannons were made at his foundry.²⁴

East Texas played an important part in the production of uniforms and hats for southern soldiers. The state penitentiary at Huntsville, where nearly three million yards of cotton and wool cloth were produced during the war, was vital to the Confederate and state war efforts. The Clothing Manufacturers Company, located at the corner of the Post Office Building in Marshall, produced army coats and trousers for the Confederacy. The Hussey and Logan Manufacturing Company of Daingerfield was another important supplier of wool and cotton goods. The Confederate States Hat Factory in Gilmer (Upshur County) produced hats for the Confederate army, while the Southern Hattery in Marshall manufactured hats exclusively for Confederate troops from Texas.²⁵

A wide variety of other East Texas industries contributed to the war effort. In September 1863, the Confederate Commissary and Subsistence Service signed a contract with I.B. Dunn of Jefferson for the slaughter and packing of beef for the Confederate army. Unfortunately the quality of the beef packed by the Dunn company was not high and complaints came from troops to whom the meat was distributed. Although efforts were made to correct the situation, the war ended before the quality of the Jefferson product improved.²⁶

The various tannery operations in East Texas during the war were more successful. The Bennett Smith Tannery in Henderson, the J. Marshall Tanning Yard in Marshall, the Jefferson Tannery, located one and onehalf miles from Jefferson, the Rebel Tannery, located six miles west of Marshall, and the Decatur Bryan Tannery, located on the Coffeeville road approximately twelve miles from Marshall, all produced leather goods for the Confederate army.²⁷

The Confederate army maintained a number of shops and depots in East Texas. One of the best was the quartermaster depot at Mound Prairie in Anderson county. The Mound Prairie facility included a sawmill, flour and grist mill, a cotton spinning building, a blacksmith shop, a foundry, a harness shop, a tin stop, a shoe shop, two large storage warehouses, and fourteen dwelling places.²⁸ The Confederate Field Transportation Bureau maintained wagon shops at Hempstead, Tyler, Rusk, Paris, Waco, and Mount Pleasant. Shipyards were built on Goose Creek in east Harris County and at Beaumont for the making and repairing of naval vessels.²⁹

East Texans participated in all of the major engagements at the battle front in 1861 and 1862. Many, such as former Tyler school teacher James Douglas, were anxious to meet the enemy. Writing in October 1861 from Arkansas to his girl friend, Douglas stated "the boys are manifesting great joy at the prospect of an engagement, as I write they are talking and laughing merrily, and singing war songs around me." Others, such as Beaumonter William A. Fletcher, were concerned that they might show fear under combat. Fletcher noted that when he first saw battle with Hood's Texas Brigade he was suffering from diarrhea, "but to my surprise the excitement, or something else, had affected a cure."

Like Fletcher, many East Texans served in Virginia with John Bell Hood. Under Hood the East Texans participated in some of the most fierce fighting in the war. This was particularly true in mid-September, 1862, when Hood's First Texas Infantry Regiment, composed primarily of East Texans, drove Union forces back through the cornfield at the Battle of Sharpsburg, thus blunting the main Union assault. In doing so, the First Texas sustained 82.3 percent casualties, the highest of any regiment in a single day of fighting in the Civil War.³²

Most Texans, no matter from what section of the state, preferred cavalry service to that of the infantry. Twelve mounted companies from the eastern part of the state served under Henry H. Sibley in the ill-fated New Mexico campaign of 1861-1862. Troopers from Harrison and Montgomery counties made up Company K of the most illustrious of all Texas mounted units, Terry's Texas Rangers. East Texans also comprised large segments of the Third, Sixth, Ninth, and Twenty-Seventh Cavalry regiments, which eventually formed Lawrence Sullivan ("Sul") Ross' Texas Brigade. These units saw heavy action in Arkansas, Indian Territory, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Georgia. Smith County provided many of the members of Texas' most renouned artillery unit, the Good-Douglas Battery."

East Texans rejoiced at Confederate victories and were sadden to hear

of Southern defeats on the field of battle. In early September 1862, when General Robert E. Lee's army moved across the Potomac River into Maryland and General Braxton Bragg began his Kentucky invasion, the editor of the *Texas Republican* noted that "at no period of the war has the Confederate cause looked so bright as it does now." A month later as both Lee and Bragg withdrew from Maryland and Kentucky, the editor admitted "there seems to have been recently a sudden check in our movements."

The loss of Galveston to Union naval forces in early October 1862 brought the war home to East Texas. Residents of the area were appalled by the failure of Confederate forces to defend the city. They were elated, when, three months later on January 1, 1863, General John B. Magruder led Confederate forces from Houston to recapture the island. Equally satisfying was the Confederate repulse of a large Union force that attempted to move up Sabine Pass in the southeastern corner of the state in the autumn of 1863.³⁵

The fall of Vicksburg to General U.S. Grant in July 1863 was particularly disheartening to East Texans because it meant that the states west of the Mississippi River were cut off from the rest of the Confederacy. The town of Marshall became increasingly important to the Confederate war effort. A powder mill and ordnance works were moved from Arkansas to Marshall during 1863. General Edmund Kirby Smith, Confederate commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, gradually moved his operational headquarters to the area. The Quartermaster Bureau located several of its offices, including the tax-in-kind department, in Marshall, and in late 1863 the Confederate government of Missouri made Marshall its temporary capital.³⁶

The increasing importance of Marshall and other towns of northeast Texas was not lost on Union military authorities. In the spring of 1864 a Union force of some 27,000 men commanded by Major General Nathaniel P. Banks moved up the Red River toward Shreveport. Banks hoped to drive across northwestern Louisiana into northeastern Texas and capture Marshall and other northeast Texas towns. On April 8, 1864, however, Banks was repulsed by Confederate troops, many of them East Texans, at Sabine Cross Roads near Mansfield, Louisiana, about fifty miles below Shreveport. Banks slowly retreated back to the Mississippi River and withdrew southward towards Baton Rouge, thus ending the most serious military threat to East Texas during the war.¹⁷

Although most East Texans were pro-Confederate, there were those who failed to support the war effort. Some of these were deserters from the Confederate army. Ella Lonn, whose study on Civil War desertion completed in 1928 remains the standard source for the subject, believes that there were nearly 3000 deserters in the woods and brush of northern Texas. She lists Wood, Van Zandt, Henderson, Dallas, Denton, Cooke, Grayson, and Jefferson counties as part of "Deserter Country" in the

!

South.³⁸ The Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph described a community established in Walker County by deserters. According to this account the deserters controlled an area about sixty miles in width where they built shacks, cleared land, planted corn, and began a tannery. A raid by Confederate authorities in the fall of 1864 resulted in the capture of over twenty deserters.³⁹

Several bands of Union sympathizers, or "Jayhawkers," lived in the Big Thicket of East Texas during the Civil War. Captain Charles Bullock, commander of a company of home guards from Woodville, was assigned the task of capturing these Union sympathizers. He captured one such band led by Warren Collins and put them in the Woodville jail, but the Jayhawkers managed to escape from jail and returned to their haven in the Thicket. Bullock called upon Confederate authorities for assistance. Captain James Kaiser and a troop of Confederates were dispatched from Galveston. Kaiser surrounded a large Jayhawker encampment and set the woods afire. At least two Jayhawkers were killed but the majority escaped. "Kaiser's Burnout," site of the encounter, remains a Big Thicket landmark.

For the people of East Texas the Civil War meant personal sacrifices. As the area of the state nearest to the fighting, East Texas suffered much from economic dislocation. The addition of thousands of refugees from Louisiana and Arkansas and the effect of the Union naval blockade caused various shortages. Items such as coffee, tea, shoes, quinine, soda, sugar, and calico cloth were either not available or carried exorbitant prices. Like other southerners, East Texans turned to a wide variety of substitutes but few were considered equal to the real commodity.⁴¹

Confederate military reversals in Tennessee and Georgia in 1864 caused increased concern among the people of East Texas. The fall of Atlanta and General William T. Sherman's "march to the sea" in the fall of 1864 demonstrated the desperate nature of the military situation. East Texas newspaper editors continued to maintain a brave front even in the face of these adversities. The editor of the Galveston Weekly News was still convinced that there was no reason to despair. By the blessings of "God," he wrote, "our deliverance will come." The editor of the Marshall Texas Republican believed that Hood's Tennessee campaign would yet turn the tide. "With no enemy to interrupt his progress," he asked "what is to prevent him from taking Nashville, overrunning Tennessee and Kentucky, and retaliating in Ohio for the outrages perpetrated by Sherman in Georgia."

While the newspaper editors attempted to inspire confidence in their readers, Confederate military fortunes continued to deteriorate. Hood's Tennessee campaign was a failure. After suffering heavy losses at Franklin in late November, Hood drove on to Nashville, where in mid-December Union forces destroyed his army. Captain James Douglas from Tyler, in a letter he cautioned not "to be shown outside the family," wrote "our

country is in much the worse condition it has ever been ... If a great deed is not done this winter the Yanks will close the war in the spring."44

Young Douglas proved to be prophetic. In the spring of 1865 Confederates continued to suffer military reversals. Petersburg and Richmond fell in early April, and faced with overwhelming numbers, Robert E. Lee surrendered his beleaguered army on April 9, 1865. Lee's surrender caused even the most determined East Texans to despair. Kate Stone, a Louisiana refugee who spent the later part of the war in East Texas, noted in her journal that this news caused great gloom in Tyler. "All this is too dreadful to believe." she wrote. "God spare us from this crushing blow and save our dying country."

General John B. Magruder, commanding the district of Texas, and General Edmund Kirby Smith, commanding the Trans-Mississippi department, attempted to convince East Texans that the war was not lost, but with little success. Kate Stone reported that confusion and anarchy prevailed in Tyler as soldiers abandoned their posts and seized property and stores. 46 Kirby Smith admonished civilians and soldiers to stand firm, but even he was eventually forced to accept the inevitable. On June 2, 1865, with General Magruder at his side, Smith boarded the United States warship Fort Jackson in Galveston Bay and formally surrendered his command. 47

The editor of the Galveston Weekly News probably voiced the opinion of many East Texans in June 1865 when he wrote:

After four years spent in a bloody, exhausting and fruitless contest, the Southern people, both soldiers and citizens, with unanimous consent have agreed to lay down their arms, and recognize the supremacy of the laws of the United States. The principle of secession has been referred to the arbitrament of the sword, and the decision has been given against it.*

Beaumonter William Fletcher, who had spent four years with Hood's Brigade in Virginia and Tennessee, perhaps best expressed the views of those East Texans who had seen the war as front line soldiers. "With the Armistice of Johnston and Sherman, and the report of Lee's surrender, all hopes were gone, and the thought of returning home, defeated, seemed to be depicted in each face, and for a few days I don't think I saw a smile" But like many other East Texans after some reflection Fletcher came to accept the inevitable:

ļ

I think I passed a few days of the blankest part of my existence. I seemed to have no thought of the past, present, or future ... Fortunately, however, the spell was soon broken; and I awoke, as it were, to realize that there was a future. I have ever been thankful that during the war and since, I carried no hatred against the victorious foe; and I soon learned that they looked upon the cause of the strife as I did, and performed it as one of their most sacred duties. "

And so the great war ended. East Texans had experienced four years as a people at war. Now many of them returned to their farms and homes

and resumed their normal routines. For those who had lost loved ones in the war or who would lose their slaves as a result of emancipation, life would never again be the same. 50 Some packed their belongings and headed west; others picked up the pieces and helped to rebuild the South and the nation.

NOTES

'S.B. Barron, The Lone Star Defenders. A Chronicle of The Third Texas Cavalry, Ross' Brigade (New York, 1908), p. 17. For the presidential election of 1860 in East Texas, see Allan C. Ashcraft, "East Texas in the Election of 1860 and the Secession Crisis," East Texas Historical Journal, I (July, 1963), pp. 10-11.

²Galveston News, November 13, 1860; Earl W. Fornell, The Galveston Era (Austin, 1962), p. 278; Clarksville Standard, January 19, 1861; Harrison Flag, November 10, November 24, 1860.

³Ralph A. Wooster, "An Analysis of the Membership of the Texas Secession Convention," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LXII (January, 1959), pp. 322-335; Wooster, Secession Conventions of the South (Princeton, 1962), pp. 123-125. Biographical data on convention delegates is taken from Walter P. Webb, H. Bailey Carroll, and Eldon S. Branda, The Handbook of Texas (3 vols., Austin, 1952, 1976).

"The three Lamar County delegates, W.H. Johnson, L.H. Williams, and George W. Wright, and the two Wood County delegates, J.D. Rains and A.P. Shuford, were the only delegates from these counties. Throckmorton was one of two delegates from Collin, and Joshua Johnson, who also voted against secession, was one of three delegates from Titus County. E.W. Winkler, ed., Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, 1861 (Austin, 1912), pp. 48-49; Wooster, Secession Conventions of the South, pp. 130-132; Walter L. Buenger, Secession and the Union in Texas (Austin, 1984), pp. 148-149; Anna Irene Sandbo, "First Session of the Secession Convention in Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XVIII (October, 1914), p. 191. It might be noted that both Lamar and Collin counties are outside of the thirty-five county area included in the Handbook of Texas, I, pp. 534-535, definition of "East Texas."

³Claude Elliott, Leathercoat: The Life History of A Texas Patriot (San Antonio, 1938), pp. 53-55. Buenger, Secession and the Union in Texas, p. 148, points out that Throckmorton's courageous statement brought forth loud cheering from the pro-secessionist audience in the gallery.

"Winkler, ed., Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, pp. 88-90; Joe T. Timmons, "The Referendum in Texas on the Ordinance of Secession, February 23, 1861: The Vote," East Texas Historical Journal, XI (Fall, 1973), pp. 15-16. Buenger, Secession and the Union in Texas, p. 174, points out that the people of Angelina County were individuals with a tradition of economic, political, and social independence who resisted pressure for a consensus vote.

'Ashcraft, "East Texas in the Election of 1860 and the Secession Crisis," East Texas Historical Journal, pp. 12-13; Timmons, "The Referendum in Texas on the Ordinance of Secession," ibid., pp. 11-12.

'See the maps in Buenger, Secession and the Union in Texas, pp. 15, 65, 175. Van Zandt County, like Angelina, does not fit the general pattern. Although under the lower South cultural influence, her residents, like those in Angelina, were fiercely independent farmers and herdsmen not dependent upon the plantation economy. See Buenger, p. 174.

⁹Marshall Texas Republican, April 27, 1861; Clarksville Standard, April 27, 1861.

¹⁹Harold B. Simpson, *Hood's Texas Brigade: Lee's Grenadier Guard* (Waco, 1970), pp. 20-21, 34-35; Allan C. Ashcraft, "Texas: 1860-1866, The Lone Star State in the Civil War" (doctoral dissertation, Columbia University, 1960), pp. 74-77; J.T. Hunter, "When Texas Seceded," *Confederate Veteran*, XXIV (August, 1917), p. 363. For a description of other military camps, see Bill Winsor, *Texas in the Confederacy: Military Installations*, *Economy and People* (Hillsboro, 1978), pp. 8-38.

"Marshall Texas Republican, April 27, 1861; W.W. Heartsill, Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army (Reprint, ed. Bell I. Wiley, Jackson, Tennessee, 1954), pp. 1-4.

¹²J.J. Faulk, History of Henderson County (Athens, Texas, 1929), p. 129. For other descriptions of flag ceremonies see Charles Spurlin (ed.), West of the Mississippi with Waller's 13th Texas Cavalry Battalion, CSA (Hillsboro, 1971), p. 28; Texas Republican, April 27, June 1, 1861; O.T. Hanks, "History of B.F. Benton's Company, or Account of Civil War Experiences," pp. 2-3, in O.T. Hanks Reminiscences, 1861-1862 (Archives, University of Texas Library, Austin, Texas); Barron, Lone Star Defenders, pp. 20-21.

"Stephen B. Oates, Confederate Cavalry West of the River (Austin, 1961), pp. 60-61; Bruce Marshall, "Texas Confederate Cavalry," Military History of Texas and the Southwest, X (No. III, 1972), pp. 157-158; Simpson, Hood's Texas Brigade, pp. 16-18.

"A.B. Blocker narrative, Mss., (Archives, University of Texas Library, Austin, Texas); Barron, Lone Star Defenders, p. 20; Simpson, Hood's Texas Brigade, pp. 15-16.

15O.T. Hanks, "History of B.F. Benton's Company," pp. 2-3.

¹⁶Heartsill, Fourteen Hundred and 91 Days in the Confederate Army, p. 5.

¹⁷Marshall Texas Republican, July 27, 1861.

¹⁸Marshall Texas Republican, October 26, Nov. 30, Dec. 7, 1861. See also James L. Nichols, The Confederate Ouartermaster in the Trans-Mississippi (Austin, 1964), pp. 19-23.

¹⁹Marshall Texas Republican, September 28, 1861.

²⁰Marshall, Texas Republican, February 15, 1862.

²¹William A. Albaugh, III, Tyler, Texas, C.S.A. (Harrisburg, Pa., 1958), pp. 11-12.

²²Albaugh, Tyler, Texas C.S.A., pp. 20-26, 270-271.

²³Winsor, *Texas in the Confederacy*, pp. 42-43; Ashcraft, "Texas: 1860-1866, The Lone Star State in the Civil War," pp. 162-163.

¹⁴Robert L. Jones, "The First Iron Furnace in Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LXIII (October, 1959), pp. 288-289.

"Vera Lea Dugas, "A Social and Economic History of Texas in the Civil War and Reconstruction" (doctoral dissertation, University of Texas, 1963), pp. 286-287; Fredericka Ann Meiners, "The Texas Governorship, 1861-1865; Biography of An Office" (doctoral dissertation, Rice University, 1974), pp. 110-113; Nichols, Confederate Quartermaster in the Trans-Mississippi, pp. 34-35.

²⁶The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies (Washington, D.C. 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XXII, Part 2, p. 799, 1138; Allan Ashcraft, "Confederate Beef Packing at Jefferson, Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LXVIII (October, 1964), pp. 259-270.

²⁷Winsor, Texas in the Confederacy, pp. 54-55.

²⁸Winsor, Texas in the Confederacy, p. 44.

"Dugas, "Social and Economic History of Texas," p. 299, 305; Nichols, Confederate Quartermaster in the Trans-Mississippi, pp. 88-89; Margaret Swett Henson, History of Baytown (Baytown, Texas, 1986), p. 51.

³⁶Lucia Rutherford Douglas (comp. and ed.), *Douglas's Texas Battery, CSA* (Tyler, 1966), p. 12.

"William A. Fletcher, Rebel Private, Front and Rear (1908; reprint ed., Austin, 1954), p. 16.

¹²Simpson, Hood's Texas Brigade, pp. 12-13, 176-177; Marcus J. Wright (comp.), and Harold B. Simpson (ed.), Texas in the War, 1861-1865 (Hillsboro, 1965), pp. 207-214.

¹³Martin Hardwick Hall, Sibley's New Mexico Campaign (Austin, 1960), pp. 247, 251, 253, 264, 289-299, 307; Harry M. Henderson, Texas in the Confederacy (San Antonio, 1955), pp. 102, 124-127, 145; Douglas, Douglas's Texas Battery; Lester Newton Fitzhugh (ed.), Cannon Smoke: The Letters of Captain John J. Good, Good-Douglas Texas Battery, CSA, (Hillsboro, 1971); Carl Duaine, The Dead Men Wore Boots: An Account of the 32nd Texas Volunteer Cavalry, CSA, 1862-1865 (Austin, 1966), p. 22.

'Marshall Texas Republican, September 6, October 18, 1862. For more on the role of Robert W. Loughery, editor of the Texas Republican, see Max S. Lale, "Robert W. Loughery: Rebel Editor," East Texas Historical Journal, XXI (Fall, 1983), pp. 3-15; and Randolph B. Campbell, A Southern Community in Crisis: Harrison County, Texas, 1850-1860 (Austin, 1983), pp. 9n, 184-192, 196-197, 207-208, 210, 217-218, 226.

³⁴See Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XI, pp. 147-153, 210-220; Charles C. Cumberland, "The Confederate Loss and Recapture of Galveston, 1862-1863," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LI (October, 1917), pp. 109-130; Alwyn Barr, "Texas Coastal Defense, 1861-1865," ibid., XLV (July, 1961), pp. 7-18, 23-25; Galveston Weekly News, October 8, 1862, January 7, 1863; W.T. Block, A History of Jefferson County, Texas From Wilderness to Reconstruction (Nederland, 1976), pp. 114-115; and Camilla Davis Trammell, Seven Pines: Its Occupants and Their Letters, 1825-1872 (Houston, 1986), pp. 180-181.

³⁶Campbell, Southern Community in Crisis, p. 213; Nichols, Confederate Quartermaster in the Trans-Mississippi, p. 5, 43; William R. Geise, "Missouri's Confederate Capital at Marshall, Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LXVI (October, 1962), pp. 201-202.

"Ludwell H. Johnson, Red River Campaign: Politics and Cotton in the Civil War (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1958), is the most complete account of the Red River campaign. See also Richard Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction (New York, 1955), pp. 186-223; Alwyn Barr, Polignac's Texas Brigade, Texas Gulf Historical Association Publication Series, VIII (November, 1964), pp. 39-47; Barr, "Texan Losses in the Red River Campaign, 1864," Texas Military History, III (Summer, 1963), pp. 103-110; Carl P. Tyson, "Highway of War," Red River Valley Historical Review, III (Summer, 1978), pp. 28-51; and Robert L. Kerby; Kirby Smith's Confederacy: The Trans-Mississippi South, 1863-1865 (New York, 1972), pp. 283-321.

"Ella Lonn, Desertion During the Civil War (Reprint, Gloucester, Mass., 1966; 1928 edition), p. 71 and front piece.

¹⁹Houston *Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, December 21, 1864, quoted in Robert P. Felgar, "Texas in the War for Southern Independence" (doctoral dissertation, University of Texas, 1935), p. 383.

⁴⁰Tales from the Big Thicket, edited by Frances E. Abernethy (Austin, 1966), pp. 75-78; Big Thicket Legacy, compiled and edited by Campbell and Lynn Loughmiller (Austin, 1977), pp. 69-72; Trammel Seven Pines, pp. 211-212.

"For examples of domestic hardships see Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868, edited John Q. Anderson (Baton Rouge, 1955), especially pp. 224, 226, 227, 258-259, 291, 305, 332; Lt. Col. Arthur James Lyon Fremantle, The Fremantle Diary, Being the Journal of Lieutenant Colonel James Arthur Lyon Fremantle, Coldstream Guards on His Three Months in the Southern States (reprint ed., by Walter Lord; Boston, 1954), pp. 62-63; Galveston Weekly News, September 22, 1862, February 11, 1863, May 20, 1863; Clarksville Standard, July 7, 1862; Ralph A. Wooster, "Life in Civil War East Texas," East Texas Historical Journal, III (October, 1965), pp. 96-97; Ronald Leon Benjamin, "East Texas In the Civil War" (Master of Arts thesis, Lamar State College of Technology, 1970), pp. 61-87.

42 Galveston Weekly News, November 1, 1864.

[&]quot;Marshall Texas Republican, November 11, 1864.

[&]quot;Douglas, comp. and ed., Douglas's Texas Battery, p. 143.

- "Anderson ed., Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, pp. 330-331.
- "Anderson, Brokenburn, p. 345.
- "Stephen B. Oates, "Texas Under the Secessionists," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LXVII (October, 1963), p. 212.
- "Galveston Weekly News, June 14, 1865, quoted in Benjamin, East Texas in the Civil War," p. 116.
 - "Fletcher, Rebel Private, Front and Rear, p. 145.
- ³⁶For adjustments caused by the end of slavery see Elizabeth Silverthorne, *Plantation Life in Texas* (College Station, 1986), pp. 203-212; Campbell, *Southern Community in Crises*, pp. 249-251.