

3-1999

Dastardly Scoundrels: The State Police and the Linn Flat Affair

Barry A. Crouch

Donaly E. Brice

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

Crouch, Barry A. and Brice, Donaly E. (1999) "Dastardly Scoundrels: The State Police and the Linn Flat Affair," *East Texas Historical Journal*: Vol. 37: Iss. 1, Article 9.

Available at: <http://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ethj/vol37/iss1/9>

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.

**“DASTARDLY SCOUNDRELS:”
THE STATE POLICE AND THE LINN FLAT AFFAIR**

by Barry A. Crouch and Donaly E. Brice

At one p.m. on Thursday, December 14, 1871, in Linn Flat, located fourteen miles northwest of Nacogdoches, Texas, State Policeman Columbus Y. “Bud” Hazlett and special policeman William J. Grayson murdered David W. Harvell. At midnight on December 19, they assassinated the town constable, John Birdwell. The killings “struck terror to the hearts of the people,” declared a local writer. The “citizens felt as though they were left without any protection from the law.”¹ Although the State Police had existed for a year and a half, the Linn Flat affair brought increased criticism to the already beleaguered Republican-sponsored agency.

In the post-Civil War era, Linn Flat was described as an area infested with carpetbaggers and Republicans. These men supposedly were aligned with blacks who responded to every command given by the policemen and were prepared to instigate an insurrection. Although the community no longer exists and the records are few, an exploration of how one state policeman and one special policeman and their accomplices became involved in the initial encounter provides another perspective on how localities responded to and used a crisis involving the State Police to their advantage.

One of the oldest counties in the state, Nacogdoches was officially organized in 1837. Located deep in the East Texas timberlands, Nacogdoches County is approximately 140 miles northeast of Houston. Drained by the Angelina River and the Attoyac Bayou, the county’s primary industry was lumber. Peopled by immigrants from the Old South and the border states, the area was isolated because it lacked transportation facilities. Although the economy depended on subsistence farming, in 1860 slaves comprised twenty-eight percent of the population and their numbers increased by almost one thousand during the Civil War.²

Linn Flat was settled late in the 1830s. Named for a group of linden trees that surrounded the small prairie where the town was established, it was insular and remote. Animositities from the war years lingered and festered; they erupted in 1867 with the re-establishment of military rule. By 1871, when the community became involved with the State Police, it was a thriving and well-populated area. The census of 1870 listed 327 households which comprised 1,785 people: 1,378 whites, 378 blacks, and twenty-nine Native Americans. Whites accounted for seventy-seven percent, blacks twenty-one percent, and Indians but two percent of the Linn Flat population.³

Nacogdoches County was Democratic before the war. In 1860, Southern Democrat John C. Breckinridge received almost seventy percent of the vote. The vote on secession was 317 for and but ninety-four opposed. The county supported the Confederacy and sent 2,000 men to defend its honor. A small

*Barry A. Crouch is Professor of History at Gallaudet University, Washington, D.C.
Donaly E. Brice is an archivist at the Texas State Library.*

unionist element existed but did not emerge until after the war when Linn Flat became a hotbed of unionism and Republicanism.⁴

By 1870, the percentage of African Americans in the total population of Nacogdoches County had risen to thirty-four percent. Even though blacks comprised only one-third of the county's population, they had been persecuted ever since freedom arrived in mid-1865. The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (Freedmen's Bureau) established an agency in the county in 1867. The observations and reports of the agents suggest that blacks received harsh treatment. Direly hated, these government officials assisted the black community, but their efforts were largely in vain. In this arc along Texas' eastern border outrages against blacks "rose to a height of horror."⁵

Sheriff Richard D. Orton seemed helpless to prevent violence perpetrated upon the former slaves. When Bureau agents informed him of such acts, he could muster no support. A white man shot a black man in the head for reporting him to the Bureau. As the black man lay prostrate, he was also shot in each arm and the shoulder. When another black man was shot in the back of the head, the civil authorities labeled it "suicide." The Ku Klux Klan rode nightly and freedpeople began sleeping in the woods to avoid them.⁶

Politics brought new dimensions to the murder of blacks. By late 1868, violence aimed at white and black members of the Union League, the political organization for the Republican Party, reached serious proportions. There "ought be something done for the protection of the freedpeople and Union men residing in this District," wrote Bureau agent Alex Ferguson. Two black members of the League had been killed, one a seventy-year-old preacher. William J. Grayson, head of the League, James M. Hazlett (Bud's father), a registrar, and various other prominent individuals had been targeted for extermination. Even Ferguson's father-in-law had disappeared and he was afraid to go into the country to search for him.⁷

On December 14, 1871, Justice of the Peace Gibson Dawson, a Tennessee-born farmer, held court in Linn Flat. At the same time, the two policemen, Grayson and Hazlett, were riding "around over the land seeking disloyal troublemakers." They chose Linn Flat for their "field of operations because there was quite a sprinkle of republicans thereabouts, from whom they expected moral support." While lawyer John R. Clute, an "old gentleman" of Douglass, addressed the court, Grayson and Hazlett became loud and vociferous, continually interrupted the proceedings, "putting the barrels of their guns through the window and running the justice from the room." An exasperated Dawson issued arrest warrants and charged them with contempt of court.⁸

State Policeman Columbus Y. "Bud" Hazlett had a fascinating background. Alabama born in 1848, his father, James Marion Hazlett, served in the Third Brigade, Texas State Troops in Captain C.C. Grayson's Company, but apparently deserted. He allegedly gathered a large number of men and went north, where he became a guerrilla and, according to folklore, befriended Jesse and Frank James. At age fourteen Bud was caught by a group of men who wanted to know where his father had gone. They tortured him through

repeated hangings to reveal the whereabouts of his father, but he knew nothing. He crawled to a neighbor's house where he recuperated. His father became a doctor after the war but bitter feelings existed toward him in the community.⁹

After the war, so the story goes, Bud became a "justifiable" murderer. His two sisters, Mary E. and Harriett M., became ill and needed medicine. Bud was sent to get it. After purchasing the medicine and placing it in his saddle bags, Bud saw a man walking away from his horse. He rode home where Dr. Hazlett administered the proper dosage to the girls, one of whom died before he realized that it contained poison. The other daughter was given an antidote. When told that the medicine had been poisoned, Bud rode into town where he found the man who had been next to his horse and killed him.¹⁰

Bud skedaddled. Captured in Rusk, Texas, he escaped jail, but later was arrested in San Antonio on another charge. He settled briefly in Alpine before returning to Nacogdoches. He fell in love with a woman named Polly whose uncle disliked Bud. Bud's father warned the man not to antagonize Bud or his son would kill him, but if he left him alone he had nothing to fear. Polly warned Bud that her uncle intended to bushwack him, but Bud turned the tables and killed him. He stood trial and was released. He married Polly and they had two children. Bud joined the State Police in 1871 after living in Texas for twenty-two years.¹¹

William J. Grayson, the special policeman who directly participated in the Linn Flat raid, was a forty-one-year old, Alabama-born farmer. When the murders occurred in 1871, Grayson had been a state resident for thirty-six years. During the Civil War, he served in the 12th Texas Infantry (Young's Regiment), as a private. During Reconstruction he led the local Union League and was appointed to the roster of the Nacogdoches County special police in September 1871. These men fell into a unique category as they could be called out by the governor to quell a crisis, but they were only paid for the time they actually served.¹²

Little is known about the men who joined Hazlett and Grayson. We do know that James Marion Hazlett, Bud's father, was involved. Although stories circulate that he supported the Union Army, in 1863 he joined the Third Regiment of Texas State Troops from Nacogdoches County. After the war he was an election judge and a registrar in 1871 as well as a special policeman. Grayson's brother, twenty-nine-year old James M. Grayson, was Texas born and a neighbor of Justice Dawson. The group also contained the twenty-six-year old E.F. DeShazo. The one black man of the contingent, a special policeman named John J. "Jordan" King, seems to have lived in the state since the close of the war. None of these men were ever convicted.¹³

The warrants for the courtroom behavior of Grayson and Hazlett were served by Linn Flat Constable John Birdwell, a fifty-nine-year-old, Tennessee-born farmer. He summoned David W. Harvell, a forty-nine-year-old, Kentucky-born agriculturist to assist in the apprehension of the two men. Birdwell told Hazlett that he had a warrant for his arrest. Hazlett immediately surrendered. The constable inquired about Grayson's whereabouts. At the shop, replied

Hazlett. Birdwell ordered Hazlett to call Grayson. When Grayson approached, Hazlett said, "I am prisoner," and Grayson exclaimed, "The hell you are. Die before you surrender." Harvell informed Hazlett he had to give up his gun.¹⁴

Hazlett wondered if Birdwell really demanded his weapon and remarked, "Here are the contents of it" as he fired a bullet into Harvell's chest. Mortally wounded, Harvell retreated to S.D. Carver's store, picked up a double-barreled shotgun, and sprayed Hazlett with a load of birdshot. Harvell fired again, wounding Grayson in the head. Grayson responded. Full of lead, Harvell staggered back into the store and died within a few minutes. The two men retreated to Grayson's home, about three miles north of Linn Flat. After killing Harvell, they supposedly collected thirty or forty African Americans and "openly defied the law of the land."¹⁵

The Harvell murder created outrage in Linn Flat and throughout Nacogdoches County, and a large number of citizens joined posses to hunt down Grayson, Hazlett, and others who associated with them. The *Clarksville Standard* asserted that "all persons implicated, as well as those killed, were whites, and all of them Republicans." A reward of \$500 was offered for the capture of the "dastardly scoundrels," which would be paid by the sheriff.¹⁶

Information about the murder of Harvell was relayed to Sheriff Orton, who formed a posse of ten or fifteen men. On December 16 they rode to Linn Flat, where they discovered an "awful state of affairs." The people, described as "despondent and panic-stricken," believed the "foot of the tyrant was upon their necks." Acting cautiously, Sheriff Orton obtained murder warrants for the arrest of Hazlett and Grayson from Justice of the Peace Gibson Dawson, who lived a mile and half west of Linn Flat. After securing the warrants, Orton and his group proceeded to Grayson's home. On the way they encountered twenty-five or thirty "well-armed" blacks.¹⁷

Compelled to surrender, the freedmen were disarmed and sent under guard to Nacogdoches. The sheriff's party proceeded to Grayson's house but neither of the men could be located. They searched the area as far as Cherokee and Rusk counties but found no trace of them. After returning to Nacogdoches, Orton opposed the release of those blacks who had been sent to town because he believed that with Grayson and Hazlett still at large they might join with them. Nevertheless, Orton finally relented and released them.¹⁸

Sheriff Orton, claimed one writer, was "equal to the emergency." He wanted to avoid more bloodshed, maintain the supremacy of the law, and punish the criminals. The Orton family originated in Tennessee, but Richard, elected sheriff of Nacogdoches County in 1866, 1869, and 1880, was native born in 1841. During the war he served with Captain J. R. Arnold in the Fourth Brigade of the Texas Militia. First elected sheriff in 1866, he was disqualified when the military ousted Governor James W. Throckmorton and many other Democrats. The Republicans assumed control of the state in 1870, but Orton won reelection. He later established the *Nacogdoches Chronicle*, a weekly newspaper.¹⁹

About midnight on December 19, 1871, five days after the murder of Harvell, Constable John Birdwell of Linn Flat was called to his door and "shot

down, like a dog, upon his own threshold," or as one newspaper related, "while his faithful wife was clinging to his arm." When Sheriff Orton arrived Birdwell's body had still not been prepared for burial. Birdwell, a "respected and law abiding citizen," had numerous friends but they were "afraid to act or venture beyond their homes lest they should be blasted down," wrote a local chronicler long after the event. Orton summoned Justice of the Peace Dawson to hold an inquest. A jury ruled that Birdwell had died from a gun-shot wound at the hands of unknown parties, although Dawson issued warrants for the arrest of Hazlett, W. J. and J. M. Grayson, John Jordan King, and E. F. DeShazo. One hundred men joined Orton in hunting for these five men as Birdwell was being buried on December 22.²⁰

While Sheriff Orton searched the county and surrounding area, Grayson and Hazlett fled to Austin, seeking sanctuary under Chief of Police James Davidson's wing. Fueled by rumors that the two men had secreted themselves somewhere in the county and from this base instigated the freedpeople to "deeds of violence," white fear of a black insurrection became so great that Sheriff Orton authorized his men to confiscate any weapons blacks might have. He did this, wrote a nineteenth-century historian, "as much for the protection of the negroes themselves as for any other purpose."²¹

Whether Orton's action "alloyed" white excitement over what were clearly rumors, he disbanded the posse, then traveled to Rusk, the Cherokee County seat, to secure the intervention of District Judge Mijamin Priest of the 4th Judicial District, and a Governor E.J. Davis appointee, to influence the two men to surrender. Orton also seems to have attempted to obtain a personal interview with Hazlett. Once it became known that Hazlett and Grayson were in the state capital, Governor Davis investigated what had occurred.²²

State Senator William H. Swift of Nacogdoches County also traveled to Austin to confer with the governor. Swift, according to reports, took with him the "verdict of the coroner's juries, and the evidence of officers in the cases." He wanted to convince Davis "to protect peaceable citizens against the desperadoes who disgrace the uniform of [the] State Police." It was feared that Hazlett and Grayson would defy the civil authorities unless prosecuted under order of the governor. Davis promised to have the murderers apprehended and brought to justice.²³

Late in December, Davidson related to Judge Priest that Governor Davis wanted him to go to Nacogdoches, accompanied by Swift, and investigate the troubles between the men "said to be policemen and the citizens." Numerous newspaper accounts existed about what had happened in Linn Flat, but all were plagued with contradictions. Davis wanted someone on the scene whom he could trust. Almost simultaneously, Davidson took steps to have one of the most respected and responsible of state policemen, Thomas Williams, to assume control of Hazlett and Grayson, return them to Linn Flat, and transfer them to the civil authorities.²⁴

Hazlett and Grayson, accompanied by J. M. Hazlett, King, and DeShazo, arrived in Austin the day after Swift had informed Davis and Davidson of events. The others remained hidden while the state and special policemen made

their presence known to the chief of police. Davidson ordered their arrest and placed them in the custody of Williams to be taken to Nacogdoches County.²⁵

On Monday, January 15, 1872, Williams and other policemen escorted the prisoners into Linn Flat and found the citizens armed and so excited that they considered it "unsafe to go to trial." Williams informed Sheriff Orton that if the locals disbanded he would furnish four policemen and the sheriff would be allowed four assistants to protect Hazlett and Grayson so a trial could commence. The sheriff rejected this proposal and demanded that Grayson and Hazlett be turned over to him immediately, which Williams refused to do. Because of the tension in Nacogdoches County, Williams and his entourage returned to the safety of Rusk County.²⁶

Negotiations between Sheriff Orton and Lieutenant Williams resumed on Thursday, January 18. They reached a tentative agreement by which Williams would escort the prisoners to Linn Flat for trial. Williams changed his mind and the next day the police left Nacogdoches County for Henderson. It was believed they intended to take the prisoners back to Austin by railroad or that they would return to Linn Flat with a heavy guard of blacks and scalawags, overawe the court, and secure an acquittal. About 5 a. m., fifty to seventy-five men in search of Hazlett and Grayson "dashed" into Henderson armed with double-barrelled shotguns, surrounded various houses, and created a general disturbance.²⁷

Meanwhile, Judge Priest, accompanied by Judge Sam A. Wilson, District Attorney Jefferson Shook, and W. L. David, arrived at the "seat of war" to investigate the murders at Linn Flat. Judge Priest went at the request of Sheriff Orton, as it was thought his presence would do more to control the Hazlett/Grayson mob than any other. Cloaked with judicial authority, it would be Priest's job to prevent a confrontation between Nacogdoches County citizens and the State Police, who had been reinforced by a number of sympathetic inhabitants.²⁸

Judge Priest returned from Linn Flat with news that the Grayson/Hazlett crowd, estimated at sixty to 500, were entrenched near the Rusk County line. He ordered out the militia and issued arrest writs. James McRoberts, a Rusk County special policeman, was captured and marched off "with all the pomp and circumstances of glorious war," claimed one newspaper, but another believed they would be "shielded and protected by the Radical authorities." The *Daily State Journal*, a Davis supporter, concluded the mob, who did "their devilment under the cloak of authority," controlled "one old Ku Klux Justice of the Peace" who issued warrants "by the day" and served every Union man within ten miles.²⁹

On Monday, January 29, Williams asserted he would deliver the prisoners to Sheriff Orton in two days. Orton agreed to provide a guard of eight men to take charge of Hazlett and Grayson. Judge Priest and District Attorney Shook agreed to assist at the trial. Although court opened on February 1, Williams refused to deliver the prisoners and declared he "would spill the last drop of blood in their defence." Priest assured Williams that the prisoners would be protected from violence if they stood trial, but Williams remained steadfast. Justice Dawson issued warrants for King and J. M. Hazlett and gave them to Williams, who continued to refuse to execute them.³⁰

Madison G. Whitaker, a fifty-nine year old farmer, was deputized to execute the warrants issued by Priest for the arrest of King, J.M. and Bud Hazlett, and Grayson. Whitaker demanded Williams turn over the men but was refused. While Whitaker attempted to negotiate with Williams, a party of citizens rode into Rusk County seeking information about the State Police and the followers of Hazlett and Grayson. They were allegedly told that Hazlett, Grayson, and James Wallace were riding about the area summoning blacks to meet at the house of the Rusk County sheriff to aid in resisting arrest. From many sources Orton ascertained that a considerable force had assembled near the county line to protect the murderers. On Friday, February 2, a posse from Nacogdoches moved into Rusk County and learned that the resisters had gone towards Henderson that morning. Having the proper arrest warrants, this hastily formed contingent followed them.³¹

Grayson and Hazlett, about whom "such an excitement has been raging in Nacogdoches," stated the *Texas State Gazette*, were brought back to Austin by Williams and the other policemen who had them in charge. They contended that it was necessary because the two men could neither receive a fair trial nor be protected from the "mob that were determined to take their lives." Chief of Police Davidson turned them over to the Travis County sheriff for safe-keeping. He planned in a few days to proceed with them to Nacogdoches, with the "view of ascertaining the exact facts in this important case." The state government desired that the men be tried "under the laws of the land, and not by the bloody code of lynch."³²

The second week in February 1872, Chief of Police Davidson ordered Lieutenant Williams, then in Lockhart, to report to Austin with his force. Governor Davis directed that Davidson assume custody of Hazlett and Grayson and transport them to Nacogdoches County, or to wherever Judge Priest could be found, so they could undergo an examination on murder charges. "Great excitement" and "considerable feeling" existed against them, wrote Davidson. Governor Davis felt that Judge Priest should be apprised that Davis believed the personal safety of Hazlett and Grayson while waiting trial, and during the proceedings themselves, "would be better secured" if they were confined in "some county remote from the local prejudice."³³

Williams and his assistant had been indicted because they brought Grayson and Hazlett out of Nacogdoches County. The governor did not think they could, "or should, be held to appear to answer any such charges as they undoubtedly thought they were doing their duty and that the course they adopted was essential to the safety of the prisoners." Davis admitted that the two men could have been in error but from what Judge Priest reported, the governor believed their fears had solid foundation. Davidson, when he arrived in Nacogdoches, would call the matter to the judge's attention so that such action might be taken that would not prevent the two men from "attending to their duties as required by law."³⁴

On February 27, Williams and Sergeant William A. Baker, who had been ordered back to Nacogdoches, arrived. To their amazement, they discovered Chief

of Police Davidson and Sergeant Thomas G. Martin already present. Davidson desired to see the situation for himself. Sergeant Baker was not favorably impressed. He wrote that the people imagined they still “lived in a miniature confederacy – they have no idea that the South has ever lost any of the prestige of its former glory, and any man differing with them in politics is in danger; of all the lawless counties in the State this leads; the sheriff with a mob thinks nothing of taking all the freedmen’s arms and destroying them.” Of all the “God forsaken counties in the State this beats all – disregard for law, for feelings of Republicans, for brutality towards the colored people, and violence generally.”³⁵

Even though Sergeant Baker may have depicted the residents of Nacogdoches County in an unfavorable light, they did perform the necessary judicial functions when they accused and tried Hazlett, Grayson, and their cohorts. The grand jury which met in February 1872 charged the two Hazletts, the two Graysons, King, Grimes, and DeShazo with murder, but the evidence suggests that only William J. Grayson and Columbus Y. “Bud” Hazlett were ever convicted. Apparently the other men were able to prove that they did not participate in the killing of Harvell and Birdwell but did accompany the state and special policemen from time to time. All these individuals may have been linked politically through the Union League and their Republican Party affiliation.³⁶

Nevertheless, Grayson and Hazlett were tried during the June 1872 term of the District Court and found guilty of the murder of Birdwell. They were not simultaneously tried for the Harvell killing. Sentenced to life imprisonment, Hazlett escaped, but Grayson served fourteen years in the state penitentiary in Huntsville. He received a pardon from Governor John Ireland at the insistence of a number of Rusk and Nacogdoches county citizens, along with the local state senator, and because of his unusually “good conduct since his imprisonment.” Moreover, it had never been alleged he was the murderer. Hazlett, on the other hand, was killed, perhaps evading apprehension, near Woldron in Scott County, Arkansas, in 1877.³⁷

The State Police of Republican Governor Davis received a host of bad publicity related to this incident. To be sure, Hazlett was a member of the state organization, but of course his killing of Harvell and Birdwell had neither been ordered or justified. Precisely why Harvell and Birdwell were killed may never be known. There is simply no evidence in all the materials, both primary and secondary, that would account for these assassinations. Perhaps it was prewar animosities, Civil War entanglements, or family feuds and relatives that desired a settlement to a squabble. Whatever the case may have been, Hazlett supplied the “trigger finger” in murdering the two men; Grayson’s pardon suggests his innocence.

Although the leaders of the State Police from its very inception attempted to screen applicants (every source claims this was not done), Hazlett had long been a resident of Texas and if his background was somewhat dubious he certainly qualified as an individual suitable for the new organization that Governor Davis wanted to create to reduce the amount of violence then prevalent in the Lone Star State. Overall, the State Police did not evince these

characteristics of wanton murder and midnight assassination, but many newspapers believed otherwise. The Linn Flat affair is a sad commentary upon what the State Police attempted to do, but in protecting their right to a jury trial Williams gave them legitimacy and ably performed his duty.

NOTES

¹Richard W. Haltom, *History and Description of Nacogdoches County, Texas* (Nacogdoches, 1880), p. 39. Haltom's essay on Linn Flat is also reprinted in Nugent E. Brown, *The Book of Nacogdoches County, July 1, 1927* (Houston, 1927), pp. 35-46.

²Christopher Long, "Nacogdoches County," *New Handbook of Texas* (6 vols.; Austin, 1996), IV, pp. 925-929 (hereinafter NHT); Randolph B. Campbell, *An Empire for Slavery: The Peculiar Institution in Texas, 1821-1865* (Baton Rouge, 1989), p. 266.

³Long, "Linn Flat, Texas," *NHT*, IV, pp. 208-209. The numbers are our own count and are based upon the information in Carolyn Reeves Ericson, *The People of Nacogdoches County in 1870: An Edited Census* (Lufkin, TX, 1977), pp. 163-199; Bertha M. Parmelly, "Linn Flat Raid Spread Death, Fear, Despair," *Daily Sentinel* (Nacogdoches), July 18, 1960, Part 1, p. 4.

⁴Long, "Nacogdoches County," *NHT*, IV, p. 927; Joe T. Timmons, "The Referendum in Texas on the Ordinance of Secession, February 23, 1861: The Vote," *East Texas Historical Journal*, 11 (Fall 1973), pp. 16, 18.

⁵Francis A. Walker (comp.), *The Statistics of the Population of the United States*, Ninth Census, 1870 (3 vols.; Washington, D. C., 1872), I, pp. 64-66; William L. Richter, *Overreached On All Sides: The Freedmen's Bureau Administrators in Texas, 1865-1868* (College Station, 1991), p. 274; Barry A. Crouch, *The Freedmen's Bureau and Black Texans* (Austin, 1992).

⁶Alex Ferguson (Agent, Nacogdoches) to Charles A. Vernou (Acting Assistant Adjutant General [AAAG]), December 5, 1868, Assistant Commissioner (AC), Letters Received (LR), F-62; Ferguson to J. P. Richardson (AAAG), April 15, 1868, AC, LR, F-31; T. M. K. Smith (Agent, Nacogdoches) to Richardson, November 5, 1867, S-65, Operations Reports (OR), both in AC, Texas, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (BRFAL), Record Group (RG) 105, National Archives (NA); Richter, *Overreached On All Sides*, pp. 274-275; Crouch, "A Spirit of Lawlessness: White Violence; Black Texans, 1865-1868," *Journal of Social History*, 18 (Winter 1984), pp. 217-232.

⁷Ferguson to Vernou, December 1, 1868, AC, LR, F-60, Texas, BRFAL, RG 105, NA.

⁸Clarksville *Standard*, January 13, 1872, p. 2; Haltom, *History and Description*, p. 39; Parmelly, "Linn Flat Raid," Part 1.

⁹Lee Lance Albright, "Columbus Y. 'Bud' Heaslet [Hazlett]," in author's possession.

¹⁰Albright, "Columbus Y. 'Bud' Heaslet;" Ericson, *The People of Nacogdoches County in the Civil War* (Lufkin, TX, 1980), p. 109.

¹¹Albright, "Columbus Y. 'Bud' Heaslet": Roster of the State Police, Adjutant General Records (AGR), RG 401-1059; Columbus Y. Hazlett, #1443, Nacogdoches County, 1867 Voters' Registration, Secretary of State, RG 307, both in Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library (hereinafter ARIS/TSL).

¹²W.J. Grayson, Compiled Military Service Records Of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Texas, RG 109, NA; Grayson, #405, Nacogdoches County, 1867 Voters' Registration, Secretary of State, RG 307; Roster of Special Policemen, 1871-1872, Nacogdoches County, RG 401-1058, pp. 228-229, AGR, both in ARIS/TSL; H. P. N. Gammel (comp. and arr.), *The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897* (10 vols.; Austin, 1898), VI, pp. 973-974.

¹³Roster of Special Policemen, 1871-1872, Nacogdoches County, RG 401-1058, pp. 228-229, AGR; Election Register, Nacogdoches County (1869-1873), Secretary of State, RG 307, Box 2/1-11; Election Returns, Nacogdoches County, 1871, id., Box 2/12/559, all in ARIS/TSL; *Texas State Gazette* (Austin), February 5, 1872.

¹⁴Ericson, *The People of Nacogdoches County*, p. 165, p. 187; Parmelly, "Linn Flat Raid," Part 1. The dialogue is from Haltom, *History and Description*, p. 40.

¹⁵Haltom, *History and Description*, p. 40; Ericson, *The People of Nacogdoches County*, p. 169; Parmelley, "Linn Flat Raid," Part 1.

¹⁶Clarksville *Standard*, January 13, 1872, p. 2.

¹⁷Clarksville *Standard*, January 13, 1872, p. 2.

¹⁸Haltom, *History and Description*, pp. 41-42.

¹⁹Haltom, *History and Description*, p. 39; Sammy Tise, *Texas County Sheriffs* (Albuquerque, 1989), p. 387; Election Register, Nacogdoches County (1869-73), Secretary of State, Box 2/1-11, RG 307, ARIS/TSL; Linda Sybert Hudson, "Richard David Orton," *NHT*, IV, p. 1174.

²⁰Roster of State Police, RG 401-1059; Roster of Special Policemen, 1871-1872, Nacogdoches County, RG 401-1058, pp. 228-229, all in AGR, ARIS/TSL; Haltom, *History and Description*, pp. 42-43; Parmelley, "Linn Flat Raid Spread Death, Fear, Despair," *Daily Sentinel* (Nacogdoches), July 21, 1960, Part 2, p. 1.

²¹Haltom, *History and Description*, p. 43; Parmelley, "Linn Flat Raid," Part 2.

²²Haltom, *History and Description*, p. 43; Parmelley, "Linn Flat Raid," Part 2; Campbell, "Scalawag District Judges: The E. J. Davis Appointees, 1870-1873." *Houston Review*, p. 14 (1992), p. 78, p. 80, p. 87.

²³Houston *Union* in Clarksville *Standard*, January 13, 1872, p. 2; *Tri-Weekly State Gazette* (Austin), January 29, 1872, p. 2.

²⁴James Davidson (JD) to Williams, November 1, 1871. Adjutant General Letterpress Book (AGLPB), p. 580, No. 4, RG 401-611; JD to M. Priest, December 28, 1871, p. 405; JD to Thomas Williams, December 30, 1871, p. 419, AGLPB, No. 5, RG 401-612, Adjutant General Correspondence (AGC); EJD to Thomas H. Baker, December 12, 1871, E. J. Davis Letterpress Book (EJDLPB), (November 15, 1871-May 20, 1872), p. 124, Records of the Governor, Papers of E. J. Davis (EJD), all in ARIS/TSL.

²⁵JD to Priest, December 28, 1871, p. 405; JD to Williams, December 30, 1871, p. 419, both in AGLPB, No. 5 (December 18 to December 31, 1871), RG 401-612, AGR, ARIS/TSL; *Daily State Journal* (DSJ), Austin, January 28, 1872, p. 2; *Tri-Weekly State Gazette* (Austin), January 29, 1872, p. 2; *Texas State Gazette* (Austin), February 5, 1872, p. 2.

²⁶*DSJ*, January 28, 1872, p. 2.

²⁷*Tri-Weekly State Gazette* (Austin), January 29, 1872, p. 2; *DSJ*, January 28, 1872, p. 2.

²⁸Campbell, "Scalawag District Judges," p. 87.

²⁹Roster of Special Policemen, 1871-1872, Rusk County, RG 401-1058, pp. 258-259, ARIS/TSL; *Tri-Weekly State Gazette* (Austin), January 29, 1872, p. 2; *DSJ*, January 28, 1872, p. 2; *Texas State Gazette* (Austin), February 5, 1872, p. 2.

³⁰*Texas State Gazette* (Austin), February 5, 1872, p. 2.

³¹*Texas State Gazette* (Austin), February 5, 1872, p. 2.

³²*DSJ*, February 3, 1872, p. 2.

³³JD to Williams, February 10, 1872, AGLPB, RG 401-613, p. 224, AGR; EJD to JD, February 19, 1872, EJDLPB (November 15, 1871-May 20, 1872), pp. 305-306, Records of the Governor, EJD Papers, RG 301, both in ARIS/TSL.

³⁴EJD to JD, February 19, 1872, EJDLPB (November 15, 1871-May 20, 1872), pp. 305-306, Records of the Governor, RG 301, EJD Papers, ARIS/TSL.

³⁵William A. Baker to Editors, *State Journal*, February 28, 1872, *DSJ*, March 8, 1872, p. 1. *Tri-Weekly State Gazette*, January 29, 1872, p. 2; February 5, 1872, p. 2; February 7, 1872, p. 2. had earlier suggested that Davidson go to Nacogdoches County.

³⁶The State of Texas vs. Columbus Hazlett and William J. Grayson, Case Nos. 1095 and 1108, District Court Records, Ralph Steen Library, Nacogdoches.

³⁷Milton Mast (Sheriff, Nacogdoches County) to Governor Richard B. Hubbard, July 31, 1877, Extradition Papers, Boxes 301-99, 301-102, 2-4/271; Governor John Ireland, the State of Texas vs. William J. Grayson, March 5, 1885, Executive Clemency Records, all in Secretary of State Records, RG 307, ARIS/TSL.