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LIFE IN CIVIL WAR EAST TEXAS

RALPH A. WOOSTER

On March 2, 1861, exactly twenty-five years after Texas declared her independence from Mexico, the secession convention meeting in Austin announced that the voters of the state had overwhelmingly approved an ordinance of separation and that Texas was no longer a member of the union of American states. Quickly the convention moved to formalize the vote of the people to pass an ordinance uniting Texas with the newly formed Confederate States of America.[1] This action marked the beginning of a four year struggle by the people of Texas and her sister Southern states to establish an independent Southern nation extending from the Atlantic on the east to the Rio Grande on the west.

The work of the secession convention was warmly applauded throughout most of the state. In some areas, especially in the north central counties of the Red River country and in the German settlements of central Texas, there were misgivings, and a few state leaders, notably Governor Sam Houston, refused to recognize the new Confederate government, but on the whole secession was popular with the people of Texas. In the eastern portion of the state, scene of the rich cotton lands, coastal prairies, and rustling timbers as well as the urban port of Galveston and its new, growing inland rival Houston, the withdrawal was an occasion for rejoicing. Only one East Texas county, Angelina, cast a majority of her votes in the popular referendum against secession and much of the impetus for secession had come from East Texas political leaders such as Hardin R. Runnels, O. M. Roberts, and T. Jefferson Chambers.[2] In most towns of East Texas militia units paraded noisily, cannon boomed and flags were waved by the enthusiastic citizenry. In Galveston, commercial outlet for the cotton trade, British consul Arthur Lynn noted that the atmosphere was "one of joy and congratulation that they can now free themselves from a connection which had been injurious to their interests."[3] Everywhere there was a spirit of enthusiasm, excitement, and optimism that the war would be short and that the South would at last be free from Northern oppression.[4]

In the next few weeks there were scenes throughout the state of recruiting, enlisting, and drilling new troops. In many towns whole companies were mustered in at once as were the W. P. Lane Rangers, who were sworn in at a public ceremony witnessed by hundreds of enthusiastic townspeople in Marshall.[5] Others enlisted singly as did Beaumonter William A. Fletcher, who was so eager to volunteer that he rushed immediately to Houston to offer his services:

> I was on the roof of a two-story house putting on the finishing course of shingles [Fletcher wrote in his memoirs] when Captain William Rogers came by and reported war declared and the fall of Fort Sumter. The news was brought from Sabine Pass by an up-river steamer that had just landed, and it made me very nerv-

> ous thinking of the delay of completing the roof might cause me to miss a chance to enlist, so I worked and talked and soon had the roof finished, and made an agreement with Rogers that I would take the train the next day for Houston, and Galveston if necessary, and find some way of enlisting, he paying one-half the expense, which he did.
>
> So I boarded a flatcar at the appointed time, and in the course of several hours made Liberty; from there I pumped my way to Houston on a hand car.[6]

As a border state Texas escaped many of the ravages of war borne by her sister states of the Southern Confederacy. Although over 60,000 Texans served in the military forces of the Confederacy, and although her banners were carried on distant battlefields by such distinguished units as Hood's Brigade, Terry's Texas Rangers, Walker's Division, and Polignac's Brigade, most of the state escaped military invasion and was spared the pangs of destructive battle. This does not mean that the war had no effect on the state, however, as the four years of military hostilities caused a severe interruption in the everyday life of Texans during the conflict. Certainly this was most pronounced in the case of those 60,000 or more Texans who wore the gray and served on far-flung battlefields, but it was also true of those who remained within the state during the four years of war.

As the section of the state closest to the scene of the heaviest fighting, East Texas was probably affected more by the war than the rest of the state. Not only was this section the center of numerous governmental and military activities of the Trans-Mississippi Department as well as the Missouri government in exile, but also it was the area which received large numbers of refugees from the war-torn areas of Louisiana and Arkansas. In addition, it was the site of two major Confederate prison camps, Camp Groce near Hempstead and Camp Ford near Tyler, several iron foundries, several salt works, an ordnance works, and the most important military engagement fought in Texas during the Civil War—the battle of Sabine Pass.[7]

No area of East Texas life was more affected by the war than that of transportation. The outbreak of fighting stopped all railroad building for seven years and difficulties in maintaining rolling stock caused others to be abandoned.[8] So badly hurt were the Texas railroads that none of them paid dividends during the war. In one case, General John B. Magruder, district commander for Texas, tore up much of the Eastern Texas Road and the Beaumont-Orange segment of the Texas & Northern Oklahoma Road for coastal fortifications. And in another instance several miles of track between Swanson's Landing and Jonesville in East Texas were taken up and relaid eastward from Marshall to Waskom for military purposes.[9]

Stage coach lines continued to operate in all of the state but the coaches were usually overcrowded and behind schedule. Colonel Arthur Fremantle of the British Coldstream Guards who toured Texas during the Civil War noted that the coach he rode near Houston contained eighteen passengers

by the end of the trip and that the coach he rode in Northeast Texas had to stop just outside the town of Rusk so that all passengers could get out and cover the biggest holes in the bridge with planks.[10]

Accommodations for the traveler in Civil War East Texas were sometimes quite poor. Chaplain Nicholas Davis reported many kindnesses were shown in 1861 while troops of Hood's Brigade were camped along Buffalo Bayou at Houston,[11] and Private Dunbar Affleck, traveling from his home near Brenham to Houston, stayed with a lady who gave him a lunch and invited him to return, saying her home was always open to soldiers.[12] But most travelers were not so fortunate. Kate Stone, a young refugee from Louisiana, reported that on her trip from Monroe, Louisiana to Lamar County in the Red River country she had to camp out along the way. Her experience in East Texas led her to write a relative in Louisiana "never to come to Texas for pleasure, but if forced to come to cover herself with a thin coat of tar to protect herself from the myriads of insects along the road." She went on to declare that East Texas was the headquarters for "ticks, redbugs, fleas by the millions, and snakes gliding through the grass by the hundreds" and to report that she was always afraid at night she would "feel the sting of a tarantula or centipede."[13] On another trip from Tyler to Lamar County, she and her mother spent the night at a house that was pretty and white on the outside, but filthy on the inside. She reported that they "tried to eat without seeing or tasting and to sleep without touching the bed." They were given coffee, "a horrid decoction of burnt wheat and milk without sugar, in saucers and water in the halves of broken bottles." Kate concluded that she had surely "found the dark corner of the Confederacy."

Traveling in Civil War East Texas presented many special problems. There were so many refugees and travelers that a Houston editor wrote that the hotels were filled from attic to basement. He went on to state that "Texas may be sparsely populated, but we have seen enough people during the last few weeks to whip any Yankee force that may be sent here."[15] Usually it was necessary for the traveler to share hotel rooms that often lacked in comforts and cleanliness. Colonel Fremantle found Houston crowded with refugees from Galveston but reported that as a great favor to a foreign visitor he was allowed a bed to himself; all "other beds in the room had two occupants each," he noted.[16] At Crockett, however, Fremantle was not so fortunate. Here he shared a bed with a Louisiana judge, a bed which Fremantle found so filthy that he and the judge slept with their boots on. In Rusk Fremantle was able to get a single bed through the influence of a friend, but noted it was not "inviting enough to induce me to remove my clothes."[17] He did, however, find the food in East Texas satisfactory, reporting that he was served pork or bacon, bread made with Indian corn and "a peculiar mixture called Confederate coffee, made of rye, meal, Indian corn or sweet potatoes."

Train travelers shared some of the same difficulties as those who journeyed by stage. An army surgeon traveling from Houston to Beaumont in 1864 reported there was no fire in the railroad cars and "to make matters worse the cars ran over a cow & run off the track which made us in the night getting to Beaumont." Arrival in the city brought no improve-

ment in his comfort—he found the townspeople would not get up, so he had to "hunt up wood & make a fire" and then spread his blankets on the floor of the station and sleep there.[18]

Those who stayed at home had as many, if not more, problems as the traveler. In nearly every community there was a shortage of houses; this was especially true of areas along the coast and along the Louisiana and Arkansas state lines as thousands of refugees poured into the interior. Thomas North, a traveler from the Midwest, reported there was a general evacuation of non-combatants from Galveston Island resulting in a "general stampede of people and valuables up country."[19] And Mary Elizabeth Massey in her recent study of Confederate refugees notes that thousands came from Louisiana and Arkansas to East Texas to escape the ravages of war.[20] Tyler, Rusk, Marshall, and Corsicana were the principal depots for refugees in the interior, while Houston was the main refugee center along the coast.

The addition of thousands of refugees and the effect of the Union blockade caused a number of shortages in East Texas. Although cases of serious food shortages were rare, there were shortages of many specific commodities, especially those which formerly had been imported. Coffee was a particularly cherished item that was always in demand. Colonel Fremantle noted "the loss of coffee afflicts the Confederates even more than the loss of spirits." He also observed that "they exercise their ingenuity in devising substitutes, which are not generally very successful."[21] Among the many substitutes used, corn coffee was favored in East Texas.

Substitutes for tea were made from various types of leaves, especially the yaupon which some said tasted almost like imported Asian tea. Not all were so impressed with yaupon tea, however; one Union prisoner of war who tasted it declared it produced "a burning sensation" in the stomach. And another observer referred to its "unpleasant medical effects."[22]

The shortage of manufactured goods grew as the war continued. Most manufactured goods, especially clothing, had been imported from Europe or the North before the war. Now, East Texans had to produce their own goods. The largest cloth factory developed during the war was at the state penitentiary at Huntsville, where over 200 convicts turned out nearly 6,000 yards of cloth daily, but throughout East Texas women were urged to spin their own cloth, an art commonly practiced earlier but which had become less common in the 1850's. Newspaper editors encouraged home weaving, competition between the women was encouraged, and Governor Francis R. Lubbock was inaugurated in a homespun suit in 1861.[23]

Shoes were also badly needed. A news item in the Galveston paper for October, 1862, describes how one man tanned his own leather by putting the hides in ashes and water to remove the hair; they were then put in a solution of oak bark that had been boiled and cooled until warm. According to the writer the leather produced was soft and pliant, but evidently home tanning was never too popular as prices of shoes and boots continued to rise in East Texas.[24]

War time needs stimulated some industries already established and encouraged the development of others. Salt works in Cherokee, Van Zandt and Smith counties did a thriving business. There was an ordnance works at Tyler, jug factories in Rusk and Henderson counties, and iron foundries in Anderson, Cass, Henderson, Harrison, Cherokee, Marion, Nacogdoches, and Smith counties.[25]

East Texans were called on to use their ingenuity to find substitutes for many small personal items that were formerly imported. The editor of the Clarksville *Standard* described a substitute for soda which could easily be produced. This consisted of adding ashes of corn cobs to boiling water, allowing to stand a minute, then pouirng off the liquid which could be used at once with an acid such as sour milk or vinegar. According to the editor "it makes a bread as light almost as snow."[26] Another editor noted that a homemade glue was "far superior to the common imported glue," but failed to describe how it could be made.[27] Substitutes for ink were easily found and made of the bark of dogwood, oak, pomegranate rinds, elderberries, or green persimmons.[28] Shoe blacking was also scarce during the war but one writer told of making blacking from chinaberries and in her diary Kate Stone described a homemade blacking just as shiny as the old blacking.[29]

Just as East Texans had to improvise and find substitutes for food and everyday items, so, too, did they find substitutes for medicines, and again they received assistance from the newspaper editors. Most medicines had been imported before secession and there were never enough available during the war. Quinine was almost indispensable, since malaria and other fevers were common in the lower South.[30] Many substitutes were attempted; the dogwood berry seemed to be superior to most. One newspaper editor claimed it had been used successfully a number of times and urged Texans to gather and dry the berries for future use. Another editor included a remedy for the "flux," which he stated could be cured by drinking at intervals sage tea with red pepper stirred into it.[31]

Fortunately, the general health of East Texans was fairly good during the war except for the usual fevers in the coastal areas. In September, 1862, 50-60 cases of yellow fever were reported at Sabine Pass, of which 25 patients died; eight cases were reported at Beaumont and one at Orange. There were 30-40 cases of yellow fever in Houston and 8-10 deaths by the end of October, 1862. Again in September, 1864, yellow fever was reported in epidemic at Galveston and Houston; quite a few had died and all men on furloughs were ordered to remain at home. Small pox was also prevalent in the coastal area; in December, 1863, residents of Houston were urged to take every precaution against the disease. And an army surgeon at Beaumont reported a number of cases of "Congestion" in the summer of 1864.[32]

Although there were hardships, shortages, and epidemics during the war, there were gayer times as well. In the early part of the war the traditional spas and watering places continued to receive visitors. The management of the Dalby Springs Hotel in Bowie County, for example, continued to operate and advertise for visitors during the summer season of

1861.[33] And the *Dallas Herald* in July, 1861, announced the opening of a new watering place, "Pleasant Springs" in Grimes County. According to the editor of the *Herald* the "accommodations are excellent" and the waters "possess curative properties second to none in the State."[34]

In the towns there were theaters, concerts, military balls, and benefit shows staged for the aid for refugees and orphans. Many towns had soldier's aid societies which provided entertainment and dances to raise funds to aid Confederate soldiers and their families.[35] Houston even held a children's fair for the benefit of the soldier's home and according to the editor of the *Telegraph* raised $1,000.[36]

One new form of entertainment was provided by Union prisoners. An account is given by one who was captured near Boston in East Texas, a town which he described as a "hard place" and one in which shooting scrapes were commonplace. According to this account the presence of Union prisoners was a novelty and their stay at the courthouse was "a source of interest and entertainment" for the citizens who came to see them and ask questions.[37]

In areas near army camps in East Texas there was more entertainment and amusement than usual. Horse races, dances, and dinners were extended by the local citizenry to Confederate officers and enlisted men alike. One cavalryman, Private Dunbar Affleck of Brenham, who was stationed near Mt. Zion late in the war, wrote to his mother that there was one "frolic and dinner" after another and after several weeks in the area reported "I want now to leave this place, and go over on the Brazos as soon as possible, the people here intend giving us another frolic next week if we remain here that long, but I hope for that reason we wont stay, because I never was so worn out in my life before."[38] Affleck also reported that a new sport, gander pulling, was a common amusement in East Texas, although some of "the ladies did not like pulling at the old gander, it was too cruel for them."[39]

The lengthening shadow of military defeat on fields of distant battle, however, had its effect upon life in East Texas. Every Confederate defeat beyond the borders of Texas—Price's cavalry disaster in Missouri in late 1864, Sherman's capture of Savannah in December—caused increased anxiety in the state. Newspaper editorials in early 1865 urged East Texans to remain firm and General John B. Magruder, commander of the district of Texas, called upon his soldiers to stand by their colors. Governor Pendleton Murrah asked Texans to keep up the struggle and General Edmund Kirby Smith, commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, declared he would fight on.[40] But news of Lee's surrender in April, followed by that of Joe Johnston in North Carolina, made further resistance appear futile. On May 15, troops at Galveston mutinied and took off for home. At the same time other garrisons along the coast showed an open disregard for discipline. Again newspapers called for discipline and both Magruder and Smith tried to restore order, but it was too late.[41] When Smith reached Huntsville on his trip southward to restore order he found mobs of soldiers crowding the road with no thought but to return home. By the time he reached Houston he found himself a general without an army. In late May, Smith heard that his chief of staff had already surrendered

the Trans-Mississippi Department at New Orleans and that the formal terms of surrender were being brought to Galveston for his signature. There was little he could now do. On June 2, with "Prince John" Magruder at his side, Smith boarded the Union ship in Galveston harbor and signed the surrender terms.[42] Ahead were the long months of Reconstruction. The Civil War was over.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Texas was represented in the Montgomery convention before the vote of the people was canvassed by the secession convention but her delegates were not "officially" seated until March 2. The formal ratification of the permanent Confederate Constitution was completed by the Texas convention on March 23. See *Journal of the Secession Convention of Texas, Edited from the Original* by Ernest W. Winkler (Austin: Austin Printing Company, 1912), 233, and Charles Robert Lee, Jr., *The Confederate Constitutions* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 53, 87, 131.

[2]The term "East Texas" here is used to designate some thirty-six counties in the eastern portion of the state bounded on the west by Red River, Titus, Wood, Smith, Anderson, Leon, Madison, Grimes, Harris and Galveston counties. See *The Handbook of Texas* (2 vols., Austin: The Texas State Histoical Association, 1952), I, 534-35.

[3]Quoted in Earl W. Fornell, *The Galveston Era* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1961), 291.

[4]See Allan C. Ashcraft, "East Texas in the Election of 1860 and the Secession Crisis," *East Texas Historical Journal*, I (July, 1963), 12-23, and Stephen B. Oates, "Texas Under the Secessionists," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXVII (October, 1963), 171-72.

[5]William W. Heartsill, *Fourteen Hundred and Ninety-One Days in the Confederate Army; or, Camp Life, Day by Day, of the W. P. Lane Rangers* from April 19, 1861 *to May 20, 1865* (Reprint ed. by Bell I. Wiley; Jackson, Tennessee: McCowat-Mercer Press, Inc., 1954), 2-5.

[6]William A. Fletcher, *Rebel Private, Front and Rear* (Reprint ed. by Bell I. Wiley; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1954), 6-7. Fletcher's difficulties did not end in Houston. He found no companies recruiting there and had to return to Liberty, where he was accepted into a Confederate unit. For other descriptions of recruiting and enrolling troops in East Texas see *Clarksville Standard*, May 18, May 22, June 1, 1861, and the *Dallas Herald*, June 19 and July 17, 1861.

[7]For governmental activities see William R. Geise, "Missouri's Confederate Capital in Marshall, Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly, LXVI* (October, 1962), 201-202. For military prisons see Leon Mitchell, Jr., "Camp Groce: Confederate Military Prison," *ibid.*, LXVII (July, 1963) (15-21, and "Camp Ford: Confederate Military Prison," *ibid.*, LXVI (July, 1962), 1-16; and F. Lee Lawrence and Robert W. Glover, *Camp Ford, C.S.A.* (Austin: Texas Civil War Centennial Committee, 1964). For

the battle of Sabine Pass see *Official Records of the War of Rebellion* (130 vols.; Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1891), Series I, Vol. XXVIV, Pt. 1, 309-312; Andrew Forest Muir, "Dick Dowling and the Battle of Sabine Pass," *Civil War History*, IV (December, 1958), 399-428; and Alwyn Barr, "Texas Coastal Defense, 1861-1865," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XLV (July, 1961), 24-27.

[8]William B. Bizzell, *Rural Texas* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), 235-36; Andrew Forest Muir, "Railroads Come to Houston, 1857-1861," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXIV (July, 1960), 63; James F. Doster, "Were the Southern Railroads Destroyed by War?" *Civil War History*, VII (September, 1961), 320.

[9]Robert C. Black III, *The Railroads of the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), 299; Sallie M. Lentz, "Highlights of Early Harrison County," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXI (October, 1957), 251.

[10]Lieutenant Colonel 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: Little, Brown, and Company, 1954), 63.

[11]Nicholas A. Davis, *Chaplain Davis and Hood's Texas Brigade* (Ed. by Donald E. Everett; San Antonio: Principia Press of Trinity University, 196), 3.

[12]Dunbar Affleck to Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Affleck, December 15, 1863. Letters in possession of Mr. T. D. Affleck, Galveston, Texas.

[13]*Brokenburn: The Journal of Kate Stone, 1861-1868* (Ed. by John Q. Anderson; Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1955), 224.

[14]*Ibid.*, 237.

[15]*Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, June 23, 1862, quoted in Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952), 103.

[16]*Fremantle Diary*, 51.

[17]*Ibid.*, 61-62.

[18]"Letters from the Confederate Medical Service in Texas, 1863-1865," ed. by Frank E. Vandiver, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LV (January, 1952), 392-93.

[19]Thomas North, *Five Years in Texas; or, What You Did Not Hear During the War From January 1861 to January 1866* (Cincinnati: Elm Street Publishing Company, 1871), 106.

[20]Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Refugee Life in the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1964), 63-64, 90-94, 123-24. Kate Stone, herself a refugee, reports in her diary that there was considerable prejudice existing in some places toward the refugees. *Brokenburn*, 250,

275. Not all East Texans felt this way, however. See an editorial welcoming Louisiana refugees in *Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, January 28, 1865.

[21]*Fremantle Diary*, 62.

[22]Charles C. Nott, *Sketches in Prison Camps: A Contribution of Sketches of the War* (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph, 1865), 119-21.

[23]*Galveston Weekly News*, September 24, 1862; Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy*, 88-89.

[24]*Galveston Weekly News*, September 22, 1862; February 11, 1863; May 20, 1863.

[25]Robert L. Jones, "The First Iron Furnace in Texas," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXIII (October, 1959), 288; Ollie Singletary, "A History of the Iron Industry of Northeast Texas," Unpublished M.A. thesis, East Texas State College, 1951, pp. 25-39; Dorman H. Winfrey, *A History of Rusk County, Texas* (Waco: Texian Press, 1961), 62; Lentz, "Highlights of Early Harrison County," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXI, 252-53; William A. Albaugh III, *Tyler, Texas, CSA* (Harrisburg, Penna.: Stackpole Company, 1958), 11-29; T. C. Richardson, *East Texas, Its History and Its Makers* (4 vols.; New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1940), I, 204; *Henderson Times*, November 21, 1863; *Clarksville Standard*, December 31, 1861.

[26]*Clarksville Standard*, July 7, 1862.

[27]*Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, January 11, 1865.

[28]*Galveston Weekly News*, September 24, 1862.

[29]*Ibid.*, January 27, 1864; *Brokenburn*, 332. Where regular manufactured items were available prices were frequently prohibitive. Kate Stone reported that calico cost $6 a yard in Tyler in 1863. A pen knife sold for $25 and a deck of playing cards $5. An army surgeon stationed at Beaumont related that tobacco cost $30 per pound and a chicken cost $10. "Letters from the Confederate Medical Service in Texas, 1863-1865," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LX, 459, 469.

[30]John Q. Anderson, *A Texas Surgeon in the C.S.A.* (Tuscaloosa: Confederate Publishing Company, 1957), 19.

[31]*Galveston Weekly News*, September 10, 1862; July 30, 1862; October 28, 1862.

[32]*Ibid.*, September 17, October 15, October 29, 1862; October 28, 1863; Mrs. Thomas Affleck to Dunbar Affleck, September 23, 1864; and "Letters from the Confederate Medical Service in Texas, 1863-1865," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LV, 463.

[33]*Clarksville Standard*, July 20, 1861.

[34]*Dallas Herald*, July 3, 1861.

[35]*Brokenburn*, 320; "Letters from the Confederate Medical Service in

Texas, 1863-1865," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LV, 472; *Henderson Times*, December 19, 1863, December 17, 1864.

[36]*Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, March 21, 1865.

[37]S. A. Swiggert, *The Bright Side of Prison Life, Experiences, in Prison and Out, of an Involuntary Sojurner in Rebeldom* (Baltimore: Fleet, McGinley & Company, 1897), 97.

[38]Dunbar Affleck to Mrs. Thomas Affleck, February 20, 1865.

[39]Dunbar Affleck to Mrs. Thomas Affleck, February 16, 1865.

[40]*Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, January 5, 1865, March 11, 1865; Oates, "Texas Under the Secessionists," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXVII, 210.

[41]*Houston Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, April 17, 1865.

[42]The last months of the Confederacy are ably covered in Oates, "Texas Under the Secessionists," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXVII, 210-12.