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**THE GHOSTLY-SILENT GUNS OF GALVESTON:
A CHRONICLE OF COLONEL J.G. KELLERSBERGER,
THE CONFEDERATE CHIEF ENGINEER OF EAST TEXAS**

by W.T. Block

In 1896, as wintry blasts swept down the valley of the River Aare in northern Switzerland, an old man consumed endless hours in his ancestral home, laboring to complete a manuscript. With his hair and beard as snow-capped as the neighboring Alpine peaks, Julius Getulius Kellersberger, who felt that life was fast ebbing from his aging frame, wrote and rewrote each page with an engineer's masterful precision, before shipping the finished version of his narrative to Juchli and Beck, book publishers of Zurich.¹

After forty-nine years in America, Kellersberger, civil engineer, former Forty-niner, San Francisco Vigilante, surveyor; town, bridge, and railroad builder; and Confederate chief engineer for East Texas, bade farewell to a son and four daughters, his grandchildren, and the grave of his wife, all located at Cypress Mill, Blanco County, Texas. He then left the state he had grown to love and returned to his Alpine homeland for two reasons – to write his German language memoirs and to die in the huge stone house where he was born and had grown up, but had abandoned as a young man to seek his fortune in America. Although hundreds of Kellersberger's descendants in the Houston, Dallas, and Austin vicinities still spell the family name as "Kellersberger," its original Swiss spelling, the engineer enlisted in the Confederate Army as "Julius Kellersberg," which for purposes of simplicity, the writer will adopt for the remainder of this monograph. And although Kellersberg was promoted to lieutenant colonel early in 1864, he was a Confederate major of artillery, assigned to the engineering service, for much of the time span of this story.

Kellersberg, born in Baden, in the Swiss Canton of Aargau, on February 9, 1821, received his secondary schooling in Switzerland and his college training in civil engineering and the military sciences at a military academy in Austria. By age twenty-five, he was already superintendent of the Austrian Army arsenal in Wiener Neustadt, located south of Vienna. Restless for adventure, the youth embarked for New York in 1847 and soon was joined by his younger brother, Rudolph, in the United States. While aboard ship, Julius Kellersberg met his future wife, Caroline Bauch of Mecklenberg, a German immigrant bound for Texas and the daughter of a pioneer Lutheran pastor of Blackjack Springs, Texas. For a few months, he worked as a surveyor in Central Park and elsewhere in New York City, but quit that position to move on to Texas, where he was married.²

A few weeks after Kellersberg's arrival in Texas, news of a fabulous

California gold strike arrived. Julius and Caroline booked passage from Galveston on the German bark *Steinwarder* on a six-months, San Francisco-bound voyage around Cape Horn, which endured much stormy weather and a three-month delay for ship repairs. They were soon joined in San Francisco by the Julius' brother, Rudolph Kellersberger. Julius and Caroline disliked the violence and primitiveness of the gold-mining camps and returned to San Francisco, but Rudolph remained there, where he acquired valuable mining claims and where eventually he was also murdered.³

Julius and Caroline Kellersberg's first three children were born in San Francisco. In 1851 and 1856, Kellersberg was a member of the Committee of Safety of the San Francisco Vigilantes who hanged three murderers and forced a hundred other outlaws to leave town on penalty of death.⁴ In 1851, he was hired by E. Adams, H.W. Carpentier, and A.J. Moon to survey the original townsite of Oakland, California, and Kellersberg's original map of that city survives. In 1853, the Swiss immigrant was appointed engineer of the town of Oakland, and in 1854, was elected the first city engineer of the City of Oakland.⁵

Kellersberg also surveyed the early townsites of Berkeley and Santa Barbara, California.⁶ In September 1855, he was appointed by President Franklin Pierce as Deputy Surveyor General of California under Colonel Jack Hays and charged with completing such important surveys as the "Humboldt Meridian ... north to the state line ... and to extend the second standard line ... west to the Pacific Ocean" He also completed the survey of the "Mount Diablo Meridian ... west to the Pacific Ocean." In 1857, President James Buchanan removed Hays and Kellersberg from office in furtherance of his "Spoils System" policy. Having been offered already a railroad construction assignment in Mexico, Kellersberg decided to leave California permanently, and he sent his wife and children back to Galveston to live.⁷

Weeks earlier, Kellersberg had received an engineering offer of employment from Jecker, the Swiss banking firm, in Mexico, his assignment being to survey, clear, and build a road bed for the Isthmus of Tehuantepec Railroad to connect the Gulf of Mexico seaport of Minatitlan with the Pacific Ocean seaport of Juchitan, some 120 miles distant. When completed, the railroad was expected to become the first North American transcontinental roadroad. At first the Swiss surveyor had no inclination to accept the offer because of the heat and insect-infested jungle, but he did so quickly after he was discharged as deputy surveyor general. For almost four years Kellersberg worked on the Tehuantepec Railroad, but after the outbreak of the American Civil War he quickly decided to return to Galveston, where his family was living, before that seaport was blockaded. He arrived in the harbor on July 1, 1861, only one day before the Federal

gunboat South Carolina arrived and began blockading the harbor.⁸

Kellersberg was delighted to be with his family once more, but he hardly had time to shake the ocean spray from his coat before he was inducted into the Confederate Army. In August 1861, he was commissioned a Confederate captain of artillery and assigned to engineering duties by General Paul O. Hebert of the Galveston headquarters and specifically to the port fortifications of the town. On October 11, 1861, the engineer was handed a mammoth assignment (General Order No. 34), as follows: to construct two batteries, bombproofs, and powder magazines for four guns, one at Virginia Point and the other battery at the island end of the railroad bridge; a battery of two heavy guns on Pellican Spit, to command the channel, Bolivar Point, and East Bay; a battery of guns at Fort Point; and another on the Front Beach at Tremont Street. Six weeks later, the road road bridge batteries were completed and the work well advanced on the others.⁹

In the spring of 1862, when the blockade fleet demanded the surrender of Galveston on penalty of bombardment of the town, General Hebert transferred his command headquarters to Houston and Kellersberg was sent to that point as well. He was then promoted to major and appointed chief engineer of East Texas.¹⁰ People from the Sabine Pass area had been complaining for months about the sad state of the defenses in the Sabine Pass Estuary. In July 1862, Colonel X.B. DeBray, commander of the Sub-Military District of Houston, issued Special Order No. 95, directing Major Kellersberg to proceed to the Sabine River and inspect the state of defenses there. In his letter of July 30, the engineer noted that:¹¹

... all four [guns at Sabine Pass] are on old and unwieldy truck carriages. The powder magazine is not bomb-proof, and also subject to overflows. The whole work is in a dilapidated condition. There is ammunition enough for all four guns, but they have no fuses for shells, nor port-fires, neither gunner's level, tangent scales, pass-boxes, friction-tubes, lanyards, etc. ... The pass at Sabine is certainly a very important point, and in fact the only port from where we receive our powder and other articles. ...

In September 1862, Major Kellersberg returned to Galveston with orders to perfect the south beach fortifications as he saw fit.¹² In the meantime, Colonel DeBray chided the Trans-Mississippi Department for their failure to act on his recommendation to improve the Sabine Pass defenses. He observed that "Sabine Pass has proven to be our most important seaport," and that a current disaster, the successful occupation of Sabine Lake by a Union naval squadron, could have been avoided. DeBray, however, failed to note in his letter that a yellow fever epidemic was spreading like wildfire there, with a hundred soldiers and civilians already dead.¹³ On October 4, 1862, while Major Kellersberg was away on an inspection trip, Commander W.B. Renshaw's blockading squadron occupied Galveston Bay, leaving Kellersberg cut off from his family.¹⁴

Letters from Colonel A.W. Spaight advised the sad state of affairs at Sabine Pass, where the town's civilians and soldiers were overwhelmed by a deadly epidemic and Union gunboats dominated Sabine Lake. He urgently requested that Major Kellersberg, his engineers, guns, and equipment be sent immediately to fortify the Neches and Sabine rivers to prevent the invaders from reaching the interior of Texas.¹⁵

On October 18, 1862, Major Kellersberg reported from Harrisburg that he had completed his Sabine and Neches River defenses. On the Sabine, eight miles south of Orange, he built a fortification on a large shell bank and armed it with one battery of two brass, 32-pounder howitzers. On the Neches River at Port Neches he built Fort Grigsby and armed it with a battery of two 24-pounder guns. He then loaded six eighty-foot barges with clam shell and sank three of them on the bar of each river, leaving only a forty-foot, unmarked passageway between the sunken barges.¹⁶

Major Kellersberg then moved his engineering companies and a thousand slaves to fortify and obstruct the other streams in his district. He erected a battery of two guns on the San Bernard River, and built a fort with a battery of two 24-pounders on the San Jacinto River. He then built a fort and sank clamshell barges at the mouth of the Trinity River, and began construction of Forts Quintana and Velasco at the mouth of the Brazos River. He also built two small forts near Harrisburg on Buffalo Bayou. Such was the state of East Texas' coastal defenses in November 1862 when a new commander, Major General John B. Magruder, arrived in Houston to command the District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.¹⁷

Early in December, Kellersberg, along with two other staff officers, Majors Von Harten and O.W. Watkins, traveled over the railroad bridge under a flag of truce to carry out a prisoner exchange. The Confederates had captured eighteen Union sailors who had come ashore to hunt geese and rabbits. The blockade fleet held a like number of Rebel prisoners and Confederate majors hoped for an exchange. At the end of the day, the engineer was permitted an hour with his wife and children, and it was a sad farewell for him when he had to return to the mainland.¹⁸

The aggressive new commander, General Magruder, was not one to permit Federal encroachments on his Texas coast line without some bold reprisals. On January 8, 1863, a group of Confederates rowed during a dense fog to the lone Federal gunboat in Sabine Lake, the steamer Dan, and burned it, using pine knot torches while the hated gunboat was at anchor at the Sabine lighthouse. This freed the Sabine estuary of Federal control for the first time in four months.¹⁹ On January 21, 1863, the Confederate cottonclad gunboats, Josiah Bell and Uncle Ben, steamed out of the Sabine estuary, and after a battle and a thirty-mile chase at sea, captured the offshore blockaders Morning Light and Velocity.²⁰

Long before daylight on January 1, 1863, Major Kellersberg and a detachment of engineers helped push the rail cars, upon which captain McMahon's 12-pounder cannons were mounted, across the Galveston Island railroad bridge, and at daylight the guns opened up on Kuhn's Wharf, where the 42nd Massachusetts Regiment of 421 men were encamped. The battle raged simultaneously ashore and between Confederate and Union gunboats in Galveston Bay, and it was over in two hours. The Massachusetts unit surrendered intact. The Confederates captured the frigate Harriet Lane and three supply ships and watched as the Union gunboat Westfield blew up after running aground, with the loss to the Confederates of one cottonclad sunk and twenty-six men killed and 117 wounded.²¹ In his official report to Richmond on the Confederate victory, General Magruder observed, "In the land attack especially, commendations are due to ... Major J. Kellersberg of the Engineering Corps...."

With Galveston recaptured, Kellersberg had hoped to spend a few days with his family, but some emergency was forever erasing that prospect. Since Magruder had been promised twenty heavy cannons from Richmond for Galveston's defenses, the general ordered fortification of the entire island, particularly along South Beach. He placed 5,000 slaves and 300 (non-English speaking) German mechanics at Kellersberg's disposal and ordered him to build six case matched fortifications, built of shell and crossties, for large guns along the beach front. As these coastal artillery ramparts neared completion, Kellersberg learned that there would be no cannons forthcoming from Richmond as promised, and he would still have only his two eight-inch guns for defending the beach. He noted in his memoirs that:²²

... I took charge of an abandoned foundry where there was stored a good supply of timber. I put twenty of the best German craftsmen into the foundry and ... near the end of March, 200 wooden cannon barrels had been completed ... They were highly polished and ... since the early morning fog of that year lasted longer than usual, we were able to place our "deaf and dumb" (Quaker) cannons into position...

Kellersberg laid a railroad on the beach in front of the fortifications and twenty sidetracks among the casemates of Quaker cannons. He then mounted his two eight-inch guns on railway gravel cars that could be pulled by mules along the beach front at night and sidetracked at different points. Each morning, the Rebel gunners fired two or three practice rounds at targets anchored offshore, and each morning the firing originated at different points. Although the enemy fleet offshore soon learned that there were Quaker cannons on the beach, they were never quite sure which ones were "deaf and dumb" and which ones were not. Later, when two officers met under a flat of truce, the Confederate noted that anytime the Union fleet wanted to try a frontal assault on the beach, they were welcome to try.

Kellersberg added that:²³

... then the Yankee broke into hellish laughter, and the officer declared to the lieutenant that about fourteen days before, they had seen two of our artillerymen carry a large cannon, which ordinarily weighed some 5,400 pounds, into position all alone, and they did not think it advisable to tie into such strong men as that ...

About the same time, General Magruder promoted Colonel Valery Sulakowski to chief engineer of the District of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. The staff of engineers at Galveston also included Colonel C.G. Forshey, who had commanded the engineering contingent at the Battle of Galveston and had been Magruder's chief consulting engineer. Kellersberg felt he had been passed over for promotion, and surely there were others who felt the same. He often referred irreverently to his "Polish chief" in his memoirs.

Late in March 1863, General Magruder ordered Kellersberg to Sabine Pass with thirty engineers and 500 slaves to build a new fort (Griffin), capable of withstanding a naval assault on that seaport city. The engineer designed a triangular, sawtooth fort with six gun emplacements and a bombproof and powder magazine under each emplacement. Altogether, Kellersberg assigned at various time four different engineering officers to work on that project, one of whom, Lieutenant Nicholas H. Smith, would command a battery of guns during the Battle of Sabine Pass. The former had a good supply of construction material, plenty of oyster shell, acres of saw logs left over from a burned sawmill, and eight miles of abandoned trackage from which he removed the rails and cross-ties. He made periodic trips back to Sabine Pass to check on his fort's progress, and one letter revealed that Fort Griffin was "covered with two feet of solid timber, two layers of railroad iron, and four feet of earth on top."²⁴

By July 1863, Major Kellersberg was informed that he would receive no additional heavy guns for installation at Fort Griffin. He already knew that four guns were available, the two 24-pounders whenever he dismantled Fort Grigsby at Port Neches, and the two 32-pounder, brass howitzers at the shellbank fort on the Sabine River. He still lacked, however, the two cannons for the fifth and sixth emplacements at Fort Griffin that were needed to give that fortification the firepower it needed to withstand a naval assault.

Kellersberg recalled a story an old fisherman in Sabine Pass had told him about the four guns the Confederates had spiked and buried when they evacuated Fort Sabine, a mile to the south, on September 24, 1862. On his next trip to Sabine, Kellersberg took the fisherman to the site of the old fort, where after a half-hour's time they dug up the rusted cannons. It was obvious that the cannons survived the test firings. He then computed elevation settings for each one hundred yards for the elevation screws on each gun. The engineer knew, however, that in the din of battle, the guns

probably would not be given even the minimum precaution of barrel-swabbing, which proved true.

Major Kellersberg's next visit to Fort Griffin occurred on September 9, 1863, one day after the Battle of Sabine Pass was fought. Two of Fort Griffin's guns had been silenced during the battle, one knocked off its carriage, and a cannonball struck the elevating screw of another. Kellersberg's repaired guns had performed excellently, however, each of them firing about forty six-inch cannonballs during the forty-minute battle. And instead of bursting their barrels as feared, they exploded the steam drums on each of the captured gunboats, Sachem and Clifton.²⁵

Like the aftermath of the Battle of Galveston, General Magruder refused to believe that the Federals would accept defeat at Sabine Pass or that they might scrap their invasion plans and return to New Orleans. He ordered frenzied defense preparations in anticipation of a second attack, and again, all of the engineering assignments would fall on Major Kellersberg. As early as August 2, a month before the battle, he already had been handed a new list of fortifications to build at Sabine.²⁶ Immediately after the battle, the general ordered that all the old smooth-bore guns in the fort be replaced with rifled cannons taken from the captured gunboats. Again on October 5, 1863, Colonel Sulakowski handed Kellersberg another new list of defense preparations ordered by the general, more obstructions in the two channels, the planking of all roads leading to the fort, repairs to the eight miles of abandoned railroad, and the building of Fort Manhasset, seven miles to the west of Sabine City.²⁷

Magruder had learned from a prisoner that an alternate plan for the Federals was to land troops to the west of Sabine Pass, bypass Fort Griffin, and move directly on Beaumont via the Back Ridge – hence, the building of Fort Manhasset. An inspector-general's report late in October indicated that the fortifications of Manhasset's five redoubts were well under way, but the inspector had some misgivings about their value, noting that:²⁸

... Too much reliance seems to me to be placed upon the ... impassable nature of the marsh, which if succeeded in passing, the forts are turned and rendered useless ...

In June 1863, General Magruder recommended Major Kellersberg for promotion to lieutenant colonel on a list of names submitted to the Trans-Mississippi Department, but his recommendation was not acted upon until the following winter. In his letter accompanying the recommendation, the general observed that:²⁹

... Major Kellersberg is also an engineer of great merit who was appointed major of artillery by Brigadier General Hebert, and he has rendered the greatest service. I recommend him to be lieutenant colonel of artillery on engineer service ...

By November 23, 1863, another event had diverted the general's

attention from Sabine Pass to the south coast of Texas. He noted in a letter to the governor of Texas that 5,000 of the enemy had captured Aransas Pass, Corpus Christi, and Brownsville, and he feared that they would soon drive into the interior of the state. Consequently, the general dispatched slaves and equipment westward, and he ordered the fortification of the following cities, with Colonel A.M. Lea to proceed to Gonzales, Captain H. Schleicher to San Antonio, Major Wilson to Houston, and Major Kellersberg to Austin.³⁰

Kellersberg, did not plan to accept his Austin assignment without a passionate plea to the general, for he had long planned to celebrate Christmas with his family, a luxury he had not experienced for many years. En route to Austin, Kellersberg stopped at Houston and talked to General Magruder, but the commander was unrelenting. He "became most irritated and asked me whether I was not familiar with the duty of a soldier?"³¹ As a result, the engineer continued on his journey to Austin.

Major Kellersberg met the 500 slaves for the Austin assignment at LaGrange, where he also stopped for a day and visited with his mother-in-law. The engineer encountered quickly the enmity of some of the citizens of Austin, who opposed fortifying their city. Kellersberg noted as well that there were many Northern sympathizers in Austin, but the greatest enmity arose because he was blamed for the quartering of the slaves in an unused church which actually had been the responsibility and action of the local quartermaster. No other information, except in the engineer's memoirs, survives concerning the fortification of the capitol city, but apparently that task either had been completed or abandoned by March 1864. In four months time, the invading force on the Rio Grande had shown no aggressive intent toward the interior of Texas, being apparently content to halt the flow of overland wagon-freighting of Texas cotton to Matamoros and to express President Abraham Lincoln's displeasure with the French invasion of Mexico.³²

The writer has no exact information about Kellersberg's promotion date, but apparently it occurred in January 1864. On March 12, 1864, the city council of Galveston "introduced, which unanimously adopted," the following resolution:³³

... RESOLVED, that the thanks of the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Galveston are hereby tendered to Colonel V. Sulakowski and Colonel J. Kellerberger, the two distinguished engineers who have displayed such scientific and military skill in erecting defenses around the city and other vulnerable points on the gulf coast, which stand in bold defiance, now complete, to resist any force which our common enemy can bring to bear against us.

In April 1864, perhaps as a gesture of goodwill for service rendered, General Magruder appointed Colonel Kellersberg superintendent of the Houston Foundry until the war ended. Perhaps the foundry's greatest

resource was its body of German mechanics, machinists, die makers, and other metallurgic and metal-cutting talents, who made and repaired much Confederate equipment, and Kellersberg had a particular knack for commanding such personnel. The engineer described only one phase of his military assignment in Houston, the particulars of the only rocket battery in the Confederate Army, whose personnel were commanded by the foundry's superintendent.

A German lieutenant at the foundry, name Schroeder, had served in a rocket battery in the Austrian army and claimed that he could make rockets as good as could be found in Europe. Kellersberg had observed Austrian rocket batteries while serving in that country. The problem with making rockets in Houston, however, was that many substitutions for metals and other ingredients, such as tin for copper, had to be made. At first, such needed ingredients as saltpeter and sulphur were unobtainable. The first rockets were tried out in Houston in front of some generals, and the results were satisfactory. After about 1,000 rockets had been completed – many loaded with six pounds of gunpowder as a grenade – the second test at Houston, before a crowd of soldier and civilian dignitaries, went completely awry. Rockets spewed, flew zigzag patterns, exploded, created clouds of black smoke, and so scared the onlookers and horses that men and animals galloped off in all directions. The next day Kellersberg received an order from the general as follows: "The Rocket Battery No. 1 ... is herewith dissolved. Officers and men will resume their previous positions in their regiments" ³⁴

By the summer of 1864, Colonel Kellersberg knew that the war was lost, and he began planning for the days of defeat. By January 1865, most everything was unobtainable at any price, and whenever in stock, a sack of corn meal cost \$1,000. The engineer feared that his family might even go hungry, and many schools were already closing for lack of supplies. As soon as he could, he sent his family back to Switzerland, via a German ship, and within a few months they were resettled in the ancestral Kellersberger rock house, close to the Schlossberg Mountain, in Baden, Switzerland. Kellersberger also wrote to Jecker, his old employer in Mexico, seeking to return to his old railway position at Tehuantepec. Instead, he was offered a job as construction engineer on the Vera Cruz and Mexico City Railroad, which was being rushed to completion by the Emperor Maximilian. As soon as the war ended, Kellersberg and General Magruder were two of the many Texas Confederate officers who left for Mexico. ³⁵

Kellersberg worked on the Mexico City Railroad until it was completed in 1868. Homesick for his family, he boarded a German ship and returned to Switzerland, where he soon found employment as a bridge designer and builder for the Swiss government. In 1871, he built the first

steel bridge over the Linnat River, and about 1960, his granddaughter, Mrs. Annie Kellersberger Schnelle of Marble Falls, was able to walk across that river on the same bridge that her grandfather had built a century earlier.⁵⁶

From the beginning, the Kellersberger children were unhappy with the Swiss culture and were homesick for America. About 1875, the oldest daughter, Emma Kellersberger, returned to her grandparents' home at Blackjack Springs, where she supported herself by giving piano lessons. Her mother, Caroline Bauch Kellersberger, was an accomplished pianist. In 1877, Julius R. Kellersberger, the only son and a well-known Swiss athlete, left Switzerland for Galveston, where he worked in a store for a few years. Later he bought a store in Cypress Mill, near Austin, where he also operated a sawmill, grist mill, and cotton gin, and served as postmaster for twenty-nine years. In 1885, Julius and Caroline Kellersberger brought their three youngest daughters, Bertha, Wilhelmina, and Dora, back to Cypress Mill, where Caroline Bauch Kellersberger died a few months later. Julius R. Kellersberger, the son, married Helena Mattern and raised a large family. Emma Kellersberger married Benno Fuchs of Blackjack Springs and Mina Kellersberger married Ira Mattern. Bertha and Dora Kellersberger moved to Blackjack Springs, where the former owned a millinery shop and the latter, a spinster, lived with her sister.³⁷

In 1893, at age seventy-two, Julius Getulius Kellersberger did a most unusual thing by American standards. He said goodbye to all of his children, grandchildren, and friends and returned to Switzerland, where his only relative was a distant cousin. Perhaps he thought he had a terminal illness, and his last wish was to write his memoirs and die in his ancestral home. However, death was not as imminent as he perhaps had believed. He wrote his memoirs in 1895 and 1896 and published them in 1897. Also in 1897, he was the only ex-Confederate at a reunion of seventeen Swiss veterans of the American Civil War, the other sixteen having fought in the Northern armies. He died at Baden, canton of Aargau, in September 1900, where he was buried.³⁸

On January 8, 1972, the writer had the privilege of meeting more than forty of Kellersberger's descendants who attended the dedication of the Fort Manhassett state historical marker at Sabine Pass and had come there to honor their illustrious forebear who had built the fort. In 1970 the writer was one of several excavators who dug up more than 200 six-inch cannon balls on the same site.

Julius G. Kellersberger was a most uncommon man in many respects, having brought his civil engineering and military prowess to the American frontier at a time when such skills were as rare as a mother lode of silver. His maps survive today in California in the city plats of Oakland and other towns he surveyed; in maps of the Humboldt Meridian and Mount Diablo

Meridian in the National Archives; and in maps of the Confederate forts of the Texas Gulf Coast, which are in Record Group 77 of the National Archives. According to his memoirs, he commanded the only rocket battery in the Confederate Army. Two of his forts (Griffin and Manhasset) were the last in the Confederacy to lower their Rebel emblems on May 24, 1865, since a major Confederate naval historian recorded that "only the forts at Sabine Pass were still defiantly held."⁹ And one can only wonder what role, if any, his 200 Quaker guns may have played in preventing a second attack on Galveston. The old engineer himself realized he had lived an unusual and eventful life, and indeed, a record of Julius G. Kellersberger's accomplishments deserves a niche somewhere among the chronicles of Texas for the edification of generations of Texans still unborn.

NOTES

¹Julius G. Kellersberger, *Erlebnisse Eines Schweizerisches Ingenieurs in Californien, Mexico, und Texas Zur Zeit Des Amerikanischen Burgerkrieges, 1861-1865* (Zurich, Switzerland: Juchli and Beck, 1897), pp. 1-99, copy owned by the writer.

²Letters, Annie Kellersberger Schnelle, Marble Falls, Texas (Kellersberger's granddaughter, now deceased) to W.T. Block, October 31 and November 18, 1970; also Schnelle typescript, "Biography of Getulius Kellersberger," copy owned by the writer.

³Helen Sundstrom (ed.-translator), *Memoirs of An Engineer in The Confederate Army in Texas* (privately printed: 1957), unnumbered forward, a translation of J. Kellersberger's German language memoirs by his great granddaughter; also Schnelle's Kellersberger biography, copies of both owned by the writer.

⁴J. Kellersberger, *Erlebnisse Eines Schweizerisches Ingenieur*, pp. 1-8.

⁵Jack J. Struder. "The First Map of Oakland, California: An Historical Speculation as Solution to an Enigma," *California Historical Society Quarterly* (March, 1969), pp. 59-71: "First Map of Oakland," (Oakland, Ca.) *Tribune*, Centennial Edition, May 1, 1952.

⁶Schnelle typescript. "Biography of J. Kellersberger," and townsite photostats owned by Mrs. Schnelle.

⁷Jack Struder, "Julius Kellersberger; A Swiss as Surveyor and City Planner in California, 1851-1857," *California State Historical Quarterly* (March, 1968), pp. 3-14.

⁸Sundstrom (translator), *Memoirs of an Engineer in the Confederate Army*, pp. 11-20.

⁹*A Compilation of The Official Records of The Union and Confederate Armies in The War of The Rebellion* (128 Vols.; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. IV, pp. 117, 148.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, Series I, Vol. IX, p. 711.

¹¹(Houston) *Tri-Weekly Telegraph*, November 1, 1861; Letter, Kellersberg to DeBray, *Official Records, Armies*, Series I, Vol. IX, p. 729.

¹²Kellersberger, *Erlebnisse Eines Schweizerischen Ingenieurs*, p. 51.

¹³*Official Records, Armies*, Series I, Vol. XV, p. 143.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 149-152.

¹⁵Letters of Col. A.W. Spaight, September 26, 29, and October 2, 1862, *Official Records, Armies*, Series I, Vol. XV, pp. 144-147; Alwyn Barr, "Texas Coastal Defense, 1861-1865," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (July, 1961), p. 12.

¹⁶Letter, Kellersberg to Franklin, *Official Records, Armies*, Series I, Vol. XV, pp. 834-835; W.T. Block, *A History of Jefferson County, Texas From Wilderness to Reconstruction* (Nederland, Tx.: Nederland Publishing Co., 1976), pp. 104-105.

¹⁷*Official Records, Armies, Letters, Kellersberg to Debray and DeBray to Davis. Vol. XV, pp. 853-854, 865.*

¹⁸Sundstrom, *Memoirs of An Engineer in The Confederate Army*, pp. 22-24.

¹⁹H.N. Connor, "Diary of Sergeant H.N. Connor," Unpublished MSS, p. 5-a.; Block, *History of Jefferson County*, p. 106.

²⁰K.D. Keith, "Military Operations, Sabine, Pass," in *Burke's Texas Almanac and Immigrant's Guide for 1883* (Houston, N.D.), pp. 66-67; (Galveston) *Weekly News*, January 28, 1863 and January 4, 1867; William Wiess, "Captain Wiess Tells of Forty-Eight Years ago," (Beaumont) *Enterprise*, January 21, 1912; *Official Records, Navies, Series I, Vol. XIX*, pp. 564-574.

²¹*Official Records, Armies, Series I, Vol. XV, pp. 200-220; Sundstrom, Memoirs of An Engineer in The Confederate Army*, pp. 26-27; *Official Records, Armies, Series I, Vol. XV, p. 217.*

²²Sundstrom, *Memoirs of An Engineer*, pp. 27-28.

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 28-29; see also Barr, "Texas Coastal Defense, 1861-1865," pp. 20-21.

²⁴J.T. Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy* (New York: 1887), p. 529; W.T. Block, "Sabine Pass in The Civil War," *East Texas Historical Journal*, IX, No. 2 (October, 1971), p. 132.

²⁵Kellersberger, *Erlebnisse Eines Schweizerischen Ingenieurs*, pp. 68-69; Sundstrom, *Memoirs of An Engineer*, pp. 30-31; W.T. Block, "Legend of Two Old Cannons," *East Texas Historical Journal*, IX, No. 2 (October, 1971), pp. 147-149.

²⁶Letter, Sulakowski to Turner, *Official Records, Armies, Series I, Vol. XXVI, Part 2*, p. 133.

²⁷*Ibid.*, Letter, Sulakowski to Kellersberg, pp. 298-299; J. Kellersberg, "Map of Sabine Pass, of Its Defenses and Means of Communication," October, 1863, in Report of Major J.P. Johnson, *Official Records, Armies, Series I, Vol. XXVI, Part 2*, p. 1133.

²⁸*Ibid.*, Letter, Alston to Kirby Smith, pp. 318-321; see also Maps of Fort Manhasset, No. Z-54-11, in Record Group 77, in the National Archives; also appearing as Plate XXXII, Map 3, in *Official Atlas of the Civil War*; see also W.T. Block, "New Chapter in the History of Sabine Pass," *East Texas Historical Journal*, IX, No. 2 (October, 1971), pp. 145-147, 151-152.

²⁹Letter of General Magruder, *Official Records, Armies, Series I, Vol. XXVI, Part 2*, pp. 60-65.

³⁰*Ibid.*, Letters, Magruder to Murrah, Series I, Vols. XXVI, Part 2, p. 441, and Turner to Planters of Texas, XXVI, Part 2, p. 839.

³¹Sundstrom, *Memoirs of An Engineer*, p. 32.

³²*Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

³³Kellersberg, *Erlebnisse Eines Schweizerischen Ingenieurs*, p. 66; Sundstrom, *Memoirs of An Engineer*, p. 29; (Galveston) *Weekly News*, March 16, 1864.

³⁴Sundstrom, *Memoirs of An Engineer*, pp. 33-34.

³⁵Annie Kellersberger Schnelle, "Biography of Getulius Kellersberger, a 3-page typescript by the engineer's granddaughter, copy owned by the writer.

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷Letters, Annie K. Schnelle to W.T. Block, October 31 and November 18, 1970.

³⁸*Ibid.*, see also W.T. Block, "Swiss Engineer Built Sabine's Defenses," (Beaumont) *Enterprise*, October 4, 1976 and February 4, 1984; also W.T. Block, "Colonel Julius Kellersberger: Swiss Engineer Built Confederate Defenses;" in Block, *Frontier Tales of the Texas-Louisiana Borderlands* (Unpubl. Nederland: 1988), pp. 120-124.

³⁹Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy*, p. 529.